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Thrasher, Shirley Patricia, D.S.W.

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ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEWS WITH WEST INDIAN FAMILIES AND A WORKSHOP FOR PRACTITIONERS

SHIRLEY PATRICIA THRASHER

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

1988

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Social Work in satisfaction of the disseratation requirement for the degree of Social Welfare.

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Abstract

ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEWS WITH WEST INDIAN FAMILIES AND A WORKSHOP FOR PRACTITIONERS

by

Shirley Patricia Thrasher

Adviser: Dr. Rebecca Donovan

This research project conducts ethnograpic interviews with West Indian families in the natural environment of their homes to discover the cultural distinctions, particularly as it relates to the parent-child relationship. West Indians are those Blacks who were born in one of the English -- speaking Caribbean Islands and subsequently immigrated to the United States.

The geographical area of the fieldwork is Brooklyn, the borough with the largest population of West Indians.

The informants of the ethnographic interviews were self-selected from a pilot study of past or present recipients of a Prevention Program mandated to prevent the abuse and neglect of children and the placement of them in foster care.

The research design of ethnography follows a cultural anthropological approach of language decoding and analysis based on descriptions by the informants.

A major theme of West Indian culture is the extended family play a major role in the the child-rearing and socialization of children. Although the immigration process has caused the separation of biological parents and children

over prolonged periods, there continues to be a closeness, sharing, and commitment to the family unit of extended relatives which is maintained across geographical boundaries.

Another emerging theme in the culture is the importance of a spiritual and religious experience whether that is expressed formally through church membership and rituals or informally.

Respect is a dominant core symbol defining the relationship between parent and child in establishing roles and appropriate boundaries for child-rearing practices.

The technique of disciplining by the use of physical punishment is a theme that has emerged as a culturally sanctioned value and an appropriate child rearing practice. However, this practice has resulted in conflict with the dominant culture where the hitting may be viewed as child abuse.

Education has emerged as highly valued for the families in achieving their migration goals and for upward mobility in the United States. However, the children are experiencing a range of problems in the educational setting which has made this goal elusive for them.

The themes formed the base for the workshop in understanding West Indians and the implications for practice.

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My greatest appreciation and indebtedness goes to my informants, who must remain anonymous, who invited me into their homes and shared sensitive and intimate details of their family life. I sincerely thank them. I take full responsibility for the final product of the portrayal of their stories and any distortions that may occur.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF NEED

This qualitative research project implements ethnographic interviews with West Indian families who are or were receiving social services in a Prevention Program because of conflict in the parent-child relationship. West Indians are those natives who were born in the English-speaking Caribbean Islands such as Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Tobago, Antigua, St. Croix, and extends from the coast of Florida in the north to Venezuela in the south as opposed to those Blacks born and raised in the United States (Brice 1982:123). Ethnography is the task of describing and understanding a particular culture in its own terms. The goal is "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world...Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people" (Spradley 1979:3). The second phase of the project designs and implements a workshop for practitioners to teach them about the cultural distinctions for incorporation in the interventions and practice models used in providing social services for the families.

Historically, the social work profession has always been in the vanguard of identifying social problems and unmet

needs of racial and ethnic minorities. Social work values emphasize the need for heightened sensitivity to cultural variables and racial differences. The underlying assumptions are that differences are to be recognized so ethnic groups can have accessibility and participation in the institutions of a democratic and pluralistic society.

In America there has been a widely held value of a protected childhood. In social work this has translated into the field of practice of Child Welfare. Child Welfare covers a broad range of policies, programs, and services which promote and protect the well being of children. In a pluralistic and complex society, providing for the "best interest of the child" has become a difficult task. To be a child means to be in a prolonged state of dependency. Childhood is a "...long period of time during which the young of the human species is in a condition of helplessness and dependence, that in comparison with...most animals...it is sent into the world in a less finished state, and the dangers of the external world have a greater importance for it" (Goldstein et al 1979:3). The full responsibility for the momentous task of guiding the child towards independence rests with parents as primary caretakers within the family.

Need For differentiation And Research Among Black Cultural Subgroups

The fallacy of cultural homogeneity is dissapating as reality is laying to rest the notion that America is a "melting pot" for its ethnic minorities. A perpetuation of this viewpoint makes it difficult if not impossible for institutions to respond appropriately in the provision of social services. The need to understand Blacks from a variety of perspectives, including within the context of their own culture, is an underlying premise of this work. This pproject asserts that there is not one monolithic Black culture but many subcultures which have been treated by the dominant culture as if they were homogenized.

According to Jones and Korchin (1982), there are real and fundamental differences among ethnic groups with distinct cultures that generate behavior which can only be understood within an ethnic cultural context. They suggest a cross cultural perspective in the delivery of mental health services.

Even though a budding of ethnic awareness has emerged in the last two decades, it is still viewed within the framework of the White Protestant and middle-class American family, according to Mindel and Habenstein (1976). There is even less, they say, about the family life of ethnic groups and their child-rearing patterns, family roles, status, mate

selection and life cycles.

The review of the literature of Staples and Mirande (1980) corroborates this perspective as they found assumptions about the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon culture and devaluation of other groups prior to the 1970's. Blacks, Asian Americans, Chicanos, and Native Americans were depicted with negative stereotypes that were not empirically supported. Even though the last decade has brought some positive aspects of these ethnic groups to the surface, there continues to be a gap in focusing on the ethnic minority group as a unit rather than comparing it with the dominant culture. These writers urge an increase in both quantitative and qualitative research with a balanced account of the strengths and weaknesses of ethnic minorities.

The West Indian Immigrant family is a subculture of Blacks which is widely ignored in the professional literature. Many authors (Foner 1986; McLaughlin 1981; Bryce-LaPorte 1979; Couch 1979; Schlesinger 1968) underscore the paucity of empirical research and the magnitude of unanswered questions regarding this Caribbean population and concur on the need to understand the cultural variables and family patterns which influence the immigrant's adaptability to the new environment. According to Bryce-LaPorte (1979) despite the influx of large numbers of West Indians in the 60's, there remain gaps in the knowledge of the immigration patterns, the immigrant's characteristic experiences, and the

receptivity and treatment from the various institutions in American society. He concludes that this treatment has rendered them largely "invisible" in the social science literature.

Schlesinger (1968) underlines the lack of empirical data with Jamaican families especially since it is the largest English-speaking Island in the Caribbean. There were only ten published studies to date all dealing with families of the lower class using a deviant model.

McLaughlin (1981) states the data gaps were a major reason in her undertaking of a study of this population through an examination of their social networks and ethnic identification. She concurs with Bryce-Laporte (1979) of the double bind of invisibility, of being Black and of being immigrants, and calls for delineation of their characteristics so that social service programs can support existing structures.

Foner (1986) also stresses how surprising it is that so little research has been done with the increased population of this new immigrant group in New York since the immigrants have an impact on the environment as well as the environment having an impact on them.

Need for Appropriate Theoretical Frameworks for Conceptualizing Black Families

The last two decades have witnessed a burgeoning, debate and search for theoretical and conceptual frameworks to understand Black family life within American society. A major catalyst for this movement was the work of Moynihan (1965) who characterized the Black family as dysfunctional.

From a historical perspective there has been a continuous discussion and debate about the influence of African ancestry on Black families and whether this heritage was destroyed by the institution of slavery. Melville Herskovits (Hale 1982:11), a cultural anthropologist, was one of the first proponents of the idea of African roots for Blacks. At the time of his work in the 1930's it was not well received by Blacks or Whites. Herskovits theorized the Black's resistance to slavery coupled with a reluctance to accept the culture of the Master were strong motivating forces in the retention of African descent. He says these retentions are not evident in pure form but aspects of Africanism are reflected in Black culture if the analysis is moved from one of description and comparison to one of process as exemplified in many of the behavior manifestations.

Billingsley (1968) documents the ambivalence that Blacks have displayed about their African roots believing its derivatives as inferior and uncivilized. He traces the change in this stance as studies have emerged which reveal the rich,

varied, and highly civilized societies of the Africans.

Nobles (1978) postulates that a psychology for understanding Blacks must be grounded in the cultural and philosophical premises shared by the tribes of West Africa. He describes this as a spiritual disposition - an ethos which is a set of guiding beliefs which is operational by the African's relationship to nature and the nature of the survival of the tribe. He says this ethos cannot be examined empirically but must be explored through an examination of African philosophy through religion, proverbs, ethic, and morals. According to his position there is an ethos grounded in African philosophy in which there is no dichotomy between humans and nature but there is a oneness which must be included into any scientific inquiry about Blacks. He maintains that even within the diversity of Black families there is a comprehensive cultural theme which historically classifies Black families and is essentially of "Africanity" within Black family life. He proposes a theoretical framework based on African cultural residuals reflected in this world view, normative assumptions, and frame of reference.

Niara Sudarkasa (1980), in her discussion of African structure and kin groups, reiterates this perspective. She says it is no longer a question of the retention of Africanism in Black family life but it is more an issue of the modifications of these processes since the

transplantation appears to be validated. She calls for research to focus on specific behavior patterns, structural features, and values comparatively so as to confirm specificities of the presence or absence in Afro-American life of these transformations.

Whatever position one takes on the retention of African culture, there can be no denial of the traumatic experience of slavery as a disruptive force for both the continuity of the African culture and its denial of access to the prevailing culture. This slave status of Blacks resulted in a lack of protection and a complete denial of the slave's humanity. The brutal enslavement of Blacks in chains, the treatment of them as property by selling them without regard to family or tribe, and the absence of institutions to protect their physical and personal integrity can never be overstated. As Billingsley (1968:52) states, "No other immigrant group can make these statements." This stark reality of Black history and its slavery antecedents compel its inclusion into any models that conceptualize Black families.

The analysis of Allen (1978), in identifying current theoretical frameworks and categorizing researchers who study Black family life, illuminates the complexities and problems in the search for a comprehensive framework but is useful as an overview. His premise is that theory has both a conceptual framework which is the objective component and

an ideological perspective which is the subjective component. The three conceptual (objective) approaches he identifies are the structural-functional, the interactional-situational, and the developmental (life cycle). The three ideological (subjective) perspectives for analysis are the cultural equivalent, cultural deviant, and cultural variant.

The structural-functional approach is the most frequently used and the most popular among researchers because of its versatality and adapatability for studying families across space and time at a societal and family level. It lends itself to the study of the economic order and a broad range of problems. Many of the studies focus on Black family organization and functioning and its relationship with the economic order as a strong behavioral determinant. Allen (1978) classifies the works of Frazier, Moynihan, Billingsley, Hill, Nobles, and Stack as being within this framework. A wide range of methodologies and perspectives exist within this rubric. According to Allen, the limitations and problem with this approach is the essentially static nature of the concept which categorizes the family as functionl or dysfunctional, rather than both depending on the issue. It does not provide room for a dynamic change component that allows families to shape their own destinies.

The interactional-situational approach focuses on the interpersonal relationships in the family and individual traits. The emphasis is on socialization patterns and

personality development. The research using this framework has been exceedingly important in identifying different child rearing and socialization patterns, the implication of race differences for socialization, and the need for continued research in self- esteem, self image, marital studies, and parent child relationships. Allen (1978) identifies the research of Ladner, Staples, Rainwater, McAdoo, and Hill as being within this framework. The limitations he sees with this conceptual framework is that it is restricted to the internal family interactions at specific points in time and therefore encourages dismissal of important factors outside of the family.

