"ReCONNECTING TO RESILIENCE"

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF SLAVE NARRATIVES WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN YOUTH FROM HIGH RISK ENVIRONMENTS.

by

Barbara E. Milton, II

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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Dr. Stephen Burghardt

_____	_____
Date	Chair of Examining Committee

Dr. Michael Fabricant

_____	_____
Date	Executive Officer

Dr. Stephen Burghardt, Chair

Dr. Darrell Wheeler

Dr. Elizabeth Danto
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

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Adviser: Professor Stephen Burghardt

The often times high risk environment of African American youth negatively impacts their psychological well being, their family relations and community connections. Many African American youth today are experiencing the vestiges of historical trauma that took root in America in the 17th Century when the first Africans came to America. As a result of generational transmission of historical trauma, many youths today are disproportionately underachieving in education, disproportionately poor, disproportionately monitored by police and incarcerated and disproportionately disrespected by the society at large. In order to reduce the disparity of contemporary problems effecting African American youth, social scientists need to discover a wider array of protective factors to promote resilience in the face of overwhelming exposure to historical trauma and its attendant environmental risks and deleterious consequences.

The researcher uses historical lenses and methodology to explore protective factors used by 100 former African American slaves to increase our understanding of ways to strengthen resiliency for the adolescent progeny of the African American slave today. The stories of over two thousand emancipated slaves are archived in the Library of Congress in the collection of written interviews known as the Federal Writers Project Slave Narratives. According to Thomas

Soapes (1977), two thirds of those interviewed were age fifteen or younger at the time emancipation; almost all of the remainder were in their late teens or twenties in 1865.

The data analysis process yielded the discovery of sixteen (16) protective factors related to the survival story of the slave. The researcher discusses the findings of historical protective factors in the context of historical trauma and other residuals of chattel slavery evident in contemporary society. The researcher introduces an analysis of internal and external connections for resilience as well as puts forwards an analysis of limitations of the study. The last chapter provides a theoretical application of the findings of historical protective factors to contemporary social work practice with African American youth, families and the community. Additionally, the last chapter offers implications for culturally competent social work practice with at-risk African American youth and suggestions for future research.

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To our family, Tania, Ian, David and Erin – I am forever indebted to them all for their encouragement, patience, support and unconditional love. And to Henry, our grandson, it is my hope that he will grow up in a world with less suffering and more equality. His birth reminds me of how very important it is to work on behalf of the lives of vulnerable and precious children.

Dedication

For Scott, Goldie and Gene

For Grandmom

For our youth

Table of Contents

Lists of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices

Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 General Introduction

This is a study about the phenomenon of African Americans overcoming adversity. It is a historical study that links the promise of the past to the pain of the present. The overwhelming majority of today's African American[1] population in the United States traces its ancestry to Africans brought in the slave trade from Africa between the 16th and 19th Centuries (USDHHS, 2001). There is a large body of archeological, anthropological, literary, and historical artifacts from which to glean some understanding of life in the "peculiar institution" (Stampp, 1956).

The American version of slavery was one of the most brutal in history, but it was also insidious, due to the ideology of racial superiority which informed the laws, institutions and culture, especially of the southern states, and whose legacy is still with us today. Social scientists from a wide range of disciplines (e.g. African studies, cultural anthropology, psychology, economics, literature, sociology, religion) have analyzed the life stories of slaves.

This researcher chose to examine a sample of ex-slaves who provided interviews in the Federal Writers Project (FWP), *Born In Slavery*[2] in an attempt to identify historical protective factors that promoted African American resilience during enslavement. Further, this researcher makes connections between these historical findings and the practice of social work amongst African American youth today.

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[1] The term "African American" is meant to denote a person of African-descent from the United States of America. The term "Black" has been used interchangeably with African American throughout the dissertation. Similarly, the terms "Caucasian and White" are used interchangeably throughout.

[2] [1]These narratives will be referred to throughout as Federal Writers' Project, Slave Narratives, A *Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves.* In abbreviated form it will be FWPSN, followed by the State, volume and page of the narrative excerpt.

1.0.1 Use of Slave Narratives

Researchers have relied on the written works of slaves and former slaves to trace the genesis of contemporary psychopathology and disparate conditions of African Americans. The aim of some studies was to derive implications from the legacy of American slavery and to make general inferences with respect to theories that help us to understand impaired human, familial and community development (Rawick, 1972; Yetman, 1970; Ruef & Fletcher, 2003; Taylor, 2005; Brent, 1973; Covey & Lockman, 1996; Moody, 1991).

More recently, researchers have broadened the scope of inquiry on slavery not just to focus on the etiology of pathological processes but to identify the more positive and protective aspects of the individual, family and community (Yetman 1970; Davis & Gates, 1985; Garmezy, 1985; Covey & Lockman, 1996; Taylor, 2005; DeGruy-Leary, 2005). Examining the phenomenon of protective factors is at the heart of resiliency research. Resiliency is associated with a reduction of negative and undesirable behavior and the exhibition of healthy or productive behavior, even under the most difficult circumstances (Bernard, 2004). Resilience is defined as a phenomenon or process reflecting relatively positive adaptation despite experiences of significant adversity or trauma (Luthar, 2006).

1.0.2 Uniqueness of African American Enslavement

While the position of African-Americans in American society today is much improved over what it was in the 19th Century due in part to various waves of civil rights movements, far too many African Americans remain at "high-risk" for succumbing to the residuals of North American chattel slavery. Other minority groups have similar experiences with racism, discrimination and oppression in American society; but only African Americans in large numbers experienced the protracted indignity and brutality that was the "peculiar" institution of

U. S. slavery (Stampp, 1956). Slavery was the Black holocaust, a genocide that spanned generations- still felt, still remembered, and still mourned by African Americans today.

The first chapter of this dissertation will describe some of the contemporary social problems that researchers have traced to the enslavement of African Americans. The subject of resilience is discussed in relation to racism and to social work practice. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the researcher's purpose and motivation for the study.

1.1 Contemporary Problems of African Americans

1.1.1 Residuals of Chattel Slavery

Upon emancipation, most former slaves were not provided the same opportunities for work, economic mobility, social mobility and education as Whites. However, in freedom many made gains only dreamed of while in bondage, including learning to read and write, re-establishing bonds with blood relatives, participating in civil ceremonies, and gaining political enfranchisement (Foner, 2005). Much of what they (African Americans) have had to face since--racism, violence, discrimination, unemployment, poverty, political disenfranchisement--can be traced to slavery as the root cause of black disadvantage and disparities. (DeGruy, 2005; Watts-Jones, 2004; Jones, 2003; Friedlander, 1999). It has been argued by scholars that slavery continues to inflict a legacy upon our culture, one we are often only dimly aware of, one therefore worthy of further analysis (Loewen, 1982; DeGruy-Leary, 2005). Chattel slavery has a long, lingering and protracted negative effect on people and Institutions in North America, but regardless of where the discrimination, racism, or oppression is located, the impact is the same: significant numbers of African Americans continue to lag behind European Americans and other immigrant groups. Not every African American in contemporary society today can be called a direct descendant of southern slaves due to other emigrant patterns;

however significant numbers of African Americans residing in the northeast can trace their ancestry to southern slaves (USDHSS, 2001). The problems that befall the progeny of slaves impacts most heavily on the most vulnerable in contemporary society, the children and youth.

1.1.2 Lack of Economic and Educational Mobility

From the 17th century through the 19th century, slave owners insisted on the ideology of inferiority of Africans and the benefits to be gained by living in a superior (White) civilization (Kolchin, 1993). Yet they denied their slaves access to much of that civilization by making it a crime to engage in activities of betterment like teaching slaves to read (Schneider & Schneider, 2001; Stampp, 1956). The systemic denial of opportunity in education for African Americans in slavery appears to be the antecedent for the current gaps in educational achievement of African American students, according to James Anderson (2004). He has concluded through his historical research tracing educational trends from the 20th Century into the 21st Century, that the current "achievement gap" between Black and White students can be partially explained by the Black-White "literacy gap" of the slavery era. Essentially he concluded that the African American has never gained equity in the educational area despite significant changes in laws in the reconstruction and civil rights era. Structural barriers remain in places that perpetuate the literacy gap.

He and other researchers further note the relationship between the literacy-gap, achievement-gap and income-gap providing a sobering analysis of the barriers to opportunity for African Americans (Allen-Meares, 1990). The income and employability crisis for African American youth is a social problem that is yet to be resolved (Moos, 1982; O'Regan & Quiqley, 1998). Without opportunity for legitimate jobs and income many young people seek out an alternative economy, some of which is illegal, much of which is adaptations for survival.

For some the economic reality paves a pathway away from institutions of learning towards institutions of social control and corrections.

1.1.3 Social Control

African Americans have historically been under the control of courts, police and the militia and were not free from the monitoring and suspicion of law enforcement and/or agents of law enforcement. Sally Hadden (2001) conducted research on the influence of racism on the development of law enforcement in the United States. As the immediate agents of a white supremacist state, slave patrols imbricated violence and racism into everyday life and were crucial to the reproduction of slave society (Parenti, 2001). It would be naïve to believe that the enslaved African did not resist captivity. Blassingame (1979) writes:

> "the slave understood clearly what freedom was. He only had to feel the scars on his back, recall the anguished cry of his wife and child as they were torn away from him, or to look at the leisure time, delicious and abundant food, and dry house of his master to know, and to know concretely, what liberty meant. (p. 194).

Follet (2005) said, "The more the slaves knew of freedom, the more they were desirous of it." A female slave from Texas confirmed some of the differences between bondage and freedom when she reflected back and said: "lots of difference when freedom comes, mos' de time after, I's have what I wants to eat. Sometime 'twas a little hard to git, but we gits on. I's goes to preechin' and has music and visit wid de folks I'se like."[3]

Denial of basic human freedom was central to the subjugation of the labor force and a key component of the labor management strategy employed by the slaveholding capitalists (Follet, 2005). The overseer, the master, and the slave patrols worked together to safeguard the slave economy, the plantations and their families, all of which were threatened by slave revolts,

[3] FWPSN, Texas, Part 3, p. 84

rebellion and runaways. Slave masters routinely monitored the whereabouts of slaves on and off the plantation with the help of other whites who were empowered by laws to intercept slaves to confirm that they had permission to leave the plantation. In the absence of the protection and permission of the master, slaves faced uncertain fates when prosecuted for alleged wrongdoing. Southern courts were rarely kind to the African American slave which is a sentiment that some would argue resonates in contemporary juris prudence about African Americans and their encounters with the courts.

There is a persistent reality that African Americans are at a much higher risk of being processed through the criminal justice system (Parker & Onyekwuluge, 1995; USDHH, 2001; Sherman, 2002). People in three African American communities of a large urban city participated in a study where they responded to questions related to the police and community policing strategies and the researcher concluded that these residents consider policing to be racialized (Weitzer, 2000). In other words, African American respondents held beliefs that White police provided different treatment towards Whites than Black citizens and that the inequities were institutional as well as personal in nature.

1.1.4 Psychological Impact

The practice of individual, institutional, and cultural racism, which are forms of discrimination that are based upon racial and cultural differences from the majority group, proves to be psychologically depleting and devastating (Utsey, et al, 2008). Critical Race theorist Tony Brown (2003) agrees with the supposition that the mental health of African Americans is negatively affected by racism and oppression. Through an investigation of the sociology of mental health literature Brown discovered several types of mental health

conditions that are related to racism and racial stratification: nihilistic tendencies, anti-self issues, suppressed anger expression, delusional denial tendencies and extreme racial paranoia. These are psychological adaptations that make sense in a world perceived as hostile and dangerous, especially if the target of the oppression attempts to challenge the social arrangement.

1.1.5 Resilience and the Residuals of Slavery

While many African Americans personally experience racial discrimination and racism in the larger community and society, not all suffer to the same degree from the layers of injury exacted by these residuals of slavery. Many African Americans who are exposed to high risk environments survive as well as thrive emotionally, physically and psychologically. Researchers have determined that these individuals benefit from an array of protections to shield them from the effects of the adversity. Discovering additional protective factors that may be able to promote African American resilience is the substance of this dissertation and will provide a historical lens through which to vision contemporary remedies for historical pain and suffering.

1.2 Racism and Resilience

The ideology of racism re-asserted itself after the dust settled on a short lived jubilee during the Reconstruction Era (1865-1877). White supremacy reemerged in the form of Black Codes, which reversed many of the gains of freedom and citizenship gains won in the aftermath of the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation. In the South, the beginnings of a new form of enslavement took root in the form of “separate and unequal”, and as migration populated a vastly growing nation, the vestiges of chattel slavery were transported beyond the southern states. Ethnocentrism, or the idea that one ethnic group is the standard and all other groupings

are inferior formed the basis of an in-group and out-group mindset that provide the psychological underpinning for segregation of the races (Sumner, 1907).

In order for this type of racism to be maintained, strengths in the "inferior" group must be minimized or eradicated. For the slave this meant an all out assault on the slave family and slave community, essential member-to-member connections that historically supported African American resilience and survival (Nichols, 1998). For African Americans this set in motion a web of exploitation, impoverishment and hardship that would ensnare African Americans for generations to come. This status continues to be maintained by laws, ideology, social control and terror; eerily similar conditions to those that yielded great profits and wealth for the southern landowners and other captains of industry in the slave era (Kolchin, 1993).

Scholars in various disciplines have documented the patterns of racial advancements and setbacks well into the 21st century (Dubois, 1899: Horton & Horton, 2005). In matters of race, changing behaviors is much easier than changing attitudes. Derrick Bell, a legal scholar, noted that the gains of the civil rights era (1956-1971) had stalled, and in many cases were being rolled back (Delgado & Stefanic, 2005). He advanced the critical race theory as an explanation for the phenomenon of Blacks "gaining then losing" ground in the struggle for racial and civil rights. There are a few tenets of CRT that are the underpinnings of the theory:

- Racism is ordinary and commonplace;
- Racism advances the cause of the white elite and the white working class therefore the largest segment of American society has little incentive to eradicate it;
- Race is a social construction that benefits

whoever is in the position to exploit others.

(Delgadao & Stefancic, 2005).

Critical Race Theory provides a framework for understanding African American resistance from the standpoint of a racial minority binding individual power to collective power to effect change in the larger dominant culture. African Americans have made their greatest strides not in litigation but from personal and collective resistance, ordinary politics, including street protests, lobbying and local elections (Delgado & Stefanic, 2005) all of which are interventions that protect the interests of the person and the community. Proponents of this strategy continue to advocate for laws to restore basic economic, civil and human rights to African Americans, who continue to be besieged by racism, the enduring legacy of chattel slavery (DeGruy-Leary, 2005).

1.3 Social Work and Resilience

According to the National Association of Social Workers, resilience is a conceptual framework that describes a set or series of person-environment interactions (NASW, 2004). It is a process of human behavior in a social environment where the social environment is characterized by elements of risk and adversity. The orientation of social workers to the social environment is fundamental to social work practice and articulated in the seminal theoretical work of Urie Brofennbrenner (1979) and the ecological perspective. His theory locates all human beings in nested environments, or domains in which the person has transactions that either facilitate or constrain well being. The nested domains emanate from the individual, to the family, to the community and to broader societal influences and trends. Effective social work practices identify resources available to the individual in all domains and when resources are lacking help create plans to cultivate them. An ecological perspective validates the

interconnectedness of the human being to others and other systems and widens the possibility of securing resources to sustain human development.

Another important factor that compelled the social work profession to engage in resiliency work was that these studies on resilience were consistent with the newly emerging practice approaches of the social work profession --the strengths-based perspective (Saleebey, 1996). Resilience is more likely to be evident in cases where strengths are operating in the service of the individual, family or community. Social scientists for too long have studied individuals, families and communities that have succumbed to adversity and have been very adept at pinpointing exactly what it was that went wrong. Prior to the 1980's typical social work assessments and interventions were rooted in gaining greater understanding of pathology and disease processes. The integration of a strengths-based perspective in social worker practice removed the focus of assessment and intervention from deficits to strengths, which presupposes that every client and every client system has at least one strength that could be identified and from which wellness and success could be launched. Another way to characterize strength is something about the person or something about the interaction between a person and their social environment that serves as a protection from adversity. Identifying strengths is akin to identifying protective factors for the individual, family and community.

Social workers engaged in direct clinical practice, administration, community organizing and social work research have sought to understand resiliency as a way to not only promote the health and success of their current clients but as the foundation of the design of comprehensive prevention for the next generation of people at risk. Endorsing the theory of resiliency for African Americans is not a substitute for the work of eliminating social, economic and political barriers to equality.

1.4 Purpose of Study

There are two primary purposes of this qualitative study. First, the purpose is to contribute new knowledge in the field of resiliency research with African American subjects by seeking to identify historical protective factors for the population. Much has been written about risk, but far less attention has been directed towards indentifying and defining protective factors and processes, which are necessary to move towards the design of more effective interventions for the African American population (Engle, et al, 1996). A study on resiliency for this population is consistent with social work research to identify strengths of individuals, families and communities as our field has strived to move away from the focus on pathology as a basis for assessment and intervention (Saleebey, 1996).

Secondly, the purpose of this study is to recast the image of African Americans from pathological, deviant and meaningless to appreciating the strengths, resilience and meaningfulness of their unique cultural heritage. One way to accomplish the goal of connecting to the unique cultural heritage of African Americans is to widen the lens of the study of the phenomenon of resiliency to include a historical inquiry. Choosing a historical methodological approach is a way to draw from the past effective coping and resilience strategies that may offer hope to struggling African American youth today.

This researcher understands that discovering additional personal and collective resilience strategies for African American youth does not mean that individuals who survive come through the process unscathed; quite the contrary, even the most resilient at-risk African American youth, struggling with poverty and racism, have signs of internal distress (Luthar, 1991; Barbarin, 1993; D'Imperio, Dubow & Ippolito, 2000; Utsey, et al, 2000; Nybor & Curry,

2003). These youths need as many tools as possible to manage the onslaught of systemic stressors and risk related to racism and other residuals of chattel slavery.

1.5 Motivation for the study

This research has worked as a social worker, community organizer and political advocate with African American youth and families for the past 25 years. This has created a strong motivation to develop social work theory and practice strategies which can lead to improved outcomes for African American young people and the African American community as a whole.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter contains a review of resilience literature beginning with an introduction to resilience research with subsequent highlighting of general single variable studies to more complex trauma studies with White and Black youth. Youth are embedded in families and communities therefore this review is organized according to these traditional ecological domains[4]. The review continues with an examination of historical trauma and the making of the contemporary high-risk environment of African America youth. The end of chapter two concludes with gaps identified in the literature review.

2.1 Introduction to Resilience Research

There have been many important findings in risk research over the past 50 years but the study of resiliency which began in the1970's has received less attention. The scientific study of resilience is rooted in the study of developmental psychopathology with children. Very little resiliency research has been done with adults and even less attention has been given to the study of resilience with at-risk African American youth.

Researchers who were studying at-risk children for ways to understand the etiology and severity of psychopathology discovered that many children developed on normal trajectories who hailed from the same vulnerable environments (Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990). What these early investigators came to understand was that they did not have a good understanding of how these children achieved healthy mental health status and they believed that further investigating the processes involved would yield important information on how to increase the

[4] Ecological domain is a term related to Ecological Theory developed by Brofenbrenner, 1979. Other terms are used throughout the dissertation to denote the context in which human development occurs, e.g. systems, layers, domains.

odds of good health outcomes for other children considered high risk. A strong feature of the published research on resilience has been the identification of protective factors defined as both internal assets of the individual and external strengths within systems in which the individual grows and develops (Mastern, Best, &Garmezy, 1990).

Research related to resilience generally has occurred in four stages (Engle, et al, 1996):

1) Identification of a risk factor as a cause for concern
2) Analysis of the causes and consequences of the risk
3) Recognition that not all individuals respond in the same way to the same threat and that not all are equally negatively impacted
4) Research on protective factors that have been incorporated into intervention programs

This literature review contains a synthesis of research related to risk factors, causality and consequences of accumulated and protracted risks associated with African American youth as well as a cross ethnic comparison of risk and resilience of African American youth and their White counterparts. The desired contribution of this research is to add to the body of knowledge about culturally-rooted protective factors to increase resilience of African American youth in high risk environments. This study focused on the fourth stage of resilience research which is on identifying historical protective factors of African Americans for the purposes of developing intervention strategies to mediate and mitigate the negative consequences associated with development in high risk environments characterized by racial, economic and political oppression.

2.2 Resiliency Theory and Ecological Domains

2.2.1 Individual Domain

Risk and resiliency research over the past 30 years has attempted to differentiate between a person that survives and the person that fails to thrive in high risk environments. In studying resilient children and families, researchers have identified important features which seem to protect against the unfavorable outcomes usually associated with living with single or multiple risks. Garmezy (1985) is a pioneer in the study of resilience and he posits three domains of development that seem to be found universally in all research with children and locates the ways they deal with and overcome environmental risks. The first domain deals with resources located within the individual and included personal qualities related to competence and temperament. Many researchers categorized individual resilience in terms of personal adaptive coping strategies, for example, for a teen in an urban high school fraught with daily hassles and violence, adaptive coping would be characterized by maintaining focus on school work, building rapport with pro-social teens and adults and avoiding potential danger in the classroom and hallways.

2.2.2 Family Domain

The second domain concerns the family and the degree to which external support is available to the child from family members, for example, the parent takes an interest in the activities of the teenager and connects the teen to others in the family who have achieved educational and vocational goals as a way to inspire achievement in the teenage. These protective factors tend to be characterized by support and care from birth through adolescence.

2.2.3 Family Domain

The third domain is the external support from persons and institutions outside of the individual and the family and located in the larger community (Condly, 2006) for example, the teenager is involved in church activities, volunteers for community events, makes use of tutoring services from a youth serving organization and the parent is involved in school-based activities.. These three domains (Individual, Family, Community) of human development have congruence with Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory of Human Development (Bronfrenbrenner, 1979) and resilience seems to be strengthened when protective factors are operating across each of the domains.

2.2.4 Risk Theory

Risk is frequently defined in terms of statistical probabilities: a high-risk condition is one that carries high odds for measurable maladjustment in critical domains of development, eg: individual, family and community (Masten, 2001). According to Tiet and Huizinga (2002) the construct of resilience is concerned with the differentiation of favorable or unfavorable outcomes for individuals embedded in high or low risk environments (See Table 1).

Table 1: Classification based on risk and outcome status (Tiet & Huizinga, 2002)

	Risk – Low	Risk – High
Outcome - Unfavorable	Group 1 Low risk/Unfavorable outcome	Group 2 High risk/ Unfavorable outcome
Outcome- Favorable	Group 3 Low risk/Favorable Outcome	Group 4 High risk/Favorable outcome

Risk research is interested in the differentiation between Group 2 (*High risk/Unfavorable outcome*) and Group 3 (*Low risk/Favorable outcome*), whereas research in resilience investigates the differences between Group 2 (**High risk/Unfavorable outcome**) and Group 4

(**High risk/Favorable outcome**). Resilience research answers the question, how is it that one person from a high risk environment survives, while another person with the same degree of high risk does not? Resiliency researchers are interested in identifying the protective factors that seem to mitigate and moderate the unfavorable outcomes of exposure to high levels of risk.

2.3 Single- risk vs. Multiple risk Studies

Early research on resilience tended to focus on single-risk factors such as poverty and single outcomes such as psychopathology but researchers soon learned that risks rarely come in single packages (Masten, 1997). For example, a team of researchers examined the function of personal resilience strategies on the relations between community violence and developing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The sample included seventy; high risk African American, inner-city children and the research findings on personal coping strategies were inconclusive in that no one coping strategy seemed to mediate the interaction of violence and the development of PTSD (Dempsey, Overstreet & Moley, 2000). One important conclusion drawn from the study was that generally speaking, the more environmental risk an individual is exposed to, the more protection an individual will need to achieve a favorable outcome.

The next wave of resilience research focused on multiple risk factors. Rutter (1979) conducted seminal research in this area and demonstrated that when multiple risks are present they tend to be synergistic, with outcomes becoming increasingly more unfavorable as the risk factors pile up. Other investigators confirm this finding in studies with severely traumatized children and add the dimension of chronic and protracted exposure to adversity as a salient variable that erodes personal and familial protection from risk (Egeland, Carlson, & Sroufe, 1993; Herman, 1997). In fact, in these studies using multiple risk profiles on outcomes,

resilience is a less frequently observed phenomenon. The more risk accumulated over time, the more difficult it will be to rebound from the adversity.

This conclusion has serious implications for minorities who by virtue of their status as members of a targeted oppressed group experience a larger vulnerability to risk than their white counterparts, attributable largely to racism and discrimination. The deleterious impact of these two variables on child and adolescent development must be factored in on any resiliency study concerned with healthy child development in minority children (Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2003; Luthar, 2006).

Furthermore, the research infers that the more that risk piles on, the more vulnerability and the less likely personal qualities alone can mitigate the affect on personal resilience. In other words, for African American youth, protective factors in the family and community are necessary, along with personal coping to mitigate the risk from unfavorable outcomes (Daly et al, 1995; Luthar, 2006). These conclusions lead us into a review of child/adolescent resilience in the three domains of psychosocial development: the individual, family and community domains. The domains are locations where interpersonal transactions occur that require an emotional, behavioral, cognitive or social repertoire of actions in order to obtain what is needed for healthy human development.

2.4 Ecological Domain: Individual

Early studies on resilience focused on the personal qualities of an individual that helped to buffer the impact of risk on personal development. There remains consensus among social scientists across a wide range of disciplines about the personal qualities that promote positive adaptation to stress, trauma and adversity. Many of these personal resiliency studies overlap with studies on personal coping strategies. In fact for some researchers, the identification of

protective factors in the individual domain are the same as identifying personal coping mechanisms (Benard, 2004; Edward & Warelow, 2005).

Benard (2004), a resiliency researcher has identified four individual protective factors and the kind of personal strengths each protective factor represents (See Table 2). Through her research with children, in particular children who experienced sexual abuse, the following categories of protective factors were identified: social competence, problem solving, autonomy and sense of purpose. Children who possessed some combinations of those qualities tended to report less psychological damage from the abuse.

Coping refers to the cognitive, emotional and behavioral strategies a person uses to manage levels of stress that impede functioning (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985). The type of coping strategy that an individual uses is important because of its mediating role (See Fig. 1) between positive and negative outcomes and ecological stress (Krieger et al, 1996; Williams & McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1999;Dempsey, 2002; Clark, et al., 1999; Fraser, 2004; Chandra & Batada, 2004; Ebata & Moos, 1994). A person's inability to manage stress can lead to serious, if not deadly consequences. Coping is related to social problem solving in that it requires the perception and evaluation of a situation, the generation of alternatives for handling the situation and the recognition of the consequences of ones' actions so as to choose the best response (Barbarin, 1993).

2.4.1 Coping Framework

Lazarus and Folkman (1985) created a framework for understanding the process of coping into two phases: primary appraisal and secondary appraisal. This theory asserts that when a person is confronted with a threatening situation that puts them under duress, the person first appraises the situation to evaluate the seriousness of threat, and then depending on that

assessment, the person takes inventory of coping resources to manage the threat. The natural instinct of all human beings is to survive. They conceptualized two broad dimensions of coping: emotion-focused coping which involves modifying one's own feelings and controlling distress, and problem-focused coping which involves activities that are aimed at changing the stressful situation. Researchers have identified a shortcoming in Lazarus and Folkmans' model when conducting research with African American youth and coping strategies, specifically that their model does not seem to address the reality of racism and discrimination, powerful influences on child/adolescent development (Outlaw, 1993; Daly, Beckett & Leashore, 1995; Plummer & Slane, 1996; Miller & MacIntosh, 1999; Adams & Boscarino, 2005).

