## INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again–beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University
Microfilms
International

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

8021787

TUCK, INEZ

# AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERGENERATIONAL PATTERNS IN TWO AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES

*The University of North Carolina at Greensboro* PH.D. 1980

University Microfilms International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106 18 Bedford Row, London WC1R 4EJ, England

# AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERGENERATIONAL PATTERNS IN TWO AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES

by

Inez Tuck

A Thesis Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro
1980

Approved by

Dissertation Adviser

## APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation Adviser J. Allen Watson

Committee Members

Rebecca M. Smith

Ora L. Strickland

March 19, 1980
Date of Acceptance by Committee

March 19, 1980
Date of Final Oral Examination

TUCK, INEZ. An Analysis of the Intergenerational Patterns in Two African-American Families. (1980)
Directed by: Dr. J. Allen Watson. Pp. 321.

This study has three purposes: (a) to examine the culture found in two rural average African-American families as they were reconstructed for genealogical charts to determine generational patterns, (b) to study the interaction between economic/political institutions and the two families, and (c) finally, to analyze families in order to ascertain the degree of retention of African cultural remnants.

One family resided in rural North Carolina, an area with considerable contact with the dominant American culture. The other family lived in the Sea Islands, an area relatively isolated from the dominant culture. A biography of each family was written within the context of an ethnographic/historical community study. Genealogical charts were reconstructed representing six generations of each family and served as the source for respondents. Twenty-four respondents, ages 16-93, were interviewed and data collected about generational patterns.

Respondents provided information on racial-ethnic perceptions, kinship patterns, marital roles, household structures, African cultural remnants, economic/political values and behaviors. Demographic data was collected to complete the biographies. Descriptive and non-parametric statistics were used to test the four study hypotheses. The major analyses are presented in the narrative section of the study where the investigator reported the findings of individual cases.

The first hypothesis which stated that racial-ethnic perceptions would differ in each family was not supported. Perceptions of respondents as members of an ethnic-racial group were not confined to a geographic area even though the Sea Islands family was more isolated. Hypothesis two, that remnants of the African culture would be found more frequently in the family who resided in South Carolina was partially supported.

Hypothesis three was partially supported as some changes in household structure, and kinship patterns were associated with some political and economic events. Such changes were the variations in household structure, and the increased utilization of nuclear and extended kin during economic and political crises.

Hypothesis four stated that there would be a difference in the report of economic/political values and behaviors between the two families. The findings of the study do not support this hypothesis.

The general findings from this study supported the theory of cultural pluralism. These African-American families were found to have an ethnic culture which was rooted in Africanism. The conclusion was that African-American families have used strategies for coping with societal change which are characteristic of the ethnic-racial group. The writer recommends that African-American families not be studied as a deviant family resulting from a deteriorated state of the family. The study of average African-American families are in keeping with the tenets of cultural pluralism.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Appreciation is expressed to the twenty-four respondents who gave generously of their time in answering questions about the Avery(a) and Simmons families. I am indebted to Dr. Willis T. Goodwin for his assistance in securing a family in the Sea Islands. Special thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Charles Gadson who made their home available to me while completing the interviews in Yonges Island, South Carolina and to Mrs. Alma Avery Everette and Mrs. Charlotte Avera Compton who were instrumental in providing the history of the Avery(a) family.

I would like to express my gratitude to my committee chairman and advisor, Dr. J. Allen Watson, Professor and Chairman Department of Child Development and Family Relations; and members of my committee, Dr. Joseph E. Himes, Excellence Fund Professor of Sociology; Dr. Hyman Rodman, Excellence Fund Professor of Home Economics; Dr. Rebecca Smith, Professor of Home Economics; and Dr. Ora Strickland, Assistant Professor of Nursing. Special thanks go to Dr. William Powers, Associate Professor of Mathematics, for his statistical advice and expertise.

Acknowledgment is made of the financial and emotional support provided by Dr. Hattie Bessent, Director of the American Nurses' Association's Registered Nurse Fellowship Program for Ethnic Minorities.

Special thanks to Ms. Donna Cooper for her patience and persistence in typing the manuscript. The technical skills of Richard Tuck in preparation of the figures are acknowledged.

I am deeply indebted to my parents, Charlie Tuck and Fannie Avery Tuck for their guidance and support. I am most grateful for the understanding, guidance, and patience of my husband, George and son, Jim.

TABLE OF CONTENTS


| | Page |
|---|---|
| APPROVAL PAGE | ii |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | iii |
| LIST OF TABLES | viii |
| LIST OF FIGURES | ix |
| CHAPTER | |
| I. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Ideological Perspectives on African-American Families | 3 |
| Significance of the Study | 7 |
| II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE | 9 |
| Introduction | 9 |
| The American Culture | 11 |
| African American Culture | 23 |
| African American Families | 41 |
| Conclusion | 72 |
| A Theoretical Frame of Reference | 74 |
| III. METHODS AND PROCEDURES | 79 |
| Statement of Hypotheses | 80 |
| Research Design | 84 |
| Definition of Terms | 84 |
| Sample Selection | 85 |
| Procedures | 89 |
| Research Instruments | 91 |
| Limitations of the Study | 98 |
| Analysis of Data | 99 |
| Presentation of Data | 99 |
| IV. AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES AND THEIR COMMUNITIES: A NARRATIVE REPORT OF FINDINGS | 101 |
| Ethnographic Study of Charleston County, South Carolina 1860-1979 | 101 |
| Early History | 101 |
| Politics in Charleston County | 103 |
| The Economy of the County | 107 |

CHAPTER Page


Characteristics of the Population . . . . . 115
Religion . . . . . 124
Education . . . . . 126
Local Government . . . . . 132
Recreation . . . . . 134
Health Care . . . . . 136
Race Relations . . . . . 140
The Simmons Family 1860-1979: A Biography . . . 141
A Chronicle of the Simmons Family . . . . . 144
Characteristics of the Simmons Respondents. 148
Marital Roles . . . . . 155
Contact with Whites . . . . . 161
The Effects of Economic and Political Events . . . . . 164
Ethnographic Community Study of Johnston County, North Carolina 1860-1977 . . . . . 173
Demographic Characteristics of Johnston County . . . . . 173
The Effects of Political Events . . . . . 179
The Economy of the County . . . . . 184
Religion . . . . . 191
Recreation and Cultural Events . . . . . 192
Health Care . . . . . 193
Housing . . . . . 195
Education . . . . . 197
The Avery(a) Family Biography . . . . . 204
A Chronicle of the Avery(a) Family . . . . 204
Demographic Characteristics of the Avery(a) Respondents . . . . . 215
Marital Roles . . . . . 220
Race Relations . . . . . 226
Effects of Economic and Political Events . 230

V. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA . . . . . 238

Statistical Approach to the Data . . . . . 238
Results . . . . . 239
Ethnic-Racial Perceptions . . . . . 239
African Cultural Remnants . . . . . 248
Household Structure, Marital Roles and Kinship Patterns . . . . . 262
Economic and Political Values . . . . . 266

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . . 270

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . 275

REFERENCE NOTES . . . . . 287

Page

APPENDICES . . . . . 289

APPENDIX A: Consent Form Authorizing Participation . . . . . 290

APPENDIX B: Letter Expressing Thanks to the Family . . . . . 292

APPENDIX C: Introductory Letter to Respondents
Interview Schedule . . . . . 294

APPENDIX D: Guide to Ethnographic Community Study . . . . . 309

APPENDIX E: Guide to African Cultural Remnants . . . . . 314

APPENDIX F: Scales and Indices . . . . . 319

## LIST OF TABLES


| Table | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Median Income for Charleston County and Yonges Island, 1960 and 1970 | 113 |
| 2 | Status of African Americans in Agriculture Charleston, South Carolina | 114 |
| 3 | Population of Charleston County and Yonges Island by Race, 1860-1980 | 116 |
| 4 | Marital Status of the Population by Sex and Race | 119 |
| 5 | Household Structure of the Population for Charleston County and Yonges Island in 1960 and 1970 | 120 |
| 6 | Occupations of African Americans in Yonges Island and Charleston County | 121 |
| 7 | Median Years of Education by Race and County from 1940-1970 | 133 |
| 8 | Health Needs--City of Charleston 1880-1920 | 138 |
| 9 | Demographic Characteristics of the Simmons and Avery(a) Families | 150 |
| 10 | Differences in Educational Level of Members of the Avery(a) and Simmons Family | 153 |
| 11 | Occupations (In Percentages) of Simmons Family Members Over Three Generations | 155 |
| 12 | Demographic Characteristics of the Marital Dyad--Simmons Respondents | 157 |
| 13 | The Effect of Economic and Political Events on Members of the Avery(a) and Simmons Family (In Percentages) | 168 |
| 14 | Population of Johnston County and Smithfield by Race from 1860-1977 | 175 |

| Table | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| 15 | Household Structure of the Population for Johnston County by Race | 176 |
| 16 | Marital Status of the Population by Sex and Race | 178 |
| 17 | Median Income for Johnston County and Smithfield for 1960 and 1970 | 187 |
| 18 | Status of Agriculture, Johnston County, North Carolina | 189 |
| 19 | Occupations in Johnston County and Smithfield, North Carolina by Race and Sex | 190 |
| 20 | Occupations of Three Generations of the Avery(a) Family (In Percentages) | 219 |
| 21 | Demographic Characteristics of the Marital Dyad--Avery(a) Respondents | 223 |
| 22 | Mann-Whitney Test Summary Table | 239 |
| 23 | Effects of Racial Composition of the Population on Family Members | 241 |
| 24 | Perceived Similarities and Differences Between White and African American Families--Avery(a) and Simmons Responses | 244 |
| 25 | Contingency Table for Chi Square Analysis Family Values | 245 |
| 26 | Significant Findings of African Cultural Remnants | 249 |
| 27 | Naming Practices Found in Avery(a) and Simmons Families | 259 |
| 28 | Patterns of Changes in the Household Structure of the Avery(a) and Simmons Families | 263 |
| 29 | Occupations of Avery(a) and Simmons Respondents | 268 |

## LIST OF FIGURES


| Figure | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Kinship Structure, Simmons Family, South Carolina (1860-1979) . . . . . | 146 |
| 2 | Kinship Structure, Avery(a) Family, North Carolina (1860-1979) . . . . . | 210 |

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

It appears that family research is relatively young. This is partially due to the fact that the family was considered a sacred institution unavailable as a source for empirical research. Although in recent decades, the family has moved from its position of sanctity to a fruitful area for empirical study, further research is needed for an understanding of all families. The need is specifically dire for the African-American family.

Literature about African-American families is laced with many existing myths and contradictory views. These contradictory views are partially due to the fact that differing theoretical frameworks have been applied to research in this area. In turn, this has led to varying interpretations of the data.

An additional dilemma, as noted by Billingsley (1973), is that the African American family has not always been considered to merit scientific investigation. Billingsley traced the conception of the African American family as a research topic over time, noting various levels of social respectability. During the stage of Darwinism, the emphasis in family research was on primitive families, but African Americans were not included in this era of family research. It was only in the late depression years that such writers as Frazier (1939), Drake and Cayton (1945) and Davie (1949) began to study the Negro

family and to demonstrate that it was indeed a credible subject for scientific inquiry.

The decade of the 1960's, as described by Billingsley marked the emergence of analysis of the African-American family in relation to social problems. With increasing attention to the issues of poverty, crime, delinquency, and illegitimacy, African-American families were heralded in the literature both as "victim" (Liebow, 1967; Rodman, 1963) and "culprit" (Rainwater, 1970).

In the writer's opinion, too much emphasis has been placed on the existence of these two roles in the American society. Only minimal research has been done on "average" African-American families, who do not create social problems for a larger society and therefore function as neither "victim" nor "culprit." These average families have developed cultural patterns which are transmitted over generations and adaptive strategies which are used to cope with societal changes. These accumulated patterns of values and norms have not been systematically studied. A casual observation suggests that these are characteristic of an ethnic/racial group and its impact on societal institutions. Authorities in the field must concern themselves with this neglect of African-American families. This present investigation is undertaken in response to the need for a better understanding of African-American families in the field of family research. The lessons learned from this investigation may be useful in the study of other ethnic/racial and ethnic groups.

This study is proposed to get at this general problem in several ways. From one perspective, the writer will investigate African

American culture in two rural extended families. One of these families has considerable contact with the dominant culture, while the other has been relatively isolated for several generations and has had limited contact with the dominant culture. Biographical information on these two rural families is used to study family patterns as they are revealed over the generations. At the same time, the writer proposed to search for the defining characteristics of the racial-ethnic culture.

The study was also designed to investigate the interplay between an ethnic culture as evidenced in these two families and economic/political institutions of the dominant white society. These economic/political variables will be examined in detail as they impinge upon these families.

Finally, the investigator will attempt to identify and elucidate the African cultural remnants found in the racial-ethnic culture as manifested in these two families. These cultural traits help to substantiate the existence of an African-American culture in a pluralistic society.

## Ideological Perspectives on African American Families

The family is the repository of a group's values and norms which are transmitted to future generations. Each generation has structures and functions necessary for the survival of the family in keeping with cultural norms and values. However, the structure and functions of a family in one generation are likely to be modified, adapted, and added to in succeeding generations. Thus as structures

and functions change, so do the norms and values that compose the family patterns.

American culture is often conceptualized as homogeneous with a single standard for all families. On the assumption that there is a common culture for all ethnic groups, a common conceptual framework is used for interpreting family life styles. This single standard for all American families is more typical of the white middle class model which is nuclear in structure and function. Differences in lifestyle from this norm are perceived as deviations. Thus the African-American family is conceptualized as a deviation. Although there are many variations this deviance implies not only difference but also inability to conform to societal expectations and to be assimilated into the dominant culture. Using this conceptual framework African-American families have been viewed by some in a negative, pathological manner.

For example, Frazier (1949) stated that African Americans were stripped of their culture during slavery and were being assimilated into the dominant culture. Frazier continued by saying:

> The majority of Negroes were forced to draw upon the meager social heritage which they acquired during slavery. The survival of the Negro in American civilization is a measure of success in adopting the culture of whites or indication of the fact that the Negro found within the white man's culture a satisfying life and faith in the future. (p. 22)*

This way of conceptualizing African American families has guided a good deal of research in recent years. Frazier predicted

---

* The term black or Negro will not be changed to African American in direct quotes but will be used throughout other parts of the text.

societal assimilation for the African-American family and discounted the presence of an ethnic culture. His interpretations of the African American-family became the basis for some of the social problem oriented research of the 1960's and 70's.

Moynihan relied heavily on the writings of Frazier. In The Negro Family: The Care for National Action (1965), Moynihan identified the roots of such social problems as crime, delinquency, illegitimacy, in patterns found in higher quantities within the African-American family than in the American ideal family. He asserted that the fundamental source of weakness in the African-American community was the deteriorated state of the family. The African-American family was perceived as "a tangled web of pathology." These social problems, according to Moynihan, could be alleviated only by modification of the African-American family.

Other social scientists have accounted for the deviance and pathology of African-American families in still different ways. Rainwater (1973) stated that African Americans were inadequately socialized to achieve the dominant cultural standards. In addition, he claims that African Americans developed inadequate personalities and therefore were unable to pattern their families in ways consistent with the norms of the dominant culture. Oscar Lewis (1966) introduced the concept of the "culture of poverty" and characterized this culture as "a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class stratified, highly individualized capitalistic society." People experienced "feelings of hopelessness and despair with the realization of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society" (p. xiii). Lewis cited

chronic institutional problems such as discrimination and unemployment as fostering the continuation of this culture, which was transmitted over generations. Within this "culture of poverty" resided those problems which Moynihan (1965) attributed to family weakness. African Americans, according to Lewis, were a part of these poor; and to correct their culture, the standard of living had to be increased and interventions undertaken by psychiatrists. Lewis represented African Americans as victims caught in his "culture of poverty." Being a victim implies being deviant, different from the expected norm.

Gordon (1964) stated that Anglo-conformity has been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation in the American society. Entrance into the institutions and primary groups of the dominant culture called structural assimilation was a relatively easy process for those ethnic-racial groups who had denounced their ancestral heritage. African Americans are reported in the literature as an ethnic-racial group with no vestiges of African culture (Elkins, 1959; Fogel and Engerman, 1975; Frazier, 1949). Following this line of reasoning, structural assimilation should have occurred. However, African Americans have not achieved structural assimilation. Thus, there must be other reasons for their failure to do so.

Gordon (1964) and Scanzoni (1971) looked to the dominant culture for answers and concluded that racism and discrimination were an inhibiting factor. Differences in families were not the result of culture, race or ideology but the consequence of white discrimination. However, this type of theorizing again places African Americans in the role of "victim" and fails to consider

other explanations for family differences.

This writer suggests that a feasible explanation for differences can be found in the nature of culture. American culture is not monolithic with a single standard of values and norms but a composite of diverse ethnic, social and cultural interests. Thus American culture is pluralistic in nature. The existence of African Americans and other ethnic groups disavows the concept of a single standard. African Americans are an ethnic-racial group with their own culture. Their norms and values are grounded in Africanism and modified by subsequent generations. Segregation which was the result of racism and discrimination provided the fertile ground necessary for the growth of this culture.

On the other hand, under close scrutiny, the structure and functions of the African-American family can be found to be both similar to and different from the dominant culture. Families in America are similar because of a common political and economic milieu. In plural societies, the economic and political institutions are shared. These similarities are explained on the basis of action in these two spheres of American society. Differences reflect the existence of ethnic-racial groups with their own culture and indicate a pluralistic society. The concept of the culturally pluralistic society thus provides a realistic basis for the study of the African-American family.

## Significance of the Study

This study was intended to provide an in-depth analysis of two African-American families by an investigator whose specialty area

is family relations and who also happens to be an African American. This method allowed for the exploration of family patterns over generations and the description of the dynamic nature of family interaction. The latter view is often lost in research which utilizes large samples and different designs. The present view appears in the products of other disciplines as case studies and is often not seen as credible research because of the absence of quantitative data. The present study combines the case study approach with quantitative quantifiable data.

The recording of family data does much to preserve knowledge about African-American rural families. This is especially important for the Gullah culture which has recently been inundated by the influx of other ethnic groups into the area and the resort development planned for the Sea Islands.

Finally, this study provides support for a theoretical model which will be useful in studying the African-American family. The study thus goes beyond the focus of deviance and social problems and attempts to expand the literature in the field.

# CHAPTER II

# REVIEW OF LITERATURE

## Introduction

Marriage and the family are universal concepts manifested in all societies in one form or another. Regardless of a country's political, religious or cultural institutions, these two concepts are significant for the continuation of that society. Families become the vehicle by which the societal norms, values and behaviors are transmitted to future generations (Bottomere, 1971; Mathis, 1978).

The goal of science is to understand, to predict and to control phenomena. An understanding of families is in keeping with the tenets of scientific research. Such understanding comes from constructing a theoretical framework that is used as glasses through which one peers at the phenomena under study. Mathis (1978) emphasized the importance of a theoretical framework when he stated that there is a critical relationship between the framework for interpretation and the validity of the information acquired in an investigation.

This critical relationship is particularly significant for study of the African-American family. Supporters of varying conceptual frameworks have reported contradictory findings on African-American families. The connotations of deviance and pathology, as well as health and adaptability, are reflected in findings on these families.

Different theoretical frameworks have thus contributed to different interpretations of family data.

Historical analysis of a phenomenon serves as a basis for noting changes over time. The African-American family, like families of other ethnic groups, has experienced the impact of historical events. Nobles (1978) pointed out that "only in analyzing the concrete historical conditions of the black family and the cultural nature of the family can we understand its behavioral outcomes" (p. 687).

In studying the African American family, it is important to recognize that there is not a homogeneous, monolithic African-American family type (Staples, 1971; Nobles, 1978). It is also important to ascertain the strains of similarities in behaviors, to capture the ethos of a people, to discern a cultural theme.

The literature review which follows is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the concept of culture on a macro and micro level of analysis, with the African-American culture and the Gullah people representing the microanalysis. There is a review of the basic tenets of the theoretical framework of this study. The second section of the review covers the descriptions of African-American families and their changes over time, from 1860 to 1979. The description focuses on the variables of this study, which include household structure, kinship patterns, marital roles, African cultural remnants, economic/political values and participation, and ethnic/racial consciousness. Each of these areas is a subject which could be discussed in entire books or chapters. The discussion provides no more than a cursory glimpse at each topic, discussing only the

aspects relevant to this study.

There are contrasting views of African-American families in the literature. Differences are also cited between rural and urban families. This review describes primarily the rural Southern African-American family. Although the review is confined to a geographic area, the investigator recognizes that the description is not accurate for every African-American family even within this region. There are individual family differences which are not feasible to report in such a work as this.

## The American Culture

When one thinks of "culture," one typically imagines the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands who have undergone intensive anthropological studies over time. There seems more novelty in discussing some aboriginal culture than in discussing the dominant culture in the society in which one lives. Often, it is assumed that one is aware of the culture in which one lives; therefore, to study it would be a waste of time. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) surveying the literature for definitions of culture, found it to be a construct which describes the total body of beliefs, behaviors, knowledge, sanctions, values and goals that mark the way of life of any people. Culture is defined by Woods (1956) as the composite of specific ways of thinking, feeling and acting which differentiate one group from another. Blauner (1970) stated that culture has been narrowly defined as having three attributes: a distinctive language, a unique religion and a national homeland. He suggested extending this

definition and defined culture as "the integrated way of life, that system of customs, institutions, beliefs, and values that fit together into some organic whole, perhaps dominated by a central ethos" (p. 350). Gordon (1964) stated that culture is the social heritage of men, the ways of acting and doing things which are passed from one generation to another via teaching and demonstration (p. 32).

Concepts are derived from the study of cultures. Terms relevant to the understanding of culture in this study are values, traits, remnants, artifacts, borrowing, assimilation, acculturation and intervention. The terms are descriptive of the processes which occur over time in cultures. The first of these to be discussed are values. Values are those individual personal qualities which are considered to be desirable by people in a given culture. Gellin (1955), in a study of national and regional values in the United States, defined values as conceptions regarded as desirable with respect to human beings' behavior in relation to each other and the non-human universe.

Gellin enumerated a list of dominant cultural values in the United States which included a need for personal output of energy through work, a mechanistic and precise world view, pragmatic ingenuity and individualism. Individualism as a value includes equality of people, status achievement through one's own efforts, generosity, and competitiveness, with overall social conformity. An American should be an honest, moral, optimistic individual seeking reciprocal love, power, change, novelty and efficiency all under the guise of

fair play. Competitiveness and individualism appear to be in opposition to the values of cooperation and fair play; however, through the process of synthesis, these contradictory but interacting forces are reconciled.

Gillin (1955) noted that in the Southeastern region, family relations are strong and status and power tend to be based on kinship connection. Pragmatic ingenuity and the mechanistic world view evidenced by cleanliness and orderliness are rated lower in this region than by the remainder of the culture. Mobility is considered a necessary evil. Competitiveness, change and optimism are restrained by the power of the kinship system. Having freedom from outside influences is regionally important, as is the attitude of solving one's problems without the assistance of outsiders. White supremacy, intergroup violence and idealization of the white woman as a "lady" are values which in the 50's were cited as being peculiar to this region. These values described as peculiar to the Southeastern region are transmitted over generations as part of the regional culture.

An additional concept which explains the incorporation of regional values among family members is acculturation. Cultural borrowing or acculturation involves the adoption by one group of the patterns of another culture. Cultural artifacts are often borrowed as they are perceived as useful for a new culture. Acculturation also involves the transmission of values and patterns to children of different generations. Assimilation is the most pervasive of these cultural processes, where all cultural traits are merged.

Park (1950) defined the process of assimilation as occurring in four independent stages: contact, conflict, accommodation and assimilation. According to this model, assimilation is an inevitable process of race relations. Under close scrutiny, it appears that Park confined his theory of assimilation to the merging of cultural behaviors and by inference to secondary relationships. His theory is limited only to one form of assimilation which Gordon (1974) later refers to as acculturation or cultural assimilation. Extrinsic cultural patterns are those that are assimilated according to Park's model.

Although the views of Park explained a beginning type of assimilation and were abstraction of the ideal process, it has merit in describing the evolution of secondary group participation and cultural assimilation for African Americans. The involvement of African Americans through each of the stages is discussed in the following subsections.

## Contact

Park (1950) described contact as the interaction of ethnic groups within a geographic region. In the past, African Americans primarily interacted with the dominant culture in the Southern region of the country, although there was early minimal contact in the North. Prior to 1865, first generation immigrant families to this country were of English, French, Dutch, Scottish, Welsh, German, and Irish ancestry. African Americans had the opportunity to interact with these immigrants from Northwestern Europe as well as with American

Indians (La Gumina and Cavaioli, 1974; Roberts, 1914).

Himes (1949) described cultural assimilation of African Americans as proceeding along two principal lines: the direct personal contacts between African Americans and the dominant culture; and the acquisition of American culture through institutions such as schools and churches. A third line would consist of contact through the media of television, radio, newspapers, books, etc. These lines of contact have differed in their prominence over the history of race relations in this country.

## Conflict

The second stage as outlined by Parks is conflict or competition for valuable resources. The social system of the U.S. is characterized by imposition, domination, stratification, and inequality. The nature of the slavery system forced freedom to be withheld, with simultaneous attempts at securing it (Wilson, 1973). The control of the political institutions by the dominant group and the asymmetrical action in economic institutions created further imbalance of resources (van den Berghe, 1970). The beginnings of the relationship between African Americans and the dominant society were thus shrouded in conflict.

Himes (1973) says that conflict facilitates linkage between the individual and his local reference group. Racism and discrimination against African Americans intensified the conflict relationship and thus contributed to the development of a separate ethnic culture (Blauner, 1970; Cohen, 1974; Watts, 1974).

M.G. Smith (1965) and P. van den Berghe (1970) perceive cultural pluralism as having its basis in conflict. The dominant culture is maintained through the use of force and subjugation. Perceptual differences are an additional factor which enhance social and cultural pluralism. African Americans were perceived as different in this society because of racial features, which are not as easily overcome as traditions and family patterns. Sporadic conflict between the dominant culture and the African Americans appears to have characterized racial relationships for approximately three hundred years.

## Accommodation

Park (1950) defined accommodation as a temporary stable state in which the races are unequal. The literature alludes to this stage of race relations as "periods of acquiescence." Periods of acquiescence are characterized primarily by secondary contacts which are external and remote. The periods of slavery, Jim Crow, and the present decade represent times which reflect accommodation. Theorists of race relations appear to be more cognizant of conflict than of accommodation and the literature reflects this (Cohen, 1974; Himes, 1973; Stone, 1970).

## Assimilation

Park (1950) stated that assimilation was the final stage in which races are merged culturally and physically into a homogeneous culture. This "ideal" goal was thought to be a natural consequence of the preceding three stages. However as noted in the literature,

African Americans have participated in the preceding three stages and have not been assimilated as theorized. This failure of assimilation further supports criticism of the theory as merely an abstraction.

Milton Gordon (1964) stated that the focus of culture in this country has historically been on assimilation. The concept was defined as inclusive of the process of acculturation and amalgamation. Through the fusion of cultures, the product of assimilation was thought to be a nation of one people who experience both historical and participational identification with a core group. As indicated earlier, this conceptualization of assimilation by Park does not adequately reflect race relations in this country. Gordon continued by stating that there are three theories of assimilation: Anglo-conformity, the "melting pot" conceptualization, and cultural pluralism. Anglo-conformity and the "melting pot" conceptualization are similar in that success in each are measured by the single standard of values and norms of the dominant culture. The "melting pot" provides for the greatest input from all ethnic-racial and ethnic groups.

Gordon (1964) outlined seven subprocesses of assimilation: cultural (acculturation), structural, marital (amalgamation), identificational, attitude receptional, behavior receptional and civic assimilation. He theorized that African Americans have experienced only aspects of cultural assimilation. There exists a hierarchical arrangement of these subprocesses and structural

assimilation is necessary for the others to evolve.

Frazier (1939) was partially correct in his assertion that the process of race relations would result in assimilation of African Americans in the dominant culture. Conclusions reached after careful examination of Frazier's writings indicated the presence of the misnomer of assimilation for acculturation. The results reported (Frazier, 1962) indicated cultural assimilation had occurred in the family and work patterns of African Americans.

Cultural assimilation refers to the utilization of a common language, religion, dress patterns and participation in secondary groups. Acculturation or cultural assimilation does not include a sense of peoplehood, primary group participation, intermarriage, or the absences of prejudices, discrimination, and power conflicts. These are characteristic of the other subprocesses. Subsequent research (Herkovits, 1938; Mathis, 1978) indicated that the religion and language of African Americans have qualities distinctive from the dominant culture. Thus not all aspects of cultural assimilation are applicable to African Americans.

African Americans have not achieved structural assimilation. Blauner (1970) stated that other factors prevent this from occurring. He stated that African Americans must be united in an ethnic group prior to structural assimilation into the larger society. He conceptualized a two-variable model to explain this assimilation of ethnic groups. Other ethnic groups, he said, came to America with established values, traditions and cultural traits and chose over generations to exchange these for values of the dominant culture.

In contrast African Americans as a people came to America without being united into an ethnic group. The diversity of backgrounds and culture of African Americans (Mathis, 1978) contributed to the absence of an united culture and brought a reversal of the process of assimilation. According to this model, African Americans needed to develop into an ethnic group prior to structural assimilation into the dominant culture.

After the arrival of African Americans to this country, the beginnings of an ethnic group emerged out of common experience. However, the issue of "black power" or ethnic awareness reached its apex in the decade of the 1960's (Baker, 1971; Drake, 1971; Stone, 1970). Billingsley (1968) theorized that this conception as an ethnic group captured the reality of the existence of African Americans as a people. Common values and norms permeated the relationships of African Americans. These interactions affirmed the existence of an African-American culture. This new awareness of identity and peoplehood was being behaviorally and attitudinally legitimated in the African American community.

Presently, the terms used for self-designation of African Americans connote social characteristics and consciously adopted patterns of behaviors, sentiments and values which are sharply distinctive and perhaps discontinuous with the dominant cultural tradition. Emergence into ethnic group status is subjectively defined by the members of the group, on the basis of their perceptions. The choice to become structurally assimilated into the dominant culture

must be wrestled with in the future, in accordance with the degree of feasibility for such assimilation. Racism and discrimination remain determining factors.

Other reasons for the absence of structural assimilation include the history of African Americans, their importation to this country by force and their relegation to the lowest social stratum in the society. Also, the African culture which they brought with them varied significantly from the culture of other immigrants. European immigrants shared regional similarities in patterns of daily living, weather conditions and racial features, specifically skin color.

Studies by Baker (1971), Goode (1961), Himes (1973), and Watts (1974) noted that racism and discrimination promoted the preservation of the major elements of cultural patterns, customs, languages and religious practices of African Americans. Park (1921) stated that assimilation occurs only if an ethnic group can participate in the economic and political life without prejudice, which further supports the lack of structural assimilation for African Americans. Finally, in emphasizing the impact of racism on assimilation, Blauner (1970) asserted that racist oppression more than social class exploitation was the basis for elaborate ethnic responses.

Valentine and Valentine (1971, 1975) introduced the bicultural model to explain the current status of African Americans in this society. Valentine stated that exposure of African Americans to the dominant American culture produces dual acculturation or biculturation. African Americans are reported to be socialized into two cultures as a survival mechanism. According to the model, the life style of African

Americans reflects elements of both cultures.

Critics of this model, who are in keeping with this investigator's theoretical frame of reference, do not perceive African Americans as having two cultures. Simpkins, Williams and Gunnings (1971) in their rejoinder to the authors, stated that the bicultural model was a euphemistic label used to compare African Americans with the dominant cultural norms thus continuing the deviant view. The limited sampling of behaviors of African Americans does not reflect their total culture. Simpkins et al (1971) suggested that the behaviors noted could easily indicate a familiarity with a different culture through contact rather than representing biculturation.

This familiarity with the dominant culture has been a theme in African American literature for decades. DuBois (1961) described this occurrence as "twoness or double consciousness." Blauner (1970) and Herskovits (1973) described the ambivalence experienced by African Americans as they interact with the dominant culture. African Americans have a distinctive culture with one set of values for daily community living and another for interacting within the economic and political spheres of the dominant culture. These norms and values deal with different aspects of everyday life and do not indicate the schizophrenic state of having two systems of opposing norms.

Frazier (1939) pointed out that the survival of the African American in American civilization is a measure of the group's success in adopting the culture of the dominant ethnic group. Although adoption is not evident in structural assimilation, it is manifested

in the common political and economic behaviors. Americans interact in the market place and share some values of the dominant culture in the economic and political spheres (Smith, 1965). More explicitly stated, according to the cultural pluralist model, ethnic groups behave similarly in the political and economic spheres of the society (van den Berghe, 1970).

It appears that neither the bicultural model proposed by the Valentines nor Gordon's assimilation model (Anglo-conformity or the "melting pot" conceptualization) adequately explains race relations in America. Both theorists stated that African Americans do share some cultural values with the members of the dominant culture which illustrated cultural assimilation had been achieved. However, the overlapping of ethnic-racial values and norms with those of the dominant culture appears to be contradictory to the tenets of biculturation. The degree of assimilation appears to be the determining factor in evaluating these models.

Integration of ethnic groups in a cultural pluralist model more accurately portrays race relations in American society (Gordon, 1964). According to this model, differences are manifestations of a viable and well delineated culture which is pluralistic in nature. Ethnic behavior patterns are different and are not passive responses to white dominant culture (Simpkins et al, 1971). Gordon stated that an "ideal" form of cultural pluralism does not exist in this society. Legitimation of pluralism has not occurred among all segments of the society. Although African Americans are the second largest ethnic group in the society, the values of the American culture reflect the

dominant ethnic group. Ethnocentrism on the part of whites has contributed to the image of a "white man's country" (Park, 1950). Baker (1971) stated that culture in America is defined as something "spiritual, transcendental and white." Herskovits (1973) noted that the definition of what is normal or abnormal is relative to the cultural frame of reference. Judgments are based on experience, and experience is interpreted by each individual in terms of his own enculturation. Any description of the American culture at this time primarily consists of the values of the dominant ethnic group. African Americans as individuals have had an impact upon the dominant culture, but the ethnic group itself has not made such a contribution (Gordon, 1964).

The literature on race and ethnicity cited here supports the view that a form of cultural pluralism exists in American society. Using this model, African Americans may be considered to be an ethnic group with its own culture currently sequestered in the ghettos and more sparsely in nuclei in suburbia and rural America. Details of this culture are described below.

## African-American Culture

The controversy on the absence or presence of an African-American culture has been well documented (Blassingame, 1972; Elkins, 1959; Frazier, 1939; Herskovits, 1941; Johnson, 1934, 1943; Whitten and Szwed, 1970). Proponents of the absence of such a culture (Elkins, 1959; Frazier, 1939) have made explicit assertions that are widely recognized in the field. It is only recently that proponents of the

presence of African-American culture have been perceived as credible theorists. The subject will not be further debated here. This investigator will present only those theoretical writings and studies which support the existence of the African-American culture as specified by a cultural pluralistic framework.

Baker (1971) pointed out that the only way to arrive at an understanding of African-American culture is to comprehend fully the impact of historical events. African-Americans' history in this country began as they embarked as slaves and continued throughout the decades with varying levels of progress. Numerous historical events, especially those of economic or political significance, have influenced the course of development of an African American culture. Blauner's (1970) description of African-American culture follows such a typology. This description is the model for the discussion below, which cites Africanism, slavery, Emancipation, regional impact, migration, industrialization, and racism as sources of African American culture.

Though the culture is overwhelmingly the produce of the American experience, the first contributing source is still African. According to Turnbull (1976), "the slaves who were exported to the Americas were Africans before they were slaves and Africans afterwards and their descendents are still Africans today" (p. 242). Although the latter portion of this statement may not represent a view held by most theorists, it does describe the significance of Africa as a source of African-American culture.

Mathis (1978) pointed out that African Americans came from a myriad of African societies--the number of cultures found in West Africa is considerable. He suggested that even if the cultures were isolated from each other, however, they still would share similar marital and family customs. In the discussion of African-American culture below, similarities are cited as either African cultural remnants or philosophical attitudes and values.

Specific African remnants have been documented in the literature by numerous authors. In an analysis of African Americans in the New World, Herskovits (1941, 1966) demonstrated the existence of African remnants in the music, art, songs, dances, motor movements and healing practices of African Americans. The fervor of traditional religion was cited by Herskovits (1941), Blauner (1970) and Turnbull (1976) as qualitatively different from other forms of Protestant religions. The mysticism and the level of expression represented African culture. Naming practices, specifically for older persons or grandparents, are thought to be of African American (Billingsley, 1968). Children's names often indicate the time of birth, conditions surrounding it, or the temperament or appearance of the child (Turner, 1949; Herskovits, 1966). According to Genovese (1974), the African American "work ethic" is of both European and African heritage and stresses hard work as a moral duty. Benovolent societies, lodges and secret associations are part of the African patterns of relationships. These organizations and mutual aid societies provide assistance during times of crisis specifically during funeral rites of members or their parents. Cooperative work patterns are a part of the communal

living arrangements evident in tribal groups (Herskovits, 1941).

Whitehead (1978) suggested that when examining African American culture, one should analyze the expressive or symbolic aspects of the culture. Evidence of African remnants in communication and language patterns, attitudes about family and kinship, and the philosophical world view all attest to the validity of Whitehead's assertion.

Mathis (1978) asserted that the significance of the works of M. Herskovits lay in the area of interpersonal behavior and deep-level communication. Young (1970) utilized the findings of Herskovits in her field study of 41 African-American families in Georgia. Young pointed out that the interpersonal behavior begins with the holding of the infant and his involvement in a primarily human environment until he reaches the "knee baby" age. At that time, the human environment is maintained in the play "gang" relationships. The child experiences many interpersonal relationships, and because of the fluidity of roles in the African-American family both males and females participate in the fondling of children. According to Young (1970), these behaviors are utilized to a greater degree and are more intensely experienced in African Americans than individuals of the dominant culture. Although individualism is stressed in child rearing patterns, relatedness and mutuality are also taught. Giving and receiving characterize the meals of the family, which do not become routinized as in the dominant culture (Young, 1970).

Following Herskovits' description of deep level communication, Young noted that among African Americans verbal exchange is kept at a

minimum level. Communication is expressed through direct eye contact, and through the caressing of the bodies of infants and children. Non-verbal responses are characteristic of the culture, differing from the emphasis on verbalization found in the dominant culture. Directions are given for tasks with few words. Using a series of names throughout an individual's life is another form of communication (Herskovits, 1941). These behaviors which demonstrate intimacy and deep level communication are expressed in small groups or in solely African-American groups. Turner (1949) stated that some behaviors are not manifested in the presence of other ethnic groups.

Billingsley (1968), examining African patterns of kinship and their similarities to African-American patterns, noted that the involvement of several generations of an African-American family living in different households was similar to the union of two family networks in the African culture. In African culture, families were united into an economic, religious and political unit. Males had a strong position in the family and patrilineal descent was the most common pattern. There existed a substantial role for women in the culture, and special emphasis was placed on children. Grandparents were held in high esteem and they often cared for the children in the family. Both sexes shared in child care and no apparent differences were found in parent-child relationships. Monogamy was the most common form of marriage. This brief synopsis of the family patterns described by Billingsley highlights some of the characteristics of the African-American family. Kin networks and family patterns are discussed in more detail in the literature section on the African-

American family.

A final aspect of African culture which has relevance for the African-American family is the philosophical position or world view. Nobles (1978) said the retention of the African attitude is more prevalent than African artifacts in the African-American culture. In the African world view, everything in the universe is considered endowed with "force" or "spirit." All things are interconnected, interdependent and "essentially" one with nature. These notions controlled social psychological relations within the community and determined the structure, functions, nature and definition of the family.

In this world view, there exists a deep sense of family and the individual owes his existence to all members of the family. The family performs important social and psychological functions, which are demonstrated in situations requiring adaptation. During periods of stress or at ceremonial times, the family provides the needed emotional or economic support for its constituents.

Another element of the world view, as asserted by Nobles, is the concept of "oneness of being;" humans are one with nature. The universe is viewed as dynamic, mobile, interconnected and vitalistic. Such examples of Africanity are evident in the religious, economic, political and family patterns of African Americans.

The second source of African-American culture was slavery. According to Himes (1949), interaction between slaves and their masters was the primary line of contact during this period. Conflict was also evident in the number of slave insurrections and escapes to freedom.

Although American slavery has been designated as more severe than other forms in the New World (Elkins, 1971), Carper (1970) noted that enslavement did not destroy the capacity to adapt and sustain vital familial and kin associations or beliefs. On the contrary, as Blassingame (1972) and Gordon (1974) point out, slavery allowed African Americans an opportunity to develop a set of cultural patterns which was different from the dominant culture and allowed the slaves opportunities for survival.

Elkins (1959) and Genovese (1974) studied slavery as an economic institution. Both authors described the development of the personalities of African Americans under the slave culture. Elkins (1959) presented a limited view and felt that African Americans experienced only one role, which was grounded in infantilism. Genovese (1974) disagreed with this limited view of personality development and asserted that the personality Elkin described was a "slavish" one and not indicative of any one ethnic group. Baker (1971) described the folk tales of African Americans and stated that characters such as Br'r Rabbit were a projection of the deepest and strongest drives of the slave personality. Blassingame (1972) said that slave behavior ranged the gamut from docility to open rebellion and the assumption of a slave role did not necessarily lead to the internalization of the slavemaster's norms.

The slave system ushered in an era of paternalistic race relations. Van den Berghe (1970) noted that paternalism occurred in the agricultural economy and mercantile capitalism. Division of labor occurred along racial lines, which served as parameters for the

caste system. The lower caste often accommodated and internalized their status while the upper caste displayed "benovolent despotism." This caste system remained stable over time and promoted proximity in the spatial distance between slaves and masters (Stampp, 1971).

The lowest caste of the American slave system was descendents from Africa. Out of this repressive system emerged a slave mentality (Blauner, 1970) and denigration of the African-American male self concept (Scanzoni, 1971). Slave families were disbanded and sold; individuals toiled in the field from dawn to dusk and suffered brutality at the hands of their owners. There were restrictions on behaviors of slaves and mobility was confined to a small geographic area. In spite of the negative consequences of this system, the African-American family emerged from slavery as a stable and primarily nuclear structure (Fogel and Engerman, 1974; Gutman, 1976). The father maintained his authority in the family and in the slave network of the plantation (Frazier, 1939; Young, 1970). The special attachment between mother and child remained as a continuation of the African culture but was specifically reinforced by the slave system. Matrifocality became the legacy of slavery (Labinjoh, 1974) and placed females in strategic positions in the family. The myth of the matriarchy evolved out of writings about this time. Studies done by Cromwell and Cromwell (1978), Dietrich (1975), and Ladner (1972) have confirmed the inappropriateness of this myth and therefore it will not be included as a characteristic of the African-American family. However, the concept of the African-American female as being strong rather than dominant is included here (Ladner, 1972).

The following quote by Blassingame (1972) summarizes the slave system as a contributor to the African American culture:

> Antebellum black slaves created several unique cultural forms which lightened their burden of oppression, promoted group solidarity, provided ways for verbalizing aggression, sustaining hope, building self-esteem, and often represented areas of life largely free from the control of whites. However oppressive or dehumanizing the plantation was, the struggle for survival was not severe enough to crush all the slave's creative instincts. Among the elements of slave culture were: an emotional religion, folk songs and tales, dances, and superstitions. Much of the slave's culture, language, customs, beliefs, and ceremonies--set him apart from his master. . . The more his cultural forms differed from those of his master and the more they were immune from the control of whites, the more the slave gained in personal autonomy and positive self concepts. (p. 41)

African Americans had a great deal of time during slavery in which they were not in contact with members of the dominant culture (Blassingame, 1972). During the periods of Emancipation and Reconstruction, the isolation became even more obvious. Contact between cultures was maintained mainly through educational and economic institutions (Frazier, 1939; Himes, 1949). More intimate contact was limited to interaction with those individuals proselytizing newly freed men into religions and legal marriages. The limited assistance provided through the Freedmen's Bureau also provided interaction between ethnic groups. Elkins (1971) stated that the absent or limited contact between ethnic groups was a result of the South's incapacity to imagine the African American in an adult role; thus relationships with former slaves were avoided.

Immediately after the Civil War, families continued to be stable. Much emphasis was placed on legalizing marital unions. Roles

of family members were solidified. Searches were made for family members who had been sold to other plantations. African Americans were winning political offices and felt they were in a position to guide their own destinies.

Concurrent with these advances was the development of a Freedman's culture, characterized by increased mobility, poverty and lower class existence (Blauner, 1970). By 1877, economic requirements for survival became the basis for insecurity. The failure to obtain land, their poor overcrowded housing and the realization that social mobility was not feasible brought about a crisis.

Although there was a lower class in the society, Billingsley noted that identification with it did not facilitate a sense of peoplehood for African Americans. This sense comes only as a result of historical identification, out of which emerges an ethnic group whose level of expression, dress and religious behaviors are significantly different from the dominant culture (Blauner, 1970).

However, out of this economic crisis emerged legalized family institutions, the desire for economic and educational opportunities, and finally the optimism that African Americans could persevere against temporary setbacks (Abzug, 1971). The optimism and vitalistic world view continue the African culture in African-American families.

Other sources of African American culture include the regional impact of racism and integration. Some aspects of African-American religion, soul food and linguistic styles are similar to their poor white counterparts in the Southeastern region of the United States (Herskovits, 1966). As Gellin (1955) noted, the importance of kinship

and its concomitant utilization of power and competitiveness are also regional values. The agrarian society of the South has further enhanced some of the communal behaviors remaining from the African culture. As these examples show, the interaction between African and southern culture contributed to the values known as African American.

Racism served as a source of African American culture by blocking participation in the dominant culture. According to Blauner (1970), racism encouraged the "flowering" of the African-American culture. Other authors cited earlier in this text also have supported racism as a source of African-American culture. Further documentation appears unnecessary at this time.

Finally, the period of integration and potential structural assimilation is currently influencing African-American culture. This period, according to Blauner (1970) is coinciding with the "upsurge of the group's sense of peoplehood and with the institutionalization of the culture . . . African Americans are torn in a deep and more profound sense than the 'marginal man' second generation immigrants" (p. 359).

Although all these sources have contributed to an African-American culture, a description of such a culture lacks unity and sometimes clarity. The major reason for this is that African Americans do not live in isolation or occupy a common ecological space. Although, African Americans are a large minority group, composing 11 percent of the population in 1971 (Golden and Tausky, 1977), they live in diverse environments. Furthermore, African Americans tend to conceal their

intimate interpersonal patterns from the white world. Behaviors demonstrated in secondary groups are not necessarily those that are present in intimate relationships. Primary group interactions are not as available for description and documentation.

Baker (1971) was able to note three features which he considered characteristic of the African-American culture, and these will be cited as a way of completing this section of the literature review: the African American culture is oral, collectivistic and repudiative in nature. The beginnings of this culture were in oral tradition, as is evident in the folklore of this ethnic group. The collectivistic ethos is in keeping with the African world view. African Americans have recognized that they would not participate in the dreams of individualism or individual advancement, but could benefit from changes in the nature of society and the social, economic, and political advancement of a whole race of people. Group progress reflects this collectivistic feature. Finally, the most salient feature of African-American culture is an index of repudiation. African-American culture has repudiated the dominant culture. An example of repudiation can be found by analyzing the themes in folklore. Baker (1971) found that the themes in African-American folklore were not about conquering the West or amassing great wealth. On the contrary, themes in African-American culture represented people as they perceived their situation, and were not attempts to mimic the dominant culture.

## Gullah Subculture

The Gullah subculture refers to those patterns found among the residents of the Sea Islands located from Georgetown, South Carolina, to Florida. There are approximately one thousand islands, ranging from

those too small to be inhabitable to John's Island, the second largest island in the United States. Jackson, Slaughter and Blake (1974) said that the unique history and geography of this region have combined to produce one of the most distinctive reservoirs of African culture in the United States.

The derivation of the term Gullah has been a subject of controversy. There are two theories, one citing Gullah as a corruption of the term Angola and the other referring to the Gola or Gora tribe who lived in Monrovia, Liberia. Johnson (1968) supported the Angola notion and based his interpretation on the documentation of the slave insurrection of 1822 led by Gullah Jack, a native of Angola. Gonzales (1922) and Smith (1926) supported the latter view on the derivation of the term Gullah. Evidence linking this tribe and slaves transported to the Charleston area was the basis of their argument. The literature since that time appears to give more credence to this latter view and this is therefore the position taken by this investigator.

The islanders remained isolated from the time of their arrival during the slave trade until after World War I (Gonzales, 1922; Jackson et al, 1974). During the post war era, bridges were erected which made the islands accessible by other means than boats. By 1940, there was direct access to the mainland from most of the islands. The existence of large plantations and the fact that Charleston served as a key port during slavery accounted for the vast numbers of African Americans in the area. African Americans composed the majority of the population with a peak ratio of 9:1 in 1840. On numerous plantations, the white owners and overseers were the only whites present. There was limited

contact with the dominant culture. Parks (1950) stated that contact with the dominant culture in the Sea Islands was restricted to the master's winter visit from the north. Although there was minimal contact with the dominant culture, there remained contact with Africa through the slave trade until 1858 (Jackson et al., 1974).

The Slave Trade Act of 1808 made illegal the bartering for slaves, but because of the isolation of the islands, illegal importation of cargoes directly from Africa continued to 1858 in such slave ships as the "Wanderer." The slaves who lived in this region came directly from Africa and had not been socialized in other areas, as was characteristic of the slaves in North Carolina. Retention of many elements of the African culture was possible, and these were manifested in a distinctive African-American culture.