According to Allen (1978), the developmental (life cycle) approach uses a longitudinal perspective in studying Black families with only a few such approaches in existence. These include Frazier's historical evolution of the Black family (i.e., enslavement, emancipation, urbanization) and Staples and Nobles approach to the evolution of Black families from African heritage. Gutman's historical approach, and Haley's "fictional" historical study of his geneology are also representative of the developmental approach of Black family life. Another variation of this approach is the collection of data cross sectionally at varying stages in the life cycle or short term periodic observation. The problem Allen sees with this approach is the sheer magnitude of data collection that is necessary over a period of time restricts it to

smaller less representative samples because the emphasis is on breadth and depth.

Continuing with Allen's (1978) premise of the presence of an ideological or subjective component with any conceptual framework, he addresses the issues of personal bias and preference, worldview, and values into research and questions the existence of "value-free" research. He says this stance provides explanation for the works of researchers who use the same conceptual framework and identical samples but come to conclusions about Black families that are radically different. The "cultural equivalent" perspective deemphasizes or negates distinctive qualities of Black families and highlights qualities shared in common with White families. This perspective fails to validate the distinct cultural forms of Black families and makes implicit value judgments that Black families can be validated when their functioning approximates the White middle class norm. The "cultural deviant" perspective recognizes the distinctive nature of Black family life but views it negatively or dysfunctional as it deviates from the White norm. This perspective is explicit in its value judgment of the pathology or dysfunctional view of the Black family. The "cultural variant" perspective view the Black family as a distinctive cultural form, but not necessarily taken as a reflection of pathology. This perspective emphasizes the need for "cultural relativity" that is, Black-White family differences as outgrowths of

their respective sociocultural contexts.

This analysis is not a neat package to research and study Black family life but it provides a useful barometer to view the state of the art. Much of the existing research uses overlapping concepts and fall into more than one framework with authors applying multiple conceptual approaches. The ideological perspective is not explicit in many studies with researchers coming to radically different conclusions from the same samples. However, this critique is useful in pointing out the issues and problems in the search for appropriate theoretical frameworks in viewing Black families. It is clear the research needs for Black families require diversity and multiple approaches because the families are complex and comprised of subcultures which are not homogeneous.

Chestang (1977), in a cogent and compelling study, underscores the importance for research on minority groups to apply strategies which are close to the data with hypotheses that flow from that data. His study of Twenty Black Lives generated a set of hypotheses from an exploration of the subjects' life experiences which can be applicable to a larger group and other ethnic minorities.

This project focuses on the research needs of one subculture of Blacks, the West Indian family. This population was discovered by the writer in her capacity to design a Prevention Program to avert the placement of

children in foster care. Since there was a dearth of information in the professional literature of social services with West Indians, a pilot study was embarked on in the Prevention Program as a first step towards a better understanding of this population.

CHAPTER II

PILOT STUDY OF WEST INDIAN FAMILY

Background

A geographical area in New York city was found to have a high incidence of suspected child abuse and neglect, ranking number 4 out of 59 community districts in the city for findings of maltreatment and number 5 in the number of children entering foster care (City of New York 1984). In response to these incidents of child abuse and neglect and resulting foster care placements, New York City's Special Services for Children provided funds for a program to address family problems. The Prevention Program was established to design and implement services to prevent child abuse and neglect by providing professional counseling and advocacy services for the families. As West Indian families became recipients of the program services, it became an important challenge to identify relevant cultural variables so that effective initiatives to prevent foster care placements could be implemented. The lack of systematic and empirical information in the social science literature about the variability of this population relevant to an understanding of child abuse and neglect was the impetus for this pilot study of the West Indian immigrant family conducted at the

Prevention Program.

Design

This study was conducted by survey questionnaires (Appendix C) from an examination of the case records and interviews with the caseworkers to systematically describe those West Indian families receiving services voluntarily at the Prevention Program. Families studied had to have been with the Program for at least three months. The sample consisted of 30 families. Both open and closed cases were included; 18 were open and 12 were closed. For closed cases, some information was not available.

The survey, which was a content analysis, identified significant characteristics, particularly of the parent and child relationship, that provide an understanding of the West Indian family:

- Immigration motives, patterns and the resulting household composition and child caring arrangements;
- Employment and economic issues;
- Educational achievement and resulting sources of family conflict;
- Methods of discipline;
- Involvement with social service agencies.

Common themes are identified and their effect on family functioning are reported. To assure confidentiality, only aggragate data is reported.

Findings

Immigration Patterns and Household Composition

The West Indian Immigrant adult comes to the United States unaccompanied by children and spouse. In our study of thirty families, all of the adults came alone initially to the United States. The children were left in the homeland with other relatives, frequently the grandmother. This move, which is motivated by opportunities for employment and education, was supported by the entire family. Expectations are high of benefits to the whole family on reunion when economic stability and appropriate housing are secured by the emigrating adult.

The pattern of separating and leaving children in the homeland has often resulted in a primary caretaker other than the biological parent (Table1). In our study twenty-three of the families reported their children were raised by adults other than the biological parents and six families reported children were raised by biological parents.

The reunion envisioned by the families, however, does not occur with the rapidity expected, and often parents and

children are faced with many years of separation. However, contact is maintained by telephone, mail, and material goods and possessions sent to the homeland.

The pattern of children joining a parent in the new country is also an uneven one, often with one child at a time immigrating, depending on the financial status of the adults. In addition the West Indian is committed to helping other relatives come to the United States, and a network of sponsorship of extended kin is a common phenomenon, making many households multigenerational. In this study, the greatest number of families were multigenerational; nine were one generation (Table 2).

These patterns raise issues and questions for consideration in the planning and development of social services for this population. First, viewing the West Indian family from the traditional nuclear family constellation of the biological parents and their children may not be appropriate because of primary caretakers other than biological parents and the creation of multigenerational households in the new country. Second, the prolonged separation of parents and children may create an environment for potential parent-child conflict because the biological parents have missed significant stages of their children's development. The biological parents are now in a situation where they must reestablish their role as primary caretakers and maternal/ paternal figures.

From the perspective of the child, these issues raise the potential for conflict. Previously, the children have lived and related to primarily grandmothers as maternal figures, and now they are living with biological parents to whom they must adjust. In addition to adjustment to a new environment in the new country, the children must adjust to biological parents whom they may not know.

Employment

One of the main reasons that a West Indian immigrates to the United States is to seek employment opportunities that will provide a better way of living. The emphasis on upward mobility and the strong work ethic were clearly evident in this sample. Thirty or 100% of the families had at least one adult who was employed. It was not uncommon for an adult to have more than one job in addition to attending school or some additional vocational training. These ambitious undertakings concur with the portrayal of this population presented so compellingly by Paule Marshall (1980) in "Rising Islanders of Bed- Stuy". Owning ones' own home was an Islanders' identity which became transplanted in the new country. Working two and three jobs, scrimping and saving, borrowing from loan sharks when the banks refused credit, and economizing were all in the service of buying a house, according to her. Families and extended

kin occupied the same household as a mutual helping arrangement to assist in the accumulation of resources for this home ownership. This pattern is obviously a contributing factor in the family typology of multigenerational and extended kin households.

Repeatedly, the parents reported feeling dismayed, bewildered, and angry that the children were not appreciative or understanding of the sacrifices they had undergone in order to create options and a better way of living for them. Multiple employment effected parental availability to children. Similarly, this involvement in their jobs and training may result in problems if a parents' presence is required at social service agencies or schools.

Education

Education is the other main reason besides employment that the West Indian gives for migrating to the United States. A high number of adults in this study were involved in educational pursuits or career advancement training in addition to maintaining full time jobs.

The West Indians' strong interest in education for their children is reflected in the issues they presented as problematic in their request for services at the Prevention Program. The school system referred 19 (63.3%) of the thirty families (Table 111). School related problems were identified

by 26 families as the primary source of conflict impacting on the entire family. The problems identified in the educational setting from both the perspective of the parent and the child included:

(1) truancy
(2) suspensions
(3) fighting
(4) inappropriate class placement
(5) disrespect and verbal abuse to school personnel
(6) discrimination and racism by school personnel
(7) failing grades
(8) poor academic achievement
(9) special education labeling
(10) discrimination due to Caribbean accent

It also appears from this sample that West Indian children are experiencing difficulties in the schools system as32.1% of this population is in special education (Table 4). A strong interest in education creates a responsiveness by West Indian families to voluntarily seek services when their children are having school problems. The high number of reported difficulties suggests that an agency must be knowledgeable about the school system. A partnership of prevention agency, school, and family may provide an avenue to resolution of problems and enhancing family functioning.

Discipline

A consistent theme reported by families seeking Program services was difficulty in parent-child relations and the methods used by parents to alleviate these problems. Significant parent- child conflict--particularly involving school related problems-- was reported by 26 of the families. In response to conflict, the method used for disciplinary purposes by 25 of the 30 families (for the remaining five of the families this information was unavailable) was physical punishment (Table 5).

Other authors (Sewell-Coker et al 1985; Brice 1982) have noted that West Indian families use physical punishment as the primary source of discipline. In this study parents reported physical punishment as an appropriate method of child rearing and one which their parents had used in socializing and guiding them towards adulthood. They perceived their own adulthood as one in which they had achieved a certain amount of success as evidenced by their status of adequate employment, housing, and material goods after immigration. This position had enabled them to sponsor their spouses, children and extended kin in migrating to the United States. As physical punishment was not viewed as harmful, in fact it was considered necessary for successful adulthood, these parents expressed anger and confusion that their belief system and value of physical punishment as an

appropriate method of child rearing was in conflict with the values of the dominant culture. Relying on physical punishment--hitting children--might be a family norm or common West Indian practice but it may lead to allegations of child abuse by non-West Indian observers of the family.

Since the geographical area of this study is heavily populated by West Indians and also high in reported incidences of suspected child abuse, these facts suggest West Indians may be reported for their use of physical punishment and consequently labeled as being suspected of child abuse.

However, a review of the extensive literature on child abuse and neglect reveals a continuous debate in the literature and fails to provide clarity or consensus about the definition or etiology of this phenomenon. Gil (1970:6) says physical abuse "...is the intentional nonaccidental use of physical force or intentional, nonaccidental acts of omission on the part of a parent or other caretakers interacting with a child in his care, aimed at hurting, injuring, or destroying that child." The definition of physical abused described in the "battered child syndrome" (Williams & Money 1979:1) denotes "...the syndrome should be considered in any child exhibiting evidence of possible trauma or neglect...or where there is a marked discrepancy between the clinical findings and the historical data supplied by the parents."

The definition of emotional abuse and neglect also varies

considerably. In a workshop designed to define emotional neglect, Whiting (Williams & Money 1979:1) reported the following: "emotional neglect of a child equals the parents' refusal to recognize and take action to ameliorate a child's identified emotional disturbance." The law is also not clear in the definition of emotional abuse and neglect. Although it is a crime in all states, the definition varies from state without a consensus.

Fontana (Williams and Money 1979:3) uses the all-inclusive term "maltreatment syndrome of children" because children "are often without obvious signs of being battered, but (have)...evidences of emotional...neglect and abuse." Helfer and Kempe (Williams and Money 1979:2) refer also to a more general term of child abuse and neglect because the "problem is clearly not just one of physical battering...The most devastating aspect...is the permanent adverse effects on the development process and the child's emotional well-being."

The definition in the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974 (Williams and Money 1979:104) is also all inclusive...the term "child abuse and neglect" means the physical or mental injury, sexual abuse, negligent treatment, or maltreatment of a child under the age of eighteen by a person who is responsible for the child's welfare under circumstances which indicate that the child's health or welfare is harmed or threatened."

There is also a wide variation in defining sexual abuse. Sometimes it means incest, while other times it means assault in connection with sexual overtures to children. It also may mean molestation, exposure to sexual acts, and may range from obscene language to rape.