Given that African Americans constantly experience the threats of racism and are simultaneously fending off the stress of it, they essentially have access to fewer resources, which may require that they employ a wider array of coping strategies to reduce the everyday threat of racism (Essed, 1991; Carter, et al., 2003). Ayers, et al (1996) expanded the simplistic model of Lazarus and Folkman to a more multidimensional model for African American children that include: active coping, distraction, avoidance, and support seeking in recognition of the need for a larger repertoire of individual coping choices when experiencing stress and threat.

2.4.2 Racial Identity and Coping

Other researchers have studied racial identity and race pride as personal coping mechanisms in the individual domain (Outlaw, 1993; Miller, 1999, Degruy-Leary, 2005). Many of the coping strategies for African American youth emanate from the possession of race pride and need to assert racial identity. Positive racial socialization manifested as saliency in racial identity have been identified as key individual protections for at-risk African American youth

as they fend off the stress of racialized trauma and oppression (Miller, 1999; Miller & MacIntosh, 1999; Gordon, 1995; Chapman & Mullis, 2000; Scott, 2003; Eyerman, 2001).

Part of the appraisal process has to do with a perception about the cause of threat, which tends to be categorized as internal or external threats. Locus of control refers to an individual's perception of main causes of events in life (Hendrix, 1980). A locus of control orientation is a belief about whether the outcomes of our actions are contingent on what we do (internal control orientation) or on events outside our personal control (external control orientation) (Zimbardo, 1985; Littrell & Beck, 1999). This has a significant bearing on coping appraisal in that cognitions, motivation and behavior are impacted by whether or not an individual believes that their destiny is controlled by themselves or by external forces.

2.4.3 Locus of Control

The studies with African Americans on locus of control and personal coping seem to suggest that the coping choices are irrelevant because they do little to protect from the overwhelming stress exacted by systemic racism and discrimination. There is mixed evidence about the negative impact of racism, discrimination and race related stress on African Americans. Most researchers have detected a difference in locus of control and appraisal mechanisms when comparing coping and resilience of White and Black youth. African Americans generally believe that the good that happens in their life is largely the result of things outside of their control which has implications for African American resilience beyond the domain of personal coping (Rotter, 1954).

Some studies suggest that the more risk an individual is exposed to then the more vulnerability across psychosocial developmental domains. African Americans seem to experience more risks and vulnerability and there is no cookie cutter response to threat and risk,

responses to threats are not the same for all people. Other researchers observed that locus of control for "bouncing back" from adversity did not always wrest within the individual, but that familial, and community processes impact ones ability to have favorable outcomes in high risk situations (MacDonald, 1973; Rotter, 1954; Wade, 1996; Miller, Fitch & Marshall, 2003; Luthar, 2006; Gaa, et al, 1981). Key discoveries from resiliency research about African American families and communities are summarized in the next two sections.

2.5 Ecological Domain: Family

The literature on African American families and resilience is sparse and fairly consistent. Some of the family structures that have been studied involve single adults (mother or grandmother), grandmother only and dependent, and three generation families which include a child, mother and grandmother in the same household. The evidence points to healthy child development and greater child resilience in families that are characterized by warmth, cohesion, enlightened discipline, cultural and ethnic identification and supportive extra-familial relationships (Barbarin, 1993). Studies suggest that children have a greater probability of acquiring competence (social, vocational, educational, emotional, and behavioral) in homes where the environment is stimulating, organized, structured and monitored (Johnson-Garner & Meyers, 2003, Harvey & Hill, 2004).

Families with an adolescent member can be a destabilizing and stressful phase of the family cycle. McCubbin and McCubbin (1988) conducted a study with community based social workers to identify family protective factors for this type of family. Their research concluded that the following family strengths helped to reduce stress during this time: a) financial management skills; b) share couple orientation to family and friends; c) satisfaction with the marriage; d) personality compatibility between married partners; e) satisfaction with the

couples sexual relations; f) satisfaction with quality of life; g) family hardiness; h) family time and routines; i) celebrations and j) family traditions.

In their kinship care studies, Johnson-Garner and Meyers (2003) concluded that resilient children were the products of caretakers who receive extended support from extended family and demonstrated emotional stability. The findings in the study were validated by a single case study of an adolescent from a large urban city in the Southeast where external social supports from extended family was credited with facilitating her academic and vocational gains (Schilling, 2008). The next wave of studies concerned itself with parents who do or don't set standards for their children and tested various interpersonal, communication and planning strategies among child and parents. Researchers provided evidence that African American children thrive in families that model and maintain high expectations for their children (Slaughter & Epps, 1987;Reed-Victor, 2003; Rink & Tricker, 2003; Harvey & Hill, 2004).

2.6 Ecological Domain: Community

The resiliency research on community protective factors seem exclusively to deal with interactions with organizational structures that are in, or as in the case of many high-risk Black communities , structures not in, the "immediate community" that have the potential to promote healthy child development. Community resilience studies have been done with small, mid-sized and large urban centers where African Americans reside. Transactions of individuals and families with community structures are usually measured against single outcomes eg; school failure, gang affiliation, and incarceration. Several researchers have studied the protective processes of communities that are inked to resilient children (Luthar, 2006; Condly, 2006; Kitano & Lewis, 2005; Gordon-Rouse, 1998, Harvey & Hill, 2004). They found that resilient children need:

1) Early intervention in schools
2) Access to a prosocial peer network
3) Access to prosocial mentor relationships
4) Linkages to other community structures for interpersonal supports, like churches and youth clubs

2.6.1 Community Connections

Further characteristics related to communities in resiliency studies have to do with the individual and/or family having a sense of connectedness to the community; in which case, connectedness was positively correlated to resilience (Bell, 2001). When youth and families feel connected to the community they have greater access to inherent competence and resources to use in the service of managing or eradicating risk. Youth who are connected to the broader community and have instruction and clarity about the norms and values for the group demonstrate higher levels of resilience than youth who lack the clarity of acceptable standards of behavior and values (Edward & Warelow, 2005).

Community structures exist in varying forms depending on the community under study. Sometimes African Americans underutilize community supports and this has a basis in history. The phenomenon is called “institutional distrust” and it is an adaptation to historical maltreatment when seeking services and help from community agencies and institutions. To make sense of the behavioral response one needs to consider the full weight of history and injustices inflicted by person and policies of medical, educational and governmental institutions and one can see why, despite the natural tendency to reach out for support in the community, many African Americans simply withdraw and refrain from utilization of community institutions (Outlaw, 1993; Washington, 2006).

2.6.2 Community Violence

The biggest risk factor in community resilience studies with at risk youth is violence. Communities with proactive policies in place to reduce violence produce more resilient youth and greater still is the connection between resilient youth and the reduction in weapons and firearms in the community (Rink & Tricker, 2003). Pulitzer Prize winning author, Fox Butterfield (1995) wrote extensively about the etiology of violence in America in his historical case study of Willie Bosket in *All God's Children*. He began his research with the aim of understanding one of the most violent youth offenders in the history of New York. After this juvenile shot and killed passengers on a subway in the 1980's, the public outcry created the tipping point in public opinion for waiving juveniles up to adult prosecution. Butterfield discovered that contemporary violence has deep historical roots in racism and oppression and he is able to generate sympathy for Willie Bosket who appears to have predictably responded to the precarious influence of unresolved historical and multigenerational trauma. The next section will examine three other types of historical trauma that impact African American youth: denial of opportunity, denial of freedom and denial of dignity and respect.

2.7 Historical Trauma

In the literature, historical trauma is most often associated with Native Americans and Jews who have experience genocide and the holocaust (de Mendelssohn, 2008; Tafoya & Del Vecchio, 2005). Historical trauma is similar to psychological or physical trauma, which involves a wound and the experience of great emotional anguish by an individual. Historical trauma is cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma (Brave Heart, 2000). The massive group

trauma of African Americans "began with the capture of human beings from the dark beauty of the motherland to their descent into hell" (Dubois, 1903).

2.7.1 The Middle Passage

Dr. Rediker, author of "*The Slave Ship: A Human Story"* describes the historical passage captured Africans crossing the Atlantic Ocean in the following way:

> "Over the almost four hundred years of the slave trade, from the late fifteenth century to the late nineteenth century, 12.4 million souls were loaded onto slaves ships and carried through a "Middle Passage" across the Atlantic to hundreds of delivery points stretched over thousands of miles. Along the way, 1.8 million of them died, their bodies cast overboard to the sharks that followed the ships. Most of the 10.6 million who survived were thrown into the bloody maw of a killing plantation system, which they would in turn resist in all ways imaginable." (Rediker, 2007, p. 5).

Ottobah Cugoano (Vasconcellos, n.d.) was 13 years old when he was kidnapped from Ghana to work in the sugar fields of a Grenadian plantation. When on a trip to England with his owner, he managed to obtain freedom and went on to become an abolitionist and author of one of the most critical accounts of slavery. His account provides the reader with vivid descriptions of the horrible scenes and what we would call today trauma symptoms related to the voyage of the Middle Passage. He writes of "groans and cries", "death was more preferable than life", "cries and tears to no avail", "one succeeding woe and dread, swelled up after another" and even though he remained in London, far from the sugar plantation, he writes, "still pants in my heart though fears and tears have subsided". Perhaps in London, as a freed Black man, he had access to doctors of mental hygiene in order to arrest trauma symptoms and function well in society. But no such services were made available to the millions who had the misfortune of surviving the Middle Passage voyage (DeGruy, 2005; Washington, 2006). Cugoano goes on to say that:

> "The cries of some, and the sight of their misery, may be seen and heard afar; but the deep sounding groans of thousands, and the great sadness of their misery and woe, under the heavy load of oppressions and calamities inflicted upon them, are such as can only be distinctly known to the ears of Jehovah Sabaoth." (Vasconcellos, n.d., p.2)

Africans that were brought to America experienced a form of historical trauma that interfered with their identity and meaning, created a tear in their social fabric and profoundly affected a group of people that had previously achieved a great degree of cohesion necessary for personal and collective survival (Eyerman, 2001).

2.7.2 Historical Trauma and Risk

Historical trauma continues to be reluctantly unacknowledged, largely unresolved, frequently untreated and contributes greatly to social inequities and disparate human conditions. Historical trauma exacts its legacy of injury on all Americans, but the progeny of enslaved Africans bear the largest burden due to absorbing the greatest risks related to their subjugation and oppression.

There is a connection between past trauma and present day disparity: there are differentials in educational and economic opportunity, freedom, dignity and respect (DeGruy, 2001). The disparities in contemporary society are rooted in historical trauma, racism and oppression over time and across many generations of Americans.

2.8 Disparity of Opportunity

The introduction of Africans to the American continent was not the heralded and triumphant entry through the New York Harbor and Ellis Island, like many other immigrants to America. Africans in America were not provided the same opportunities for work, economic mobility and education as other ethnic groups. The Africans' horrific journey through the Middle Passage is well documented by historians. European and African captains of industry identified

Africans as a pool of labor for newly developed agribusinesses that were being developed in the Southern States of America. During the 18th Century and through the turn of the 19th Century, ninety-five percent of slaves lived in rural places, engaged in unpaid, agricultural work, usually raising cotton, sugar, tobacco and rice (Owens, 1976).

The larger the farm or plantation, the more specialized the work assigned (Schneider & Schneider, 2001). Slaves were field hands, house servants, "mammies", cooks, servers, artisans and other skilled workers. Many also became overseers or supervisors of other slaves. Slaves also became unwilling participants in the expansion of slavery by becoming "breeders" for slave masters, thus ensuring that American Chattel slavery would continue to flourish, especially during the era where nations systematically prohibited the continued importation of Africans to America. When slavery was abolished, the hardship continued for emancipated slaves. As one male slave from Mississippi says, "Pussonally, I had a harder time after de war dan I did endurin' slav'ry."[5]

2.8.1 Poverty

Drs. Thomas Hirschl and Mark Rank (Friedlander, 1999) underscore this point as co-investigators in a study on poverty and African Americans. The study was based on a nationally representative data sample of 4,800 households and 18,000 individuals. The findings show that by age 25, about 48.1% of black Americans will have experienced at least one year in poverty; by age 40, about 66 %; by age 50, about 75% and by age 74, about 91%, experience poverty (Friedlander, 1999). James Moos (1982) highlights the legacy of barriers to employment and financial security for African Americans post Civil War era to the latter parts of the 19th Century and makes a compelling argument for sweeping policy changes in employment for African American youths who are most devastated by cycles of economic

[5] FWPSN, Mississippi, p. 147

recessions and prosperity in America. He argues that most White Americans believe that the failure of Black youths in the labor market have more to do with individual shortcomings rather than failed economic policies that have negatively impacted Blacks since emancipation. Drs. O' Regan and Quigley (1998) support this point in their research on the impact of urban space on employment prospects for urban, African American youths. Their empirical analyses of employment trends in urban cities in New Jersey reveal significant difficulties in accessing employment due to structural limitations imposed by inadequate transportation from the communities in which most poor, African Americans reside.

2.8.2 Achievement Gaps in Education

The literacy gap can best be understood by the following set of statistics: the illiteracy rate for African Americans in 1800 was approximately 90% while the literacy rate for Whites was 90% (Anderson, 2004). Despite the risk of life or limb, nearly 10% of African Americans gained literacy prior to the Emancipation of slaves. Many African American leaders in education, government, ministry, and community during the Reconstruction era were men and women who first became literate under slavery. Their ideas about the value and purpose of literacy and formal education took shape during the slave experience and reflected a consciousness of literacy as a means of resistance as well as an understanding of anti-literacy movements as mechanisms of oppression (Anderson, 2004).

Reform movements in urban, public education today are rooted in the reform movements of African American ancestors who also attempted to garner public will and resources to secure equality in education. Researchers today are providing evidence about the correlation between poor academic performance and the ongoing experience of discrimination in mainstream, public education (Taylor, et al, 1994). There is a need for societal changes and the need for

teachers to be more aware about the ways poverty, racism, and limited expectations affect African American students and their ability to negotiate the chasm of unequal educational opportunity.

2.8.3 Special Education

African American students continue to be overrepresented across all thirteen legally sanctioned disability categories of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) with significant disproportionality occurring within the categories of mental retardation and emotional disturbance (Jordan, 2005). Jordan's' research reveals that African American students nationwide are nearly three times more likely than whites to be labeled Mentally Retarded (MR), almost two times more likely Emotionally Disabled (ED), and almost one and a half times more likely to be diagnosed with Learning Disabilities (LD). The evidence of overrepresentation within the school system has negatively impacted the perceptions of the parents of African American children.

Researchers have examined cultural sensitivity and parental satisfaction of African American students in Special Education (Zionts, et al, 2003). Implications of this research suggests that eliminating the damaging effects of racism is a pathway to improving academic achievement and satisfaction which will ultimately lead to more opportunity and mobility for African Americans. However, Dr. Paula Allen-Meares (1990) argues that even when African Americans succeed in attaining higher education and rewarding employment, because of the pervasiveness of racism, social and economic equality for Black adults are not proportionate to their education efforts when compared to other ethnic groups.

2.9 Disparity of Freedom

The second socio-cultural variable under consideration is the historical trauma of the denial of freedom for African Americans. This section will provide a brief analysis of similar social control strategies that were employed during slavery and today. African Americans have historically been under the control of courts, police and the militia and were not free from the monitoring and suspicion of law enforcement and/or agents of law enforcement. Sally Hadden (2001) provided a detailed account of the origins, functions, impact and legacy of slave patrols in southern history; central to her research is providing knowledge about the influence of racism on the development of law enforcement in the United States. As the immediate agents of a White supremacist state, slave patrols imbricated violence and racism into everyday life and were crucial to the reproduction of slave society (Parenti, 2001).

2.9.1 The Pattyrollers and the KKK

Slavery was regulated by a complex matrix of laws at the Federal, State and Local levels and set restrictions on enslaved people's actions. The laws required all White citizens to assist in enforcing the slave codes. These laws essentially empowered every White citizen with the authority to monitor the actions and behaviors of Blacks. Slave patrollers were formed primarily to offset the threat of insurrection and their duties included searching slave dwellings to guard against the acquisition of weapons, breaking up slave gatherings and patrolling roads to capture potential runaways. The "pattyrollers" had the authority to question, search, harass and to punish slaves by whipping, beating or even killing them, with little impunity. The terrifying and arbitrary violence of the slave patrols made them a legitimate source of fear among Black southerners. Hadden (2001) suggests that this methodology of social control is

the prototype of the Klu Klux Klan, other vigilante groups and that the ideology of the slave patrols is evident in modern day policing practices.

2.9.2 Community Policing

Contemporary scholars support the assertion that racism impacts policing policy, practice and the criminal justice system. Nancy Boyd-Franklin and her husband, A. J. Franklin (2000) speak of the fear they have about their teen-aged, African American son driving the NJ Turnpike because of aggressive and often violent, racial profiling practices by White police officers in suburban New Jersey. Weitzer and Tuch (2002) conducted a study using national survey data on citizens' views of racial profiling and concluded that regardless of ethnicity, most citizens' agree that racial profiling occurs in America. In their study, African Americans believe that the practice occurs more strongly than the perceptions of White Americans; and poor African Americans perceive racial profiling as occurring more than middle-class African Americans.

Research about the level of trust Blacks have of the police, particularly in urban communities, report high levels of distrust (Sherman, 2002; Weitzer, 2000). Furthermore, studies report that the poorer and more violent the community the more negatively the Black citizens view their local law enforcement officers (Parker & Onyekulueje, 1995).

2.9.3 Incarceration of African American Youth

One can also consider the disproportionate, over-representation of African American youth in the nation's Juvenile Detention Centers (USDHH, 2001). There is a persistent reality that Blacks are at a much higher risk of being processed through the criminal justice system. In some urban areas, one-third of all young adult African Americans are under some form of criminal justice supervision (Mauer & Huling, 1995; Miller, 1996). A slave from South

Carolina says, “I t’ink being free de best time to lib, better to be loose den tied.”[6] Norm Stamper (2005), a retired veteran Police Chief turned academic, exposed the dark side of community policing in his candid autobiographical book, “*Breaking Rank*” and documents the prevalence of personal and institutional racism by police officers and other law enforcement officials within the criminal justice system.

2.10 Disparity of Dignity and Respect

Dignity is a complex concept that is comprised of many elements, among them, self-esteem, self-worth and respect, much of which is derived from one’s culture. African Americans in slavery were stripped of dignity, respect and their culture. Schneider and Schneider (2001) write the following:

> “Slaves born in Africa who came to North America exchanged the temporary chaos and suffering of the Middle Passage for the confusion and hardship of life in a strange land. They did not know where they were. Few if any of the people around them understood what they said, and they understood little or none of what they heard. Strange objects, whose uses they could not imagine, surrounded them. Almost always the slave traders and slave owners who received them treated them as savages to be subdued, workers whose power had to be harnessed, and sources of profit—not as human beings. The slaves had been stripped of their status, their names, their families and friends, and their customs and culture (pg. 81).”

The assaults on dignity manifested itself in many other ways under the brutality of enslavement, especially in the form of rape of African women and girls. Far more often than not, slaves who had sex with Whites did so against their will, whether victims of outright rape or of the powerlessness that made resistance to advances futile and the use of force in such advances unnecessary (Kolchin, 1993). And throughout the Slave Narratives, no experience is endorsed as more humiliating than to be placed on the auction block, succumbing to bodily

[6] FWPSN, South Carolina, Part 1, p. 335

inspection and sold to the highest bidder (Gates, 2002). "One of the most saddest things dese eyes has seed is when I sawd the slaves in chains after they were sold."[7] A slave from North Carolina says, "one night I lay down on de straw mattress wid my mammy, an' de nex' mo'nin' I woked up an' she wuz gone. When I axed 'bout her I fin's dat a speculator comed dar de night before an' wanted ter buy a 'oman. Dey had come an' got my mammy widout wakin' me up. I has always been glad somehow dat I wuz asleep."[8]

Carter Woodson (2000) describes in his book, "*The Mis-Education Of The Negro"*, the systemic racial forces that conspired to oppress the truth about African American culture and intelligence from the time Africans landed in America through the early part of the 20th Century. The denigration of African culture served as an instrument of subjugation and control. Although there is evidence of cultural resilience by African Americans, the steady characterization of Africans and their culture as inferior, wreaked havoc on the psyche of African Americans (Latif and Latif, 1994).

2.10.1 Resistance

Resistance and protest movements by African Americans to demand dignity, equality and freedom are evident throughout history (Gates, 2002; King, 1958). These movements attempted to recast the image of African Americans from pathological, deviant and meaningless to appreciating the strengths, resilience and meaningfulness of their unique cultural heritage. This was a demand for respect that provided African Americans with a model of dignified coping with historical oppression and the constant threat of annihilation. Cornell West (1993), an African American intellectual, underscores this point in his critical analysis of racism in our multiracial democracy, he writes:

[7] FWPSN, Kentucky, p.6
[8] FWPSN, North Carolina, Part 1, p.71

> The genius of our black foremothers and forefathers was to create powerful buffers to ward off the nihilistic threat, to equip black folk with cultural armor to beat back the demons of hopelessness, meaninglessness, and lovelessness. These buffers consisted of cultural structures of meaning and feeling that created and sustained communities; this armor constituted ways of life and struggle that embodied values of service and sacrifice, love and care, discipline and excellence. In other words, traditions for black surviving and thriving under usually adverse New World conditions were major barriers against nihilistic threat (p. 24)."

2.10.2 Cultural Axiology

The disruption of family cohesion, community power and the suppression of the genius of the slave are examples of the ways white supremacy and domination fractured essential internal and external connections that slaves needed for survival. Dr. Edwin Nichols (1998) crystallizes a fundamental underpinning of African culture in his seminal work on cultural axiology, *Philosophical Aspects of Cultural Differences.* He concluded that three major cultural groupings African Americans/Hispanic/Native/Arabic, European Americans and Asian/Polynesian Americans and each have developed over time unique core values (axiology), a way of knowing (epistemology), a way of reasoning (logic) and cultural processes (See Table 3). In his model, African Americans are strengthened by cultural root of their African heritage by an axiology where the highest value lies in the member to member connections (Nichols, 1998). This is evidence of a critical cultural pathway to resilience.

His theory relates to cultural and geographical difference between Africans who were located at the equator and Caucasians living further north, each developed specific cultural and anthropological patterns related to the survival of the group. The African had ample time to plant and harvest and developed values based on social interactions with the tribe rather than to objects (food) which was in abundance year round. Caucasians were situated in climatic

conditions where planting and harvesting foodstuff had to occur in a narrow window of time before the frigid temperatures of the Artic set in forcing Caucasians to wait until the spring for the next planting and harvest time. This, in Dr. Nichols view fostered an axiology for the group where the emphasis is on acquiring the object rather than relating to the member. One is characterized by slow and leisurely social interactions and the other as purposive and driven interactons. A male slave from Arkansas put it in terms to understand, he says, "You know, niggers is always slow and late. They'll be wantin' God to wait on them when they start to heaven. White folks is always on time and they sings 'When The Roll Is Called Up Yonder I'll Be There', and niggers sing 'Don't Call The Roll Till I Get There."[9]

2.10.3 Respect

Like the slave, black youth today seek dignity and respect. Annette Hemmings (2002) conducted a study in two urban High Schools, self-described as having a "culture of hostility" to determine what variables appear to help shape the hostile interactions between low-income, White and Black students. According to the qualitative report of students in Hemmings' study, money, respect and cultural differences were antecedents to student aggression and violence. Hemmings' cautions readers to place the variables in the context of youth from impoverished environments where "street-wise" respectability becomes an adaptive strategy within an environment with little reinforcements for status and control.

Elijah Anderson (1994) discusses the "Code of the Streets" and the centrality of respect to the code. Respect by any means necessary, is a survival mechanism born out of the reality of alienation from mainstream society and its institutions. The issue of respect is an issue for social workers who work with African American youth because there is a positive correlation between respect and psychological wellness and social identity; it is also critical for their

[9] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 4, p. 114

feelings of safety, recognition and acceptance (Leary et. al., 2005). Attaining respect is a protective factor for African American youth.

Historical trauma is common in the narrative of the African American slave and African American youth today. So too are their resilience and strengths. Slaves needed to cultivate and utilize an array of personal, familial and community protections to cope with the threatening experiences of daily trauma. African American youth today, need to do the same. The next section review studies about youth and trauma.

2.11Youth with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is an empirically validated psychiatric disorder beginning with study of combat veterans and subsequently with other populations of adults and children, who have been exposed to threatening traumatic experiences. According to the National Center for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, those with a social environment that produces shame, guilt, stigmatization, or self-hatred are more at risk for developing PTSD (USDVA, n. d.). The exposure to trauma can be acute or chronic and exposure itself does not necessarily mean that PTSD will develop. In fact, some individuals do not develop PTSD symptoms at all, which is of continuing interest to social science researchers

2.11.1 Prevalence of PTSD

Community- based mental health centers, schools and other youth workers are on the front lines of intervening in affective and behavioral symptoms consistent with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). A few studies of the general population have been conducted that examine rates of trauma exposure and PTSD in children and adolescents. Results from these studies indicate that 15 to 43% of girls and 14 to 43% of boys have experienced at least one traumatic event in their lifetime (USDV, n.d.). Not all children who are exposed to trauma develop

PTSD. Of those children and adolescents who have experienced trauma, 3 to 15% of girls and 1 to 6% of boys could be diagnosed with PTSD (USDV, n.d.). Rates are much higher in children and adolescents recruited from at-risk samples. The rates of PTSD in these at-risk samples vary from 3% to 100% depending on the type of trauma and whether it was witnessed or experienced directly (USDVA, n. d.).

Typically, young children with PTSD present with few PTSD symptoms and tend to engage in post-traumatic play or reenactment of the trauma in play, drawings, or verbalizations. There is an extraordinary overlap in the expression psychiatric symptoms in young children, which creates a challenge in assessment. PTSD in adolescents may begin to more closely resemble PTSD in adults (USDVA, n. d.). Adolescents are more likely to engage in reenactment and tend to exhibit impulsive and aggressive behaviors as a response to trauma. Though many adolescents may be exposed to the same event, the clinical outcome differs from person to person, depending on resiliency and vulnerability factors such as personal history, biological determinants, and temperament (Green, 2003). Martini, Ryan, Nakayama, and Ramenofsky (1989) agree with this finding and further delineate that the presence of PTSD was not related to the extent of injury, per se, but to other factors, including the level of overall stress in the family, coping styles of the family and the child, and experience dealing with stressful events in the past.

2.11.2 Co-Occuring Conditions

What further complicates the accurate assessment of child and adolescent PTSD is the wide array of psychiatric symptoms associated with comorbid mental health conditions that occur in children. Children with PTSD may be more likely to have comorbid conditions because traumatic insults occur in developmentally sensitive periods with neurobiological consequences

(Donnelly & Amaya-Jackson, 2002). Younger children may present with features of attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), including hyperactivity, impulsivity, restlessness, irritability and distractibility (Cuffe, McCullough, & Parmariega, 1994). In older children and adolescents, anxiety disorders, depression, somatization, dysthymia, alcohol abuse and substance abuse appear as common comorbid conditions (Donnelly & Amaya-Jackson, 2002).