In a study of the Gullah culture, Jackson et al. (1968) found evidence of remnants of African culture in the birth and naming practices, motor movements, fishing practices, the use of gourds and shells and local crafts. The style of dress for women had distinctive African roots. Language patterns were also found to be indicative of African culture.

Because of the duration of the slave trade, second generation African descendents were alive in the 1930's and 1940's. Wells (1967) and Montgomery (1908) studied these descendents and found the presence of raconteurs or "story tellers" a remnant of African culture in the Sea Islands.

Classic descriptions of the Gullah culture were done by Mason Crum (1940), Johnson (1926), Gonzales (1922), and Turner (1949).

Herskovits cited the Gullah culture as having distinct remnants of African culture. These studies were historical or anthropological in focus and out of such works developed a view of an isolated people with African features and who spoke the Gullah dialect. Their day-to-day lives included some of the behaviors cited earlier as being African in origin.

The Gullah dialect has been the subject of numerous studies. Crum (1940, 1968) and Johnson (1968) stated initially that there was interaction between African slaves and indentured servants who spoke the English dialect. Slaves learned the English language and through transference over generations and the isolation of the islands, this dialect remained and later became known as Gullah. Johnson (1968) surmised that the dialect resulted from simplification of the English language to assist in the learning of a common language by African people. Johnson then is saying that the origin of the Gullah dialect is not African but English. However, he stated that the intonation, speed and pitch inflection are indicative of an African culture. Gonzales (1922) studied the dialect and concluded that it derived from a combination of Shakespearean English and African words denoting gender, tenses and similes. He also felt that the resolute and persistent character of the African people fixed the tonality of the Gullah dialect.

Turner (1949) refuted the studies done by Crum and Johnson, and saw the Gullah dialect as rooted in the African language. The Gullah people, he said, tended to interact differently with white researchers and this created a bias in the reported studies. In his

intimate interactions with the Gullah people, Turner was able to demonstrate the presence of four thousand African words in the "everyday" language of these African Americans. The list of words he compiled included cradle names for children, prayers, rituals, and a few words used in ordinary conversation. All these words were not used by all the subjects in his study and therefore did not indicate a common awareness of the language.

Herskovits (1941) supported Turner's view and described the existence of the Gullah dialect as a product of trait diffusion. Trait diffusion refers to the process by which the African and English languages merged to form a new language containing components of both. The Gullah dialect is spoken by the older residents of the Sea Islands currently as it has been spoken for over two hundred years.

Little research has been done on contemporary Gullah culture. During the 1960's and early 1970's several books and movies representing popular ideas were done and widely assimilated. The Carawans (1966) and Conway (1972) described the islanders in a picturesque manner. Jackson et al. (1974) criticized these works as being shallow, limited, and in some cases distortions of the lives of their subjects.

Jackson et al. (1974) studied the contemporary Gullah culture and concluded that "the area manifested an extraordinary syncretism of African, American and slave patterns, plus an overlay of contemporary American life and culture. It is probably the most unique pattern of black culture to be found anywhere" (p. 35). Their study included the impact of slavery, survival patterns, and socio-psychological issues.

Slavery continues to affect the islanders, for many of the islands continue to bear their plantation names. The plantations have been restored and are listed as historical landmarks. African Americans have the same names as their slave owners. Jackson et al. (1974) noted that interactions between individuals with the same name continued to be structured by the history of slavery. Patterns of behaviors remained consistent over time.

The perception and utilization of time for story telling and the ability to forecast weather without instruments are traits of contemporary Gullah culture. Utilization of porpoises as partners while fishing is another unique trait of this culture.

Jordan (1976) described the poverty in the area: housing consisted of clapboard shanties, and there was a hand-to-mouth existence off the food raised in gardens or the crabs and fish obtained from the sea. Folk remedies cured the sick. Religion was more African than American, including prayer possessing, music and dancing.

The Gullah people reside in an area in which they are the majority, which has had socio-psychological implications for them as a group. The concept of cultural pluralism is applicable here though with the addition of the reverse of the population trends evident in the remainder of the country. Jackson et al. (1974), Jordan (1976), and Wood (1974) attributed a positive perception of the Gullah people as a group to the racial composition of the area in which they lived. By virtue of the absence of whites in the post Civil War period, African Americans owned their own land. The positive

perception of themselves and land ownership was reflected in a sense of independence demonstrated by greater reliance on their own skills for survival. Jackson et al. (1974) stated that the self doubt and sense of inadequacy and inferiority often cited as characteristic of the African American psyche are not found to the same degree in the Sea Islands.

These positive perceptions were associated with the political activism in the 1950's and 60's, which had its roots in the Reconstruction Period. Even earlier, Gullah men had served as volunteers in an African American regiment for the Union Army and had earlier still participated in the Denmark Vesey rebellion of 1822. Voting behaviors in the 1950's and participation in the Civil Rights movement are more recent examples of activism.

Economically, the Sea Islands are deprived and therefore the culture reflects poverty. Migrations from the islands to the North were attempts at reaping some of the benefits of the dominant culture. However, some Gullah people have experienced frustration in the urban cities and they are slowly returning to the area. Jordan (1976) found that approximately 21,000 Gullah people were residing in the five isolated islands off the coast of Charleston, South Carolina. Interest in the islands as resort property and the development of Kiawah by the Arabs, however, are forcing a change in the economic base of the area. Jobs are now available on the islands for the residents. Entrepreneurship has taken hold among the Gullah people themselves, further enhancing the economic development of the region.

A review of the literature indicates that there are gaps in the knowledge of the Gullah people and their culture. African remnants and the Gullah dialect have been examined, and several classic studies have contributed greatly to the understanding of the Gullah people. However, studies of the impact of slavery and contemporary history have not been made. The inclusion of a Gullah family in the current study allows re-examination of the findings of previous studies and updating of the literature.

## African-American Families

The African-American family refers tc families of African descent who participate in the African-American culture described above. The values and behaviors evident within these families are diverse and one description cannot adequately portray this diversity. Some common patterns have been found in the literature as belonging to African Americans, and these are summarized in the description of the African-American family below.

Certain aspects of African-American families have been demonstrated to be myths. These will not be discussed here since the purpose of this review is to describe African-American families accurately, reflecting the theoretical frame of reference--not to argue the validity of controversial data.

Nobles' synopsis of the African-American family (1978) will serve as an entree into the in-depth discussion of this topic. Nobles stated that the African-American family is composed of several different households which structurally expand and diminish in response to external conditions. The family is a child-centered system which

focuses on the needs of children and allows for interfamilial consensual adoptions and multiple parenting. It is composed of a close network of relationships between family members who are not necessarily related by blood. Role definitions and performances are flexible and interchangeable.

Several of the variables under investigation in this study are mentioned in Nobles' description. Marital roles, household structure, kinship patterns, economic/political values and participation are said to have unique dimensions in African-American families. African cultural remnants serve as a foundation for these family variables. The last variable, racial/ethnic consciousness, may contribute new information to the description of African-American families. Each of these variables is discussed below with the literature pointing to the need for further investigation of them.

## Marital Roles

Herskovits (1941) has described African contributions to mating behavior and marital patterns. The African view of marriage was that mating required the sanction of the two families involved. Marriage was not just a union between two people but an alliance between two families. Potential marital partners were screened for their qualifications and their willingness to accept the marital obligations. Only after this screening was sanction given by the family and community. However, no other approval of the marital bonds were necessary. The numbers of consensual unions noted in African-American families are in keeping with African customs.

During the period of slavery, marital unions were often at the discretion of the owners (Himes, 1949). Owners frequently would disallow a marriage if there existed physical incompatibility. Other slaves were forced to mate because they represented "good specimens" and had the potential of producing healthy, offspring (Elkins, 1959).

At the same time, Gutman (1976), in a quantitative analysis of African-American families and culture, found that slave owners did not interfere in the intimate lives of their slaves unless they affected the operation of the plantation. Marriage and family patterns were indicative of slave cultural mores rather than interference from white owners. Gutman reported that slaves living in all settings in 1866 had enduring marriages, with 25 percent of this total having lived together for 10-19 years. These marriages were sanctioned by a variety of sources, including families, the African-American community and slave owners. Marriages were cemented by verbal agreements to live together, jumping the broom, slave religious leaders or owner-sponsored ceremonies. Marriages were not recorded and sanctioned by civic or religious ceremonies until this was legislated during the period of Emancipation. As soon as mandatory recording of marriages was expected, African Americans presented themselves for legal marriage or had their existing marriages filed in cohabitation records. In 1866, twenty thousand ex-slaves in North Carolina alone registered their marriages and reported lengthy durations for their unions.

The periods since slavery have influenced marital patterns in different ways. There were times when the imbalance in the ratio of male and female eligibles due to out migration and the mortality

rate did not allow monogamous unions for everyone (Whitehead, 1978). Oppressive economic conditions prevented marriages from occurring (Liebow, 1967). Developmental life stages also contributed to variance in marital patterns. High incidences of illegitimacy have been reported, particularly in late adolescence and early adulthood. However, in a longitudinal perspective these individuals were in settled marriages either by their mid-twenties or during their middle years (Gutman, 1976; Young, 1970). The skewing of the earlier results supports the myth of illegitimacy as a prevalent form when in reality the data indicate cohort differences.

It is important when observing marital patterns to consider life span changes of individuals. Failure to examine marriages over time have yielded findings which fostered the categorical labeling of African American families as matriarcal in form (Cromwell and Cromwell, 1978; Ladner, 1973; Staples, 1971). Willie and Greenblatt (1978) found that most African-American families were intact and nuclear. Farley (1970) stated that 80 percent of males and 66 percent of females lived with their spouses in 1910, 1940, 1950 and 1957-67, and therefore this type of arrangement was not a time limited occurrence. Scanzoni (1971) stated that 95 percent of African Americans preferred marriage as a family form and there existed no wholesale promiscuity or repudiation of marriage.

In the dynamics of African-American marital roles, one of the strengths is that roles are interchangeable, flexible and adaptable (Hill, 1972). In the process of socialization for these marital roles, few differences are seen in what is taught to males and females.

Young (1970) stated that both sexes are taught child rearing skills. Males engage in expressive and instrumental tasks with children. Scanzoni (1971) reported that males are taught both domestic and occupational skills. Both sexes are taught that role duty is more a determinant for a successful marriage than rewards. Balkwell (1978) in a study of sex role socialization of expressiveness, found less divergence in the patterns of African-American males and females in the expression of pleasure. There appeared to less distinction made according to sexes in African-American families than in other families.

Marital roles are described by several measures. Two frequent indicators are conjugal decision making pattern and conflict resolution. Studies have attributed various levels of power to males and females in marital relationships (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Centers and Rodriques, 1971); however, the majority of the marital role studies of African Americans have found the existence of egalitarian patterns (Genovese, 1974; Middleton and Putney, 1960; Willie and Greenblatt, 1978). Although social class differences have been noted, Blood and Wolfe (1960) stated that middle class African Americans have an egalitarian relationship. Middleton and Putney (1960) found egalitarian roles were more evident in middle-class African Americans than in other ethnic groups. In a study of 400 intact working and middle-class families, Scanzoni (1971) reported shared decision making responsibilities in both classes. Willie and Greenblatt (1978) stated that in both middle and lower classes, African Americans shared roles as a response to their need for survival.

Egalitarian patterns appear to function as a survival strategy for all classes of African Americans.

These studies obtained data from one or both spouses utilizing their responses to a questionnaire or a simulated decision making situation. Ten Houten (1970) and King (1969) utilized children of the marital dyad as the source of their data about decision making. Analyzing the perceptions of children, King (1969) found that fathers were not perceived as being passive nor mothers as dominant as the literature purports them to be. Her results indicated that the marital dyad functioned on an equal basis regardless of social class.

Relative dominance was exmained in all of the studies cited above. Although the myth of the dominant female and marginal male has been eradicated (Hyman and Reed, 1969; Spaights, 1976), there is evidence of uniqueness in the interaction of the marital dyad. Studies of marital satisfaction consistently report the expression of greater marital dissatisfaction in African-American couples (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Renne, 1970). Scanzoni (1971) and Staples (1971) concluded that economic deprivation was interacting with marital solidarity and suggested that economic conditions were responsible for the differing marital perceptions. These results demonstrate the presence of other variables which interact with marital roles and suggest that instruments appropriate to measure the unique qualities of these relationships may not have been developed yet.

Staples (1971) stated that conjugal decision making is not the "best" indicator of dominance of roles in African-American couples. He suggested an index of conflict resolution as a more appropriate

indicator. Cromwell and Cromwell (1978) utilized both measures in a comparative study of tri-ethnic groups. They found egalitarianism as the product of conjugal decision making but more disagreement in the outcome of conflict resolution. African-American males perceived themselves as winning fewer conflicts than their wives claimed. Males also perceived more conflicts unresolved. Cromwell and Cromwell found no relationship between the outcome of conflict resolution and decision making.

Ethnicity is not sufficient to explain the variance in marital perceptions (Staples, 1971). More attention needs to be paid to the internal dynamics of marriage. More relevant data might be gathered by examining the context of the situation in which the couple makes a decision and measuring confronted by a couple on a day-to-day basis. These deficits in instruments and methods of data collection have been partially rectified in the present study.

## Household Structure and Kinship Patterns

Nobles (1974) stated that the family is the strongest cohesive force in traditional African life. The African definition of the family included all of the dead, the living, and all to be born of the tribe. A family would consist of several households, with all relationships and subsequent roles flexible and interchangeable. The sense of extended familism and strong kinship bonds characteristic of African Americans exemplifes this sense of Africanity.

Himes (1949) reported that the slave system promoted family instability and laws did not encourage marital unions. However, many

families achieved stability in spite of almost insurmountable handicaps. Fogel and Engerman (1974), Genovese (1974) and Gutman (1976) found that the nuclear family was the basic structure during slavery. The relative separation of African Americans from the dominant culture was conducive to strengthening the family and community.

Census data during the post-Civil War era reflected several family structures (Agresti, 1978; Lammermeier, 1975). Agresti found evidence of one-parent families, couples, nuclear families and three generational households in existence in southern farming communities in 1870. These were situational adaptations to the effects of the dependency relationship between slaves and their owners. At the same time, the norm of the two-parent family was being established by leaders in the community. The large number of single parent units consisted mainly of those persons residing in the households of whites. There was a decrease in the number of single parent households by 1885, when no African-American families were living in white households. Other structural types of households began to decrease and by the decade of 1870-1880, 75% of African American families were nuclear in structure (Lammermeier, 1975). In 1885, 93.5 percent of these households were nuclear in structure (Agresti, 1978).

These various household structures continued to exist in the African American culture. Billingsley (1968) reported that 66 percent of all African-American families were nuclear, 25 percent were extended families including other family members, and approximately 10 percent were augmented families which included non-related members. These

structures were means of meeting societal demands and the needs of family members. Young (1970) concurred with Billingsley: in a sample of Southern rural families, she found that 93 percent were nuclear in structure and dominated by strict, authoritarian fathers.

These statistics reflect cross-sectional studies of families. Longitudinal studies present findings which vary over time. Young (1970) concluded that childbearing might occur in the middle or late teens and stable marriage for the individuals involved would take place while they were in their mid-twenties. Females establish households earlier than males, and more extended family members are found in these households. Males remain in their parental home until they establish their own home at approximately 21 years of age. The majority of male-headed households occur when they are between 21 and 40 years of age (Lammermeier, 1975).

Hill (1972) and Stack (1974) agree that the nuclear structure is not the beginning family structure for all African Americans. MacDonald and MacDonald (1973) stated that legal marriages occur as the couple gets older. The greatest number of nuclear, male-headed households occur between the ages of 51-60 years. Female headed households reappear as the dominant pattern in the population over age sixty because of the differing longevity patterns for males and females (Lammermeier, 1975). In a study of family structure and kinship patterns, Whitehead (1978) found similarly that consensual unions and marriages occurred at different stages of the life cycle. Several children might have been born and the female established in

her own or her parental household prior to a legal marriage.

Marriage continues to be important for African Americans. Nuclear family structure is preferred in an individualistic, industrial society (Scanzoni, 1971). The presence of nuclear families does not, however, eradicate the strong affinity for the extended family. Rainwater (1966) and Billingsley (1968) described the existence of an extended kin network in African-American culture. Hill (1972) described the extended family as a strength of African-American families and presented it as a healthy way of adapting. McAdoo (1978) pointed to the extensive helping system as a strong cultural pattern.

The development of a kin network is facilitated by the economic conditions of the society. Whitehead (1978) stated that economic marginality, environmental uncertainities and scarce resources have promoted a flexible organization of African Americans based on sharing and exchange. Links in these networks are females who are paid less and who need the sharing patterns for survival (Stack, 1974; Wilson, 1973). In areas of high male unemployment, male absenteeism becomes an adaptive strategy for women seeking support from consanguines. Chronically unemployed males are viewed as a liability and marriages to these individuals are not supported by families.

Mothers or single parents live in an extended family context of kin or fictive kin (Ladner, 1972). This expansion of the household increases the security of the individual by enlarging the circle of persons providing aid. There are reciprocal obligations to provide

aid throughout the kin network. Trading of goods and services assures one that if a future need arises, one can expect reciprocity. This network with its numerous dimensions can become a complex system when operational (Stack, 1974).

Household composition varies with economic conditions. Clark (1957) says that family structure is influenced by land ownership because reduced mobility promotes stability in household composition. Consanguines may reside on the same land in different households and they enhance the kin network. Consensual adoptions and inclusion of aged family members are methods by which the household increases; both are related to collectivism (Herskovits, 1941). Para-kinship ties or fictive kin include those persons who are unrelated to the family but have the same loyalities and responsibilities (Staples, 1974). Their presence in the household or within the kin network adds to the flexibility of household composition.

The concept of extended familism is not restricted to impoverished or single parent families. Studies indicate that a cultural norm has existed for extended familism over all classes. Scanzoni (1971) found that although working class African Americans had nuclear family structure, 33 percent received instrumental help from relatives and 66 percent received expressive help. The results of a study done by Litwak (1960) indicated that middle class families drew upon kin for financial aid, emotional and cultural support. McAdoo (1978) in testing whether African Americans dissociated themselves from their relatives as they become more successful, found

that the extended family pattern continued to be a viable cultural component for the emotional well being of African Americans at all economic levels.

A final unique feature of African-American kinship patterns is the emphasis placed on children. Nobles (1974) theorized that children represented the continuity of life and were a part of the cultural heritage of African Americans. Young (1970) cited the relationship with children as the greatest pleasure in the lives of their parents. Children in southern rural African-American families have lived almost exclusively in a human world. Infants are touched and cuddled by the varieties of people in their environment. There is little time for interaction with the non-human world. Marriage and family practices are designed to provide the social and psychological security necessary for child bearing and training. All types of household structure and extended kin patterns are cognizant of the needs of children and the special bond between parents and child.

## Economic/Political Values and Participation

The involvement of African Americans in the economic and political institutions of this society has been well documented (Van den Berghe, 1970). Several authors have related these institutions to the development of family patterns (Billingsley, 1968; Savage, 1978; Scanzoni, 1971). Scanzoni (1971) said there existed a direct link between the economic system and family patterns of socialization and achievement orientation. Billingsley (1968) considered that the political subsystem ranks second only to the economy in its impact on

families. Both institutions have been oppressive and asymmetrical in the amount of participation allowed to African Americans.

Landry (1977) enumerated the factors which affect the economic status of a family as education, sex, region of the country, migration, discrimination, personal values and attitudes. The review of the literature in this area presented below includes these factors and focuses on the history of the economy from 1860 to the 1970's. Two major periods occurred in the economy during this span of time--the periods of industrialization and automation (advanced industrialization). Since economic and political institutions interface, both of these institutions are discussed in an historical context, along with their impact on African American families.

The first historical event which involved both the economy and polity was the period of slavery. Himes (1949) stated that slavery inhibited the development of economic attitudes, values, or habits such as economic thrift, foresight and planning in African Americans. Slavery was a profit making institution during its course and involved procedures for maintaining its economic viability (Elkins, 1959; Genovese, 1975). Purchasing of slaves, breeding and maintenance of one's chattel were all economic behaviors which fostered the continuation of slavery as an economic investment. During the period of slavery, African Americans primarily participated as agricultural laborers or domestic servants. Landry (1977) documented the presence of a few skilled laborers and free entrepreneurs, e.g., caterers, tailors, barbers, and owners of livery stables. These persons who functioned

as free agents during this period were noteworthy, which allowed them the opportunity to maintain their positions even in the North.

Following the Civil War and the economic failure of the slave system, African Americans encountered freedom for the first time. There was initial economic unsettling as African Americans were shifted from dependent to independent status. According to Billingsley (1968), for many African Americans Emancipation meant the freedom to die of starvation and in some communities one out of four persons did succumb. Gutman (1976) has pointed out that many African Americans chose to remain on their former owners' plantations, and sharecropping became a frequently occurring method of feeding one's family. Marriage became even more of an economic partnership for the survival of the family.

Initially, there was a great deal of political activism on the local level. African Americans participated in the Republican party and were elected as officials at both state and local levels. There was a renewed interest in the struggle for equality (Frazier, 1957). This struggle was countered by a new form of racism evidenced in the Jim Crow era; mistrust and hostility characterized race relations once again.

Reconstruction was considered a failure. The Freedman's Bureau failed after six years mainly because of lack of finances and manpower. Black Codes established in many of the states further limited the freedom of African Americans by restricting their geographic mobility. Racial tensions reached their peak in the 1870's, a volatile period in race relations.

The twenty years between 1870 and 1890 were marked by an economic depression (Agresti, 1978). Those African Americans who were farmers were reduced to laborers by 1885. Landry (1977) stated that 83 percent of the artisans in the South in 1865 were African Americans, but by 1900, only 5 percent of artisans were of this ethnic group. The advent of craft unionism and the apprentice system operational in the years 1865-1883 forced African Americans out of trade occupations.

Although African Americans were occupationally, economically and politically in worse condition in 1885, the family network had been strengthened (Agresti, 1978). Again, African Americans adapted and utilized survival strategies which eventually enhanced the quality of their familial relationships (Hill, 1972; Whitehead, 1978).

The decade from 1900-1910 found 90 percent of African Americans living in the South (Frazier, 1939). Although African Americans resided in an agricultural region, there was a reversal of the previous trends in agricultural employment, as a significant decline occurred. This decline became even more evident in the 1920's as the numbers of African Americans increased in the occupational category of manual service.

World War I (1914-1918) encouraged the production of goods and began the migration of African Americans to the North (Spaights, 1976). Full war production, labor shortages, and increased pay were the factors attracting the new migrants (Watts and Davis, 1974). This period became the high point of prosperity for African Americans in northern cities as unemployment rates became similar to those for whites.

Yet the economic position of African Americans remained relatively low. The new occupational distributions did not alter the economic status of this ethnic group (Landry, 1977). One positive consequence, however, was that migration allowed the endowment of political rights to large numbers of African Americans (Kilson, 1971). Political associations were organized which resulted in an increased scale of political activities. The Garvey movement became both a political and economic avenue for the expression of racial dissatisfaction.

The Great Depression which commenced in 1929 affected all regions and ethnic groups. Life was already depressed for African Americans and the Depression promoted continuation of the same. Purchasing power decreased for the entire society and unemployment for African Americans was as high as 50 percent (Golden and Tausky, 1977). The effect on families was to make future generations search for greater financial security. Children of the depression period were taught by their parents to fear failure, and living with such fear modified the behaviors of the next generation. These modifications were reflected in values and aspirations both for themselves and their children (Watts and Davis, 1974).

According to Landry (1977), African Americans were located at the bottom of the occupational structure and worked in those industries which were sensitive to the business cycle. Therefore the Depression had severe consequences for them. This period brought to a standstill the favorable developments of the preceding decade and with the increased unemployment in manufacturing and sales the trend from unskilled to skilled labor was reversed. Even traditional African-

American jobs such as porters and waiters were taken by whites and were no longer available as employment possibilities.

Then the late 1930's brought economic growth to African Americans which continued throughout the next decade. The Democratic party gained a foothold in the African American culture as support gathered for Franklin D. Roosevelt (Kilson, 1971). The bombing of Pearl Habor in 1941 and America's entrance into World War II brought an era of further prosperity. Watts and Davis (1974) contend that mobility due to the relocation of military families, increased war production, and demand for African American labor decreased unemployment. These economic conditions raised the hope for justice and equal opportunities. Soldiers, although they were segregated, found psychological release from the oppression of racism. The "sit in" and marches of the 1940's reflected the expectations associated with these new opportunities for affluence (Huggins, 1971).

Landry (1977) noted improvement in the overall occupational level of African Americans relative to whites for the first time in U.S. history. By 1950, the number of operatives surpassed unskilled workers and the number of skilled clerical workers surpassed domestic workers. Once again, however, the rise in occupational status did not alter significantly the level of income. Golden and Tausky (1977) found that in 1947 the median income of African Americans was 54 percent of the income for whites: $2,807 as compared to $5,478 for whites.

Immediately after World War II and throughout the duration of the Korean War (1950-1953), the economy continued spiraling upward

for African Americans. During this time, there was a relative gain in income with the increase in white collar clerical and sales occupations. African-American females made progress in their advancement from the status of household workers to a more proportionate representation in other occupational levels.

The latter portion of the decade was overshadowed by the Supreme Court decision of 1954 which called for the desegration of public schools. In the same year, African Americans had an unemployment rate twice that of members of the dominant culture, a rate clearly indicative of the status of the African-American male and teenager. Long term unemployment for fifteen or more weeks had become a pattern in the African American community. The general decline in incomes after 1956 increased the disparity which existed between the incomes of African Americans and the dominant ethnic group (Landry, 1977).

Sixty percent of African Americans were living in the South in 1960 (Landry, 1977). This region was characterized by economically disadvantaged, low skilled occupations. Although unemployment was lower in this region than in others, underemployment was a problem. Laborers in the South functioned in an agricultural economy and according to a study done by Landry, 91.8 percent were below the poverty level. Nationally, 48 percent of African Americans were below the poverty line. Golden and Tausky (1977), in examining census data, found that 36 percent of African Americans earned less than $3000 in the 1960's. The median income for African Americans was $4,236, as compared with $7,664 for members of the dominant culture. This figure represents 64 percent of the dominant median income.

Employment patterns fluctuated during the decade of the sixties. In the early sixties blue collar positions reached their highest peak since 1910. With the advent of integration, white collar jobs were also more available. There was an accompanying decline in unemployment, to 6.4 percent in 1969. The trend began to change by 1970 however, when African-American males and females were equally distant from occupational equality, and unemployment had risen to 8.2 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, Social and Economic Status of the Black Population, 1973).

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 allowed for political participation, and the utilization of "bloc voting" became a part of the political machinery for African-American voters (Stone, 1970). Activism was reflected in Democratic Party affiliation and the election of local candidates to office. The number of mayors elected in major cities became a significant milestone for African Americans.

The Vietnam War did not increase the number of white collar jobs as had occurred in the previous wars. Meantime, integration had created new feelings of competition and discrimination. The positions available were not within easy access to African Americans. Relegation of the majority of African Americans to the lower occupational status remained the norm (Landry, 1977). The Kennedy-Johnson administration began an era where the goal for society was the eradication of poverty rather than alleviation of racism. During this period the percentage of families at the poverty level did decrease to 28 percent, but the decrease was short-lived and the figure climbed to 29 percent in 1970. Unemployment of African Americans increased to ten percent in 1972

and in 1975 had further increased to 14 percent (Landry, 1977). In the South, where both husbands and wives were employed, the income of African Americans was 84 percent of that of the dominant culture ($9,420 for African-American couples, $11,228 for white couples) (Golden and Tausky, 1977).

The antipoverty strategies of the 1960's soon came under the growing influence of social scientists. The focus remained on the eradication of poverty and the prevention of pathological family forms. The Civil Rights movement lobbied for the ability to make decisions on the utilization of monies and inputs into the establishment of priorities. Boycotts, marches, voter registration drives, and demonstrations were introduced as strategies in the 1950's and were revived periodically over the succeeding twenty years. The "war on poverty" finally succumbed to the economic pressures of the Vietnam war. The society was not able to adequately support a prolonged war and social programs. This decision to reduce the investment of monies in social programs might indicate a trend for the 1970's. The absence of census data for this decade, however, prevents validation of societal trends in a quantifiable manner.

The literature indicates that numerous economic and political events have had an impact on the nature of African-American culture. These events are reflected in the values and participatory behaviors of African-American families, in the manner in which African Americans interact with the dominant culture in the market place and political arena. The areas specifically discussed in the paragraphs below include education, income, migration, occupational and social mobility,

attitudes, and values.

Education

According to Wilson (1973), the ideals of a culture are transmitted through education. Himes (1949) saw education as an institutional mode of contact between ethnic groups and the dominant culture, and Billingsley (1968) added that education was a potent means of gaining social mobility and the major tool for families to meet their responsibilities. Landry (1977) pointed out that education makes the individual more or less marketable.

There appears to be consensus about the importance of education for families, but the discussion has not made clear the precise role of discrimination. Landry (1977) in a study of the economic conditions of African Americans noted that education does not bring the same economic returns for African Americans as it does for whites. The status of an African American male college graduate is comparable to a white male who is a high school graduate. This disparity appears to exist at all levels of education. Landry (1977) also found in his study that the presence of a credential was more of a contributing factor in obtaining positions than the quality of the education (Killingsworth, 1967; Farley and Hermalin, 1972).

There has been a steady increase in the educational level of African Americans. The median education for African Americans in 1950 was 6.8 years (9.3 years for the general population) and 9.9 years in 1970 (12.2 years for the general population). Rural African Americans had an average of two years less education than others. The 1970 census gave 8.1 years as the median number of years for rural

African Americans (U.S. Bureau of Census, Social and Economic Status of the Black Population, 1973). The greatest increase in the number of African-American college graduates was between 1960 and 1973.

The transmission of educational values requires further research. Studies indicate that relationships exist between a parent's level of education and the values imparted to their children. A study by Scanzoni (1971) found that the education level of fathers influenced the level achieved by their children, regardless of sex. Education determines the choice of occupations for both sexes. Golden and Tausky (1977) found that 36 percent of African-American families of the highest income group reported had children enrolled in college. They surmised that the absence of a majority of these children (the remaining 64 percent) from college indicated a significantly weaker transmission of status opportunities across generations than among other groups in the dominant culture. These findings have not been verified in other studies and are therefore considered inconclusive. Further studies need to be done on intergenerational patterns.

## Social Mobility

The advancement of the African-American family into higher social status is closely aligned with educational attainment. McAdoo (1978) studied mobility in African-American families and noted that middle class status could be achieved by four methods: upward mobility in the present generation, or in parents generation, steady increase over several generations, and maintenance of middle class status. In all instances, the middle class status of these families was maintained

by the employment of wives. McAdoo's study indicated that the occupational status of the father was clearly related to the family's mobility patterns. Fathers from families who were mobile in each generation had the highest ranking occupational status and educational attainment. Families who had been middle class for three generations had the lowest percentage (46 percent) of high occupational positions. These families experienced a leveling off or slight decrease in educational achievement or occupational status, while others were able to strive for a higher level and attain new status. McAdoo also found that the extended kinship patterns of African Americans facilitated rather than hindered mobility. Support and resources were often "pooled" to assist a family in improving their status.

Income Levels

Income is a significant indicator of the status of African Americans since one out of three families live in poverty and 30 percent are headed by females. Of those remaining families having male heads, 31 percent have working wives who raise the family income (Golden and Tausky, 1977).

The income of African Americans has been influenced by migration more than by any other variable. Migration from rural areas to urban, and from the South to the North and West has increased income levels because of the availability of industrial operative positions and unionism (Landry, 1977). Although migration has increased the income level, that level still remains low relative to other segments of society. Golden and Tausky (1977) reported that the wealth of African

Americans in 1962 was equal to that of white Americans in 1870. In the South, the median income for husbands alone in 1972 was $6,375. Both spouses reported an income of $9,420 (U.S. Bureau of Census, Social and Economic Status of the Black Population, 1973, pp. 25-27).

An indicator of net worth for an individual is ownership of property. According to Wilson (1973) land not only has subsistence and economic values but sentimental and philosophic value as well: "Slaves probably came as close to any human beings having their sense of place denied. People have only each other and their land" (Wilson, 1973, p. 224). Himes (1949) said that the accumulation of real property provides a secure anchorage for binding the family around values and promoting social control. Frazier (1939) agreed and stated that land provides stability for families.

Because of the enslavement of African Americans, they could not profit from the wealth of the Western frontier. These persons were freed after the land in the West had been disposed of (Comer, 1972). Furthermore, the promise of forty acres and a mule did not materialize during Reconstruction. The land which had been owned by African Americans was lost during periods of economic depression and was often exchanged for food. All these account for the absence of land-ownership as a significant part of the African-American culture.

Land can be a significant force for those families who have managed to retain it or were financially able to purchase. Further research must be done to demonstrate the relationship between land ownership and family patterns.

## Occupational Choice and Achievement Motivation

This section explores the relationship between occupational choice and achievement motivation, as reflected in the African-American culture. Exposure to similar values and patterns of socialization should contribute to similar values among all ethnic groups. The literature is examined here to test the validity of this assertion.

Theoretical writings in the area verify the presence of similar occupational aspirations and achievement motivation for the African American and members of the dominant culture. Hill (1972), in describing the strengths of African-American families, included a strong work ethic and achievement orientation as indications of such strength. Landry (1977) suggested that all social classes of African Americans internalized the dominant work ethnic and expounded these values as norms for their culture. Nobles (1974, 1978) noted the importance of work in a communal setting in the African culture, which produced a sort of double exposure to such values.

Research in the area supports the theoretical writings. In his study of African-American families, Scanzoni (1971) found acceptance of the dominant values of achievement orientation. Parents provided for their children support, modeling, counsel, advice and material aid to stay in school. Educational attainment was related to the occurrence of these behaviors. The education and occupational status of the parents also influenced the child's perception of achievement. A surprising finding of this study was a negative identification with parents, especially the father, which had a significant interaction with the occupational level of the child. Scanzoni's data indicated

that negative identification led to the adoption of higher occupational positions. This does not mean that positive identification is not significant, but merely points to the greater impact of negativism--possibly indicative of a survival strategy.

Lewis (1967) considers that occupations are a crucial determinant of where and how the family "fits" into society. Benitez (1977) sees work as self fulfillment or the realization of a person's own social status within primary groups such as his family. The individual obtains positional social status reflective of the social worth of activities within the universalistic context of an occupational hierarchy. Both of these statements refer to the self-esteem of individuals and families as well as the perceptions of worth of an ethnic group.

Husaini (1976) studied the relationship of achievement motivation, self-esteem and work orientation in young adult males and found that measures of achievement motivation (excellence in work tasks) and self-esteem levels were comparable for African Americans and whites. African Americans showed a higher security work orientation, based on the presence of discrimination in the occupational structure and the precarious economic position in which African Americans find themselves. Husaini concluded that African Americans have identified with the dominant culture and believe that hard work, higher education and positive self concepts will facilitate improvement in their positions in the social system.

Golden and Tausky (1977) examined the occupational patterns of African Americans over time, as reported in the census data. The

discussions above of the Emancipation, Reconstruction, Depression, World War I, and World War II eras summarized these occupational patterns. Further reports by Golden and Tausky (1977) have described the occupations of African Americans as reported in the census since 1940. According to these authors, African Americans have been clustered around the less rewarding occupations. Forty-one percent of males were employed as farmers or farm laborers and 60 percent of females worked in private households. A more equal distribution of occupations was developing in the 1950's. Only 23 percent of males were in farming occupations while 24 percent were in non-farm labor. Forty-two percent of women remained in the household sector. The 1960's saw the continued decline of farm and household occupations with an increase in service occupations for females. The 1970 census included a wider distribution for males: 4.4% farmers, 29.6% semi-skilled, 15% skilled, 10% clerical, 15% non-farm laborers, 15% services and 8.8% professional. Females were not as widely dispersed: 17.9% were household employees, 16.5% semiskilled, 25.5% service workers, 23% clerical and 12.8% professional. Although a decrease was noted in household employment, 40% of all domestics remained African Americans. Only five percent of African Americans were in professional, technical and managerial positions in 1970 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Social and Economic Status of the Black Population, 1973).

Although both white collar and blue collar positions are available to African Americans, the numbers of persons actually in these positions are few. There continues to exist disparity in the occupational structure for African Americans and other ethnic groups.

Achievement motivation is not indicated as the cause of this disparity.

Economic and Political Values

This final section examines the values and behaviors of African Americans in the context of an ethnic culture and prescriptions for alleviating disparities. The writings of Nobles (1974, 1978) are a significant reminder of the different perceptions of African Americans because of their African cultural heritage. For African Americans the emphasis on collectivism rather than individualism can be a deterring factor for achievement in an industrialized society. Park (1950) stated that individual personal competition is required for success in this economy. It appears that African Americans are not traditionally money-oriented people and perceive the value of money as being derived from the provision of goods and services. Such variations in consumption patterns are evident in the nuances of African-American culture. Again, the dual nature of values arises. The choice for survival in the economic and political areas appears to have been made.

Researchers indicate that African Americans have accepted values and aspirations for achievement comparable to those of other ethnic groups but remain disproportionately relegated to the lower strata of occupations. This placement in the social structure fosters discouragement and disparagement. Landry (1977) stated that such feelings are reflected in the absence of strong ties to employers and the willingness to withdraw into the ranks of the hidden unemployed.

As a reparative strategy, Scanzoni (1971) cited African American self determination as the key to economic improvement. He stated that African Americans must participate fully in the decisions that affect their economic destiny. Billingsley (1968) stated that ownership, control and management promote a sense of independence and power, and without these, one cannot solve the essential problems of economic, social, and psychological dependence or the accompanying sense of alienation.

Racial/Ethnic Consciousness

The history of African Americans began when they were converted from independent human beings to property or chattel. During four centuries of slavery, a process of dehumanization was taking place. From the time of their capture in Africa, through the middle passage in shackles and "seasoning," either in the West Indies or on Sullivan's Island, African Americans arrived as the largest immigrant group to this country. These persons were upon their arrival relegated to the lowest status positions of the society (Billingsley, 1968; Watts and Davis, 1974; Wood, 1974).

Slavery became associated in America with blackness. The lack of protection for the sanctity of life and the absence of mechanisms to obtain freedom produced a people who believed the verbalization of their own inferiority. Feelings of powerlessness, degradation and alienation promoted the development of the slave personality (Genovese, 1974). Contacts with whites over time became more categoric than personal (Himes, 1949), adding further to the slavic perception.

Scanzoni (1971) points out that denigration of the concept of the African-American male occurred when he was continuously told that he was "inferior and incapable of economic achievement" (p. 5). Out of this process of victimization emerged negative ethnic perceptions.

In some geographic areas, African Americans represented the majority of the population, which provided an opportunity for different ethnic perceptions. This was most notably found in the state of South Carolina. The majority status allowed a sense of autonomy and independence to develop among the residents. However, these perceptions were short lived. The sheer disproportion of numbers made whites uneasy; they felt their livelihood was threatened. They responded to these feelings by establishing ever more stringent controls on the behaviors of African Americans (Wood, 1974). The controls were established to alter the sense of independence previously developed.

Benitez (1977) states that self identity is a collection of individualized anchor points derived from the various social roles known and participated in by the individual. The family is the observable model for the configuration of predominant dimensions of self identity. The family coordinates the self identity through delineated patterns of differential privileges and obligations. The family transmits the behavioral manifestations of authority, respect and division of labor (p. 129).

Although in this description Benitez was conceptualizing what happens in the Mexican American culture, similarities exist for African-American families. One interpretation of Benitez's assertions

is that the individual self identities of African Americans are derived from interaction with the family. The African-American family teaches the individual about the society in which privileges and obligations are accorded on the basis of one's color (what the society is like). An additional function of the family is to teach each member how to behave in such a society.

These individual identities can be amassed into an ethnic identity. African Americans have since the 1960's moved into the status of a "legitimate" ethnic group. Blauner (1970) pointed out that the development of an ethnic culture occurs by formulating an identity. Progress cannot be made by individuals or groups unless there is a clear sense of who one is, where one came from, and where one is going.

Watts and Davis (1974) asserted that the inclination toward preserving racial and ethnic self consciousness resulted from the failure to achieve the American dream of security. Watts and Davis further state that the persistent attachment to an identity seems to be a reflection of the ambivalent search for the American grail. The demand for African-American solidarity will continue as long as racism manifests itself in American society. Watts and Davis (1974) thus suggest that racial/ethnic consciousness will continue until there is desegregation--the elimination of racial cultures and total equality or integration--the blending or assimilation of ethnic groups (Gordon, 1964).

"Black power" began in the 1950's and served as a cultivator of a positive self-image for African Americans (Spaights, 1976). In

the 1970's, the black power emphasis was included in a concept of pluralism. Such inclusion could perhaps evolve into a satisfying compromise between desires for total integration and competing desires for complete ethnic and racial separatism. Pluralism involves positive acceptance of the idea that members of ethnic groups have the right to preserve their sense of ethnic identity and share certain aspects of their culture with other ethnic members. Under such a system, structural assimilation based on equality in the economic and political system would be a goal for ethnic groups (Drake, 1971, p. 285).

## Conclusion

Studies of African-American families and their culture have been both longitudinal and cross-sectional in nature. These studies have spanned a wide distribution of time frames, and varying conceptual frameworks have been used as their guides (Allen, 1978). Gutman (1976) and Scanzoni (1971) have been cited frequently for their utilization of multivariant approaches. Classics in the area such as Frazier (1939) and Herkovits (1941, 1966) are noted for making significant contributions to the field.

Although numerous studies have been done, there remain gaps in the literature. One of the deficiencies is the absence of a clear definition of African-American culture. Research findings in this area have been scattered and controversial. The gaps in the literature may be in part attributed to the fact that studies have concentrated on approximately one third of families which are female headed or those with illegitimate children. The remaining 66 percent

of African American families have been relatively overlooked.

To correct these deficiencies, some of the classic studies need to be replicated, to test the validity of their results at this time. Studies need to be done which refrain from comparing groups of people using a model of inequality. Instead, efforts must be made to enhance the soundness of the descriptions, to provide support for theories already developed, and to view varied behaviors as vital to the understanding of all Americans.

The literature does not contain adequate in-depth longitudinal studies of generations of families which would indicate the nature and continuity of behavior in African-American families. There is an absence of literature which adequately recognizes the impact of culture on families. Allen (1978) recommended utilization of the developmental and cultural variant perspective to provide portrayals of African American families. Historical study of the family which combines elements of the developmental conceptual approach and the cultural variant perspective seems more promising for these studies. Allen (1978) cited the popularity of books by Gutman (1976) and Haley (1976) as evidence of the viability of this approach. These two perspectives are merged in the methods used in the present study.

The literature reports associations between culture and kinship patterns, marital roles, ethnic-racial perceptions and economic/political values. However, these are not usually integrated into descriptions of African American families over time. Also, the literature cites studies exploring the impact of economic/political values on aspects of the family. Again, however, there has been

minimal theorizing to promote continuity. It is almost as if these variables have been examined in a "piece meal" manner, with few attempts at completing the picture.

The need in the area is to focus directly on the lives and experiences of African-American families which are not exceptional in their structure or their functions. An in-depth understanding of a few families may give additional insights into the masses. A focus on a few subjects can severely limit the generalizability of the findings. However, the literature has shown that studies of larger samples of ethnic groups have not provided all the answers. Maybe the converse--finding more answers about a few subjects--can serve as the impetus for future studies with greater generalizability. Such is the purpose of this study.

## A Theoretical Frame of Reference

The foregoing review of the literature has summarized those conceptual frameworks that have been used to study African-American families. The writer has suggested that the use of some of these models has resulted in the wrongful labeling of African Americans as "culprits" or "victims." In choosing a conceptual framework for this study, the writer recognized the need to have a model which allowed other interpretations of family data. The cultural pluralist model offered such an opportunity.

Prior to discussion of the methods and procedures of this study, the writer found it necessary to review the basic tenets of the cultural pluralist model. The following paragraphs are a succinct

recapitulation of the propositions of cultural pluralism.

Social structure and culture are the two major components of society according to the cultural pluralist model. Social structures reveal the nature of social relationships and are described as primary (intimate) or secondary (impersonal). Individuals experience primary relationships within their own ethnic group. Secondary group relationships occur in the spheres of economic and occupational life, civic and political activity. Gordon (1964) stated that ethnic-racial groups respond to societal structures by developing a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships throughout all stages of the life cycle (p. 34).

Ethnic culture is the social heritage found within an ethnic-racial group that is structurally separate from other groups. This culture persists because of internal and external forces. Internal forces result from the vested interest of the members of an ethnic group in those values and norms peculiar to their culture. Gordon (1964) stated that the investment is enhanced by "a shared feeling of peoplehood, usually bound by race, religion, national origin or some combination of these factors."

External forces arise from within the society. An ethnic culture becomes a unique pattern based on common definition and treatment on the part of the larger society. Thus, discrimination and disdain by whites have been a unifying force in developing an

African American culture.

Each ethnic or ethnic-racial group blends the national cultural patterns with its own particular cultural heritage. This process of acculturation occurs in areas selected by the ethnic group and are demonstrated on the societal level in secondary group participation and institutional contact. In a pluralistic society, each ethnic group has the right to maintain some degree of ethnic communality and cultural differences. These cultural variations are regarded as beneficial for the culture as a whole. It is believed that equality and pluralism do not conflict with the societal norm of democracy. Ideally, ethnic groups are legitimized by guaranteeing the continuance of the ethnic cultural tradition and the group itself without interfering with the standards of the general society. Integration of cultures can occur in an harmonious manner.

Ethnic groups do not require that their members be in close geographic proximity to function. Gordon (1964) described the process of transferability as the ability of an individual to move to another community and take his place in an ethnic group. An ethnic-racial group can maintain its cultural and social identity without having an ecological basis.

It is the writer's opinion that the cultural pluralistic framework has led to a positive conceptualization of the African American family. This framework acknowledged differences in families which are transmitted through an ethnic-racial culture over generations. These positive attributes are described by Gutman (1976), Hill (1972), Nobles (1974) and Stack (1974) as the strength and innate adaptive

capacities of African American families. Survival strategies are developed to meet the physical, emotional, and economic needs of family members.

Similarities exist among ethnic groups as they pattern their behaviors in the economic and political spheres in keeping with the values of the dominant culture (van den Berghe, 1970). African Americans are no exception and strive to achieve assimilation in the economic and political spheres. Thus, the economic and political values and norms of African Americans are comparable to those of other ethnic groups. Similarities may be seen in such areas as the pursuit of education, the acquisition of material goods and achievement aspirations. Political and civic responsibilities become a shared value, making no distinction on the basis of race, religion or national origin.

In keeping with the literature of cultural pluralism and African Americans, the following assumptions are presented.

1. African Americans are an ethnic-racial group in a multi-ethnic society.
2. Ethnic group membership is not voluntary.
3. Ethnic groups have the right to maintain their cultural differences in a pluralistic society.
4. Historical identification or the "sense of peoplehood" occurs within an ethnic group.
5. Geographic proximity facilitates but is not necessary for ethnic group enclosure.

6. Ethnic groups are maintained because of the comfort and vested interests of their members.
7. Primary group relationships occur between the members of an ethnic community.
8. Secondary group relationships occur between ethnic-racial groups as they participate in the economic/political spheres.
9. Assimilation or acculturation occurs in the economic/political spheres of all ethnic-racial groups.
10. Equality and pluralism do not conflict with the American societal norm of democracy.
11. Families are ethnically closed.

# CHAPTER III

## METHODS AND PROCEDURES

For quite some time, the social problems believed inherent in African American families have been recognized and investigated (Frazier, 1939; Moynihan, 1965). Although on the surface, there appeared to be African Americans who "fit" the model of deviance, there were others who did not. It was later that efforts were made to understand these different African Americans. These efforts led to an equal number of studies citing the virtues of African Americans (Herskovits, 1941, 1970; Nobles, 1964; Petters, 1978; Staples, 1974). The two extreme views propagated in the literature on African American families became the basis for academic controversy which remained an issue for future research on the topic.

The presence of the controversy was the impetus for this study. This investigator desired to search for values and norms in African Americans within the context of their own cultures. Similarly, others sought answers to this dilemma by examining ethnic culture (Baker, 1971; Blauner, 1970; Gutman, 1976; Herskovits, 1941). Gutman (1976) searched for the origins and early development of this culture over the period of 1750 through 1925. This investigator overlapped this time sequence by studying African-American families from the period of emancipation to 1979. The adaptive capacities of African Americans are examined at critical moments in the history of this ethnic racial group.

The following questions were relevant to a study of an ethnic-racial culture and were the purposes of this study.

1. Are there patterns of values and norms in African-American families which indicate an ethnic-racial culture?
2. Is it possible to identify African cultural remnants within this culture?
3. Is this culture shaped by the economic and political events which occur in the American dominant culture?

This investigation sought to answer these questions by studying two African American families. One family, the Avery family, lived in North Carolina and had extensive contact with the dominant American culture. The second family, the Simmons family lived on Yonges Island, South Carolina and had been relatively isolated from the dominant American culture. A search for an ethnic-racial culture would result in a listing of similarities and differences between an ethnic-racial culture and the dominant American culture. Such a statement would not indicate a value judgment of which is more or less socially acceptable but would simply indicate their dual existence.

## Statement of Hypotheses

The following statements of relationships served as the basis of this study.

1. There will be a difference in the ethnic-racial perceptions expressed by the family in North Carolina and the family in South Carolina.