Extending the definition of child abuse and neglect to its social context further compounds its complexities. Alvy (Williams and Money 1979:3) describes a comprehensive approach to the definition which includes both family and social pathology. He defines child abuse and neglect to include "collective abuse" which refers to social class, race discrimination, and institutional abuse.

Other authors (Wolock and Horowitz 1984; Valenti and Acuff 1984) urge the use of the broadest social definition possible and assert the various definitions are helpful in clarifying the debate and can provide a framework for various strategies of interventions.

The complexities of child abuse and neglect are clouded even further in a discussion of the etiology of this phenomenon. Smith (1984) succintly classifies her research finding of etiology into three main categories which are (1) sociological /environmental factors, (2) the role of the child, and (3) the psychological/personality factor of the abusive parent. Gil (Smith 1984) validated the importance of environmental factors in the first large scale study of 1,380 participants as reported in Violence Against Children.

The findings include variables such as child rearing practices of different social classes,cultural sanctioning of physical force, poverty and its related stresses, divorce and separation, social isolation, and the lack of environmental supports.

Regarding the role of the child, Martin (Smith 1984) explicates those factors in which the child is significant in The Abused Child. Some of the variables are personal attributes of a child which make a child difficult, chance events effecting mother-child relationship, i.e. difficult pregnancy, disruption in attachments, mismatch of child and parent's expectations, parents' inability to deal with a particular developmental level of the child, and provocative or attention seeking behavior of the child. The research of Lynch (Smith 1984) and the studies of Robinson and Solomon (Smith 1984) conclude the lack of bonding and difficulties in attachment to the mother can also be causative factors in child abuse and neglect. If this is the case these children experience difficulties in separating and forming attachments with others in the environment.

In considering the psychological factors and personality traits of the abusive parent, there is a wide spectrum with little uniformity (Smith 1984). There seems to be no single profile of an abusive parent but some particular traits are found such as low self-esteem, low frustration/impulsivity, feelings of loneliness and isolation, rigidity (particularly

in regard to expectations of the child), and parental history of abuse. Smith (1984) feels there must be multivariate studies which use all three of the categories explicated above as causative factors in child abuse and neglect. Her findings indicate most of the studies are descriptive and there is a need for more empirical research.

McMurtry (1985), also discovered like Smith (1984), that most of the research was descriptive with a great deal of subjective interpretation and clinical impressions, sometimes conflicting and bewildering.

This view concurs with that of Plotkin et al (1981) who reviewed 270 representative articles in the literature dealing with causative factors in child abuse and neglect. Their task was to evaluate the scientific merits of each of the studies and evaluate the state of the art. Their finding revealed that the majority of the papers presented no original data to support their positions. The studies lacked a clear description of family and parent, and child characteristics. The authors concluded without these important descriptors it is impossible to develop interrelatedness of causative factors.

In putting this review in a cultural context since this project addresses ethnic minority needs, Corbin (1980) makes a strong plea for cross cultural consideration in addressing the issue of child abuse and neglect while acknowledging this is a dimension that is lacking in the field.

Looking at the differences among racial groups among lay people in a community about the definition of child abuse and neglect is suggestive that this an important area for the researcher. Giovanni and Becerra (1979:184, 185) report on their research of child maltreatment in a survey of 1,065 community persons in Los Angeles in which the participants were given child vignettes which they rated accoding to the well-being of the child. They found that ethnic differences in the responses were quite pronounced. In 94% of the vignettes the Whites rated the incidents of the children less serious than Blacks or Hispanics. Overall, the absolute ratings of the specific incidents indicated very little agreement between Whites, Blacks, or Hispanics.

Due to the lack of clarity, ambiguity, and overlapping definitions in the dominant culture, it raises an issue of the dominant culture's ability to evaluate this phenomenon with ethnic minorities where there are differences in values and culture. Conflicting child rearing practices and value systems between different cultures may be a significant factor in the high number of reported incidences of suspected child abuse and neglect and the resulting high numbers of children entering foster care in the geographical area where this pilot study was conducted. The reporting of these parents and their subsequent encounter with child protective services, whether reports are confirmed or dismissed, may create tension and conflict between families

and social service agencies such that establishing relationships may be more difficult.

Social Service Involvement

The reported lack of contact with social service agencies or institutions other than schools is a notable finding for the families in this study. Only 4 of the 28 families where this information was available had ever had any contact or involvement with other social service agencies (Table 6). The West Indian family is close knit, multigenerational with extended kin, and does not readily take problems out of the family unit. This phenomenon of maintaining problems within the family has also been identified by Sewell- Coker et al (1985) and Brice (1982) in their work with West Indians. These writers concur that counseling as an option for problem resolution was unfamiliar and resisted by this population. However, this pilot study with a high number of school referrals suggests that West Indian families will seek counseling voluntarily if educational goals and objectives for children experiencing school problems are a primary part of the case goals.

This pilot study became the motivating catalyst for this project of ethnographic interviews and participation observation with West Indians. The findings of the pilot study suggest there are cultural distinctions which require

delineation and identification if social services are to delivered in a culturally responsive manner. The geographical community of the pilot study seemed to be a suitable place for original fieldwork because of the high number of West Indians living in the area and also because the area had been identified by the City of New York (1984) with the social problem of a high number of reported incidences of suspected child abuse and neglect.

Table 1: Primary Caretaker

	N	%
Biological Parents	6	20.7
Other than Biological Parents	23	79.3
Not Available	1	

Table 2: Household Generational Composition

Multigenerational	14	60.9
One Generation	9	39.1
Not Available	7	

Table 3: Referral Sources

School	19	63.3
Police	5	16.3
Foster Care Agency	2	6.7
Parent Helpline	1	3.3
Court	1	3.3
Other	2	6.7

Table 4: Child's Educational Track

Mainstream	19	67.9
Special Education	9	32.1
Not Applicable	2	

Table 5: Discipline

Physical Punishment	25	100.0
Not Available	5	

Table 6: Prior Social Services

None	24	85.8
Prior Contact	4	14.2
Not Available	2	

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND OF UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION POLICY

Before preceding with discussion of implementation of the project, it is important to examine historically the arrival of West Indians to this country as it relates to the larger social and immigration policies. "Give me your tired, your poor....Send these, the homeless, temptest, tost, to me..." (Kessner & Caroli 1982:7). These lyrics carved on the base of the Statue of Liberty did not apply equally to all populations.

The immigration of large numbers of West Indians to the United States in the past two decades, and especially New York, is intricately related to the changing immigration policies which have evolved from relatively exclusive and restrictive policies for some populations to more open and accessible avenues for those who had been been previously curtailed, notably, people of color. The new populations and ethnics who arrived later and were affected cannot be separated from the social and political context of America during this period.

The signing of a new immigration law in the United States on 10/3/65 (Kessner & Caroli 1982:3) by President Johnson ushered in a new era of liberalization on the heels of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The groundwork for this

legislation had been spearheaded by President Kennedy prior to his assassination. This period reflected the climate of the liberal and optimistic spirit of the 60's which fostered a belief in the commitment to a respect for differences, an attack on exclusivity, a permissiveness to developing nations, and the building of unity from diversity. For the first time populations from the Eastern Hemisphere, the Caribbean Islands, and South America were afforded easier access to America.

America as a land of immigrants is a common phrase accepted on face value. The United States has become the major receiving country in the world for immigrants with over 33 million having been admitted since 1900 (Kraly 1987:52). However, examination of the immigration statutes reveal that not all immigrants were treated equally or preferred. The Immigration Bureau was established within the State Department in 1864 although no comprehensive federal immigration legislation was passed until 1882 when immigration to the United States from Europe soared with the numbers of 23 million from 1880 to 1920 (Kessner & Caroli 1982:7). However, discrimination and selectivity were already in the forefront with passage of the Exclusive Act of 1882 which barred the Chinese. This law also barred convicts, persons deemed mentally incompetent, and people likely to become public charges. This restriction widened as Japanese immigration was restricted by the "gentlemen's

agreement" of 1908 in which the Japanese government agreed not to issue passports to persons seeking employment in the United States. Then the Asiatic Barred Zone established by Congress in 1917 prevented immigration from the remaining areas of Asia with the exception of the Philipines (Kraly 1987:38). This exclusion of Asians reflected the prevalent attitude of the inferiority of racial differences and the preference for immigrants of Nordic descent.

The passing of national origins quotas in the 1920's was a further progression of a preference for immigrants from Northern Europe, discouraging those from Southern Europe and the Eastern Hemisphere. The concept of national origins was based on current American population and favored the immigrants that arrived earlier - the English, Germans, and the Irish - with the largest quotas. This process set the stage for preference to the people already here and in essence slowed the immigration process. The quotas were defended on the grounds that those nationalities who came to America first, and therefore pioneers in building and developing of the country, deserved and were entitled to a preference of its fruits. These restrictive policies resulted in a retrenchment in immigration and the numbers were low throughout this period until the 50's.

In 1952 the McCarran-Walter Act served to codify the existing statutes into a comprehensive law. Although it claimed to reject the theory of Nordic superiority of the

past, the law upheld the national-origins quotas for reasons of "cultural and sociological balance." (Kessner & Caroli 1982:9) However, for the first time Asians were no longer barred entirely although there was a quota for each country. The McCarran-Walter Act (Kraly 1987:38) created a preference system within the national origins quota establishing a policy shift regarding family reunification and occupational skills. Half of each country's quota went to persons with skills and education needed in the United States and three other categories with priority were allocated to those who had close relatives of American citizens and permanent residents. Truman (Kessner & Caroli 1982) articulated the discrimanatory policies of this Act in retaining the national origins act when he vetoed it saying it was an insult to friends and allies and lacked the humanitarian quality of equity. "Today we have entered into an alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with Italy, Greece and Turkey...We are asking them to join us in protecting the peace of the world...But through this bill we say to their people: you are less worthy to come to this country than Englishmen or Irishman" as cited in Kessner & Caroli (1982:10). However, Congress overrode his veto and the McCarran-Walter Act became law. Because of the restrictiveness of this Act many amendments, special provisions, and refugee acts were passed to accomodate immigrants until the 1965 immigration amendments.

The 1965 amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act, as previously mentioned, represented a major policy shift for the United States with sequential steps to a more equitible policy worldwide. The principle of national origins was rejected outright. Immigrant visas were to be issued on a first come, first served basis according to a visa preference system. Countries in the Eastern Hemisphere would have an annual ceiling of 170,00 (preference) visas with a per country limit of 20,000 per year (Kraly 1987:10). For the first time the Western Hemisphere had a numerical limit of 120,000 (Kraly 1987). However, in the Western Hemisphere the ceiling was not distributed according to the preference system and the 20,000 per country limit that was imposed on the Eastern Hemisphere was not imposed on the Western Hemisphere. So there still continued to be differences favoring the Western Hemisphere. In 1976 there was an amendment that the preference system and per country limit also be imposed on the Western Hemisphere and finally in 1978 the specific hemisphere limits were abolished and the annual worldwide ceiling of 290,000 immigrant visas was introduced. As indicated earlier, the evolution of the immigration process to this stage occurred during a period of growth, prosperity, and optimism. It was the culmination of enormous pressure for a more humane process that reflected equity and justice under the law commensurate with the national ideals of America.

The preference categories of the 1965 amendments definitively reflected the emphasis on family reunification as the major criteria for immigration:

First preference	Unmarried sons and daughters at least 21 years of age, of U.S. citizens (20%)
Second preference	Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of permanent resident aliens (26%)
Third preference	Members of the professions, scientists, and artists (10%)
Fourth preference	Married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens (10%)
Fifth preference	Brothers and sisters at least 21 years of age, of U.S. citizens (24%)
Sixth preference	Skilled or unskilled workers needed in the U.S. (10%)
Seventh preference	Refugees
Nonpreference	Other qualified immigrants not entitled to any of the preference categories (Kraly 1987; Kessner & Caroli 1982)

Also, in the family reunification preferences, descending preference categories could use unused numbers from the higher preferences. These changes have had the effect of increasing and changing the face, image, and composition of immigrants to the United States.