2.12 Comparison of African American and White Youth with PTSD

There have been many studies about the association between race and ethnicity and psychological health status following exposure to a stressful event (Adams & Boscarino, 2005). A few studies have examined the connection between ethnicity and PTSD in youth with mixed results. Some studies find minorities report higher levels of PTSD symptoms when compared to subjects from the dominant culture; researchers attribute this to differences in levels of exposure to trauma (USDVA, n. d.).

Breslau, Davis, Andreski, and Peterson (1991) studied a random sample of urban African American young adults, to determine the prevalence of PTSD and risk factors associated with it. After exposure to a traumatic event, the rate of PTSD was almost 24%, and the lifetime prevalence of PTSD was 9.2%. In a sample of older adolescents from white, middle income families, Reinherz, Giaconia, Lefkowitz, Pakiz and Frost (1993) found that lifetime prevalence rate of PTSD after suffering an injury from a boating accident, was 6.3% as compared to 5.8% for the adult population from the same community.

In a cross-cultural study of children impacted by Hurricane Andrew in Florida, La Greca, Silverman, Vernberg, and Prinstein (1996) found that measures of PTSD at 3 months, 7 months and 10 months post disaster decreased for all victims. However, African American and

Hispanic children reported higher levels of PTSD symptoms (approximately one half of a standard deviation) than White children at the 10-month mark.

2.12.1 Prevalence Rates

Research does include evidence that African Americans sometimes have higher prevalence rates of PTSD when compared to other ethnic groups, which many scholars attribute to socio-cultural and demographic variables, eg : ethnicity, poverty, inner-city life, violence, racism and oppression. Donald Lloyd and R. Jay Turner (2003) hypothesized and proved that young people who are disadvantaged are at greater risk for developing PTSD. The sampling design of their study yielded nearly equal proportions of Cuban, non-Cuban Hispanic, African American, and non-Hispanic White participants from a Miami Dade public school district. They found significant correlations between onset of PTSD and accumulated adversity based on ethnicity, SES and other social variables. African American youth reported higher levels of PTSD symptoms than that of Hispanic and White youth.

2.12.2 Inner City Environments and Violence

Garbarino and his colleagues (1992) compared the circumstances of urban, economically disadvantaged children to growing up in a war zone. Low-income, ethnic minorities and violence largely characterize urban environments. Children who are direct victims and witnesses of violence frequently exhibit Post-Traumatic Stress Symptoms (Massa & Reynolds, 1999). Inner-city youth experience the greatest levels of exposure to violence. A study of African American adolescent boys from inner city Chicago showed that 68% had seen someone beaten up and 22.5% had seen someone shot or killed (Bell & Jenkins, 1993). Margaret Wright Berton & Sally Stabb (1996) hypothesized that the prevalence and severity of chronic and everyday stressors in the lives of urban adolescents may predispose them to symptoms of

PTSD. She conducted a study with an ethnic cross section of 97 high school juniors in the South and found that the only variable that was predictive of PTSD was exposure to domestic or community violence. This trend is confirmed by a study conducted by Michelle Cooley-Quille (2001) with 185 inner-city high school students in the Mid-Atlantic region to measure the emotional and behavioral impact of exposure to community violence and regression analyses revealed that community violence exposure predicted posttraumatic stress and separation anxiety symptoms.

2.12.3 Racism

Other studies have suggested that a significant difference between African American youth and White youth is the exposure to various forms of racism that impact the individual, family and community and consequently effect the development and maintenance of PTSD and other comorbid mental health disorders (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005; Clark, et al, 1999; Nybor & Curry, 2003).

Dr. Robert Carter and his Associates (2003) made a valuable contribution towards understanding the relationship between trauma and racial discrimination. They conducted an internet-based study about racial discrimination and racial trauma with 233 African American respondents. The survey included demographic, quantitative and qualitative measures of experience with racial discrimination and its impact on psychological and emotional well-being. The study yielded several important conclusions: 1) Racial discrimination happens across all settings; 2) The threats required for the DSM IV's definition of trauma may be experienced in the present or vicariously; 3) Fear and helplessness associated with racial trauma may not be openly shared due to the chronic and pervasive nature of racism. 4) The frequency with which respondents reported extreme and mild emotional distress suggests the

psychological and emotional effects associated with racial discrimination and harassment are both acute and chronic; 5) Treatment strategies specifically designed to assist people of color in coping with the effects of race-based stress are needed.

Some of the symptoms related to prolonged exposure to stressors such as racism, violence and poverty, may manifest as disruptive behavior, anger, aggression and antisocial behaviors (McBennett, et al, 2000, Schmeelk-Cone & Zimmerman, 2003). Some researchers believe that it is not only protracted exposure that wreaks havoc on the mind but also the anticipation of future trauma that delivers the nuerochemical payload of hormonal fluctuations that can severely compromise coping and the exercise of sound judgment - even in the face of what could be considered a benign threat in the moment (Sapolsky, 2004).

2.13 Limitations of PTSD Diagnostic Framework with African American Youth

The DSM-IV makes a statement about the function of culture in defining and moderating the effects of trauma in the etiology section of PTSD. Yet, a content analysis of the Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders by Dr. Carter and his Associates (2003) revealed that not one DSM–IV diagnosis names the impact of racism in the discussion on etiology and symptom manifestation for mental health disorders. In other words, Dr. Carter and his Associates have identified an inherent bias in the DSM-IV. Their conclusion is based on the following facts: (1) While there are DSM criteria that list over 40 stressors associated with acute stress, posttraumatic stress and adjustment reactions, none include race or racism; (2) there is less recognition for environmental causes or stress or distress that are race-related and; (3) the word racism does not exist in the DSM and the word “discrimination” is used just once throughout the text.

2.13.1 Complex Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (C-PTSD)

Dr. Judith Herman (1997) has conducted empirical field trials to determine whether Complex Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (C-PTSD) can be diagnosed reliably for chronically traumatized people. She suggested that PTSD as currently conceptualized in the DSM-IV, does not sufficiently capture the psychological alterations to personality development of persons chronically exposed to trauma. While she does not specifically name racism as a chronic stressor and did not conduct research with large numbers of African Americans, she makes an important statement regarding the importance of naming a viable psychiatric disorder as an essential step toward granting those who have endured prolonged exploitation a measure of the recognition they deserve. Other African American researchers make a similar observation of the DSM IV as sometimes too narrow in its conceptualization of clinical manifestations of psychiatric disorders and plea with the clinicians who formulate the DSM-IV to broaden the definition of trauma to include exposure to racism and oppression (Carter, R. T. et. al., 2003; Butts, 2002; Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005).

2.14 Gaps in the Literature

Too few resiliency studies are conducted with African American youth and not many conceptualize racism and oppression as risk factors that impact their well-being. Studies suggest that the more risk an individual is exposed to then the more vulnerability across each ecological domain; therefore, a wider variety of protective factors are needed to mitigate the threat. African Americans experience risk related to present day risk and may also be burdened by unresolved intergenerational trauma related to their racial heritage. This historical trauma as evidence by compounded, daily exposure to racism and oppression, vestiges of chattel slavery elevates the risks and vulnerability. More researchers are studying the effect of racism

experienced in the here and now, but very few studies connect historical trauma to resilience. African American youth in high risk environments need a larger and more effective repertoire of protective factors. The matter of resilience for the population beyond the individual domain has been understudied and the most learned scholars on the subject have proposed that more "out of the box" methodology be employed to get at more culturally rooted protective factors that promote African American Resilience.

Findings are mixed regarding whether or not there are significant differences in the protective factors that have been identified for black youth when compared to white youth when experiencing trauma. Very few studies incorporate qualitative or mixed method approaches. The researcher agrees with two of the conclusions that were reached by Luthar (2006) in her a meta-analysis of five decades of resiliency studies: "scientists must broaden the lens through which the phenomenon is viewed, drawing upon not only quantitative research but also qualitative studies designed to yield evidence from anthropological, sociological, biological, and genetic sources" (p.44). The design of this study is aimed at reconnecting African American youth from high risk environments to the resilience of their ancestors through a historical analysis of slave narratives.

The research on historical trauma makes clear that vestiges of chattel slavery continue to be evident today in contemporary society. The argument is that the trauma has been transmitted over time from generation to generation. Resilience is also evident in contemporary society by many youth from high risk environments. Researchers have traced pathology related to African American youth, families and communities. It is now time to turn our attention towards a research design that will seek to identify strengths, protective factors and resilience from the past. In this way, this dissertation helps to "probe resilience in new ways to get at cultural

structures and processes that can yield new ways of understanding resiliency" (Luthar, 2006). When we have greater knowledge about the phenomenon we will be better able to intervene in culturally astute ways to increase resiliency among African American youth.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.0 Introduction

The next section introduces the research methodology and questions that guided the qualitative inquiry to explore the slave narratives for protective factors related to resilience. The best tradition of the qualitative methods that fits with the exploratory search for historical protective factors is the historical method. A critique of other traditions of qualitative methods will be discussed by the researcher. The unit of analysis has been defined as an individual slave narrative from the FWPSN collection. The sampling procedure of the slave narratives will be discussed in detail including demographic information related to the sample. The researcher will explain the identification and coding process of data from the narratives. Data analysis techniques are discussed along with challenges related to reliability and validity when conducting qualitative research. The last section highlights human subjects' protection and the Institutional Review Board (IRB) process.

Other African American researchers have set a precedent for using qualitative methods with the narratives of former slaves to trace the genesis of cultural norms, practices and processes and to make meaning of the lived experience of African American ancestors (Leary, 2001; Moody, 1991; Yetman, 1970; Rawick, 1972; Covey, 1996; Brent, 1973, Taylor, 2005). This study follows that tradition. These researchers share the view that many of the pathological processes evident amongst African Americans today are due at least in part to being detached from their ancestral roots; and furthermore many potentially life-sustaining and life-saving lessons may be learned in the process of reconnecting with the experience of past generations of Africans in America (Schiele, 1996).

The aim of this research was to explore through a historical lens the existence of protective factors utilized by former slaves from a sample of Federal Writers Project Slave Narratives. The results were obtained through a three phase process: (1) Selection of slave narratives for use in the study through a sampling process of 100 narratives which had sufficient content to be used in this study; (2) Identification of excerpts from the narratives that represent an interpretation by the researcher as an example of a protective factor within an ecological domain; and (3) Interpretive Analysis using Contrast and Comparison methods to generate categories of protective factors and themes consistent across the sample of slave narratives.

3.1 The Research Questions

Data analysis yielded results to answer the following questions:

RQ #1: What do slaves report were the individual, family and community protective factors during slavery?

RQ #2: How do the protective factors of slaves relate to our current understanding of the three ecological domains of human development?

RQ #3: How do the historical protective factors of slaves compare with the protective factors for at-risk African American youth as typified by contemporary resilience research?

3.2 The Research Method: A Critique of Traditional Qualitative Methods

This study seeks to better understand the lived experience of formerly enslaved African Americans and the phenomenon of protective factors that promoted their resilience during slavery. A major strength of the qualitative approach is the depth to which explorations are conducted and descriptions are written, usually resulting in sufficient details for the reader to grasp the idiosyncrasies of the situation (Myer, 2000). Qualitative research moves beyond the

empirical and counting of phenomenon to understanding the experience of the phenomenon. Unlike quantitative research there is no overarching framework for how qualitative research should be conducted; rather the research is guided by particular approaches that are taken in relation to the phenomenon under study. This flexibility of approach and method can make for creative research design and has the potential for enhancing interpretation which allows for the possibility of deeper meaning and understanding of the phenomenon.

3.2.1 Ethnography

There are some general ways of thinking about conducting qualitative research. According to W. M. Trochin (1996) there are some major approaches: ethnography, phenomenology, field research and grounded theory. Ethnography is largely rooted in the participant observer method and requires immersion in the culture under study as an active participant. An ethnographic study is a holistic approach that typically focuses on a community through immersion in the community as an observer and generates understanding of the experience through copious amounts of field notes and feedback (Patton, 2002). This usually requires a long term commitment and is not always possible or practical for researchers. This approach is not an option for this study given that the researchers' interest lies in the experience of African American slaves from the mid to late 19th Century, none of which are alive today.

However, in a larger sense, ethnography is founded on the principle that human behavior is best understood in the fullest possible context including daily life, rituals and customs; and what better way to understand the richness of that experience than to join in the experience as a participant and an observer. What is unique about the insidious nature of racism in America is that very little is known about the actual slave experience in detail, as part of the white supremacist mindset is to make invisible the members of the outgroups. The FWPSN

collection allows for readers to get a more detailed accounting of southern slavery than any other collection of written works previously known to exist. It is a remarkable way for a reader and researcher to become engrossed in the day to day life, the folklore, the rituals, the ceremonies, the routines from sunup to sundown and then from sundown to sunup, during the slaves time. So by systematically reading through the collection, it is possible to gain a deep understanding of the institution of slavery from the perspective of the slave, but this joining for the purpose of understanding a community, falls outside of the typical hallmark of traditional ethnographic field research.

3.2.2 Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a philosophical approach in that the approach to research is to get at the subjective experiences and interpretations of the world, in other words, to increase understanding about how the world appears to others (Patton, 2002). This approach in part is useful for this study in that this researcher is very interested in gaining a better understanding of the slaves experience during enslavement from a psychological, cognitive, emotional, relational and behavioral perspective. Not only is this researcher interested in how the slave views the world but about a dynamic transaction between that world and the biopsychosocial functioning within the world. This approach limits the scope of inquiry with the narratives for the widest array of human responses to the institution of slavery.

3.2.3 Grounded Theory

Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is a powerful research method that also makes use of data acquired by a participant –observer and theory is developed inductively through the data analysis process. This approach is good for theory development when there is direct observation of the phenomenon subsequently followed by codes, concepts and categories which

lead to a theory based on live data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The resultant theory does not need testing because it came from live data and in future case studies more data can be collected and the theory can be improved upon and amended to reflect real life (Allan, 2003).

The first link in the chain of grounded theory is the coding procedure and should be done with an open mind without any preconceived ideas (Allan, 2003). This study requires a level of interpretation of the narrative contents based on the practice and clinical knowledge of the researcher that renders grounded theory a poor fit for this study. For example, the researcher already has an understanding of resilience theory from a survey of contemporary studies and that knowledge is used in the process of constant comparison with the narrative excerpts in order to identify latent and covert data related to protective factors. Additionally, the aim of the study is not to generate theory but to gain greater understanding about specific coping and resilience strategies that were used by slaves, their families and their community.

3.2.4 Single Case Study

The researcher considered conducting a single case study (one slave) to explore the protective factors and resilience. Case studies typically generate large volumes of data from multiple sources and require controls on data management. This method is also used for theory development, to explain, to explore or to describe an object or phenomenon (Patton, 2002). The problem is one has to remember to relate the approach and methods to the research questions and the population under study. This study by design seeks to understand a phenomenon related to a marginalized group that has been historically oppressed. Part of the oppression relates to the lack of specific information about many of the participants in the FWPSN interviews. In fact, until agents of the WPA reached out to find these old, poor survivors of enslavement, most were living in relative obscurity. A part of their oppression

relates to the difficulty reading and writing, of knowing their genealogy, of knowing their actual age and other important aspects of their lives. Unless the former slave were someone extraordinary like W. E. B. Dubois, of which volumes are written about his life, by himself, a man of letters, and by many, many other biographers, then the grist needed for the case study researcher simply would not be available, as it is for the majority of subjects in the FWPSN collection. Under oppression black people simply did not exist. Anticipating the great difficulty of locating the kind of collaborating documentation to "ordinary slaves" did not seem a practical course to take at the onset of the design of this study to get at answers to the questions about what the protective factors could be to promote resilience during slavery and that might be useful as interventions with youth from high risk environments today.

3.2.5 Historical Approach

The best fit for a qualitative approach for this study is the approach that allows for systematic exploration of the past to understand phenomenon in order to better generate interventions for the future. This approach is most consistent with the historical tradition of social work research (Gay, 1996; Fabricant & Fisher, 2002; & Danto, 2008). Despite the dominance of other methods, historical research has a solid tradition as a legitimate method for social work research especially when combined with compatible qualitative methods (Danto, 2008). An example of blending historical research with qualitative interviews is the case of the Settlement Houses and impact of financial and political stressors on sustaining community organizations in New York City (Fabricant & Fisher, 2002). The authors rely heavily on historical records to trace the details of the economics on social service agencies followed by a deeper evaluation of the impact on consumers through unstructured interviews which gave rise

to the remedy of community building as a way to combat the siege on community organizations.

This tradition is gaining prominence in the social work research given that contemporary social problems quite often have their roots in the past. The rationale underlying this study is the perception on the part of the researcher that African American youth and families are disconnected from their historical legacy of resilience. Arising from this supposition is the question as to whether or not such a phenomenon exists. Is there a legacy of resilience from the ancestors that the progeny can inherit? African Americans know all too well the pain and suffering of the ancestors, but do African Americans know about their strengths and resilience? Designing a qualitative study in the historical tradition permits a scholarly pursuit for answers to those questions. What was needed to conduct such as study was a reliable data source of primary documents from which to draw interpretations about the phenomenon of resilience. These primary source documents were located in the Library of Congress in Washington, DC.

3.3 Unit of Analysis

There exists a collection of written works whose content describes the experience of life during slavery through the 1930's. In the years 1936 – 1938 over 2145 interviews with former slaves from seventeen states were conducted, recorded and compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The material comprises over 10,000 pages of typescript pages filling thirty-three leather bound volumes and housed in the Rare Books Division of the Library of Congress. The collection is titled: Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936-1938 and is available to all

(See Appendix A)

This collection of narratives have been the unit of analysis for many of the previously cited studies and they provide a rich source of first-person accounts of slave life and the author's own reactions to bondage with minimal editorialization from the WPA worker. According to Norman Yetman (1970), this body of autobiographical accounts of former slaves stands as one of the most enduring and noteworthy achievements of the WPA. According to Thomas Soapes (1977), two thirds of those interviewed were age fifteen or younger at emancipation; almost all of the remainder were in their late teens or twenties in 1865.

3.3.1 Library of Congress Scholar's Membership

This researcher has registered and received a scholar's membership from the National Library of Congress (LOC) and had the opportunity to work closely with an archivist in the Manuscript and Rare Books Division of the LOC.[10] (See Appendix B). In addition, the entire collection has been digitally scanned and is available over the internet. This researcher utilized both mediums to access the narratives.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

This researcher developed a purposive sampling procedure that yielded the selection of 50 male and 50 female narratives for a total of 100 narratives from the WPA collection. This was a design choice by the researcher to eliminate bias related to sampling. The sampling is purposive in that the intention was not to seek "randomness" but to seek representation from each of the volumes in the entire collection without the criticism that the researcher may have "selected the cream of the crop" of narratives.

At the beginning of each volume of the collection is a listing of informants in the volume with an assigned page number corresponding to the location of their narrative in the volume.

[10] Appendix B contains a detailed description of observations on the visit to the LOC and of other highlights of the research process.

The sampling procedure began with assigning each informant listed in the index in each volume a whole number from 1 (the first informant) to N = the last number corresponding with last informant in the volume. For example, if a volume had 120 informants then the numbers were assigned from 1 to 120. The informants are listed alphabetically in each volume so that the numbers correspond in kind with the lower part of the alphabet being small numbers and the higher letters in the alphabet as you move through the volume, the higher the corresponding numbers.

3.4.1 Gender Indexing

Prior to being able to sample the collection, a determination needed to be made about the gender of each ex-slave informant. In most cases this was easily determined by reading either the narrative or the notes of the WPA field agent, but in several cases collateral research was conducted with the Index to the American Slave (Jacob, 1981). This is an index that provides supplemental information for many of the ex-slaves in the WPA collection. After determining the gender, an M or F was placed on the right side of the name of the informant in each volume of the collection. At the end of this phase of research, only three informants from the collection were unclassified. Of the total of 2145 slave informant in the collection, 1089 are male informants, 1041 are female informants, 12 narratives were given by couples and three are unidentified by gender.(See Appendix C)[11].

3.4.2 Random Number Assignment

The next step in the sampling procedure was to generate a computer list of random numbers from Random.org (See Appendix D). Using random numbers has the affect of placing all 2145 narratives in a hat with an equal probability of selection of any one narrative for use in the

[11] The researcher is currently working on copyright and manuscript for publication of the Supplemental Gender Guide to the American Slave through the Library of Congress.

study. To make the random number procedure more manageable, with smaller ranges of numbers, the procedure was implemented one volume at a time (See Appendix E).The actual selection of the sample of 50 male and 50 female informants was based on a first reading of the narrative that coincided with the number generated from Random.org for that volume of the collection. The first 10 numbers generated by Random.org was placed on the Index. If the narrative was determined to possess information about a protective factor in any of the three domains, it was selected for the study. If the narrative was judged not to contain excerpts relevant to the questions under study, then narrative was rejected.

3.4.3 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

The researcher developed a process for accepting a narrative for inclusion in the study and a process for excluding narratives from the sample for the study (See Appendix F). Some narratives did not contain sufficient content for use in the study. Some narratives were of the children of slaves recollecting what their slave parents and grandparents told them about enslavement. They were excluded from the study because the emphasis is on slaves directly reporting their story. Some slave narratives were of couples and not individuals and were beyond the scope of this inquiry. At least one narrative was a Native American who was born in bondage but did not meet the ethnic criteria for inclusion in this study. And lastly, several female narratives were rejected towards the end of the sampling cycle because the researcher had already attained the 50 female narratives for the sample.

Cycling through the 33 volume collection three (3) times with this method yielded 99 narratives for the study. One additional narrative was selected from the median volume of the collection or the 17th Volume in the collection, (State of Maryland) to make up the 100 narratives in the sample. In that way every state in the collection is represented in the sample

by at least three narratives and Maryland has 4 narratives in the sample. There were 50 male and 50 female narratives selected after this process.

3.5 Data Collection

After identifying the sample for the study, each narrative was printed out from the Library of Congress Website and was labeled with an assigned code (Male: M01 – M50, Female: F01-F50). A data capture instrument was developed to "take data from real-world primary sources and entered into a format that gives the information a clear and understandable shape" (Danto, 2008). This data capture instrument in this study (See Appendix G) provided a format for recording: (1) the WPA Narrative Number; (2) Type of Occupation; (3) Gender of Slave; (4) Location of Enslavement; (5) Age When Enslavement Began; (6) Age When Emancipation Began; (7) Page number/paragraph; (8) Narrative Excerpt; (9) Domain Type Code (Individual, Family, Community); (10) Protective Factor Code.

3.5.1 Narrative Excerpts as Data

The researcher read and re-read each of the 100 ex-slave narratives many times over the course of the next year and underlined any passage on the printed slave narrative that represented an expression of the use of a protective factor in one of the individual, familial or community domains. This expression was not always explicitly stated. Sometimes a process of reflection and interpretation was employed by the researcher. This determination was made while engaging in the process of constant comparison between what the researcher knows about protective factors from contemporary research and what the researcher judged to be statements within the text of the slave narrative that represented a protective factor and a domain. Determination of what constituted a protective factor was based on the researchers' knowledge of protective factors acquired from practice as an experienced clinical social worker and from knowledge learned

from the literature review. Once an excerpt had been identified it was recorded on the data capture instrument. Additionally, a second recording was made of the identified protective factor code onto 5x8 index cards whose colors corresponded with the ecological domains (White-Individual, Yellow-Family and Red-Community). This allowed for the researcher to sort and collapse protective factors into larger categories as the analysis process proceeded along.

3.5.2 Data Cards

Each index card contained one protective factor in a single designated domain. Identifying information was placed at the top of each index card so that the protective factor could be traced to an excerpt from the collection. On the left hand corner of the index card is the WPA code corresponding to the Narrative (eg: F23 = the 23rd Narrative of 50 in the Female Sample). In the center was the page number where the excerpt could be located and on the right side of the index card was the exact paragraph in which the excerpt was underlined. This process continued until the researcher had identified the passages representative of protective factors assigned to domains from all of the 100 Narratives. Each index card that contained a protective factor and code will hereinafter be denoted as a "data card".

3.6 Data Analyses

Once the data have been retrieved and analyzed, it is time to cull them for findings and conclusions, to advance the inquiry from the known to the unknown, and to form a cohesive narrative that will stand the test of scholarly criticism (Danto, 2008). In historical research the process of data analysis had already begun in the selection of narratives, in the reading of collaborative documents, in the viewing of pictures of former slaves that contributed to the collection and beginning to formulate presuppositions about their life in slavery and by the identification of protective factors and codes while working through the sample. Standard

research studies make clear distinctions between data collection and data analysis; this difference may feel more awkward for historical researcher (Danto, 2008).

The researcher engaged in a prolonged period of engagement with the historical data in an effort to make meaning of the snippets of lived experiences from the 100 slaves in the sample. The goal is not to develop new data but to rearrange existing data according to a new hypothesis (Danto, 2008). The new hypothesis is that slaves used individual, familial and community coping strategies in order to survive the threats of slavery. Further, that once the coping strategies have been identified, the researcher can then generate common theme and categories of resilience in the form of protective factors across the individual, family and community domains.

3.6.1 Generating Categories: Immersion, Constant Comparison

Specifically, the researcher implemented the following procedures for generating categories of protective factors and related themes from the excerpts from the Narratives during a period of prolonged engagement (See Figure 2):

(1) Read through narratives and began the process of labeling the protective factor and domain and recording on Protective Factor data cards.

(2) Re-read each data card and separated data cards by domain

(3) Re-read each data card and sorted labels of protective factors into larger categories of meaning through an analytic and interpretive process.

(4) Re-read each data card and collapsed the data into matrix of categories of protective factors within each domain.

(5) Read a new and previously unread narrative and attempted to locate the existing categories of protective factors by domain or to discover additional protective factors.

(6) Analyze matrix of categories in each domain to indentify unifying theme within and between each protective factor category.

For 13 months, the researcher engaged in what Borkan (1999) described as the immersion and crystallization process of qualitative data analysis. Immersion is a process whereby a researcher *immerses* him/herself in the data that was collected by reading or examining some portion of the data in detail. This researcher continually attempted to collapse excerpts into like categories in each of the discreet domains. The identification of categories was facilitated by the use of constant comparative techniques (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) between the emerging categories of protective factors with the knowledge of protective factors from contemporary social science literature. This served as a method for grounding the inquiry in the real world of resilience and established an intellectual launch pad for collapsing data cards into similar categories of meaning.

3.6.2 Crystallization

Crystallization is the process of temporarily suspending the process of examining or reading the data (immersion) in order to reflect on the analysis experience and attempt to identify and articulate patterns or themes noticed during the immersion process. It was during this period of reflection, on the community domain, that it became apparent that the ex-slaves were really talking about two different “communities” and making statements about protective factors in each. The bifurcation of the community domain into “Slave Community” and “White Master

Community" provided a layer of meaningfulness and understanding of the social relationships and context in which the slaves were embedded.