2. The family which is more isolated from the American dominant culture will demonstrate more remnants of African culture than the family which has had considerable contact.
3. Changes in the household structure, marital roles and kinship patterns over generations are associated with political and economic events of the American dominant culture.
4. There will be a difference in the report of economic and political values and behaviors between the African-American family with considerable contact with the American dominant culture and the family which has been relatively isolated.

## Research Design

This study was a descriptive historical account of two African American families who were investigated using three methods of data collection. The presence of an African-American culture as advocated by cultural pluralism is grounded in Africanism. Out of these beginnings evolved family patterns, values and behaviors which are transmitted over generations through the process of socialization. Although this ethnic group was confronted with a hostile environment, elements of their cultural heritage were maintained. This study examined the incidences of these cultural patterns in African-American families from 1860 to 1979.

This ethnic group has had contact with a dominant culture and has experienced the economic and political events which are reported in the history of American society. The central focus of this study was the examination of the influence of political and economic events

on the lives of African Americans: How have these events affected the cultural patterns of African Americans?

Geographic location in the United States also influences the culture of the people who reside in a region. Studies documented earlier support the occurrence of regional differences in culture and report Southeastern culture as being qualitatively different from other regional cultures. This investigator was aware of the significance of regional impact on families and for this reason studied families who resided in the "Upper South" and had experienced similar histories. Although there are regional values of the dominant society which would either support or extinguish a cultural pattern, those that remain a part of African-American culture are no less African in derivation. Both families experienced Southern values but in varying degrees over the designated time span. The investigation of the presence of African-American culture within this southern culture makes the same theoretical leap as investigating southern culture within the larger American culture. Distinctions can be made although similarities are acknowledged.

The first method of data collection was an ethnographic/historical community study of Johnston and Charleston counties, including Smithfield, North Carolina, where the Avery family resided, and Yonges Island, South Carolina where the Simmons family lived. Using written documents and a quasi-anthropological approach (Gutman, 1976; Whitehead, 1978), these communities were studied from 1860 to 1979. It was important to study the local histories of these towns and counties to obtain a realistic picture of them over time. Local responses to economic and political

events are thought to be different from a generalized view of America. There also were specific local events which influenced African Americans that were not relevant for the larger society. The community studies were done in response to Hareven's assertion that the study of the spatial environment is essential for understanding family interaction (1971).

The second method of data collection involved a technique utilized by Grevan (1970) in a study linking demographic data and land owning patterns. Grevan reconstructed four generations of families in Massachusetts. Other investigators have utilized this technique, which requires several sources of information and genealogical methods (Gutman, 1976; Haley, 1976; Murray, 1978; Watts and Davis, 1974). Rubicam (1960) in an evaluative paper examined genealogical sources and ranked these according to their level of validity. These sources were used in this study to complete the genealogical charts of the two families. The ranking of sources utilized was identical to that suggested by Rubicam, as follows: eye witness testimonies, official records, family declarations, unofficial records (church), family records (letters), newspaper files, family genealogies, traditions and folklore.

The purpose of this form of data collection was to accurately reconstruct these families over the period 1860-1979. These genealogical charts provided subjects for interviews, and actual data for the analysis of cultural patterns. Data describing family structure and African cultural remnants such as naming practices, were obtained from these genealogical charts.

Biographies of the families were the third means of data collection. These biographies integrated the cultural patterns of the families with the data obtained from the ethnographic study of their communities. The biographies reported qualitative and quantitative data about each family and therefore represented an in depth analysis of cultural patterns. The methods for developing these biographies were multiple. Through the process of recording oral histories, interviewing subjects and through historical analysis of political and economic events, descriptions of these families were developed. Interviews with family members were done focusing on the four research hypotheses. The sources ranked by Rubicam were again used to gather data. The variables in the study were classified into the following categories: household structure; kinship patterns; marital roles; African cultural remnants; economic/political values and participation; and ethnic/racial perceptions and consciousness. Data collection for the family biographies were structured around these five categories.

## Definition of Terms

The following operational definitions are offered to assure a common understanding of the basic terms used throughout this study.

> African Americans: A racial and ethnic group composed of those persons who are descendents from African slaves and are referred to as "black," "Negro," or "Afro-American."
>
> African cultural remnants: Those patterns and traits which characterize African culture and are transmitted over generations to their descendents.

American dominant culture: The beliefs, behavior, knowledge, sanctions, and values that represent the way of life of the white, Protestant, middle class which serves as a core for the American culture and to which other groups adjust or measure their relative degree of adjustment.

Economic values and behaviors: Those values and behaviors which describe educational attainment, social mobility and occupational achievement and are of the American dominant culture.

Ethnic culture: The beliefs, behaviors, knowledge, sanctions and values that represent the way of life of an ethnic group.

Ethnic-racial group: A group of persons bound by race, national origin and a common culture.

Ethnic-racial perception: A subjective recognition that one belongs to and identifies with an ethnic-racial group, different from others.

Household structure: A listing of those individuals residing within a household for periods greater than 72 hours and are classified as nuclear, extended or augmented families.

Kinship patterns: Those behaviors which are demonstrated by kin or fictive kin to assist a family during periods of stress and crisis.

Marital roles: Those behaviors demonstrated by the marital dyad in the areas of decision making, conflict resolution and employment patterns.

Political values and behaviors: Those values and behaviors which are exhibited by patterns of voting and political party affiliation.

Gullah people: A group of persons who reside in the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina who are the direct descendents of slaves from Liberia. This group is specifically known for its isolation from the mainland and for the spoken Gullah dialect, a derivative of African language and "old English."

## Sample Selection

The sample for this study was composed of members of two rural African-American families. Respondents were between the ages of 16 and 93 years and resided within one hundred miles of their designated home

place. The family in North Carolina was the family of the investigator whose roots are in Johnston County, North Carolina. This family was of rural origin in an area where the primary agricultural crops were cotton and tobacco. The family had assumed the surname of the white family on whose plantation they once lived and is hereafter referred to as the Avery family. The Avery family continued to have interaction over generations with the descendents of former slave owners. Six generations of the Avery family were reconstructed for this study.

The Avery family resided in a predominantly white environment. The 1970 census data reported that 79 percent of the total population in the area were white.

The second family resided in the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina in Charleston County. This African-American family lived in a rural area where rice, cotton and tobacco were the major crops. The family was also under the subjugation of slavery and its members have remained in the geographic area of their former owners. Because of the peculiarity of slavery in the Sea Islands, there is no generational interaction between the descendents of the slave family and their former owners. The family did not have knowledge of the derivation of their surname. They are referred to in this study as the Simmons family.

The Simmons family resided in a predominantly African-American environment. The 1970 census listed the islands of Johns, Edisto, St. Helena, Wadmalaw, Yonges, and Dufuskie as having African-American populations ranging from 60-84 percent. The specific island of Yonges

where the Simmons family resided has a population composed of 62.4 percent African American.

The Simmons family lived in isolation in the area of Yonges Island until World War I. The residents of this area are thought to be direct descendents of Africans; they have been called "the purest strand of African Americans" and are referred to as the Gullah people. This island remained sparsely populated and undeveloped. Health clinics, churches, schools and small grocery stores indicated social changes and institutionalization. Large portions of the island remained in their natural state and were transversed only by the residents.

Selection of these families was based on the following criteria: proximity to homeplace, reconstruction of at least three generations, and a homeplace in a rural agricultural area. The varying composition of the populations in which they live was an additional determinant for selecting families residing in different states.

The Simmons family in South Carolina was selected from a list of families residing in Charleston County submitted by African-American leaders in the area. The final selection was based on the best possible match for the Avery family on the criteria stated above.

Following the selection of the families, the name of a family member who would serve as a contact person was obtained. The investigator met with the contact person to explain the purpose of the study and to obtain consent for participation. The contact person was asked to consult with other family members to obtain permission to schedule appointments.

The name of each family member was placed on an index with information about his age, sex, and address. Efforts were made to include representatives of each sex and generation and to find the oldest living descendents. Attempts were made to obtain the names of deceased individuals in order that a complete reconstruction could be done with the maximum number of generations.

The contact person for each family was asked to submit at least three names of family members from different generations who "knew" about the family. Through such a process of referring names, individuals were selected from the pool of potential interviewees and contacted by the investigator. Each person interviewed was asked to submit three additional names. Efforts were made to find the "best" historian for each family.

In instances where the respondents did not completely answer the questions or represent each generation, the investigator selected additional informants from the pool of interviewees by using a table of random numbers.

The sampling methods employed contributed to development of a genealogical chart and the narrative portions of the biography for each family. The total number of family members included in the Avery family was 361 and in the Simmons family 203. Eighty-six members of the Avery family and 26 members of the Simmons family met the sample criteria for selection as an interviewee. The total number of respondents interviewed from the pool in the Avery family was 12 (13 percent) and 12 (46 percent) in the Simmons family.

## Respondents

The respondents in this study were members of the Avery and Simmons families residing in North and South Carolina. Those family members who were older than age sixteen and resided within 100 miles of the homeplace were included in the sample. Individuals who had physical or emotional illnesses and who were therefore not able to participate in the structured interviews were excluded from the sample of interviewees. Information was gathered about these individuals to facilitate the completion of the genealogical charts for both families. In essence, all members of the designated lineage of descent were subjects in this study through the use of secondary sources and were included in the family biography. The respondents interviewed in this study had a mean age of 46.8 years. The educational range for the subjects was from 2 to 18 years with a mean of 12 for males and 9 for females. Thirty-seven percent of the subjects were married and they held occupations falling into the professional, operative, craftsman, laborer, service and private household categories.

A total of thirty-one respondents were contacted to participate in the interview portion of the study. One refused to participate; four did not meet the criteria for eligibility; and two were excluded due to physical or emotional illnesses. A sample of 24 family members was realized, which is 77.4 percent of the initial sample.

## Procedures

The initial phase of data collection consisted of reconstructing the family genealogical chart. After the sample was

selected as described above, information was compiled on charts utilized in studies by Gutman (1947), and Stack (1974). Sources of data were family informants as described by Haley (1974) and Murray (1978) and as found in the Slave Narratives, a part of the Federal Writer's Project of 1938. Other sources were census information, vital statistics (in North Carolina only), land deeds, military service records, tax records, wills, local genealogies and reports of local historical societies. Personal letters, Bibles, diaries, photo albums, and newspaper clippings were also used as sources describing generations of these families.

After receiving the names of a given family, the investigator made arrangements with each family's contact person and gave a presentation of an overview of the study. This contact person gained permission from the family to participate in the study. A consent for participation form was completed by each subject interviewed (Appendix A). Approximately ninety minutes were allotted for the interviews. A minimum of one person in each surviving generation was interviewed.

At the time of the interview, the subject was told:

> There is much that we do not know about African American families. These are families who have ancestors from Africa and are usually called blacks or Negroes. These families are a large part of this society and yet we do not have much information about them and their way of life. I think that the study of your family will be important in understanding what other African American families are like.
>
> I have some questions to ask you about yourself and your family. Some of these questions are asking for general information and others are about your family's history. I will tape record our interview and will take a photograph of you before we begin.

There are no right or wrong answers and it is important that I have as much information about each question as you can remember. If you do not understand some of the questions or prefer not to answer them, let me know so we can talk about them.

I will be talking to other members of your family and before I leave today I would like for you to give me the names of three family members who 'know' about your family and are of a different age.

If you would like, I will share with your family the information I obtain at the outcome of this study.

Following the structured interviews, each subject was thanked and a letter sent to the initial family contact person thanking him for the family contribution to the study (Appendix B).

The final phase of data collection was the ethnographic/historical study of the designated community. A guide for the community study was developed by the investigator (Appendix D). The guide was completed by utilizing census data from 1860 to 1979, written histories of the area; newspapers and library holdings, interviews with local historians, genealogies, and annual city and regional reports of economic and political development. More informal information was obtained from interviews with local residents who were knowledgeable and cited as resource persons for the community. Efforts were made to include both primary and secondary sources in this phase of data collection.

## Research Instruments

Historical research has typically been done using qualitative data and without rigorously assessing the appropriateness of methods. It was only recently that historians began to use interdisciplinary research techniques in studying the histories of families (Hareven, 1971). Various perspectives for studying the family include the

anthropological, sociological, psychological and demographic views. Each has contributed to the movement of historical research toward historical social research, a more integrated and conceptually grounded model (Hays, 1974). Historical social research seeks to describe patterns which occur at one time, and changes as they occur over long periods of time. The method is more systematic than intuitive, unlike earlier historical research.

Instruments utilized in historical family research have not been reported in terms of reliability, validity, and operationalization. Products of data collection are reported in interview summaries (Slave Narratives, 1936-1938), field notes (Liebow, 1967) and participant observations (Clark, 1965; Stack, 1974; Whitehead, 1978). It was only in recent years that systematic methods of data collection have been reported (Fogel and Engerman, 1975; Gutman, 1976; Haley, 1976; Stack, 1974; Willie, 1976). It was from such sources that this investigator developed the three instruments utilized in this study.

The guide for an ethnographic community study (see Appendix D) was developed by the investigator and its content derived from the literature. Hareven (1972) discussed the influence of the spatial environment on the history of the family. The significance of the spatial environment was elaborated on in the quasi-anthropological model used by Whitehead (1978) and Gutman (1976) in describing the environments in which their subjects lived. Specific items included in the guide for the present study were taken from the literature cited and the variables designated in the study.

The interview schedule (see Appendix C) was also developed by the investigator and included adaptations of previous research instruments as described below. The schedule was divided into sections on demographic data and on each of the five categories of variables previously stated. These variables have been identified as those features which makes African-American culture different from others. Major support for the selection of the independent variables come from several studies. Items testing for African cultural remnants were based on the content of Gutman (1976), Herskovits (1966), Nobles (1972, 1974), Park (1950), Wood (1974) and Young (1970). The specific remnants studied included physical appearance, motor ability, family structure and world view. Other remnants involving daily living are also studied and are listed in the Guide to African Cultural Remnants (Appendix E).

The instrument used to measure the presence of Negroid features was developed from social anthropological research (Barnett, 1971; Comas, 1960; Honigmann, 1959; Keane, 1920; Linton, 1936). These authors published lists of Negroid features at a time when physical differences were important. Few studies have been done since that time. The findings from these studies indicated that there is agreement about specific Negroid features. This consensus was the basis for evaluating the physical appearance of the respondents in this study.

The items related to household structure and kinship patterns came from the writings of Gutman (1976), Lammermeir (1975), Stack (1974), and Watts and Davis (1974). These items are related to the primary group participation which occurs among members of an ethnic-

racial group. The category of marital roles was an adaptation of the theoretical stance of Blood and Wolfe (1960); Centers and Rodriques (1971); Cromwell and Cromwell (1978); Rodman (1972) and Scanzoni (1971). These items focused on employment, decision making and conflict resolution patterns of marital couples over generations.

Economic and political values for the total society were depicted by Gillin (1955), and van den Berghe (1970) and described specifically how economic and political values influenced African-American families and culture. Economic and political values and behaviors represent acculturation in economic and political spheres. The presence of these values and behaviors will be documented in this study.

Economic and political events were examined in this study as they interface with family patterns. By evaluating the impact of political and economic events, one can ascertain the significance of these for family patterns. A combination of these sources provided the impetus for the items in the interview schedule which attempted to measure such impact. Finally, items related to ethnic perception and consciousness were adapted from the literature on ethnic groups and individual identities, using the works of Benitez (1977), Blauner (1970), Gordon (1964), Johnson (1957) and Scanzoni (1971). The items were designed to measure one's ethnic perceptions and consciousness. The measurement of this variable was significant for the study because of the different racial environments in which the families resided.

The reliability of the instruments was measured by the use of multiple forms of data collection. The use of the interview schedule

with different members of the same family attested to the consistency of the responses over time and across respondents. Data collected from other sources such as the census and family Bibles were correlated with verbal responses adding to the reliability measures. Responses which were corroborated by at least one other source were included in the data reported.

In Strategies of Social Research, Smith (1974) said that the validity of measurements can be determined by examining content, construct and criterion-related validity. As suggested by Smith, content validity of the measurement in the study was ascertained by utilizing several items which indicated the various dimensions of the categories of variables. The literature was examined, various meanings of concepts were delineated, and multiple items were constructed for inclusion in the instruments. The relevance of the literature and the items on the instruments were judged by a cultural anthropologist, an oral historian, and a historian whose specialty area was African-American studies. Their responses were similar and confirmed the relevance of the literature used in instrument construction and the methods for measuring the variables.

The instrument was evaluated on the basis of language, conceptual level of difficulty and frame of reference (Cannell and Kahn, 1968:553). Two persons knowledgeable of format evaluated the form in terms of its readability. The instrument was geared to a sixth grade level of education and particular efforts were made to use the simplest wording possible which conveyed the intended meaning.

Two items measuring the marital roles were taken from Scanzoni's study: The Black Family in Modern Society (1971). The two-part item: "Thinking back over your married life, what is the one thing that you and your wife (husband) have disagreed about more than any other?" and "When you and your wife (husband) disagree over (item) who usually gets his way, you or your wife (husband)?" (p. 240) has been used in several studies suggesting reliability. The second item: "Do you think black* men and women have the same kinds of problems in marriage that white men and women have or do they have different problems?" (p. 310) has not been discussed in terms of validity and reliability. Both of these items were used with a rural population in this study and therefore previous tests of validity and reliability which were done with urban samples may be questionable for the purposes of this study.

The conceptual level and frame of reference were measured in a pretest of the instrument using six respondents who represented various ethnic groups, sexes, and a wide age distribution. The ethnic composition was Indian American, Spanish American, Jewish American and African American, thus representing ethnicity on the basis of religion and race. Three generations of one African American family were pretested. This family was comparable to the sample utilized in the study and members were chosen using the study criteria.

The pretest respondents' ages ranged from 24 to 85 years (mean 45.8) and their education levels ranged from 5 to 19 years (mean 14.3).

---

* The term black was exchanged for Negro in this study.

Four were female (66%) and two male (35%). Religious affiliation included four Protestants, one Catholic and one Jew. Two of the respondents were married, two never married, one separated and one widowed. The mean length of the interview was 67.8 minutes.

Results of the pretest indicated that the interview schedule could be utilized with various ethnic groups to obtain a description of a family. Substitution of ethnic specific terms and political or social events peculiar to that ethnic group made the instrument a viable method of ascertaining family data.

The applicability of the instrument is related to the degree of assimilation of the ethnic group into the dominant culture. For instance, the American Jew perceived himself of the dominant culture and could not dissociate himself with the white race. His ethnicity was based on religious affiliation rather than racial criteria. He had also lived in predominantly white areas and had not participated in distinct Jewish communities. Although he perceived some temperamental differences and varying levels of affectional attachment between Jews and whites, he continued to perceive himself as affined to both.

A similar situation was evident in the responses of the Spanish American. Her nuclear family had rejected their Spanish heritage. The children in this family were not allowed to speak Spanish or to consume ethnic foods in the presence of others. The family had not lived in any Spanish communities. On the contrary, the family had lived on military bases with other ethnic groups and experienced difficulty perceiving any differences between their own ethnic group and others in the society. Further studies need to be done to note the consistency of these findings throughout this family.

The American Indian perceived herself as a member of a distinct ethnic group and her responses were similar to those of the African Americans pretested. The contact with the dominant culture primarily occurred in educational and professional settings, and more intimate sharing occurred among other American Indians.

The pretests of the American Indian and the African Americans indicated similarities in responses. It appears that the limited amount of contact and the presence of racial conflict between the ethnic group and the dominant culture establishes a pattern which differs from the patterns of persons who appear to be assimilated into the culture. These conclusions are tentative and only indicate the possibility of a trend. Further tests of the instrument are needed to substantiate these results.

The consistency of the responses over three generations in an African American family indicated a common frame of reference and conceptual level. The data were supported by the responses of subjects representing three generations. The value of getting additional data with different time perspectives was also noted.

The investigator conducted all the interviews, and consistency in procedures was maintained. All categories of data were obtained with the instrument. However, minor revisions were made in the sequence of the items, wording was changed for clarity, and items were added to measure the entire dimensions of the variables.

## Limitations of the Study

There are a number of limitations of this study which restrict its generalizability. A case study approach was used in developing the

biographies of the two African American families. These families also lived in geographic areas with their own cultural norms and expected behaviors, both of which are peculiar to those environments. There is no evidence to indicate that the results of this study may be extrapolated to other African-American families.

The data described indicate tendencies for family patterns over generations. The number of subjects included in the interview section of the study was limited and therefore may not represent the best data source for the family, although efforts were made to do so. Finally, recall of historical data is a limitation in that recollections of events are altered over time. Each of these is raised as a possible limitation of this study.

## Analysis of Data

Following the interviews, the tapes were transcribed and the data coded. The open-ended responses were content analyzed and in some cases (political values and behaviors, kinship, marital decision making, parental decision making, physical appearance, social mobility and ethnic-racial perceptions) frequencies were scored and the items ranked on those basis of frequencies (see Appendix F). As a result of this process it was possible to translate some responses into nonparametric statistics for subsequent analysis with the Mann-Whitney Test and Chi square two-way classification.

## Presentation of Data

Chapter IV of this dissertation presents the results of the findings in narrative form. The chapter is divided into four sections:

the ethnographic community study of Charleston County, the Simmons family biography, the ethnographic community study of Johnston County and the Avery(a) family biography. Chapter V presents the results of the analysis of data as indicated by the four research hypotheses. Chapter VI summarizes the finding and presents conclusions and recommendations of the study.

# CHAPTER IV

## AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES AND THEIR COMMUNITIES: A NARRATIVE REPORT OF FINDINGS

The data which are presented in this chapter are the result of two community studies and reconstruction of two African-American families. The chapter is divided into four sections: Ethnographic Study of Charleston County, South Carolina; the Biography of the Simmons Family, 1860-1979; Ethnographic Study of Johnston County, North Carolina; and the Biography of the Avery(a) Family, 1860-1979. Findings which are descriptive and narrative in form are presented in the biographies of these families. Other findings are reported which are supportive to the discussion section of Chapter VI.

### Ethnographic Study of Charleston County, South Carolina

#### Early History

Charleston County is a 945 square mile tract of land located on the coast of South Carolina in an area known as the low country. The county was established in 1768 but was settled by the English as early as 1670. At that time, the county was inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians and later by immigrants from Ireland, Scotland, the Netherlands, France, Germany, and Switzerland. Research about Charleston County reveals a picturesque area whose history has significance for African Americans.

Charleston County is significant in the lives of African Americans because of the importance of the slave trade to the area. Slaves were imported to this area in 1672 and over the next century the city of Charleston was to become one of the key cities for the

importation of slaves. Slaves were brought on vessels owned by Great Britain, Rhode Island, and the city of Charleston. Over a period from 1800-1804, sixty thousand slaves were imported to this area. Such large numbers of slaves were imported although an act forbidding such importation of slave cargo was passed in 1787. Support for such illegal acts continued well into the 19th century.

Slavery was supported because of its impact on the economy. The importation of large numbers of slaves was necessary to meet the labor requirements of rice production. Slaves were necessary to prepare the land, plant the rice and later to thrash it with mortars. Large numbers of slaves were needed because the mortality rate for rice production was high. The rice fields were known to be unhealthy for they were "infested with the most poisonous malaria" ("The Sea Islands," 1878, p. 853).

Other events which made Charleston County significant in the history of African Americans included the arrival of Dominican refugees in 1793 and the Denmark Vesey insurrection in 1822. Dominican refugees came to Charleston in order to escape political upheaval in their own country. They added to the numbers of nonwhite persons in the area. The rebellion led by Denmark Vesey, a mulatto of Dominican descent, was one of the earlier attempts by slaves to achieve their freedom.

The Sea Islands form the coastal border of Charleston County and were the site of large plantations where some of the wealthiest men in the state resided. These large estates produced the finest cotton grown in the South. The special seeds, fertilizers and drainage systems utilized in cotton production made this a

sophisticated form of cultivation in times when others were simply planting crops. With a large labor supply and advanced methods of cultivation, the cotton crops thrived in the Sea Islands for years ("The Sea Islands," 1878).

The slaves on the Sea Islands were brought directly from Africa and were not "seasoned" in other areas. Slaves brought their native language and customs with them. As cited earlier in the review of literature of this text, many African cultural remnants were a part of the culture. The Sea Islands also served as a haven for runaway slaves. The geography of the area made these islands ideal for hiding.

Politics in Charleston County

The history of Charleston County is highlighted by numerous political events. In 1860, slavery and the Civil War was very much an issue. The Democratic National Convention held in Charleston was one of the events which put Charleston County in the forefront on many political issues. Lesesne (1931) noted that the Ordinance of Decision was ratified in Charleston which further confirmed Charleston's position in leading the South. Later Charleston was the site of several battles and sieges which were significant in the course of the Civil War.

As an economic event, the Civil War diverted the trade of farm products from well established English and European markets to the shipping of munitions and food stuff for the armies. The production of cotton and rice disappeared. Young men left the plantations to fight in the war. Whites were substantially outnumbered in the Sea Islands and were afraid of slave uprisings. They fled to safety in

urban areas where other whites were living. During their absence, the plantation system was shattered as fields lay idle and ships were commandeered for confederate purposes.

Subsequently, the islands were left in the hands of the thousands of slaves who inhabited them. Plantations lay idle but African Americans began to harvest crops on small plots, to fish out of the sea, and to develop a sense of self sufficiency and independence. Instead of growing cotton, slaves grew potatoes, corn and other grains. Some of the agricultural skills that the slaves had acquired were lost because of their unwillingness to use them. They refused to participate in any activity which was associated with slavery.

Throughout the Civil War, African Americans were exposed to Yankee soldiers, "carpetbaggers," "scalawags" and other Northerners. With these groups came the new awareness of political rights. The Democratic Party had political control prior to the war and felt that these "scalawags" had turned African Americans against their former owners. Such views were expressed in a Democratic meeting held in the city of Charleston. In 1868, Democrats invited African Americans to join their party in an attempt to gain post war political control. However, this invitation was met with such hostility that their meetings were disrupted by the picketing of African Americans (Address, Note 1).

The Republican Party was able to capitalize on the split between African Americans and the Democratic Party. The Republican Party "courted" African Americans as they became more disillusioned

with the Democrats. The number of African Americans who registered as Republicans became a significant political event. The significance of this event will be discussed later in this section.

In May 1866, there began a movement by whites to regain their property. Federal intervention was necessary to restore "rightful" owners to their property. These acts were bitterly opposed by African Americans. In some areas, three years elapsed before certain properties were regained. The acquisition of land was important to African Americans and further ramifications of such losses will be discussed later in this text.

The loss of land resulted in the refusal of African Americans to work for their former owners during the period of Emanicipation and Reconstruction. This labor shortage contributed to further financial losses of the post-war era. In addition, the cotton crops of 1867-1870 were ruined by rain and the cotton worm. It appeared that the Sea Islands would never regain the prestigious position they held earlier as producers of rice and cotton.

African Americans began to exercise their political rights and this entire county was overwhelmed by the political activism by this majority group. In 1868, the Constitutional Convention was held in Charleston and was the vehicle through which African Americans exercised their political freedom for the first time in their lives. The election of delegates for this convention was a Republican victory as large numbers of African Americans flocked to the polls from the Sea Islands. In 1874, the majority of the 124 members elected to the House of Representatives in South Carolina were African Americans.

African Americans such as W.J. Whipper, circuit judge, were elected to local offices.

Lesesne (1931) described the events which led to the "turn of the tide" toward conservatism. As in other regions of the South, the control of the political machine was being taken away from African Americans. The governor elected in 1874 became more conservative and vetoed the legislation passed by these African-American representatives. By 1876, the Democrats had regained control of the legislature.

The Democrats used various means to regain their control. Groups of whites threatened the lives of African-American voters. Intimidation by groups like the Ku Klux Klan began to have an impact on political activity. In addition, congressional legislation requiring the ability to read as a criterion for voter registration, reduced the voting strength of African Americans. However, this did not happen without several riots in Charleston. African Americans clashed with white members of rifle clubs whose purpose was "reasserting the supremacy of white people" (Lesesne, 1931).

African Americans had to bow to the changing tide and were no longer allowed to participate in politics. The whites in the city of Charleston celebrated their victory at the polls and felt they had rescued the government from "ignorant and corrupt rule" (Lesesne, 1931).

The Emancipation and Reconstruction periods were characterized by gains and losses for African Americans. They gained freedom from slavery but lost their land and political rights within a short span of time. Some African Americans responded to this change of events by leaving the area aboard the Azor. The Azor was a ship that African

Americans sailed to Liberia in 1878. Lesesne (1931) stated that

> Some were going because they thought they would have a better chance to 'rise in the world' with a generous and cheaply procured soil and perfect social equality with their neighbors; others were tired of 'renting' or 'working out,' and wanted to be their own masters; others complained that the farmers were banding more and more firmly together to keep down the wages of the laborer; others could give no reason for going, falling back on the old talk of the 'Ku Klux,' 'night hawks' and political persecution. (p. 96).

In addition to the political events previously described, several natural disasters occurred in the area. A cyclone struck in 1885. In 1886, an earthquake caused one million dollars worth of damage in the county. Another quake occurred in 1886 this time killing 40 persons and causing several million dollars worth of damages. The area was devastated again in 1893 by a hurricane which destroyed property valued at one million dollars in both Charleston and the Sea Islands. The rice and cotton crops were destroyed on the Sea Islands and hundreds of residents drowned. Typhoid fever was added to the list of natural disasters in 1894 causing even more suffering.

The Economy of the County

As far as the economy is concerned, agriculture remained a chief source of income. Parish green was utilized as a fertilizer which increased the yield of crops. A better system of draining the marsh lands was adopted on the Sea Islands. More land was available to planters. Some African Americans continued farming their own land, while others worked for wages. In 1870 these wages were fifty cents per day. Still other African Americans sharecropped and lived on a system of advances. Debits were repaid at the end of the season at the rate of 15% interest. African Americans were noted to be reliable

in paying these debts (Sea Islands 1863-80, Note 2). Commissary stores provided goods and served as inducements for African Americans to settle on a planter's land.

A two day system was developed by 1880 to overcome the shortage of manpower caused by the refusal of some African Americans to work for former owners. Under such a plan, an owner would furnish 5-7 acres of land and a house in return for two days labor, usually Monday and Tuesday. This method of labor varied in its success on the Sea Islands. Edisto Island achieved the greatest success while John's Island the least.

African Americans who owned their own land did not gain financially from their labor the amounts gained by whites. African Americans could not afford to apply the amount of fertilizer necessary to produce the yield comparable to the same acreage of white landowners. They did not use sophisticated drainage techniques and did not reap the profits made by white landowners.

In 1880, cotton, rice, naval stores (tar, turpentine), lumber, phosphates and vegetables became the chief source of income for Charleston County. Phosphate mining and the related production of fertilizer remained an important industry through World War I. Rice and cotton never regained their position in the economy. The boll weevil and hurricanes destroyed the cotton. Sharecropping and the cost of labor put an end to rice planting. By 1930, there was no rice planted in Charleston County.

As the twentieth century began, new industry was brought to Charleston. The naval yard was built in the county in 1902. World

War I sparked the need for military ship building which provided an impetus for economic growth throughout the low country. Truck farming continued to be an important industry as 40-50% of the land remained as farms. In 1929, 612 white farmers and 3002 African Americans were actively involved in truck farming (Lesesne, 1931). Some produce was sold by street vendors. African American women carried bundles of produce on their heads to sell daily in the local markets.

The economic gains of the war were lost during the years of the depression. With the economic crisis, the depletion of the soil and the presence of the boll weevil, many farmers moved to urban areas. African Americans began to migrate to large cities such as New York to seek employment. This trend of migration will only begin to reverse itself during the present decade (Pinchney, Note 3).

Underemployment became an issue as service professions and farm labor were still necessary. African Americans continued to earn "habish" instead of money for their labor. Wages dropped to 7¢ per hour for men and 5¢ per hour for women (Carawan, 1966). Additional jobs were created under federal work projects. Several schools were built under the auspices of these federal programs. Monies from the Rosenwald Fund provided for the construction of school buildings during the post-depression era (Strohecker, Note 4).

The economy was recovering from the soup lines of the thirties when World War II began. Military spending again enhanced the economy of the region. Charleston served as a major naval port during the War. Because of the strategic position of Charleston, the residents

suffered several submarine scares during the war, none of which materialized as a real threat (Lesesne, 1931).

The Census of 1925 was a significant event for Charleston County. This was the first time since 1820 that whites were the majority group in the state. The census figures indicated that 893,900 African Americans and 910,100 whites resided in South Carolina during that year. The shift in population had an impact on the political, economic and social events of the time (Stroehecker, Note 4).

The population shift was followed in 1926 by easier access to the Sea Islands. The bridge across the Stone River made John's Island accessible and was opened in that year. Prior to this time, steamers made weekly trips to the islands, one of which was operated on James Island by an African American named Tony Stafford. In the 1930's, other bridges and causeways were constructed connecting the Sea Islands to the mainland. African Americans were no longer physically isolated.

African Americans were now in the mainstream of society. They had gained accessibility but had suffered a loss because they were now a minority group. To overcome this deficit, African Americans were soon to become more vocal in their concerns. By 1948, Esau Jenkins, a local political activist and business entrepreneur, was instrumental in establishing health care facilities and schools. He was a leader in the movement to register African Americans as voters. The bridges built earlier became the route he utilized to transport African Americans on a bus to their jobs in Charleston. Trucks were used to

transport produce from the Sea Islands to Greek restaurants within the city (Jenkins, Note 5). These activities were the beginnings of an economic and political resurgence that still exists among African Americans today.

Economic opportunities became more available when an oyster factory opened on Yonges Island. Both males and females were employed and for the first time there was work available in industry for the island residents. This opportunity was short lived when the factory closed and residents again had to continue the twenty five mile trip into Charleston. In Charleston, a cigar factory provided additional opportunities for employment. The Charleston port continued to increase its volume of cargo and was able to employ more African Americans. Such new opportunities increased the economic resources of African Americans. Operatives and longshoreman positions paid higher wages than those of service workers and farm laborers.

The Korean and Vietnam Wars continued the spiraling effect of the economy for African Americans. During the Vietnam War, a factory in Charleston county manufactured engines for helicopters. Although this was a war related industry which closed in 1972, it provided employment for numerous county residents. By the time this plant closed, military installations had been built which required large numbers of service personnel.

The economy of Charleston County in the 1960's can be characterized as "vital" primarily because of the presence of military installations including two hospitals. The mean income for the county in 1969 was $9,125 and $15,790 in 1979. It is difficult to obtain

this data for earlier periods of time. The accompanying table presents median income levels for Charleston County and Yonges Island. The data indicated the overall lower income levels for African Americans. (See Table 1).

The development of Kiawah Island as a resort has increased the number of service jobs. The developers of Kiawah are attuned to the need to protect the environment and to provide services to local residents. This is done through annual contributions to social agencies in the Sea Islands. A negative consequence of this resort is the increase in property values. Such increases have implications for taxpayers who are on fixed incomes or who earn income below the poverty level.

In conclusion, it is important to recognize that the economy of Charleston County is dependent on government expenditures and service oriented employment. There is noted an apparent lack of growth in the manufacturing sector (A Study of the Population and Economy, Note 6). Farming remains significant for the area especially in the Sea Islands. However, there has been a decline in the number of African American farmers. Table 2 illustrates the decline in farmers from 1965 to 1969 the slight increase from 1969 to 1974. As the table indicates, all the categories of African-American farms have decreased over the decade although the acreage is slightly higher than the figure for 1964.

The preceding section described the history of Charleston including the major national, political and economic events of the period from 1860 to 1979. Specific regional events were included

TABLE 1

MEDIAN INCOME FOR CHARLESTON COUNTY AND YONGES ISLAND, 1960 AND 1970

| | 1960 | | 1970 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Family | Family and Unrelated Individuals | Family | Family and Unrelated Individuals |
| Charleston County | | | | |
| Total Population | $4,518 | $3,417 | $8,068 | $5,702 |
| African American | $1,518 | $1,264 | $4,635 | $3,640 |
| Yonges Island | | | | |
| Total Population | $2,377 | $2,000 | $4,907 | $4,423 |
| African American[a] | | | | |

[a] Data not available for African Americans.

SOURCE: Data obtained from the 1960 and 1970 Census of the Population, U. S. Census Bureau.

TABLE 2

STATUS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN AGRICULTURE
CHARLESTON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

| | 1964 | 1969 | 1974 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of farms | 465 | 235 | 251 |
| Acres | 95,997 | 70,544 | 75,342 |
| % of Land | 15.9% | 11.7% | 12.5% |
| Average size | 206.4 | 300.1 | 300.0 |
| African American Operated farms | 182 | 35 | 42 |
| Number of Acres | 4,356 | 1,122 | 5,989 |
| Full owners | 85 | 18 | 26 |
| Acres | 1,633 | 545 | 5,138 |
| Part owners | 59 | 15 | 16 |
| Acres | 1,429 | 538 | 851 |
| Tenants | 38 | 2 | 26 |
| Acres | 1,294 | 35 | 1,589 |
| Market Value of agricultural products (all farms) | $5,697,150 | $5,559,230 | $8,755,000 |
| Major Crops: Soybeans, vegetables, corn, wheat, hay. | | | |

SOURCE: Census of Agriculture, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Vol. 1 Part 27, 1974; Vol. 1, Part 40, 1977.

such as local politics, natural disasters, population shifts, and local sources of income. All of these events interfaced over this period and influenced the lives of the residents.

## Characteristics of the Population

This section reviews demographic data about Charleston County and Yonges Island. This information describes population trends, land ownership, occupations, family structure and marital status. All of these are descriptive of the individuals and families who live in this area.

Population has been critical for African Americans in South Carolina. It is difficult to consider the history of this area without considering the people and their numbers. African Americans have outnumbered whites since 1710. As previously reported the reversal of this trend occurred in the mid-twentieth century. Table 3 contains population statistics from 1860 to 1980. The data demonstrate the declining trend of the African-American population which has resulted in their being the minority group in Charleston County. Yonges Island has also experienced a downward trend in the number of African Americans but not as drastic as evident for the county (see Table 3).

Census data includes information about family structure and marital status. Both of these are specific variables under investigation in this study. In order to understand the structure and marital status of the Simmons family, it is necessary to examine these variables as they exist in Charleston County and on Yonges Island. The following table presents marital status of African Americans residing in the county as well as specifically in Yonges Island. The 1970 census data is the latest data available which includes these statistics. Generally,

TABLE 3

POPULATION OF CHARLESTON COUNTY AND YONGES ISLAND BY RACE
FROM 1860-1980

| | Charleston County | | | | | Yonges Island Area | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | African Americans | % | Whites | % | Total | African Americans | % | Whites | % | Total |
| 1860 | 40,912 | 58.4 | 29,188 | 41.6 | 70,100 | | | | | |
| 1870 | 60,603 | 68.2 | 28,204 | 31.7 | 88,863 | | | | | |
| 1880 | 71,868 | 69.9 | 30,922 | 30.1 | 102,800 | | | | | |
| 1890 | 35,073 | 58.5 | 24,764 | 41.3 | 59,903[a] | | | | | |
| 1900 | 60,312 | 70.1 | 27,647 | | 86,066[b] | | | | | |
| 1910 | 56,033 | 63.2 | 32,561 | 36.8 | 88,594 | | | | | |
| 1920 | 64,236 | 59.2 | 41,672 | 38.4 | 108,450 | | | | | 5,784[d] |
| 1930 | 54,812 | 54.2 | 44.330 | 43.9 | 101,050 | | | | | |
| 1940 | 59,573 | 49.2 | 61,487 | 49.4 | 121,105 | 4,711 | 71.3 | 1,895 | 28.7 | 6,606 |
| 1950 | 68,268 | 41.4 | 96,588 | 58.6 | 164,856 | | | | | |
| 1960 | 78,488 | 36.0 | 138,488 | 64.0 | 216,382 | 3,214 | 66.0 | 1,642 | 33.7 | 4,861 |
| 1970 | 77,884 | 32.0 | 168,414 | 68.0 | 247,650 | 3,342 | 62.4 | 2,005 | 37.4 | 5,360 |
| 1980 | | | | | 289,000[c] | | | | | |

TABLE 3 (Cont'd.)

[a] Berkeley County was separated from Charleston County in 1882.

[b] Percentages do not add up to 100.00 because of census subtotal error.

[c] Projected by Berkeley, Charleston, Dorchester Council of Governments.

[d] Annexed from Colleton County and listed as St. Paul's District.

the married category represents 50% of the adult population on Yonges Island. Widowhood (73.8% of the total widowed) and separations (92.7% of the total separated) have higher incidences among African Americans (see Table 4). These percentages are greater than their numbers in the total population of Yonges Island.

Family structure data found in the 1960 and 1970 census indicate similar patterns. Most African-American families (53.5% in 1960 and 46.3% in 1970) lived in husband-wife families and children live with both parents. Female headed households included a large proportion of separated and widowed African Americans. The category, other male heads of household, provided data about the frequency of cohabitation. This category gives a distorted view of cohabitation in that all "other male heads of households" are not necessarily individuals involved in consensual unions. Regardless, the incidence of this category is high for African Americans. In interpreting the data in Table 5, it is important to remember that the data are cross-sectional and do not represent the marital status or family structure of an individual or family over time. The literature previously cited described marital status and family structures as dynamic and fluid in the African-American culture.

Categories of occupations are related to the economy of the region. In 1970, Charleston county was primarily a service oriented community and the occupational structure reflected this fact (see Table 6). On the other hand, Yonges Island is a rural area where agriculture is a major contributor to the economy. Table 6 presents the occupations of African Americans living on Yonges Island. There

TABLE 4

MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION BY SEX AND RACE

| | Charleston County | | | | | | | | Yonges Island | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1970 | | | | 1960 | | | | 1970 | | | |
| | Total | | African Americans | | Total | | African Americans | | Total | | African Americ | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Femal |
| Total >14 years | 90,806 | 85,733 | 23,028 | 27,013 | 1,358 | 1,491 | 788 | 916 | 1,681 | 1,850 | -- | --* |
| Single | 31,640 | 19,793 | 9,410 | 8,766 | 487 | 390 | 329 | 275 | 609 | 559 | -- | -- |
| Married | 55,769 | 53,759 | 12,523 | 13,682 | 820 | 859 | 434 | 468 | 997 | 1,026 | -- | -- |
| Separated | 988 | 3,359 | 1,152 | 2,429 | 28 | 54 | 26 | 50 | 47 | 59 | -- | -- |
| Widowed | 1,809 | 10,134 | 900 | 4,210 | 42 | 233 | 25 | 172 | 52 | 248 | -- | -- |
| Divorced | 1,588 | 2,047 | 195 | 355 | 9 | 9 | -- | 1 | 23 | 17 | -- | -- |

* Data not available.

SOURCE: Census of the Population, 1960, 1970.

TABLE 5

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION FOR CHARLESTON COUNTY AND YONGES ISLAND IN 1960 AND 1970

| | 1960 | | | | 1970 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Charleston County | | Yonges Island | | Charleston County | | Yonges Island | |
| | Total | African American | Total | African American | Total | African American | Total | African American |
| All families | 48,204 | 14,926 | 959 | 555 | 56,809 | 15,576 | 1,165 | 623 |
| Husband-wife families | 39,860 | 10,401 | 770 | 412 | 46,154 | 10,515 | 908 | 421 |
| Female or other head | 8,344 | 4,525 | 189 | 143 | 10,655 | 5,061 | 198 | 149 |
| Unrelated or other male head | 19,407 | 5,017 | 115 | 66 | | * | 59 | 53 |
| Children <18 years | 91,268 | 39,888 | 2,449 | 1,781 | 91,324 | 36,244 | 2,419 | 1,802 |
| Percent of children living with both parents | 77.4% | 63.6% | 70% | 66% | 72.5% | 57.4% | 64.4% | |

* Data not available.

TABLE 6

OCCUPATIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN YONGES ISLAND AND CHARLESTON COUNTY

| | Profes-sional | Mana-gers | Clerical | Sales | Crafts-men | Opera-tives | Private House-holds | Ser-vice | All Labor-ers | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1960 Yonges Island | | | | | | | | | | |
| Males | [a] | 19 | 8 | | 66 | 123 | | 26 | 217 | 471 |
| Percent | | 4 | 1.6 | | 14 | 26 | | 5.5 | 46 | 97[b] |
| Females | | | 8 | | | 53 | 156 | 21 | 101 | 343 |
| Percent | | | 2.3 | | | 15.5 | 45.5 | 6.3 | 29.4 | 99 |
| 1970 Yonges Island | | | | | | | | | | |
| Males | 7 | | 14 | 12 | 122 | 144 | | 59 | 106 | 464 |
| Percent | 1.5 | | 3 | 2.5 | 26.2 | 31 | | 12.7 | 22.8 | 100 |
| Females | 38 | | 33 | 7 | | 26 | 130 | 102 | 50 | 386 |
| Percent | 9.8 | | 8.5 | 1.8 | | 6.7 | 33.7 | 26.4 | 13 | 100 |
| 1960 Charleston County | | | | | | | | | | |
| Males | 323 | 370 | 282 | 129 | 1,898 | 3,102 | 97 | 1,365 | 4,221 | 11,787 |
| Percent | 2.7 | 3.1 | 2.4 | 1.1 | 16.1 | 26.3 | .8 | 11.6 | 35.8 | 100 |
| Females | 777 | 109 | 145 | 74 | 35 | 900 | 4,519 | 1,699 | 695 | 8,953 |
| Percent | 8.7 | 1.2 | 1.6 | .8 | .4 | 10 | 50.5 | 18.9 | 7.7 | 100 |
| 1970 Charleston County[c] | 1,970 | 432 | 1,718 | 101 | 2,887 | 2,913 | 2,806 | 4,921 | 2,890 | 20,640 |

[a] Blank spaces indicate no African Americans are in those categories.

[b] The remainder did not report their occupation.

[c] Data not available by sex.

SOURCES: 1960 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population, Vol. 1, Part 42, 1963; 1970 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population, Vol. 1, Part 42, 1973.

is a noticeable shift for males to more industrial occupations in 1970 although farm labor remains an important category. Females experienced a 385% increase in service workers.

The final demographic characteristic to be discussed is land ownership and housing. Land ownership has been an important part of the history of African Americans in the Sea Islands. Although the acreage which African Americans owned was small in comparison to whites, the land provided stability and perceptions of self sufficiency. Abraham Jenkins (Note 5) stated "people have respect for you if you own something." This statement represents the attitude of African Americans toward the land they own and its value to them.

As discussed previously, many African Americans purchased land at the end of the Civil War as personal investments or through cooperative efforts. These lands were available for sale at public auctions for failure to pay federal taxes. It is also thought that General Sherman's Special Field Order Number 15 set aside the Sea Islands and 30 miles inland as property to be given to African Americans in plots of 20-40 acres. However, since Congress did not confirm these gifts, it is doubtful that the property remained in the hands of African Americans. However, it is impossible to say this repossession occurred with 100% certainty (Bourne, 1971).

African Americans obtained property through various routes following the Civil War. African Americans owned 10,000 acres in the Sea Islands in 1880 with an aggregate worth of $300,000 (The Sea Islands, Note 2). For approximately one hundred years, African Americans have been landowners, here an occurrence not evident in all sections of the nation.

During the recent decades, there has been a crisis in land ownership by African Americans. The Emergency Land Fund National Office has been established to prevent further loss of property by African Americans. The National Association of Land Owners stated that 12-15 million acres have been wrested from African Americans in the south and predicted that there are only about six million acres left within their possession. This trend has affected land ownership similarly in South Carolina and the Sea Islands. The organization of the South Carolina Land Association was an attempt to interrupt this process by educating African Americans of the value of land and ways to maintain possession of it (Bourne, 1971).

Heir's property rights has been cited as one way property is lost. Heir's property is the result of the owners' failure to leave a will. The land becomes intestate and state law assigns the land to specific family members. Any hier can force partitioning of the land and the subsequent sale without the permission of the other heirs. Internal squabbles can result in the loss of land (Heir's Property, Note 7).

Land is also being lost to tax sales. As tax evaluations increase, the difficulty in paying taxes by residents also increases. It appears that the more attractive this semi-tropical land becomes to whites, the greater the valuation of the property. These property values have increased the burden of taxes for small landowners. Failure to pay these taxes by one heir can result in the loss of the entire estate.

Developers with large capital investments are offering to purchase land at prices perceived as substantial amounts by individuals who never paid anything for the land (Bourne, 1971). Having large sums of money for the first time in one's life is the motivation for many African Americans who are currently selling their property. Thus the media's glorification of materialism by the dominant culture is creating a crisis in land ownership for African Americans.

Housing remains another area for concern. Although African Americans owned 50% of the housing on Yonges Island in 1970, they also lived in 80% of the substandard housing. The median value of housing on Yonges Island in 1970 was $6,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973). There is the obvious absence of any multi-family housing. To respond to this need, the Sea Island Comprehensive Health Care Corporation is currently constructing multi-family housing for the elderly and handicapped. These are the only multi-family housing available in the area outside the city limits of Charleston.

Mobile homes are becoming popular among the residents because they provide housing which meet zoning standards and are within their financial means. As inflation increases, and mortgages and credit become more difficult to obtain, there probably will be an increase in the number of residential mobile homes.

## Religion

The history of religion in Charleston County coincides with the settlement of the region. The French Huguenots established the first church in the county in 1681. Since that time, Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans, Methodists, Catholics and Jews established churches

and synagogues. Each of these have contributed to the development of Charleston County (Charleston, Note 8).