More specifically, there has been an increase in the United States from the West Indies, Asia, and Central and South America because of the 1965 immigration amendments. The Caribbean Islands which had recently achieved independence were no longer subject to the small quotas for dependencies

but fell within the ceiling for the Western Hemisphere. Since they were more recent arrivals, they were able to benefit by the preferences emphasizing family relationships.

The centrality and prominence of New York for immigrants, especially with West Indians, cannot be overstated. Since 1900, more than 10% of the foreign born of the United States have lived in New York (Kraly 1987:53). Also, there has been a great hetergenity in the immigrants who are drawn to the Northeast due to the new immigrant groups that are heavily represented in New York. "West Indians and South Americans are the outstanding cases: over half of the Jamaicans, Barbadians, Trinidadians, Guyanese, and Haitians in the United States...were residing in New York in 1980 " (Kraly 1987:55). The immigrant population born in Europe has declined both in the nation and in New York while immigrants from Asia has increased significantly nationwide and in New York.

The variety and diversity of New York's population is unmatched anyplace in the nation with one third foreign-born, all represented in significant numbers, with Miami as the only city that surpasses New York in its share of foreign-born (Kraly 1987:61). Like most cities in the Northeast between 1970-1980, New York has had a decline in total population but an increase in Caribbean and Asian immigrants. According to the 1980 census (Foner 1987:3) 82 percent of the Jamaican-born and 88 percent of the Trinidadian-born

residents in the New York metropolitan area have arrived since the liberalized immigration amendments discussed above. According to Marshall (1980:80), over 600,000 West Indians (including Haitians) have come to the New York Metropolitan area in the last two decades. According to her this has resulted in West Indians being the second largest ethnic/immigrant population in New York after Italians.

Brooklyn and Queens have the largest populations of West Indians with the greatest numbers settling in Brooklyn.

Bryce-LaPorte's (1972:214) discussion of these new immigrants in New York from a contextual perspective tells the story as he states "New York City continues to represent the ultimate urban frontier (or conduit) for many Caribbean...immigrants." He suggests that New York functions as a unifying configuration for the fusion of Caribbean immigrants of various persuasions, cultures, classes, and sub-regions who were apart and and ignorant of each other in their homelands.

This cursory review of the immigration policy elucidates the changing faces of the newest immigrants and the diversity of the ethnic groups who are arriving in large numbers for the first time in America and in New York. The challenges to the immigrants and to New York are still in exploratory stages. This research project of ethnographic interviews which explores the parent-child relationship is an attempt to learn and understand the lives of the immigrants from

their perspective.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMMUNITY OF THE FIELDWORK

As documented in the previous section, Brooklyn is the borough with the highest concentration of West Indian immigrants. The fieldwork of the ethnographic interviews and participation observation of this research project was conducted in the section in Brooklyn called East Flatbush.

East Flatbush is the common name and usage for Community District 17. There are 59 community districts in the five boroughs of New York City created by the City Charter Revision, of which 18 community districts are in Brooklyn. The Community Districts were created so that local residents could have participation in the development and welfare of their communities. It is expected that the Community Districts through the Community Boards which are mandated by the City Charter will provide the mechanism to work with the City human service agencies in human service provision in local communities. Community District 17 (City of New York 1984), commonly known as East Flatbush, is geographically bounded on the North by Clarkson and East New York Avenues, on the West by Flatbush Avenue, on the South by the Long Island Railroad tracks line, and on the East by 98th Street.

According to the 1980 census (City of New York 1984), Community District 17 has a total population of 154,448 of

which 77% are Black, 11.1% are White, 8.9% are Hispanic, and 3% are other as compared to 1970 when the population was 142,373. These numbers represent a population increase and a significant change in racial composition from previous census years. This population increase in Community District 17 is a trend that runs contrary to the population decreases experienced in the borough and the city. In looking at the racial composition of Community District 17, in 1960 the District was 98.8% White and 1.2% non-White, in 1970 the district was 78.7% White and 21.3% non-White, and 1980 it was 11.1% white and 88.9% non-White. Changes in the racial composition in the district began in the 1960's, accelerated during the 1970's, and resulted in a minority community by 1980.

The population increases and changes in racial composition appear to be attributed to the selection of East Flatbush as the first home for large numbers of immigrants from the English- speaking Caribbean Islands and Haiti. Figures from the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (City of New York 1984) show 38,040 registered aliens in Community District 17 with the largest number of 18,970 coming from the English-speaking Caribbean and the next largest number of 3,548 coming from Haiti. The other registered aliens in this number are those from the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, those from the USSR and Italy, and those from Asia. Of the English-speaking Caribbean

Islands, Jamaica is the most prominent with its population being 8,199. 24% of the population in this district are registered aliens with 23% of that population non-White. What is not represented and unknown in these figures is the number of undocumented aliens in the community.

The number (City of New York 1984) of children and youth (under 18 years) increased by 14,761 from 1970 to 1980, and the percentage of youth in Community District 17's population of 31.8% surpassed the rate for the borough and the city which are 28.3% and 25.0% respectively. Again, in an analysis of these figures, it would appear the large number of immigrants are a major factor in the increases with its emphasis on family reunification in the United States immigration policy outlined in the previous section.

The population increases, the changes of the racial composition, the large concentration of immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean Islands, and the increased numbers of children make Community District 17 or East Flatbush an important and representative community for the field work of this project with West Indian families. The profile of the community as presented in this demographic data suggests uncharted and fertile territory for an understanding of the human service needs.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH SAMPLE

The ethnographic interviews and participation observation consisted of ten West Indian families of 45 informants of adults and children residing in East Flatbush or community District 17. In this sample West Indian refers to those who were born in the English-speaking Caribbean Islands rather than the United States and later migrated to America. The families were self selected from the pilot study and had been recipients of social services of a voluntary Prevention Program mandated to prevent the placement of children in foster care. The adult family members were given an opportunity for this self-selection through telephone contact with the researcher prior to the onset of an interview schedule (Appendix D). Since the focus of the research project and fieldwork was the parent-child relationship from the perspective of the informant, at least one of the informants in each family constellation was under 18 years of age.

Because of the sensitive nature of the information gathered, pseudonyms are used for family members rather than actual names. Since anonymity was promised and identifying information to be held in strictest confidence, ages are in a range so as to disguise specifics (Appendix E). The main

purpose of the ethnographic interviews and this qualitative fieldwork was exploratory in nature to learn and hear about the lives of these immigrant families in their own words. The interviews and participation observation all took place in the natural environment of the homes of the informants during 1,2, or three field visits depending on the number of informants in the family and the emerging data about their lives. Parents, children, aunts, uncles, cousins, boarders, and other relatives who were household members were all potential informants during the life of this research project.

The informants were from the English-speaking Caribbean Islands of Jamaica, Antigua, Guyana, and Trinidad.

TABLE 7

RESEARCH SAMPLE OF FAMILY UNIT
N-10 FAMILIES
N-45 INFORMANTS
N-58 MEMBERS OF HOUSEHOLD

Head of Household	Children Under 18	Children over 18	Other Household Members
1. Ms. Reed (35-40)	2 (10-13) 1 nephew (13-16)		
2. Ms. Ray (35-40)	2 (12-16)		
3. Mr. Hall (45-50) Mrs. Hall (45-50)	1 (12-17)	2 (18-25)	1 (brother of Mr. Hall)
4. Mr. Evans (45-50) Mrs. Evans (45-50)	2 (13-17)	1 (18-25)	
5. Ms. Jones (40-45)	2 (13-17) 1 nephew (14-17)		2 (parents of Ms. Jones) 1 (brother of Ms.Jones)
6. Ms. Dale (40-45)	3 (10-17)		1 (sister of Ms. Dale)
7. Mr. Cross (40-45) Mrs. Cross (40-45)	4 (4-16)	2 (18-20)	2 (boarders - West Indian)
8. Mr. Clark (45-50) Mrs. Clark (45-50)	1 (13-17)	1 (19-23)	1 (friend of adult child)
9. Mr. Rufus (45-50) Mrs. Rufus (45-50)	3 (8-15)	2 (18-25)	
10. Ms. Lewis (45-50)	3 (12-17) 1 infant grandchild	1 (18-23)	

CHAPTER VI

ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

"To the extent that a participant observor can participate and still retain a measure of noninvolvement, his techniques provide a basis for an approach to the problem of validity. The background of information which he acquires in time makes him familiar with the psychology of his respondents and their social milieu. With this knowledge he is able to impose a broader perspective on his data and hence, to evaluate their validity on the basis of standards extraneous to the immediate situation" (Vidich 1970:172).

The role of the researcher in any qualitative project is so important a variable that the researcher's social position and relationships must be taken into account. One of the aspects of that role in this research project is the researcher had access and a relationship with the population that is being described prior to the onset of the research project. That role and relationship is presented as fully as possible to facilitate an understanding of the project in context.

The decision to pursue the West Indian Immigrant family as a topic for original research emanated from my professional experiences as a Director when I had the task of designing a Prevention Program to avert the placement of children in foster care in a geographical area that was high in the number of reported incidences of suspected child abuse and neglect and the number of children entering the foster care system. During Program implementation I discovered that a large number of the clients who were requesting social

services were born in one of the English-speaking Caribbean Islands and had subsequently immigrated into the United States. Being committed and sensitive to the culture of ethnic minorities and recognizing its value, both personally as a member of a minority and professionally as a valid principle and value of the social work profession, an overarching ideological base of the Program design was culturally relevant services based on the needs of the clients within a social context. As a prerequisite to the formulation of practice principles and goals that would reflect this perspective, I reviewed the literature for treatment techniques and strategies used with this particular population in order to provide the culturally relevant and appropriate social services. When I discovered the dearth of information in the social science literature about the characteristics of West Indian families and treatment models for practitioners, a pilot study of case content was embarked on for the purpose of effective delivery of social services which has been described in detail in Chapter 11. My experience with this pilot study heightened my interest and created a desire to pursue indepth interviews with West Indian families to learn about their cultural distinctions. As a result, the pilot study became the foundational base for this research project of ethnographic interviews and participation observation to understand these families in their own terms, in their own language, and from their

perspective. It seemed the lives of these families were a clear omission iinthe social work literature and needed to be delineated and systematically captured if practitioners were to be culturally responsive in the delivery of social services.

The families were self-selected for the research project, based on the fact they had all requested social services from the Prevention Program and were current or past clients of the Program. Program eligibility required that the families be experiencing difficulty in the parent-child (under 18 years of age) relationship since the mandate of the Program was to avert the placement of children in foster care.

I had a professional relationship with the families prior to the inception of the research project based on the manner in which the Prevention Program was designed. I was the person a parent spoke to by phone about the specific problem faced in the parent-child relationship at the onset of application for services. The purpose of this initial screening was assessment of the presented problem areas to ascertain program eligibility and make appropriate worker assignment in order to facilitate continuity of service provision for the families by the same worker.