Analysis of the content of the slave narratives continued until the data had been thoroughly examined and the categories of protective factors which had emerged had become inclusive in that all excerpts fit a category and were mutually exclusive. Each category was specifically defined and the categories are exhaustive in that all data fits some category (Babbie, 2007, p. 322)

3.7 Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research

Qualitative researchers argue for different standards for judging the quality of research beyond the more traditional quantitatively-oriented criteria (Trochim, 2006; Guba & Lincoln, 1985). There continues to be debate between scholars about the variance in reliable and validity testing between qualitative and quantitative studies with an obvious impact on generalizability of the findings to other samples. Some scholars go far as to suggest that qualitative research falls short of empirical standards needed for the generalizing of findings from any given study. Others are less rigid and more open-minded about the subjective nature of more naturalistic inquiry and have modified reliability and validity tests accordingly. For example, Trochim (2006) outlines a table comparing the judging criteria for quantitative and qualitative research:

Table 4: Comparison of Judging Criteria for Quantitative and Qualitative Research (Trochim, 2006)

Traditional Criteria for Quantitative Research	**Alternative Criteria for Qualitative Research**
Internal validity	Credibility
External validity	Transferability
Reliability	Dependability
Objectivity	Confirmability

3.7.1 Credibility

The measure of a sound qualitative study is if the results of the research are credible or believable from the perspective of the participants in the research. The participants are the only ones who can ultimately judge the credibility. In this study, it is not possible to conduct exit interviews or focus groups with the subjects; therefore, it is difficult to measure the level of internal validity of the research. However, how believable is it that former slaves used an array of protective factors while enslaved in order to fend off threats? One would have to answer at least in part, affirmatively to that question. One way to answer that question is to suggest that the proof is that they were alive to tell their stories to the WPA agents. They survived slavery, were emancipated and many of them went on to live very long lives. But not only that, when the WPA agents recorded the answers to a standardized questionnaire, some followed the guidelines from the FWP more closely than others, that being said, most slaves give remarkably similar responses to the questions (See Appendix H). This increases the credibility of the reporting of the phenomenon of life in slavery as well as the embedded statements about resilience.

3.7.2 Transferability

What is the degree to which the results of this study can be transferred to other contexts or settings? While credibility is within the jurisdiction of the subjects, transferability is in the domain of the researcher (Trochim, 2006). The research questions and methodology help in part to enhance transferability by setting the context, theoretical underpinnings and methodological approach to the inquiry. The general qualitative approach and methods can help the researcher form the basis of sound judgment with respect to transferability. In this study, using an historical approach with combined methodology (primary source documents, prolonged engagement, constant comparative technique and crystallization and immersion) the researcher feels confident

about further testing the results of this study with African American youth from high risk environments. What was not done in this study was a comparison of the male slaves and the female slaves experience with resilience. This level of comparative analysis may help with identifying which of the protective factors are most utilized by males and which by females and ultimately, which protective factors could be transferred to other males and/or females. A gender analysis and perhaps even a regionalized analysis might make for a more finely calibrated transferability test of the findings to other populations in other time periods.

3.7.3 Dependability

Dependability emphasizes the need for the researcher to account for the ever-changing context within which research occurs (Trochim, 2006). The researcher purposely applied the categories of protective factors and themes to other slave narratives not used in the sample to measure the experience of mutual exclusivity and exhaustion of the protective factors and themes. No new domains were suggested by the researcher or an independent auditor. Neither were any new categories of protective factors interpreted by the independent evaluator. The judgment of the researcher after the modified process of auditing and triangulation is that the findings appear to be dependable findings (Patton, 2002).

3.7.4 Confirmability

The researcher over-identified with the subjects while engaged in the data collection process and prolonged engagement with the historical material (Rubin & Babbie, 1993). There were times that immersion in the material was emotional and painful especially as the researcher experienced racism, prejudice, discrimination and oppression in the course of her life. In order to counteract bias in the study as a result of over-identification and shared racial heritage of the informants with the researcher, the researcher solicited the support of an objective, outsider who

would have less emotional involvement with the subjects and their story. The outsider audited the data analysis procedures, both in terms of protective factor labels attributed to narrative excerpts and to the matrix of categories of protective factors across domains. This strategy helped to increase the objectivity which refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others (Trochim, 2006).

3.8 Human Subjects Protection

The researcher submitted a completed Institutional Review Board (IRB) application to the Hunter College IRB as an "exempt" study based on the fact that the WPA Slave Narrative Collection is in the public domain and easily accessed online, at libraries, and at the Library Of Congress. The application outlined a plan for minimizing any potential risk or harm to any descendant of, relative of or other relation to a former slave whose narrative was selected for the study. The plan is as follows:

1) After random number selection, the researcher recoded the numbers of the 100 slave narratives so that the narrative in the sample cannot be identified or traced back to the FWP Slave Narrative Collection by way of the unique numbers assigned by the Library of Congress.
2) The researcher did not use names, nicknames, etc. of any former slave, a family member or other community entities when discussing the selected narrative in the body of the dissertation.
3) The researcher did not name any slave owner, plantation site or specific location of any master in the dissertation.

4) The researcher agreed to not include in the appendix any narrative used in the actual study.
5) The researcher agreed to keep the all of the narratives in the sample under lock and key in the home office of the researcher.

Approval was given in May 2007 and reauthorized in May 2008 for one additional year.

Chapter Four

Results

4.0 Introduction

This section of the dissertation contains the results of the data analysis beginning with demographics and descriptive information related to the sample. Next, the researcher provides a brief treatment of some of the trauma exposure that slaves reported in the narratives. Next the sixteen categories of protective factors are presented in detail by ecological domain beginning at the individual level, then moving to the family level through to the community level (See Fig. 3). Each protective factor is illustrated by selected excerpts from the slave narratives. The first two research questions are addressed in this chapter.

4.1 Demographics of the Sample

In addition to the sample being randomly selected from each of the 17 southern states, the 50 male and 50 female slaves in the sample represented a range of ages and occupations. Many slaves did not know the exact year of their birth as records on slave births were not always recorded. Some approximated their age based on significant astrological events, holidays, and seasons. "When we was born, de white folks put us chillum age down in de Bible en I know from dat I been 19 years old de year of de shake"[12]

Some just relied on the white folks to tell them their age, "I'se now 'bout 85 years ole, dats what de white folks tells me."[13] "I was bout fifteen years old when the Civil War started and, many years ago, his old time white folks told him that April 9, 1846 was the date of his birth."[14] "I was fifteen years when they says we're free."[15] Almost all the slaves in the sample remember

[12] FWPSN, South Carolina, Part 2, p. 261
[13] FWPSN, Texas, Part 3, p. 82
[14] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 1, p. 86
[15] FWPSN, Texas, Part 1, p. 112

how old they was and what they were doing the day freedom came, "I was 35 years old when freedom declared" says a male Georgian slave.[16] "I was only thirteen years old when peace was declared."[17] "I ran away to Philadelphia, I was 19 years old when all the colored people were freed."[18]

Jacobs and his associates (1981) published an index to the collection and provides descriptive information, (e.g.: age, name of master, occupation) on informants in the collection. Among male slaves the age range was between 73 years old and 104 years old. Thirteen were in their 70's; twenty-one in their 80's; Ten in their 90's and three over 100 years old. The researcher was unable to determine the age of 2 male slaves. Among female slaves the age range was between 70 and 110 years old. Eleven were in their 70's; twenty-five in their 80's; seven in their 90's and four over 100 years old. The researcher was unable to determine the age of 3 female slaves.

Surprisingly, many of the narratives in the sample do not specifically name the occupation held by the slave. A general presumption is that most male and female slaves worked in the field with a slight advantage to males as women provided caretaking, childrearing and household duties. In this sample, thirteen male slaves worked the field; two were yard workers; nine were house workers; one identified as a seaman and one other identified as a ranch-hand. Almost half the sample of male slaves (24) did not have recorded information in the narratives about their occupation. For the female slaves, ten worked the field, sixteen worked in the house; one provided childcare and one was a nursemaid. Twenty-two in the female sample had unspecified occupations. The researcher identified excerpts embedded in the written narrative of slaves that represented a statement about resilience. In the individual domain there were 88 male excerpts

[16] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 168
[17] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 1, p. 255
[18] FWPSN, Maryland, p. 64

and 85 female excerpts for a total of 173. In the family domain there were 26 male excerpts and 30 female for a total of 56. In the Slave community domain, there were 57 male excerpts and 30 female for a total of 87 and in the Master domain, there were 48 excerpts in the male narratives and 59 in the female narratives for a total of 107.(See Table 5). The total number of excerpts in the male sample was 219; the female sample was 204. The total number of excerpts from the 100 narratives in the sample was 423. The average number of excerpts identified per narrative in the sample was 4.23.

The following 16 categories of protective factors emerged from the analysis of 423 excerpts culled from 100 Federal Writers Project Slave Narratives: in the Individual Domain – Power, Competence, Spirituality and Passion; in the Family Domain – Care, Counsel, Role Model and Ritual; in the Slave Community Domain - Support, Opportunity, Pride and Norms; and in the Master Community Domain - Goods and Services, Benevolence, Protection and Opportunity.

Upon further qualitative analysis, the protective factors collapsed to a range of Connections across the ecological domains (See Figure 4). The protective factors in the Individual domain are represented by Internal Connections; in the Family domain protective factors are represented by Familial Connections; in the slave community protective factors are represented by In-Group Connections; and in the Master Community domain, protective factors are represented by Out-Group Connections - all targeted towards African American resilience (See Table 6).

4.2 Risks in Slavery

Resilience is related to either real or perceived risks in the social environment. Before engaging in a discussion about the resilience of slaves, one need to make mention of the risks associated with being a slave, being part of a slave family and community. This researcher provides a sampling of such risk from selected excerpts from the sample of slave narratives.

Scholars have written much about this subject in quite a lot of detail and since this is not the intended focus of this dissertation, only a brief accounting of risk will be rendered (Blassingame, 1979; Kolchin, 1993; DeGruy, 2005).

One of the most common threats to slaves was the array of brutality meted out as punishment. A female from Alabama says, "You axe was we punished? Yassuh, we was punished for somethings, most of all for stealin.'"[19] Some behaviors warranted more severe punishment. One slave was punished severely for "a lie that was told on me by the first nurse who was jealous of my looks."[20] Most punishment took the form of beatings. "Dey uster tie me ter a tree an' beat me till de blood run down my back, I doan 'member nothin' dat I done I jist 'members de whuppin's. Some of de rest wuz beat wuser dan I wuz too, an' I uster scream dat I wuz sho' dyin'."[21] And some did die. "During my slave days", a female slave from Maryland says, "only one slave ran away, he was my uncle, when the Yankees came to Virginia, he ran away with them. He was later captured by the sheriff and taken to county jail, after which we never heard nor saw him again."[22]

Sometimes master would stop short of killing slaves and opted to mame or disfigure their human chattel. Says a female from Alabama, "Yassuh, we was taught to read an' write, but mos' of de slaves didn't want to learn. Us little niggers would hide our books under de steps to keep f'um having to study."[23] Why would slaves hide this fact from master? "Our marster found out dat his carriage driver had larned to read and write whilst he was takin' de marster's chillun to and f'um school, he had dat Niggers thumbs cut off and put another boy to doin' de drivin' in his

[19] FWPSN, Alabama, p. 410
[20] FWPSN, Maryland, p. 27
[21] FWPSN, North Carolina, Part 1, p. 72
[22] FWPSN, Maryland, p. 28
[23] FWPSN, Alabama, p. 410

place."[24] Female from Arkansas, "They sho didn't teach them to read. They whoop you if they see you have a book. If they see you gang around talkin, they say they talkin about freedom or equalization and they scatter you bout." [25]

Many slaves endured the trauma of forced separation from loved ones and the indignity of being sold. A female from Arkansas, "When you go to be sold you have to say what they tell you to say. When a man be unruly they sell him to get rid of him. They call it selling nigger meat. No use tryin run off they catch you an bring you back"[26] A female from Arkansas, "One of them tried to get old missus to sell my ma just before the war broke out. He wanter sell her cause she too old to bear children. Sell her and buy young woman raise mo children to sell, dat bring de owner fifteen hundred dollars."[27] Young women were important to the slave owner, particularly in the 18th and 19th Century when plantations were mills for the production of generations of enslaved African Americans. Exploitation and rape of slave women was commonplace. A male slave from Arkansas says:

> "I heard that if the boss man wanted to be with women that they had, the women would be scared not to be with him for fear he would whip them and when they started whipping them for that they kept on till they got what they wanted. They would take them way off and have dealings with them. That is where so much of that yellow and half-white comes from."[28] (p. 261)

The WPA agents asked a standard question of most respondents in the Born in Slavery project related to the KKK. The following are a couple of accounts of encounters with the KKK. "The Ku Klux done the uprising. They say they won't let the nigger enjoy freedom. They killed a lot of black folks in Georgia and a few white folks whut they said was in wide m. We darkies

[24] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 131
[25] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 2, p. 17
[26] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 2, p. 17
[27] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 2, p. 15
[28] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 6, p. 261

had nuthin to do wid freedom. Two or three set down on you, take leaves and build a fire and burn their feet nearly off. That the way the white folks treat the darky."[29] Another describes the trauma in more painfully real detail:

> "Dey took him to de whippin' post. Dey strip off his shirt, den dey put his head an' hands through de holes in de top, an' tied his feets to de bottom, den Ole Marse took de whip. Dat lash hiss like col' water on er red hot iron when it come through de air, an' every time it hit him it lef' er streak of blood. Time Ole Marse finish, he back look like er piece of raw beef. Den dey lay him face down on er plank den dey poured turpentine in all dem cut places. It burned like fire but dat niggah didn' know nothin' 'bout it kaze he done passed out from pain. But all his life dat black man toted dem scares on his back"[30]

The following slave from Alabama summarizes the trauma and risks of life in slavery, he says, had no good words for slavery days or the old masters, declaring purely and simply: " 'Dem days wuz hell." [31]

4.3 Protective Factors Identified in the Domain of the Individual

RQ #1: What do slaves report were the individual, family and community protective factors during slavery?

In the book, *From Sundown to Sunup* (Rawick, 1972) the author gives an clear example of the African connection taking root in American soil as he writes about the enslaved Africans and the adaptation of African heritage to survive the dehumanizing experience of chattel slavery:

> "From the slave narratives we can see how the black slave, forced to abandon his African past and its institutions and to adapt himself to being a slave under white masters in a new land, formed an Afro-American heritage with the social forms and social conditions of the new land. Rather than becoming "deculturalized," the slaves used what they brought with them from Africa to meet the new conditions; they created

[29] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 2, p. 21
[30] FWPSN, North Carolina, Part 1, p. 164
[31] FWPSN, Alabama, p. 129

> new social forms and behavior patterns which syncretized African and New World elements under the particular conditions of slave life in the United States. (Rawick, 1972, page xix)

This unique cultural adaptation and connection becomes more evident as the search for protective factors for the progeny of African American slaves took shape over the past two years of this work. The protective factors identified in the individual domain, representing connections to internal resources and strategies aimed at mitigating risk are connecting to personal power, connecting to areas of competence, connecting to spirituality and connecting to ones' passion.

The largest number of excerpts from the sample was identified in this domain. Given the kind of assault on slave families and the slave community necessary for exploitation, it would follow that perhaps the greatest strength of the African slave was the slave him or herself and the manner in which they harnessed their mind, body and soul in the struggle for life and dignity. What follows are narrative excerpts demonstrative of these internal connections.

1) Power is defined as the ability to act or produce an effect

A female slave from Missouri was on the auction block and noticed one of the meanest slave owners in the county and asserted the following when he motioned to bid for her: "Old Mister don't you bid for me, 'cause if you do, I would not live on your plantation. I will take a knife and cut my own throat from ear to ear before I would be owned by you."[32] She recollects that after saying such, he stepped back and let someone else bid for her.

"Yes, Jesus, I seen them Ku Klux, I member once we had a big ball, we was cuttin' a dash that night. The Ku Klux come and folks made out they was dead. Some of the folks run they was so scared, but one woman come out and said she knowed everyone of the men. She knowed

[32] FWPSN, Missouri, p. 270

em by their hosses. Next mornin' we went by old FN house and it looked like they was a hundred saddles layin' out in the yard."[33]

And other times, ex slaves used less assertive strategies in favor of more creative ways to elude the punishment of the slave owner, as a man from Georgia illustrates: "Whenever a slave attempted to escape, the hounds were put on his trail. Mr. W was caught and treed by the hounds several times. He later found a way to elude them. This was done by rubbing his feet in the refuse material of the barnyard or the pasture, and then he covered his legs with pine tar. On one occasion he managed to stay away from the plantation for 6 months before he returned of his own accord.[34] A male from Arkansas says, "Lots of time they had work to do and didn't do it, sometimes too, they would go off and would neglect to feed the horses or to milk the cows-something like that."[35]

To avoid the brutality of the overseers whip, slaves needed to be creative, for example take the case of the male ex-slave from Georgia: "If any slave failed to pick the required 200 lbs of cotton every day, he was soundly whipped by the overseer. Sometimes de slaves escaped this whipping by giving illness as an excuse. Another form of strategy adopted by de slaves was to dampen the cotton or conceal stones in the baskets, either of which would make the cotton weigh more."[36]

Caring for oneself is a recurring comment by surviving ex-slaves. According to a female from Virginia, "people lived so much longer because they took care of themselves."[37] A male ex-slave from Georgia says he attributes his old age to "sane and careful living".[38] A man from

[33] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 3, p.180
[34] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 202
[35] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 6, p. 261
[36] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 195
[37] FWPSN, Virginia, p. 26
[38] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 204

South Carolina says, "he attributes his longevity to the fact that he has never tasted whiskey, never chewed tobacco; never had a fight; toothache and headache are unknown to him; the service of a physician has never been needed; he does not know one playing card from another. He can walk five or more miles with seeming ease; is jovial and humorous." [39]

One man's path to dignity was to buy freedom: "A slave might secure his freedom by running away to the north or by hiring his time out for a number of years. I was able to save enough money with which to purchase myself from my master".[40] A female slave from Georgia remembers how she managed to earn a little money during slavery days, "this was done by collecting all the rags she could find and then carrying them to town in an oxcart to sell them".[41] A slave from Maryland remembers when the War was over and her Master went to the court house to set her free. After securing the legal papers, he gave his 65 slaves a choice, to stay or leave. She says, "some stayed there, others went away. I left and have never been back since!"[42]

After the war, you did have a choice, "You see, they didn't care for nothing but a little something to eat and a fine dress and they would have gone on to somebody else and got that"[43]. This Arkansas man knew that the going rate for a freed slave was about the same, so the other benefits of food and clothing made a big difference in whether the freed slave stayed or left the plantation. A Georgian says when his master wanted him to sign his papers to work with him after freedom declared, "If I is already free, I don't need to sign no paper!"[44]

Despite their bitter detestations of bondage, on a day-to-day level most slaves came to terms with their conditions-because they had little choice-striving all the while to maximize their

[39] FWPSN, South Carolina Part 4, p. 3
[40] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 3, p. 6
[41] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 297
[42] FWPSN, Maryland, p. 28
[43] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 6, p. 260
[44] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 171

autonomy and preserve as "rights" the little privileges they were allowed to enjoy (Kolchin, 1993). Most slaves realized that the promise of 40 acres and a mule would not come to pass, others got involved politically to help make that so.[45]

2) Competence is defined as capable, qualified, fit and the exercising of appropriate judgment and behaviors given social clues.

Work was the expectation. A female from Kansas says to the WPA Agent, "Why, honey, I always been a slave. I worked for all the early white families in this here town"[46] a female from South Carolina says, "I wuz trained up to be uh nu'se 'oman en I betcha I got chillum more den any 60 year old 'bout heah now dat I nu'se when dey wuz fust come heah. No, oney, ain' got no chillum uv me own. Aw my chillun white lak yuh."[47]A female from Ohio whose duties were that of a nurse maid, said she " had to hol' the baby all de time she slept", she said "and sometimes I got so sleepy myself I had to prop ma' eyes open with pieces of whisks from a broom." [48] She had the experience of a negative consequence when the missus discovered her asleep while the baby was wailing in the middle of the night.

A male from Florida, corroborates the extent to which avoiding punishment is possible by demonstrating knowledge of social norms, "His master, a prominent political figure of that time was very kind to his slaves, but would not permit them to read and write. Relating an incident after having learned to read and write, one day as he was reading a newspaper, the master walked upon him unexpectedly and demanded to know what he was doing with the newspaper. He immediately turned the paper upside down and declared, "Dem con federates done won the

[45] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 2, p.213
[46] FWPSN, Kansas, p. 15
[47] FWPSN, South Carolina, Part 1, p. 57
[48] FWPSN, Ohio, p. 10

war!" The master laughed and walked away without punishing him.[49] Another ex-slave says it more plainly, "in slav'ry time if de Niggers had a –behaved and minded dier Marster and Mist'ess dey wouldn't have had sich a hard time."[50] This was the golden rule and everyone knew it.

A female from Georgia says, " Ah wuz raised tuh be uh maid fer de ladies in de big house. De house servants hold that they is uh step better den de field niggahs. House servants wuz niggah quality folks."[51] A female from Kansas remarked on her keen abilities. She says, "I was about fourteen and I never could read or write, but I can count, and I can remember - Lawdy, how I can remember! [52] Women even worked machines in the field. During the war, men were recruited as soldiers leaving the field work to the women. A female from Arkansas recalls, "I was a field hand when the men went into the army, I plowed. I plowed four years I recken, till de surrender."[53]

Even an 8 year old had the ability to perform tasks on the plantation. A slave from Missouri recalls that she was a lookout for the union army as they blazed through the south, "I must have been about eight years old when de war start. Fust I knowed, one day Masta said to me, child go out to de gate an see if anyone comin. I did this until one day I went to the gate an' dere was men comin down de road."[54]

Slaves provide precise details about many of their duties and jobs in slavery, for example, a male slave from Florida who was a candlemaker recounts, "the moulds were made of wood and were of the correct size, cotton string twisted right from the raw cotton was cut into desired

[49] FWPSN, Florida, p. 178
[50] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 1, p. 182
[51] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 3, p. 67
[52] FWPSN, Kansas, p.16
[53] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 2, p. 16
[54] FWPSN, Missouri, p. 122

length and placed in the moulds first, then heated tallow was poured in until they were filled, then the tallow was allowed to set and cool and then the were removed and ready for use."[55] "When I was a shaver I carried water to de rooms and polished shoes fer all de white folks in de house. Den I set de freshly polished shoes at de door of de bed-room. I get a nickel fer dat and dance fer joy over it!"[56] A male slave from Georgia said he "never seed no store brought clothes, the 'oman done all the weavin' in a separate room called the 'loom house. The cloth was dyed with home-made coloring, indigo for blue, red oak bark for brown, green husks offen walnuts for black, and sumacs for red and they'd mix these colors to make other colors."[57] A male slave from Texas says, "I want to tell you 'bout how we killed hogs in my day. We digged a deep pit in de groun' and heated big rocks red hot and filled up de pit with water and dropped dem hot rocks in and got de water hot; den we stuck de hogs and rolled 'em in dat pit."[58] A male slave from Indiana became an expert barbecuer so much so that he became the griller for the federal army.[59]

One slave declares you can keep pork unspoiled with some special techniques that he used while a run-a-way in need of good protein for his journey, he says, "pork though killed in the hottest of July weather will not spoil if it is packed down in shucked corn-on-the-cob."[60] Occasionally slaves were permitted to sell produce or crafts for money. One male from Arkansas recalls he would "sometimes earn five or six dollars by making and selling charcoal."[61] One slave from Tennessee remarked how for the rest of his life, skills learned in slavery gave him the right attitude and experience to keep himself alive. He says "I dun all kinds ob odd jobs, waited

[55] FWPSN, Florida, p.349
[56] FWPSN, South Carolina, Part 4, p.76
[57] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 1, p. 94
[58]FWPSN, Texas, Part 1, p. 123
[59] FWPSN, Indiana, p. 48
[60] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 1, p. 90
[61] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 5, p. 160

on tables, pressin' clothes en anyting else dat cum 'long, but sum jobs wuz small pay but hit kep me 'live."[62] Another slave remarks that he's smart enough to avoid the temptations of undisciplined minds and that is partly the reason he lived to be over 100 years old. He says, "I live a long time because I don't smoke, chew or drink intoxicating beverages."[63]

3) Spirituality defined as belief and/or practice in religious institutions or culturally based alternatives, activity of faith, belief in God or some other deity..

The master sometimes allowed slaves to go their church provided they sat in the back benches.[64] A female from Mississipi says, "I 'members when I joined de church and de white folks preacher baptized us in de creek."[65] A slave from Virginia remembers the first time she went in a church and looked all around, she said, "I thought dat I was in heaven. It wasn't long before I got 'ligeon, an d, yes, I jined de church, 15 years old I wuz."[66] By the eve of the Civil War it is clear that the slave community had an extensive religious life of its own, hidden from the eyes of master (Raboteau, 1978).

Many ex-slaves report involvement in spiritual, religious and pagan activity. A former slave from Texas remarks, "how far Gawd had brung her" and talks about, " thanking Gawd everyday for surviving."[67] An ex slave from Georgia says she lived to reach such a ripe old age because she has always been obedient and "because she has always been a firm believer in God."[68] An agent reported this observation in his field notes about a female exslave from Georgia : " She is now alone without sister, brother, or child; but even at her old age she is unusually optimistic and continues to enjoy life. She believes in serving God and living a clean honest life. She just has

[62] FWPSN, Tennessee, p. 39
[63] FWPSN, Ohio, p. 49
[64] FWPSN, Indiana, p. 165
[65] FWPSN, Mississippi, p. 152
[66] FWPSN, Virginia, p. 24
[67] FWPSN, Texas, Part 4, p. 145
[68] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 3, p. 6

one desire and that is to enter the kingdom of heaven someday."[69] One slave from Missouri says with a heart of gratitude, "I had it mighty hard in dem days, yes I did but den it wasn't hard as some others had it"[70]A female from Arkansas says,"I trusts in de Lord and try to do right, honey, dat way I lives."[71] One female from Alabama exclaims incredulously, "Yes my chile, I is got religion. I seed Jesus a hanging f'um de cross. He give his blood so dat us could live. I knows I is goin' to hebben."[72] "De hymn book wha' to fence de human family in,"[73] says a male slave from South Carolina.

Slaves like this male from Arkansas, believed in superstitions. "Since this rain we had lately my rheumatism been botherin me some. I is gone to cutting my fingernails on Wednesday now so's I'll have health." [74] Still another from Arkansas says, "I suppose a man ought to be in church but a man can be good whether inside or outside of it."[75] A female from the same state puts her faith in something else besides God. She says "in slavery times I used to carry a rabbit foot in my pocket to keep old massa from whipping you." [76] "I sho does believe in ghosties. We's got one good spirit an' one bad un. Always give a gos' de right hand' side of de road, white folks, an' de won't bother you".[77] Whether it was a formal religion or a cultural pagan practice, many slaves sought strength from something larger than themselves. According to a female exslave from Alabama, "trustin' in somtin was de only hope of de pore black critters in dem days. Us

[69] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 298
[70] FWPSN, Missouri, p. 104
[71] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 2, p. 22
[72] FWPSN, Alabama, p. 410
[73] FWPSN, South Carolina, Part 1, p. 332
[74] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 4, p. 113
[75] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 6, p. 263
[76] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 3, p. 166
[77] FWPSN, Alabama, p. 410

jest prayed for strength to endure it to de end. We didn't 'spect nothin' but to stay in bondage 'till we died." [78]

A male slave from Georgia says, "just trust in de Good Lord, he will take keer of you."[79] When a WPA asked what attributed to his long, healthy life, another Georgian slave says, "I tell you 'zactly what I believe, I bin tryin' to serve God ever since I come to be a man and I live by precept of de word, I ain't able to go to church, but I still keep serving God."[80]

4) Passion defined as an emotional expression about something or someone and the regulation of those feelings.