Churches served as religious, social and political institutions in the Sea Islands. They have consistently provided the leadership for the numerous social, economic and political changes which have occurred. The church provided education when there were no schools (Isam, Note 9). They served as meeting places for the African American people when there were no other public facilities available. Their usefulness to the people is indicated by the actual number of churches and participating members. A survey in 1976 found that there were 66 churches located on the five Sea Islands. Although all denominations are represented it appears that the Methodist church accounts for a large number of the total.

Church meetings and revivals have been arenas for the expression of emotions. The programs are filled with fervor and enthusiasm as members "testify." Spirituals are sung by the congregation and often are led by one person and lines are repeated by a chorus. A "shouting" interchange occurs as each group becomes louder and feelings more intense. Clapping and swaying accompanies the singing. The fervor increases as members of the congregation join in and the "spirit" is experienced by all age groups.

This investigator attended several religious services in African-American churches. The lyrics to the songs and the "double beat" cadence of handclapping is qualitatively different from services found in rural North Carolina. Carawan (1966) stated the clapping and body movement are reminiscent of the beating of drums and dancing in

African religious ceremonies. A physician who has lived in West Africa and the Sea Islands attests to the similarity in the music in the two cultures (Eliott, Note 10).

Spiritualism is a key concept in the religion. In day to day conversation, references are made to spirits, souls and the death. Such views are expressed by both young and old persons.

The Moving Star Hall is an example of the involvement of religion in the lives of African Americans. The Moving Star Hall was chartered in the 1920's as a religious, social and fraternal organization. Meetings which are religious services are held bi-monthly. Singing without musical accompaniment, prayers, and "testifying" are the content of the services held in the small wood framed building on John's Island. The society also provides sick and death benefits to its members. Small monthly payments would guarantee a benefit being paid during illnesses or death. Such benefits were mandatory in the past since there were no insurance companies available to provide this service.

The Moving Star Hall members meet in the same building as they did in 1920's. Members sit around the wood stove and make their contribution to the services. Generations of families attend the services and therefore it does not appear that Moving Star Hall will become extinct.

## Education

Education has had a tumultuous history because of the effect of economic and political events. Public school education was a need expressed by the founders of Charleston which led to the establishment

of College of Charleston in 1770 as the first accredited college in the south. By 1811, free schools were provided in each parish equal to the number of representatives that the parish had. In 1812, the Charleston city school system was organized. To increase the breadth of education available, the Medical College of South Carolina and the Citadel were opened in 1823 and 1848 respectively (Strohecker, Note 4).

At this time, all efforts were made to provide education for white children. Slaves could not legally be taught to read and write and therefore voids exist in the education of African Americans prior to 1860.

Education was influenced by the Civil War. Cadets from the Citadel fought in the war in 1863 and were unable to continue their studies until 1882 when the school reopened (Lesesne, 1931). All schools were disbanded from 1865-1867 when resources were being used to fight the war.

In the immediate post-war era, the Freedman's Bureau assumed the responsibility for educating African Americans. The state legislature gained control of these schools in 1866 and in 1876 reorganized the school system to increase the number of schools for African Americans. The South Carolina Constitution mandated the building of separate schools for African Americans in 1895. The number of schools was substantially increased after the passage of this legislation.

Education for African Americans took place in churches or small one room frame buildings. There was usually one teacher who taught the first through the fifth grade for 4 to 6 months per year. Residents

on Yonges Island remember their schools being housed in churches and the private residences of their teachers (Isam, Note 9).

The twentieth century was a time in which education became more accessible to all county residents. By 1916, there were 59 "colored" schools in the county. The period from 1912 to 1925 was characterized by construction of twelve additional schools for African Americans. These schools were built with county funds as well as monies from the Rosenwald Fund (Strohecker, Note 4).

Secondary education became a reality for whites in 1882 when the high school of Charleston was built for boys and the Memminger School for girls. It was forty years later (1922) before a high school was built in the county. The high school for the St. Paul's school district was not built until 1927. This school provided secondary education for whites who lived in the Yonges Island area.

African Americans living in Charleston were able to attend high school in 1910 when the Burke Industrial School for Negro boys and girls was established. There was no school available for county students unless they commuted or boarded within the city. Even when a student could arrange to live within the city or to commute, there was a $45.00 tuition fee to be paid by all county residents enrolled in a city school. It became almost impossible for African Americans who lived in the county to achieve more than a fifth grade education. The illiteracy rate of 1920 was 33.4% for African Americans and 19.7% for the overall county. These figures corroborate the disparity in providing education for the citizens of the county.

Another event in this educational chronicle was the legislation of 1922 which made school attendance compulsory. This law "guarantees to every white child in the county and city an absolutely free public school education from the first through an accredited high school, and for every negro child, an elementary education in the rural districts and an industrial high school education in the city" (Stroedecker, Note 4, p. 61). Although there is definite disparity in educational opportunities for the races, compulsory attendance was a milestone in public education.

The economy influenced education during the depression. This migration of African Americans to large urban areas to secure employment reduced the school enrollment substantially in 1928. The enrollment for African Americans decreased by one thousand students during that school term. Although there had been slight reductions during the depression years none were as drastic as in 1928.

Social and political activism emerged as a force in determining the direction which the county would take in educating its African American citizens. Esau Jenkins was instrumental in facilitating the availability of education on John's Island. He began by transporting his own children to Burke High School in Charleston. He later increased the number of students transported by purchasing a bus. The county began to bear some of the expense of such a venture by supplementing the transportation costs. Through the persuasive efforts of local citizens, the tuition fees were also paid from county funds. The school board finally realized that it was less expensive to build a school on the island than to financially support county students

in the city schools (Jenkins, Note 5). In 1953, Haut Gap High School was built on John's Island. A few years earlier (1948), construction had started on Baptist Hill High School on Yonges Island.

Secondary education in the Sea Islands came fifty years later for African Americans than for whites. These schools were racially segregated and at one time Charleston County was supporting a school system for whites, African Americans, and "Brass Ankles" or mulattos, who preferred a distinct school system (Pinckney, Note 3). This triformed educational system remained until the freedom of choice plan was implemented in 1965.

Integration of the schools on the Sea Islands has had limited success. Currently Baptist Hill High School is composed of 96% African American students and 98% faculty. One reason that the school is predominantly African American is that the majority of the residents in the area are African Americans (62.4% in 1970). In addition to the population differential, white students are enrolled in private schools and academies. The enrollment in private schools appears to influence the racial composition of the local public schools more than the overall population. Apparently this situation will remain as there are currently no legal mandates to rectify the situation.

There are difficulties inherent in having a local school district which is primarily attended by one race of children. It appears that many of these students come from homes where they are the first generation to get a high school diploma and for that reason

some of the supports necessary for successful school performance are not available. These include the absence of parental support, and the absence of resources such as books and learning aids in the home and community. The absence of resources has influenced the educational experiences of students. At this time only 13 percent of the incoming freshmen class at Baptist Hill High School are functioning at or above grade level according to the results of standardized tests. Thirty-three percent of the high school graduates enter college or the military. The remainder enter construction or service employment. In comparison, 58 percent of the high school graduates in Charleston County entered post graduate education in 1978 (Education, Note 11). These students have the additional difficulty of language. Some of the students speak the Gullah language which is different from standardized English. These students appear to have difficulty with their courses and taking standardized tests. Finally, commuting approximately 20 miles a day from another island becomes an inconvenience for some students (Pinchney, Note 3).

Although there are some apparent inequities in funding and facilities there are some positive attributes to this predominantly African American school system. One of these positive attributes is the behavior of the students. The students are well behaved and are not a management problem as evidenced in other school districts. The abuse of drugs also appears to be of limited nature and therefore does not interfere with school performance. The "drop-out" rate continues to be low.

There is an increased need to enhance the educational opportunities for African Americans. Charleston County has experienced success in educating the citizens. The median years of education has increased from 7.6 in 1940, to 10.1 in 1960 and 11.8 in 1970. Table 7 summarizes the median educational levels for the county over 40 years. Yonges Island has not reached such levels. In 1960, the median years of education for all groups was 6.4, and 8.3 years in 1970. The median years for African Americans were even lower, in 1960 the median was 3.8 years and 5.7 years in 1970. These educational levels indicate the need for additional support for the large numbers of African Americans residing there.

Local Government

The city of Charleston has a mayor-council form of government which gives increased responsibility to the mayor. The council consists of twelve aldermen who are elected (A Handbook for Municipal Governments, Note 12). Records dating back to the 19th century indicated that this same form of government was in existence. It is difficult to find reports of the involvement of African Americans over this period of time. It has been reported that African Americans were elected to local offices during the Reconstruction period, but names were not readily available. Since that time, there is no evidence of local political involvement until the voter registration drives of the 1950's. Esau Jenkins, William Saunders, Reverend Willis T. Goodwin and countless others worked diligently registering African Americans as voters. At this time, there is one African American serving on the city council.

TABLE 7

MEDIAN YEARS OF EDUCATION BY RACE AND COUNTY FROM 1940-1970

| | 1940 | | 1950 | | 1960 | | 1970 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Population | African Americans | Total Population | African Americans | Total Population | African Americans | Total Population | African Americans |
| Charleston County | 7.6 | * | 8.7 | 4.9 | 10.1 | 6.3 | 11.8 | 8.3 |
| Johnston County | 6.8 | * | 7.4 | 5.1 | 7.6 | 6.1 | 9.9 | 8.4 |

* Data not available.

The county government has a council composed of members from nine districts. These councilmen elect a chairman and a county manager. Again, it is difficult to ascertain the involvement of African Americans in local government. Local newspapers describe the election in 1969 of Aaron Harvey, as the first African American elected as magistrate in the county.

It appeared that African Americans have participated in the political area over the past thirty years. Several had been successful in their bid for local and state offices. However, these persons have been in the minority and never equaled the numbers elected in the Reconstruction era.

Recreation

Historically, recreation in Charleston County has primarily been planned for the white community. During the period of slavery, Edingsville was a summer resort located on Edisto Island to provide recreation for the wealthy estate owners. A similar summer vacation spot was located on Wadmalaw Island and was known as Rockville (Sea Islands, 1878). In the post civil war era, there was an absence of social activities even for whites. The migration away from the Sea Islands was due to the closing of these resorts and the "want of social intercourse among the ladies" (Sea Islands, 1878).

Public parks as a source of recreation were available in Charleston for whites in 1880. The Charleston Municipal Playground Committee was later organized to coordinate park activities. Museums, public meeting halls, concert halls, and libraries were also available

as a form of recreation. The numbers of cultural groups have continued to grow in the city of Charleston.

On the other hand, African Americans derived their recreation from family and church related activities. Church meetings were held 3-4 times a week. Such a schedule increased the amount of interaction between the church and its members making it a powerful influence on the daily lives of African Americans.

Parties and dances were held in homes and provided outlets for the young and old. Dances were held as well on the 4th of July and Labor Day as a way of celebrating these holidays. Local residents described the circle dancing which took place at these events. Parental chaperones were necessary for attendance.

It was only in the decade of the 1940's that organized activities were sponsored by the city or county. The city of Charleston sponsored two swimming attractions for African Americans in 1940. The Golden Gloves Amateur Boxing Tournament was held in that same year and was popular among African Americans (Year Book, Note 13).

The Progressive Club was organized on John's Island in 1948. As a cooperative venture, a small recreation center, store and service station were built to provide the place and funds for community activities. An additional community center has been built since that time with public funds. These two structures are the only recreational facilities on John's Island with the exception of the local high school which has a gymnasium used for local sports activities.

On Yonges Island, the recreation is predominantly school or church related. School related extracurricular activities provided entertainment for students and parents as spectator sports grew in attendance. Local churches have numerous clubs, choirs, and activities such as "oyster roasts" to entertain their members. There are small night clubs and discos on the island which are frequented by the residents. Finally, there are families who are willing to travel the distance to attend movies, plays, visit museums and dine in the city's restaurants. Since there remain residents who have never left the island, traveling to Charleston for entertainment is not the norm.

Health Care

Health care is a recognized need of African Americans living in the Sea Islands. In the 1860's, the mortality rate for African Americans on the Sea Islands were 20% greater than that of white residents. The lack of medical intervention was cited as the reason for such high mortality rates. A more desperate response was the practice of infanticide during the Reconstruction Era to overcome periods of poverty and hunger (The Sea Islands, Note 2).

Folk medicine has had significant impact on the health care of African Americans. The use of herbs and incantations have been prevalent as treatment of illness. Residents described the gathering of snake, black, and white roots, terry week, jimsey weed, sea muckle and life everlasting to brew teas for fevers, colds, abdominal cramps and numerous other ailments. Sugar was used to stop bleeding and spider webs to heal cuts. "Hexing" or casting spells was the negative utilization of these ideas.

Phoebe Taylor (1868-1974) was one of the better known nature doctors who practiced on the islands. She maintained a practice with a midwife. The two of them delivered health care to island residents. The health clinic which opened in 1971 was dedicated to Phoebe Taylor for her contributions to health care.

There were physicians in the city of Charleston and better health care for African Americans. At the end of the Civil War, public hospitals were maintained by the Freedman's Bureau. In 1880, the city hospital maintained 100 of its 200 beds for African Americans. There was also an "old folks home for colored inmates." Historical documents indicated that "sugar house" a building adjacent to the jail was used as a hospital for African Americans in 1886 (Year Book, Note 14).

Although health care facilities such as those listed above were obviously more available in Charleston, health care for African Americans was still inadequate due to the lack of transportation. The accompanying table indicates the disproportionate mortality and birth rates (see Table 8). These statistics indicated the need for additional health services.

African Americans have been instrumental in providing for their own health care in the Sea Islands. It was local citizens who mobilized and wrote the grants necessary for local health clinics. The grant proposals reported the absence of health care facilities and medical conditions of inhabitants in dire need of intervention. The incidence of strokes, heart attacks and obesity have increased because of related high prevalence of hypertension. Arthritis and gout were indicative

TABLE 8

HEALTH NEEDS -- CITY OF CHARLESTON 1880-1920

| | 1880 | 1890 | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deaths | | | | | |
| Whites | 500 | 511 | 484 | 478 | 514 |
| African Americans | 1121 | 1310 | 1242 | 1107 | 897 |
| Stillbirths | | | | | |
| Whites | 27 | 31 | 23 | -- | --* |
| African Americans | 142 | 169 | 173 | -- | -- |
| Live Births | | | | | |
| Whites | -- | 457 | 316 | -- | 895 |
| African Americans | -- | 1023 | 757 | -- | 881 |

* Data not available. Subsequent years did not list these categories as health needs.

SOURCE: Year Books, City of Charleston 1880-1920.

of years of hard labor and diabetes and its complications were rampant. Children and the elderly suffered from malnutrition and upper respiratory infections (Eliott, Note 10).

A particular health concern was the numbers of children and elderly living on the islands. When outmigration was at its peak, the middle generation of adults left the region to seek employment. Children were left in the care of grandparents (Carawan, 1966). Such a population distribution promoted more physical problems for those who were less able to pay for health care. This contributed to the need for additional health services.

Because of the initiative and foresight of local citizens, a health clinic was opened in 1971 as part of Rural Missions, a local service oriented agency. The Methodist Church provided a physician and the Mennonite Church, a registered nurse, to operate the week-end clinic. Eventually, federal funds were obtained to staff the clinic on a full-time basis. Presently, there are two clinics in operation, one on John's Island, the other on Yonges, which are providing health care to local residents.

There also have been improvements made in medical facilities in Charleston. The local health department, private physicians and seven hospitals with 2600 beds are now located in the county. More health service personnel come from the city to the Sea Islands clinics and to make home visits.

Health problems remain as these new agencies are accepted by the people and integrated into their culture. The preference for folk medicine, certain dietary patterns and resistance to medical technology

have to be overcome before full utilization of these services can take place.

Race Relations

The basis of race relations in Charleston County was rooted in slavery. For some whites, the institution of slavery was necessary, a natural law. Miles (Note 14) stated "the inferiority of the black to the white race is an actual fact, and that the former race is benefitted by its subjection to the latter" (p. 6). Out of such views of African Americans emerged the staunch segregationists who exist today in the area of Charleston County.

Immediately following the Civil War, race relations were volatile. Riots and raids by whites as well as African Americans occurred. Members of the "Night Hawks" and the Ku Klux Klan intimidated African Americans especially when political rights were being exercised. Fear continued to be the affect communicated between the races. These activities characterized race relations in the late 1800's and early 1900's.

Interviews with local residents report the absence of contact between the races on the Sea Islands. Apparently, interaction between the races occurs in the work setting. In all situations, the contact is minimal or non-existent. Most of the facilities on the Sea Islands are segregated although freedom of choice is legally sanctioned. There are few opportunities for interaction between races and mistrust characterizes the relationship when it does occur.

Although there are obvious negative reactions to whites by African Americans, religion has an impact on these perceptions. There

is much emphasis on brotherhood and respecting others. As vividly spoken by one local resident "We all is one. We all came from Alam" (Gadson, Note 15).

## The Simmons Family 1860-1979: A Biography

The Simmons family resided in the Yonges Island area. Yonges Island, located on the coast of South Carolina is part of the larger chain of islands known as the Sea Islands. Yonges Island itself is ten miles wide and is the home for approximately 24 families. The mainland adjacent to this island is known as the Yonges Island Area and is the home of the majority of the populace. This area is located between Edisto and John's Island. The large plantations were situated on the mainland. Yonges Island area is similar in geography, family structure, social activities and agriculture to the other Sea Islands.

When residents discussed the Gullah families living on Yonges Island, they were actually referring to the land adjacent to the towns of Meggett, Hollywood, Adams Run and Ravenel. The people who lived here maintained a slow paced life style. They had a culture which reflected a lack of concern for time, emphasis on the consumption of food and "spiritualism." Crafts were a necessary part of life as many goods were produced for their utility rather than for artistic appreciation. "Fana" was woven into baskets which housed rice and grits. Quilts were made to warm families during the winter months. Women carried baskets of produce, water and water melons on their heads. Foods were almost always fried, especially meats. Gumbos were made with okra, tomatoes, meat and peppers. Rice was raised for daily

consumption and thrashed with large trees shaped like mortars. Folk medicine was a necessity since there were no physicians available. All these activities were parts of the culture which evolved among the African Americans isolated until the 1930's.

Death, funerals and "spirituality" were significant parts of this culture. When an individual died, a neighborhood carpenter was called to make a coffin and line it with white cloth. Burial usually followed the next day because of the lack of facilities to embalm the corpse. If the individual died at home, the minister "talked" the body out of the house. Wakes were held the night before the funeral. Family members got an opportunity to discuss the deceased and to "view the face."

The funeral itself was very emotional as crying and wailing were the expected behaviors. A mother burying a child was qualitatively different from a funeral where a wife buried a husband. The bonds of parenthood appeared to be greater than legal ones. As the burial took place, drums beat a death cadence. Articles were buried with the individual if he was believed to be "hexed." In one local cemetery, a grave is noticeably perpendicular to all others because of such a belief. Secret societies and fraternal organizations provided death benefits and rituals for its members. Although these descriptions are more indicative of the past, remnants are present in today's culture.

The Gullah dialect is currently spoken and is evident in the school system. Teachers have to respond to the absence of verbs in sentences and the usage of the past tense instead of the present.

Other grammatical differences are noted in the following quotations: "She told me to call she. I know she grandparents," "That's all I want is me soul to rest," "I enter my 89 years old," "I was birthed in 1903." These quotes are not unusual nor representative of any one age group. These were recorded in 1979 by this investigator.

There are other observations made by this investigator which are significant to the setting in which the Simmons' lived. These observations are not necessarily representative of all of the residents in Yonges Island but did occur frequently in the community. These observations were validated by interviewees in various settings.

1. Cohabitation occurred more frequently among adults over thirty years of age.
2. A limited number of eligibles have resulted in some instances of endogamous marriages.
3. A traditional view of marital roles existed. Performing household tasks and "staying at home at night" were expected behaviors of wives.
4. Children were given a lot of attention. Multiple parenting was noted. An extended feeding period (bottle or breast) continued through the second year of life. Toilet training was delayed until after the second birthday.
5. Young adults remained in their parent's household until their marriage. The absence of apartments in the area might have been the deciding factor.
6. The church influenced the lives of its members.

A Chronicle of the Simmons Family

Simmons was an English family name meaning the son of Simon or Simeon. Additional meanings were gracious hearing, hearkening or "snubnosed" (Edsodon, 1956). Thus, it appeared that the white Simmons were of English descent and were among numerous English immigrants to the area.

It was more difficult to determine the origin of the African American family known as the Simmons. No records were available to indicate when these slaves were brought to America or to whom they belonged. As discussed previously, slavery in Charleston was substantially different from that in North Carolina. In South Carolina, plantations were extremely large with hundreds or thousands of slaves. These numbers contributed to the impersonal nature of slavery, the obvious lack of interaction between slave and owner. Numerous plantations were owned by Northerners or individuals who resided in Charleston, leaving the responsibility for management of plantations to overseers. In 1870, there were 2,737 persons in Charleston County who listed their occupation as overseer. This was the fourth largest occupation in the county (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1870).

Other reasons for the lack of interaction between the races was the white exodus from the islands during the Civil War. The disproportionate population was a threat to whites so they fled to the safety of cities. Other African Americans were attracted to the islands because of the absence of whites and the potential hiding places. Runaway slaves used the islands as a refuge.

For all the foregoing reasons, it was easy for slaves to lose contact with their owners if it ever existed. Therefore over

generations, families became unaware of on whose plantation their ancestors had lived on. This is the case with the Simmons family.

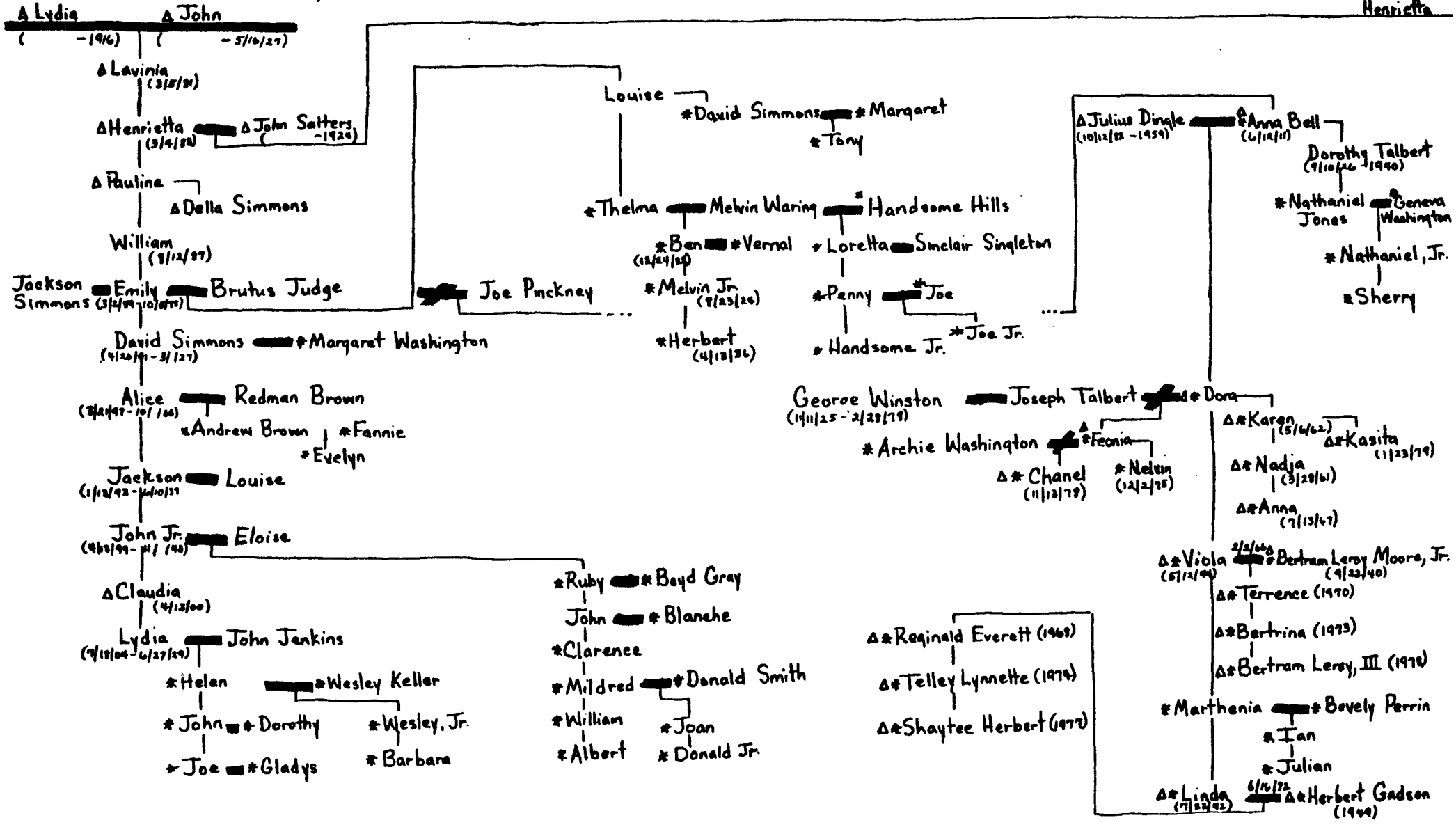
A survey of deeds since 1860 indicated that there were several white families named Simmons who owned thousands of acres on Yonges Island. (Previous records were destroyed with the burning of the courthouse at Walterboro as Sherman made his historic march to the sea.) Such names as Morton, Francis, John and William Simmons were usually associated with the area. However, there are no documents available which established a relationship between these families.

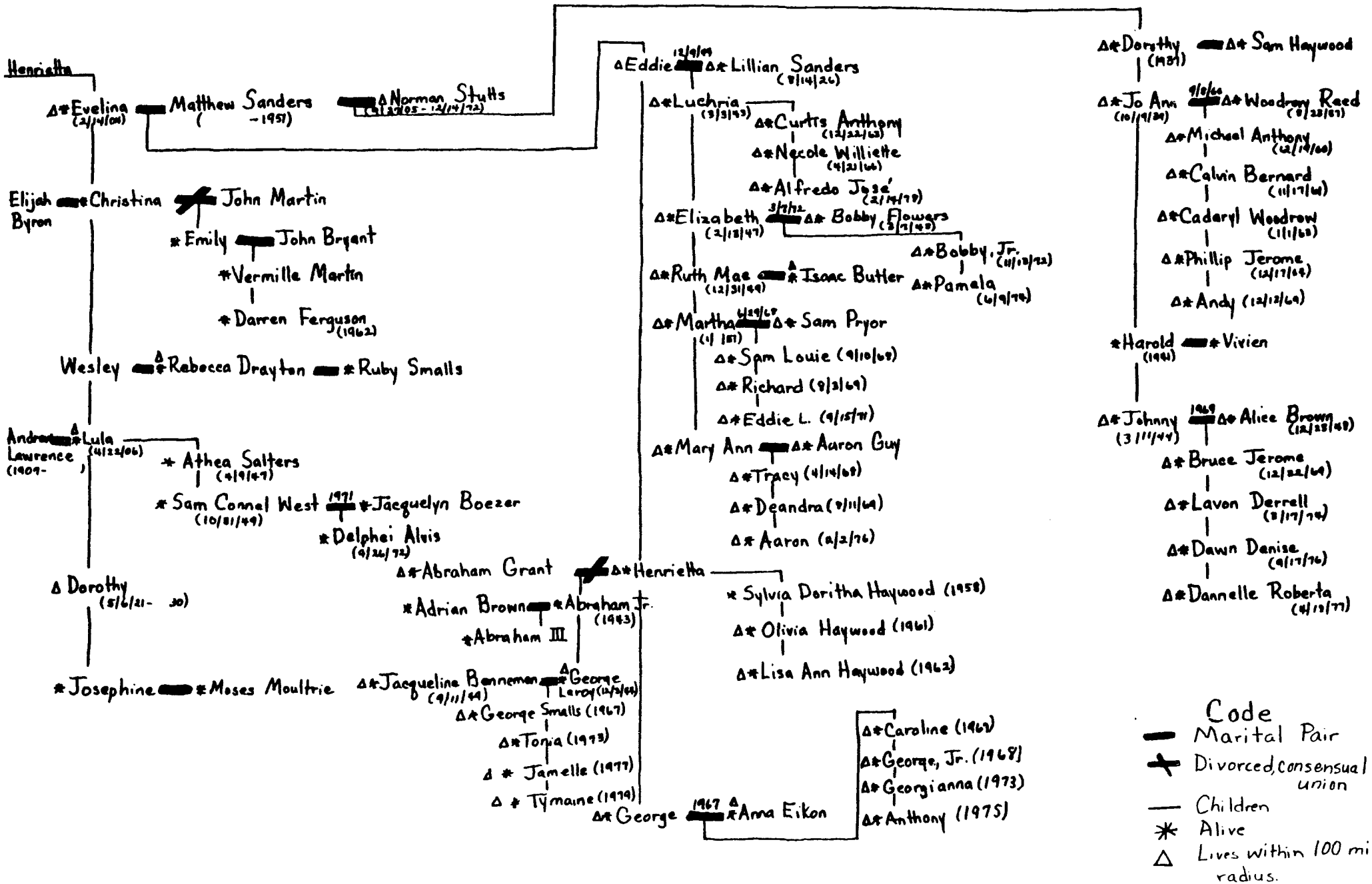
John and Lydia Simmons lived during the latter years of slavery but experienced their adult life as freed individuals. There are only a few survivors of this era and information about John and Lydia was sketchy. The information available about John attested to his willingness to work "hard" for his family. John and Lydia worked as seasonal farm laborers. It appeared that Lydia and John were self sufficient. They fished from the ocean and grew their food in gardens. They planted rice which was thrashed in a nearby mill. The couple worked the land in a manner similar to their ancestors. They remained equally isolated because of the lack of transportation and the absence of bridges to transverse the waterways.

Lydia and John composed the first generation of this lineage in 1860. Of these beginnings, came the 203 descendents listed in Figure 1, the genealogical chart for the Simmons family. According to the data presented, Lydia was born in the 1800's and died in 1916. John's birth date is not known, the year of his death is 1927. They married and had 11 children: Lavinia, Henrietta, Pauline, William, Emily, David

# Figure 1

## Kinship Structure, Simmons Family, South Carolina (1860-1979)




Henrietta
Δ*Evelina (2/4/01)
Matthew Sanders (-1951)
ΔNorman Stults (3/27/05 - 12/14/72)
Elijah Byron
*Christina
John Martin
*Emily
John Bryant
*Vermille Martin
*Darren Ferguson (1962)
Wesley
Δ*Rebecca Drayton
*Ruby Smalls
Andrew Lawrence (1909-)
Δ*Lula (4/22/06)
*Athea Salters (4/9/49)
*Sam Connel West (10/21/49)
1971
*Jacquelyn Boezer
*Delphei Alvis (9/24/72)
Δ Dorothy (5/6/21- 30)
*Josephine
*Moses Moultrie
Δ*Abraham Grant
*Adrian Brown
*Abraham Jr. (1943)
*Abraham III
Δ*Jacqueline Bennemen (9/11/44)
ΔGeorge Leroy (12/9/66)
Δ*George Smalls (1967)
Δ*Tonia (1973)
Δ*Jamelle (1977)
Δ*Tymaine (1979)
Δ*Eddie 12/9/09
Δ*Lillian Sanders (8/14/26)
Δ*Luchria (3/3/93)
Δ*Curtis Anthony (12/22/63)
Δ*Necole Willette (4/21/66)
Δ*Alfredo Jose' (2/19/79)
Δ*Elizabeth (2/13/47)
3/7/72
Δ*Bobby Flowers (3/7/40)
Δ*Bobby, Jr. (11/10/72)
Δ*Pamela (6/9/74)
Δ*Ruth Mae (12/31/49)
Δ*Isaac Butler
Δ*Martha (1/1/51)
4/29/69
Δ*Sam Pryor
Δ*Sam Louie (9/10/69)
Δ*Richard (9/3/69)
Δ*Eddie L. (9/15/71)
Δ*Mary Ann
Δ*Aaron Guy
Δ*Tracy (4/14/69)
Δ*Deandra (9/11/69)
Δ*Aaron (9/2/76)
Δ*Henrietta
*Sylvia Doritha Haywood (1958)
Δ*Olivia Haywood (1961)
Δ*Lisa Ann Haywood (1962)
Δ*George 1967
ΔAna Eikon
Δ*Caroline (1969)
Δ*George, Jr. (1968)
Δ*Georgianna (1973)
Δ*Anthony (1975)
Δ*Dorothy (1931)
Δ*Sam Haywood
Δ*Jo Ann (10/9/28)
9/10/66
Δ*Woodrow Reed (8/28/67)
Δ*Michael Anthony (12/14/66)
Δ*Calvin Bernard (11/17/68)
Δ*Cadaryl Woodrow (11/1/68)
Δ*Phillip Jerome (12/17/69)
Δ*Andy (12/12/69)
*Harold (1961)
*Vivien
Δ*Johnny (3/11/44)
1969
Δ*Alice Brown (12/28/48)
Δ*Bruce Jerome (12/22/69)
Δ*Lavon Derrell (8/17/74)
Δ*Dawn Denise (9/17/76)
Δ*Dannelle Roberta (4/13/77)
Code
Marital Pair
Divorced, Consensual union
Children
* Alive
Δ Lives within 100 miles radius.

Alice, Jackson, John, Jr., Claudia and Lydia. In tracing the generations through the figure, it is noted that Emily married (legal or consensual) on three different occasions. Anna Bell, Louise and Thelma were the children of these unions.

Seven of John and Lydia's children married. Seven left the state going North when they reached adulthood. These children never returned to live on Yonges Island. Of the four that remained in Charleston County, Henrietta had the largest number of children (Evelina, Christina, Wesley, Lula, Dorothy and Josephine). All the members of these first two generations are deceased. Respondents for the interviews were from the third, fourth and fifth generations. The five generations which followed John and Lydia are recorded in this text for posterity.

In the description of the Simmons family, three categories of data will be discussed in the narrative portion of the results. The remaining data will be presented as findings with the discussion of the hypotheses. These three categories are those patterns evident in demographic data, contact with whites and the effects of political and economic events on the individual and family.

## Characteristics of the Simmons Respondents

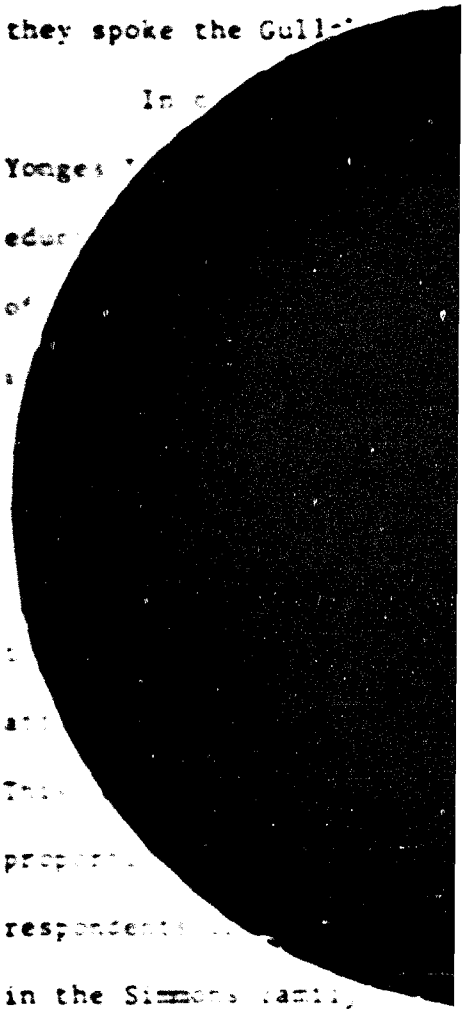
The twelve respondents interviewed for this study have a mean age of 40.8 years and 33% of them were married, 42% single and 16% widowed. Forty-three percent had experienced cohabitation some time during their lifetime. The median educational level was 10.5 years. Three males and nine females were interviewed and 66% were of the Methodist faith. Eighty-three percent stated that the Yonges Island

Area was their homeplace, one stated New York and another listed Charleston as their home towns. Half of the subjects did not know where they obtained the Simmons name. Five of the respondents (42%) stated the name came from their ancestors. Finally, 66% stated that they spoke the Gullah dialect (see Table 9).

In comparing the Simmons with the overall population of the Yonges Island Area, several differences are noted. The median educational level of the Simmons respondents exceeded the 8.3 years of the total population in 1970. Married respondents were slightly underrepresented in the study (33 to 37.7%). Single respondents were represented two times as frequently as they are reported in the population (42 to 21.8%). Finally, widowhood was evident three times as frequently in these respondents than found in the population (16 to 5.6%). It is the author's opinion that these differences are attributed to the outmigration of 38% of this family to the North. This migration occurred during the Coolidge and Hoover eras. A large proportion of the second and third generations were unavailable as respondents in this study because of their location. Thus it appears in the Simmons family the older and younger descendents remained in the area. However, the presence of the married subjects is in part indicative of the reverse trend occurring since the 1960's. This migration pattern is in keeping with the trends cited in the literature for African Americans on Yonges Island. In this respect, the Simmons family is typical of other African American families.

In 1900, John Simmons purchased ten acres of land for forty dollars. His descendents believed that this venture was possible

Area was their homeplace, o
Charleston as their home to
where they obtained the Sim
stated the name came from t
they spoke the Gull



In c

Yonges

educ

of

a

a

Th

propor

respondents

in the Simmons family

the area. However, the pre
indicative of the reverse t
migration pattern is in kee
for African Americans on Yo
family is typical of other

In 1900, John Simmo
dollars. His descendents l

UMI

TABLE 9

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE SIMMONS AND AVERY(a) FAMILIES

| | Simmons | | Avery(a) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Sex | | | | |
| Males | 3 | 25 | 7 | 58.3 |
| Females | 9 | 75 | 5 | 41.7 |
| Religion | | | | |
| Methodist | 8 | 67.7 | 3 | 25 |
| Baptist | 1 | 8.3 | 4 | 33 |
| Catholic | | | 1 | 8.3 |
| Islam | 1 | 8.3 | | |
| Other | | | 2 | 16.7 |
| No Affiliation | 2 | 16.7 | 2 | 16.6 |
| Marital Status | | | | |
| Single | 5 | 41.7 | 1 | 8.3 |
| Married | 4 | 33 | 5 | 41.7 |
| Separated | 1 | 8.3 | 2 | 16.7 |
| Divorced | | | 2 | 16.7 |
| Widowed | 2 | 16.7 | 2 | 16.7 |
| Political Party | | | | |
| Democrat | 9 | 75 | 7 | 58.3 |
| Republican | | | | |
| None | 3 | 25 | 5 | 41.7 |
| Family Land Ownership | | | | |
| Own Land | 11 | 91.7 | 2 | 16.7 |
| Do not own land | 1 | 8.3 | 10 | 83.4 |
| Occupations | | | | |
| Professional | 3 | 25 | 2 | 16.7 |
| Craftsman | | | 2 | 16.7 |
| Operative | 3 | 25 | 3 | 25 |
| Private Household | 1 | 8.3 | 3 | 25 |
| Service | 1 | 8.3 | | |
| Laborer | | | 1 | 8.3 |
| Housewife | 1 | 8.3 | | |
| Student | 3 | 25 | 1 | 8.3 |
| Age (mean) | 40.8 | | 53.7 | |
| Length of interview (mean) | 64 | | 75.7 | |
| Total Family Members | 203 | | 361 | |

because of his perseverance.

> That's how my grandmother retold the story to us about how her father was able to get the property that he got because he worked on a plantation and he worked very, very hard and this white man, Garity or somebody [Benjamin Peebles]* decided that John Simmons was productive and he needed to move away and there was land they could get for $50 for 10 acres or whatever dollars it was. It was such a minimal amount but at that time, they didn't have any money and they had to pay like 50¢ a month on the property until they finally could get it. I think that was cruel to me, kind of thing, but he had endurance, perservance (Female Respondent, 1979).

Land ownership is significant for the family. Through their property rights, each descendent is entitled to the land regardless of age or sex. For this reason, there is no sex discrimination in inheritance. The 10 acres of land which was purchased by John Simmons now is the property of three female descendents. They have subsequently parceled the land, recorded separate deeds and built their homes.

Seventy-five percent of the family members interviewed owned their property which was in close proximity to the homeplace. The remaining 25% were living with their parents and had not established their own household. However, when parents were included, 92% lived in their own households with adequate plumbing facilities.

Respondents were not usually aware of the value and/or the amount of property owned by themselves or other family members. Three respondents (25%) were able to state the value of their property and

---

* Writer inserted the information in brackets.

only two could cite the value of family property. Such an omission might be related to the inheritance of heir's property. Three subjects inherited their land. At the time of the initial purchase, the value of land was exceedingly small. Since they made no financial investment nor had the property assessed, it is easy to understand their lack of information. Others who purchased land, knew the amount of land they owned and 50% knew the value. The average acreage of 2 and 7 were owned by subjects and family members respectively. Although these respondents were not fully aware of the value of the property owned by the Simmons family, each reported that they had experienced financial independence because they owned their land.

When examining the trends in the amount of education received in two consecutive generations, seven of the respondents did not know the level of education of their parents but stated that it was less than their own. Two others limited their response to whether or not either or both parents could read or write. To all cases there was a definite increase in the level of education between the generations possibly indicating greater accessibility to facilities or a greater emphasis placed on educational achievement. Differences in the educational levels of the Avery and Simmons families are included in Table 10. A chi square analysis was done to determine the significance of the difference between the frequencies of occurrence in two educational categories. Table 10 indicates that the differences in education between the two families are not significant at .05 level.

Employment on Yonges Island for Lydia and John was limited to seasonal farm work, fishing and to private households. It was only in the third generation that additional employment opportunities

TABLE 10

DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
OF MEMBERS OF THE AVERY AND SIMMONS FAMILY

| | Elementary/ Junior High School | High School/ College | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|
| Avery | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| Simmons | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| | | | N=24 |

$X^2_{05}$ where df = 1, is 3.84

$X^2$ = .166 not significant at .05 level

became available. However, these opportunities were few unless an individual commuted to Charleston or migrated to northern cities. As previously stated, numerous members of the family did leave the area and sought employment in New York and Philadelphia. Those that remained worked primarily as farm laborers.

Data were gathered about the occupations and employment status of three generations. Over the generations, a pattern in the choice of occupations is noted. Parents of these respondents were primarily laborers. Seven fathers and three mothers were in the category of laborer. Other categories for mothers included 2 craftsmen, 2 operatives, 2 service workers and 1 private household worker. Two others were housewives. The occupations of fathers included one service worker, one operative, one manager and one craftsman.

The second generation, consisting of the respondents and their siblings, also represented the categories of craftsmen, operatives, service workers, private household workers and laborers but not to the same degree. There was a 3.8% increase in the number of operatives and a .9% decrease in service employees in the second generation. Greater fluctuations are noted in the categories of laborers, private household employees, craftsmen, and professionals. The data indicate a 10% decline in craftsmen and 28% in laborers. Increases were noted by 4.7% in clerical positions, 7.6% in private household workers and 16.3% in professional positions. The writer suspected that it would be premature to predict occupational choices of the third generation since 56% of them were students. However, the professional, managerial, clerical, craftsman, and operative categories appear to be the

occupations toward which this generation is approaching (see Table 11). There appears to be a trend over three generations toward those occupations requiring more education and having more "social status."

TABLE 11

OCCUPATIONS (IN PERCENTAGES) OF SIMMONS' FAMILY MEMBERS OVER THREE GENERATIONS

| Generations[a] | Professional | Managerial | Clerical | Craftsmen | Operatives | Private Households | Service | Laborers | Students |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Children | 12 | 4 | 8 | 4 | 4 | --[b] | -- | -- | 56 |
| Subjects/ Siblings | 16.3 | -- | 4.7 | 2 | 16.3 | 11.6 | 11.6 | 14 | 23.3 |
| Parents | -- | 4 | -- | 12.5 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 41.7 | -- |

[a] Children N = 25, Subjects/Siblings N = 43, Parents N = 24

[b] Dashes indicate no individuals in these categories.

Presently, 58.3% of the respondents are employed in categories of professionals, operatives, service workers, and private households. They have been employed an average of four years in these positions. The other respondents were either enrolled in school, retired or housewives. The median annual income of all respondents including those with social security benefits was $3,588.

Marital Roles

Changes in marital roles will be discussed in a separate section dealing with the findings of the third hypothesis; however, the issue of conflict resolution and marital problems require additional discussion.

Conflict resolution data were obtained by asking the respondents--Thinking back over your married life, what is the one thing that you and your wife (husband) have disagreed about more than any other? When you and your wife (husband) disagree over _____ who usually gets his way you or your wife (husband)? The responses to these items were husbands going out with females (16.6%), wives going out (16.6%), husbands taking days off from work (8.3%), discipline of children (8.3%), purchasing goods (8.3%), dual careers (8.3%), and never disagreed (8.3%). These responses were related to the "double standard" which this investigator described as an observation of this culture. They indicated traditional role centered behaviors. Husbands were perceived to have greater freedom to leave the home than wives. However, more negative responses were mentioned about husbands.

Of the nine respondents who were married (both legal and consensual unions were included),* four stated the wife, two the husband, and two that both got their way. (One subject stated that there were no disagreements.) Under close scrutiny, there is no definite pattern to explain these results. There are no obvious age discrepancies between the spouses. However, there are some educational, occupational and income differences which will be discussed under each categorical response (see Table 12). Only one of the married respondents was male, thus possibly indicating a bias in favor of wives. Five

---

* The author makes no value distinctions between legal and consensual unions. Both can be indicative of marital investment and roles. Distinctions will only be made when searching for marital patterns. The previous listing of marital status was related to one's legal status, thus the discrepancy in percentages.

TABLE 12

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MARITAL DYAD
SIMMONS RESPONDENTS

| Respondent Number | RESPONDENT Age | Sex | Years of Education | Employed | Income Range[a] | Occupation | Marital Status | Length of Marriage | SPOUSE Age | Sex | Years of Education | Employed | Income | Occupation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 013 | 34 | Female | 9 | Yes | $400-599 | Operative | Single | -- | -- | Male | -- | Yes | -- | Operatives |
| 014 | 68 | Female | 5 | No | Under $200 | Service | Widowed | -- | -- | Male | 4 | No | -- | Laborer |
| 015 | 57 | Female | 7 | No | Under $200 | Private Household | Separated | 2 | 58 | Male | -- | No | -- | Craftsman |
| 017 | 40 | Female | 12 | No | 0 | Housewife | Married | 19 | 42 | Male | 12 | Yes | $1200 or More | Craftsman |
| 20 | 30 | Female | 16 | Yes | $1200 or More | Professional | Married | 7 | 31 | Male | 18 | Yes | $1200 or More | Professional |
| 21 | 35 | Male | 10 | Yes | $1000-1199 | Operative | Married | 9 | 30 | Female | 11 | No | 0 | Housewife |
| 22 | 35 | Female | 12 | Yes | $400-599 | Professional | Married | 13 | 39 | Male | 12 | Yes | $1000-1199 | Craftsman |
| 24 | 73 | Female | 5 | No | $200-399 | Operative | Widowed | 8 | -- | Male | -- | No | -- | Laborer |

[a] Income reported in monthly salary range.

Dashes indicate data not available.

individuals were involved in consensual unions. Two had been previously married, (one divorced, the other widowed) prior to their consensual relationships and another married since the terminating of that relationship. Marital data were obtained from these three respondents not consensual data. The remaining two respondents offered data about their consensual relationships.

The first category of responses, "wife gets way" indicated female authority in conflict resolution. Forty-four percent of the respondents reported this response. Half of these are respondents who had consensual unions only. The status of males in these consensual relationships might decrease their level of authority. Legal sanctioning of the husband role might enhance authority. Thus the writer suggests that the respondents answered the question as individuals or with the recognition that there was no societal sanctioning for male authority. The other two respondents were married. There are some differences noted in the amount of education, income and occupations between spouses. One female had a higher level of education and occupation than her husband, but incomes were similar. The other couple had equal years of education, the wife a more socially valued occupation, but the husband had a greater income. The number of respondents is too few to make inferences which are generalizable to other populations. There appears to be a relationship between the resources available to a spouse and his authority in resolving conflicts.

These four respondents have a mean age of 40.8 years. Two respondents were operatives, one a student and one a professional.

In the category of "husband gets way," there were two affirmative responses (22%). Both females had been married only once. One continues to be married and is a housewife, the other is divorced, unemployed, and is now involved in a consensual relationship. She related that her previous husband's dominance in the marriage was responsible for the marital dissolution. The mean age of these respondents was 48.5 years. It appears that the resources associated with employment and income are directly related to the wives' responses. Thus the exchange theory appears to be operable in this situation.

Finally, the respondents who stated that "both got their way" indicated equality in conflict resolution. These two respondents (with a mean age of 32.5 years) were married and comprised 22% of the total. This percentage is lower than the averaged 40% reported by Scanzoni (1971) in his study of African Americans. One couple were college graduates and had professional occupations, the other couple, an operative and housewife, were without high school diplomas. There appears to be relative authority and equality among both couples. The wife in the latter couple had one year more education than her husband, was assertive and had been active in local politics. Do these personal qualities equal the employment status of her husband? In exchange theory, resources such as occupations, income, and education are the determinants of authority. However, this model does not explain the equality evident in the latter couple.

In examining these responses, it appears that age, sex and marital status do not explain how conflicts are resolved. The exchange of resources does seem to explain to some degree the patterns which

occurred among these subjects. Again, the number of respondents is too few to make broad generalizations.