The physical structure and setting of the agency was adaptable to the creation of an environment where there could be greetings and/or interactions between the clients and the

Director. The structure is a renovated two-story brownstone converted to office use that reflects the two and three family dwellings of the landscape of the area served by the Program. The original wood and carvings has been preserved as well as the stained glass, high ceilings, and winding staircase. Great care was taken to create a home-like atmosphere of warmth and intimacy by soft chairs, art objects, wall hangings, and muted earth colors with its suggestion of tranquility and calmness. The location of the Director's office is in full view of the waiting room when the Director's door is open. This door was kept open unless there was a need for privacy which gave an opportunity to greet and know each client, both parent and child, over a period of the three years as Director. This open door policy served to eradicate the artificial barriers between helper and those helped by using the physical structure as a facilitating and nurturing environment to develop relationships.

The desire and decision to conduct the interviews as a participant observor in the homes of the families was also related to the design of the Prevention Program which mandated home visits. The use of this situational perspective was an integral part of the services and a comfortable role which I valued, participated directly, supervised, and taught.

The fact that I am a trained and experienced clinician

is another variable of this project design. This role lends itself to flexibility and adaptability in facilitating the emerging of information and extracting maximum data. The clinically trained person is capable of grasping the underlying dynamics of the responses and observe the subtle nuances of the explicit and tacit language and the behavior in the social situation. Also, the trained clinician is attuned not only to the dynamic processes of the other but also one's own which minimizes the person's own self from interfering with the emerging material. As a clinician one is trained to hear the perspective of others even when dealing with difficult and heavily-laden emotional material.

Since my Program experiences and relationships as outlined above were so contributory to my decision to pursue original research with West Indian families, I shared this openly with both staff and clients in preliminary discussions.

As explicated in Chapter V, the families were given an opportunity to decide whether thy wished to participate prior to an interview schedule. For the families who chose to become part of the project, the purposes and goals of the research were constantly reiterated. The goals were defined as efforts to learn about cultural distinctions, particularly the parent-child relationship, in order to provide guidance in the delivery of effective social services.

Because of my desire to capture the essence of these

families using their language in their own terms, I request permission to tape the interviews and explain this perspective fully. As a learner I was eager to listen and observe while they became the experts in sharing their lives and culture.

However, my background and experience coupled with prior relationships with the informants was not without its difficulties and dilemmas. Being an insider and an outsider simultaneously was an experience that I was constantly monitoring throughout the research. Because of my familiarity with some of the social and psychological problems the families were confronting and the need for intervention, at times there was a merging of research goals and the provision of social services. I was an outsider with a professional role and identity as a clinician to whom the families in the past had come to rely on as a source of relief, advice, and advocacy. As an insider and researcher I was invited into the homes of the families who revealed personal and intimate details of their lives. This situation required a continuous assessment of the appropriate role for me depending on the specificities of each situation. Tensions had to be negotiated between the research goals and the provision of social services. The precise role to be carried out was not always so clear but required an openess, flexibility, and a willingness to intervene when appropriate and necessary. This research project is not possible to pursue in a detached and uninvolved manner.

The resolution of the conflict around intervening took various forms. Sometimes emphatic responses offered during the ethnographic interviews were therapeutic and acknowledged as such by the families. In one instance a single parent discussing the child care arrangements and her job said the verbalizing of the situation clarified her options and helped her make a decision to explore changing jobs. In another instance a parent was ambivalent about medication changes that were being recommended to her by the doctor for her child. In soliciting my advice I used my expertise and knowledge about the side affects and psychological implications of the two medications under question. In another instance I made a decision to contact the Prevention Program to advocate for special testing at the request of the mother and based on the observation of the child during a home visit. In another instance I wrote a letter for a parent recommending a school change based upon clinical observations and interviews with the mother and child. In some instances the line becomes murky between the the role of a strict researcher who is uninvolved and a clinician and intervenor in the lives of the families under exploration. How far one should go is not so easy all the times and these are questions that the researcher must confront which cannot be answered in advance but must be assessed on their own merits at the time of occurrence.

Lofland (1971: 98) says the researcher is faced with

three options in these dilemmas. (1) One can can give up the project and take up the cause of doing something for the population involved, (2) one can straddle the fence of both worlds by trying to continue the project and do something at the same time, or (3) one can give immediate practical aid while accepting the frustration of not doing all that one could do by believing that the analysis will contribute to changing things. Although Lofland is referring to social change the observations are just as applicable to this ethnographic project and any research project in the social sciences that involve the lives of others. The position that I have I taken is the third one explicated by Lofland. Although I made interventions it was not all that could be done which I recognized in choosing to live with the tension and frustration of that decision. It is my belief that continuation with the research goals is a step towards long range help, recognition, and understanding of the culture of West Indian families. I concur with Vidich (1970) that total neutrality in this type of research project is extremely difficult, if not impossible. To try to pursue this course implies an attitude of being above it, outside of it, and most importantly not interested in it.

CHAPTER VII

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF METHODOLOGY

The Ethnographic Research Design and Methodology of this project follows the Developmental Research Sequence as conceptualized by James Spradley (1979), a cultural anthropologist. Ethnography is a branch of anthropology that deals with the description of a particular culture. Spradley's sequence is a cookbook for conducting the ethnographic interviews and outlines the step by step process for eliciting the cultural information and the translation of that to a larger audience. This qualitative research project is committed to describing the West Indian family in their own terms by getting close to the informants to discover their folk terms and by becoming a participant observant as the ethnographic interviews are conducted in the natural environment of their homes. This process of discovery is by exploration of their folk terms, meaning their own words and language, so there is no imposition on the informants of terms which are preconceived or belonging to some outside schematic design. The purpose is to describe what goes on in the lives of these families in their own words.

Concept of Culture

Ethnography is based on a concept of culture as the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret their world and generate behavior (Spradley 1979). The ethnographic interviews for this project recognize spoken language as a primary means of transmitting culture. When language is expressed directly, it is considered explicit knowledge. Tacit knowledge, however, can be inferred which means there are those things not talked about directly but ascertained through observing and listening carefully to what is said. All of these expressions, explicit and tacit, become the acquired knowledge of a culture which translate it into a system of meaningful symbols.

This concept of culture is closely akin and related to the theory of symbolic interactionism from sociology which seeks to explain human behavior in terms of meaning (Spradley 1979:6,7). There are three premises on which this theory rests. The first is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. The second premise is that the meaning of things arise from the social interactions that humans have for each other and the third is meanings are handled and modified through an interpretive process used by the persons dealing with the things encountered. This culture is a shared system of

meaning and is learned, revised, maintained, and defined in the context of people interacting. This perspective of culture in the context of people interacting is the reason there can be so many variations and interpretations for the same phenomenon. In ethnography research and fieldwork the task is one of describing and discovering a particular culture from the perspective of the insider's or informant's point of view. The researcher becomes the student and the informant becomes the expert.

Relational Theory of Meaning

Ethnographic research is also based on a relational theory of meaning (Spradley 1979:95) which asserts that culture is a system of meaningful symbols which arise out of the social interaction that one has with others. Cultural knowledge becomes an intricately patterned system with language as a primary symbol system that encodes cultural meaning. The meaning of any symbol is its relationship to other symbols in a particular culture. Even though the language may be the same as the culture one is researching there may be subtle nuances attached to words and their meaning which become important in understanding and describing a particular culture. Language is peculiar to each particular social group and is fully understood only by its members. There can not be an assumption that we understand

precisely what another person of a particular group means. As a group member meanings are made of things without even thinking about them. This approach is presented as a heuristic theory (Spradley 1979:98), that is, one designed to further the investigation of meaning. As a starting point in the relational theory of meaning one begins with the the symbol itself, its referent, and the the relationship between the symbol and its referent.

The task in ethnography is to discover the nature of the relationships of the patterned symbols. This is accomplished by decoding the cultural symbols and identifying the underlying coding rules. The symbols which are related by inclusion are domains and serve to reduce the complexity of the human experience from becoming enslaved in the particular. These cultural symbols become cultural categories which give meaning to the human experience. In relational theory of meaning the real task is discovering the relationship of the symbol to other symbols. This process becomes one of unraveling the meaning system of a culture in its own terms.

Difference Between Traditional Social Science Research and Ethnography

It is useful to differentiate between ethnography and traditional social science research. In traditional social

science research (Spradley 1979:93,94), the researcher approaches the culture to study it and its subject from a perspective using the language of the culture of the researcher to understand what is transmitted. In traditional research the interview is approached with some hypothesis, frame of reference, and/or predetermined categories to be tested, confirmed or refuted. This approach superimposes a frame of reference on the interviewees which may not have relevance and be a part of their reality. This imposition of categories and preconceptions of ideas may in fact be a barrier and inhibit the researcher from understanding the world of the native. This hypothesis testing becomes one of using the data to fit into current scientific theory and concepts already in existence. In traditional research the language of the profession and one's colleagues is used in describing the data. Looking at this process sequentially in traditional research one would select a problem, formulate a hypothesis, collect data, analyze the data in respect to the original problem and hypothesis without a changing of the hypothesis, and write up the results. In contrast in ethnography the researcher approaches the culture with a perspective of what can be <u>discovered</u> from the informants rather than a <u>study</u> of them. The researcher becomes the student or the learner and the natives of the culture become the teachers and the experts. The researcher learns the concepts that the natives use to classify and define their

experiences directly from them in their own terms. The researcher learns about the folk theories that the culture uses to explain experiences. Folk theory means the language, symbols, and categories used by the natives. The task for the researcher becomes one of translating this cultural knowledge and folk theories into descriptions that can be understood by other colleagues in the field. Ethnographic interviewing moves beyond the limits of culturally bound tactics in information gathering towards a process of discovery. "Its object is to carry on a guided conversation and to elicit rich detailed material that can be used in qualitative analysis and it has been described as intensive interviewing with an interview guide" (Green 1982:76).

The first stage (Spradley 1979) in ethnographic research is problem selection focused around the cultural meanings people are using to organize and interpret their experience based on a general theory of culture. The second stage of collecting cultural data begins before any hypotheses have been formulated unless they have been generated by prior ethnographic research in that culture. The analysis of the cultural data begins shortly after the collection so as to begin searching for relationships among the symbols and terms. There is a formulation of ethnographic hypotheses from the culture studied after collecting initial data. This means that interviewing, collecting data, and analysis occur simultaneously as the hypotheses are generated, checked,

rechecked, and revised about the culture. Writing of the ethnography is a refined stage of the analysis which has been in progress throughout the fieldwork.

METHOD OF INQUIRY

The ethnographic interviews are a pathway to understanding the cultural distinctions of West Indian Immigrant families with a focus on the parent-child relationship. All cultures have an enormous number of relationships making it impossible to study all these patterns thoroughly. The selection of a focus in ethnography provides a framework for indepth analysis of some scenes while providing an inventory or holistic view of the culture.

Conducting the Ethnographic Interview

Spradley (1979) refers to the ethnographic interview as a particular kind of speech event sharing many features of a series of friendly conversations with the researcher slowly introducing new elements to elicit information. The three most important elements of the interview are its explicit purpose, the ethnographic explanations, and the ethnographic questions. Although the informant has a hazy idea that the

talking is supposed to go somewhere, it is up to the researcher to make it clear and remind the informant of it thereby directing it into those channels that lead to the discovery of cultural knowledge. By repeatedly explaining the ethnographic importance of the information, the informant is educated in the role as a guide for the researcher in the cultural setting. The interview becomes a little more formal than friendly conversations without being authoritarian.

The element of ethnographic explanation facilitated by the researcher must go on repeatedly so that the informant can learn to be a teacher about the culture. These include explanations about the project, explanations for taping interviews or writing things down, explanations encouraging natives to use the language they would use if speaking to another of the same culture, and interview explanations when a style or change is introduced.