Connections to one's passion were a dual edged sword for the slave; many times restraining passion was paramount. All had the desire to be free; many acted on this deep desire and successfully rode the Underground Railroad to freedom in the north. Some slaves' passions were so inflamed that death was an acceptable alternative to bondage. As we move into the mid 19th Century particularly on the eve of the Civil War, slaves and slave owners are locked into a series of formal and informal social agreements, many mimicking contemporary labor-employee practices of the 21st Century (Follet, 2005).

A female slave from Missouri explained about her mother's discontent with the hard work of slave life and its daily degradations by the missus in the big house. "She wuz alwys mad and had a mean look in her eye. When she put her Indian up de white folks let her alone. She usta run off to de woods til she git over it." [81] The alternative emotional coping response, to lose emotional control with Master or Missus, could result in physical violence, being sold, and separated from family or other untoward events.

[78] FWPSN, Alabama, p. 131
[79] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 146
[80] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 174
[81] FWPSN, Missouri, p. 121

Another ex slave from Texas put it another way when contemplating running away from the plantation, he say "'no use running from bad to worse, hunting better."[82] Survival meant making choices grounded in the reality of the day. And taking whatever opportunities for healthy self-soothing that could be done, for example, a man from Georgia relays that, "sometimes we 'ud sing effen we felt sad and low down, but soon as we could, we 'ud go off whar we could go to sleep and forgit all 'bout trouble!"[83] A female from Arkansas relates the importance of letting go of resentment and bitterness, "Now I don't feel bitter against people. Ain't no use to hold malice gainst nobody—got to have a good heart".[84]

Some slaves wanted desperately to fight in the War to help earn their freedom. "My Marster wus one of de fust ter go ter de war an' I wanted to go wid him but bein' only fourteen dey 'cided ter sen' an older slave boy instead. I hated dat, 'case I shorely wanted ter go."[85] Another slave exclaims, "My politics is my love for my country!"[86] One slave says, "he stresses the value of work, not the enforced labor of the slave but the cheerful toil of free people."[87]

Some slaves had more benign passions, for example a slave from Indiana says," he was always a lover of horses."[88] In his story he waxes poetic about the beautiful creatures that were under his care on the plantation so much so that in freedom he continued to make a life in the horse industry. Something similar happened to this Floridian slave, he says, "On Sundays he would attend church, one day he thought he heard the call of God beseeching him to preach.

[82] FWPSN, Texas, Part 2, p. 189
[83] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 1, p. 100
[84] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 4, p. 282
[85] FWPSN, North Carolina, Part 2, p. 24
[86] FWPSN, Indiana, p. 48
[87] FWPSN, Indiana, p. 48
[88] FWPSN, Indiana, p. 48

After the war, he began to preach and was ordained as an elder in 1874."[89] Servitude many case ignited passions that lived on in slaves for the remainder of their lives.

4.4 Protective Factors in the Domain of the Family

RQ #1: What do slaves report were the individual, family and community protective factors during slavery?

Slave owners were usually aware of, and considered themselves strong supporters of, slave families. Motivated by both a paternalistic concern for the well-being of their "people" and a calculating regard for their own economic interest, slave owners paid increasing attention to the family lives of their slaves. The actions of the masters were in many ways contradictory; they not only supported slave families but also disrupted them through forced separations and forced sex (Kolchin, 1993). Imagine not being certain of who you are or where you come from, as in the case of this man from Arkansas, "I don't know the names of my father's people, they was sole in slavery."[90]

The fewest number of narrative excerpts in the sample related to family resilience. Even under the best of situations, Kolchin asserts that slave families lacked the institutional and legal support enjoyed by those that were free, and in extreme cases masters could not only hinder but prevent the development of normal family relations. A female slave from Indiana lost her mother to a whipping from ole massa, she said, "she was left motherless to face a frowning world"[91]

Families provided a crucial if fragile buffer, shielding slaves from the worst rigors of slavery (Kolchin, 1993). The research in this study concluded that slave families characterized by familial connections to care, counsel, positive role models and rituals offer the best protections from the trauma of slavery.

[89] FWPSN, Florida, p. 180
[90] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 6, p. 259
[91] FWPSN, Indiana, p. 141

1) Care defined as assistance in time of need, love, support and appropriate caretaking.

If childhood was a special time for enslaved children, it was because their parents made it so. They stood between them and slaveholders who sought to control them psychologically and to break their wills to resist (King, 1995). Many slaves routinely slipped off the plantation for a rest from plantation work. Sometimes slaves ran away and while they were fugitives were dependent on aide from other slave families. A male from Georgia said "while a fugitive he slept in the woods eating wild berries etc. sometimes he slipped to the plantation of his mother or that of his father where he was able to secure food".[92] Some slaves had near death experiences and were fortunate enough to have a family member nearby to provide assistance. A male from Ohio also received life saving assistance; he can remember when "my brother Henry pulled me out of de fire."[93]

In the absence of children, slave women prayed for a good man to ease the strain of life on the plantation. A female from Arkansas talked about the importance of her husband's support, "I was a motherless chile but the Lord made up for it by givin' me a good husband and I don't want for anything."[94] Many slaves talked about the unconditional love and support they received from mothers and fathers. A male from Florida remarked on the care his mother provided, "his mother saw to it that her children were well fed".[95] A female from Georgia said that, "After de war wuz over my pa, he comed up to our house and got my ma and all us chillen an carries us down to his marster's place. My pa wuz a hard worker an we helped him an in a few years he bought a little piece of land an he owned it till he died".[96]

[92] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 202
[93] FWPSN, Ohio, p. 45
[94] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 5, p. 108
[95] FWPSN, Florida, p. 348
[96] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 3, p. 117

A slave from Arkansas remarks on the ingenuity of his mother when faced with a medical emergency. He recalls "I members one time I got a long splinter in my foot and couldn't get it out, so my mammy bound a piece of fat meat round my foot and let it stay bout a couple days, then the splinter come out real easy like."[97] That was a lesson of love that no doubt represented a remedy passed down from the older generation, and stayed with him throughout his life. One slave from Kentucky got in touch with a very early memory in slavery when responding to questions from the WPA agent, he says, "I remembers the cradle I was placed in where my mama would rock me and sit with me and sing to me.[98]

2) Counsel defined as to be instructive, to provide guidance and structure to the rearing of family members and to prevent risky behaviors.

To avoid difficulties, slave children were reliant on the counsel of their older siblings, parents and other older relatives that resided in the quarters. A male from Texas said "my father was always counseling me. He said, "'everyman has to serve god under his own vine and fig tree." He kept pointing out that, "the war wasn't going to last forever, but that our forever was going to be spent living among the Southerners after they got licked".[99]

Family members provided counsel around good character. A male from Georgia sheds some light on the kinds of structure his family reared him in by comparing his rearing in slavery with his observations of young people being raised in the 20th Century, he says, "Funerals warn't so common den as now 'cause folks didn't die out so fast dem days. Dey tuk better keer of deyselfs, at right, wuked hard, and went to bed at night 'stid of folks runs 'round now; dier mammies and daddies never knows whar dey is"[100] The same for a male from Arkansas who

[97] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 4, p. 116
[98] FWPSN, Kentucky, p. 1
[99] FWPSN, Texas, Part 3, p. 189
[100] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 4

offers additional instruction on the counsel of young people from his own upbringing, he says "the parents don't teach the children, and the children can't amount to anything. If children are not taught to work, they will never have nothing."[101] A male slave from Mississippi says, "Dis generation aint got much sens. Dey's tryin' to git somewhere too fas'. None of 'em is sat'fied wid plain livin'. Dey wants too much."[102] A female from Georgia references the preventative nature of the family counseling experience, she says "my mother always see to it that her children had sufficient to eat so that they would not have to steal and would therefore grow up to be honorable."[103] "W'at I t'ink 'bout slabery? I t'nk it been good t'ing. It larn nigger to wuk. If it ain't mek nigger wuk, he wouldn't do nutting but tief."[104]

The elders were a source of counsel to the next generation of slaves, passing on wisdom and knowhow to the younger slaves. Some because of their age had special favor in the eyes of the slaveholders, some not. Many possessed knowledge about medicines and remedies. The role of the elder in the slave family is recounted, a slave from Florida remembers his granny, he says; "I spent much time around the grannies during slavery and learned much about herbs and roots and how they were used to cure all manner of ills."[105]

3) Models defined as a positive example for imitation or emulation.

Child slaves like all children learn behaviors from their primary reference group, namely parents. Parents in slavery oftentimes made very difficult decisions that on its face seem unexplainable or seemed not to make sense yet they make the decision. For example, a family decides to stay on the plantation after freedom. What would compel a mother to suppress the impulse to be free? Perhaps the impulse to survive as a family is a greater end. A male from

[101] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 6, p. 278
[102] FWPSN, Mississippi, p. 150
[103] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 3, p. 3
[104] FWPSN, South Carolina, Part 3, p. 276
[105] FWPSN, Florida, p. 354

Tennessee provides evidence of this protective factor, he said, "W'en we all wuz freed we had nuthin en no place ter go, so dat mah mammy lived wid our Missus five y'ars longer."[106]

A female from Indiana talks about the trade off of maintaining family versus leaving the plantation as a free woman, she says, "At the close of the war, I was given my choice of staying on the same plantation, working on shares, or taking my family away, letting them out for their food and clothes. I decided to stay on that way; I could have my children with me."[107]Another female, from the state of Alabama, "When we knowed we wuz free, everybody wanted to git out. De rule wuz dat if you stayed in yo' cabin you could keep it, but if you lef' you los' it. My husband wuz workin' at W (a neighboring plantation) an' he slipped in and' out so us could keep on livin' in de cabin."[108] Here he sacrificed living fulltime with his family so as not to place the entire family in jeopardy of losing their housing.

Many of the slaves in the sample attribute much of their survival story to the strength of their mothers and the failings of their current generation to less rigor and standards of parenting. A male slave from Mississippi says, "My mammy sho' was healthy and strong."[109] A slave from Arkansas says, "I don't know what to think of the younger generation. I don't know why and what to think of 'em. Just don't know how to take 'em. Aint't comin' like I did. Lay it to the parents. They have plenty of leaders outside the family."[110] "The longer I lives de plainer I see dat it ain' right to want mo' den you can use."[111] A male from Georgia expresses two important values in the following statement, he said "Folks don't teach chillum right, and dey don't make dem go to church lak dey should oughta."[112] He asserts that education and religion are two

[106] FWPSN, Tennessee, p. 9
[107] FWPSN, Indiana, p. 165
[108] FWPSN, Alabama, p. 132
[109] FWPSN, Mississippi, p. 91
[110] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 3, p. 230
[111] FWPSN, Mississippi, p. 99
[112] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 141

important values for adults to model for their children. This statement underscores the importance of parents being positive role models for their children, in temperament and in deeds.

4) Rituals defined as a customarily repeated action, acts, rites; traditions or celebrations.

The agents from the WPA specifically asked about rituals (weddings/funerals/birthing), celebrations and holidays as a matter of routine therefore virtually every narrative makes mention of what special foods the master provided during these special occasions and the temporary reprieve from slave work (unless you were the cook and wait servants). Slaves used time to reconnect with family members and conducted activities to maintain the family. Many slaves recounted life after working for master—Saturday night and Sundays.

A male slave from Arkansas expresses the importance of Sunday breakfast, he says, " we would work hard all the week talkin' 'bout what good biscuits we'd have come Sunday morning when the family was together 'round the table".[113] Others talked about attending church together as a family. A female from Alabama reports on the routine of attending Sunday church as a family before having a big feast with the family, she says, "Us'd go to church wid de white folks on Sunday and sit in de back, an' den we go home an' eat a big Sunday meal."[114] A female from Mississippi recalls the routine of dressing up for Sunday church on the plantation and the good feelings she and her family felt preparing for attending church, she says, "When us dress' up in Sund'y clo'es us had caliker dresses. Dey sho' was pretty."[115]

There weren't many happy memories from a Texas slave but he recalls a regular weekend ritual that seemed to temper the harshness of bondage. A male from Texas fondly remembered a

[113] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 6, p. 262
[114] FWPSN, Alabama, p. 410
[115] FWPSN, Mississippi, p. 152

good time with his family when he said, “Seemed like my folks was happy when de starts dancin’.[116]

Regarding marriage, a slave from Georgia recalls that “she married immediately after freedom and proudly spoke of being the first person to wed in the “Big Bethel Church”.[117] She wanted so much to have the ritual akin to the ritual of white families. More common however is the broom jumping ritual of slave families A male Georgia slave says, “folkses didn’ make no big todo over weedings like they do now, when slave got married they jus’ laid down the broom on the floor and the couple jined hands and jumped back-uds over the broomstick.”[118] These rituals helped to provide and/or establish critical reference group bonding experiences that helped to stave off the indignity of bondage.

4.5 Protective Factors Identified in the Domain of the Slave Community

RQ #1: What do slaves report were the individual, family and community protective factors during slavery?

In the first round of qualitative analysis, the community domain contained the largest number of coded excerpts from the narratives. In subsequent readings of the narratives, something interesting occurred. It became apparent slaves straddled two very different communities and made statements related to each, they endorse critical influences within the slave community and the master’s community. After recoding based on the reality of segregation, the slave community domain yielded the 2nd fewest data about protective factors from the sample.

The segregation of the community along racial lines is a social arrangement perpetuated by White supremacist ideology whose imprints can still be observed in the social order of the 21st Century. George Rawick (1972), remarks on the genesis of the racially defined split in human

[116] FWPSN, Texas, Part 3, p. 166
[117] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 298
[118] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 1, p. 101

relations, he says, “from sunup to sundown was master’s time and from sundown to sunup was the time for making black community.”

For that reason the community domain protective factors have been identified accordingly, as the slave connected to the community of others in bondage, which have been defined as In-Group connections; and protective factors identified as the slave connected to the community of the Master and other free Whites, defined as Out-group connections. This section will explicate the protective factors of the slave community, followed by an accounting of the protective factors of the master community.

The slave community acted like a generalized extended kinship system in which all adults looked after all children (Blassingame, 1979). This type of assistance to one another created tolerable situations for one another and facilitated more healthy adjustment to the conditions of enslavement. During work time slaves were harshly exploited but during the off time they lived for themselves and created the behavioral and institutional basis which prevented them from becoming the absolute victim (Rawick, 1972). The four protective factors identified in this domain reflect In-Group connections to support, opportunity, pride and norms.

1) Support defined as providing assistance, aide, or other types of helping towards other slaves.

A male from Georgia states how it used to be in slavery times, he says “times has changed in lots of ways since dem good ole days…dey loved one another and was allus ready to lend a helpin’ hand, ‘specially in times of trouble.”[119] Slave support was so essential that many times the configuration of the quarters made it easy to access one another. On the plantation slaves usually had a house of their own for their families. “Usually they built their houses in a circle so you didn’t have to go out doors hardly to go to the house next to you.”[120]

[119] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 138
[120] FWPSN, Kansas, p. 2

Many slaves made attempts to run away from bondage, a male from Maryland talks about the help of strangers that made his escape possible, "after arriving in Philadephia (as escaped runaways) we went to a colored church that helped escaping slaves".[121] A female from Missouri, echoed that sentiment, she said, "I run away. I stayed two weeks. I hid in the woods that whole two weeks and was not afraid. At night I would come up to some of the slave cabins who were my friends and eat and stay all night."[122]

Sometimes the help took the form of lifting spirits and having fun. "Massa gone and us niggers give a big ball the night they all gone."[123] Not only was their moral support but concrete support was meted out as well. Families pooled resources when they needed to go find food for the family, "nigger mens and boys 'ud go in crowds and a rabbit ain't got no chance 'ginst that!"[124]

Certain support went beyond the slave family and impacted the slave community. The slave community helped one another during bereavement, "dere warn't no undertakers back in dem days, and folks had to pervade evvything at home. Corpses were measured and coffins made to fit de bodies. All de neighbors, fur and nigh, gathered 'round to set up wid de fambly."[125] A male slave from Kansas says, "There wasn't such a thing as a cemetery then, they were just buried right on the plantation, usually close to the house. They would put the body in a wagon, and walk to where to bury the person, and they would sing all of the way."[126]

The slave community also looked after the aged and elderly in the community. "When a slave got too old to work master would give him a small cabin on the plantation and the other

[121] FWPSN, Maryland, p. 64
[122] FWPSN, Missouri, p. 273
[123] FWPSN, Texas, Part 2, p. 194
[124] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 1, p. 93
[125] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 141
[126] FWPSN, Kansas, p.3

slaves would wait on him, they would furnish him with victuals and clothes until he died."[127] "Besides having to take care of young children, these older slaves were required to care for those who were ill."[128]

2) Opportunity as defined as a chance for advancement or progress or chances to spend time together as a community.

Harvest time were big festivals on the plantation marked by brutally long hours of shucking or hoeing or stirring as in the case of sugar on the sugar plantations of Louisiana. These were family and community celebrations. Festivals and harvest celebrations created chances for slaves to connect with each other at sundown and weekends. A male from Georgia looked forward to the weekends, he said, "Sadday nights dey all got together and frolicked; picked de banjo, and drunk whiskey. Didn't none of 'em git drunk, 'cause dey was used to it".[129] A male slave from Kansas says, "The slaves used to dance or go to the prayer meeting to pass their time."[130]

When slaves got together it provided opportunities for sharing information about the plantation, neighboring plantations, local figures, politics and more. A male from Oklahoma tells of the slave's information grapevine "they carried news from one plantation by what they call relay".[131] The same kind of exchange happened mostly during gatherings for women. A female from Georgia talks about a community quilting project, she said, "one of the most enjoyable affairs in those days was the quilting party. Every night they would assemble at some particular house and help that person to finish her quilts. The next night, a visit would be made to some one else's home and so on, until everyone had a sufficient amount of bed-clothing made for the winter. Besides this was an excellent change to get together for a pleasant time and discuss the

[127] FWPSN, Kansas, p. 9
[128] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 199
[129] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 131
[130] FWPSN, Kansas, p. 3
[131] FWPSN, Oklahoma, p. 78

latest gossip."[132] A male slave from Kentucky says, "We did not work on Saturday afternoon. The men would go fishing and the women would go to the neighbors and help each other piece quilts."[133]

3) Pride defined as examples of efforts to maintain a connection to cultural heritage.

The activity of the slaves in creating patterns of family and community life that were functionally integrative did more than merely prevent the destruction of personality that often occurs when individuals struggle unsuccessfully to attain the unattainable. It was part and parcel of the social process out of which came black pride, black identity, black culture, black community and black rebellion in America (Rawick, 1972). A male from Texas declares, "We was born slaves, malagasser niggers".[134] A female from Arkansas says, "my folks was all pure African stock. All Black folks like me."[135]

A male from Florida expressed the importance of reclaiming education once emancipation permitted it, he said "so'n after the smoke of the cannons had died down and people began thinking of the future, the Negroes turned their thoughts toward education. They grasped every opportunity to learn to read and write".[136] A male from Arkansas spoke on the power of the community when banded together, he said, "The Ku Klux kept the niggers scared. They cowed them down so that they wouldn't go to the polls. But they couldn't keep the niggers in H county away from the polls. There was too many of us."[137] A female from Texas spoke about the common yearning to be free, she said, "we slips off and have prayer but daren't 'low the white

[132] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 296
[133] FWPSN, Kentucky, p. 3
[134] FWPSN, Texas, Part 1, p. 42
[135] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 7, p. 232
[136] FWPSN, Florida, p. 352
[137] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 5, p. 165

folks to know it and sometimes we hums 'ligious songs low like when we's working'… it was our way of praying'to be free, but the White folks didn't know it.[138]

A Virginia slave says, "my master told us dat de niggers started the railroad, an' dat a nigger lookin' at a boilin' coffee pot on a stove one day got the idea dat he could cause it to run by putting wheels on it. Dis nigger being a blacksmith put his thoughs into action by makin' wheels an' put coffee on it, an' by some kinder means he made it run an' the idea wuz stole from him an' dey built de steam engine."[139]

A male slave from Texas said the following:

> "The master's name was usually adopted by a slave after he was set free. This was done more because it was the logical thing to do and the easiest way to be identified than it was through affection for the master. Also, the government seemed to be in a almighty hurry to have us get names. We had to register as someone, so we could be citizens. Well, I got to thinkin about all us slaves that was going to take the name of the master. I made up my mind I'd find me a different one. One of my grandfathers in Africa was called Jeaceo, and so I decided to be Jackson."[140]

4) Norms defined as a process of defining, adhering and monitoring behaviors that preserve the slave community and the slave.

Understanding implicit and explicit rules made the difference between life and death on the plantation and in the Deep South. "In dem days chillun were chillun, now every body is grown. Chillun then were seen and not heard. When old persons came around mama sent us out and you better not be seen. Now every body act grown. Make the man laugh."[141] There were penalties if

[138] FWPSN, Texas, Part 4, p. 43
[139] FWPSN, Virginia, p. 2
[140] FWPSN, Texas, p. 192
[141] FWPSN, Virginia, p. 25

the master heard you praying at night. “Durin’ slavery de slaves hadder keep quiet en dey would turn a kittle upside down ter keep de white folks ‘yearin dere prayers en chants.”[142]

A male from Georgia describes the behavioral expectation of the community while securing nourishment for the families, he said, “Under a long shed built next to de kitchen was a long trough. At night dey (marster and missus) crumbled cornbread in it and poured it full of buttermilk. Grown folks and chilluns all gathered ‘roun’ dat old trough and et out ofit wid deir wooden spoons. Dere warn’t no fightin’ ‘roun’ dat trough. Dey all knowed better ‘n dat.”[143]

A female from South Carolina, recalls the following difficult lesson she learned the hard way, “ I ‘members one time I slip off from de missus and go to a dance and when I come back, de dog in de yard didn’t seem to know me and he bark and wake de missus up and she whip me something awful. I sho didn’t go to no more dances without asking her.”[144]

A male ex-slave reported a similar experience, “We made good corn liquor. Once a week I bring a gallon to de big house to Marster. Once I got happy off’n it, and when I got don lots of it was gone. He had me whipped. Dat de last time I ever got happy off’n Martster’s jug.”[145] Many of the slaves recount holidays, like Christmas and harvest times as times when they were treated to special goodies from the master, but there were rules. A male slave from Mississippi remembers that “slaves received a heap ‘o fresh meat an’ whiskey for treats. But you better not git drunk. No-sir-ree!!”[146]

Another behavioral expectation related to protection when leaving the plantation grounds (this does not include running away), a female from Georgia said, “Us wuz mo’ skeered er patter-rollers den any thing else. Patter-rollers diden’ bodder folks much, lessen dey caught ‘em offen

[142] FWPSN, Tennessee, p. 38
[143] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 128
[144] FWPSN, South Carolina, Part 2, p. 210
[145] FWPSN, South Carolina, Part 4, p. 76
[146] FWPSN, Mississippi, p. 92

dar marsters plantations en dey diden hab no pass."[147] A Georgian slave says, "Us alus had t have a pass if us left de plantation for anthing or de patterollers was apt to git ou and look out den, for you was sho' to git a larrupin' in dey cotch you off 'f'um home widout no pass."[148]

A male from Kentucky talks about the importance of maintaining boundaries of communication in mixed company, he said, "The negroes would talk among themselves, but never carried talks to the white folks"[149] To do so was to invite trouble into the home and community.

A male from Georgia also expresses value in spiritual matters despite the risk, he said, "although slaves prayed for their freedom they were afraid to even sing any type of spiritual for fear of being punished." [150] And lastly, a male from Florida puts the other protective factors in perspective when he states that modifications in behavior is in the interest of moving the community towards freedom, he said, "It is interesting to know that slaves on this plantation were not allowed to sing when they were at work, but with all the vigilance of the overseers, nothing could stops those silent songs of labor and prayers for freedom"[151] Deep down all slaves knew that the norm was to be free.

4.6 Protective Factors Identified in the Domain of the Master Community

RQ #2: How do the protective factors of slaves relate to our current understanding of the three ecological domains of human development?

This section will provide a fuller answer to the second research question regarding the existence of another domain of human development that may be unique to African Americans and other targeted oppressed groups. Community can be defined many different ways, two

[147] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 3, p. 68
[148] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 2, p. 129
[149] FWPSN, Kentucky, p. 16
[150] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 203
[151] FWPSN, Florida, p. 178

traditional definitions relate to “community as a place” and “community as ways of relating” (Schriver, 2004). In slavery the social arrangements were clearly defined and benefitted the slaveholder, but as much as the conventional wisdom of the times equated the slave as “chattel”, the fact is that they were as complex as any other human being and this required that the master use more than sheer brutality and terror to have success on the plantation. Community by ways of relating is a more interactional or affective focus on community as ways people relate to each other (Shriver, 2004).

Slavery segregated the geographical community into black and white people and structures (Blassingame, 1979). By extension, the geographical separation also impacted social and interpersonal relations. Slaves had the feelings of personhood and strength of their own community folkways and at the same time they held the negative stereotypes imposed by the master. This is the dual perception of self, the “double consciousness” that W. E. B. Dubois writes about in *Souls of Black Folks* (DuBois, 1903).

During the process of identifying excerpts that spoke to protections from adversity from the slave narratives, it was relatively easy to assign the excerpts to one of the three ecological domains: the individual, the family or the community. As the researcher immersed herself in the statements made regarding the community domain, it became clear that there were statements related directly about the protective processes/factors within the slave community and then there were these “other” statements within community but not geographically located in the same space as the other slaves. The researcher concluded that the narratives speak to the existence of a fourth domain exerting influence on the lives of the slaves, namely by the Master and the White society at large. It is a socially constructed domain based on the reality of segregation and ironically, based on cultural axiology whereby it is culturally congruent to the slave to have

meaningful connections to other human beings for survival, even to their oppressor. The domain of the Master seems to relate to the perception and experience of interpersonal relations with the Master that either resulted in some favorable or unfavorable outcome. Master oppressed and controlled at will and largely dictated the fate of his inventory of slaves. Given the nature of the Slave-Master relationship, the interpersonal transactions were largely non-reciprocal, but rather one of domination and enforced obedience. This makes sense considering the denial on person-hood by the master towards the slaves.

Extending the concept of community as ways of relating validates the enormous psychic, social and physical energy required to successfully engage in interpersonal relations with the community of others, particularly when the other community actively engages in activities of oppression or domination aimed at you and members of your group. The ex-slaves report four distinct protective factors in this domain that represent Out-group connections for goods and services, benevolence, protection and opportunity for the upward mobility of the ex-slave.

1) Goods and Services defined as giving concrete aide to the slave (eg: food, shelter, clothing, healthcare, education, land).