The respondents were asked: Do you think that black men and women have the same kinds of problems in marriage that white men and women have or do they have different problems? Fifty percent said they were the "same." Of those replying the "same," these problems were due to infidelity, physical abuse of wives and financial strain. Differences were noted in the frequency of single parenting, inequities in incomes and occupations, and the precarious economic positions of African Americans. One respondent responded "[The problems are different]* because white want more money and divorce their husband and go to another one that have more money. Black go for love" (Female Respondent, 1979). Another difference stated by a respondent was in the amount of self disclosure. "I think they all have the equal share. Some don't let on to it, you know. I think with the black, they let you know out in full what's going on. Some of whites will kind of hold back you know. All got their share (chuckle)" (Female Respondent, 1979).

It was the writer's opinion that economic and political events influenced marital roles. In the preceding paragraph, examples were given to illustrate the influence of political and economic events and how these are specifically deleterious to the marital roles of African Americans. At the same time, the quoted material allues to internal mechanisms peculiar to African Americans. Resources available to African Americans for exchange are not limited to those socioeconomic factors considered in the dominant American culture. Status is

---

* Material within brackets was inserted by the author.

ascribed on the basis of personality traits, involvement with kin, and power assigned to individuals by the ethnic culture. These values are indicative of cultural differences.

Contact with Whites

Race relations in the Sea Islands have been limited to the interaction between African Americans and whites in the work and market place. Several items were included in the interview schedule to assess the relationship of members of these families and whites. The results of these interviews will be discussed in the following paragraphs. Direct quotes will be used to accentuate the author's interpretation of data.

Racial intermarriage was perceived by family members as a negative action. Although there is clear evidence of one interracial marriage within this family, only two persons affirmed its existence when asked if any one had married someone of another race. No's were voiced adamantly with facial expressions which reflect distaste for such an idea.

To determine the amount of contact with whites, the respondents were asked to describe their patterns of interaction with them. Five respondents indicated that they had no contact, three stated that contact was at work, two in schools and two in neighborhood stores. All of these responses indicated interaction occurred in secondary groups.

These quotes described the superficiality of interactions. "I don't remember nothing except collectors coming around to the house. Maybe like you buy a blanket or a wood stove." "When I was a child, I go to the store. I see the little girls in the store and I would talk

with them. I asked them what is their name and smile and their mother says my name is Janie. Tell her my name is Janie and that's all." And finally "My grandfather was white. I work with some and in school with some."

Often times, interactions occurred between the races in situations where assistance was provided. This was not the case in the Simmons family. Seven respondents felt they had not been helped by whites. Others could cite instances where food, clothing, money, gifts and labor were given. However, times were infrequent and respondents reported these as the precise times when those exchanges occurred.

Another measure of the amount of contact between the races was to ask the respondents to describe the white families they knew as children and adults. Failure to describe these families indicated an obvious lack of interaction or the inability to express these ideas verbally. The following quotes indicated the absence of contact:

> Around here now? I don't really know any. I've never really thought about them. I can't think of anything. (Male respondent, 1979)

> I never really thought about them. They were just there. Let me think. They were prejudiced number one, very much so. At least I knew where I stood with them. There is no if's, and's, and but's about the relationship. As an adult, it is about the same." (Female respondent, 1979)

> We never got that close to them to really know them. Some of them are mean and ruthless. Some of them are friendly. As an adult, only thing I know they were really nasty and mean. (Female respondent, 1979)

Other responses indicated more involvement between the races with both positive and negative perceptions of the relationship. Those indicating positive perceptions were:

> Well at that time (childhood) you worked around people and they wanted you to do something. They were nice people. (Male respondent, 1979)
>
> My mom used to sew for this lady, Eloise, live on back road. Make little dresses when she was small. Family like black people. Right now, she likes black people cause they are living off of them. I noticed their family. Practically during that time, they used to come around my mother's house. Her aunt used to come there and bring eggs for momma. Hens lay eggs. She would bring them and bring fresh eggs to make cornbread. That's practically the only one I know, you know. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Those quotations indicating negative perceptions were as follows:

> I know they wasn't good. They didn't know how to treat you. They think you had to look up to them all the time. Now they are better. Because they can't have their own way, things have changed, everything better now. (Female Respondent, 1979)
>
> Prejudiced bastards, Red Necks." (Female Respondent, 1979)

Even the respondent whose parents were an interracial couple reported together negative perceptions of whites.

> One thing I noticed about them (whites), they always thinking for the black race of people and if they can take advantage of you, they will. They don't mind stepping on you to get up. (Female Respondent)

These African Americans lived within their own community and ventured out into the work and market places. An item on the interview schedule was designed to determine if there were conscious efforts made to equip the respondents with the skills necessary to interact with other races. In analyzing the data, it was noted that three respondents had been taught by their mothers one by grandmother, and one by both mother and grandmother. It seems that females assumed the major role in socialization for racial interaction. The remaining seven respondents were self taught as they experienced contact.

The lessons taught were categorized into approach or positive avoidance or negative, and neutral or maintenance of the status quo. Using this categorization, 75% of the responses were approach, 8.3% avoidance and 16.7% the status quo. Two examples of an approach response were "Treat others the way you want to be treated. You have to work with them. You don't have to live with them so if things don't go well you know you are not staying for good but just for a little while." "If you are going to live in this world, you have to get along" (Male Respondent, 1979).

An example of the avoidance category indicated distrust:

> My mother used to tell us how white people was during old generations, they had to adjust. They're mean and old and that grow up in me. (Female Respondent, 1979)

The responses categorized as neutral or maintenance of the status quo are listed below.

> Mind my business and keep on going. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> That the important thing was that you would get whatever services they had to offer because you needed them. Like the insurance people, you needed their policy in the event you were to die or go to the hospital but that's all you did was to purchase what they had but in terms of any interaction or social contact no, none. You remembered you were black and you just stayed in your place for fear of your life or what could happen to you because if you ever became an 'uppity nigger,' you would be cut down immediately. (Female Respondent, 1979)

It is this writer's opinion that race relations as described in the Simmons families was impersonal, distinct and characterized by negative perceptions. Interactions occurred in the secondary groups of the economic and political spheres. Otherwise the family was relatively isolated from the dominant American culture.

## The Effects of Economic and Political Events

Economic and political events have been an intricate part of

the dominant American culture. By virtue of their participation in the economic and political institutions, African Americans have been influenced by these events. The extent to which these events have impinged upon the lives of African Americans was a question posed in this study. Ten events were examined for their influence on the individual and his family. The findings are reported below.

To obtain this data, the respondents were asked to evaluate the effect of the events which they had experienced. The ten events were slavery, emancipation, reconstruction, World War I, Depression, World War II, Korean War, Vietnam War, Civil Rights Movement and integration. These were considered by the writer to be major national events spanning the years 1860-1979. The respondents in the Simmons family had experienced three to seven events with varying degrees of impact ($\bar{X} = 4.7$). The Civil Rights Movement was consistently reported as the event having the greatest impact. The effect of other events differed among the respondents.

The findings were reported as verbatim responses. These quotes were representative of all those mentioned. The first event experienced was the depression which is the starting point for reporting the findings.

Depression

> I remember that Hoover time, they used to give the flour, give my mother that flour. (Female Respondent, 1979)
>
> Tough didn't have money. People were killing children. They don't have money or place to stay or no job. Eat one and skip two (meals). I heard about people killing children. I've never seen it. I heard it--they didn't have what they want--money and no job. (Female Respondent, 1979)

World War II

> I was married in there in that time. War did effect everything then was rationed, sugar a lot of things were rationed. (Female Respondent, 1979)

My mother used to have stamps to buy sugar with and stamps to buy kerosene and stuff like that. I heard about stamps for shoes. I heard her talk about it. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Korean War

Things were still much better because war was fighting then and people were getting good wages at the time. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Didn't know about it other than information from my brother because he fought in the Korean War and got hurt, partially disabled. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Vietnam War

Had relatives in crisis. (Male Respondent, 1979)

Things were still much better, moving on up. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Civil Rights

Oh yes! It made conditions better for black people as a race.

Well, yes it did because things I really couldn't do before the Civil Rights Movement came along that I was able to do now. Things I couldn't do before. For instance, our integration of schools, places you work, restaurants, places you couldn't seat in diners--could seat and eat in kitchen, restaurants, and stuff like that. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Involved. I been in that struggle, in the Orangeburg Massacre. I was right there, participated in it and my husband was one of the victims, not tragic victims but his still taking a bullet around with him now in his hip from that 'cause he got shot that night running away from the 'sit in.' (Female Respondent, 1979)

Integration

It really hasn't had any (effect). It's just a white wash really. It's a figure head sort to speak. They still do things the way they want it done, under the table, behind closed doors. So really it hasn't been any change. As far as picketing you name it, I participated, tried to integrate bowling alley. We marched. National Guards came out and Highway Patrol. They killed three fellows. I was at the wharf front where the bullets were flying, had to crawl back in. (Female Respondent, 1979)

I don't have anything against it. I think it was the best thing to happen. I always feel that blacks and whites should work together any way. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> I was one of the pioneers who dared to go to one of those white schools in Hollywood. It was three of us. I was one of three. Each one of us came from different areas of Yonges Island and had to ride the bus by ourselves and that was not good at al', for two years. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Three themes were prevalent in the responses cited. Some economic and political events required utilization of adaptive strategies for survival while at the same time, others increased opportunities and accessibility to facilities. Wars and social movements required personal commitments to the extent, that lives were endangered. Three responses did indicate that individuals were influenced by national events. Based on actual numbers the impact should be even greater on families. Those findings are reported in the following section.

To obtain data on the effects of these events on the family, respondents were asked to evaluate whether or not an event helped, harmed or had no effect on his family. If the family had been effected, the respondents were asked to explain how. These findings are reported in tabular and narrative form. Table 13 presents the summary of the effects of the ten events. The following narration included the quotes which explained these effects. The quotes are not necessarily representative since some were included because of their contribution to an understanding of an ethnic-racial culture.

Slavery was reported in the literature as a very harsh, cruel institution. Seventy-five percent of the respondents agreed that slavery had been harmful to their families.

> I think they were mostly harmed. My great grandmother used to say how they used to take the nice looking black ladies and put in the kitchen and the man would have sex with the black women.

TABLE 13

THE EFFECT OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EVENTS ON MEMBERS OF THE AVERY(A) AND SIMMONS FAMILY (IN PERCENTAGES)

| | Simmons Family | | | | Avery(a) Family | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Helped Family | No Effect | Harmed Family | Don't Know | Helped Family | No Effect | Harmed Family | Don't Know |
| Slavery | 8.3 | 8.3 | 75.0 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 50.0 | 16.7 | 25.0 |
| Emancipation | 25.0 | 58.3 | 8.3 | 8.3 | -- | 50.0 | 8.3 | 41.7 |
| Reconstruction | 16.7 | 75.0 | -- | 8.3 | -- | 58.3 | 8.3 | 33.3 |
| World War I | -- | 75.0 | 8.3 | 16.7[a] | -- | 75.0 | 16.7 | 8.3 |
| Depression | -- | 8.3 | 83.3 | 8.3 | -- | 50.0 | 50.0 | -- |
| World War II | 8.3 | 75.0 | 16.7 | -- | 25.0 | 58.3 | 16.7 | -- |
| Korean War | -- | 75.0 | 25.0 | -- | 8.3 | 66.7 | 25.0 | -- |
| Vietnam War | -- | 91.7 | 8.3 | -- | 8.3 | 66.7 | 25.0 | -- |
| Civil Rights | 41.7 | 33.3 | 8.3 | 16.6 | 33.3 | 66.7 | -- | -- |
| Integration | 50.0 | 33.3 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 58.3 | 41.7 | -- | -- |
| Other Events[b] | -- | 83.3 | 16.7 | -- | 8.3 | 91.7 | -- | -- |

[a] Includes a non-response.

[b] Other events included illness, death of family members and relocation.

> You had to work in the field. They named you. The Simmons where you came from. Marsa gave you your name. I heard that. You had to look up to them. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> Things what they do. They make you work without pay. They wouldn't let you learn. They hold you back a great deal. Lord say when you are in power, you are supposed to be merciful. So the white people were in power and not merciful so in time they will feel it. As old people say pay back is somethings that's trouble. (Male Respondent, 1979)

These respondents did not actually experience slavery and therefore their responses are shaded by memories and the passage of time. However, the high percentage of independent responses do indicate that the family was harmed, giving reliability to the interpretation. One respondent stated that slavery was helpful for her family.

> Well yes, in the way that they were treated, it seemed hard at the time that it was happening to them. It made them more prepared for the world they are living in today. They can take much more. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Emancipation and reconstruction were closely aligned in the responses and are discussed together in the following direct quotes:

> Everybody was just happy but frighten 'cause they didn't know what to do with all the freedom that they had. How to handle it because they always had somebody to think for them.

> They came over here after they got free. They had no place to go. They used to live in the woods. I guess until they build a place to stay. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> And then what happended old man worked all day and be tired. Old lady be home, raised chickens, pigs, turkeys. My granddad would work and my grandmother stay home. When they were free. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Wars had less effect on families than other events. Seventy-five percent of the respondents felt that World War I, World War II, and the Korean War had no effect on them. The Vietnam War effected only one respondent (8.3%) who felt his family was harmed. A possible

explanation for the absence of effect was that these wars were not fought on American soil. Therefore the only threat perceived was for the safety of family members actually engaged in combat. The following quotations reflected this concern for these family members.

World War I

> Effect them very bad a lot of people got killed. Some (of family) went to war but none of them got killed. (Female Respondent, 1979)

World War II

> My husband fought. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> Still very hard times. That's when Big Mama's brother, I think it was John or somebody went off to fight in the war. That really depressed their family a lot. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Korean War

> Family go to fight but nobody died. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> That's the one my brother was involved in. All I know is that he volunteered to go in the service so he could help out at home. And he was only 18 years old and he went away and quit school so that he could have some money to send back home to help. To help my grandmother to build another house. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Vietnam War

> We had relatives to go over and some to come back injured. (Female Respondent, 1979)

The years of the depression had a profound effect on the Simmons family. Eighty-three percent felt that their family was harmed by this event. The depression was more pervasive because it altered the family's life style. Respondents reported that food and other consumer goods were scarce and were rationed or dispensed in "soup" lines. The region had high levels of unemployment and under-employment. Wages were low. Seasonal farm labor and service jobs were the only forms of employment available. The depressed economy

forced several members of the Simmons family to migrate North seeking employment. Those that remained joined the ranks of the underemployed. The following quotation described the conditions during the depression:

> During that time, I heard them talk about they had to go down to this little store down here and get fresh flour and the thing called 'curd,' marjarine and butter. You had a little red thing in it that you had to color it. Marjarine didn't come yellow. Get navy beans. Had to go and get this fresh flour. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Although the depression years were difficult, the Simmons family was resourceful. Respondents discussed the resiliency, independence and pride evident in the family. The following two quotations attested to the presence of these characteristics.

> Go down there and man come out here with that truck and go get flour, milk, and make the bread and they used white flour and white meat like bacon. Ain't bacon, all white like lard. Then you had to fry it out. When you fry it, like a pan of grease and you have to make bread with that. They would give out white beans. Call them navy beans and my mother had to boil the beans and put that fat back bacon in it. Then they make a meal. Some people didn't understand to make the bread but my mother understand. She was smart though, my mother was very smart. She make that bread. You could smell that bread baking to that hill. Smell so good. One day they come--Mrs. Emily, how you make that bread so good? Mama say well you take time, milk and yeast, set up overnight and make the rolls. It was flat four. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> That was disaster. In order to survive, you really had to be hard working and to stand in that soup and bread line and another times Big Mama's family didn't feel like they want to do that and they would just eat 'ton mush and clabber' is what they used to call it. What is was was old hard milk, stale milk, sour milk and they used to put the mixture from cornbread and with the stale milk and cook that and that's what they ate for survival. It was survival. Beans. I think they were proud. Rather than going through the soup and bread line, aside from that they thought they could do a little bit better on the farm. You know to go and stand up all day long in the line. They went to work and made that 50 cent a day. That was far better than standing in line. (Female Respondent, 1979)

The final events studied were the Civil Rights Movement and integration. These events were reported as primarily helpful to the Simmons family. One half of the respondents felt integration was helpful compared with 41.7% who felt similarly about the Civil Rights Movement. The following examples illustrated the impact of these events on the lives of family members. Although there is a positive theme prevailing in the responses, this writer acknowledges the existence of personal and family struggles.

> I think it is something we will never forget. All of the discrimination and the beatings and the cruel punishments blacks had to endure to fight for equal rights. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> It improved conditions on the surface. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> We weren't involved. We picket for the schools that was about it. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> We didn't have to sit at the back of the bus any more. Things of that sort. (Female Respondent, 1979)

In summary, the Simmons family was relatively isolated from the dominant American society. Most of the interaction between family members occurred on Yonges Island. Members lived and died within a ten mile radius of the home established by Lydia and John. Heretofore, respondents felt they were independent in that they were able to provide needed goods and owned their land. Now this family is becoming aware of their relative poverty. Members of the younger generations (fifth and sixth) are feeling deprived and display a sense of disparagement rather than independence. Reliance on social programs of the dominant society are furthering feelings of dependency. It is important that cultural remnants and family strengths be maintained to eradicate these negative perceptions.

Further data about the Simmons' family will be discussed in Chapter V as kinship patterns, household structures, marital roles, economic and political values and ethnic-racial perceptions are discussed.

## Ethnographic Community Study of Johnston County, North Carolina 1860-1979

The second community study was of Johnston County. This county is the homeplace of the Avery(a)* family. The Avery(a) family has had considerable contact with the dominant American culture. An overview of Johnston county was necessary in order that the reader understand the setting in which the Avery(a) family lived.

Johnston County is located in the midcoastal plains of North Carolina. It has an area of 797 square miles. The county was settled by the English and Ulster Scots. In 1746, Johnston County was created from Craven County. Smithfield was named after John Smith, Jr. who in 1777 provided the land for the town. Since its inception Smithfield has been the county seat. In 1860, it was the only town incorporated in Johnston County (Baker, Note 16).

### Demographic Characteristics of Johnston County

Johnston County is a rural county where agriculture was a major source of income. The 1970 Census reported that 77.1% of the population of Johnston County lived in rural areas (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973). In 1860, the population of Johnston County was 15,656. Thirty-two percent of the population was African American. African Americans were classified either as freedmen or slaves. In

---

* Both Avery and Avera are designated spellings of this family's name.

that year, 195 African Americans were free (54 "colored," 141 mulatto) and 4,916 were slaves (3,007 colored, 57 mulatto). These persons lived in the rural sections of Johnston County (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1860).

The percentage cited above indicates the greatest number of African Americans in Johnston County (see Table 14). African Americans have always been a minority group in this county.

Population trends indicate that as a rural area, Johnston County has continued to grow. The county reached its peak in 1950. The first downward trend occurred over the decade of 1950-1960. There was a 4.5% decline noted during this period. The decline was thought to be the result of residents seeking industrial positions elsewhere as agricultural production decreased. The decline in population continued throughout the sixties. Industrial development began to catapult during the early seventies. In 1974, a 3.5% increase was noted in the population. With further industrial development, the population of Smithfield has increased by 14.87% since 1970. Thus, the downward trend in population was halted by new industries.

Other characteristics of the population are considered when studying the environment of the Avery(a) family. Two of these characteristics are marital roles and household structure. Table 15 reports the household structure of the population of Johnston County. The data indicate 74% of African American families were those headed by the husband-wife dyad in 1960. This percentage decreased slightly to 68% in 1970. Fifty-nine percent of the children under 18 years old were living in these two parent households. The remaining families consisted of those female or other male heads. Twenty-seven percent were households with females as heads, while 5% had an unrelated or

TABLE 14

POPULATION OF JOHNSTON COUNTY AND SMITHFIELD
BY RACE FROM 1860 TO 1977

| | Johnston County | | | | | Smithfield* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | African Americans | | Whites | | Total | African Americans | | Whites | | Total |
| | N | % | N | % | N | N | % | N | % | N |
| 1860 | 5,111 | 32.6 | 10,545 | 67.4 | 15,656 | | | | | 400 |
| 1870 | 5,194 | 30.7 | 11,703 | 69.3 | 16,897 | 202 | 48.7 | 213 | 51.3 | 415 |
| 1880 | 7,465 | 31.8 | 15,996 | 68.2 | 23,461 | | | | | 485 |
| 1890 | 7,322 | 26.8 | 19,917 | 73.1 | 27,239 | | | | | 580 |
| 1900 | 8,171 | 25.3 | 24,079 | 74.7 | 32,250 | | | | | 764 |
| 1910 | 10,169 | 24.6 | 31,232 | 75.4 | 41,401 | | | | | 1,347 |
| 1920 | 11,514 | 23.5 | 37,484 | 76.5 | 48,998 | | | | | 1,895 |
| 1930 | 13,129 | 22.8 | 44,492 | 77.2 | 57,621 | | | | | 2,543 |
| 1940 | 13,443 | 21.1 | 50,327 | 78.9 | 63,798 | | | | | 3,376 |
| 1950 | 14,320 | 21.7 | 51,586 | 78.3 | 65,906 | | | | | 5,574 |
| 1960 | 14,057 | 22.3 | 48,630 | 77.3 | 62,936 | 2,153 | 35.2 | 3,964 | 64.8 | 6,117 |
| 1970 | 13,071 | 21.3 | 48,615 | 78.7 | 61,737 | 2,505 | 37.5 | 4,166 | 62.5 | 6,677 |
| 1977 | | | | | 65,383 | 2,244 | 30.0 | 5,236 | 70.0 | 7,480 |

* Blank spaces indicate no data are available.

SOURCE: County Population Trends, N.C., 1790-1960. University of North Carolina, 1969. Profile N.C. Counties, 5th ed., 1977.

TABLE 15

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION
OF JOHNSTON COUNTY BY RACE

| | 1960 | | 1970 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Population | African Americans | Total Population | African Americans |
| All Families | 15,385 | 2,727 | 16,512 | 2,712 |
| Husband-Wife | 13,259 | 2,013 | 14,024 | 1,834 |
| Female or Other Head | 2,126 | 714 | 2,054 | 745 |
| Unrelated or Other Male Head | 1,911 | 493 | 434 | 133 |
| Children less than 18 years | 25,748 | 7,010 | | 5,892 |
| Percent of children living with both parents | 80.8 | 65.4 | 76.6 | 58.8 |

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of Census.

other male head. This latter percentage can provide data as to the incidence of cohabitation. The percentage among African Americans in Charleston County was 33% in 1960. This difference is also manifested in the two families. Variations from these patterns will be discussed in the section describing the household structure of the Avery(a) family.

Table 16 reports the marital status of individuals in Johnston County who were at least 14 years old in 1970. Comparisons with the Avery(a) family will be discussed in the family biography. There are some trends which require discussion because of their implications for African-American families. The percentage of female heads of household is twice as great in African Americans as in the total population. The data indicate that there is a large number of separated, widowed and divorced African-American females which increases the incidence of female headed households. The differing mortality rates of African-American males may contribute to this imbalance. In addition, males are more likely to remarry. They are also fewer in number as indicated by the sex total in Table 16.

Johnston County is discussed using a historical perspective spanning the years 1860-1979. This overview includes the ten economic and political events which are being investigated in this study. The second section will include in depth discussions of health care, education, religion, recreation, cultural events and local government. There will be some overlap in that the economic and political spheres are associated with all of the other topics. The writer will attempt to present as clear and accurate a picture of Smithfield and Johnston County as possible.

TABLE 16

MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION BY SEX AND RACE
JOHNSTON COUNTY*
1970

| | Total | | African American | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Single | 5,786 | 4,731 | 1,570 | 1,504 |
| Married | 14,979 | 15,409 | 2,195 | 2,409 |
| Separated | 444 | 673 | 195 | 355 |
| Widowed | 579 | 3,509 | 151 | 696 |
| Divorced | 386 | 494 | 53 | 96 |
| Total > 14 years | 22,174 | 24,816 | 4,164 | 5,060 |

* Data not available for Smithfield.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

## The Effects of Political Events

The first event which was ending at the time the analysis of historical data began was slavery. Slavery was necessary in Johnston County because of the agricultural basis of the economy. Although plantations were small in comparison to others in the deep south, slaves were still kept in bondage, and were bought and sold. It appears that the treatment of slaves varied by owners. Brutality and cruelty were evident in Johnston County. Reports of documented cases of slaves being burned at the stake for committing violence against their owners are found in local archival repositories.

North Carolina was the next to last southern state to secede from the union in 1861. Her contribution to the Civil War was primarily providing men and food supplies. Seventeen hundred men left Johnston County to fight in the militia (Lassiter, Note 18). Their primary responsibility was to guard Wilmington, a major southern port. The Battle of Bentonville fought March 19-21, 1865 was the last major Confederate offensive of the Civil War. This battle was fought in Johnston County. The Confederate forces were under the leadership of General Joseph E. Johnston. He fought against General William T. Sherman. Approximately 4000 men were killed, wounded or missing as a result of this battle. General Sherman's forces were occupying Smithfield when Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse in 1865.

The Reconstruction Acts of 1867 divided the south into five military districts and abolished state governments. The Freedman's Bureau and "carpet baggers" were sent to assist African Americans. They were met with resistance as whites were not ready for political, economic and social advancement of slaves.

With the disruption of the political system, politics became fertile ground for African Americans. In 1867, the Republican Party was organized in North Carolina. The constitutional convention consisted of 107 delegates. Fifteen of these were African Americans. In 1868, a Republican governor was elected and 34 African Americans served in the North Carolina Legislature. None of these legislators were from Johnston County but were from those eastern counties where at least 50% of the population were African Americans. This legislature extended the right to vote and attend school to African Americans. African Americans were also elected to local offices. In 1876, Smith Brooks was elected as the African American member of the Town Board of Commissioners (Lassiter, Note 18).

African Americans dominated politics in eastern North Carolina. The number of African American inhabitants was greater than the number of whites in these areas. This fact was alarming to whites even in Johnston County where white control was steadfast. The Republican and Populist Parties (Farmer's Alliance) relied heavily on the African-American vote. Whites detested the African-American bloc voting. The Smithfield Herald printed an editorial deploring Republican bloc voting and praising educated African-American voters especially Democratic ones.

Although the ideas of white supremacy remained, there was restraint demonstrated between the races. In 1890, some progress was made as Ashly Smith was elected as Town Commissioner. From 1890-1900, other African Americans were elected to influential positions in local government. Oral history indicated that an African American had been

elected as mayor of Smithfield in the 1890's. No official documents are available to substantiate this idea since records were burned with the town hall in the 1920's (Lassiter, Note 18).

Members of the Democratic Party intimidated African Americans in an effort to recapture the legislature. The "Red Shirt" campaign was an organized drive of intimidation. These men wore red shirts, rode horses and carried rifles through African American residential neighborhoods and at Republican rallies. Their activities were similar to the "patty rollers" and Ku Klux Klan members who had harassed African Americans since their emancipation.

African Americans began to respond to this harassment. Race relations were extremely volatile. Interracial fighting erupted on several occasions. One such occasion was June 6, 1898 when African Americans rioted in response to white aggression. As a result of continual harassment, African Americans began to migrate from the area. This pattern was similar to Charlestonians who left on the ship, Bark Azor. Exodus of African Americans from Johnston County occurred between 1876-1894. These citizens boarded trains for Arkansas and Mississippi in an attempt to escape restriction of their civil rights, low wages, the oppressive mortgage system and the agricultural depression of 1888. In 1890, 700 African Americans left Smithfield in an arduous attempt at freedom.

Race relations at this time were impersonal and strained. Those African Americans who remained in Johnston County were placed in a precarious position. The following quotation is representative of the attitudes of whites about African Americans and their social

situation. It is an excerpt from an editorial in the local newspaper dated November 4, 1898.

> Providence has been kind to the people of Johnston. For years we have been quietly enjoying the joys and peace of a Democratic rule. The taxes are extremely moderate. The finances are ably managed. There is not an official of the Negro race in the county. Our people feel safe under the rule of the white man. We have no use for Winchesters. There is not a Gatling gun in the county. Our white teachers are free from the insulting presence of Negro supervisors. Our public roads are as safe as the streets of any town. The colored race is quiet and orderly. They recognize the fact that they are in political subjection only. They are treated as well as they deserve. (Smithfield, Note 19, p. 2)

African Americans faced a political crisis in 1898. They organized a convention in that year to voice concerns about their treatment in the Republican Party. They were concerned that their presence was no longer recognized. What became evident in that year was that the "political tide" had changed. Only five white men voted the Republican ticket, while 1700 Democrats voted. Due to intimidation and disillusion, African Americans refrained from voting. As a result of these events, the Democrats regained control and maintained it for 72 years.

Disenfranchisement of African Americans was completed with the passage of the constitutional amendment requiring voters to have the ability to read and write. The Grandfather clause offered an opportunity to poor uneducated whites. Provisions to the admendment stated that anyone who had voted prior to January 1, 1867 or whose father or grandfather were voters were excluded under this clause. This provision was eventually closed in 1908, when all new voters were required to be able to read and write. This legislation was successful in depriving

African Americans of the right to vote.

This lack of political power continued through the 20th century. There have been episodes to which African Americans have responded and gained temporary power. In April, 1945 there was a protest claiming discriminatory practices in voter registration. This action led to a voter registration drive which increased the numbers of African American voters. Another advance was the election of James Barbour to the Town Board of Commissioners in 1971. He was the first African American elected since the Reconstruction period.

Resurgence of political participation occurred in the late 1960's as a result of the Civil Rights movement. The freedom of choice plan in school attendance started in 1965 stirred up unresolved hostilities. Whites responded through the Ku Klux Klan. In 1967, the historical billboard was erected at the city limits of Smithfield. The sign read "Join and support United Klans of America, Inc. Help fight communism and Integration. KKK welcomes you to Smithfield." (Smithfield Landmark, Note 20). This controversial sign led to a race riot in 1968 where $10,000 worth of damage was done. Several local community action organizations were organized at this time. The billboard remained until its removal in the late 1970's.

School desegregation was initiated when a suit was filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on behalf of 167 students. This dispute resulted in the loss of federal funds and intervention by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In 1969, schools were consolidated, others were closed. At least 65% of African-American students were in integrated schools.

Legal intervention and protests continued throughout the seventies around various issues of race relations and equality.

## The Economy of the County

While political events were occurring over these 100 years, there were parallel developments in the economic sphere. The following section will describe the economy of the region including the industrial development of Johnston County.

During antebellum times, Johnston county was an agricultural area producing corn, wheat, oats and wool. Cotton was grown on some plantations but tobacco was not grown anywhere in the county. Naval stores were an important contributor to the economy. The county was started with small farms of less than 100 acres with five or less slaves. There were five thousand plantations whose size was greater than 1000 acres (Lassiter, Note 18). Businesses in Smithfield during 1860 were confined to blacksmith shops, grog shops (taverns) and a hotel. One African American, J.B. Alford, owned a grocery store (Lassiter, Note 18).

The census of the agriculture indicated that corn was the major crop in 1870, and 1880 (U.S. Census of Agriculture, 1870, 1880). Sparse acreage of tobacco was grown throughout the county. Farmers were hesitant about planting this new crop. It is difficult to imagine that by 1930, tobacco would be the major crop of the county (Overall, Note 21).

The major occupations in the area were farmers, farm laborers, merchants, housekeepers and carpenters (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1860). The private sector of manufacturers increased as sawmills, grist mills, terpentine distilleries, and cotton yarn textile factories

were operated. There was an economic boom in the 1880's primarily because of the accessibility of railroads available to transport goods.

The economic boom was followed by a depression in the 1890's. The literature does not cite specifically the cause of the depression. The failure of crops over this period appears to be the primary factor for the economic slump.

Little is cited in the literature about the economy of the region in the early twentieth century. World War I promoted a business boom for the area. The profits of wartime spending were revealed in the purchasing of the first automobiles in the country. There was a slight decline in the economy from 1918-1920 as wartime spending was leveling off because the war had ended.

The income level remained stable until 1926 when farm prices fell and construction was at a standstill. Johnston county had become the major tobacco producing county in the United States. Cotton continued to be important for the economy. The price of both these commodities fell in 1933 and the economy of the county reached bottom. During the depression years, the Ku Klux Klan reappeared raising a banner for "Pure Americanism" (Lassiter, Note 18).

The Roosevelt administration assisted in the recovery of the area through its New Deal Programs. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) projects built schools and paved roads. A WPA project specifically designed for African Americans was Opportunity Hall. This agency was established with the assistance of local citizens to train African American girls as homemakers and boys as brick masons or carpenters. From all indications, this venture was successful.

The economy was enhanced for a second time by World War II. In the post war era, the farm population declined. Improved planting procedures and agricultural mechanization increased the yield of crops. The manufacturing sector continued to grow as larger firms began to build factories specializing in textiles, meat packing, electronics, and medical equipment. Markets for the sale of tobacco, cotton, hogs, vegetables, and feed substantially increased the earnings of local residents (Overall, Note 21).

It is difficult to ascertain data about the influence of economy on African Americans over this same time period. The literature reports the presence of several free African American landowners who were active in civic activities during the 1860's. Property valuations done in 1921 indicated that there were 42 million dollars worth of taxable property in Johnston County. African Americans owned $1,700,000 of this total (Lassiter, Note 18). In 1976, African Americans owned and operated 21 businesses in Smithfield (Black Directory, Note 22).

Other indicators of the economic condition of African Americans are rates of unemployment, income levels and occupations. The median income of African-American families in 1960 and 1970 was $1,570 and $4,075 respectively (see Table 17). The mean size of an African-American family was 4.84. This figure is compared with 3.2, the mean size of families in the total population. The lower incomes for African-American families reflected their relative poverty in Johnston County.

TABLE 17

MEDIAN INCOME FOR JOHNSTON COUNTY
AND SMITHFIELD FOR 1960 AND 1970

| | 1960 | | 1970 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Family Income | Family & Unrelated Individuals | Family Income | Family & Unrelated Individuals |
| Johnston County | | | | |
| Total Population | $2,469 | $2,254 | $6,023 | $5,085 |
| African Americans | $1,570 | $1,429 | $4,075 | $3,407 |
| Smithfield | | | | |
| Total Population | $3,540 | $2,923 | $6,368 | $4,876 |
| African Americans* | | | | |

* Data not available.

SOURCE: Census of the Population 1960, 1970.

Unemployment and underemployment contributed to the financial status of African Americans. The historical overview has described the lack of employment following the emancipation and during the depressions of the 1890's and 1930's. In all three instances, there was a decline in agriculture, the sector in which African Americans were primarily employed. In 1970, 43% of the African Americans who were unemployed were operatives and 18.7% were farm laborers (North Carolina, Note 23). The corresponding level of unemployment was 6.2% for males and 18% for females. These percentages are extremely high when compared to 2.2% for white males and 7.2% for white females. Although the county's unemployment rate is usually within the range of 4-6% for whites, the rate for African Americans has been as high as 17.6% in 1976. Underemployment has become an economic issue since 22% of the heads of households were reported in this category in 1977

and 1978 (Overall, Note 21). Again, the choice of occupations and lower incomes have placed African Americans in a more precarious economic position than their white counterparts. Racism and discrimination have influenced the occupations available to African Americans. The Good Neighbor Council was established by the mayor of Smithfield to prevent further discrimination in hiring (Lassiter, Note 18).

African Americans have been farmers in Johnston County since they were disenthralled. The numbers of African American families have steadily declined. Table 18 summarizes the status of African Americans in agriculture. The data reflect the decline in all categories of African American operated farms. The number of farmers and acreage has been reduced by 63% over the decade.

Trends in occupations are reported in Table 19. From 1960 to 1970, the number of African-American males in the categories of craftsman, clerical and service workers has increased. Operatives and laborers have decreased among males. African-American females had decreased their numbers in the category of private household worker and increased their numbers as operatives and service workers. Triangle "J" Council of Governments has made employment projections in keeping with these findings. They project that employment will increase in manufacturing, construction, service and government related businesses. There will continue to be a decline in agricultural employment (The Economy, Note 24).

In summary, Johnston County has had a history of adversity for African Americans. Although there have been advances in both the

TABLE 18

STATUS OF AGRICULTURE
JOHNSTON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

| | 1964 | 1969 | 1974 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of farms | 4,385 | 3,894 | 3,104 |
| Acres | 357,145 | 327,152 | 291,955 |
| % of land | 70.1% | 64.1% | 57.2% |
| Average size of farm | 81.4 | 84.0 | 94.0 |
| African American Operated Farms | 368 | 178 | 105 |
| Total acres | 15,157 | 7,706 | 5,348 |
| Full Owners | 71 | 87 | 58 |
| Total Acres | 3,344 | 4,071 | 2,550 |
| Part Owners | 55 | 26 | 21 |
| Total Acres | 2,799 | 1,099 | 1,209 |
| Tenants | 242 | 65 | 26 |
| Total Acres | 9,014 | 2,536 | 1,589 |
| Market Value of Agricultural Products (All farms) | $37,349,500 | $40,359,000 | $72,135,000 |

Major Crops: Corn, soybeans, tobacco, sweet potatoes, wheat, hay, vegetables.

SOURCE: Census of Agriculture, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Vol. 1, Part 26, 1979; Vol. 1, Part 33, 1977.

TABLE 19

OCCUPATIONS IN JOHNSTON COUNTY AND SMITHFIELD, NORTH CAROLINA, BY RACE AND SEX

| | Johnston County | | | | Smithfield* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1960 | | 1970 | | 1960 | | 1970 | |
| | Male % | Females % | Males % | Females % | Male % | Female % | Male % | Female % |
| Professional | 65( 2.8) | 143(10.5) | 51( 2.5) | 153( 9.3) | 150(11.6) | 242(22.9) | 168(11.9) | 212(20. ) |
| Managers, Farmers | 474(20.6) | 39( 2.9) | 31( 1.5) | 15( .9) | 226(17.4) | 51( 4.8) | 257(18.3) | 56( 5.3) |
| Clerical | 5( .2) | 38( 2.8) | 80( 3.9) | 65( 3.9) | 72( 5.6) | 196(18.6) | 75( 5.3) | 195(18.4) |
| Sales | 23( 1. ) | 24( 1.8) | 4( .2) | 26( 1.6) | 120( 9.3) | 82( 7.8) | 82( 5.8) | 68( 6.4) |
| Craftsman | 193( 8.4) | -- | 408(20. ) | 33( 2. ) | 242(18.7) | -- | 300(21.3) | -- |
| Operatives | 452(19.6) | 79( 5.8) | 307(15. ) | 418(25.4) | 255(19.7) | 137(13. ) | 163(11.6) | 231(21.8) |
| Private Household | 4( .17) | 718(52.8) | 11( .5) | 437(26.5) | 4( .3) | 211(20. ) | 6( .4) | 107(10.1) |
| Service | 168( 7.3) | 185(13.6) | 256(12.5) | 320(19.4) | 77( 5.9) | 124(11.8) | 152(10.8) | 192(18.1) |
| Laborers | 922(40. ) | 134( 9.9) | 895(43.8) | 180(10.9) | 150(11.6) | 12( 1.1) | 203(14.4) | -- |
| N = | 2306 | 1360 | 2043 | 1647 | 1296 | 1055 | 1406 | 1061 |

* Statistics reported are for the total population. Not available for African Americans.

SOURCE: U.S. Census.

economic and political spheres, these have not equaled those experienced by the majority group. It appears that the citizens of Johnston County have been more accepting in social affairs. These are areas in which African Americans have excelled. These descriptions are included in the second section of the community study.

Religion

Prior to the Civil War, there were equal numbers of Baptists and Methodists in the county. Both denominations were concerned with evangelism. It was in 1891 before a Presbyterian church was established in Smithfield. The Episcopal Church was established even later in 1903. These "conservative" denominations suffered a decline in membership as Primitive Baptists and Pentecostal Holiness gained a stronghold in Johnston County. It appeared that fundamentalism and revivalism appealed to the population during the latter part of the 19th century. Roving ministers and evangelists held tent revivals throughout the community. These religious groups through zealous efforts were able to have liquor outlawed in the county.

African Americans were members of both the "conservative" and evangelistic churches. White churches had allowed slaves to attend church by sitting in their back rows or galleries. Others attended services in churches built on plantations. Wesley Chapel A.M.E. Church was built on the Avera plantation for their slaves. The church remains viable in 1979.

Recreation and Cultural Events

The residents of Smithfield and Johnston County are proud of their cultural heritage. These activities have climaxed in the 20th century. From 1900-1920, town meetings and social gatherings were held in the opera house. During this time, a lyceum program was established to attract notables in the arts. The citizens through their diligence were able to contract with the Chautauqua Program to have lectures and music available in Smithfield. This traveling tour of artists performed under tents throughout the county. Johnstonians prided themselves in the 40 civic, fraternal and social clubs that served the community (Lassiter, Note 18).

These activities were for the white community. There is no data to indicate similar activities were held for African Americans. On the contrary, there is an obvious absence of cultural and leisure activities planned for African Americans.

It appeared that African Americans participated in city wide activities such as Farmer's Day. They also celebrated Old Christmas on January 5. Both of these were annual events. Otherwise cultural and leisure activities were confined to the segregated institutions of schools and churches. Family and community activities were the main forms of leisure.

African Americans formed clubs and associations to provide support and diversion. The earliest to form was the Golden Link Lodge #205 in 1913. Later came the Progressive Women's Club (1949), Smithfield's Men's Progressive Club (1973), American Legion Post #270 (known as Eason-Spence-Bunch American Legion, 1971), and Professional

Women's Club. These clubs were service oriented and provide social interaction for their members. Other clubs were established strictly for their utility. The Scholarship Club, Social Savings Club, and quilting groups had more defined purposes. Associations for special interest groups such as senior citizens have also evolved (Black Directory, Note 22). Finally, fraternal organizations and societies such as the Oddfellows Lodge and the Order to Tent have fulfilled social and aesthetic needs.

Health Care

Johnston County has had at least one physician since 1860 with 13 establishing their practices between 1970-1979. Presently, there is one physician per 3,031 county residents (N.C. Health Statistics, Note 25). Johnston County has had a hospital since the 1920's when Smithfield Memorial Hospital opened its doors. This hospital was later reorganized by the Kiwanis Club and was owned by surgeons. The hospital at that time had 35 beds. In the 1950's, a county owned hospital was built to replace the previous one. Johnston Memorial Hospital had 182 beds and serviced the physical and mental health needs of county residents. The county also has a health department which delivers health care.

African Americans who resided in Johnston County had Dr. Wharton available for medical care during the latter years of the 19th century. Dr. Wharton was available to those African Americans who lived on the Avera farm. In addition, Dr. C.W. Furlonge, an African-American surgeon, operated a small hospital from the 1920's through 1950's.

If diseases were too severe to be cared for in the two story house converted into a hospital, then the person could be admitted at the back door of the white hospital. There were special wards set aside for this purpose. Individuals were also admitted to St. Agnes Hospital in Raleigh.

The data in the brochure, N.C. Health Statistics, indicated that there are numerous health problems in Johnston County. The data presented was compiled from various sources. The causes of mortality were heart disease, accidents, cancer and strokes (in order of causation). Morbidity was associated with hypertension, a problem acute in the African-American population. The need assessment segment of the data indicate that the cost and transportation were inhibiting factors in health delivery (N.C. Statistics, Note 25).

Although there was only one physician per 13,000 African Americans, there were no natural barriers preventing access to him. This was not the case in the Yonges Island Area where travel across the mainland was difficult. In both instances, health care facilities for African Americans were lacking. Even today, there are no African-American physicians in practice in either area. The Sea Island Comprehensive Health Clinic and the local health department in Smithfield are unable to met all health care needs. Transportation and costs are still prohibitive of adequate health care among African Americans.

Housing

The planning boards of Johnston County and Smithfield have been interested in the condition of housing in their area and have undertaken three studies since 1970. The results of these studies with recommendations are listed below.

1. The median value of housing in Johnston County was $6,400 in 1960, $10,500 in 1970 and $22,700 in 1976.
2. The median rent price was $40 per month in Johnston County and $45 in Smithfield (1970).
3. Only 33% of Johnston County families can afford suitable housing.
4. Sixty-seven percent of inadequate housing located in the county was occupied by African Americans.
5. African Americans occupied 86% of owner occupied and 89% of renter-occupied housing which lacked plumbing facilities (Housing Study, Note 26).
6. There is a higher concentration of dilapidated housing in the African-American community.
7. Numerous lots are too small to meet current zoning requirements and there are no county restrictions on mobile homes which currently is 16% of the total housing (Neighborhood Analysis, Note 27).
8. There are no monies available at low interest rates for housing.
9. Patterns of racial segregation in residential development have inhibited the use and reuse of existing houses and

new construction for families of lower income and minority groups (Initial Housing Element, Note 28).

Recommendations made from these studies are:

1. To reinforce code enforcement and inspection programs for the city and county.
2. To provide low income housing with federal funds.
3. To pave streets and connect houses to the city's sewage system.
4. To encourage property owners to refurbish their rental homes.

Some of these recommendations have already been met and others suggested. Acknowledging deficits in housing as indicated in these studies has resulted in some changes in the condition of housing. Multi-family housing has been built for the low income and elderly. Additional federal funds are being sought to further this effort. The building inspection program has been revised to provide better service. Finally, the number of mobile homes is increasing to meet the demand for housing with adequate facilities and moderate costs. The problem of zoning areas for these homes continues to exist.

There is a need for additional funding to build new homes and to continue existing housing programs. Substandard housing has not been eradicated. The need is specifically dire in African - American communities.

## Education

Education in Johnston County was influenced by the economic and political spheres of the dominant American culture. There were times in which the viability of the school system depended on the outcome of a political or economic events. The controversial history of education will be discussed in the following section.

Johnston County residents did not see the significance of education as early as those in Charleston County. The literature reports that the conditions in the county were initially depressed. The county inhabitants were settlers struggling for survival and not necessarily interested in establishing social programs. Lassiter (Note 18) described the area as a "wilderness abounding in ignorance, provincialism, bootleggers, rough necks, mosquitos, and malaria" (p. 30). Consequently education was not seen as a priority early in the history of Johnston County.

When comparing the history of education in the two counties, one must recognize that Charleston County had a larger population and a broader economic base than Johnston County. The writer does not suggest that the differences in the educational systems of the counties were the result of motivation of citizens. It is the writer's opinion that need and availability of resources were both elements in these decisions.

The chronology of the school system in Johnston County begins in 1812 when the Smithfield Academy was opened. This school was the only one in existence during these early years. After the Civil War, other schools were opened. In 1870, there were 747 students enrolled

in schools (492 whites, 255 African Americans). At that time, the illiteracy rate was high with 29.3% of the population over 10 unable to read and 32.4% unable to write. Forty-five percent of these totals represents the illiteracy rate of African Americans (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1870).

During the decade of the 1880's, several state policies began to influence local education. There was a movement within the state for free schools in North Carolina. This program met resistance in Johnston County. It is difficult to ascertain whether this resistance was based on racism, lack of interest in education or the lack of the necessary funds for the project. The 6,500 white and 3,500 African American students were enrolled in school for an average of 60 days because the county could not afford longer sessions. This was done although four month school terms were required by the state.

The town of Smithfield began to initiate its education programs in the 1890's. Public schools had been incorporated about two years before Turlington Institute was opened. Turlington Institute was a forerunner of secondary education in the county. This school in 1903 became the free public school for whites in Smithfield. In 1889, Smithfield Elementary School was built for African Americans. This school was opened for three months per year and taught children through the seventh grade. It was in 1910 that this school was able to remain open seven months per year. State funds operated the program for six months while African-American families paid fees for one month.

During the period of 1900-1954, separate but equal education was the focus of the county. New educational opportunities became available to African Americans. The N.C. Director of Negro Education had obtained a bus from the Rosenwald fund to transport African Americans to school. This bus would be used to bring students to the county's only African-American High School (Proctor, 1975). An African-American Baptist Church began an elementary school in Smithfield to serve greater numbers of students. The same interested citizens were instrumental in getting a public high school for African Americans. In 1914, Smithfield Training School was opened (later named Johnston County Training School). This school provided the only opportunity for secondary education in the county. Prior to this time, parents who could afford it were sending their children to Shaw University, Kittrell and Barber Scotia Colleges. There was also a boarding school in Durham, North Carolina which provided secondary education. Obtaining more than seven years of education required financial resources and the willingness to send children away from home. Some African American parents had difficulty with both.

Other opportunities for African Americans were possible because of the financial assistance of individuals and families. Members of the Avera family in the Cleveland School area of the county were instrumental in providing education for African Americans. Short Journey School was built by David Avera during slavery and became a part of the public school system. Monies were allocated for a new brick structure in 1926. It remained an elementary school for African Americans until 1969. The Avera family also supported the college education of one

of the individuals who had lived on their plantation. William Avera attended Shaw University and was one of the earlier African Americans to have a college education in the county. He returned to Johnston County and taught in the school system. He later assumed other jobs because he required more than a teacher's salary to support his ten children (Boyd, Note 29).

Three additional events influenced the school system of Johnston County. These events were the appointment of H.B. Marrow as school superintendent, the depression of the 1930's, and integration. Each of these will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

H.B. Marrow was an attorney who served as superintendent of city and county schools from 1922-1951. His career as superintendent has been described as "stormy and productive" (Smithfield, Note 30). One of the first tasks accomplished under his administration was the consolidation of 134 schools into 24. The actual number of schools thought to be located in the county differs according to the source of information. Buses or "trucks" as they were called, transported African Americans and white students throughout the county. Schools were opened for a full nine-month term in 1926.