In this project of ethnographic interviews with West Indian families, the explanations become very important because the researcher had a relationship with the families prior to the onset of the research project and the families it was important for the families to understand the role change. Conducting the interviews in the homes was an opportunity to be as close to the cultural scene as possible to observe the parent child relationship and the activities in the home. It was explained that the research would be used as a foundational base to train practitioners so that the

discovery of the cultural distinctions in the interviews would be directly relevant to providing social service delivery for West Indian families in need.

All of the questions in the ethnographic interview focus on discovering the cultural knowledge of the informants that is both explicit and tacit. The three main types of ethnographic questions are descriptive, structural, and contrast. Descriptive asks the informants to tell or describe something. Structural allows the researcher to understand how informants have organized the cultural knowledge by inquiring about stages and contrast questions facilitate the researcher understanding the meanings by asking about the difference in meaning of various terms.

Domain Discovery

Domains (Spradley 1979) are the most important and larger categories of cultural knowledge which include other cultural symbols. The reduction of the symbols into these cultural categories reduce the complexities of the human experience so that it is manageable. The category of domain in ethnography differs from the traditional social science usage of the term where it refers to large areas such as family, government, and kinship. In ethnography it refers to the cultural symbols of the folk terms which include other cultural symbols.

Domains are discovered by looking for the semantic relationship in a culture by listening to and analyzing the linkage of terms that informants give during interviews. A semantic relationship is two or more terms linked together in a well planned relationship to each other. It is agreed that the number of semantic relationships in any culture is limited and certain semantic relationships appear to be universal. One investigator has suggested all semantic relationships can be reduced to:

(1) Taxonomy - inclusion
(2) Attribution
(3) Sequence
(Spradley 1979:109)

Spradley (1979) proposes a list of 9 universal semantic as the most useful in discovering domains which are:

(1) Strict inclusion
(2) Spatial
(3) Cause-effect
(4) Rationale
(5) Location for action
(6) Function
(7) Means-end
(8) Sequence
(9) Attribution

In analysis of the interviews, the data will often be the same or identical as one of the universal semantic relationships listed and is expressed directly. However, the researcher must become aware these relationships may not be expressed directly but are imbedded in the larger sentences and must be abstracted. Also, the semantic relationship may be expressed in an informant's expressed language without use directly of a universal semantic.

By asking the informant for the use rather than the meaning, one will be lead to the discovery of domains or the larger units of cultural categories.

The structure of a domain has four features (Spradley 1979:100,101). The first is the cover term which is the name for the category of cultural knowledge. Cover terms may be jargon words that are associated with a certain group or they may be ordinary English words with a special reference. Often there are certain words that stand out because they are unfamiliar or because they seem to have a special meaning for the person. These cover terms are linguistic guides to the cultural meaning the person has in his or her experience. A cover term is the language "window" to the cultural reality of another person. The second feature is that domains have two or more included terms. These are folk terms that belong to the category of knowledge named by the cover term. Folk terms are the language of the informants. The third feature

of a domain is a single semantic relationship. In a domain the semantic relationship links a cover term to all the included terms in a set. Finally, every domain has a boundary which means there are things that belong inside the domain and things that belong outside the domain. Domains form the basis for generating ethnographic hypotheses.

Identifying domains is the most difficult task faced by the researcher because people talk in ordinary sentences and not domains even though they are experts about their culture. It is critical, therefore, for the researcher to suspend and set aside the categories which one brings to the work but allow the domains to emerge from the tapes and field notes.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

This project encompasses basic elements from the research methodology of participant observation and is interrelated with the ethnographic interviews which all take place in a social situation. Spradley (1980) identifies the three primary elements of the social situation as a place, actor, and activities. The setting is the home where the interviews will take place, the actors are the parents, children, and other family members who will be informants, and the activities will be the spoken language both explicit and tacit and the observations of activities and the physical

setting that occur during the interviews including that of the researcher. By conducting the interviews in the home, there is an opportunity to observe what is happening, listen to what is being said, and question the informants over a period of time to generate hypotheses to be tested in the ensuing interviews to impute meaning to the verbal and nonverbal actions of their world.

In considering the role of the researcher as a participant observer, it becomes clearer if we compare the differences between the ordinary participant versus the participant observer in social situations since these differences are not readily observable but remain hidden inside the researcher's head (Spradley 1980:53).

The participant observer comes to a social situation with a dual purpose which is to engage in the activities appropriate to the situation and also to observe the people, activities and physical aspects of the situation. The ordinary participant has a single purpose which is to engage in the activities appropriate to the situation. Another difference is the selective inattention and excluding from conscious awareness by the ordinary participant to the varied and multiple stimulation that is occurring in his or her environment. So much of this inattention is necessary to make the complexities of the world mamageable so that one is not on overload. The participant observer, however, seeks to increase awareness of those things that are usually

blocked out, to raise attention, and to tune in to things usually tuned out (Spradley 1980:56) Another difference between these two kinds of experiences is the manner in which one listens and watches. In the case of the ordinary participant it is one of listening and watching in a limited way to accomplish an activity, whereas with the participant observer the activity is approached with a wide-angle lens to take in a much broader spectrum of information. This means that things the ordinary participant would consider "unnecessary trivia" with a wider observational focus of the participant observer can lead to important cultural information and data (Spradley 1980:56). Another difference which has implications is the insider/outsider experience. The ordinary participant is an insider who experiences the social situation as an immediate subjective experience in which the situation has meaning with all its ramifications from the fact that one is inside the situation. With the participant observer one experiences being inside and outside the situation simultaneously and also alternating between these two positions. This means at times one feels the same emotions as an ordinary participant as an insider and other times one observes and experiences oneself and others as objects as an outsider. This role and experience of the researcher has been referred to by others (Filstead 1970; Lofland 1971) as marginal denoting one can never completely enter the world of the native and there is always some

degree of being on the periphery. The area of introspection is another major difference between these two roles. An ordinary participant engages in ordinary activities with a minimum of reflection to the inner state taking things for granted unless there is unexpected events. With the participant observer, however, there is increased introspectiveness using one's self as a research instrument which enriches the data.

The development of these distinctions are the major differences between the ordinary participant and the participant observer which forms the conceptual framework for this research project describing West Indian family life.

METHOD OF ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Ethnographic analysis (Spradley 1979:92) is the search for the parts of a culture, the relationship among the parts, and their relationships to the whole as conceptualized by informants. Because much of the knowledge is tacit, the researcher must devise means to discover the tacit knowledge through analysis. The four kinds of ethnographic analysis are Domain analysis, Taxonomic analysis, Componential analysis, and Theme analysis.

Domain Analysis

Domains (Spradley 1979) which are the larger categories of cultural knowledge are the most important and first unit of analysis. As stated above they are discovered by looking for the semantic relationships as one listens to the informants. The verbatim and transcribed tapes are repeatedly listened to for discovering words or phrases that appear to have some reference or special meaning to the informant. Once cover terms and included terms can be extracted from the transcriptions that appropriately fits a semantic relationship then a hypothesis can emerge which can be confirmed or disconfirmed about the domain by asking structural questions of the informants. In domain analysis the cover term is on one side, the included term is on the other side, and they are linked together by the semantic relationship.

Taxonomic Analysis

Taxonomic analysis (Spradley 1979) involves an indepth analysis of the internal structure of a limited number of domains. Domains give an overview of a cultural scene while taxonomic analysis investigates with breadth and depth with a focused lense of the internal specifics of the domains. In this project the focus will be the parent child

relationship while giving an inventory or overview of the culture as a whole. This means interviewing widely over many topics and in depth into particular topics. Taxonomy identifies the symbols in a domain finding the subsets of the symbols and discovering the relationships among the subsets. This analysis of the internal structure and subsets of the domain elicit the richness and folk terms of the culture. The taxonomy reveals the subsets and different levels in the folk terms and their relationship to the domain as a whole.

In ethnography several criteria can be used in deciding on the areas for intensive analysis. It can be derived from an informant's suggestion because of his or her assessment of its importance. Another criteria is the emergence of domains early in the process which appear to lend themselves to this type of investigation. Another reason is there may be a discovery of large domains that seems to organize most of the cultural knowledge of the informants and can become organizing domains for the cultural descriptions. Another criteria is strategic ethnography because it focuses on the problem areas of mankind. The category of strategic ethnography is the area which this project falls under because it focuses on certain problem in the parent-child relationship emanating from a social service Prevention Program.

Componential Analysis

Componential analysis (Spradley 1979) is the systematic search for the attributes or components of meaning associated with the cultural symbols in a domain. Attributes are always related to folk terms by additional semantic relationships. In componential analysis, the focus is on multiple relationships between a folk term and other symbols. In answering questions, most informants do not just answer in a linear fashion but volunteer additional information about a folk term under exploration. This added information involves other semantic relationships. Componential analysis recognizes these semantic relationships as the social and psychological reality of the informants and incorporates it into the cultural descriptions by showing these relationships schematically.

A componential analysis includes the entire process of searching for contrasts, sorting them out, grouping some together as dimensions to contrast, and entering all this information into a paradigm. A paradigm is a schematic representation used to represent graphically the most important attributes of any set of folk terms. It also includes verifying this information with informants and filling in any missing information. A taxonomy shows a single relationship among a set of terms whereas a componential or paradigm will show multiple semantic

relationships. It gives some of the most important information in summary form and allows for examination of the differences.

Theme Analysis

Theme analysis is the final level of analysis and provides the overarching ethos of the culture. It is postulated on the assumption that culture is not just bits and pieces of disjointed information but a complex pattern that is organized into larger patterns. A cultural theme is defined as a "postulate or position declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society" (Spradley 1979:185). This concept of theme is owed to the contribution made by Ruth Benedict (Spradley 1979) in Patterns of Culture in which she examined details of cultures in search of general themes that organized the inhabitants way of life into dynamic wholes. This unit of analysis leads to the discovery of conceptual themes that connect the domains to the culture as a whole.

In ethnographic research (Spradley 1979:196) "cultural theme is any cognitive principle, tacit or explicit, recurrent in a number of domains and serving as a relationship among subsystems of cultural meanings." Themes

are captured in concepts like values, core symbols, ethos, worldview. This cognitive principle is something people believe as true and valid and these assertions occur in more than one domain. These themes can be discovered by examining the dimensions of contrast from several domains. Often the principles are never expressed directly, but remain tacit, although they are known by the natives. Ethnography makes inferences about these assertions and principles from the analysis of the domains.

The most effective method of cultural theme analysis is by total immersion into the culture. This means cutting off other interests and listening to informants hours on end, participating in a cultural scene, and allowing one's mental life to be taken over by the new culture. Living in another society for a year or two is one approach of this immersion strategy. Given this is not possible or cannot be done, modifications can yield excellent results. This would include listening to tapes, interviewing, reviewing notes, observing informants and spending intense days in a cultural scene. All of these strategies provide a climate and atmosphere for the themes to emerge for discovery of the culture.

CHAPTER VIII

DOMAIN DISCOVERY AND ANALYSIS

As previously stated, domains are the cultural categories which are the first and most important unit of discovery and analysis in the ethnographic interview. These domains organize the culture for the informant in a systematic way which makes it meaningful. The task for the researcher is to discover those cultural categories that have meaning for the informants. This requires a suspension of one's own culture temporarily which is held in abeyance as one consciously searches for the folk terms from the informants. This process entails an "insider's" view as the unit for discovery and analysis. The premise of this project is consistent with that of ethnoscience which is native classification of phenomena must be taken seriously and studied exhausitvely (Spradley 1979).