Many slaves in the sample report that Master would provide a wide range of goods and services to their slaves related to basic needs eg: clothing, foodstuff, shelter, medical care. A male from Georgia expressed the kinds of material aide he received from his Master, he said, "Now I gwine tell you the troof. Now that it's all over I don't find life so good in my old age, as it was in slavery time when I was chillum down on Marster's plantation. Then I did't have to worry 'bout whar my clothes and my somepin' to eat was comin' from or whar I was gwine to sleep. Marster tuk keer of all that"[152] Some slaves received even better treatment, for example,

[152] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 1, p. 104

this male from Texas, he said, "I been well taken care of durin' my life. When I was young I lived right in the big house with my marster. I was houseboy"[153]

Some slaves, in rarer cases, received moral support and seemed to provide the kind of human validation that was often missing from the master-slave relationship. A female from Texas remembered her master compliment her on her worth, enough to authorize medical care, she said, "One mornin' he (Marster) comes and looks at me and say, 'dis nigger am too val'able to die. We'd better doctor her.[154] Some slaves like this female from Tennessee reported receiving land from the Master when emancipation had come, she said, "MR wuz mah Marster en he wuz sho good ter his slaves. He treated dem as human bein's. W'en he turned his slaves 'loose he gib dem no money, but gib dem lands, clothin en food til dey could brang in dere fust crop".[155]

Many slaves in the sample, in the dawn of their lives, reflected back upon slavery and remembered how food was available and that it was given to them in rations, and most slaves had small patches of garden for growing vegetables and many received livestock to prepare for their families; remembering that much like oxen, master needed to make certain that his workers were fed well enough to do the job. A female from Arkansas says, "had plenty to eat; meat, corncake and molasses, peas and garden stuff."[156] One slave said it more clearly, "Lawdy, a slave from Arkansas says, his table jes groaned with good things."[157] "Ole massas" table is a stark contrast to many of the tables of slaves participating in the Federal Writers Project, many of whom were living in abject poverty at the time the WPA agents met up with them during the Great Depression.

[153] FWPSN, Texas, Part 1, p. 121
[154] FWPSN, Texas, Part 3, p. 82
[155] FWPSN, Tennessee, p. 62
[156] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 2, p. 15
[157] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 4, p. 116

2) Benevolence defined as the Master displaying kindness, charity, empathy and goodwill to slaves.

For the slave, better to have a master who was sometimes kind, than a master who was not at all kind. Oh, there were plenty reports of very mean Masters and their Missus on the plantation. But sometimes, slaves caught a break and were able to connect with a more benevolent side of the Master. A male from Kentucky said, "BW and AB were our masters. Both were good and kind to us. I never saw a slave whipped, for my boss did not believe in that kind of punishment".[158] A female, from Georgia shares a similar sentiment about her Master, she said, "He was as gentle with his slaves as a father would have been, was never known to abuse one of them."[159]

Slaves reflected back to Masters who helped to keep families together, before and after the war. For a female slave in Virginia, Master purchased her father from a neighboring plantation so that mother and father, and daughter could live together.[160] This slave went on to be one of the first Negro teachers in Virginia. After the war, the master of a Texas slave reunited her with her mother at a neighboring plantation, "that old miss carries me to G on to my mammy. She tells her to take good care of me and we lived there for three years before moving away".[161] One male slave from Florida remembers that his master "wanted his family and servants well cared for and spared not expense in making life happy."[162]

An example of a Master demonstrating a desire to alleviate the suffering of the slave is provided by a female, from Mississippi, she said, "I 'members dey promis to give de cullud folks all kin' o' things. Dey never give 'em nothin' dat I know's about. Us was jus' turnt loose to

[158] FWPSN, Kentucky, p. 2
[159] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 148
[160] FWPSN, Virginia, p. 55
[161] FWPSN, Texas, Part 4, p. 146
[162] FWPSN, Florida, p.350

scratch for us ownse'ves. Us was glad to stay on wid our Marster and Missus, dem white folks, do fer us 'cause dey was de bes' frien's us had".[163] One female slave from Arkansas makes a statement about the integrity of the white man as she moved out of slavery, "the white folks don't cheat the niggers outen what they make now bad as they did when I farmed."[164] Many slaves reported overwhelming sadness at the passing of Master and remembered funerals and grieving. A male from Georgia says, "I ain't never forget when Mistess died, she had been so good to every nigger on our plantation-the niggers on our plantation all walked to church to hear her funeral sermon and then walked to the graveyard to the buryin'."[165]

"Certainly there were slaveholders who did not resort to terror to control their chattel, but their benevolence does not overshadow the brutality" (King, 1995). Yetman (1970) writes that many slaves at the time they were being interviewed may have been reluctant to characterize the master in terms of brutality rather than in Christian terms out of fear that the WPA agents might hold that truth against them as they applied for benefits from the federal government, like most had applied for and were awaiting news from the Old Age Pension fund. This may account for the rose colored remembrances of some of the respondents.

3) Protection defined as the Master's role in protecting the slave from harm.

A male from Arkansas summed up in a simple statement one of the absolute truths of antebellum life, he said, "Wasn't no law then. He (Marster) was the law."[166] The protection, however ignoble, extended to adults and children alike according to a male from Georgia, he said, "in slavery time chilluns weren't 'llowed to do no wuk kazen the marsters wanted they

[163] FWPSN, Mississippi, p. 154
[164] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 2, p. 20
[165] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 1, p. 92
[166] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 6, p. 260

niggers to grow up big and strong and didn' want 'em stunted none."[167] Slaves reported being spared the brutality of the nightriders, witness the statement of a male from Kentucky "I have heard the Klu Klux Klan ride down the road wearing masks. None ever bothered me or any of Mars C's slaves".[168] A male slave from Arkansas says the same, "Where we was, the Ku Kluz never did bother anybody, all there was, every time we went out we had to have a pass from Marse and we was ok."[169] A slave child from Alabama had a real good time frolicking at a neighboring plantation, on her return trip she decided to rest at the foot of a tree for only a moment, but fell asleep. A couple of hours later it was twilight and the overseer walking through the woods and came upon the Negro girl. He lifted the small black form into his arms and carried her safely to the house.[170] In this area, most slaves understood the way of the south and the way of bondage, if master wanted you dead, it would be made so. Connecting to master along with the other layers of protective factors beginning with the internal connections could literally mean the difference between life and death and only some small part of that was in your control.

4) Opportunity defined as a chance for advancement, betterment or progress.

Sometimes the Master allowed slaves to learn trades and special skills; a female from Arkansas tells of her opportunity, she said, 'They trained black women to be midwives".[171] A common experience for highly skilled slaves was the practice of loaning out the skilled worker to other Whites in the community, sometimes the slave benefited economically as was the case with this male from Georgia, "Mr. H wanted his slaves to learn a trade such as masonry or carpentry, etc., not because it would benefit the slave, but because it would make the slave sell

[167] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 1, p. 95
[168] FWPSN, Kentucky, p. 7
[169] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 6, p. 260
[170] FWPSN, Alabama, p. 409
[171] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 7, p. 232

for more in case he had get shet of him. The slaves who were allowed to work with these White mechanics from who they eventually learned the trade, were eager because they would be permitted to hire themselves out. The money they earned could be used to help buy their freedom, that is, what money remained after the master had taken his share."[172] For example, this female from Arkansas states, "The missus showed the nigger women how to sow. All the women on the place could card and spin."[173]

This excerpt is about an experience immediately after the War ended. A female slave from Indiana says "when I was 13 years old, I did not know A from B, then glory to god, a white man, from the north, came to town and opened a school for negro children, that was my firs chance to learn"[174] From that point she integrated education in to her life and the lives of her children. A male from Kentucky says "my old Mistus taught me how to read from an old national spelling book."[175] He was so pleased to get the learning because he knew that he now had advantage over so many others who did not know their letters. "My mistis teached me how to reed,"[176] says a male slave from Mississippi. He expressed profound gratitude for her tuteledge because he knew that helped him to be successful in his life after emancipation. When slaves connected to opportunity they made the best of the chance and for some, the benefits compounded over their lifespan.

4.7 Conclusion

No one can dispute that life in slavery was a severe hardship; many scholars have written about its brutality and fatal impact on the lives of the slave, the slave family and the slave community. Slaves navigated two distinct worlds with similar and different rules, expectations,

[172] FWPSN, Georgia, Part 4, p. 196
[173] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 2, p. 17
[174] FWPSN, Indiana, p. 142
[175] FWPSN, Kentucky, p. 15
[176] FWPSN, Mississippi, p. 145

norms and values. Having the status of chattel in and of itself offered some protection to the slave given their health and strength and competence meant a continued accumulation of wealth and luxury to the plantation owners. The natural instinct of all human beings is to be free, well and independent, yet when this base instinct was acted upon the harshest of punishments were met out to the slave and their white sympathizers. This created a state of terror and substandard existence that surely should have crushed the spirit of all under its brutal grip—yet it did not. Slaves, like all human beings, adapted in ways that would ensure their survival and survival of their culture. This was achieved by possessing individual, family and community connections that served as important protections for slaves in the face of adversity. But not only that, slaves adapted their cultural axiology of member to member connections for survival to the Out-group represented by Master – an adaptation that provided additional protection to the slave, their family and community.

The last living slave reportedly died in 1979 and lived to see the reversal of segregation and gains in economic, social and political arenas. [Reportedly he was 137 years old (Stewart, 1996).] Not one of the slaves in this sample lived to see that day, although some achieved minimal levels of relief from programs implemented by FDR and the New Deal (Goodwin, 1994). But by and large, even with the largest social program ever adopted by the United States government, the former slaves lagged far behind other economically advantaged Whites and Blacks at the time of the WPA Slave interviews. It's no wonder that many of the "old negroes" of the south painted rosy pictures of their life in slavery at the time of the interviews most were extremely poor and living on the periphery of society. Many still asked agents of the government when they were going to see the fruits of their free labor, a female from South Carolina said, "De Lord not gwine to hold His hand any longer 'ginst us. Us cleared de forest,

built de railroads, cleaned up de swamps, and nursed de white folks. Now in our old ages, I hopes they lets de old slaves like me see de shine of some of dat money I hears so much talk 'bout. They say it's free as de gift of grace from de hand of de Lord. Has you got a dime to give dis old nigger, boss?[177]

[177] FWPSN, So. Carolina, Part 1, p. 106.

Chapter Five

Discussion

5.0 Introduction

The discussion begins with a comparison of the findings identified in this study with the findings in contemporary resilience research conducted over the past 30 years. What follows is a discussion about the ways to relate the sixteen protective factors identified in this study to African American youth from high risk environments today. It is a theoretical discussion about reconnecting African American youth to the legacy of their resilience. The final section of this chapter will discuss limitations of the study.

5.1 **RQ #3: How do the historical protective factors of slaves compare with the protective factors for at-risk African American youth as typified by contemporary resilience research?**

The third research question is important because the evidence yielded from this study can either validate the existing knowledge-base about African American resilience; offer new knowledge about protective factors to fill an important gap of knowledge; or both. In order to answer this question the content of Table 6 containing the historical protective factors identified through this study [(Individual Domain: Internal Connections to power, competence, spirituality and passion) (Family Domain: Familial Connections to care, counsel, role models and rituals) Slave Community Domain: In-Group Connections to support, opportunity, pride and norms) (Master Community Domain: Out-Group Connections to goods/services, benevolence, protection, and opportunity)] and that of Table 7 which contains information about protective factors from a meta-analysis of studies on resiliency with African American youth over the past 50 years, [(Individual Domain: social competence, problem solving, autonomy, sense of

purpose)(Family Domain: warmth & cohesion, positive home environment, emotional stability of parent, positive racial socialization) (Community Domain: school involvement, community involvement, positive peers & mentors, absence of violence).

The answer to research question #3 is a matter of interpretation and when analyzed qualitatively there seem to be obvious relatedness amongst the protective factors in the individual and family domains. That is to say that in the **individual domain**, *internal connections to power, competence, spirituality and passion relate closely to social competence, problem solving, autonomy and sense of purpose.* They relate to cognitive and emotional coping responses that drive the individual towards behaviors aimed at achieving positive results. The protective factors in the individual domain are qualities indicative of healthy egos and a developed moral aptitude that enables the holder of these qualities to appraise situations thoroughly and to make a conscious decision about the type of response required to avoid a negative consequences. It seems that slaves in the study endorse the use of religious and spiritual coping processes than what is described in contemporary literature for adolescent African Americans from the meta-analysis, however other research as previously cited did endorse spirituality as a protective factor for African American adolescents. In this regard, there is some congruence.

In the **family domain**, *familial connections to care, counsel, models and rituals match up closely with warmth, cohesion, positive home environment, emotional stability and positive racial socialization.* Of note in this domain is the obvious lack of family cohesion endorsed in the slave sample, having nothing to do with the slaves' choice about family configuration but about forced fragmentation and separation of families based on economic philosophy. Some slaves, no doubt needed to form emotional barriers and protection from the injury of forced

separations in that way being detached is just as much a healthy coping response as having felt warmly and lovingly towards their spouse or child who may be stolen away in the middle of the night for the trek to the auction block. In that same vein, oppression denied the African American slave from expressing their heritage therefore rituals were ways of remembering and honoring their heritage but modifications to their West African rituals in response to adaptations in the south, meant for less threatening, more familiar types of rituals that master usually permitted on the plantation.

The comparison of community domain is where some congruence is lost between the findings in the study when compared with contemporary resilience literature. Neither resilience theory nor ecological theory allow for the evolution of the community domain into two distinct domains demarcated by race and oppression. However, the deconstruction of this domain is evident in the slave narratives and even necessary in order to identify the widest array of protections that promoted the resilience of the slave.

The **bifurcation of the community *domain*** *into a superior white master domain and an inferior slave domain is a form of historical trauma.* The white community contained schools, churches, social clubs and other venues for discourse and socialization, however, the slave had no formal or legitimate access to them. Despite this social reality, community building happened in the slave quarters and in the groves of trees between plantations after work was done for the master.

Informal networks in the slave and master community did make it possible for some slaves to receive education, and for those slaves the more educated they were the better their lives post slavery. Positive peers and mentors, if defined broadly, have congruence with the protective factors identified in this research, a function of the slave community was to provide support,

opportunity and norms. In the slave sample, slaves connected to the community for social support, mutual aide, fun and guidance. The mentoring role rings especially true for older slaves passing on knowledge to younger slaves.

With respect to the absence of violence as a protective factor for African American youth in the community domain, there is a significant departure from the findings in this study when compared to the Slave Community. For slaves there was always a real and every present threat of violence, it was the primary method of social control for the grossly outnumbered slaveholders. Rebellion was the greatest fear as it represented the biggest threat to the southern way of life. Slaves who rebelled where punished swiftly and brutally.

In a historical study of the sugar plantations along the Mississippi River in Louisiana, Follet (2005) describes the response of the plantation owners after a rebellion was hatched by slaves using steamers along the Mississippi to gather dissident slaves from Baton Rouge to New Orleans in an attempt to free the Mississippi delta from the stranglehold of slavery. The justice delivered to the slaves who lived to go to trial was to behead them and to post their heads along the Mississippi River so all the other slaves on the Sugar Plantations could see their demise should they dare to rise up against their slave holder.

The institution of slavery was predicated on terror, control, intimidation and violence balanced by other types of workforce management techniques, like rewards and incentives, used by master to optimize profits and social status. But to be clear, in slavery the entire social arrangement was predicated on violence- a real and persistent threat under which every slave existed. Many thousands died under the full weight, some by choice, others not. And many found ways to connect to their resilience and lived to tell about their journey.

In America today, there is a segment African American youth who are in high risk environments that decrease their odds of achieving their potential and for others increase the odds of their death or institutionalization. The findings in this study represent possible reconnections to the legacy of their historical resilience. This represents a wider array of targeted connections that operate as protective factors rooted in the lived experience of their ancestors and if utilized may offer effective protection against the risks of historical trauma and other deleterious influences in their lives.

The discussion of reconnection to historical resilience for African American youth in high risk environments is organized by domain: Internal Connections in the Individual domain, Familial Connections in the family domain, In-Group Connections in the Black community domain and Out-group Connections in the White community domain. These connections are discussed in relation to the aforementioned historical (and other) trauma and their protective qualities in the high risk environment of African American youth today.

It is important to note that while the findings will be discussed as single protective factors this in no way suggests that African American youth only need have one strategy in operation at a time in order to fend off adversity. In fact it is more likely that the opposite is truer- multiple protective factors across multiple domains may need to be operating to achieve sufficient protections to promote resilience (See Figure 5). Additionally, in the period of adolescence some protective factors may germinate as opposed to being expressed or access, sometimes the process of maturity over time gives rise to better developed resilience strategies.

5.2 Internal Connections

If one has worked with multi-problemed, under-resourced, inner-city African American youth then one becomes familiar with some of the real challenges related to living in a high risk status.

The term “disadvantaged” is frequently used to describe this cohort. To increase resilience requires the use of personal strengths to cope with the challenges associated with the high risk status. The internal connections for resilience used by slaves in this domain were power, competence, spirituality and passion. *Connecting to one’s power is to connect to one’s control of the things that can be controlled in the environment-control of one’s self, one’s thoughts, one’s actions and one’s feelings.* Teens can use their personal power in the service of goals that can carry them to their dreams. Connecting to power means knowing the limits of your own power and knowing when you need more skill development or assistance from someone outside of yourself.

Connecting to competence is a way of directing personal power and energy into efforts aimed at improving your chances for success and achievement. Not everything can be addressed at once. Competence is about understanding what skill set is needed now to get you through to the next level. It’s about acquiring instruction and support to fine tune whatever natural talent you already have. Connecting to competence helps to build confidence in judgment which can provide important protections when faced with unpredictable or unanticipated situations.

A connection to spirituality has deep roots in the African American family. Many adolescents in their process of individuation and identity formation are trying to figure out what spirituality means to them in their life that is separate and distinct from their parents. At this stage it is common to see rebellion and only parents with the most firm grip on their teens are successful in getting their teens to their houses of worship. This disconnection from a cultural strength places youth at higher risk. For those youth who did not detach from their spiritual and religious practices they achieve a modicum of advantage over some of their peers. For these teens, houses of worship provide important opportunities for mentoring as well as safe havens of bustling

activity for youth. These teens frequently speak of a faith that helps them to believe better days are ahead and they receive hope for their journey.

Connecting to passion is a way to connect to joy and other emotions. When the environment offers up little happiness, teens can connect to their passion. Whether it is music, sports, movies, or video games- laughter, moving, imagination and play are important buffers to trauma and pain. In adolescence it is not uncommon to begin to take steps towards career interests. Teens begin to entrée into the world of work and volunteerism. Teens who possess a future orientation helps to combat the despair that may accompany the reality many adults have lost hope in the promise of many inner-city youth. Connecting to passion means learning about that hobby or interest, reading magazines about it, researching it, reaching out to others for a better understanding of it.

Passion sometimes needs to be restrained in favor of other priorities-surviving the moment. Consider the possibility of an act of violence escalating out of control dependant you're your reaction. Sometimes in the face of adversity it is important to be level-headed, calm and collected so as not to make a bad situation worse. This is where competence, power and spirituality over lap and may be required to be used in tandem to avoid catastrophe. These individual connections were effective protections for the ancestors and can be a roadmap to resilience in the individual domain.

5.3 Familial Connections

Slaves who had familial connections to care, counsel, role models and rituals were afforded additional protections from the brutality of bondage. In addition to the operation of individual coping strengths, African American youth from high risk environments can benefit from more

protections related to family factors. These protective factors represent universal functions of families and two qualities related to the reality of racism and African American culture.

Providing care, love and support to children is a universal function of a healthy functioning family. Teenagers continue to crave the love and care of their parents as they did when they were younger children. The love and care are affirmations of personhood. Teens push parents away as normal part of adolescence, but teens actually want their parent to take an interest in their interests. It can be a source of ongoing strength that feeds personal resilience. Another universal function of family is to be the laboratory for learning. Teens continue to take cues from adults about how to handle situations, how to respond to pressure, how to be in relationships, and more concrete things like how to cook, manage an apartment/home or provide care to a younger sibling. Teens connect to parents for encouragement to succeed in school and in life and they are watching the habits and attitudes of their caregivers. They look to parents as role models for learning so that they can become prepared to deal with life outside the home.

Part of the learning parents do with their teens is to provide counsel about how to deal with the realities of life, oftentimes the more harsh realities of life. Today's teens are under so much more pressure than many of us older persons can not imagine. They rely on trusted mentoring fromm their family to assist with coping with demands of their lives. This is really the transmission of intergenerational wisdom to teens about how to live in black skin in white America, but not only that, the counseling is also instructive about how to make it despite the disadvantage. The counseling is about the rules of the game, the unfairness of it all and some coaching about how to play the game despite that reality. The relationship allows for additional advice about risky behaviors and rudimentary behavioral analysis about the pros and cons of ill advised actions.

There are other ways to teach teens life lessons besides counseling. *Establishing unique and culturally inherited rituals can be help to support resilience.* There is structure and reliability in regular rituals within a family-how to celebrate birthdays, holidays, funerals, weddings, family meetings, menses celebration, showers, serving Sunday dinner, family reunions, going to church, girls night out—what ever the ritual is; teens gain a sense of security and widening the familial net of support within and for the family. Rituals are anchors for the family that promote connections and togetherness. Sometimes parents and kids alike experience a feeling of alienation and loneliness related to the pressures of day to day survival and rituals can help to shift the feeling to one of mutuality, kinship and support. This provides a critical layer of protection for all children in the home from the deleterious effects of environmental stress.

5.4 In-Group Connections

The slave community protective factors that promote resilience were connections to support, opportunity, pride and norms. Teens today also require support for their personal, vocational and racial identity development beyond the walls of their homes. A thriving black community sustains the black family and its members by containing goods, services, and institutions needed for support of daily living. When these structures are lacking, community members have the option of seeking the support outside of the community or to make adaptations in the absence of the support. There are both formal and informal kinds of support located in the black community just as in the era of slavery. African American teens may need to link to specific kinds of people in the community such as mentors, coaches, pastors,

African American youth seek opportunity for developing insight and judgment as well as skills to launch their beginning forays into the world of employment and economics. Teen continue to search for clues in the community about normalized behavior, attitudes and values.

They continue to observe human behavior and to sample a repertoire of responses in their own lives. They watch how older men and women relate. They watch how people discuss issues and how they deal with conflict. They watch how they have fun, how they relax from the pressures of the day. They key into attitudes about love, and work and responsibility-about god and politics. Teens are seeking instruction beyond the walls of their homes, drawing comparisons and testing thoughts and behaviors out.

Beyond the asking of behavioral and normative questions related to how one is to act as a member of the African American community, teens also need support around what it means to be an African American. Who am I, who are we collectively are questions that can only be answer through exposure to the history of the African American people. This connection to history is a connection to foster pride in self, the family and community. Pride can be an antecedent to confidence and healthy esteem all of which shores up resilience.

5.5 Out-Group Connections

The Master community protective factors that promote resilience were connections to goods and services, benevolence, protection and opportunity. What is the master community in modern society? It would be naïve to suggest that there are not complexities related to a modern day interpretation of this domain. Just as it would be untrue to say that ALL slave holders were white, it would be equally untrue to suggest that only white people are members of the outgroup in contemporary society. *What matters most is how the African American youth defines the out-group and who he or she assigns to that category.* That has implications about the connection and what types of protections will be needed from the connection.

That being said, the analysis of the use of this domain's finding will be put forward based on the understanding that the Master domain today is represented by White Americans most of

whom enjoy the greatest privileges in American society. It is the domain of the dominant culture, the culture of European ethnocentrism represented by White Americans, who own most of the goods and services. White Americans who run most of the companies, and thus employ the workers and provide the jobs. White Americans who are in the position to provide charity and second chances. White Americans who can provide real protection from the dangers associated with life in high risk environments.

There are choices for both the youth and the member of the out-group that can either constrain or facilitate resilience. For the African American youth, there is a need to master competence in the area of judgment as it relates to discerning which person or persons from the out-group can provide the goods, charity, opportunity and protection. This cognitive process will require a shifting of paradigm from "members of the out group are my enemy" to the realization holding conspiratorial thoughts can constrain resilience. The new way of thinking is to realize the urgency of pressing ahead and taking the risk to reach out across racial lines, across geographic barriers to seek help and support. Learning to fine tune judgment about people happens over the course of maturation. At risk youth may need supports in strengthening the internal barometer about who they allow in to assist them. They need to learn to trust some in the out-group in order to move forward.

For members of the out group, there are choices when encountering an African American youth from the initial appraisal through the duration of the social interaction. The choice has to do with, will I or wont' I be part of this young person's resilience narrative? Is there some opportunity I can provide? Is there some goods or services I can bring to bare that could make a difference? Is there some protection they need from me? Is there some kind of charity that can remedy some specific need? In this way, members of the out-group can choose to distribute their

personal advantage to help bridge the cavernous gaps of human interactions created by historical disparity. In this way, as they choose to redistribute goods, services, opportunity and charity, each according to their ability- one kid at a time can be further moved along the continuum of resilience.

Any one of the sixteen protective factors by itself is not sufficient to counter the enormous stress bombarding the typical poor, African American youth in the belly of urban American. Poverty and oppression combined with personal and institutional racism places many obstacles in the way of healthy personal development by erecting barriers to internal and external resources for resilience. The legacy of their historical resilience can be located in the very delicate and life saving connections to others in their environment. This mutual interconnectedness was true in the 19th Century and remains true today.

As it has been in the past, the resilience of the African American youth today dependent on the ways in which blacks and whites work together for the uplift of the black child, family and community. As long as gross racial disparities continue to exist in our society whereby wealth and economic power is concentrated in the hands of a few whites, and racism permeates the social fabric of our nature, blacks and whites are locked in an inseparable struggle for mutual survival. The difference is that for many white Americans the struggle is largely a struggle of conscious while most continue to enjoy the privileges of a free society, and for many African American youth, their struggle is for life while they continue to suffer from the denial of opportunity, freedom, dignity, and respect-all vestiges of chattel slavery.

5.6 Limitations of Study

There are challenges when using the WPA Slave Narrative Collection which creates concern for use of the collection in a scholarly research study. Some narratives are one type-written page

and others can be as long as 7-8 pages calling to question to uniformity of method in conducting the interviews. The length of pages does not equate with the quality of story but does call to question techniques related to the interview process and the recoding of the WPA agent.

More than 70 years elapsed between emancipation and the time of the interviews calling to question the accuracy and reliability of the content of the interviews which were based on memory and recollection (Yetman, 1970; Soapes, 1977). Some opponents of their use contend that the content of the interview was tainted by bias related to the ethnicity of the interviewer, the skill level of the interviewer, by interpretations made of the content related to the literacy levels of the respondents, and to what degree the former slave may have had reservations about being truthful with a government agent (Davis & Gates, 1985). Some slaves tempered the content of their remarks to the WPA Agents because many were still waiting for benefits from the Government. Some took the opportunity to advocate for themselves when giving their interviews: "I'se not able ter wuk now en all I has ez a small groc'ey order dat de relief gibs me. Dey keep promisin' ter gib me da Old Age Pension en I wish dey would hurry hit up."[178]

These are serious concerns for scholars that must be discussed when using the narratives. Given the extraordinary nature of this body of written works it does present an opportunity to gain a more detailed understanding of the institution, the experience of slavery and life beyond emancipation through the turn of the 20th Century (Gates, 2002).