Mr. Marrow believed in equal education. An editorial in the Smithfield Herald, a local newspaper, described Marrow's tenure as superintendent:

> Under Superintendent Marrow's guidance, Johnston County acquired the reputation of having school facilities for Negroes hardly equaled anywhere in the South. Before 1954, the law called for 'separate but equal' facilities for white and black children, and Mr. Marrow endeavored to abide by the law. (Smithfield Herald, Note 30)

Marrow implemented a program of testing all seventh grade students in the county prior to their entrance into high school. He noted that students were performing poorly during their first year and felt that some screening mechanism would enable those students who needed assistance an opportunity to obtain it. The testing program which lasted approximately 13 years did arouse some controversy. Mrs. Cora Avery Boyd, a seventh grade teacher for twenty years in an African-American School stated

> I fought the test particularly when I was teaching. I would have students who failed to test that who could do much better work than children who passed it. Didn't measure as it should measure. (Boyd, Note 29)

The irony of this statement was evident when scores were tallied and Mrs. Boyd's students performed well on the tests. She still can relate instances in which some students experienced anxiety and failed the test for this reason. Because of her student's test results and her teaching ability, Superintendent Marrow hired Mrs. Boyd as one of two African American supervisors for the county. This appointment made in the 1950's was the first time African Americans were hired as school supervisors. Previously, white supervisors had visited African-American schools.

When asked to evaluate the education of African Americans during her forty years in the school system, Mrs. Boyd applauded the efforts of Superintendent Marrow. She related that African Americans schools had good facilities and new textbooks. In responding to the quality of education for African Americans, she stated

> It depends on instruction of the teacher. I think sometime our instruction was much better . . . Someone said that the instruction in the black schools were better. First of all, it had to be

> 'cause they (whites) came from environments that started off their education. Parents saw to it that they got this and that. A lot of times in black schools that didn't happen. Parents didn't even know how to do anything for their children except put on their clothes and send them to school (Boyd, Note 29).

It is important to remember that the events described above were occurring at the same time that economic and political events were occurring. There were inequities in the dual school system. A review of the numbers of teachers and pupils as well as expenditures indicated that African Americans had fewer teachers which resulted in larger classes. The expenditures per student were also less (N.C. Basic County, Note 31). African American teachers and principals were paid less salary than their white counterparts (Proctor, 1965).

The depression had the most profound effect on education. Proctor (1965) in his thesis discussed the crisis in education that resulted from the depression. By 1926, county residents were failing to pay their taxes which continued for the next five years. This financial crisis resulted in increased debts owed by the school. To cut back on expenses, further consolidation of schools took place, the number of teachers was reduced, salaries were decreased, the construction of schools ceased and even insurance policies on school facilities were reduced to minimal levels.

The Republican Party won the local election in 1928 and felt that schools were an extravangance. They proposed an austere budget which further decreased the funds for the county schools. Schools opened late in 1929 because of disagreements between local officials and the school board. The school budget was finally accepted as both groups had to compromise. The school system remained in an economic

crisis from 1926-1932.

The Works Progress Administration and other New Deal programs provided relief for farmers. Government price support and parity payments began to enhance the staggering economy. By 1935, there were funds available for school construction. The N.C. Negro Community League had applied and received funds for Opportunity Hall. The State of North Carolina provided a textbook rental system and matched local funds for construction of new buildings. Finally, the emphasis had returned to the academic education of children (Proctor, 1975).

Integration has been previously discussed in the section on political events. Elaborations of content will be presented here. As a result of integration, four African-American high schools were closed. Their students attended schools which were previously white. Some elementary schools such as Short Journey were also closed. The integration of schools was a painstaking process. The writer thinks it is too soon to evaluate the effect of the integration of schools on Johnstonians.

This general overview of Johnston County provided information about the area in which the Avery(a) family lived. Needless to say, many of the economic and political events effected the family. The extent to which they were effected will be reported in the following section. Johnston like Charleston County did provide positive experiences for its African American citizens. However, there were also negative events, those perceived as harmful to African Americans. This writer thinks that an in depth study of the Avery(a) family will indicate the influence of the dominant American culture, as exemplified in Johnston County, on an African-American family.

## The Avery(a) Family Biography

The first section of the biography of the Avery(a) family presents a historical overview of the earliest generations. The identity of this African-American family was closely allied with the white Averys and their records yielded pertinent information. Wills, census data, cohabitations records, birth and death certificates were used to reconstruct these first generations. These records were not readily available in South Carolina. Data were sparse and inconsistently recorded. Birth certificates were not considered to be within the public domain. The lack of information made the reconstruction of the Simmons family difficult. The presence of these documents in North Carolina facilitated the development of the Avery biography.

### A Chronicle of the Avery(a) Family

From 1860-1979, members of the Avery(a) family resided approximately five miles from Smithfield, North Carolina on the Avera farm. The term plantation does not accurately describe the relatively small land holdings with few slaves in North Carolina.* The forty-one slaves owned by David Avera in 1850 were a handful in comparison to the thousands of slaves owned on South Carolina plantations.

The Averas came to Johnston County circa 1745. Their ancestral lineage was traced to England. Avery (Avera) was an English name meaning the descendent of Aelfric of Everard (boar head), one who came from Evreux in France (Averitt and Averett) (Edsodson, 1956).

---

* However the term plantation will be used to describe the Avera land during slavery. The term "Avera farm" will indicate the present status of the property.

These four names have been used interchangeably over various generations and among the subunits within the family. Upon their arrival in this country, members of the Avery family became active in politics and civic activities. Several members of the family held political offices in Smithfield and Johnston County.

The Avera plantation was initially a 10-12,000 acre tract located between Middle and Swift Creeks. The Avera family had been the owners of slaves since 1762. David Avera's plantation had gin mills, a commissary, and a grist mill. Cotton, tobacco, and corn were grown on the plantation. Slave labor was available to clear the land and plant these crops. These slave families were kept intact as their members were sold only during dire financial need or when they were perceived as "troublesome." Those who remained were treated well according to descendents of David Avera (Compton, Note 1).

At the time of his death, David Avera owned 30 slaves that had an aggregate value of $13,650. The names of a few of these were Parson (Passon), William, Dillon, Henderson, Harrison, Bythan (Bythie), Washington, and Anthony (Report, Note 33). These persons were all members of the larger Avery* family whose descendents now number over 1000. Out of these roots, it is difficult to determine who was kin or fictive kin. The use of the terms--uncles, aunts, and cousins, indicated family ties where no blood ties existed. These strong kinship bonds are evident in current family interactions.

---

* Although many descendents accepted the Avery spelling, the surname from former owners was Avera.

Henderson and Tobitha are the predecessors of the family studied in this text. As a result of the partitioning of the estate of David Avera, Henderson who was valued at $750.00 was given to Elizabeth and Thomas Sneed. Bythie (valued at $500.00) was given to William H. Sanders. Although the names might imply separation of the couple, Henderson and Tobitha were inherited by one of David's daughters and a neighbor. No actual separation was thought to have taken place.

Household structure, ages of family members, marital status, occupations and educational levels are enumerated in the census. The 1860 census of Johnston County did not list individual slave names but only their sex and age. The 1890 census were destroyed. The results of the 1870 and 1880 censuses are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Henderson was born circa 1820. There are no records to indicate who his parents were or how long he had lived on the Avera plantation. The first mention of Henderson was in the will of David Avera in 1855. Tobitha was born circa 1832 (1833 and 1834 are possibilities according to census data). No information is available about Tobitha's ancestors. Henderson and Tobitha were slaves on the Avera plantation and lived there until their deaths.

The cohabitation records of May 19, 1866 stated that Henderson and Tobitha had lived as husband and wife since August, 1850. Like other slaves, Henderson and Tobitha registered their union "in law." Gutman (1976) stated that 560 ex-slave marriages were registered in Johnston County in 1866. North Carolina law required registration

of these marriages and ex-slaves were eager to comply to the request.

Over the tenure of their marriage, Henderson and Tobitha had nine children, four boys and five girls. Their names were James (Jim), Gracie, Anthony, George Washington (Wash), Hancel (Hance), Nancy, Lue (Lou), Betty and Winnie. There are discrepancies in the data about their birth dates. It is thought that these children were born between 1852 and 1874. If this was the case, four of these children would have been born during the latter years of slavery and the Civil War. Two slaves were listed in the will of David Avera in 1855 who had the same first names as two of the children. Their value, Washington $400 and Anthony $750, would indicate a relatively lower value than that of other young adult males. However, the older children, Jim and Gracie were not named. It is likely that these children are not the slaves listed in the will but were named after them.

Reports of Henderson and Tobitha described them as hard working, very dark skinned people. They were part of the slave community and lived in quarters behind the "big house." It is thought that Henderson and Tobitha celebrated religious ceremonies within the slave quarters or attended the nearby Elizabeth Church where a slave gallery was available for use during worship services. Later, they attended Wesley Chapel A.M.E. Church which was established by David Avera for slaves on the plantation.

Like other slaves, Henderson and Tobitha could not read or write. However, they sent their children to the school established to educate Avera slaves. Short Journey School was built and a teacher hired by David Avera to educate slave children. The framed building

was later replaced by a brick structure that remains today. Members of succeeding generations of Averys attended this school. Additional information was discussed in the education section of the enthographic community study of Johnston County.

Emancipation did not significantly alter the lifestyle of Henderson and Tobitha. The slave quarters were removed and families were dispersed to homes previously used by white tenants. The process of distribution was done on a hierarchical basis. Passon and Caroline, the oldest slaves, obtained the largest house, a two-story building known as the "high house." Henderson and Tobitha moved into the "compound" where several small houses were adjacent to each other. These small houses subsequently became the households of their children.

Henderson and Tobitha were both farm laborers and worked for the Averas until their deaths. Henderson was prematurely killed in 1874 when he was gored by a bull belonging to Dak Avera. Tobitha maintained the compound until her death in the early 1900's. A document dated in 1896 indicated that Bythie continued to work as a farm laborer until her death.

The four older children married and were listed in the census of 1880 and 1900 as living in or near the compound. Anthony maintained a separate household although he was not married. Other unmarried children lived in the household with Bythie following Henderson's death. The 1900 census listed both Lou and Betty as residing in the household with Bythie. It is thought that Nancy and Winnie had died during their young adult years prior to the 1900 census. Winnie's

child, Lonnie, lived with his grandmother after her death. This was a four generation household as one great-grandchild was also living there.

Three of the second generation moved away between 1900 and 1930. It is thought that these children moved to other rural areas of North Carolina. Contact was limited after they moved. Since they did not return to live in Johnston County, family ties over the years were severed with Jim, Anthony, and Hancel.

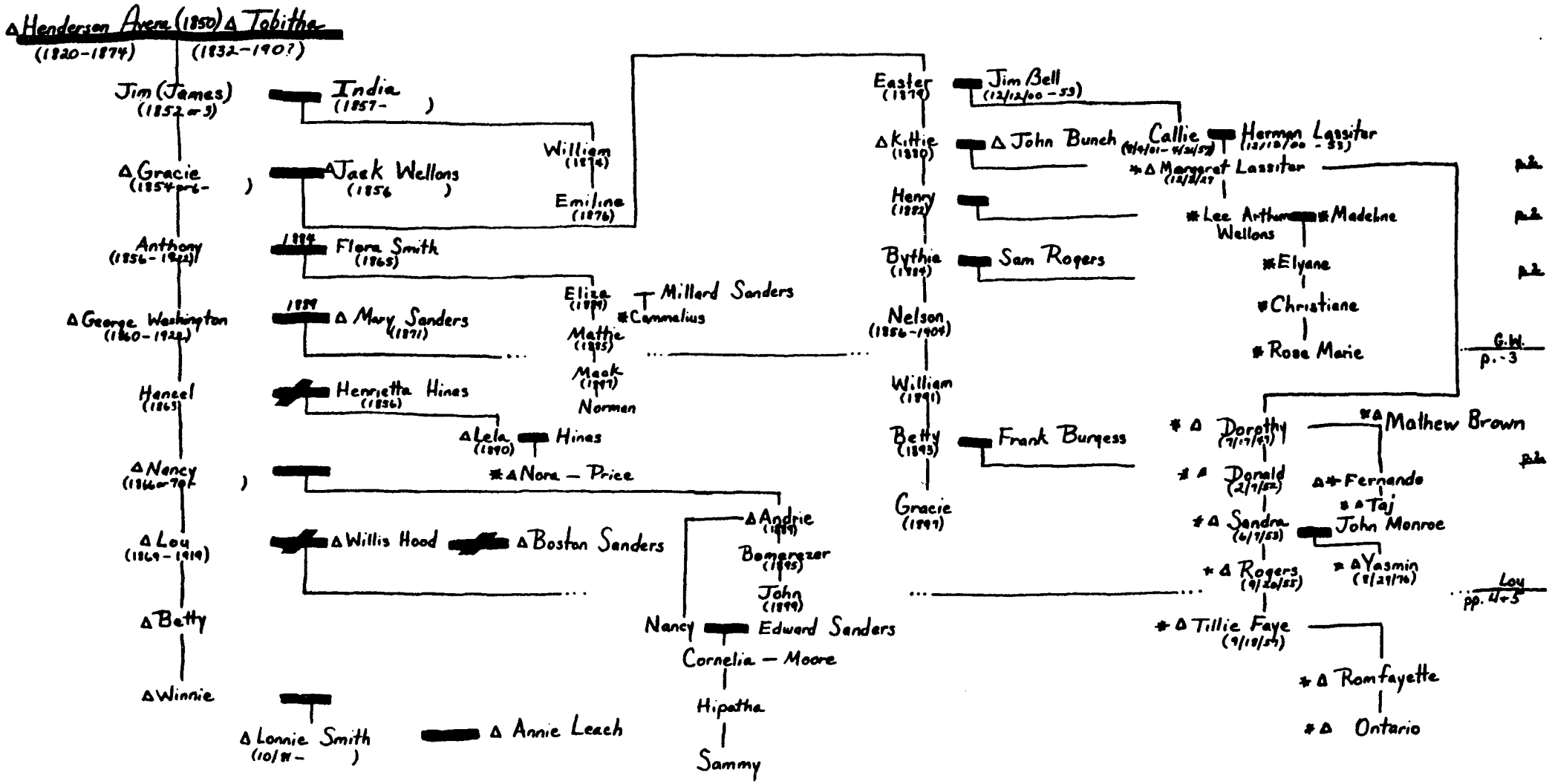
Figure 2 represents the genealogical chart of the Avery(a) family. In reading the chart, one sees that Henderson and Tobitha had nine children. Jim married India and had two children. Lou had two children following two unions. Hattie remained in the area with her seven children. Hattie's descendent also lived near the Avery(a) homeplace. These descendents were a large percentage of the pool available for interviews. Robert, Lou's other child, left the area and moved to Enfield, North Carolina. His descendents became more dispersed as several went to New York seeking employment. These descendents never returned to Smithfield to live. Their ties with the Avery(a) family were severed until the investigator located this part of the family in 1979. This same pattern of mobility existed in the Simmons family but was more pervasive than in the Avery(a) family. Only 18% of the Avery(a) family left the area.

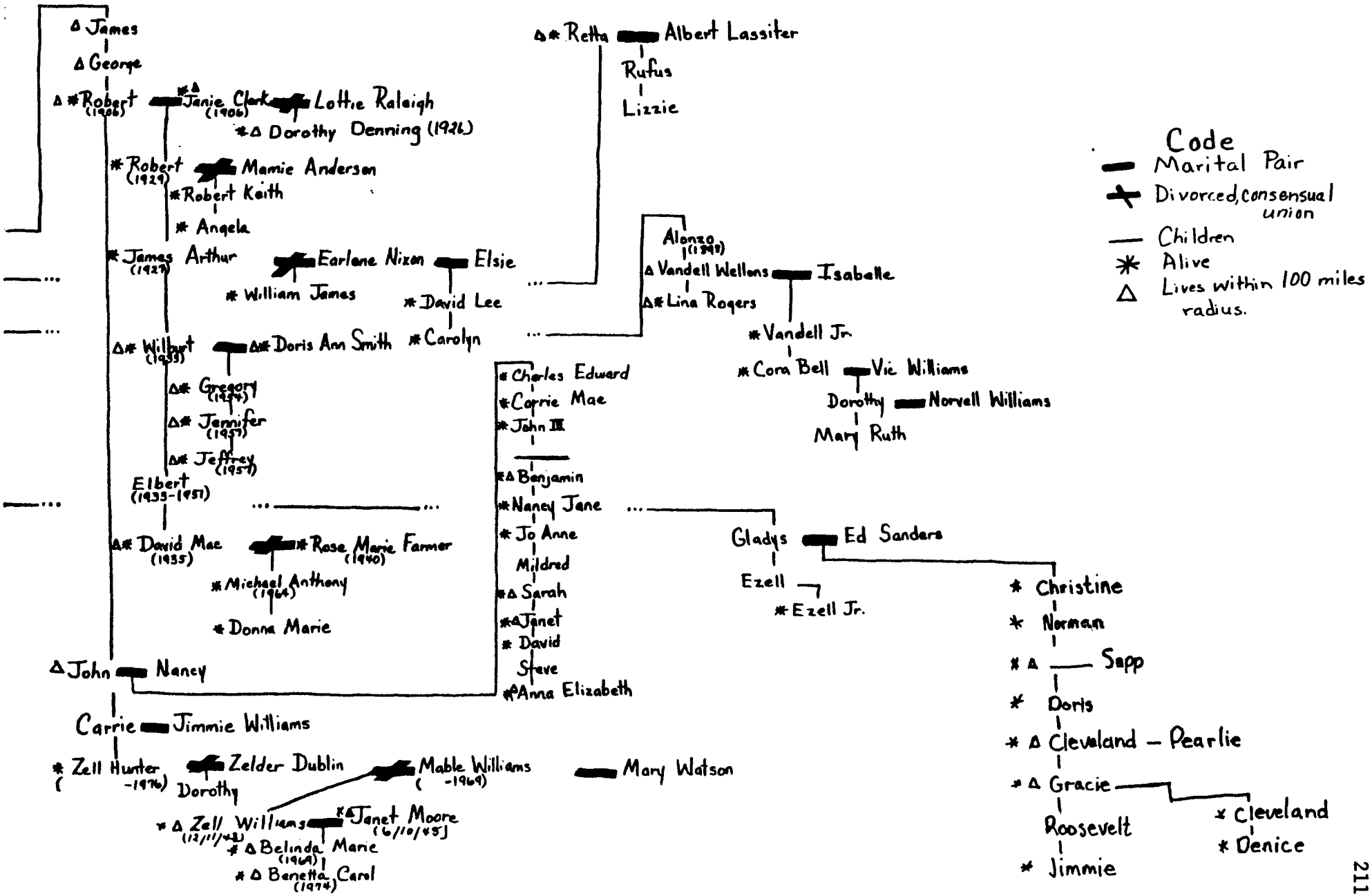
Interaction between these two Avery(a) families has continued until 1979. Such interaction is predominant among those subunits who had experienced more intimate contacts in the past. For example, Lue, Kittie and Gracie worked in the household of the Averas. Lue

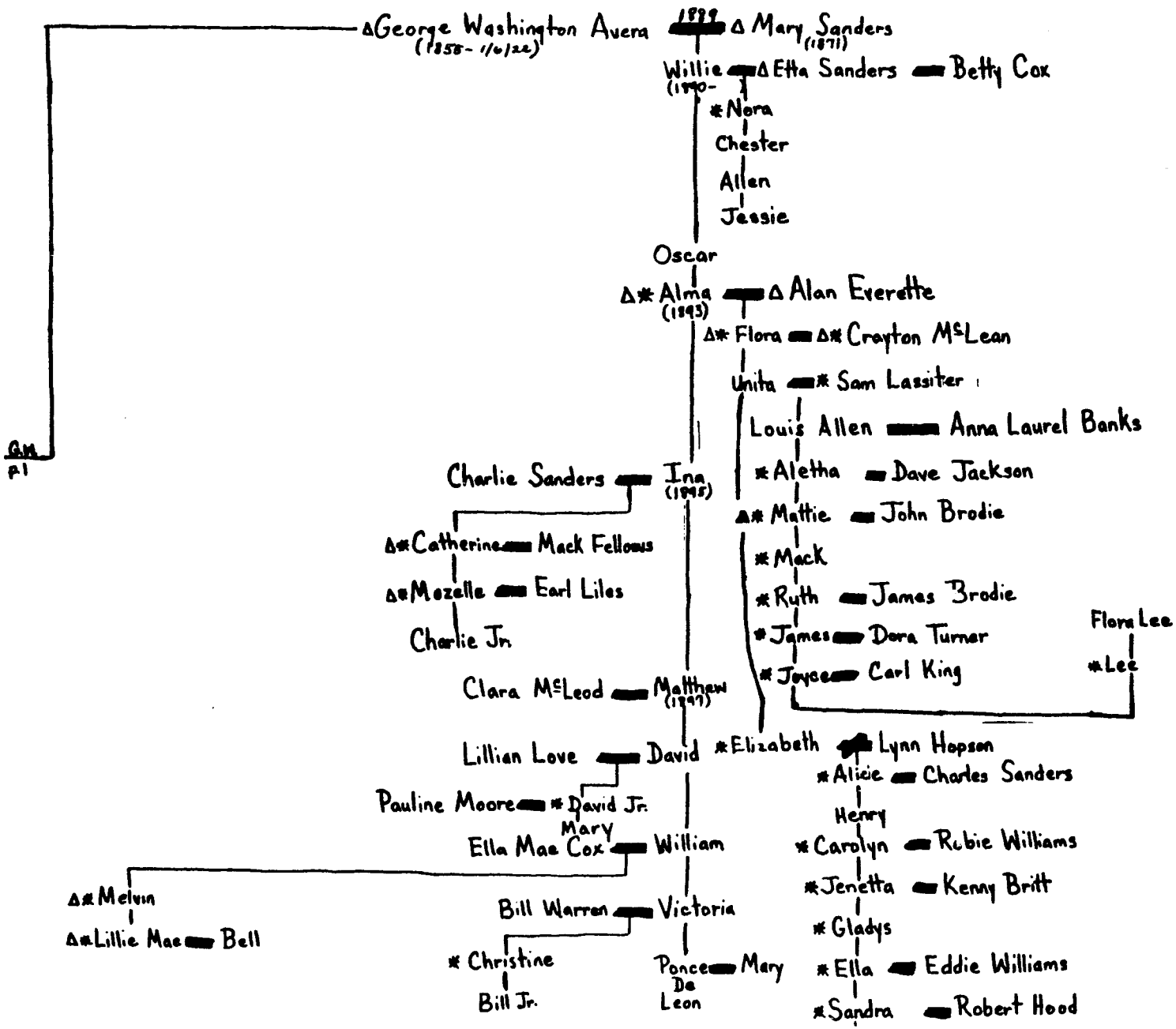
Figure 2

Kinship Structure, Avera Family, North Carolina (1860-1979)



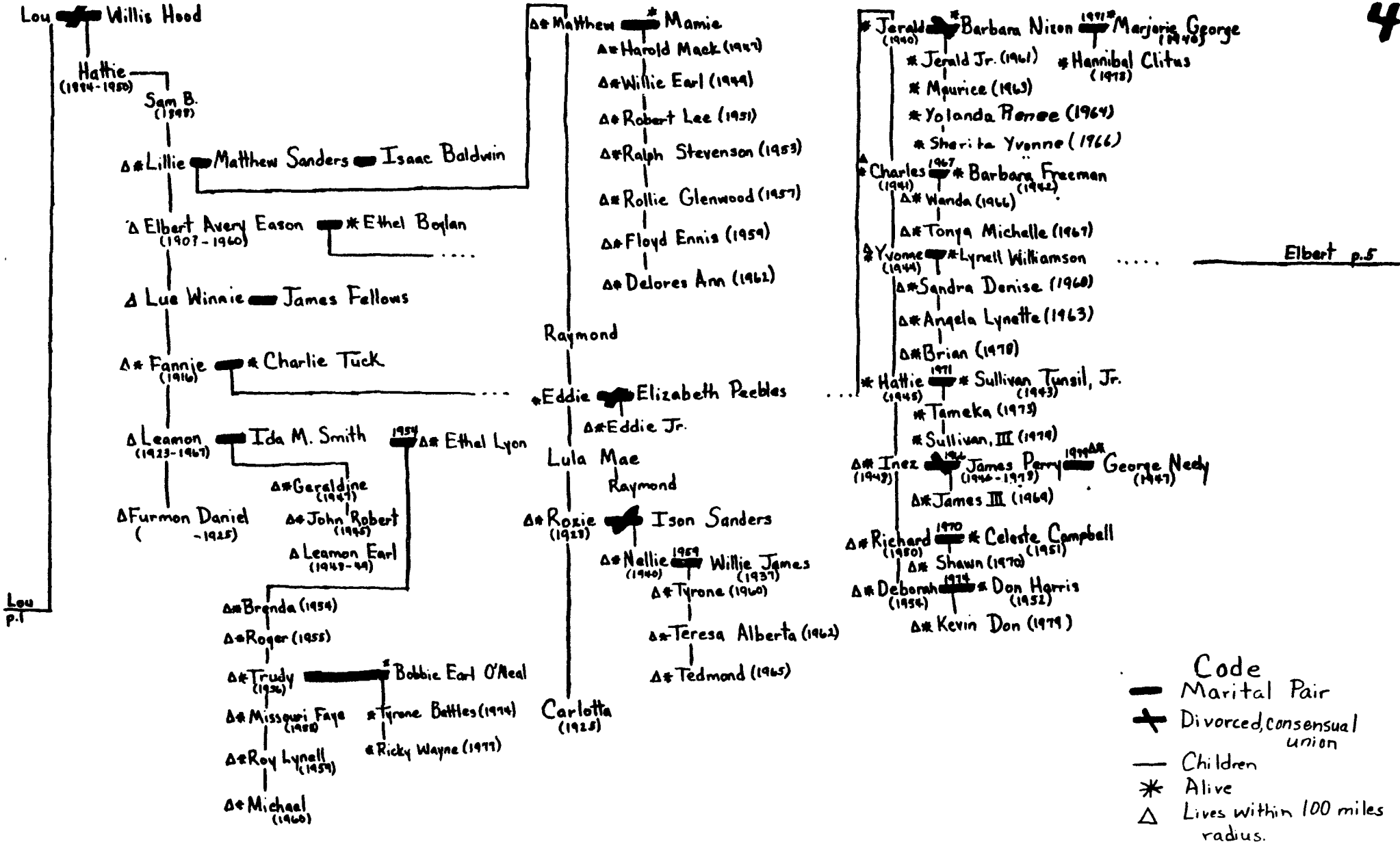



Code
Marital Pair
Divorced, consensual union
Children
Alive
Lives within 100 miles radius.
James
George
Robert (1905)
Janie Clark (1906)
Lottie Raleigh
Dorothy Denning (1926)
Robert (1929)
Mamie Anderson
Robert Keith
Angela
James Arthur (1929)
Earlene Nixon
Elsie
William James
David Lee
Carolyn
Wilbert (1933)
Doris Ann Smith
Gregory (1954)
Jennifer (1957)
Jeffrey (1957)
Elbert (1933-1951)
David Mac (1935)
Rose Marie Farmer (1940)
Michael Anthony (1964)
Donna Marie
John
Nancy
Carrie
Jimmie Williams
Zell Hunter ( -1976)
Dorothy
Zelder Dublin
Mable Williams ( -1969)
Mary Watson
Zell Williams (12/11/42)
Janet Moore (6/10/45)
Belinda Marie (1969)
Benetta Carol (1974)
Retta
Albert Lassiter
Rufus
Lizzie
Alonzo (1949)
Vandell Wellons
Lina Rogers
Isabelle
Vandell Jr.
Cora Bell
Vic Williams
Dorothy
Norvell Williams
Mary Ruth
Charles Edward
Carrie Mae
John III
Benjamin
Nancy Jane
Jo Anne
Mildred
Sarah
Janet
David
Steve
Anna Elizabeth
Gladys
Ed Sanders
Ezell
Ezell Jr.
Christine
Norman
Sapp
Doris
Cleveland
Pearlie
Gracie
Roosevelt
Jimmie
Cleveland
Denice



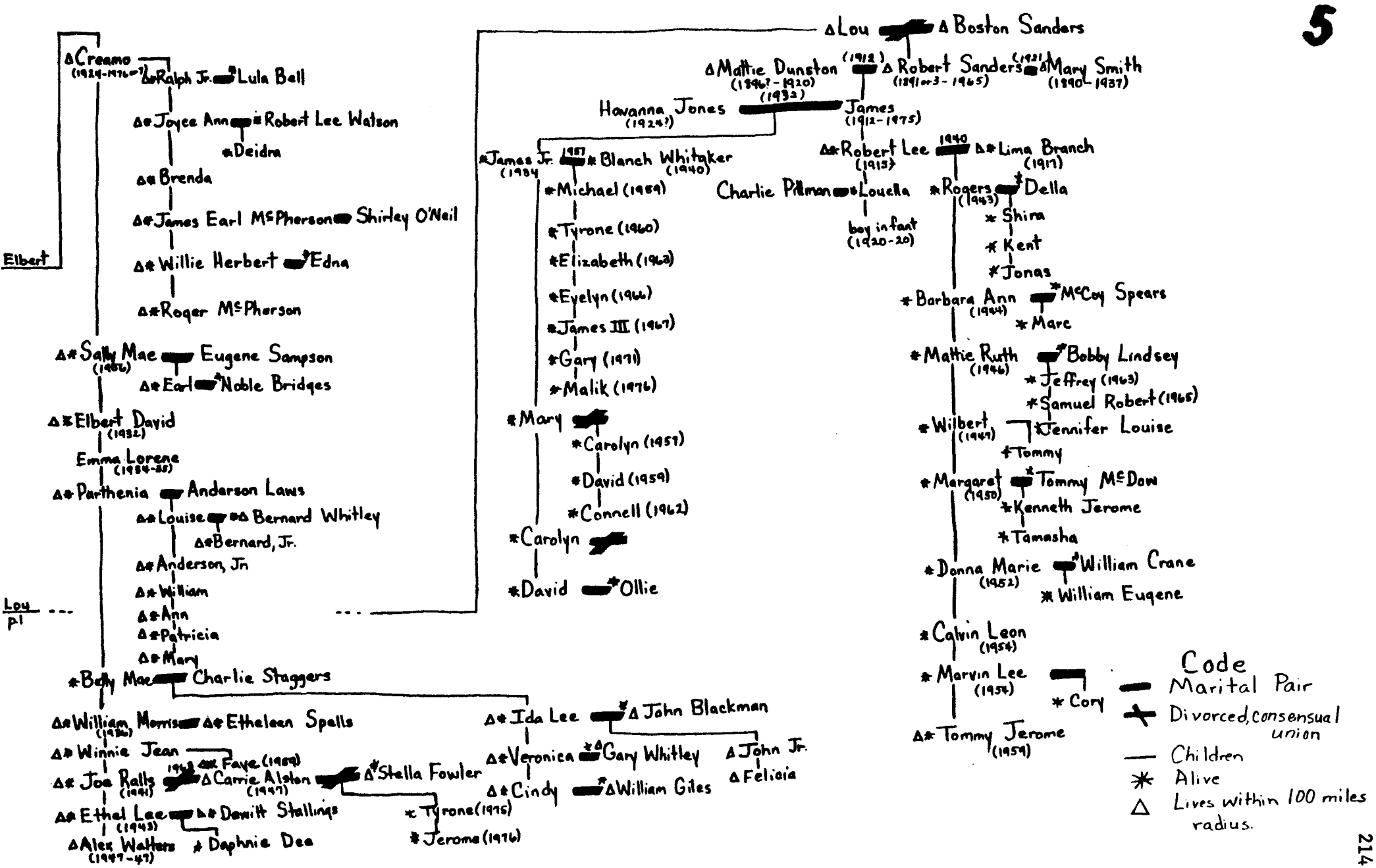

## Code

- Marital Pair
- Divorced, consensual union
- Children
- * Alive
- Δ Lives within 100 miles radius.




Code

- Marital Pair
- Divorced, consensual union
- Children
- Alive
- Lives within 100 miles radius.


Elbert
Lou
pl
Creamo (1924-1976-?)
Ralph Jr.
Lula Bell
Joyce Ann
Robert Lee Watson
Deidra
Brenda
James Earl McPherson
Shirley O'Neil
Willie Herbert
Edna
Roger McPherson
Sally Mae (1956)
Eugene Sampson
Earl
Noble Bridges
Elbert David (1932)
Emma Lorene (1934-55)
Parthenia
Anderson Laws
Louise
Bernard Whitley
Bernard, Jr.
Anderson, Jr.
William
Ann
Patricia
Mary
Betty Mae
Charlie Staggers
William Morris (1936)
Ethelean Spells
Winnie Jean
Joe Ralls (1941)
1958
Faye (1959)
Carrie Alston (1947)
Stella Fowler
Tyrone (1975)
Jerome (1976)
Ethel Lee (1943)
Dewitt Stallings
Daphnie Dee
Alex Walters (1947-47)
Ida Lee
John Blackman
Veronica
Gary Whitley
John Jr.
Felicia
Cindy
William Giles
Lou
Boston Sanders
Mattie Dunston (1896?-1920)
1932
Robert Sanders (1891 or 3-1965)
1921
Mary Smith (1890-1937)
Havanna Jones (1924?)
James (1912-1975)
James Jr. (1934)
1957
Blanch Whitaker (1940)
Michael (1959)
Tyrone (1960)
Elizabeth (1963)
Evelyn (1966)
James III (1967)
Gary (1971)
Malik (1976)
Mary
Carolyn (1957)
David (1959)
Connell (1962)
Carolyn
David
Ollie
Robert Lee (1915)
1940
Lima Branch (1917)
Charlie Pillman
Louella
boy infant (1920-20)
Rogers (1943)
Della
Shira
Kent
Jonas
Barbara Ann (1944)
McCoy Spears
Marc
Mattie Ruth (1946)
Bobby Lindsey
Jeffrey (1963)
Samuel Robert (1965)
Wilbert (1949)
Jennifer Louise
Tommy
Margaret (1950)
Tommy McDow
Kenneth Jerome
Tamasha
Donna Marie (1952)
William Crane
William Eugene
Calvin Leon (1954)
Marvin Lee (1954)
Cory
Tommy Jerome (1954)
Code
Marital Pair
Divorced, Consensual union
Children
Alive
Lives within 100 miles radius.

had the responsibility of rearing the children of William D. Avera who inherited the farm after the reconstruction period. Lue's descendents have had more interaction with the Avera family because of the years of involvement. Wash share cropped for the Averas. His daughter, the oldest living descendent, continues to live in a house which was previously a part of the Avera farm and the home of other ancestors. Although there is definitely more interaction among the Avera families than the Simmons', the amount varies among members. Historically, the more intimate the involvement, the longer the interactions continued.

Demographic Characteristics of the Avery(a) Respondents

Respondents for the interview section of this study were from the third through sixth generation and had a mean age of 53.7 years. When comparing means, it is noted that the Avery respondents were older than those in the Simmons family. Seven males and five females were interviewed. Their religious affiliation was evenly distributed among the denominations of Baptist (33%), Methodist (25%), Catholic (8.3%), and no religious affiliation (16.6%). Forty-two percent were married, 16.6% separated, 16.6% divorced, and 16.6% widowed. Only one respondent was single. Table 9 presents the summary of the demographic characteristics of both families. Differences are readily noted.

The discrepancy in the respondents' age noted above is due to the difference in the pool available for selection. The Avery(a) family was the larger of the two and more of these descendents remained in the area. Eighty-six individuals in the Avery(a) family met the eligibility requirements while 26 of the Simmons did. The probability

of an individual being selected as a respondent in the Avery(a) family would occur 14% of the time. Older respondents were interviewed through the referral process as well as the random selection. In the Simmons' family, several branches of older descendents had relocated in northern cities leaving a more limited selection of potential interviewees.

Smithfield was considered the homeplace of 66% of the Avery(a) respondents. Others listed Raleigh, Clayton and Enfield as their hometowns. One respondent was reared in a military family and did not consider any place her hometown. Respondents were more definite about the place of origin of the Avery(a) family. Ninety-two percent stated that the Avery(a) family was from Johnston County. Three respondents knew that their surname originated with former owners. Four others stated the name came from their ancestors. Thirty-three percent did not know the origin of their surname. This is compared with 50% of the Simmons' respondents. The familiarity with the white family seems to be the distinguishing factor in these responses. None of the Simmons' respondents reported that the origin of their surname was from a white family.

The median number of years of education of the Avery(a) respondents was 8.9 compared to 8.4 years for African Americans in Johnston County in 1970. In examining the frequency distribution of years of education, there appears to be grouping along generational lines. The fifth generation appears to be the one in which educational advances began. When considering this generation alone the median educational level is 10 years.

When examining the marital status of the respondents and noting variations from the general population, several differences are noted. Forty-two percent of the respondents were married compared with 64% of the total population. Greater numbers of the respondents were in the marital categories of separated, widowed, and divorced than in the general population. These respondents are not representative of the total population and may or may not be representative of the Avery(a) family (see Table 16). Further discussion of these respondents and the Avery(a) family structure are reported in Chapter V.

Land ownership is not as prevalent among the Avery(a) respondents as in the Simmons family. Two respondents owned their households and lots in Smithfield. One home was valued at $30,000, the value of the other was not known. Ten respondents lived in rented homes with adequate facilities. These respondents had never owned property.

Seventy-five percent of the respondents stated that they knew family members who owned property. Knowledge of the value and amount of property owned by family members appeared to be a private matter. The data indicate that 78% of the respondents did not know the value of family property and 56% did not know the amount. The known value of property was assessed as $50,000 and $180,000, greater than the value of the Simmons property in South Carolina. The Avery(a) property is located in urban areas with only 41% in Johnston County. This contrasts with the 90% of the property owned by the Simmons family which was located in rural Yonges Island. A unique feature of land ownership in the Avery(a) family is that none of the land was inherited.

The early descendents did not own property. It has been in the past 25 years that this lineage of the Avery(a) family began purchasing property.

Educational data indicate generational trends. Seven respondents did not know the level of education of their parents. These respondents stated their parents' education was limited and difficult to translate into numbers of school terms because of the sporadic attendance patterns of earlier generations. As previously discussed in the section on education in Johnston County, schools were not always accessible for African Americans. Access to a school varied with the community in which one lived. Although there were difficulties in accounting for school attendance, eleven of the respondents reported that their educational levels were higher than their parents'. A definite increase was noted over two generations.

Generational patterns are also evident in one's choice of occupations. The respondents were asked to report their own occupation and that of their parents and children. Table 20 reports the occupational categories of these three generations. Henderson and Tobitha were employed as a farm laborer and private household worker. These occupations were the predominant ones available to African Americans until Smithfield and Johnston County attracted industry and service agencies. When analyzing data over three generations, it is noted that five mothers worked in private households and five were housewives. Housewives worked frequently as farm laborers during harvest seasons when work was available. Three fathers were farmers, two operatives and one held a professional position.

TABLE 20

OCCUPATIONS OF THREE GENERATIONS OF THE AVERY(A) FAMILY
(IN PERCENTAGES)

| Generation[a] | Professional | Manager | Clerical | Craftsmen | Operatives | Private Household | Service | Labor | House Wife | Student |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Parents | 4.2 | 4.2 | -- | -- | 8.3 | 20.8 | -- | 25 | 20.8 | -- |
| Respondents/ Siblings | 7.4 | 7.4 | 3.7 | 7.4 | 22.2 | 13 | 11.1 | 11.1 | 1.9 | 3.7 |
| Children | 6.6 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 16.7 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 20 |

[a] Children generation N = 30
Respondents/Sibling generation N = 54
Parent generation N = 24

[b] Dashes indicate no individuals were employed in these occupations.

The data indicate that more occupations were available to the second generation, composed of the respondents and their siblings. The 54 members of this generation held professional, managerial, and clerical positions. Employment in the categories of operatives, craftsmen, and service personnel increased during this generation, while the number of private households workers, farm laborers, and housewives decreased.

Finally, this trend continued in the third generation. Sixty-seven percent of this generation are already in the job market employed in the same occupations as their parents. It is difficult to predict the occupational choice of all thirty children since 20% of them are currently enrolled in school. However, it is likely that more will enter professional occupations.

In conclusion, operatives, farm laborers, managers, professionals and private household workers are categories of occupations that have been held by members of all three generations. There has been a decline in the number of persons employed as farm laborers and private household workers. As educational opportunities and the economy of the region change, more members of the Avery(a) family are employed as professional, managerial and service personnel. No member of the family has gone into sales as an occupation. Currently 50% of the respondents are employed and earn the median income of $4,788. They have been employed in their positions an average of 11.6 years.

Marital Roles

The findings of conflict resolution and marital roles differed from those found in the Simmons family. When asked to name issues

which are frequently a source of conflict, the respondents listed husbands drinking, husband staying away from home, finances, purchasing another home, selection of friends, and others "taking advantage of" a marital partner. These issues appear to be money oriented in the Avery(a) family. The respondents cited an equal number of negative perceptions of husbands in both families. The other issues listed by the Avery(a) respondents were more ambiguous and difficult to categorize. However, these appear to be centered around life-stage decisions rather than marital roles. Two respondents stated that they had not experienced any marital disagreements. One of these in the writer's opinion was indicative of the individual's discomfort with the topic. One respondent refused to answer the question and another was not married.

Of the eight married respondents, one stated that the "wife," five the "husband," and two, "both got their way." Three of these respondents have intact marriages, two are separated, two divorced and one widowed. Retrospective bias must be considered when interpreting data about relationships which are now dissolved. Three of the four respondents who are now separated or divorced stated that the "husband got his way." Two of these were males which might indicate sex-related bias. Another possible interpretation is that these respondents ultimately solved their conflicts by the dissolution of their marriages. Data about which spouse made the decision to separate would clarify some of the ambiguity of these responses. Problems evident when only one spouse is asked to respond to a marital item are inherent in these data.

The one respondent who stated that "wife gets her way" conforms to theory of resources and exchange. The husband was unemployed (retired) and had less income and education than his wife. The couple disagreed about his drinking and had been married for 39 years. He was two years older than his wife.

The second category, "husband gets his way," is not as clearly defined as the preceding discussion of wife's authority. These respondents had a mean age of 51 years. As previously stated one couple have been married for ten years. The others have had marriages dissolved by death or divorce. These marriages had lasted an average of 18 years before they were dissolved. One of these respondents had since entered a consensual relationship. Demographic data were analyzed to determine their impact on conflict resolution (see Table 21). There was no age discrepancy as all husbands were thought to be older than their wives. In two instances, couples had identical levels of education and occupations were similar. The incomes of the wives were not known. Two female respondents had more education than their spouses, comparable occupations and no knowledge of their husband's incomes. The final couple both had professional careers, the husband had a master's degree and the wife was currently enrolled in a second bachelor degree program. The husband's income was greater than the wife's. To conclude, it is the writer's opinion that income is the only demographic variable which was associated with conflict resolution in these five cases.

Finally, the respondents who stated that they "both got their way" indicated an egalitarian marital pattern. The mean age and

TABLE 21

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MARITAL DYAD
AVERY(A) RESPONDENTS

| | RESPONDENT | | | | | | | | SPOUSE | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Respondent Number | Age | Sex | Years of Education | Employed | Income Range[a] | Occupation | Marital Status | Length of Marriage[b] | Age | Sex | Years of Education | Employed | Income Range | Occupation |
| 01 | 29 | Male | 18 | Yes | $1000-1199 | Professional | Married | 10 | 28 | Female | 16 | Yes | $600-799 | Professional |
| 02 | 63 | Female | 6 | Yes | $200-399 | Private household | Separated | 26 | 66 | Male | --[c] | No | -- | Service |
| 03 | 93 | Female | 3 | No | Under $200 | Laborer | Widowed | -- | 42[d] | Male | 4 | No | -- | Farm Manager |
| 04 | 73 | Male | -- | No | $400-599 | Operative | Married | 50 | 73 | Female | 6 | No | None | Housewife |
| 05 | 79 | Female | 5 | No | $200-399 | Private household | Widowed | -- | -- | Male | 0 | No | -- | Laborer |
| 06 | 63 | Female | 9 | Yes | $200-399 | Private household | Married | 49 | 73 | Male | 6 | No | $200-399 | Service |
| 07 | 38 | Male | 9 | Yes | $600-799 | Operative | Divorced | 6 | 32 | Female | 9 | Yes | -- | Operative |
| 08 | 44 | Male | 18 | Yes | $1200 or more | Professional | Divorced | 8 | 39 | Female | 16 | Yes | -- | Professional |
| 09 | 46 | Male | 12 | Yes | $800-999 | Craftsman | Separted | 22 | 46 | Female | 12 | Yes | -- | Operative |
| 10 | 35 | Male | 10 | No | $600-799 | Craftsman | Married | 11 | 34 | Female | 12 | Yes | $400-599 | Operative |
| 11 | 64 | Male | 2 | No | $200-399 | Operative | Married | 39 | 62 | Female | 10 | Yes | $400-599 | Operative |

[a] Income reported in monthly salary range.

[b] Length of marriage is reported in years.

[c] Dashes indicate data not available.

[d] Age at death.

length of marriage for this group are 53.5 and 29 years respectively. Neither of these supports the idea that egalitarian roles are necessarily a contemporary issue. The male respondent had two more years of education than his wife, although they both had professional careers. He was not aware of her current income since the marriage had been dissolved through divorce. The female respondent had three more years of education than her husband. They had similar occupations and incomes. The only difference in the data about the couple was that he was ten years older. In the latter case, it appears that additional life experiences associated with age might balance those experiences gained through education.

In conclusion, the pattern of male authority is the predominant method of resolving conflicts among the Avery(a) respondents. Income appears to be associated with this pattern. The income of males is traditionally greater than that of females in similar occupations. If this assumption is true, then one could speculate that all these husbands' incomes were greater than their wives. The lack of knowledge of two husbands' income might have been an additional source of power for them.

Female authority fits the exchange model. The wife in this instance possessed more status and demonstrated more authority than her husband. The compromise response was not similar to either of the foregoing categories. It appears that internal dynamics peculiar to these couples account for their willingness to compromise.

These interpretations are tentative and sweeping generalizations cannot be made. The patterns of conflict resolution are not necessarily

representative of all interactions within the marital dyad. In any case, the Avery(a)s reported patterns of male authority and the Simmons' female authority in conflict resolution.

When asked whether black men and women had the same marital problems as white men and women, seventy-five percent of the respondents stated they were the same. The following quotation summarizes this view:

> Some of them do. Money and courting is the same for both. All colored men don't court. All the white men don't court. But I do know what I'm talking. (Female Respondent, 1979)

As indicated by this quotation, finances and infidelity were considered to be marital problems by the respondents in the Avery(a) and Simmons families. These respondents felt that these two problems affected African Americans and whites in similar ways.

Differences in marital problems were reported by 16.7% of the respondents, while 8.3% said that they were both similar and different. The differences cited are the consequence of social injustice and their influence on marital roles.

> I think black men expect to be worshipped because they can't deal with the problems they run into outside the home. Basically handed down to them traditionally, I think. I don't think many black men have to deal with the complex financial business and political problems that white men do that keeps them away from home as much. (Male Respondent, 1979)

> They are different. The black woman usually has to be the head of the family. Most of the time the white men will look after his women. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> Some of both. I think they have more of the same problems but black men and women, there probably is an added problem to deal with being less affluent, discrimination. Black men being or feeling that they are being emasculated. Going back to previous question, I think black family is more matriarchal. (Male Respondent, 1979)

The social injustices alluded to in these quotes appear to promote negative consequences for both spouses. The myth of the female matriarch is described in two of the quotations. The discussion of the overall female authority inherent in the matriarchy was not evident in the responses of conflict resolution. In those situations, male authority was the more prevalent response. Further discussion of the issue of authority will be presented with decision making patterns in Chapter V. A review of the findings of conflict resolution and decision making patterns will either support or eradicate the presence of the female matriarch as a cultural myth. The data will indicate whether or not African Americans have accepted this myth and espouse it although their families do not demonstrate the behaviors.

The degree of disclosure was an issue in the Avery(a) and Simmons families. African Americans are thought to be more vocal in sharing their problems outside the marital dyad. This "public" in the following quote refer to the larger network of kin and fictive kin.

> I think our black people talk too much. They tell too much of their business out in the public where it is not concerned them. Things that happen inside the house, they tell it out of the house. I think they should keep it inside the house. They (whites) keeps it in the house. (Female Respondent, 1979)

## Race Relations

There has been considerable contact between the dominant American culture and the Avery(a) family. This contact was measured by the frequency of interracial marriage and the amount of interaction between the families. They were two instances of interracial marriage reported in the Avery(a) family. Another family member was raped as

she worked in the fields. A child was born as a result of this incident. Thus, there have been three cases where racial intermingling has occurred.

Contact between whites and African Americans has been continuous since the days of Henderson and Tobitha. These interactions indicate varying levels of intimacy. Ten of the Avery(a) respondents stated that they had worked with or for white people. Six respondents had played with them, five lived near them and one went to integrated schools. The interaction involved sharing resources on a day-to-day basis. This contact was different from the Simmons family as they had experienced only superficial interactions. Thus the assumption of this study was valid in that the Avery(a) family had considerable contact with the dominant American culture. The following quotes illustrate the depth of this contact:

> To work for them if they own the place. Lived on their place. (Male Respondent, 1979)

> Playing, we played together. That's about as far as it went. They didn't even go to school together. We worked together. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> You laugh and talk with each other in the field and the tobacco barn. Down there at Mr. Avera's where my grandma worked at. I've been around them. She seemed like one of the family. My grandmother took me when I was four so my mom could get out on her own. I used to sleep down at the Avera's. I wish I had a dollar for every night I slept there. I used to eat if I was hungry. Tell my grandmuh I was hungry and if they said Aunt Lue they were hungry she would feed us all. She treated us all alike. I was raised down there in the Avera house. We had a home but when grandmuh was there I was there. (Female Respondent, 1979)

As mentioned previously some interactions occurred with the exchange of resources. The questions--Have white families helped your

family?" was used to measure the occurrence of these exchanges. Ninety-two percent of the respondents stated that they had been helped by whites. The Avery(a) family members had received food, clothing, housing, services, finances, jobs and emotional support from white families. These exchanges occurred more frequently among the Avery(a)s. Only five respondents of the Simmons family had experienced these exchanges.