Using the methodology as presented in the previous section as conceptualized by Spradley(1979), the ethnographic interviews become the focus for discovering the cultural distinctions. He suggests a worksheet for each domain so that they can be visualized. The researcher proceeds by referring to the tapes and/or fieldnotes and searching for cover terms and included terms systematically by focusing on the semantic relationship discussed earlier in which two

terms are linked together. The cover term is the name of the domain or cultural category and is on one side of the equation and the included terms of the domain are on the other side of the worksheet and they are linked by the semantic relationship. The cover and included terms are the symbols used by the informants in their own language and terms. In order to increase understanding of the discovery process of domains, each worksheet gives an example from one's own culture the semantic relationship that is portrayed.

As already stated,in ethnography the data collection and the analysis occur simultaneously since there is no imposition of categories and hypotheses but they are discovered through the interviews and the analysis which are checked and rechecked against subsequent interviews.

The remainder of this chapter includes the domains and analysis of them with their included terms extracted from the ethnographic interviews and participation observation with the West Indian families.

FIGURE 1

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship: means-ends

Form: ___(is a way to)

Example: ___Reviewing notes (is a way to) study

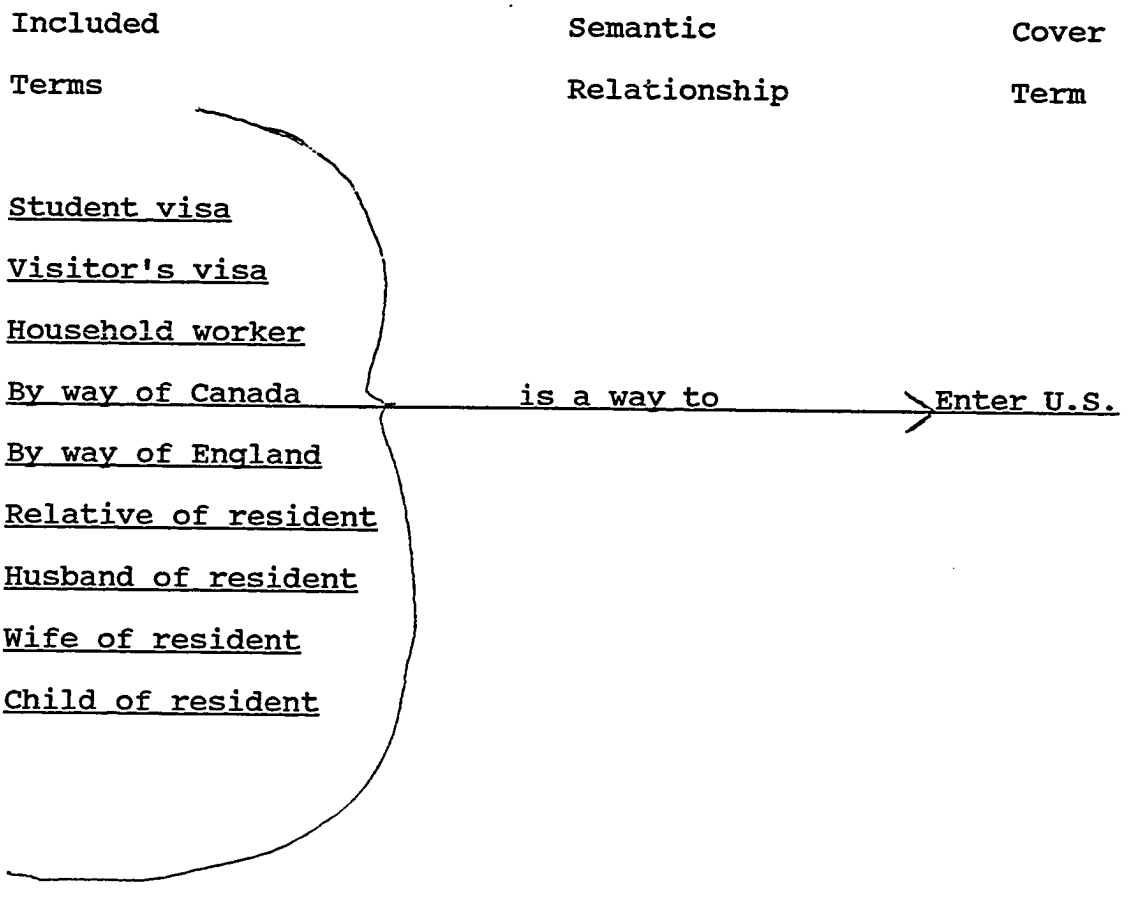


FIGURE 2

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship: rationale

Form: x (is reason for doing) y

Example: to_be_healthy_is_the_reason_for_exercising

Included Terms	Semantic Relationship	Cover Term
Jobs		
Education		
Material goods		
Sake of children		
Money	is the reason for	Coming to U.S.
Opportunities for children		
Join other family members		
Operation		

FIGURE 3

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship:___means-ends_____

Form:___x_(is a way to)_study_____

Example:__Reviewing_notes_(is_a_way_to)_study_____

_____

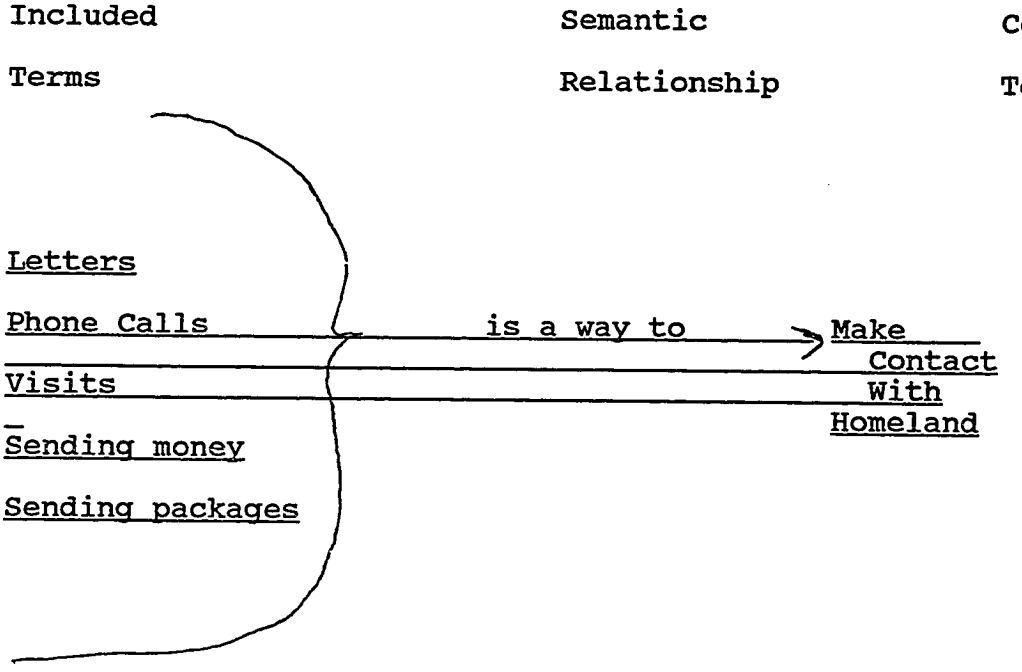


FIGURE 4

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship:___means-ends_____

Form:___x_(is a way to)_y_____

Example:__Reviewing_notes_is_a_way_study_____

Included Terms	Semantic Relationship	Cover Term
God's help Praying Saving money Not attending parties Working 7 days a week	is a way of	Bringing Children To U.S.

FIGURE 5

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship: strict inclusion

Form: x (is a kind of) y

Example: as oak (is a kind of) tree

Included Terms	Semantic Relationship	Cover Term
Chores	is a kind of	Child Training
Strict like own parents		
Knowing where child is all the time		
Being home early		
Good in school		
Respect for elders		
Make child study		
Be hard on child		
No pregnancy		
No early dating		
Insist on obedience		

FIGURE 6

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship: means-ends

Form: x (is a way to) Y

Example: Reviewing notes (is a way to) study

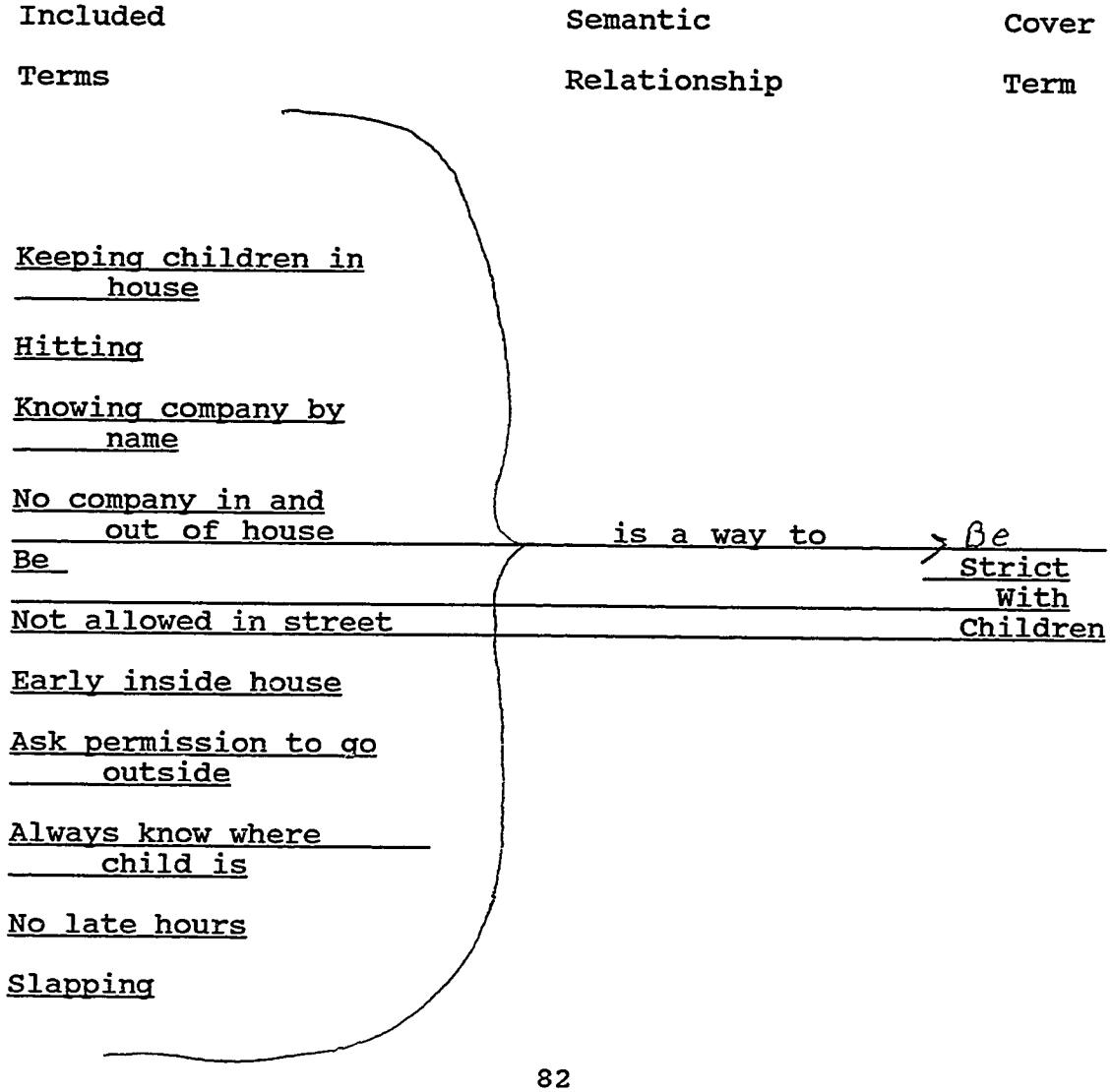


FIGURE 7

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship: means-ends

Form: (is a way to)