Certainly something is loss for the researcher in having not been able to actually interview the slaves; this researcher is relying on the written words of the narrative as put forward by the interviewer. There are limitations with secondary data analysis of content in cases where there is not a way to confirm the content because all of the respondents are deceased. In the words of one WPA Agent:

[178] FWPSN, Tennessee, p. 10

> "You can't get the whole story by reading the words in this interview. You have to hear the tones and the accents, and see the facial expressions and bodily movements, and sense the sometimes almost occult influence; you have to feel the utter lack of resentment that lies behind the words that sound vehement when read. You marvel at the quick, smooth cover-up when something is to be withheld, at the unexpected vigor of the mind when the bait is attractive enough to draw it out, and at the sweetness of the disposition."[179]

The discovery of findings occurred after a process of prolonged engagement with the data and the interpretations by the researcher was based on many years experience as a direct practice social worker. This lends itself to bias which the researcher attempted to reduce by involving others in the process of data collection, category and theme development. However, the researcher is aware that an absolute eradication of bias is not possible. Additionally, no claims to generalization of these findings to larger groups of slaves or to African Americans today can be stated with absolute certainty. The historical methods employed in this qualitative study have been used to identify useful knowledge of the past for understanding of contemporary social problems. It was in that tradition that this researcher sought to identify new and previously unimagined ways to search for protective factors for contemporary problems adversely affecting African American youth. Having identified both themes and specific protective factors across ecological domains, we can turn attention to the implications for social work practice and research.

[179] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 6, p. 84

Chapter Six

Implications

6.0 Introduction

There are lessons about historical resilience from the narratives of slaves. Slaves developed knowledge, attitudes and skills that increased their chances of survival during their enslavement. In order for the lives of their progeny to improve, to create change, the process must begin with admitting that racism still exists in America and that it has damaging effects on its intended targets. African Americans continue to experience oppression and continue to be vulnerable to its deleterious effect. One significant casualty of racism and oppression is the loss of the ability to connect to other human beings for the support that is needed to overcome adversity. As practitioners and researchers, we can take steps to increase the resilience of African American youth who succumb far too much to the exposure of trauma and other risks in their homes and community.

Social workers are uniquely equipped to take on this challenge at the individual, family and community levels as well as through research. The services of the social work need to be delivered in culturally responsive and sensitive ways. Cultural competence is about knowledge, values and skills (Diller, 2007). Cultural competence does not mean that only black people can serve black people, that only Latinos can serve Latinos, or that only gay people can serve gay people (Taylor-Brown, Garcia, & Kingston, 2001). Cultural competence is about more than ethnic matching of practitioner to client. The orientation to intervention is more dialectical: a person can be white and also be helpful in eradicating racism; or for the client, I can be in pain and be resilient.

A culturally competent practitioner will operate from the value of respectfulness of the other and in partnership with the other develops culturally congruent skills to gain some mastery over obstacles that in that impede resilience and wellbeing. Cultural competence requires that the provider of services incorporates a wider lens from which to frame culturally-sensitive assessment and interventions and to deliver the service in a manner that upholds the dignity of the client. The following section will highlight interventional approaches aimed at strengthening resilience for African American youth from high risk environments. Following the practice sections is a section on further research and the dissertation ends with a concluding statement.

6.1 For Individual Practice

At the individual level of practice, empowerment, skill building, hope and motivation can be powerful tools for intervention. As a first step, clinicians working with African American youth can affirm and validate the existence of racism as a debilitating force working against African American resiliency. Young people need to know social workers know something about racism but that their story will be the definitive story about how racism operates in their lives. It is important to "talk about the white elephant in the room." A hallmark of culturally competent assessment is to get at "the impact of culture, historical experiences, individual and group oppression, adjustment styles, worldviews and specific cultural customs and practice, definitions and beliefs about the causation of wellness and illness and how care and services should be delivered" (NASW, 2001).

Knowing the parameters of impact of historical and current trauma operating in the lives of the youth sets the stage of reconnecting to the legacy of their resilience. *This can be achieved by an approach that increases personal agency and power, strengthens internal locus of control, challenges negative thinking, and affirms their value as human beings.*

As the oral history unfolds practitioners at this level of intervention need to be prepared for the expression of pain and emotions: Sadness, shame, loss, grief, and anger. Assist the youth with processing emotions in culturally relevant ways- remembrance and healing rituals that are co-created can help to begin a process of coping with emotions. Hope and inspiration are critical tools for young people to possess and this can be accomplished through affirmations, chants, music, readings, and prayers.

The next step would be to identify a course of action towards increasing resiliency that includes elements in the home, community and societal levels. The approach is guided by axiology where the highest value lies in the relationship (Nichols, 1998). The practitioner can focus efforts on helping build social skills with family, peers and community members. Practitioners need to be mindful that the relationship they build with the youth is a model for other types of relationships that can be built outside of the therapy office. Other types of skills deficits may also exist and the focus of interventions are to seek out resources across all domains that can help to build competence in the targeted areas.

The outcome of the intervention will be to invigorate youth with hope, to help them vision a future and the goals to take them to it. The interventions at this level are designed with the intention of connecting current pain to historical pain but not only that, to reconnect African American youth with the strengths of their ancestry.

6.2 For Family Practice

The approach to this level of practice is also about empowerment and skill building. Parents and caregivers need support and training on how to provide care, counsel, modeling and some rituals. The lesson from the narratives is that the black family has always been under assault but somehow adaptations and adjustment are made by widening the circle of family member so that

the good of all can be served. The truth is sometimes our clients are in families that do not have the ability to provide the full measure of what is needed. Many of the parents of the teenagers we see are young themselves and have unresolved needs of their own that interferes with their ability to parent effectively. Dialectically speaking, they are doing the best they can, but they need to change some things about the way they parent. Some families are troubled and some home environments are toxic.

The aim of intervention at this level is identify the "elder" or "elders" in the family system (as defined by the youth) that can provide the best supports and counseling to the youth while parents participate in their own self improvement activity. These one or more individuals can be given proxy to stand in for parents in arenas where their son or daughter needs support. This is especially important for school and other community agency or organizations as communications between systems and caregivers is important for effective service delivery.

The practitioner can assist with the building of concrete skills that can help to relieve some stress in the home environment around effective communication, conflict resolution, time management and other interpersonal skills related to behavioral management. From the standpoint of cultural axiology, it is important to frame practice objectives from a member-member vantage point. This includes assisting parents with the implementation of new rituals to support the growth and maturity of the children in the home. Additionally, the practitioner can help to increase the skill of parents to advocate for resources in the larger environment that can help relieve some of the stress related to poverty, etc. When working with family systems other professional resources may need to be activated through formal and informal referral systems. The wider the base of supports combined with the skill building of the parents the better the chances that youth will gain the benefits of the protective factors from the family domain.

6.3 For Community Practice

The implication for practice in this level consists of remedying longstanding problems in the African American community. This goal can be accomplished by social workers educating, agitating and organizing for change. The lesson from the slave narratives is to rebel and resist and to struggle for justice. Social workers can participate in formal and informals mechanisms to achieve social justice on behalf of their clients. Social workers can also connect youth and families to important and relevant causes impacting their lives and community.

Another lesson from the slave narratives is that the struggle for justice can be strengthened and accelerated by the unification of members of the in-group and the out-group. An example of this social phenomenon that was recently operating in contemporary society is the election of Barack Obama as the 44th President of the United States of America- the nation's first African American president. There is no doubt that White Americans need to vote in large numbers for this African American candidate in order for his presidential bid to be successful. His candidacy epitomized the kind of success effective community-based social work practice can deliver and the kind of social change that is possible when people unite around a common purpose.

Tavis Smiley (2006) compiled a book of essays titled, *The Covenant*, whose contributors are noted leaders and scholars from the African American community. They evoke the same theme that Dr. Martin Luther King evoked in 1963 on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, that African Americans are due there justice. This means real equality, freedom and dignity. Interventions in this practice level can be aimed at securing healthcare and affordable housing, improving education, correcting the justice system, reforming community policing, improving political enfranchisement, accessing good jobs, environmental justice and closing the many gaps in the racial divide.

Community practice requires strategies aimed at equality and creating equal playing fields across all segments of society. The outcome of these strategies will be to eliminate extraordinary barriers to healthy human development. There will still be trauma and difficulty born out of transactions with other human beings. To lift the burden of disadvantage from the backs of Black folks would be tantamount to breathing life affirming air into their souls. It could mean the difference between flying and soaring, surviving and thriving!

6.4 For Future Research

There are a number of possible areas to continue research in following this study. Social Work research is not typically historical or qualitative, although more are coming to understand the advantages of the approach and methodology with historically oppressed groups. There are future research opportunities related to specific follow up with the slave narrative collection. Having identified the categories and themes from a sample of 100 slave narratives, the next step would be to do a more exhaustive qualitative study with the entire collection to flush out more specificity with regard to the historical protective factors. Also, with funding from the Library of Congress, there is a possibility of analyzing gender and regional differences in resilience processes from the collection. The researcher has the foot in the door to understanding a little about the lives of 100 slaves, any one of which would make for an interesting single case study to trace out resilience strategies from their youth into late adulthood.

Regarding the use of the findings with living persons, a qualitative study could be designed to validate the existence of these 16 protective factors among African American youth today. To further validate the findings, a comparison of African American youth to White counterparts could be made further calibrate racial distinctions in the protective factors. A number of interesting case studies could be designed. One case study could be designed with a “resilient”

adult and a reverse longitudinal analysis of protective factors going back to birth and across all domains could be conducted to gain a greater understanding about emergent protective factors and the times in the lifespan that protective factors are evidenced and used. It may also be interesting to compare the findings to other ethnic groupings and across gender.

Little research is conducted on the peer groups and their role in personal resilience. The researcher is employed by an urban school district and would want to design a comparative study of high school students (achieving and underachieving) with targeted interventions based on the findings of this study to increase academic achievement. Additionally, the researcher would like to conduct research on connections that adolescents do or do not have and to identify barriers to forming healthy connections between peers, parents and with people in the community, especially people in the out-group..

Lastly, there is some intellectual movement afoot regarding developing clinical constructs that would validate the etiological impact of racism and historical oppression on the formation of psychiatric and clinical syndromes and disorders. This researcher would like to build evidence for such a construct as "Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS)" (DeGruy,-Leary, 2005) by testing for the presence of PTSS symptoms among cohorts of African American youth. Additionally, this researcher would be interested in advocating for DSM-IV inclusion of racism and racial discrimination as legitimate symptoms of affective and neurotic conditions that affect African Americans.

Resilience research is a relatively new area of research and presents many opportunities for new scholars. Qualitative researchers working on historical trauma, intergenerational trauma, racism, oppression and African American wellbeing from a social work orientation will benefit greatly from cross discipline collaboration with various other academic departments (History,

Anthropology, Political Science, Sociology, Psychology, Religion, Literature, Philosophy). This cross-fertilization of ideas and scholarship can help to continue the emancipation process of our African American clients and maybe this unified effort is required if we are to create a world free of suffering. As long as racism and oppression thrives, all life suffers.

6.5 Conclusion

At the time of the interview with the Federal Writers Project, former slaves were still looking for the good fortune of connecting with "Master" or at least a proxy for Master in the form of the White WPA agents recording their stories, for example, a female slave from Missouri said, "I git what de relief pretend to call help, tain't nuff for nothin' though. De claim I'll git a pension, but I never seen it yet. I'll be dead directly and I won't need it".[180] Another female from Mississippi said, "I's old an' needy, but I's trustin' de Lord an ' de good white folks to he'p me now."[181] The slaves that participated in those WPA interviews did their part…they survived the brutality of slavery and lived to tell about it.

This historical study with a sample of the FWP slave narratives yielded findings about protective factors and resilience and confirms that African American resilience for the slave is reflective of a cultural axiology requiring connections to others for survival. The internal and external connections have been further defined by 16 specific protective factors, some defined as personal coping strengths and others as familial, in-group and out-group connections. African American youth from high risk environments need the largest repertoire of protective factors given the high levels of risk exposure in the environment. For the slave, emancipation was only the beginning.

"I sho was glad they had that war and freed me".[182]

[180] FWPSN, Missouri, p. 106
[181] FWPSN, Mississippi, p. 155
[182] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 3, p. 180

The battle for social, economic and racial justice continues in America. Far too many African American youth reside in communities that deny them a legitimate opportunity for mobility, the full range of civil rights and freedoms and the dignity and respect required to internalize esteem and self-love, essential ingredients for health and healing. Social workers can provide the leadership required in practice, policy, advocacy and research to rally allies and liberate resources necessary to make real the promise of African American emancipation from the vestiges of historical trauma.

> "A slave from Arkansas says, we are waiting on the promises of the God".[183]
>
> In the meantime…African American youth and families have social workers.

[183] FWPSN, Arkansas, Part 5, p. 351

Appendix

Unlocated

Alabama

10239

Francois Ludgere Diard
John Morgan Smith

JUL 6 1937

AUNT CLARA DAVIS IS HOMESICK FOR OLD SCENES

"I was bawn in de year 1845, white folks," said Aunt Clara, "on de Mosley plantation in Bellvy jus' nawth of Monroeville. Us had a mighty pretty place back dar. Massa Mosely had near 'bout five hundred acres an' mos' near to one hundred slaves.

"Was Marse Moseley good to us? Lor', honey, how you talk. Co'se he was! He was de bes' white man in de lan'. Us had eve'y thing dat we could hope to eat: turkey, chicken, beef, lamb, poke, vegetables, fruits, aigs, butter, milk....we jus' had evey thing, white folks, eve'ything. Dem was de good ole days. How I longs to be back dar wid my ole folks an' a playin' wid de chilluns down by de creek. 'Tain't nothin' lak it today, nawsuh. When I tell you 'bout it you gwine to wish you was dar too.

"White folks, you can have yo' automobiles an' paved streets an' electric lights. I don't want 'em. You can have de busses an' street cars an' hot pavements an' high buildin's 'caze I ain't got no use for 'em no way. But I'll tell you what I does want. I wants my ole cotton bed an' de moonlight nights a shinin' through de willow trees an' de cool grass ~~beneath~~ under my feets as I runned roun' ketchin' lightnin' bugs. I wants to hear de sound of de hounds in de woods after de 'possum, an' de smell of fresh mowed hay. I wants to feel de sway of de ole wagon a-goin' down de red, dusty road an' listen to de wheels groanin' as dey rolls along. I wants to sink my teeth into some of dat good ole ash cake, an' smack de good ole sorghum off'en my mouth. White folks I wants to see de boats a passin' up an' down de Alabamy ribber an' hear de slaves a singin' at dere work. I wants to see de dawn break over

de black ridge an' de twilight settle over de place spreadin' a sort of orenge hue over de place. I wants to walk de paths th'ew de woods an' see de rabbits an' watch de birds an' listen to frogs at night. But dey tuk me away f'om dat a long time ago. 'Twern't long befo' I ma'ied an' had chilluns, but don't none of 'em 'tribute to my suppote now. One of 'em was killed in de big wer wid Germany and de res' is all scattered out...eight of 'em. Now I jus' live f'om han' to mouth; here one day, somewhere else de nex'. I guess we's all a-goin' to die iffen dis 'pression don't let us 'lone. Maybe someday I'll git to go home. Dey tells me dat when a pusson crosses dat ribber, de Lawd gives him whut he wants. I done tol' de Lawd I don't want nothin' much..only my home, white folks. I don't think dats much to ax for. I suppose he'll sen' me back dar. I been a-waitin' for him to call."

T sh. Copy
H.L.D.
8-24-37

Appendix B: Reflections of Researcher (9 Pages)

1. Procedures at Library of Congress

Emerson (1995) defines field notes in ethnography as " accounts describing experiences and observations the researcher has made while participating in an intense and involved manner." During the course of research I experienced a wide range of emotions and thoughts beginning with my first trip to the Library of Congress in Washington, DC to work with the slave narratives. I knew that every slave narrative in the collection was available online and could have designed a study based on the use of the electronic medium, however, that would have provided a limited experience with the archived material. I would have lost the opportunity to review information essential to understanding the context of the Works Progress Administration and the Federal Writers Project.

I was thrilled to receive a grant from the City University of New York, Office of Research and Sponsored Programs that covered the cost of travel and lodging to D. C. for an extended weekend to begin the research phase of my doctoral journey. I had done a number of things in order to prepare for the visit to the L.O.C. I had read all the information on the website about procedures for the reading room of the Rare Books Division where the WPA-FWPSN collections was located; I had called and spoken to the assistant librarian about the collection; and I had a very detailed conversation with a member of my dissertation committee who is an expert on archival research and the L.O. C. What follows is my experience and observations from the first time I arrived at the majestic Madison Building of the LOC, across the street from the US Capitol:

- There was tight security into the building, including placing my backpack on a conveyor belt, walking through a metal detector and being wanded for metallic weapons. The security guards were professional and purposeful.
- I had to securing a scholar ID card from the Reader Registration Room and the process included presenting picture ID, then answering questions by interacting with an employee and a computer screen, ending with a photograph for the ID. The process lasted 15 minutes and the Scholar ID is good for 2 years. Very nice staff person. Good signage throughout the building.
- I made my way to the Manuscripts Division located on the first floor/main level and to the left from the front door.
- You must first approach the security desk and show ID.
- I received rules and regulations about appropriate behaviors, use of collection, security. Signed for receipt of packet.
- Received key to a locker to stow away all my personal possessions except the laptop, chord to laptop, and digital camera. No pencils, pens, paper, cellphone. Sign out the key.
- Return to security desk and sign in returned key.
- Shown by security where to locate paper, pencil, copier and pencil sharpener.
- Shown by security to the circulation hub where the librarian assistants are located. My scholar ID was swiped into the system by the library assistant.
- Using a very large binder, I searched the contents of the Rare Books Division. I found what I was looking for with the help of the assistant.
- Completed index card for The Records of the US Work Projects Administration (can request only four at one time).

- Assigned a table that was coded with a letter of the alphabet and a number.
- Moments later a LOC staff person delivers archived material to you at the table on a well oiled cart. The materials are in folder boxes with labels on the side panel. Inside each folder box are up to 4 file folders. All labeled by content and date.
- Can use a camera without a flash (so as not to damage the paper)
- Absolutely no drinking/food etc permitted in the Reading Room so as not to possibly damage the artifacts.
- Only one page of one folder from one box can be read at a time. Cardboard markers are provided as place holders in the boxes.
- When needing to leave the Reading Room, I had to report to security, sign out my key to your locker, get your personal items, sign in and return the key. Exit Reading Room.
- When returning, show ID, sign out key, return all banned items to locker and return key to security.

There are security cameras everywhere. The room is extremely quiet and large. The staff was very knowledgeable and helpful. I was able to gather contextual information about the FWPSN by reading through various memorandum from the WPA Field Offices for the Folklore Project and Mr. Alan Lomax, the Director of the Project.

2. The Folklore Project

I learned that the WPA-FWP developed three main projects to capture Folklore of the United States and the Slave Narratives was the smallest project, the most challenging project and the least funded project. I also was able to locate the Supplementary Instructions to the American Guide Manual which was the addendum to the field guide given to WPA agents who were conducting the interviews with the ex-slaves (See Appendix H). The memos are carbon copies

either written on hard stock yellow paper with blue ink or on very fine, nearly transparent grey paper with black ink. Corrections were easy to spot as many times they had pen line across words or editing in the margins. The paper had to be handled gently and gingerly.

The Folklore Project consists of three parts: Traditional Folklore (music, superstitions, urban/street lore, clothing, jokes, dance), Life Histories (random open-ended interviews with people throughout America about who they are, what they do, where they were born, their family etc.) and Slave Narratives (Standardized questionnaire to field agents deployed to the deep south to find ex-slaves and to document their experience in the institution of slavery before they all die off).

3. The Slave Narrative Collection

After reading about the "Jersey Devil" in the traditional folklore boxes of the NJ collection, I turned my attention to the Slave Narratives. The more than two thousand slave narratives from 17 southern states in the collection are deposited in 33 hard bound, green covered books with gold lettering on the spine and edges of the pages. Each page is approximately 8 ½ inches by 11 inches. The paper was hard stock, slightly yellow, heavily odiferous from the passage of time. The volumes contain portraits of many of the contributors of the narratives and other beautiful pictures of people and places in the south. Each narrative had a unique number stamped at the top of the page, usually a six digit number. Hand written notes, edits in red pen and instructions from proofreaders were evident on many pages. One needed to turn pages ever so lightly so as not to tear the paper. It was possible to reproduce copies which was a task turned over to the librarian assistant. By the time this first session with the Narratives had ended, the summer sun had set in DC and I had seen with my very own eyes, the hand written notes of Ralph Ellison and Zora Neale Hurston and stared into the eyes of photographs of ex-slaves, many of whom

reminded me of various people in my family, especially my grandmom. When I returned to my hotel room, exhausted from the day of research, I cried myself to sleep.

4. Language of the Slave Narratives

At first glance the peculiar language of this slave talking about wedding do's and don'ts seems difficult to read. She says:

> "De 'oman she proud uv her nice, spankin' new broom en she lay hit on de bed fer de weddin' crowd ter see it, wid de udder things been give 'em. Fo' three years go by her man wuz beatin' 'er, en not long atter dat she go plum stark crazy. She oughter ter know better'n ter lay dat broom on her bed. It sho' done brung her bad luck. Dey sent her off ter de crazy folks place, en she died dar." (Supplementary Instructions to the American Guide, WPA, 1937)

In more proper English and grammar, this paragraph would read:

> "The woman is proud of her nice, brand new broom and she laid it on the bed for the wedding crowd to see it along side of the other things that were given to her. Three years go by and her man was beating her and not long after that she went stark crazy. She ought to have known better than to have laid that broom on her bed. It sure did bring her bad luck. They sent her off to the crazy folks place and she died there."

As per the Supplementary Instructions (Appendix H) the Folklore Project Director gives explicit instructions to "write down any incident or facts he can recall as nearly as possible just as he says them but do not use dialect spelling so complicated that it may confuse the reader." I struggled very little with the dialect as recorded by the WPA Agent. This is due in part to my experience with the language of slaves having read literature from the genre since I was a young girl. Also, growing up in a family with a spectrum of literacy skills I became quite accustomed to more phonetic writing and gained lots of experience in deciphering and decoding words. After immersing myself in the collection, especially during the Gender Indexing process and the

purposive sampling process, I acquired a great deal of ease and comfort with the rhythms of the language and the story telling of the various authors.

5. Immersion and Loneliness

In order to make interpretations I needed to lose myself in the data, figure out ways to quiet my mind and be undistracted from all the temptations of my usual life. This meant saying no to parties, family gathers, mealtimes, theatre, sitcoms, long phone calls, sports events and a host of other pleasantries of life. In fact the story my partner would tell friends who were inquiring after me while away on one of my research jaunts was, "oh, Barbara isn't home, she's away with her data!" This is was one of the hardest parts of the research.

There was also plenty of frustration in my many futile attempts to try to find additional collaborating information about some of the subjects in my study. Perhaps I simply lack the ability to do conduct genealogical archival research at this phase of my academic life, but oh, how I would like to be mentored by the likes of Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and really delve into this area of research. It isn't easy locating information for people who just didn't exist as human beings until some of the Fugitive Case Laws were settled in the mid 19th Century. Sometimes the more I immersed myself in the story the sadder I got.

It was a lonely experience. How ironic, given the findings speak so clearly about a fundamental survival strategy for African Americans which is to connect to others when under duress, yet here I am, doing the biggest, most stressful academic pursuit of my life, working to achieve a dream I've had since 9 years old and in order to complete the task, to succeed - I have to disconnect from so many people that I love and care about. At least until the all of the graduation celebrations begin!

6. Plantations and Slave Cabins

Many of the slaves referenced the “quarters” and “cabins”. I searched online to see where in the south any remnants of slave cabins were located so that I could better understand their construction, size, location on plantation etc. I came upon a veritable gold mine of plantations dotting the Mississippi from New Orleans to Baton Rouge, LA. In the Summer of 2008 I decided to visit some of them. The first time I went to a plantation I booked a tour through the concierge at my hotel. I was the only African American on the bus with 15 White Mid-westerners and Upper Louisannians. That’s a combination that unfortunately made everyone feel a little uncomfortable particularly when we all entered the grounds of the plantation.

I had never been to a plantation. I stood on a levee on the north bank of the Mississippi River as the river arched over the city of New Orleans and gazed down a long, red-earthed pathway, flanked by two parallel rows of twenty-five, 200 year old hearty and robust live Oaks. The magnificent trees extended from the roadway near the river to the Roman-styled, split level, mansion with a wrap around terrace. There were sprawling spiral staircases from the end of the path to the overlarge Grecco doors on the 2nd floor of the mansion which is the main living quarters of the mansion. What I learned was that the ground floor rarely contained anything of value because the Mississippi routinely flooded and when she did, the contents in the ground floor would be damaged. Therefore only things that could tolerate damp conditions were routinely placed in the ground floor.

It was a typical, sweltering summer day in the south and I had the sweat and stickiness to prove it, but once on the path of the live Oaks, it felt as if I had all of a sudden walked into the cool breeze of a northeastern autumn day. Amazing! I wanted to live under the trees.

A woman and man in “typical southern dress” of the 1850’s met our group bottom of the magnificent staircase. Then we toured in the house and heard stories and gazed at objects that reflected the wealth and opulence of the family who ran the sugar plantation and owned the slaves. While in the house, the word slavery was not mentioned once, not even in connection with the accrual of wealth for the landowner. There were two smaller buildings that were adjacent to the main mansion. One was the kitchen and the home of the slave cook. Statues of “Aunt Jemima” were displayed throughout this home along with various cast iron pans, fine silverware and rudimentary ovens, stoves and ice holders. There was also a dumbwaiter system and pulley lines running from this small house into the larger house on the ground floor and then extending to the upper level. This was the system of serving food to the Master and his family.

The other house adjacent to the main mansion was for the sons of the Master. When the sons entered there teen years and their years of sexual exploration, it was not uncommon for them to move out of the watchful eyes of their mothers so that they could indulge in the past-time of securing sexual tryst with slave girls and women.

We then walked to the back of the house and moseyed down a pathway of shrubs manicured like the English countryside that ended at another long red-earthed pathway, with two more parallel rows of 10 live oaks, arranged in a less dense way than the live Oaks in the front of the mansion. Off to the right and left, just when the trees ended, were two rows of 11 parallel slave cabins – 22 slave cabins in all. This plantation can boast that it has the largest number of preserved slave cabins in the entire South. There was a small plaque with about 25 words thanking the servants for their dedication to the Sugar Plantation and the master. The curator of the tour showed a financial ledger to us indicating the amount of money each slave cost the

Master. Other than that factoid, more was said about the slaves. It was “let’s go have a mint julep time on the plantation.”

I decided to go back to the same plantation the next day and met with the resident historian who was actually a blood relative of the owners. While she was well versed on the family business, both when the times were exceedingly good and not so good, she held no interest in or any knowledge about the slaves that were once the property of her relatives. It was as if the slave did not exist, other than on a column in a financial ledger.

After having that experience, I asked for permission to spend some time down at the slave quarters to conduct some observations for my research.. She thought the request was odd but granted it to me nonetheless. I spent some number of hours alone in the part of the plantation that slaves once roamed. I sat on the floor in the cabin, on the porch, under a live oak, along side the sugar field. I walked to the embankment of a small lake that was stuffed with balsawood trees. I looked up the long pathway looking towards the Mighty Mississippi and the back of the mansion. I touched the trees. I wept. I pledged on that day to the spirit of all those slaves that lived on the hallow-land I had the privilege of standing on, that I would make visible their lives and their voices through my dissertation. Lest we forget!