Another measure of the amount of contact was the ability of the respondents to describe white families. The twelve respondents interviewed readily described the white families they knew. There was no hesitancy noted as had occurred among the Simmons respondents. All of the responses indicated personal interaction between the races and were positive and negative in content. A frequently recurring theme was the socio-economic inequities which separated African Americans from other ethnic groups in the dominant American culture. The following quotes are descriptions of white families:

> Hard to say. I've been around a lot of nice white folks and a lot of bad ones. I don't know how to describe except those that have been good to us. I will describe them as very nice, white families. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> Never associated too much with white families when I was a child because I might go and play with them. They had everything. All we try to do was to get something. Do what they tell us to do or was supposed to do. (Male Respondent, 1979)

> They were working me to death. They don't give you nothing but work. (Male Respondent, 1979)

> I would describe them as the people that I thought I could never be like. The people that I thought were completely different. I thought they had everything. I think they believe that they have everything. I think that they definitely have some advantages in believing that they have a tradition that is important in this country. (Male Respondent, 1979)

> Basically biased, suspicious. Mother, father kids occasionally a grandparent, were in white households was not necessarily extended families not as much as you find extended families in black families. (Male Respondent, 1979)

Social skills are necessary for interacting with varying ethnic and ethnic-racial groups. African Americans are socialized to participate in this dominant American culture. To test this thesis, the respondents were asked if they were taught how to get along with whites and if so who taught them. As reported in the Simmons biography, females were primarily responsible for socialization for race relations. Eight of the Avery(a) respondents (66%) were taught by their mothers or grandmothers. Four others were self taught as they interacted in the economic/political spheres of society. There was a different response category in the Avery(a) family since two respondents were taught by both parents. The involvement of fathers in this socialization was unique in the Avery(a) family.

The lessons taught were again categorized as approach or positive, avoidance or negative and neutral or maintenance of status quo. Seventy-five percent of the responses were classified as approach. Each of these responses are indicative of the positive view:

> I should treat everybody the same. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> How to be kind, nice and obedient. (Male Respondent, 1979)

> That I would have to get along with them in order to keep a job whether I liked it or not. (Male Respondent, 1979)

> My daddy he worked and try to make ends meet. They would go along with him. He did pretty good. He talked man to man. (Male Respondent, 1979)

The second category was those indicating avoidance or negative responses. Only one response can be considered as negative. This response, "Respect and I think fear of people" (Male Respondent, 1979)

indicated that members of the family were taught to maintain distance between the races.

Finally, two respondents were taught to maintain the status quo in race relations. This final quote was indicative of the neutral category: "If you go work or be around men like that say yes suh, no suh to them and if you are going to be around ladies, say yes mam, no mam" (Male Respondent, 1979). The writer suggests that the subservient attitude expressed in this quotation is reminiscent of earlier periods of race relations.

In summary, race relations were both intimate and impersonal in the Avery(a) family. Intimacy bordering on primary group participation occurred as African Americans lived within the homes and reared generations of white children. The impersonal interactions occurred in secondary group participation. Overall, interaction occurred more frequently among the Avery(a) family than the Simmons. It is necessary to remember that all these interactions occurred within the context of a segregated society until the past few decades.

Effects of Economic and Political Events

The respondents in the Avery(a) family were asked to evaluate the effect of ten economic and political events on themselves as well as their families. The data indicate that these respondents experienced eight of the ten events (a mean of 5.8 for all the respondents). These events varied in their impact upon the individuals. However, the Civil Rights Movement and Integration appeared to have influenced more respondents than any other event. The data presented below is the most representative quotation of the influence of events on the individual. The reconstruction period is excluded since the respondent

who lived during this era has no knowledge of its impact. Following the direct quotes for the seven events, the investigator will summarize the findings.

World War I

Scared that war would come over here. Everytime we heard a plane, my heart would jump down my throat. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Depression

People claimed it was so hard during Hoover days. It seemed to me it was no harder than it is now. People have more money and throw it away. Don't do them no good, most of them. We raised our food. We never had much to buy to eat. I don't believed it bothered us much. I don't see much in changes. We always had plenty. I've never been hungry in my life. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Well, we just couldn't hardly get food and stuff. Nothing much for your work. (Male Respondent, 1979)

It affected me in every way almost. Everything was hard to get. The crops were short. They didn't make a full crop of nothing. It seems at that time, there was such thing called boll weevil. We had cotton. Peoples around here were sharecroppers but didn't raise anything but cotton. They had a little tobacco and the boll weevils eat up the cotton. There wasn't very much to pick. That made it a long 2 years or something like that. They made it real hard. I see a lot of people, I never happen to do that, they couldn't get food to eat. The Christmas we celebrate. We always did try to celebrate like that but a lot of people during that time didn't have any thing to celebrate. May be when we were used to cooking 7-8 cakes, we cut it down to 4-5 but we still had some of the same things we always had. On top of the depression, we had a lot of snow and sleet that winter. It was hard to get clothes and food to eat. (Female Respondent, 1979)

World War II

I remember being afraid of being bombed. We had blackouts during that time. There were a lot of planes in flight. I remember hearing the planes and running. I didn't know whether bombs were coming, not realizing they were friendly planes. (Male Respondent, 1979)

Both sons in Army. I worried about Matthew, Jr. when the "Japs" caught him. They kept him for six months. He stayed hungry a lot. (Female Respondent, 1979)

After the war, they went up the road. We call up North up the road. We could work here that's the trouble today, we couldn't get paid like they did up there. I've got 7 granddaughters in Washington and New York. They get a whole lot more pay a day than we do. This daughter that died, she went up then and went to work, bought her house down here and wanted to get it done before she died. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Korean War

I lost my twin brother, he was killed in the Korean War. (Male Respondent, 1979)

Wages went up a little bit. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Vietnam War

I didn't think it was necessary for those men to be over there and things happened to them the way they did. (Male Respondent, 1979)

My son, I didn't lose him but that bothered me. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Civil Rights

It effected me very deeply. It made things better--jobs, educational opportunities, the right to go in places that you never had the right to go in before. I guess it changed everything. (Male Respondent, 1979)

Integration

It's helping my children and grandchildren get a better education. We have our rights to go anywhere we like to go as long as we have the money to go with. It helps now. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Pay equal to whites. (Male Respondent, 1979)

Integration allowed me to go to white high schools and white colleges and get to know many white people in my profession and work with them. (Male Respondent, 1979)

Integration itself afforded me an opportunity to go places that I was not able to go before even a lunch counter. I think it gave us a sense of black pride. I'm not so sure integration was the best thing for schools. (Male Respondent, 1979)

Content analysis of these quotations revealed several themes. First of all, the precarious economic position of African Americans

was described as individuals struggled to survive. It would have been easy for individuals to become disillusioned. However, the responses revealed a positive perception of themselves as self sufficient and resilient. The Simmons respondents indicated that they lived in a more hostile white environment. Although there are similarities, the racial struggle for the Simmons was more malicious or bitter. Secondly, fear and concern for individual safety was repeated throughout the comments about the wars. The Vietnam War was the only war in which political concerns were voiced; otherwise individuals served in the wars and families suffered the consequences of them. The final theme was the availability of resources. The respondents discussed accessibility to facilities, incomes, educational and occupational achievement. These are economic values characteristic of the dominant American culture. These values were espoused more frequently by the Avery(a) respondents than by the Simmons. The writer suggests that this is due to the greater amount of contact of the Avery(a) family with the dominant American culture.

These same political and economic events were studied to see if they influenced the Avery(a) family. Again, respondents were asked to evaluate if the event helped, harmed or had no effect on their family. The results of this analysis are found in Table 12. Findings for each event will be reviewed with appropriate quotations. A summary will enumerate the similarities and differences between the Avery(a) and Simmons responses.

Slavery in Johnston County was primarily characterized by small acreage and few slaves. These slaves worked beside their owners.

Overseers were available for "work coordination" on the Avera plantation but did not reduce the visibility of the owners as on Yonges Island. The writer suggests that some of the harshness of the slave system in Johnston County was tempered by the personal involvement of owner and slave. The findings reported indicated that only 16.7% of the Avery(a) respondents felt they were harmed by slavery. This compares with the overwhelmingly unfavorable response by members of the Simmons family (75% saw it as harmful). The following quotations adequately describe the perception of slavery. The second quotation alludes to internal values which might have been enhanced during slavery.

> I heard so much about it. Lue use to tell me about the union soldiers coming through. (They) take food from white people to give to slaves. (Female Respondent, 1979)

> Slavery developed some attitudes of dependency. I think it probably, that there were some subtle behavioral things, family influences, . . . some small maybe not important ways of doing things within the family. I don't know exactly what, I think they helped. (Male Respondent, 1979)

The emancipation and reconstruction periods were characterized as having no effect on the family, 50% and 58.3% respectively. One Avery(a) respondent had actually lived through any of this time. The Avery(a) family remained on the Avera farm and continued the same occupations. The literature has reported that stress has been associated with the transition from slaves to freedmen. The Simmons' responses indicated the presence of stress. The Avery(a) respondents reported that no stress was associated with the Emancipation. At the same time, there was no progress made by the Avery(a) family and consequently the majority felt these events did not help. The Simmons family obtained land, new homes and independent employment. The "sameness" in

the lifestyle of Avery(a) family was summarized in this quotation:

> Lue went to work for the Averas as a child. I don't know what happened to her parents. I can't figure that out. She had been with the Averas a long time. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Respondents in the Avery(a) and Simmons family reported that the wars had little effect on their families. World War I is reported as having less effect on the Avery(a)'s than any other war (75%). There are individuals within the family who suffered personal losses: "brother dying," "I had a cousin killed in Korean War," "I had cousins killed in (Vietnam) war," "Very hard, barely could live (World War I)" (Male Respondents, 1979). These respondents felt that their family was harmed. There were still others who felt their family was helped by the wars especially World War II:

> Probably made it better for my father. Everything was booming. I think he made more wages. (Male Respondent, 1979)

> Uncle Leamon fought, Matthew Jr. and Eddie Rose. Jobs got plentiful for women 'cause all the men were gone to war so there were plenty jobs 'cause women had to take over men's jobs. Women did more work. (Female Respondent, 1979)

Although, there was divergent opinions about the effects of the wars, over half of the respondents stated they were not effected.

The depression was perceived as being more harmful than the other events. Fifty percent of the Avery(a) and 83% of the Simmons agreed to the harmful consequences of this economic crisis. The quotations presented in the following section described the pervasiveness of the depression. The depression promoted an economic crisis: "I heard my father talk about it. I guess that it did have an effect on him. He worked for 50¢ a day along those lines" (Male Respondent, 1979). "Time was rough. It was hard to make ends meet" (Male Respondent, 1979). A more powerful ramification of the depression

was its impact on family structure. One respondent stated "The depression started people 'splitting' and working, that's when Lillie gave up her children" (Female Respondent, 1979). Another stated: "During the depression or right after, I went to Washington to work in 1936, around '34 I think wages were much better."

Further examination of the items related to geographic mobility indicated more migration to the North was noted in the decades of the 1930's, 1950's and 1960's. The former is related to the economic crisis during the depression, the latter is due to labor needs of the industrial North which increased during the 1950's and 1960's. The decision to move was made by individuals who were seeking employment, or experiencing the death of a family member. Individuals also moved in order that they may share a household with other family members. All these reasons are related to the economic conditions of the area in which the Avery(a)'s lived.

Integration and Civil Rights were events considered to be helpful to both families. The Avery(a) respondents consistently cited the increased opportunities they saw as a result of integration. The Civil Rights Movement raised the expectations of the Avery(a) family members regarding their opportunities, while integration, the results of legislation, actually made the difference in their lives.

To conclude, the Avery(a) and Simmons respondents felt that integration, Civil Rights, emancipation and World War II helped their families. Slavery and the depression were listed as events that harmed. One of the consequences of slavery was that it promoted

negative self perceptions. The depression caused economic crises and disruptions in household structures. All other events primarily were not seen as having an effect on the families.

The Avery(a) family has widespread roots in North Carolina. Instead of large numbers living in two locales, either the hometown or northern cities, the descendents are dispersed throughout North Carolina. They reside in both rural and urban areas. Since the Avery(a)'s did not own property in Johnston County, they were more mobile and sought employment across the state. They are currently purchasing property in these areas. The members of the Avery(a) family who migrated North are comparable to those in the Simmons family. Both have limited contact with relatives back "home."

# CHAPTER V

## ANALYSIS OF DATA

The data which are presented in this chapter were obtained from 24 members of the Avery(a) and Simmons families. The Avery(a) family resided in Johnston County, North Carolina and the Simmons family in Charleston County, South Carolina. Each respondent was interviewed by the investigator over the period of September 24, 1979 to December 14, 1979.

This chapter reports the findings of the four hypotheses of the investigation and related information to the discussion section of Chapter VI. Data are reported in narrative and statistical forms.

### Statistical Approach to the Data

In order to test the four hypotheses in the study, data were coded and frequencies recorded. Items were clustered based on the literature in the area, the opinion of the investigator and one independent judge. Indices and scales were developed utilizing the items related to the variable under study. The specific procedures for developing these indices will be presented with the discussion results for each hypotheses. Appendix F offers additional information for those readers who need further clarification.

The chi square two-way classification and the Mann-Whitney Test were used to test the hypotheses. Chi-square analysis was used on nominal level data and the Mann-Whitney test for ordinal data. The

Mann-Whitney test is used to conclude whether the data of two populations are different:

Ho: The populations have identical distributions

Ha: The populations differ with respect to location.

The hypotheses of this investigation were stated in the alternative form. Thus, a two tailed test was used (Daniel, 1978). Table 22 summarizes the results of the Mann-Whitney test for the scales and indices of this investigation.

TABLE 22

MANN-WHITNEY TEST SUMMARY TABLE

| Variables | S | T |
|---|---|---|
| Ethnic-racial perception index | 133.5 | 55.5 |
| Appearance Scale | 145.5 | 67.5 |
| Marital Decision Making Scales | 180.5 | 102.5* |
| Parental Decision Making Scale | 139 | 61 |
| Kinship Index | 120 | 42* |
| Political Values and Behaviors Index | 158 | 80 |
| Social Mobility Index | 152 | 74 |

* Probability .10

## Results

### Ethnic-Racial Perception

For the purpose of this study, ethnic-racial perception was defined as the subjective recognition that one belongs to and identifies with an ethnic group different from others. Through the use of multiple

items, the ethnic-racial perception of the 24 respondents was determined. Hypothesis 1 predicted that there will be a difference in the ethnic-racial perceptions expressed by the family in North Carolina and the family in South Carolina. According to results of the data analyses, ethnic-racial perceptions were not influenced by the location of the family.

The Avery(a) respondents were asked how living in an area where the majority of population were white influenced their perceptions of themselves, their families, whites and their own race. The Simmons respondents were asked to evaluate the identical perceptions; however, the majority of their population was African American. The following table indicates the frequency of respondents who were affected by the racial composition of the community in which they lived (see Table 23). Self and family perceptions were equally affected by the populations, while racial attitudes were affected more in the Avery(a) family who experienced more contact with the American dominant culture. It is the writer's opinion that "no effect" responses indicated that ethnic-racial perceptions were formulated within families and primary group interaction and was not influenced by the larger social environment.

Content analyses of "how" these four categories were affected indicated that the responses were similar across families. Six of the Avery(a) and five of the Simmons respondents expressed positive self perceptions which were enhanced by their environments. One member of the Simmons family expressed a negative self perception:

TABLE 23

EFFECTS OF RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

ON FAMILY MEMBERS

| Category of Perceptions | Members' Perceptions Affected | | Total N* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Avery(a) | Simmons | |
| Self | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Family | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| White Race | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| Own Race | 5 | 3 | 8 |

* Other respondents stated they were not influenced by the racial composition or their environments.

> Well you know how it is, slums and stuff like that. People don't take care of their area. You probably see some people throw papers side the road and stuff like that. Then you got people who don't like to clean up their yard. For letting the area, neighborhood make me feel ashamed or something like that (Simmons Male Respondent, 1979).

This similarity is expressed in this example of a positive response:

> I think it has a positive effect on the way I feel. Having known or seen some discrimination as a young person made me more determined to not be dependent on them, so to speak, for livelihood and this kind of thing. I felt the only way to do it was through education (Avery(a) Male Respondent, 1979).

Family perceptions were influenced equally by the respondents. This influence was experienced in opposite directions. For instance, the Avery(a) family recognized differences and inadequacies:

> I think that some of my family do not see what they ought to. That may come from where I live, part of it, not totally. It does, definitely does. Some of that comes from being educated. (Avery(a) Male Respondent, 1979).

> At one point growing up, I felt that my family tended to take a back seat on things and here again that was the rule of the day. I'm sure that they probably did it because they were uneducated, so to speak, but at the same time, my father

> always maintained his self respect and his dignity, he still has it. He'll show respect but he will not be pushed but so far. That gave me a positive outlook seeing how he responded to that type thing in a diplomatic way (Avery(a) Male Respondent, 1979).

The Simmons respondents stated that their predominant African American community made them like their family better "Great, the best family that ever existed" (Simmons Female Respondent, 1979).

Although there are differences in the number of respondents affected in the racial perception categories, their responses were similar. In the Avery(a) family two respondents experienced positive, two negative and two neutral perceptions of the white race. The neutral perceptions simply acknowledged the coexistence of the white race. One Simmons respondent experienced negative perceptions of whites and two acknowledged their existence.

> I guess it has. Suspicious, being cautious, this kind of thing. (Avery(a) Male Respondent, 1979)

> I think they are all about the same I guess. (Simmons Female Respondent, 1979)

The themes present in the response category of "one's own racial perceptions" were awareness of one's race, awareness of the progress of one's race or limitations of one's race. Four respondents were affected in that they felt their race was limited. The following quotation expanded this view:

> I think that unfortunately in some cases, black people are locked into a style of life, a kind of life and attitudes that are positive and give a sense of blackness of being themselves but negatively limiting in a lot of ways (Avery(a) Male Respondent, 1979).

> They don't try to help. Being black, they don't try to pull together you know and try to make it a better place to stay or live (Simmons Male Respondent, 1971).

One respondent saw progress as a result of the environment in which he lived:

> Some of the race, a lot of them have changed also we have more accomplishments today that we weren't able to accomplish in years back. We've come a long way (Avery(a) Male Respondent, 1979).

Another method for measuring ethnic-racial perceptions was to ask the respondent to report how African American and white families are alike and different. Themes prevalent in the "alike" category varied over families. The Simmons reported similarities as affectional attachment (20%) and humanness (80%). The Avery(a) family reported affectional attachment (12.5%), values (12.5%), humanness (37.5%), and institutional contact (37.5%). Responses such as "Everybody is human" and "people are people" are characteristic of humanness. An example of institutional contact is:

> They are basically set up the same way with parents and children in the household. They live basically the same way, eats same time of day, work on similar schedule, observe the same holidays. pretty closely. Religions are very similar. They go through the same early patterns of education or appears to be the same kind but difference in quality. (Avery(a) Male Respondent, 1979)

Differences are reported as values and behaviors, socio-economic status, racial features and perceived superiority. Table 24 summarizes the frequencies of these responses. The Avery(a) family had had more contact with the dominant culture and focused on value differences. The values which were cited were related to the economy (50%) and the family (25%). One religious and social value was reported. The Simmons respondents reported more economic (60%) and religious values (30%). Racial features and perceived superiority by whites were reported similarly by the respondents.

TABLE 24

PERCEIVED SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHITE AND AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES
AVERY(A) AND SIMMONS RESPONSES

| | Avery(a) | | Simmons | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Similarities | | | | |
| Affectional Attachment | 1 | 12.5 | 2 | 20 |
| Humanness | 3 | 37.5 | 8 | 80 |
| Values and Behaviors | 1 | 12.5 | | |
| Institutional Contact | 3 | 37.5 | | |
| Total Responses | 8 | 100.0 | 10 | 100 |
| Differences | | | | |
| Values and Behaviors | 8 | 53.33 | 10 | 58.8 |
| Socio-economic Status | 3 | 20 | 2 | 11.8 |
| Racial Features | 2 | 13.33 | 2 | 11.8 |
| Perceived Superiority | 2 | 13.33 | 3 | 17.6 |
| Total Responses | 15 | 100 | 17 | 100 |

To determine if there was a difference in the frequencies of "economic" and "other" categories of values, a chi-square analysis was done. Table 25 indicates the appropriate contingency table and results. The chi square value is .0019 which is less than 3.841 for one degree of freedom. The results of this analysis are not significant at the .05 level. Thus, there is no relationship between the type of values reported and family membership.

TABLE 25

CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF FAMILY VALUES

| | Economic Values | Other Values | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Avery(a) | 8 | 7 | 15 |
| Simmons | 10 | 7 | 17 |
| Total | 18 | 14 | 32 |

Analyses of the verbatim responses revealed that these four categories--values and behaviors, socio-economic status, perceived superiority of the white race and racial features, were differences cited. The following section presents the narrative findings for each category.

Values and Behaviors:

> Values are different, very much so. Morals too. I think white families place more value on money than the black family will. Black family have their values, most of them, placed in religion, in the life hereafter. Life is fine but we look forward to something else later on (Simmons Female Respondent, 1979).

White families have a confidence in themselves as people in a broad sense and they give it to their children at an early age. Black people, black adults lack the confidence and they give that to their children. They give their children the feeling of inferiority. I think basically white families understand the mechanics of success in American life at an early age, a good basis and I don't think black families understand it, most of them, to the point that they could be successful. Also, although white families may place a great deal of emphasis on religion, they don't hold themselves, they don't believe that religion I think in many cases is a crutch to hold themselves back financially and success wise in jobs and that kind of thing. I think religion is sometimes a crutch for black people. It is an escape and it does not allow them to solve some of their practical problems. (Avery(a) Male Respondent, 1979)

Socio-Economic Status and Injustices:

White families are happier. They didn't have anything to worry about. Colored families could not be so happy because they did not have the things they need. Some didn't know where they were going to get their next meal (Avery(a) Female Respondent, 1979).

Because of the whole social background. I think they are different from us--social economic background. I think from their economic background a lot of them have money. They could most of them send their kids to better schools and they could get a better education than black people, families, you know (Simmons Female Respondent, 1979).

Seem like their lifestyle is different from black families. I can't put it together. Well most of them are more "loving" people. Their lifestyle is different, the average white family. They are more loving may be because they have more than we do with the family. They kiss more. They believe in education more. They believe in giving their children the best in education (Avery(a) Female Respondent, 1979).

Perceived Superiority of White Race:

I think white family they think they are better than black family (Simmons Female Respondent, 1979).

They are of different races. There really is no difference but they think they are different, better. (Avery(a) Male Respondent, 1979).

Racial Features:

> I guess the color. The only difference I see is color. (Avery(a) Male Respondent, 1979).
>
> I don't think they are no different. The only thing they are white. There are two races. They are white, we are black. I don't think there should be no different but some of them makes difference. They don't want to be mixed with us (Simmons Female Respondent, 1979).

A two-item index of ethnic-racial perceptions was developed by the investigator. The particulars of the indices and scales used for data analyses are included as Appendix F. These responses were weighted to make the categories distinct from each other. The lowest score on the index would indicate negative ethnic racial perceptions and a low level of "differentness." The scores were tallied based on frequencies and ranked in ascending order. The Mann-Whitney test was used for data analyses.

The results of the Mann-Whitney test fot ethnic-racial perception were not significant at the .05 level (see Table 22). The respondents did not differ in their racial ethnic perceptions in the two locations.

In conclusion, the findings do not support the hypotheses as stated. Statistical comparisons and content analyses did not reveal striking differences between the two African American families. The Avery(a) respondents verbalized more limitations and inadequacies of themselves and their family. However, the awareness of differences in socio-economic status was reported by all respondents. The Simmons respondents reported more religious themes possibly indicating less secularity in the dominant African American environment. The author suspects that institutional racism was a prevailing force in the development of ethnic-racial perceptions. Recognition of themselves

as an ethnic-racial group in a racist society overrode the influence of family and community influences.

African Cultural Remnants

An important assumption of this investigation was that African Americans were an ethnic-racial group living in a pluralistic society. Accompanying this ethnic-racial identification was a culture rooted in Africanism. As reported in the literature, Gullah families came directly from Africa and were isolated in the Sea Islands. This isolation would allow the preservation of the culture which they brought with them. Hypothesis 2 indicated that there would be a difference in the absolute numbers of African culture remnants demonstrated by the two families. The predicted direction of the hypothesis was that the Gullah family located in South Carolina would demonstrate more of these remnants.

The photographs of the respondents were evaluated by this investigator and a judge knowledgeable of the features of Africans and African Americans. These independent evaluations were averaged. There existed a high correlation between the evaluations. Each respondent was given a score for the seven items (see Appendix F). These scores were tallied and ranked for statistical analysis. The results of the Mann-Whitney analysis were not significant (see Table 26).

The findings of this section are reported in Table 26. The format is identical to the Guide for African Cultural Remnants found in Appendix E. The following statements are the conclusions drawn by this investigator.

TABLE 26

SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS OF AFRICAN CULTURAL REMNANTS

| AVERY(A) RESPONDENTS | SIMMONS RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| **Physical Appearance*** | |
| The Avery(a) respondents cited instances when the hair of family members was braided, "cornrowed" or "wrapped." Kerchiefs were worn as head coverings. These hairstyles were seen less frequently than those reported in the Simmons family. There were no reports of ancestors having tribal facial markings. Both families had members who were born of interracial unions. There was no data to indicate rejection by family members. The findings do support that other African Americans within the community were less accepting but not unduly cruel. | The Simmons respondents cited instances when hair was braided, "cornrowed" or "wrapped" with white thread. Slightly more family members had wrapped their hair. There were no instances recorded of ancestors having tribal facial markings. The family members of known 'mixed racial' were accepted by their family but not as readily in the community. The data indicated that these respondents were the object of harsh treatment by their peers. |
| **Motor Abilities** | |
| Four family members carried bundles on their head--usually pails of water and produce. No basketry was done. | Twelve family members carried water, wood, watermelons on their head. No basketry was done. |
| **Family Structure** | |
| The structure of seven families were nuclear, four extended and one augmented. There was a tendency toward nuclear kinship patterns during crises. Possibly two polygamous marriages had occurred within the family circa 1900. Two separated female respondents equaled the number of those divorced. | Nine of the respondents had nuclear, two extended, one augmented family structures. There was a tendency toward extended kinship patterns during crises. There was one respondent who was separated; no one was divorced. Five respondents had cohabited during their lifetime. |

* Additional Appearance measure are discussed in the text.

TABLE 26 (Cont'd.)

| AVERY(A) RESPONDENTS | SIMMONS RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| **Family Structure (Cont'd.)** | |
| One family respondent had cohabited during his lifetime. | |
| **Family Reunions** | |
| Nine respondents stated they have family reunions one time per year. Activities included singing, eating, talking and gathering together. Members participated in religious ceremonies and recreational activies. Quotations describing the meaning of family reunions are listed below: | Seven respondents stated they have family reunions, which are held more sporadic. Activities included eating, talking and dancing. The tradition of family reunions started in the last four years. |
| Respondent's Generation: It is something where all the family get together to talk about old times and how things were years ago. How things are going on now. Progress in the past year (Male Respondent, 1979). | Well, I think to know all the family. Sometimes you don't know them and they come together and you find that you know them. You will never know all your people unless you have something to bring them together. I didn't know all of them (Female Respondent, 1979). |
| Parent's Generation: I think it was one of the few times in a year they could get together to eat a lot and afford to eat a lot and see everybody. Just one of the biggest times of the year probably. Big means of entertainment for the year (Male Respondent, 1979). | Well back then they used to always be together cause they didn't live too far apart, get together and quilt. They used to it at my Aunt Emily Simmons' house mostly. My mother always used to like to go to her house and get together and quilt (Female Respondent, 1979). |

TABLE 26 (Cont'd.)

| AVERY(A) RESPONDENTS | SIMMONS RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| **Family Reunions (Cont'd.)** | |
| Grandparent's Generation:<br>(Reunions not actually held) | |
| At the time, my grandfather and grandmother were living, we did not have a reunion. We had more of a dinner like Christmas dinner and Thanksgiving dinner and that meant a great deal to them (Female Respondent, 1979). | It meant to get all the grandchildren together and see how many grandchildren they have and have a reunion (Female Respondent, 1979). |
| **Manner and Proper Behaviors** | |
| The terms, uncles, aunts, cousins, were used to refer to fictive kin. The use of these terms established family bonds which exist today. Respondents were taught "to be respectful to people and to be kind and during those days you have to be respectful not only with whites but with blacks as well" (Male Respondent, 1979). Mannerisms included averting eye contact (21%), turning head or covering mouth when laughing (21%), using terms of endearment (21%) and smiling or laughing during interview (67%). | Incidences of the use of the terms, uncles, aunts, and cousins, were not reported in the family data. Some respondents were taught: "If you are going to live in this world, you have to get along" (Male Respondent, 1979). Mannerisms included averting eye contact (20%), turning head or covering mouth when laughing (27%), and smiling, laughing during interview (53%). The obvious absence of the use of terms of endearment was noted. |
| **Medicinal Cures** | |
| Both "store bought" and herbal cures were used. Brown or Vicks salve, castor oil, Epsom salt, ammonia, Kerosene and turpentine were used. These were used more frequently by the Avery(a) family. | Camphor mixed with "lard," ammonia, castor oil, linament, mutton sweet, and turpentine were the only "store bought" medicines used. Herbs were used more frequently by the Simmons family. Herbs used by |

TABLE 26 (Cont'd.)

| AVERY(A) RESPONDENTS | SIMMONS RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| **Medicinal Cures (Cont'd.)** | |
| Herbs used were catnip, horehound, wintergreen, sweet gum, "scrubby grass," and Jerusalem bush. Salves were applied to wounds, liquids were used as antiseptics, and teas were brewed to induce sleep, settle upset stomachs and correct constipation. Mustard poultices were applied to aching backs. Two respondents reported that fires were "talked out," and thrush was relieved in children by a person who had never seen his father. The individual blew their breath on the child. | them were ginger, sassafras, "sticky briar," red root, snake root, pine straw, horehound, "Devil's string" and "whitemuckels," cedar muckling, "Fly traps," and "poor man soap" was also used. Sugar and salt were used to stop bleeding. Spider webs were placed in cuts to faciliate healing. Grease from crayfish mixed with sweet smelling herbs were used to cover the skin and hair. "Life everlasting"* was the most frequently used herb. Beef talor was used to make plasters or poultices. These remedies were used for healing sores, curing colds and regaining sexual potency. |
| **Naming Practices** | |
| Six of the Avery(a) respondents had nicknames that were known by intimates. These names more often indicated a personal characteristic. The names changed over time. The six respondents had a total of 13 nicknames. Children were usually named within the first 2 days of life. There is a bilateral pattern of naming. The naming patterns are included in Table 27. | Seven of the Simmons respondents had a total of ten nicknames during their lifetime. One nickname was "Mama Clay." The person was named prior to her birth as a way of preventing a miscarriage. Naming a child after the earth assures one of the continuation of the pregnancy. All children were named before they were 4 days old. Table 27 indicates the naming practices of the Simmons family. |

* There are different pronunciations of the herb including light of bilaster, light of lasses, life of lasting and lice phlaster.

TABLE 26 (Cont'd.)

| AVERY(A) RESPONDENTS | SIMMONS RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| **Perception of Time** | |
| Some family members experienced a slow paced lifestyle. There were no discrepancies between scheduled interview and actual interview time. The investigator was in control of the time of arrival but not the beginning of the interview. Interruptions sometimes occurred within the interview time. | Respondents reported that they do not rigidly follow schedules. Informed activities occur without undue preoccupation with time. There were no discrepancies between scheduled interview and actual interview time, possibly indicating a wish to comply with the wishes of the investigator. |
| **Recipes and Food Preparation** | |
| Food was primarily fried, especially meats. Vegetables were important in meal preparation. Vegetables were often cooked with meats. There were no reports of gumbos or any other highly spiced dishes being cooked by family members. The following recipes have been handed down through the generations: potato pudding, chicken or ham with dumplings, liver hashing, crackling cornbread, tea, molasses and pound cakes. | Food was primarily fried on Yonges Island. Meats were perceived as necessary in meal preparation. Most dishes were cooked with meats. Gumbos were made with okra, tomatoes and were highly spiced with peppers and other ingredients. The following recipes have been disseminated over generations and are part of the family's culture: potato pone, pumpkin chips, gumbos, biscuits, baked sweet potato pies, banana flips, red rice, collard greens, macaroni pies, Hoppin' John, crackling bread, rice, and bread pudding. |
| **Birth Rituals** | |
| Two of the respondents' children were delivered by midwives, three by physicians at home and seven by physicians in the hospital. Hospital deliveries increased as medical facilities become more accessible. Herbal mixtures were used to heal the navel. | Three of the Simmons respondents delivered the children by midwives. Eleven children were delivered in the hospital. There were no deliveries at home because of the absence of physicians in the Yonges Island Area. |

TABLE 26 (Cont'd.)

| AVERY(A) RESPONDENTS | SIMMONS RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| **Birth Rituals (Cont'd.)** | |
| Children were not shown around the household when births occurred at home. | |
| **Death and Funeral Rituals** | |
| There were four funeral rituals evident among the Avery(a) respondents: the family coming together, a wake or "setting up" held the night before the burial, pooling money to cover expenses and preparing food for the relatives of the deceased. Family members were expected to participate in these activities. Funerals were delayed until all relatives were present. Five respondents did not report funeral rituals. Social and fraternal organizations administered last rites prior to burial. | The Simmons respondents reported twice the frequency of rituals as the Avery(a) respondents. The categories of rituals included the family coming together, attendance at a "wake" the night before the funeral, preparation of food, crying and wailing, passing children over the grave, and "dressing" the body. Three others were specifically related to church rituals. Having a "leader" speak about the deceased, wearing black clothing for 6 months and not attending church for one month were peculiar to the Simmons family. The ritual of "passing the children over the grave" was done to prevent the reincarnation of a parent in the body of a child. |
| **Social Organizations, Cooperative Work Groups, and Associations** | |
| Members of the Avery(a) family belonged to a variety of organizations. The majority belonged to the Oddfellows Lodge. Others were members of Lady Knight, Order of Tent, Eastern Star, Raleigh Union and the Household of Ruth. Four members of the family belonged to service and fraternal organizations. Cooperative work groups had diverse | Members of the Simmons family belonged to the Oddfellows Lodge, service clubs, savings societies, and fraternities. The saving society provided financial assistance to families. Six respondents knew of community or family work groups. These groups met primarily to quilt, satisfying social and utilitarian needs. The goals of other family |

TABLE 26 (Cont'd.)

| AVERY(A) RESPONDENTS | SIMMONS RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| **Social Organizations, Cooperative Work Groups, and Associations (Cont'd.)** | |
| purposes. Groups were organized for quilting, "tying" and "swapping" tobacco, building houses and serving the sick. | work groups were cooperative farming and repairing the church. Secret societies were prevalent in the Sea Islands. This investigator was unable to find out if any of the Simmons family belonged to these societies. |
| **Songs and Music** | |
| There were two songs reported by the Avery(a) respondents. One song was a Christmas song entitled "Mother puts my toys away." The other song was a lullaby. The lyrics are as follows:<br>Go to sleep a little baby<br>Mama's sweet little baby<br>Mama gone to fishing<br>Daddy gone a hunting<br>Left nobody but the baby.<br>The song described the roles of both parents as "providers" for the family. During religious services songs were led by one person followed by a refrain song by the audience. The spirituals song in the "hometown" churches that the Avery(a) respondents attended were accompanied by hand clapping and body swaying. The songs led by members of the audience were more often the spirituals of the culture. | The songs reported by the Simmons family were primarily spirituals. These titles of the spirituals were: "Change to Keep I Have," "Near my God to Thee," "There is a Handwriting on the Wall" and "Power Lord, I Need Your Holy Ghost Power." The lyrics to "Change to Keep I Have" were:<br>Change to keep I have<br>God to glorify<br>For every dying soul is saved<br>is 'fitting' for the sky.<br>The lyrics indicated the spirituality found in Sea Islands. Observations by this investigator revealed that spirituals sung in church were those unique to the culture. Spirituals were often sung in thirds. Clapping and body movements accompanied the lyrics. This clapping pattern appeared to be more complicated than that found in the Avery(a) family. The tempo was reminiscent of the beat of drums. |

TABLE 26 (Cont'd.)

| AVERY(A) RESPONDENTS | SIMMONS RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| **Tales** | |
| Tales were told at night in front of the fireplace. Grandmothers assumed the role of "story teller." Stories were told about the "old times." | Tales were told by grandmothers in the Simmons family. Usually the children gathered around the fireplace and were told the adventures of earlier generations. Two stories in particular appear to be unique to the area. The first one is about a man named Dixie who was killed. He was transformed into a horse, dog, cat and other animals. He reappeared in the community every seven years. The second story contained the following phrases:<br>Yellow gal had a fight.<br>Where you been last night?<br>I've been to see the fight.<br>Yellow gal catch a fly, and<br>put it in the black girl eye.<br>If you know where you're going<br>If you don't have to worry.<br>This story had a rhythmic beat and was accompanied by clapping. The story was about two women dating the same man and expressing certain competitive behaviors. Differences in racial features similar to those reported in the appearance section are noted. |
| **Family and World View** | |
| The following quotations are representative of the Avery(a) responses to the meaning of a family: "Strong ties. They don't work out at all times but that's what it means" (Male Respondent, 1979). "I think they (Grandparents) would have defined | The verbation quotes of the Simmons respondents were similar in content to those of the Avery(a) family. A family means: "A large group of people that has a lot in common, that shares a lot" (Female Respondent, 1979). "A family is a group |

TABLE 26 (Cont'd.)

| AVERY(A) RESPONDENTS | SIMMONS RESPONDENTS |
|---|---|
| Family and World View (Cont'd.) | |
| everyone that lived around them with the same last name as family" (Male Respondent, 1979). Four Avery(a) respondents were told a philosophy of life that had been communicated over generations. These examples of philosophy indicated an optimism about life and its ephemeral nature. The ideology of interdependence and continuity was evident in the last quotation. More secular responses were made by the Avery(a) family members. "(We were taught) an attitude that things get better-positive way of looking at things" (Male Respondent, 1979). "Your name will go further than you will go" (Female Respondent, 1979). "Most of our family believed in doing good unto others and trying to live a Christian life" (Female Respondent, 1979). | of individuals that love one another" (Female Respondent, 1979). A difference noted was that 100% of the Simmons family reported a family philosophy. This percentage compares to 33% of the Avery(a) respondents. The themes of optimism about life and the interconnection of all things in the world was evident in the following: "Just what you put in life it is just what you get out of it" (Female Respondent, 1979). "Always have manners. Manners can take you where money can't. Treat others the way you wanted to be treated (Female Respondent, 1979). "Things don't be the same way all the time" (Male Respondent, 1979). More references were made to religion, "spirits" and "after life" by the Simmons respondents. |

1. Both families had physical appearances that are similar. Interracial mingling was similar in both families.
2. Motor abilities were present and maintained over the first three generations on both families.
3. Family gatherings were prevalent in the Simmons and Avery(a) families. The tradition of family reunions was recent for the Simmons family.
4. Terms of endearment were never reported as part of the Simmons repertoire of "proper" behaviors.
5. Folk medicine was more prevalent among the Simmons family. Simmons family members used more herbs for longer periods of time.
6. The findings of food types and preparation yielded differences between families. The recipes and methods of preparation in the Simmons family were more similar to those in the African culture.
7. The themes present in the funeral rituals reported by the Simmons respondents dealt with "spirits." While those reported by the Avery(a) respondents were focused on the deceased family.
8. The content of spirituals and rhythmic accompaniment were different in quality but not quantity.
9. Cohabitation occurred more frequently among the Simmons respondents.
10. Naming practices were similar in that males were more frequently named after ancestors.

TABLE 27

NAMING PRACTICES FOUND IN THE AVERY(A) AND SIMMONS FAMILIES

| Name-Newborn | Name of Parents | Relation of Newborn Child to Person Same Name |
|---|---|---|
| | AVERY(A) FAMILY | |
| Flora Lee | Unita-Sam | Mother's sister |
| Charlie | Ina-Charlie | Father |
| Bill | Victoria-Bill | Father brother's |
| David | Nancy-John | Mother's son |
| David | Lillian-David | Father |
| David | Janie-Robert | Father's sister's son |
| Robert | Janie-Robert | Father |
| Robert | Mattie-Robert | Father |
| Robert | Lou-Boston | Mother's sister's son |
| Bythie | Gracie-Jack | Mother's mother |
| Vandell | -Vandell | Father |
| John | Nancy-John | Father, father's father |
| John | Ida-John | Father |
| Zell | -Zell | Father |
| Carrie | Nancy-John | Father's sister |
| Nancy | Andrie- | Mother's mother |
| Nancy | Nancy-John | Mother |
| Elbert | Janie-Robert | Father's brother's son |
| Elbert David | Ethel-Elbert | Father |
| James | Janie-Robert | Father's mother's mother's brother's son; Father's brother |
| James | Kitty-John | Mother's mother's brother |
| James | Havanah-James | Father |
| James | Blanche-James | Father, Father's Father |
| Betty | Gracie-Jack | Mother's sister |
| Betty | Ethel-Elbert | Father's mother's, mother's sister |
| Gracie | Gracie-Jack | Mother |
| Gracie | Gladys-Ed | Mother's mother's sister |
| Fannie | Hattie- | Fictive kin--Uncle's wife |
| Lue Winnie | Hattie- | Mother's mother, mother's mother's sister |
| Lula | Lillie-Matthew | Mother's mother's mother |
| Winnie Jean | Ethel-Elbert | Father's sister, mother's sister |
| Matthew | Lillie-Matthew | Father |
| Raymond | Lula | Mother's brother |

TABLE 27 (Cont'd.)

| Name-Newborn | Name of Parents | Relation of Newborn Child to Person Same Name |
|---|---|---|
| Eddie | Elizabeth-Eddie | Father |
| Anderson | Parthenia-Anderson | Father |
| Bernard | Louise-Bernard | Father |
| Ethel | Ethel-Elbert | Mother |
| Charles | Fannie-Charlie | Father |
| Jerald | Barbara-Jerald | Father |
| Angela Lynnette | Yvonne-Lynell | Father |
| Roy Lynell | Ethel-Leamon | Father's sister's son-in-law |
| Sullivan | Hattie-Sullivan | Father |
| Leamon | Ida Mae-Leamon | Father |
| Kevin Dan | Deborah-Dan | Father |
| Roosevelt | Gladys-Ed | U.S. President |
| Ponce de Leon | Mary-George | Discoverer |
| George Washington | Tobitha-Henderson | U.S. President |
| Anthony | Tobitha-Henderson | Fictive kin-slave |
| William | India-Jim | Fictive kin-slave |
| William | Gracie-Jack | Mother's brother's son |
| William | Mary-George | Father's brother's son |
| William | Ethel-Elbert | Father's, mother's, mother's brother's son |
| William | Parthenia-Anderson | Mother's brother |
| William | Earlene-James | Father's, mother's, mother's brother's son |
| | SIMMONS FAMILY | |
| John | Lydia-John | Father, mother's father |
| Johnnie | Evelina-Norman | Mother's father |
| John | Eloise-John | Father, father's father |
| Lydia | Lydia-John | Mother |
| Henrietta | Evelina-Matthew | Mother's mother |
| Handsome | Thelma-Handsome | Father |
| Abraham | Henrietta-Abraham | Father |
| Abraham | Adrian-Abraham | Father, father's father |
| George | Henrietta-Abraham | Mother's brother |
| George | Jacquelyn-George | Father, father's, mother's, brother |
| George | Anna-George | Father, father's, sister's, son |
| Georgianne | Anna-George | Father, father's, sister's son |
| Dorothy | Evelina-Matthew | Mother's sister |
| Dorothy | Anna Bell | Mother's mother's sister's daughter |

TABLE 27 (Cont'd.)

| Name-Newborn | Name of Parents | Relation of Newborn Child to Person Same Name |
|---|---|---|
| Emily | Christina-John | Mother's sister |
| Anna | Dora | Mother's mother |
| Bertram | Viola-Bertram | Father |
| Bertrina | Viola-Bertram | Father |
| Melvin | Thelma-Melvin | Father |
| Donald | Mildred-Donald | Father |
| Wesley | Helen-Wesley | Father |
| William | Eloise-John | Father's brother |
| Cadaryl Woodrow | JoAnn-Woodrow | Father |
| Ruth Mae Eviline | Lillian-Eddie | Father's mother |
| Herbert | Linda-Herbert | Father |
| Joe | Penny-Joe | Father |
| Aaron | Mary Ann-Aaron | Father |
| Sam | Martha-Sam | Father |
| Bobby | Elizabeth-Bobby | Father |
| Anthony | Anna-George | Father's sister's son |
| Nathaniel | Geneva-Nathaniel | Father |

11. There are no differences in the social organizations and tales reported by the respondents.
12. Slightly more secular views were reported by the Avery(a) respondents but the themes were identical in both families.

Household Structure, Marital Roles and Kinship Patterns

The third hypothesis tested the relationship between household structure, marital roles and kinship patterns with economic and political events. A discussion section reporting the results of each of the three dependent variables was presented prior to the discussion of results of the hypothesis.

Household structure as defined by the investigator categorized family types as nuclear, extended, and augmented. The reader is referred to Billingsley (1968) for a more complete description of the categories. The data indicate that there are some differences between the families. The Simmons family was primarily nuclear. The Avery(a) family had a wider distribution having comparable numbers in all categories. Table 28 describes the patterns and changes in household structure. The present generation of the Simmons family has four persons living as part of their household. The mean age of these persons was 44 years and had lived there an average of 5.5 years. The homes of members of the parent's generations were opened to more relatives for shorter spans of time. The present generation of the Avery(a) family housed more individuals for longer periods of time. This pattern was consistent over both generations. Fewer Avery(a) respondents had lived with others.

TABLE 28

PATTERNS OF CHANGES IN THE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE
OF THE AVERY(A) AND SIMMONS FAMILIES

| | Avery(a) | | | | Simmons | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of households | Number of Persons | Mean Age | Mean Length of Stay | Number of households | Number of Persons | Mean Age | Mean Length of stay |
| Respondent's Household | 5 | 30 | 28.7 | 15.32 | 3 | 4 | 44 | 5.5 |
| Parent's[a] Household | 6 | 39 | 15.5 | 4.4 | 6 | 20 | -- | 4.82 |
| Other's[b] Household | 5 | 21 | 23.9 | 1.93 | 10 | 34 | 12.5 | 3.7 |

[a] Relationship to the persons living in the household over these two generations included parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, siblings, children, grandchildren, cousins and others.

[b] Data indicate the frequency of respondents and their families living in the household of others.

Data were collected about the reasons individuals moved into the households of others. The reasons were death of a parent, financial crises, illness, education and changes in marital status. Unmarried mothers who were not related were reported to have joined the households of Avery(a) family members. Family members seeking employment frequently entered other households to live.

A kinship index was developed to measure the breadth of resources an individual used during crisis situations. Those respondents with low scores indicated that they used only 2 generations (parent-child or parent-siblings) as resources. High scores indicated that additional relatives were included in the crisis situation. The responses were ranked according to the types of relatives included--nuclear through the extended family. The Mann-Whitney Test was used to test whether there was a difference in the kinship patterns in the two families. The T-statistic was 42 and was significant at .10 level. Although the relationship is not strong, it does indicate a trend. The Avery(a) family appears to be narrow in their use of resources. Although they used more kin (median 4), seven of the respondents remained within their nuclear family for support during crisis. The Simmons family responses were more extended. Seven Simmons respondents branched out into the extended family while three others used all extended kin. Fictive kin was not considered in the index. The mean numbers of fictive kin used was 1.6 in the Avery(a) and .67 in the Simmons family.

Decision making, conflict resolutions and employment patterns were categorized as elements in marital roles. Conflict resolution

was 50% wife authority in the Simmons family and 45% husband authority in the Avery(a) family. The writer is referred to Chapter IV for further elaboration. Tables 12 and 21 described employment patterns of the marital dyads. These results have also been discussed in Chapter IV.

To measure decision making, scales were developed. The marital and parental decision-making scales were based on nine items which determined the husband's or wife's dominance in decision making. The fixed choice of wife, husband, both and neither were weighted to make distinct scores. Husband and wife coded responses were multiplied by 10 resulting in the scores of 10 and 20 respectively. The response "both" was multiplied by 5 to arrive at a median score of 15. Finally the "neither" choice was multiplied by 0 to indicate an absence of marital decisions. Individual scores were computed and ranked from wife to husband dominance. Thus a score of 15 would indicate equality in decision making. This score was ranked 11.7 when all respondents' scores were ranked in ascending order. The greatest rank of 22.5 indicated the highest score of male dominated decisions for these respondents The parental decision making scale rated the respondents' views of their parent's marriage. The weighting and ranking of scores are identical to that of the marital dyad.

Again, the Mann-Whitney test was used for data analysis. The marital decision-making scale had a T value of 102.5 which is significant at .10 level. Again, this is not indicative of a strong relationship. It possibly indicated a trend toward egalitarian decision making in the Avery(a) family and wife dominated decisions

among the Simmons respondents. The Parental Decision Making Scale was not significant. In absolute numbers, more decisions were made by mothers in the Avery(a) family and by both parents in the Simmons family. Some generational changes occurred slightly in the two families.

The hypotheses stated that changes in the household structure, marital roles and kinship patterns over generations are associated with political and economic events of the dominant culture. The results cited in Chapter IV, the effects of economic and political events, partially supported the hypothesis. No respondent stated that his marital roles were influenced by these effects. Employment fluctuated over one's marital life but was not specifically related to a national event. However, employment did influence the household structure and kinship patterns. It is the writer's opinion that national and political events influenced kinship patterns and household structures but not marital roles.

## Economic and Political Values

Economic values and behaviors are reported in both qualitative and quantitative forms. Education and employment patterns, geographic mobility, mean incomes, and occupations were reported in the family biographies. Social mobility, an economic value, was quantified in a five item index indicating the degree of similarity between the responses of an individual and the other respondents (see Appendix F). A frequency distribution was done based on the individual's responses to the five items. Each item was subsequently ranked. Each of the respondents had five ranks, one for each item. A final index score

was computed from the average of the five ranks. These index scores were ranked in order to use non-parametric statistics to analyze the data.

The results of the Mann-Whitney Test indicated that the Social Mobility Index had a T statistic valued at 74. This statistic was not significant at the .05 level of significance. The two families did not differ on the Social Mobility Index.

A Political Value and Behavior Index was developed to measure political and civic behaviors of the individual and his family. Scores from four items were summed. These scores ranged from 0-6 points indicating no political participation to active involvement in civic activities. Each respondent's score was ranked in ascending order from 1-24 in terms of their level of participation. The results of the Mann-Whitney test were not significant at the .05 level (see Table 22). The writer concludes that the two families were identical when testing the political variable.

Finally, a chi square analysis was done to determine the relationship between those respondents who had economic values similar to the dominant American culture and family membership. On ethnic-racial perceptions, 42% of the Simmons and 17% of the Avery(a) respondents differed from white families in economic values. Table 25 presents the contingency table. The computed chi square value was .806. This tabulated value is less than the value necessary to be significant at the .05 level. There is no difference between the type of values and family membership.

The results of the chi square analysis testing the difference in educational levels between the two families as reported in Chapter IV were not significant. Inspection of the data in Table 29, Occupations of Avery(a) and Simmons Respondents, does not appear to indicate any significant differences in the occupations of the respondents. The Simmons family has the potential of having more professionals since three of their respondents were in school. Although the median education level was greater in the Simmons family, their occupations do not reflect this difference.

TABLE 29

OCCUPATIONS OF AVERY(A) AND SIMMONS RESPONDENTS

| | Avery(a) | | Simmons | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Professional | 2 | 16.7 | 3 | 25 |
| Craftsman | 2 | 16.7 | | |
| Operatives | 3 | 25 | 3 | 25 |
| Private Household | 3 | 25 | 1 | 8.3 |
| Laborer | 1 | 8.3 | | |
| Housewife | | | 1 | 8.3 |
| Service | | | 1 | 8.3 |
| Student | 1 | 8.3 | 3 | 25 |
| Total | 12 | 100.0 | 12 | 100.0 |

The fourth hypothesis predicted that there would be a difference in the report of economic and political values between the African American family with considerable contact with the American dominant

culture and the family which has been relatively isolated. The statistics reported have not revealed any differences in the report of economic and political values. The data do not support the hypothesis.

# VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purposes of this study were to investigate those patterns of values and norms which indicate an ethnic-racial culture, to identify African cultural remnants within this culture and to determine the degree of influence of the economic and political events of the American dominant culture. Two families were studied over the period from 1860-1979. The investigator acknowledged that the Simmons family were given short shrift in that only one month was spent reconstructing their genealogy and conducting the interviews. The investigator spent more time and had more insight into the Avery(a) family. The writer hoped that the family narratives were equally descriptive of the two families.

The writer considered the theoretical frame of reference important to this study. Other conceptual frameworks have led to negative theorizing of the African-American family. The writer utilized cultural pluralism as an attempt to provide a value-free model for interpreting data. It was the author's purpose to be cognizant of African-American families and their culture without making stereotypic interpretations.

The data were analyzed by non-parametric statistics. Content analysis revealed major themes which were included in the family biographies. Chi-square analysis and Mann-Whitney tests were used to test the hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1 was not supported by the findings of the study. Hence, ethnic-racial perceptions did not differ according to location. Although there were reports of negative consequences to racism and discrimination reported by both families, the degree was different. The Simmons respondents reported more overt effects while the Avery(a) respondents noted inequities in socio-economic status and institutional contact.

African cultural remnants were evident in the culture of these two families. Hypothesis 2 was supported in part in that some categories of cultural remnants were more frequently found in the isolated family. The Simmons family demonstrated more extra-legal unions, medicinal cures, funeral rituals, songs and tales than the Avery(a) family. Their recipes and methods of food preparation were more in keeping with the African culture. The Avery(a) family reported more African cultural remnants in their kinship patterns than the Simmons family. They demonstrated greater involvement with extended and fictive kin, held more family reunions and used more terms of endearment. The presence of African cultural remnants was more pervasive in the Simmons family.

Hypothesis 3 was partially supported by the findings. Changes in household structures and kinship patterns were associated with the economic and political events studied. The events which were significant to African Americans had more impact on these patterns. Economic issues such as income slightly influenced marital roles. However, marital roles appear to be influenced more by the internal dynamics of the marital dyad as well as the nuances of an African American culture.

As asserted by hypothesis 4, there will be a difference in the report of economic and political values and behaviors between the African American family with considerable contact with the American dominant culture and the family which has been relatively isolated. The data did not support this hypothesis. Similarities were evident in the education level, incomes, and occupations of the respondents. The data indicated that the social mobility scores were similar and did not differentiate between families. Content analyses of verbatim responses yielded similar themes. While similar in direction these were not in degree. The composition of the environment, either predominantly African American or white, influenced the degree to which certain economic and political values were expressed.

Collecting data for the family biographies required corroborative efforts with agencies and family members. The major findings and conclusions of the biographies are discussed below.

The review of literature stated that the isolation of the Sea Islands has been curtailed by economic development of resort property and the building of bridges in the 1920's. This writer found this statement to be true. Previous values and behaviors which were attributed to the Gullah people have undergone change. However, the writer found that the Simmons family remained more isolated from the dominant American culture, than the Avery(a) family. African Americans in the Sea Island continue to maintain their institutions and have control over the primary interactions of family members. For this reason, parts of the Gullah culture are being maintained.

The Avery(a) family has been influenced by increased education. As the educational and occupational levels of family members increase, so does the degree of their participation within the American dominant culture. They are experiencing a transition from co-existence in the economic and political spheres to actual participation. The close association reported between whites and the Avery(a) family appears to be declining possibly as a consequence of the competition in the economic and political spheres.

The data do support an African-American culture which has its roots in Africanism. There is a strong "sense of peoplehood" that has no geographic boundary. The culture contains values and norms which are not explained when studied in the context of the American dominant culture. The author believes it is the responsibility of these families and the dominant culture to facilitate the survival of these cultural patterns. Under the framework of cultural pluralism, ethnic-racial groups can co-exist.

To facilitate the maintenance of ethnic-racial cultures, ownership of property and management of resources must be available to the ethnic racial group. This writer reported that land ownership was a distinguishing feature between the two families.

Amid the contradictory findings of this study, the investigator acknowledges that the basic tenets of cultural pluralism have been demonstrated to be true in these two families. This writer recommends that the assumption of ethnicity be accepted as valid for African Americans. The next step in future research of African-American families is to further investigate these cultural values and norms.

The writer recommends that the replication of this study be done with families even more isolated than the Simmons. During the course of this investigation, the writer became aware of other Sea Islands where residents have been able to maintain more of their culture than those African Americans on Yonges Island. Also, this study could be replicated in urban areas or different regions of the country.

The writer believes that personal interviews are the preferred method of data collection. The insights derived during interviews have enhanced the quality of data. This writer attended church services and meetings with family members. The author recommends that the participant observer role in data collection be increased in future studies. Plans need to be made to be equally involved in the daily living experiences of both families.

Comparative studies of ethnic groups have previously resulted in the labeling of African-American families as deviants. To prevent the recurrence of this trend in family research, the author recommends that future studies of African-American families be limited in scope to investigations of African cultural remnants and the African American culture. Further investigation of this ethnic-racial culture would result in findings descriptive of African Americans but without evaluating its nature. This investigator believes that only when African American families are clearly understood in the context of their culture can broad inferences be made. The report of similarities and differences among families of various ethnic-racial groups should be a later goal for the field of family research.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abzug, R. H. The black family during reconstruction. In N. Huggins, M. Kilson, & D. Fox (Eds.), Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971.

Agresti, B. F. The first decade of freedom: Black families in a Southern county 1870 and 1885. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 697-707.

Allen, W. R. The search for applicable theories of black family life. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 117-129.

Baker, Jr. H. A. Completely well: One view of black American culture. In N. Huggins, M. Kilson, & D. Fox (Eds.), Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971.

Balkwell, C., Balswick, J. & Balkwell, J. On black and white family patterns in America: Their impact on the expressive aspect of sex role socialization. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 743-749.

Barnett, S. A. Human species. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

Benitez, J. S. Dimensions for the study of work related values in Mexican-American culture: An exploratory essay. In H. R. Kaplan (Ed.), American Minorities and Economic Opportunity. Itasca, Illinois: P. E. Peacock, 1977.

Billingsley, A. Black families in white america. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1968.

Billingsley, A. The treatment of Negro families in American scholarship. In Yin, R. K. (Ed.), Race, creed, color or national origin. Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock, 1973.

Blassingame, J. W. The slave community: Plantation life in antebellum south. New York: Oxford Press, 1972.

Blauner, R. Black culture: Myth or reality? In N. E. Whitten and Szwed, J. F. (Eds.), Afro-american anthropology: Contemporary perspectives. New York: Free Press, 1970.

Blood, R. O. & Wolfe, D. Husbands and wives. New York: Free Press, 1960.

Bottomere, T. Sociology: A guide to problems and literature. London: Allen and Unwin, 1971.

Bourne, J. L. Report on South Carolina. In Only Six Million Acres Left. Atlanta: Emergency Land Fund National Office, 1971.

Boyette, E. F. Growth and Development of Education in Johnston County. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1927.

Cannell, C. & Kahn, R. Interviewing. In G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Eds.), Handbook of Social Psychology. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1968.

Carawan, G. & Carawan, C. Ain't you got a right to the tree of life. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966.

Carper, L. The Negro family and the Moynihan report. In P. Rose (Ed.), Slavery and its aftermath. New York: Atherton Press, 1970.

Caulfield, M. D. Slavery and the origin of black culture: Elkins revisited. In P. Rose, Slavery and its aftermath. New York: Atherton Press, 1970.

Centers, R. and Rodriques, A. Conjugal power structure: A re-examination. American Sociological Review, 1971, 36, 264-278.

Christensen, H. T. Development of the family field of study. In H. T. Christensen (Ed.), Handbook of Marriage and the Family. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964.

Clark, K. Dark ghetto. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

Cohen, A. Urban ethnicity. London: Tavistock, 1974.

Comas, J. Manual of physical anthropology. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1960.

Comer, J. Beyond black and white. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1972.

Conway, P. The water is wide. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.

Cromwell, V. L. and Cromwell, R. E. Perceived dominance in decision-making and conflict resolution among anglo, black, and chicano couples. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 749-761.

Crum, M. Gullah Negro life in the Carolina Sea Islands. New York: Negro University Press, 1968.

Culbert, D. Family history projects: The scholarly value of the informal sample. American Archivist, 1975, 38(4), 533-541.

Daniel, W. W. Applied nonparametric statistics. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978.

Davie, M. R. Negroes in American society. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949.

Dietrich, K. T. A re-examination of the myth of the black matriarchy. Journal of Marriage and Family, 1975, 37, 367-374.

Drake, S. C. Prospects for the future. In N. Huggins, M. Kilson, D. Fox (Eds.), Key issues in the Afro-American experience. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971.

Drake, S. C. and Cayton, H. R. Black metropolis. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1945.

DuBois, W. E. B. Souls of black folk: essays and sketches. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1961.

Easterby, J. H. The South Carolina rice plantation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.

Edsodon, C. S. New dictionary of American family names. New York: Harper and Row, 1956.

Elkins, S. M. Slavery: A problem in American institutional and intellectual life. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.

Elkins, S. M. The social consequences of slavery. In N. Huggins, M. Kilson, D. Fox (Eds.), Key issues in the Afro-American experience. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971.

Erikson, E. The concept of identity in race relations. In P. Rose (Ed.), Slavery and its aftermath. New York: Atherton Press, 1970.

Farley, R. Trends in marital status among Negroes. In C. V. Willie (Ed.), The family life of black people. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1970.

Farley, R., & Hermalin, A. The 1960's: A decade of progress for blacks? Demography, August 1972, 9, 353-370.

Farley, R., & Hermalin, A. Family stability: A comparison of trends between blacks and whites. American Sociological Review, 1971, 36, 1-17.

Fogel, R. W., & Engerman, S. L. Time on the cross: The economics of American Negro slavery. Boston: Little Brown, 1974.

Frazier, E. F. The Negro family in the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

Frazier, E. F. The free Negro family in the United States. New York: MacMillan Co., 1949.

Frazier, E. F. Black bourgeoisie: The rise of a new middle class in the United States. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957.

Frazier, E. F. The significance of the African background. In P. Rose (Ed.), Slavery and its Aftermath. New York: Atherton Press, 1970.

Frazier, E. F. The Negro family in America. In R. Staples (Ed.), The black family: Essays and studies. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing, 1971.

Furstenberg, F. F. Industrialization and the American family: A look backward. American Sociological Review, 1966, 31, 326-337.

Genovese, E. D. The Negro laborer in Africa and the slave south. In P. Rose (Ed.), Slavery and its aftermath. New York: Atherton Press, 1970.

Genovese, E. D. Roll Jordan Roll: The world the slaves made. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

Gillin, J. National and regional cultural values in the United States. Social Forces, 1955, 34, 107-113.

Golden, H. H., & Tausky, C. Minority groups in the world of work. In H. H. Kaplan (Ed.), American minorities and economic opportunity. Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock, 1977.

Gonzales, A. E. The black border: Gullah stories of the Carolina coast. Columbus, South Carolina: The State Company, 1922.

Goode, W. Illegitimacy, anomie, and cultural penetration. American Sociological Review, 1961, 26, 910-925.

Gordan, M. M. Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion and national origins. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Greenfield, S. Industrialization and the family in sociological theory. American Journal of Sociology, 1961, 67, 312-322.

Grevan, P. Our generations, populations, land and family in colonial Andover, Mass. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1970.

Gutman, H. G. The black family in slavery and freedom 1750-1925. New York: Vintage Books, 1976.

Haley, A. Roots: The saga of an American family. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1976.

Hareven, T. The history of the family as an interdisciplinary field. Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 1971, 2, 399-414.

Hays, S. P. Historical social research: Concept, method and technique. Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 1974, 4(3), 475-482.

Herskovits, M. J. Acculturation: Study of culture contact. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1938.

Herskovits, M. J. The myth of the Negro past. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.

Herskovits, M. J. The new world Negro. Bloomington, Indiana: University Press, 1966.

Herskovits, M. J. Africanisms in secular life. In P. Rose (Ed.), Slavery and its aftermath. New York: Atherton Press, 1970.

Herskovits, M. J. Cultural relativism: Perspectives in cultural pluralism. New York: Vintage Books, 1973.

Hill, R. The strengths of black families. New York: Emerson Hall Publishers, 1972.

Himes, J. Growth of tradition in a southern Negro family. Journal of Social Psychology, 1949, 30, 137-148.

Himes, J. Racial conflict in American society. Columbus: Charles Merrill Publishing Company, 1973.

Honingmann, J. J. The World of Man. New York: Harper & Row, 1959.

Huggins, N. J. Afro-American History: Myths, heroes, reality. In N. Huggins, M. Kilson, & D. Fox, Key issues in the Afro-American experience. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971.

Husaini, B. A. Achievement motivation, self esteem, and work orientation among black and white males. Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences, 1976, 22(3), 183-195.

Hyman, H. H. & Reed, J. S. Black matriarchy reconsidered: Evidence from secondary analysis of sample surveys. Public Opinion Quarterly, 1969, 33, 346-354.

Jackson, J., Slaughter, S., & Blake, J. H. The Sea Islands as a cultural resource. The Black Scholar, 1974, 5, 32-39.

Johnson, C. S. Shadows of the plantation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

Johnson, C. S. Patterns of Negro segregation. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943.

Johnson, G. B. Folk culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina. Hatboro, Pa: Folklore Associates, 1968.

Johnson, G. G. Antebellum North Carolina: A social history. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937.

Johnson, R. Negro reactions to minority group status. In M. Barron (Ed.), American minorities. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957.

Jordan, M. A new world for the most African of U.S. blacks. Sepia, 1976, 25, 18-25.

Keane, A. H. Man: Past and present. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920.

Killingsworth, C. C. Negroes in a changing labor market. In A. Moss & H. Hill (Eds.), Employment, race and poverty. New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1967.

Kilson, M. Political change in the Negro ghetto, 1900-1940's. In N. Huggins, M. Kilson, & D. Fox (Eds.), Key issues in the Afro-American experience. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971.

King, K. Adolescent perception of power structure in the Negro family. Journal of Marriage and Family, 1969, 31, 751-755.

Kirk, J. Varieties of family history. American Archivist, 1975, 38(4), 521-532.

Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1952.

Kuper, L. & Smith, M. G. Pluralism in Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

Kyvig, D. Family history: New opportunities for archivists. American Archivist, 1975, 38(4), 509-521.

Labinjoh, J. The sexual life of the oppressed: An examination of the family life of antebellum slaves. Phylon, 1974, 35, 375-397.

Ladner, J. A. Tomorrow's tomorrow: The black woman. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1972.

LaGumina, S. J. & Cavaioli, F. J. The ethnic dimension in American society. Boston: Holbrook Press, Inc., 1974.

Lammermeier, P. J. The urban black family of the 19th century: A study of black family structure in the Ohio valley, 1850-1880. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1975, 35, 440-456.

Landry, B. The economic position of black Americans. In H. H. Kaplan (Ed.), American minorities and economic opportunity. Ithasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock, 1977.

Lantz, H. A research note on the free black in our early history. Family Coordinator, 1975, 24, 363-365.

Lesesne, T. P. History of Charleston County, South Carolina. Charleston: A. H. Clawston, 1931.

Lewis, H. Culture, class and poverty. Washington: Cross-Tell, 1967.

Lewis, O. La vida: a Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty. San Juan and New York: Random House, 1966.

Liebow, E. Tally's Corner. Boston: Brown & Co., 1967.

Linton,R. The Study of Man. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., 1936.

Litwak, E. Geographic mobility and family cohesion. American Sociological Review, 1960, 25, 385-394.

MacDonald, J. S. & MacDonald, L. Transformation of African and Indian family traditions. Comparative Studies in Society and History, 1973, 15, 171-198.

MacDonald, J. S. & MacDonald, L. The black family in the Americas: A review of the literature. Sage Race Relation Abstracts, 1978, 3, 1-33.

Mathis, A. Contrasting approaches to the study of black families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 667-679.

Matthews, D. B. Crisis of the West Indian family. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad: Government Printing, 1953.

McAdoo, H. P. Factors related to stability in upwardly mobile black families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 761-776.

Middleton, R. and Putney, S. Dominance in decisions in the family: Race and class differences. In C. V. Willie (Ed.), The Family Life of Black People. Columbus, Ohio: E. Merrill, 1960.

Montgomery, C. J. Survivors from the cargo of the slave yacht Wanderer. American Antropologist, 1908, 10, 611-623.

Moynihan, D. P. The Negro family: The case for national action. Washington, D.C.: Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, 1965.

Murray, P. Proud shoes: The story of an American family. New York: Harper & Row, 1978.

Myrdal, G., Sterner, R., & Rose, A. An American dilemma. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944.

New Webster's dictionary of the English language. Chicago: Consolidates Book Publishers, 1975.

Nobles, W. W. African root and American fruit: The black family. Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences, 1964, 20, 52-64.

Nobles, W. W. African philosophy: Foundations for black psychology. In R. Jones (Ed.), Black psychology. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.

Nobles, W. W. Africanity: Its role in black families. The Black Scholar, 1974, 5, 10-17.

Nobles, W. W. Toward an empirical and theoretical framework for defining black families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 679-691.

Park, R. E. Race and culture. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1950.

Park, R. & Burgess, E. W. Introduction to the science of sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921.

Peters, M. Notes from the guest editor. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 655-661.

Proctor, B. F. The impact of the great depression on public education in Johnston County, N.C. 1927-1940. Unpublished master's thesis, East Carolina University, 1965.

Rainwater, L. Crucible of identity: The lower class Negro family. Daedalus, 1966, 95, 172-216.

Rainwater, L. Behind ghetto walls: Black families in federal slums. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970.

Renne, K. Correlates of dissatisfaction in marriage. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1970, 32, 54-67,

Roberts, P. The new immigration. New York: MacMillan Co., 1914.

Rodman, H. Lower class value stretch. Social Change, 1963, 4, 205-215.

Rodman, H. Lower class families: The culture of poverty in Negro Trinidad. New York: Oxford Press, 1971.

Rodman, H. Marital power and theory of resources in a cultural context. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 1972, 3, 51-59.

Rubincam, M. Genealogical research methods and sources. American Society of Geneologists, 1960.

Savage, J. E., Adair, A. W., & Friedman, P. Community social variables related to black parent absent families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 779-787.

Scanzoni, J. The black family in modern society. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1971.

Slave narratives: A folk history of slavery in the United States. Writer's Project, 11, 1936-1938.

Smith, H. W. Strategies of social research. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1975.

Smith, M. G. Stratification in Grenada. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.

Smith, R. Gullah, dedicated to the memory of Ambrose E. Gonzales. Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1926.

Spaights, E. The evolving black family in the United States 1950-1974. The Negro Educational Review, 1976, 27, 113-128.

Stack, C. All our kin: Strategies for survival in a black community. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

Stampp, K. M. The peculiar institution: Slavery in the antebellum south. New York: Vintage Books, 1956.

Stampp, K. M. Between two cultures. In P. Rose (Ed.), Slavery and its aftermath. New York: Atherton Press, 1970.

Stampp, K. M. The daily life of the southern slave. In N. Huggins, M. Kilson, & D. Fox (Eds.), Key issues in the Afro-American experience. New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1971.

Staples, R. Toward a sociology of the black family: A theoretical and methodological assessment. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1971, 33, 119-138.

Staples, R. The black family in evolutionary perspective. The Black Scholar, 1974, 5, 2-9.

Stone, C. Black political power in America. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1970.

Ten Houten, W. D. The black family: Myth and reality. Psychiatry, 1970, 23, 145-173.

Turnbull, C. M. Man in Africa. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1976.

Turner, L. D. Africanisms in the Gullah dialect. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.

The Sea Islands. In Harper's New Monthly Magazine. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878, pp. 839-861.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Eighth Census of the United States in 1860. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of the Agriculture. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of the Agriculture. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Characteristics of the Population: South Carolina, Vol. II. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943.

U. S. Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. Characteristics of the Population: South Carolina, Vol. 1, Part 42. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

U. S. Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. Characteristics of the Population: North Carolina, Vol. 1, Part 35. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

U. S. Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. Census of the Agriculture, Vol. 1, Part 27. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, Part 26. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of the Population. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Social and economic status. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

U. S. Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. Social and Economic Statistics, Vol. 1, Part 42. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Characteristics of the Population: South Carolina. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, Part 33. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

Valentine, C. A. Deficit, difference and bicultural models of Afro-American behavior. Harvard Educational Review, 1971, 41(2), 137-157.

Valentine, C. A., & Valentine, B. Brain damage and the intellectual defense of inequality. Current Anthropology, 1975, 16(1), 117-149.

van den Berghe, P. L. Race and ethnicity: Essays in comparative sociology. New York: Basic Books, 1970.

van den Berghe, P. L. Pluralism and the polity: A theoretical exploration in pluralism in Africa. In L. Kuper & M. G. Smith (Eds.), Pluralism in Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

Watts, J. & Davis, A. J. Generations: Your family in modern American history. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974.

Wells, T. H. The slave ship Wanderer. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967.

Wells, R. Family history and demographic transition. Journal of Social History, 1975, 9, 1-20.

Whitehead, T. Residence, kinship, and mating as survival strategies: A West Indian example. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 817-829.

Whitten, N. E. & Szwed, J. F. Afro-American anthropology: Contemporary perspectives. New York: The Free Press, 1970.

Willie, C. V. A new look at black families. Bayside, New York: General Hall Inc., 1976.

Willie, C. V. & Greenblatt, S. L. Four classic studies of power relationships in black families: A review and look to the future. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1978, 40, 691-697.

Wilson, J. P. Crab antics. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.

Wood, P. H. Black majority. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1974.

Woods, F. J. Cultural values of American ethnic groups. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956.

Young, V. H. Family and childhood in a southern Negro community. American Anthropologist, September, 1970, 72, 269-288.

## REFERENCE NOTES

[1] Address of the Democratic white voters of Charleston to the colored voters of Charleston. Courier Steam Job Press, 1868.

[2] The Sea Islands of South Carolina 1865-1880. Charleston: News and Courier Book Presses, 1880.

[3] Pinckney A. Personal interview, December 12, 1979.

[4] Strohecker, H. O. Present day public education in the county and city of Charleston. Charleston County Board of Education.

[5] Jenkins, A. B. Personal interview, December 11, 1979.

[6] A study of the population and economy of the Berkeley-Charleston-Dorchester region. Charleston: Berkeley, Charleston, Dorchester Regional Planning Office, 1975.

[7] Heir's property ties up large slice of South Carolina land. In Living in South Carolina, February, 1978.

[8] Charleston, South Carolina 1680-1930. Charleston, South Carolina: J. T. Furlong and Son, 1930.

[9] Isam, A. Personal interview, November 28, 1979.

[10] Eliott, H. J. Personal interview, December 7, 1979.

[11] Education in Charleston, South Carolina--Selected facts 1978-1979. Charleston County School District, 1979.

[12] A handbook for municipal government in South Carolina. Municipal Association of South Carolina, 1975.

[13] Year book--city of Charleston--1940. Charleston: E. and C. Walker, 1942.

[14] Year book--city of Charleston--1890. Charleston: Walker, Evans, and Cogswell, 1891.

[15] Miles, J. W. The relations between the races of the south. Charleston: Steam Power Press of Evans and Cogswell, 1861.

[16] Gadson, V. Personal interview. December 10, 1979.

[17] County Population Trends, North Carolina 1790-1960. Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina and Department of Administration, State of North Carolina, 1969.

[18] Baker, B. A. History of Smithfield 1777-1961. Smithfield, North Carolina.

[19] Lassiter, T. Smithfield's 200 Years 1777-1977. Bicentennial Supplement to The Smithfield Herald, Smithfield, North Carolina, April 15, 1977.

[20] Smithfield Landmark KKK Billboard is coming down. In the Greensboro Record, Greensboro, North Carolina, 1978.

[21] Editorial, Smithfield Herald, August 22, 1969.

[22] Overall Economic Development Program, Smithfield-Selma Chamber of Commerce, Smithfield, North Carolina, 1975.

[23] North Carolina Labor Force Estimates. Bureau of employment, security research, Employment Security Commission of North Carolina, September, 1978.

[24] Black Directory, The Modernettes of Smithfield, North Carolina, 1976.

[25] The Economy of the Region. Triangle "J" Council of Governments. Research Triangle Park, n.d.

[26] N. C. Health Statistics, Division of Health Services, Department of Human Resources, September, 1979.

[27] Housing study. Johnston County, North Carolina, Johnston County Planning Board, April, 1974.

[28] Neighborhood Analysis, Smithfield, North Carolina, Smithfield Planning and Zoning Board, March, 1972.

[29] Initial Housing Element, Smithfield, North Carolina, June, 1971.

[30] Boyd, C. A. Personal interview, October 24, 1979.

[31] Editorial, Smithfield Herald, Smithfield, North Carolina, January 6, 1978.

[32] North Carolina Basic County Data, Volume II, N.C. State Planning Board, 1946.

[33] Compton, C. A. Personal interview, October 2, 1979.

[34] Report of the division of slaves of David Avera. Estate Book "B," no. 1, pp. 21-23, 1855.

# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX A

## CONSENT FORM AUTHORIZING PARTICIPATION

## CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION

I agree to participate in this study of African American families. I am willing to be interviewed and photographed by the investigator. I am aware that my name will be used and my family described in detail. I am aware that some information will be reported as a family summary and that individual names will not be used. However at the end of the interview, I will have the opportunity to list below specific information which I do not want disclosed or instances in which I prefer that my name not be used.

_____ _____

Date Signature

Post Interview Comments:

# APPENDIX B

## LETTER EXPRESSING THANKS TO THE FAMILY

(Date)

Dear :

Thank you for your assistance in obtaining your family's consent for participation and scheduling interviews. Your family members were most cooperative and contributed greatly to this study. I look forward in sharing the results of the study with your family when the data are analyzed.

Sincerely,

Inez Tuck
Principal Investigator
African American Family Project

# APPENDIX C

## INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO RESPONDENTS

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Date)

Dear Family Member:

African Americans are becoming an even larger minority group in this society. Many policies and historical events affect how these families live. Because of such impact, we would like to know more about African American families so that we can plan more effectively to meet their needs in the future. The Department of Child Development and Family Relations at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro is undertaking this study of African American families.

Your family was recommended as one which would add greatly to knowledge of African Americans. We have contacted several members of your family and obtained consent for participation. We would like to interview family members of different generations to obtain a complete family history.

Your assistance in completing this project will be greatly appreciated. It is only through your cooperation that we can get the facts we need to know about African American families. If you agree to participate in this study, I will need for you to complete the enclosed consent form.

Sincerely,

Inez Tuck
Principal Investigator
African American Family Project

Enclosure

# INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Name _____

What is your date of birth?_____ (Approximate date accepted).

Age last birthday _____ Sex: Male _____ Female _____

Present Address:_____

_____

Own _____ Rent _____

How large is the household? (How many rooms?) _____

Previous address if less than two (2) years at above.

_____

Religious Preference:_____

Marital Status: _____ How Long? (Date of marriage)_____

If ever married, is this your first marriage? Yes _____ No _____

If no, how long were you formerly married?_____

How many times were you formerly married?_____

Type of ceremony?_____

Have you ever lived with an unrelated adult of the opposite sex with whom you had a romantic relationship? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, for how long?_____

What is the highest grade you have completed?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

If beyond high school, which type of school did you attend?

_____Trade _____ Junior College
_____Business _____ University or College
_____Other _____

Did you receive a degree or certificate from this school? Yes____ No___

Did you get the amount of formal education that you wanted? Yes___ No___

If no, explain why not?_____

Did you get the amount of formal education that your parents or family wanted you to obtain? Yes____ No ____

If no, explain why not?_____

Do you or your parents consider you as having too much formal education? Yes_____ No _____

If yes, explain._____

What is your occupation?_____

Are you presently employed? Yes ____ No _____

By whom?_____

How long in this particular job?_____

Which of the following represents the correct amount of your (individual) wages or salaries? INDEX CARD

| Weekly | Monthly |
|---|---|
| _____ Under $50 | _____ Under $200 |
| _____ $50-99 | _____ $200-399 |
| _____ $100-149 | _____ $400-599 |
| _____ $150-199 | _____ $600-799 |
| _____ $200-249 | _____ $800-999 |
| _____ $250-299 | _____ $1000-1199 |
| _____ $300 or More | _____ $1200 or More |

Are there other family members who have your same occupation? Yes _____ No_____

If yes, what are their names and relationship to you?

| Name | Relationship |
|---|---|

Do you own property or real estates? Yes_____ No _____

If yes, where is the property or real estate located? _____

_____

What is the value and amount of property that you own?

_____

Does your family own or has it ever owned property or real estate?
Yes _____ No _____

If yes, where is the property or real estate located?_____

_____

What is the value and amount of the property or real estate owned by your family?_____

What is your political affiliation or political party?_____

Degree of participation (voting, elected office)_____

What is your family's political affiliation?_____

Degree of participation._____

Spouse

Name_____ Age_____ Date of birth_____

Alive _____ Deceased _____

Occupation_____ Employed? Yes _____ No _____

Level of Education (number of years) _____

Salary, if applicable _____ (Weekly/monthly/annual)

Children

| Name | Ages | Occupation | Salary | Alive/Deceased |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Who delivered your children?_____

How old were they when they were named?_____

Do all your children live with you? Yes_____ No_____

If no, explain why not?_____

Parents

Mother's Name_____(include maiden name)

Address_____

Age _____ Date of birth_____ Alive___ Deceased_____

How long?_____

Level of education_____ Occupation_____

Presently employed? Yes ___ No___

Salary: Present or pre-retirement _____

Retirement_____

Father's Name_____

Address_____

Age_____ Date of birth_____ Alive____ Deceased ____

How long?_____

Level of education_____ Occupation_____

Presently employed? Yes___ No___

Salary: Present or pre-retirement_____

Retirement_____

Date of parents marriage_____

Number of previous marriages? Mother_____ Father_____

Number of children before this marriage? Mother_____ Father_____

Siblings

| Names | Age | City of Residence | Occupation | Salary | Alive/ Deceased |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

Were there times that either one of your parents chose not to work or could not find work? Yes___ No___

If yes, when?_____

Which of your parents decides how to spend the family income? How much to spend per week?_____

Which of your parents decides which are necessities and which are luxuries? _____

Which parent handles the discipline of the children? How?_____

_____

_____

Which of your parents decides with whom the children will play?_____

Which parent or family member purchases the

clothing for the family?_____

food for the family?_____

cars?_____

major appliances?_____

houses?_____

If married how do you and your husband (wife) handle the following:

How to spend the family income?_____

Which one of you decides which items are necessities and which are luxuries?_____

Which of you handles the discipline of the children? How?

Who decides with whom the children will play?

Which of you purchases the clothing for the family?_____

food for the family?_____

cars?_____

major appliances?_____

houses?_____

Thinking back over your married life, what is the one thing that you and your wife (husband) have disagreed about more than any other?

When you and your wife (husband) disagree over_____ who usually gets his way you or your wife (husband)?_____

What place do you consider to be your hometown or your homeplace?
City_____ State_____

What is the origin of your family's last name?_____

Do you have a "nickname"?_____What is it?_____

What names have you been called by during your lifetime?_____

Were you named after anyone? (FIRST NAME ONLY) Yes ____ No____

If yes, whom were you named after?_____

Is there a common (frequently used) first name in your family?_____

List all the places where you have lived since your birth.

| Approximate Dates | City | State | Person deciding the move | Reasons for re-location |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Which of the following describes the type of moves or re-locations your family made on at least two occasions? INDEX CARD

| Moved From | Moved To |
|---|---|
| Rural Area | Rural Area |
| Small Town (less than 50,000 people) | Small Town (less than 50,000 people) |
| Small City (50,000-100,000 people) | Small City (50,000-100,000) |
| Large City (more than 100,000) | Large City (more than 100,000) |

Who lives in the house with you at your present address other than your spouse and children?

| Name | Age | Relationship | How Long? |
|---|---|---|---|

At any time, have relatives or friends lived with your parents?
Yes____ No____

| Name | Age | Relationship | How Long? |
|---|---|---|---|

At any time, have you or any member of your family (parents, brothers, sisters, spouse, children) lived with anyone else? Yes___ No___

| Name | Age | Relationship | How Long? |
|---|---|---|---|

During a family crisis (birth, death, illness, loss of job, etc.) what member(s) of your family come to help?

| Name | Relationship | How Often? | How many times? |
|---|---|---|---|

Type of help offered?_____

What non-kin person comes to help? How often? How many times?

Type of help offered?

When you need help during a crisis, who in your family do you turn to for help?

| Name | Relationship | How often? | How many times? | Type of help? |
|---|---|---|---|---|

When you need help during a crisis, what non-kin person do you turn to for help?

| Name | How often? | How many times? | Type of help? |
|---|---|---|---|

Do you have family reunions? Yes___ No___ How often?_____

Do you attend? Yes___ No___ If no, explain why not?_____

What do family reunions mean to you?

What do you think family reunions mean to your parents and grandparents?

Describe those activities which occur during your family reunion?

Are there family crafts or skills that you know of?

Has anyone in your family ever carried packages/bundles on their head?

What type of hair styles are worn by the women in your family?

Are there males in your family with scars on their cheeks? Have you been told of someone with these?

Do you or members of your family belong to the Masons, lodges, societies, fraternities, sororities, or charity groups?

Have you or any member of your family participated in a work group to complete a task for another family or your own?

What holidays do you and your family celebrate? Your parents? Your grandparents?

How do you celebrate--births, birthdays, marriages, anniversaries, coming of age?

What are family rituals related to funerals?

What poems, stories, games, songs, recipes, healing remedies have been handed down through the generations in your family? Are these still used in your family?

What did you do for fun in your family (leisure)? Your parents? Your grandparents?

Is there a family saying or philosophy which helped you understand life? Has this been told over generations? What is the saying?

According to your earliest memories, what country, state, or county did your family come from?

What does the word family mean to you? (Define family)

Who in your family you think agrees with your definition? (Thinks the same way.)

How do you think your parents would define a family? Your grandparents?

How would you describe the white families you knew as a child/as an adult?

How are black and white families alike? (Perceptions as a child, as an adult)

How are black and white families different? (Perceptions as a child, as an adult)

Do you think that black men and women have the same kinds of problems in marriage that white men and women have or do they have different problems?

What is an example of a problem?

Has anyone in your family married someone of another race?

As a child (ages 1-21), what was your contact (involvement) with white families?

Who in your family taught you how to relate/get along with white people?

| Name | Relationship |
|---|---|

What were you taught?

Have white families ever helped your family? Yes___ No_____

If yes, how have they helped?

Who do you consider to be a successful person in your family? (include all of your relatives)

| Name | Relationship to You | Why successful? |
|---|---|---|

Who do you consider to be an undesirable or unsuccessful member of your family? (consider all of your relatives)

| Name | Relationship to You | Why unsuccessful or undesirable? |
|---|---|---|

Do you think your family can move up in social class? ("Make it" better) What do you think will help your family "make it better"?

Which of the following words do you use to describe your ethnic/racial group? INDEX CARD

_____Colored _____Negro _____Afro-American _____Black

_____Gullah _____Other

Has living in an area (county, island) with the majority of the people being are black/white affected the (a) way you feel about yourself? How? (b) Your attitude about your family? How? (c) Your attitude about white people? How? (differences as child, adult) (d) Your attitude about your race? How?

Which of the following events occurred during your lifetime? (Record all that apply) INDEX CARD

_____ 1. Slavery (1700-1865)
_____ 2. Emancipation (1865-1880)
_____ 3. Reconstruction (1880-1910)
_____ 4. World War I (1914-1918)
_____ 5. Depression (1930's)
_____ 6. World War II (1939-1945)
_____ 7. Korean War (1950-1953)
_____ 8. Vietnam War (1960-1970)
_____ 9. Civil Rights Movement (1950's-1970's)
_____10. Integration (1960's-1970's)

How have these events influenced you? (Ask for each event.)

What type of impact or effect did the following have on your family?

| | Helped you or your family | No Effect | Harmed you or your family | Examples |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Slavery (1700-1865) | | | | |
| Emancipation (1865-1880) | | | | |
| Reconstruction (1880-1910) | | | | |
| World War I (1914-1918) | | | | |

| | Helped you or your Family | No effect | Harmed you or your family | Examples |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Depression (1930's) | | | | |
| World War II (1939-1945) | | | | |
| Korean War (1950-1953) | | | | |
| Vietnam War (1960-1970) | | | | |
| Civil Rights Movement (1950's-1970's) | | | | |
| Integration (1960's-1970's) | | | | |

Name other events which have affected your family?

Have you felt that you and/or your family were ever discriminated against because of your race? Yes___ No___

If yes, how?_____

Do you think that black people/African Americans are alike or different from other groups of people living in the United States? How are they alike?

How are they different?

FOR SOUTH CAROLINA FAMILY ONLY!

Do you speak the Gullah dialect? Do members of your family speak Gullah?

Tell me more about your family. I would like to know those things which you consider to be important that I've not asked. Do you have newspaper clippings, Bibles, photograph albums, that I may see?

THANKS FOR YOUR COOPERATION DURING THIS INTERVIEW.

The following are observations to be made by the interviewer once inside the individual's home.

Observations of the subject

Size: height, weight (ask subject)

Features: nose, eye color, lips, skin color, shoulders, hair color and texture

Behavioral assessment: speech patterns, mannerisms, gestures, and responses to interviewer

Additional observations:

Condition of the household:

Room size, condition of furnishings

Facilities available for cooking, laundry, toileting

Interview Observations

Time interview scheduled_____

Time interview began_____

Time interview terminated_____

Length of interview_____

Date of interview_____

# APPENDIX D

## GUIDE TO ETHNOGRAPHIC COMMUNITY STUDY

# GUIDE - COMMUNITY STUDY

1. Town (Family residence) _____

2. County _____ 3. Land size _____

4. County Seat _____

| | | White | % | African Americans | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. Population | 1860 | | | | |
| | 1870 | | | | |
| | 1880 | | | | |
| | 1890 | | | | |
| | 1900 | | | | |
| | 1910 | | | | |
| | 1920 | | | | |
| | 1930 | | | | |
| | 1940 | | | | |
| | 1950 | | | | |
| | 1960 | | | | |
| | 1970 | | | | |
| | 1979 | | | | |

6. Major ethnic groups:

| 7. Level of income: (median) | | Whites | African Americans |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1860 | | |
| | 1880 | | |
| | 1900 | | |
| | 1920 | | |
| | 1940 | | |
| | 1960 | | |
| | 1979 | | |

8. Major Occupations:

9. Major Religions:

10. Industries/business/economic growth 1860-1979:

11. Educational levels (median) African Americans Whites

1860

1880

1900

1920

1940

1960

1979

12. Housing/Tax base information:

13. Health care including type of facilities available:

14. Accessibility and availability for African Americans:

15. Description of local government:

16. Involvement of African Americans in local government:

17. Specific cultural or historical events associated with the area (include specifics for African Americans):

18. Family structure:

19. How the area was affected by:

    Slavery:

    Civil War:

Reconstruction/Jim Crow:

World War I:

Depression:

World War II:

Civil Rights-1954 Supreme Court Decision:

Vietnam War:

Integration (i.e., busing):

# APPENDIX E

## GUIDE TO AFRICAN CULTURAL REMNANTS

GUIDE TO AFRICAN CULTURAL REMNANTS*

| | |
|---|---|
| Appearance | Broad, flat noses.* Dark brown to brownish-black eyes. Moderate to very thick lips. Dark brown to brown-black hair ranging from frizzy and curly to wooly. Very dark pigmentation of skin ranging from light brown, reddish brown to almost black. Shoulders are broad. Women wear head-kerchiefs; hair is braided with ornaments; the men with tribal facial markings. |
| Motor Abilities | Bundles are carried on one's head. Coiling is done in a clockwise direction in basketry. |
| Family Structure | Various marital structures--plural or poly-gamous marriages, "common law" or extra-legal alliances, monogamous, exogamous unions. Absence of divorce, separation occurring more frequently. Involvement with extended and fictive kin. Female headed households with children requiring independence and management of family resources. |
| Family Reunions | Meetings of extended kin groups with religious ceremonies. Emphasis on family histories and eulogies for ancestors. Visiting graves as part of reunion. |
| Manners/Proper Behavior | Idea of "minding your manners" and showing respect for elders. Absence of or averting eye contact when speaking with elders. Speaking in a soft voice before someone in power. Turning the head when laughing. Employing terms of endearment or kinship in neighborly contacts. Referring to older persons as aunts and uncles. |
| Medicinal Cures | The internal and external application of various ingredients added to bases of herbs, and white clay for the purpose of curing diseases. |
| Names | A "day" name which is commonly used with outsiders, a nickname or personal name utilized among intimates. Names that change over time or under different circumstances. Child named after he is 9 days or 1 month old. A child's name might indicate the time of birth, day of week, the temperament of |

| | |
|---|---|
| | the child. Children named after grandparents (bilateral pattern), dead ancestors, or other relatives to assure that one's name and spirit will live in the history and genealogy of the family. |
| Perception of Time | Time is approximated. Schedules are not rigidly followed. Use of term morning from sunrise to 2:00 p.m. and evening 2:00 p.m. until bedtime. |
| Recipes/Food Preparation | Highly seasoned food; cooking in deep fat; making gumbos. |
| Rituals | Births. Reluctance to discuss birth process, utilization of midwives, disposal of placenta, treatment of navel. Describing birth abnormalities as a result of ill fate. Exposing child to his environment by taking him around the house.<br><br>Deaths/Funerals. View that life must have a proper ending. Style of funeral in keeping with position in world. Funeral becomes a social event which encourages community sharing. Funerals are delayed for the entire family to get together. Wake is important. If member of secret society, body must be bathed by members and secret rites bestowed. Funeral services include talking to the body. Burial insurance is important. |
| Social Organizations/ Cooperative Work Groups/ Associations | Provide arena for social adjustment, control and further mutual aid. Hierarchy similar to one found in tribal groups. Organizations are involved in every day lives. Societies are secret or nonsecret and have numerous rituals. Provide financial assistance for burials and participates in funeral rituals (burial societies). Sharing work load through cooperative labor activities similar to English "bee." |
| Songs/Music | Songs of love, work and decision. Rhythms found in blues, jazz, spirituals. Leading lines sung by a single voice with refrain song by chorus. Close relationship between song and dance (motor behavior is important). Accompaniment by rhythmic instruments; improvisations and singing in thirds. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Tales | Animals representative of people and situation. Willingness to tell tales only at night. |
| Family and World View | Deep sense of family. A sense of kinship that is active over a far wider range of relationships than among Whites. The family was the strongest cohesive device in traditional African life. Endowment of everything in the universe with "force or spirit." All things are interconnected, interdependent and "essentially" one. Humans and other elements of the universe are integrated into a whole. |

---

* The guide was developed using the writings of S.A. Barnett (1971); J. Comas (1960); H.G. Gutman (1970); M.T. Herskovits (1941, 1966, 1970); A.H. Keane (1920); R. Linton (1936); J.J. Honigmann (1959); W.W. Nobles (1964, 1972, 1974); R.E. Park (1950); P.H. Wood (1974) and V.H. Yong (1970).

## APPEARANCE EVALUATION TOOL

Complete the following tool by examing closely the photograph of the subject. Check those features which are appropriate.

Skin Color

_____ Light skinned
_____ Brown
_____ Reddish brown or dark brown
_____ Brownish black or black

Shoulders

_____ Narrow
_____ Broad

Hair Color

_____ Blonde, red, light brown
_____ Gray, dark brown, black

Hair Texture

_____ Straight
_____ Frizzy, kinky, wooly
_____ Braided
_____ Kerchief or scarf
_____ Wig, hair "dressed," permanent

Lips

_____ Thin
_____ Thick

Nose

_____ Narrow
_____ Flat, broad

Eye Color

_____ Blue, gray
_____ Brown, black

# APPENDIX F

## SCALES AND INDICES

## SCALES AND INDICES

Ethnic-Racial Perception Index--A two-item measure of how much ethnic-racial identity was expressed by labels and perception of dissimilarity.

Which of the following words do you use to describe your ethnic-racial group?

____ Colored ____ Negro ____ Afro American

____ Black ____ Gullah ____ Other

Do you think that black people are alike or different from other groups of people living in the United States?

____ Alike ____ Differnt

Responses were weighted according to the literature in the area. The responses black and different were given higher weights.

Physical Appearance Scale--A scale based on seven items determining physical characteristics of the respondents. Scores were tallied and ranked for each respondent. The "purest" Negroid features received higher ranks. See Appendix E for specific items.

Kinship Index--Measures the frequency of the types of relationships used by a respondent during a crisis situation. Respondents were evaluated as to whether their kinship patterns were nuclear, extended or augmented.

During a family crisis (birth, death, illness, loss of job, etc.) what member(s) of your family come to help? (Relationship)

When you need help during a crisis, who in your family do you turn to for help? (Relationship)

Marital Decision Making Scales--The scale measures wife or husband dominance in nine decision making areas. Scores were weighted to distinguish wife, husband dominance, and egalitarian patterns. The following items composed the scale.

If married, how do you and your husband (wife) handle the following:

Who decides how to spend the family income?
Which of you decides which items are necessities and which are luxuries?
Which of your handles the discipline of the children?
Who decides with whom the children will play?

Which of you purchases the following: (Makes the decision about what to buy).

Clothing for the family
Food for the family
Cars for the family
Major applicances for the family
Houses for the family

Parental Decision Making Scale--The scale measures the decision making patterns of parents as seen by the respondent. The same items and method of scoring were used. (See Marital Decision Making Scale.)

Political Values and Behaviors Index--A four-item measure of how active a respondent and their family are in politics and civic activities. Responses were given numerical values based on frequencies. Scores were tallied and ranked for statistical analysis.

What is your political affiliation or political party?

State your degree of participation.

What is your family's political affiliation or political party?

State their degree of participation.

Social Mobility Index--The index measured the degree of similarity and dissimilarity between the responses of the respondents among each other. The following five items were used in the index.

What is the relationship to you of a successful person in your family?

Why is this person successful?

What is the relationship to you of an unsuccessful member of your family?

Do you think your family can move up in social class?

What do you think will help your family "make it" better?