Appendix C: Index of Collection by Gender with Random Number Sequence and Selected Narratives (in bold) (Milton, 2009).

Book	Vol. # / Part #	State	# of Informants	# of Males	# of Females	# of Couples	# of Unsure	Sequence of Random Numbers (the first 10 of the string)
1	I	Alabama	129	61	68	0	0	**123**,***42***,**74,**45,108,48,66,23,70,99
2	II, 1	Arkansas	101	52	49	0	0	7,40,**2**,62,30,**77**,58,71,**31**,15
3	II, 2	Arkansas	90	44	45	1	0	6,**7,53,83**,31,17,12,42,81,46
4	II, 3	Arkansas	102	46	54	1	1	94**,48,44**,15,**60,**49,61,89,36,63
5	II, 4	Arkansas	94	45	49	0	0	45,55,**86**,**19,33**,70,57,66,31,83
6	II, 5	Arkansas	108	53	55	0	0	**102**,90,**47**,**32**,79,50,56,16,76,86
7	II, 6	Arkansas	115	49	65	1	0	73,99,56,102,**86,90,25**,47,2,65
8	II, 7	Arkansas	77	38	39	0	0	12,47,**70**,39,**16,15,**48,21,2,20
9	III	Florida	50	32	17	1	0	**49,27**,20,**34**,31,7,32,24,29,25
10	IV, 1	Georgia	43	19	23	1	0	**12,11,24**,34,27,29,22,17,9,42
11	IV, 2	Georgia	47	22	25	0	0	**18,36,17**,38,2,40,39,3,12,47
12	IV, 3	Georgia	52	21	31	0	0	**10,18,1**,14,50,23,32,34,17,30
13	IV, 4	Georgia	21	11	10	0	0	**17,14,20**,7,1,12,19,10,2,18
14	V	Indiana	61	32	27	2	0	**46**,22,**13,38**,33,39,15,24,26,28
15	VI	Kansas	3	2	1	0	0	**3,2,1**
16	VII	Kentucky	8	5	3	0	0	**2,4,1**,3,6,8,7,5
17	VIII	Maryland	22	15	7	0	0	**16,20,6**,18,21,14,**9**,5,7,4
18	IX	Mississippi	26	18	8	0	0	**23,22,15**,16,18,6,14,10,25,13
19	X	Missouri	83	40	42	1	0	**30**,53,**61,24**,67,10,37,27,60,39
20	XI, 1	No. Carolina	89	43	46	0	0	43,**13**,4,**20**,19,**30**,40,80,60,24
21	XI, 2	No. Carolina	87	35	50	0	2	**5,57,17**,69,37,62,78,44,61,64
22	XII	Ohio	32	15	17	0	0	**4,18,15**,31,23,1,21,5,14,10
23	XIII	Oklahoma	75	35	40	0	0	**36,20,18**,56,66,29,28,5,68,43
24	XIV, 1	So. Carolina	75	44	31	0	0	**73**,51,**18,26**,48,12,19,61,4,58
25	XIV, 2	So. Carolina	68	38	30	0	0	**57**,15,**44,28**,54,26,48,2,39,35
26	XIV, 3	So. Carolina	75	45	30	0	0	**73,72,7**,4,38,18,64,58,55,39
27	XIV, 4	So. Carolina	67	35	32	0	0	**2,24,53**,27,15,66,50,42,19,29
28	XV	Tennessee	26	10	16	0	0	**4,13,20**,26,5,14,16,18,17,2
29	XVI, 1	Texas	87	58	29	0	0	**35,32,13**,17,10,64,66,34,45,48
30	XVI, 2	Texas	73	38	33	2	0	**51,50,59**,42,22,41,5,13,38,37
31	XVI, 3	Texas	75	44	31	0	0	8,**23,46,42**,38,73,32,56,67,7
32	XVI, 4	Texas	70	39	30	1	0	**46,45**,56,62,5,**11,**13,47,31,37
33	XVII	Virginia	14	5	8	1	0	4,**14,7,1**,2,11,8,12,9,6
Total			2145	1089	1041	12	3	

Appendix D: Random.org Fact Sheet

RANDOM.ORG offers true random numbers to anyone on the Internet. The randomness comes from atmospheric noise, which for many purposes is better than the pseudo-random number algorithms typically used in computer programs. People use the numbers to run lotteries, draws and sweepstakes and for their games and gambling sites. Scientists use them for random sampling and as input to modeling and simulation applications. Artists use them to make art and music. The service has been operating since 1998 and was built and is being maintained by Mads Haahr who is a Lecturer in the School of Computer Science and Statistics at Trinity College, Dublin in Ireland.

http://www.random.org/

Random Sequence Generator

This form allows you to generate randomized sequences of integers. The randomness comes from atmospheric noise, which for many purposes is better than the pseudo-random number algorithms typically used in computer programs.

Part 1: Sequence Boundaries

Smallest value 1 (limit -1,000,000,000)

Largest value 2100 (limit +1,000,000,000)

The length of the sequence (the largest minus the smallest value plus 1) can be no greater than 10,000.

Random Sequence Generator

The following is a partial sequence of random numbers to illustrate the method for random selection of Slave Narratives that have unique numbers from 001-2100 assigned by the National Library of Congress.

Here is your sequence:

- 532 1807 2004 460 767 594 1753 422 1095 233 1102 1152 2016 123
- 483 2082 1016 658 440 1310 35 932 1130 1283 646 1449 1642 517

Appendix E: Random Sequence Generator for Volume II, Part 7 - Arkansas

Random Sequence Generator

Volume II, Part 7, Arkansas – Index of Informants = N = 77

Sequence generated for the range of 1-77 cases.

Here is your sequence:

- 12 47 70 39 16 15 48
- 21 2 20 72 77 38 17
- 56 33 5 60 22 74 27
- 42 19 3 44 30 53 45
- 63 10 58 9 69 43 66
- 62 18 23 71 76 11 25
- 40 28 13 8 73 57 34
- 26 4 51 67 68 49 6
- 29 54 61 50 55 14 36
- 41 32 1 64 35 59 46
- 31 52 75 7 65 37 24

Timestamp: 2007-08-15 02:48:12 IST

Appendix F: Exclusion Criteria Used in Sampling Procedure with Frequency Count (Milton, 2009)

Exclusion Criteria	Volume	Number of Narrative	Frequency	Total
Insufficient Content	I II, 1 II, 2 II, 3 II, 4 II, 4 II, 6 II, 7 XVI, 3 XVII II, 5 II, 7 XIV, 1 XIV, 2 XI, 1	#123 #39 #7 #51 #6 #15 #94 #19 #45 #55 #73 #99 #56 #102 #12 #47 #8 #4 #30	19	19
Infant at the time of Emancipation	II, 1	#40	1	20
Narrative of a Couple not an Individual	II, 2 X III	#9 #53 #20	3	23
Combined Interviews	III	Pp 364-378	1	24
Born Free	II II, 1 II, 1 II, 1 II, 3	#62 #30 #58 #71 #15	5	29
Native American	V	#22	1	30
Incoherent Narrative	XI	#4	1	31
Fulfilled Male Narratives for Sample	XVI, 4 XVI, 4 XVI, 4 XVI, 4 VIII VIII VIII	#56 #62 #5 #11 #18 #21 #14	7	38

Appendix G: Data Capture Instrument (2 pages)

Study on Historical Resilience

Page: ___of____

WPA Narrative Number: _____
Type of Occupation:_____
Gender of Former Slave: _____
Location of Enslavement: _____
Age when Enslavement began: _____
Age when Emancipation began: _____

Data Collection Instrument

Page /Pgh	**Narrative Excerpt**	**Domain Type I/F/C**	**Protective Factor Code**

WPA Narrative Number: _____ Page ___ of ___

Page /Pgh	Narrative Excerpt	Domain Type I/F/C	Protective Factor Code

Appendix H: Supplementary Instructions to the American Guide (3 pages)

(Retrieved on April 5, 2009 from http://www.accessgenealogy)

Supplementary Instructions

Works Progress Administration
Federal Writers' Project
1500 Eye St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Supplementary Instructions #9-E To The American Guide Manual
Folklore Stories From Ex-Slaves

Note: In some states it may be possible to locate only a very few ex-slaves, but an attempt should be made in every state. Interesting ex-slave data has recently been reported from Rhode Island, for instance.

April 22, 1937

Stories From Ex-Slaves

The main purpose of these detailed and homely questions is to get the Negro interested in talking about the days of slavery. If he will talk freely, he should be encouraged to say what he pleases without reference to the questions. It should be remembered that the Federal Writers' Project is not interested in taking sides on any question. The worker should not censor any material collected, regardless of its nature.

It will not be necessary, indeed it will probably be a mistake, to ask every person all of the questions. Any incidents or facts he can recall should be written down as nearly as possible just as he says them, but do not use dialect spelling so complicated that it may confuse the reader.

A second visit, a few days after the first one, is important, so that the worker may gather all the worthwhile recollections that the first talk has aroused.

Questions:

1. Where and when were you born?

2. Give the names of your father and mother. Where did they come from? Give names of your brothers and sisters. Tell about your life with them and describe your home and the "quarters." Describe the beds and where you slept. Do you remember anything about your grandparents or any stories told you about them?

3. What work did you do in slavery days? Did you ever earn any money? How? What did you buy with this money?

4. What did you eat and how was it cooked? Any possums? Rabbits? Fish? What food did you like best? Did the slaves have their own gardens?

5. What clothing did you wear in hot weather? Cold weather? On Sundays? Any shoes? Describe your wedding clothes.

6. Tell about your master, mistress, their children, the house they lived in, the overseer or driver, poor white neighbors.

7. How many acres in the plantation? How many slaves on it? How and at what time did the overseer wake up the slaves? Did they work hard and late at night? How and for what causes were the slaves punished? Tell what you saw. Tell some of the stories you heard.

8. Was there a jail for slaves? Did you ever see any slaves sold or auctioned off? How did groups of slaves travel? Did you ever see slaves in chains?

9. Did the white folks help you to learn to read and write?

10. Did the slaves have a church on your plantation? Did they read the Bible? Who was your favorite preacher? Your favorite spirituals? Tell about the baptizing; baptizing songs. Funerals and funeral songs.

11. Did the slaves ever run away to the North? Why? What did you hear about patrollers? How did slaves carry news from one plantation to another? Did you hear of trouble between the blacks and whites?

12. What did the slaves do when they went to their quarters after the day's work was done on the plantation? Did they work on Saturday afternoons? What did they do Saturday nights? Sundays? Christmas morning? New Year's Day? Any other holidays? Cornshucking? Cotton Picking? Dances? When some of the white master's family married or died? A wedding or death among the slaves?

13. What games did you play as a child? Can you give the words or sing any of the play songs or ring games of the children? Riddles? Charms? Stories about "Raw Head and Bloody Bones" or other "hants" of ghosts? Stories about animals? What do you think of voodoo? Can you give the words or sing any lullabies? Work songs? Plantation hollers? Can you tell a funny story you have heard or something funny that happened to you? Tell about the ghosts you have seen.
14. When slaves became sick who looked after them? What medicines did tho doctors give them? What medicine (herbs, leaves, or roots) did the slaves use for sickness? What charms did they wear and to keep off what diseases?
15. What do you remember about the war that brought your freedom? What happened on the day news came that you were free? What did your master say and do? When the Yankees came what did they do and say?
16. Tell what work you did and how you lived the first year after the war and what you saw or heard about the KuKlux Klan and the Nightriders. Any school then for Negroes? Any land?
17. Whom did you marry? Describe the wedding. How many children and grandchildren have you and what are they doing?
18. What do you think of Abraham Lincoln? Jefferson Davis? Booker Washington? Any other prominent white man or Negro you have known or heard of?
19. Now that slavery is ended what do you think of it? Tell why you joined a church and why you think all people should be religious.
20. Was the overseer "poor white trash"? What were some of his rules?
The details of the interview should be reported as accurately as possible in the language of the original statements. An example of material collected through one of the interviews with ex-slaves is attached herewith. Although this material was collected before the standard questionnaire had been prepared, it represents an excellent method of reporting an interview.

More information might have been obtained however, if a comprehensive questionnaire had been used.

Tables

Table 1: Classification Based on Risk and Outcome Status (Tiet & Huizinga, 2002)

	Risk-Low	Risk- High
Outcome-Unfavorable	Group 1 Low risk/Unfavorable outcome	Group 2 High risk/ Unfavorable outcome
Outcome-Favorable	Group 3 Low risk/Favorable Outcome	Group 4 High risk/Favorable outcome

Table 2: Personal Strengths: What Resilience Looks Like? (Benard, 2004)

SOCIAL COMPETENCE	PROBLEM SOLVING	AUTONOMY	SENSE OF PURPOSE
Responsiveness	Planning	Positive Identity	Goal Direction
Communication	Flexibility	Internal Locus-of Control	Achievement - Motivation
Empathy	Resourcefulness		Educational-Aspiration
Caring		Self-Efficacy	
	Critical Thinking	Mastery	Special Interest
Compassion	Insight		Creativity
Altruism		Adaptive Distancing	Imagination
Forgiveness		Resistance	
			Optimism
		Self-Awareness	Hope
		Minfulness	
			Faith
		Humor	Spirituality
			Sense of Meaning

Table 3: The Philosophical Aspects of Cultural Differences (Nichols, 1998).

World View	Values (Axiology)	Knowledge (Epistemology)	Reason (Logic)	Process
European **Euro-American**	**Member –Object** The highest value lies in the object or in the acquisition of the object	**Cognitive** One knows through counting and measuring	**Dichotomous** Either/Or	**Technology** All process are repeatable and reproducible
African **Afro-American** **Native American** **Hispanics** **Arabic**	**Member-Member** The highest value lies in the interpersonal relationship between persons	**Affective** One knows through symbolic imagery and rhythm	**Diunital** The union of opposites	**Ntuology** All processes are interrelated through human and spiritual networks
Asian **Asian-American** **Polynesian**	**Member-Group** The highest value lies in the cohesiveness of the group	**Conative** One knows through striving toward transcendence	**Nyaya** The objective world is conceived independent of thought and mind	**Cosmology** All processes are independently interrelated in the harmony of the universe

Table 4: Comparison of Judging Criteria for Quantitative and Qualitative Research (Trochim, 2006)

Traditional Criteria for Quantitative Research	**Alternative Criteria for Qualitative Research**
Internal validity	Credibility
External validity	Transferability
Reliability	Dependability
Objectivity	Confirmability

Table 5: Number of Data Cards in Sample (Milton, 2009)

	Individual PFs	Family PFs	Slave Community PFs	Master Community PF's
MALE Narrative PFs	88	26	57	48
Cum Total Male PFs	**88**	**114**	**171**	**219**
FEMALE Narrative PFs	85	30	30	59
Cum Total Female PFs	**85**	**115**	**145**	**204**
TOTAL PFs Per Domain	173	56	87	107
Grand Total of PFs in Sample				***423***

PF= protective factors

Table 6: Categories of Protective Factors in the Sample with Themes (Milton, 2009).

Internal Connection	Familial Connection	In-Group Connection	Out-Group Connection
Individual	Family	Slave Community	Master Community
Power 75 Excerpts 33M/42F	Care 26 Excerpts 13M/13F	Support 42 Excerpts 28M/14F	Goods and Services 39 Excerpts 19M/20F
Competence 41 Excerpts 22M/19F	Counsel 13Excerpts 6M/7F	Opportunity 18 Excerpts 13M/5F	Benevolence 28 Excerpts 9M/19F
Spirituality 32 Excerpts 14M/18F	Model 9 Excerpts 5M/4F	Pride 14 Excerpts 7M/7F	Protection 24 Excerpts 16M/8F
Passion 25 Excerpts 19M/6F	Ritual 8 Excerpts 2M/6F	Norms 13 Excerpts 9M/4F	Opportunity 16 Excerpts 4M/12F

Table 7: Protective Factors of At-Risk African American Youth as Identified in Contemporary Social Science Literature (Luthar, 2006; Benard, 2004; Utsey, et al, 2000; Daly, et al, 1995)

Individual	Family	Community
Social Competence	Warmth & Cohesion	School Involvement
Problem Solving	Positive Home Environment	Community Involvement
Autonomy	Emotional Stability of Parent	Positive Peers & Mentors
Sense of Purpose	Positive Racial Socialization	Absence of Violence

Figures

Figure 1: Mediating Role of Coping (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985)

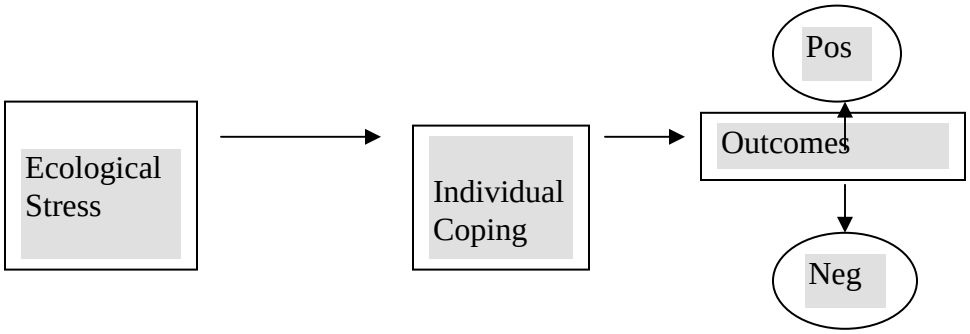
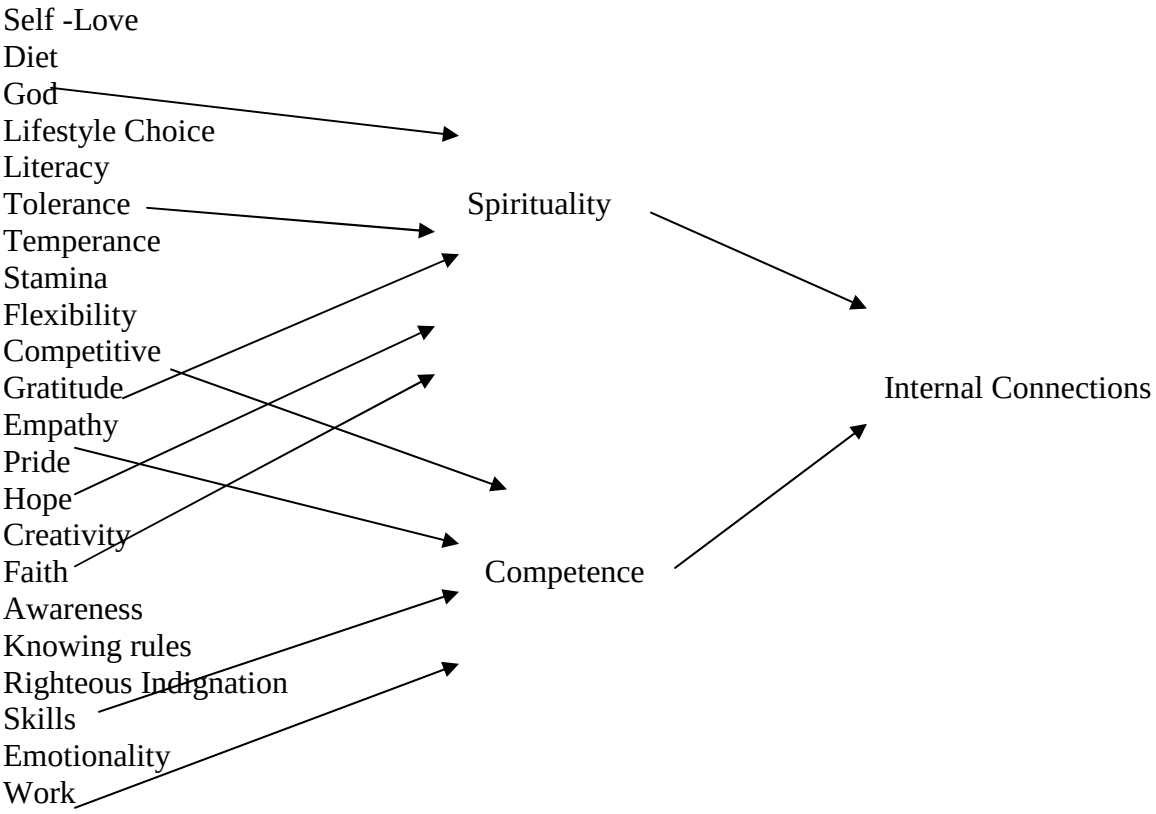


Figure 2: Flow Chart of Interpretive Analytic Process during Prolonged Engagement with the Federal Writers Project Slave Narratives (FWPSN) (Milton, 2009)

Example from the Individual Domain

Protective Factor Labels (Based on a reading of a FWPSN):



Initial Read of FWPSN ⟶ Final Reading

TIME

Prolonged Engagement / Immersion of Categories / Crystallization of Themes

Figure 3: Ecological Domains (Milton, 2009)

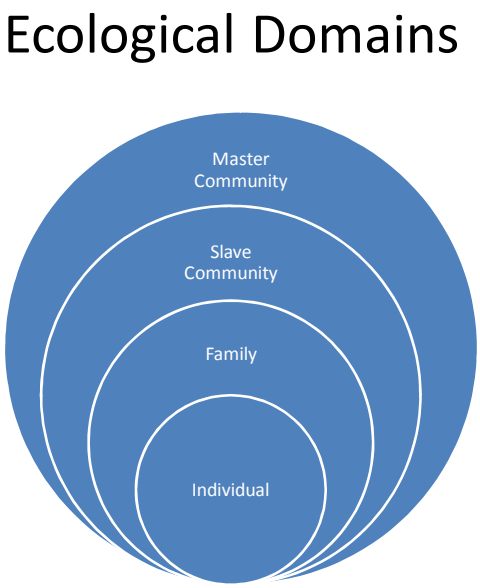


Figure 4**:** African American Connections by Domain (Milton, 2009)

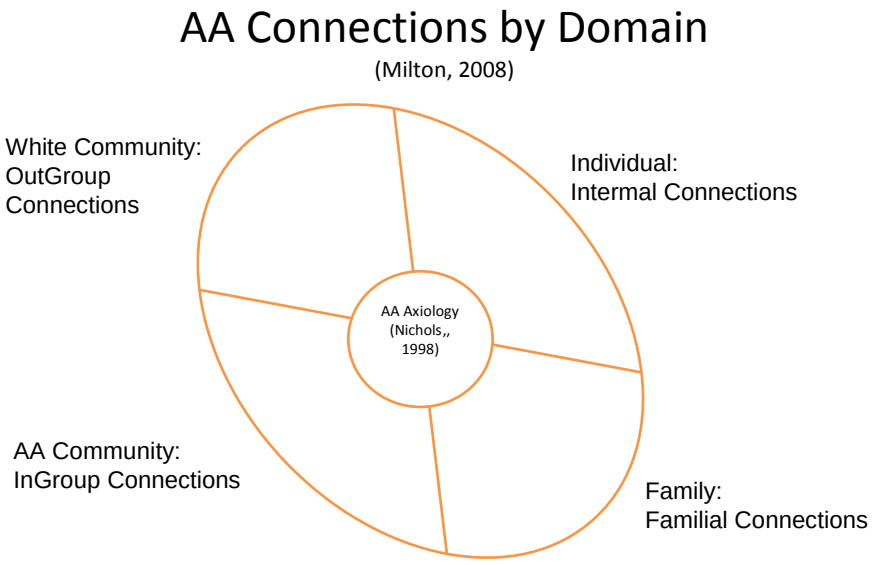
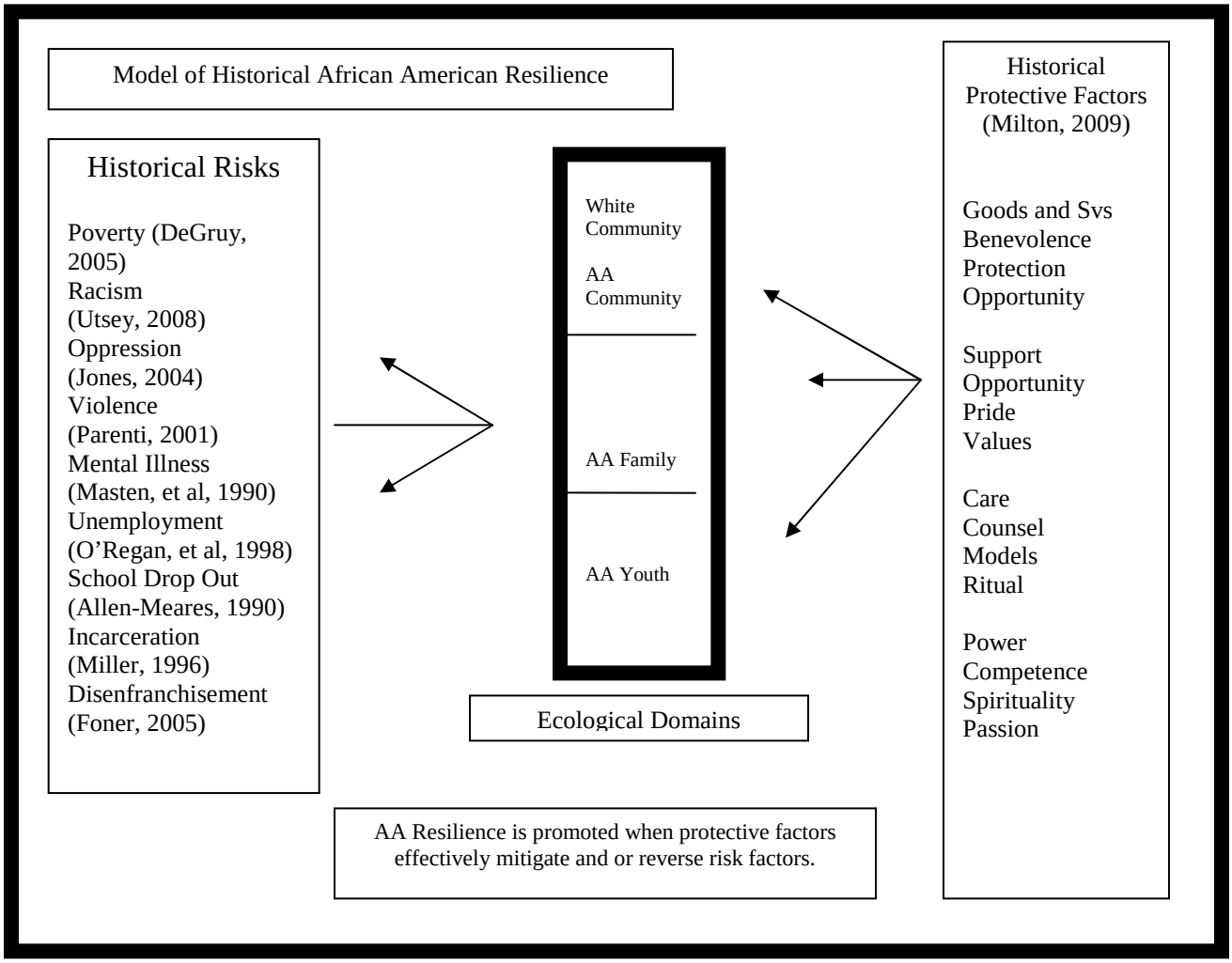


Figure 5: Model of Historical African American Resilience (Milton, 2009)



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