Example: Reviewing notes (is a way to) study

Included Terms	Semantic Relationship	Cover Term
Silence in their presence	is a way to	Show Respect For Parents
Do not ask questions		
Be seen and not heard		
No laughing in their presence		
No loudness in their presence		
No talking in their presence		
Stay separated in another room from adults		
Do not join conversation with other adults		

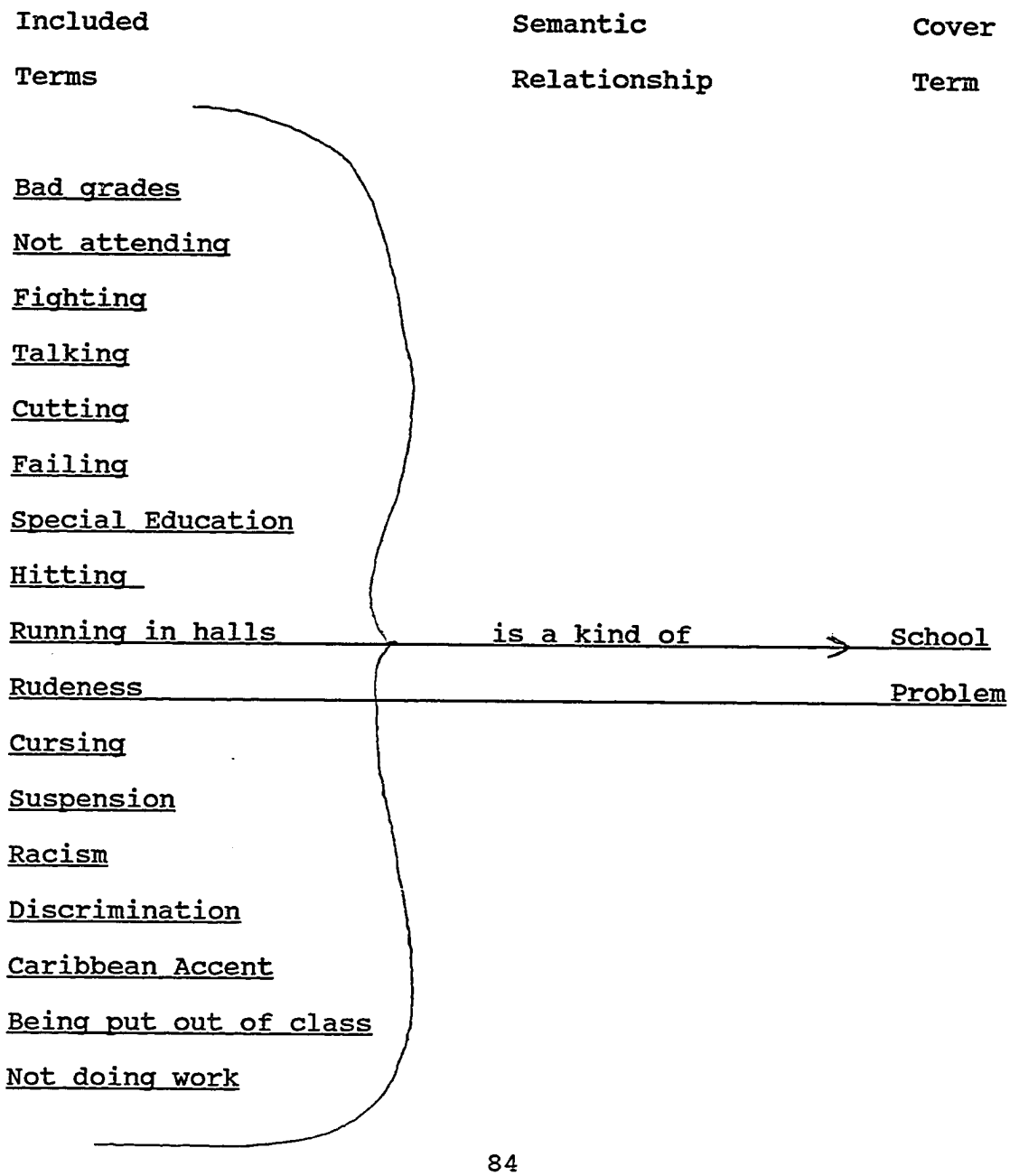
FIGURE 8

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship: strict inclusion

Form: x (is a kind of) y

Example: An oak (is a kind) of tree



CHAPTER IX

TAXONOMIC ANALYSIS

Taxonomic analysis is the indepth analysis of a domain. Before proceeding, a word must be said about the debate (Spradley 1979) in the literature about the merits of doing either a surface or an indepth analysis in the description of cultures. Those who advocate indepth analysis maintain that cultural meaning is so complex that to just skim the surface does not portray the informants or the culture adequately. Therefore, they propose studying a single domain exhaustively so as to get the insider's view and not distort the data. Those who advocate surface analysis postulate that a culture's meaning must be understood in holistic terms by showing relationships among domains and they suggest coming back to do indepth analysis of selected domains only if time and resources permit.

Balancing the two approaches is a realistic compromise commonly adhered to by researchers in their pursuit of cultural meaning. This method involves interviewing widely over many topics and deeply into particular topics. This becomes understandable when it is recognized the years needed to study a culture exhaustively is not possible or economically feasible.

This project takes the balanced approach in analyzing the

data from West Indian families. The choice of the domains to do an indepth analysis or taxonomy is an issue also that must be resolved by the researcher. Since the focus of this project is the parent-child relationship in West Indian families, the taxonomic analysis concentrates on that area. As previously mentioned, this type of research project is categorized as strategic ethnography in the ethnography literature because of its emphasis on serving human needs arising from social problems.

It is important to understand the structure and difference between a domain and a taxonomy. Both a domain and a taxonomy are arranged on the basis of a single semantic relationship. A taxonomy differs in only one respect from a domain in that it shows the relationships among the included terms in a domain. It reveals how the subsets are related to the domain as a whole with the internal structure and different levels represented. In other words some included terms are more general including other terms and some are more specific. When there are only two levels, however, the taxonomy does not differ from the domain. Charting this out in box form, line modes, or outline, we can see how the symbols are related revealing the dimension of subsets and levels (Spradley 1979:148) as depicted in figure 9.

Sometimes it is not so clear from interviewing informants the precise placement of the symbols when transferring them

to a chart or outline. These are problems that must be resolved by the researcher. The process requires an active role by the researcher in decision making and creativity so that the data is respresentative of the social and psychological reality of the informants. That is the reason this type of research requires constant verification and checking with informants throughout by using structural questions to confirm or disconfirm the placement of data on the taxonomy. Taxonomies are always approximate as to the way informants have organized their cultural knowledge and there are always alternative solutions as to where to place data that the researcher must continuously deal with. Also there can be overlapping in terms of the subsets. Alternate interviewing and data analysis become a necessity for describing and analyzing the knowledge of the informants as accurately as possible. Ultimately, in discovering how informants conceptualize their world, the ethnographer must make some final decisions on placement of data. The important thing to remember is the taxonomy and the domain are both based on a single semantic relationship.

Returning to the data from the ethnographic interviews with West Indian families for an indepth analysis of a few selected domains, the schematic representations reveal the subsets and internal structure of the included terms as illustrated in figures 10,11, and 12.

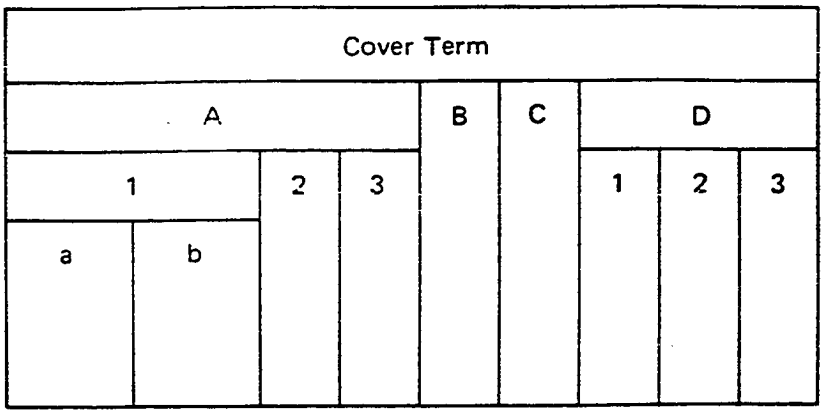
FIGURE 9

THE DEVELOPMENTAL RESEARCH SEQUENCE

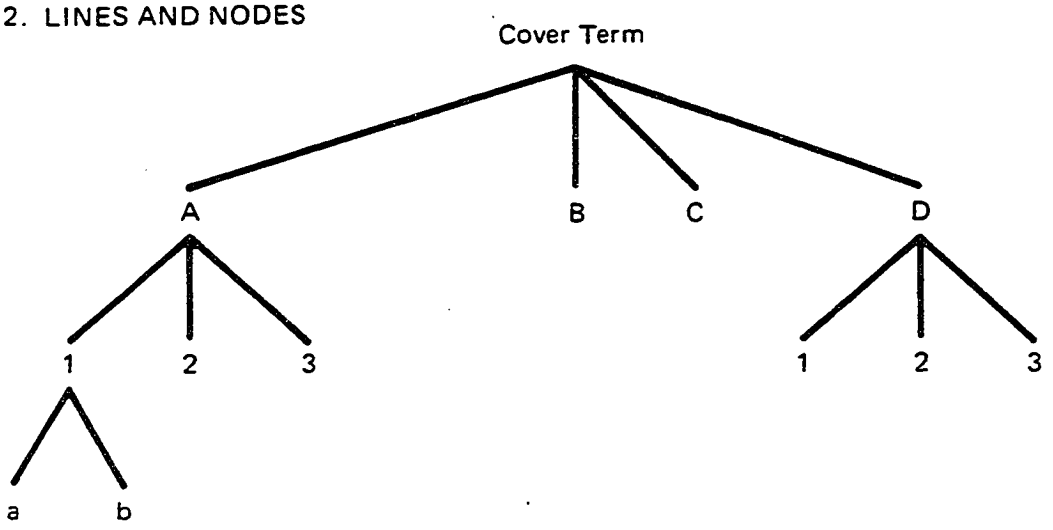
Types of Taxanomic Diagrams

Spradley 1979:148

1. BOX DIAGRAM



2. LINES AND NODES



3. OUTLINE

Cover Term

A.

1.

a.

b.

2.

3.

B.

C.

FIGURE 10
TAXONOMY OF KINDS OF SCHOOL PROBLEMS

Kinds Of School Problems	Failing	Bad grades
		Special education
		Not attending
		Not doing work
		Cutting
	Fighting	Hitting
		Throwing things
	Running in halls	
	Rude	Disrespectful
		Cursing
	Suspension	Fighting
		Cursing
		Rude
		Throwing things
	Racism	Discrimination
		Caribbean accent
	Being put out of class	Fighting
		Talking
		Rude / cursing

FIGURE 11

TAXONOMY OF KINDS OF CHILD TRAINING

Kinds Of Child Training	Chores	Cleaning
		Cooking
		Garbage Removal
	Strict like own parents	Hitting
		Obedience
		Be hard on child
	Knowing child's wherebouts	In house early
		Not allowed in street
	Good in school	Good grades
		Good behavior
		Making child study
	Respect for parents and elders	Obedience
		Silence
	No early pregnancy	
	No early dating	

FIGURE 12

TAXONOMY OF WAYS TO BE STRICT WITH CHILD

Ways To Be Strict With Child	Keeping child in house	Not allowed in street
		Early inside house
		Asking permission to go outside
		Always know where is
	Knowing company by name	No company in and out of house
	Hitting	Slaps
		Giving licks
		Smacking backside
	No late hours	

CHAPTER X

COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

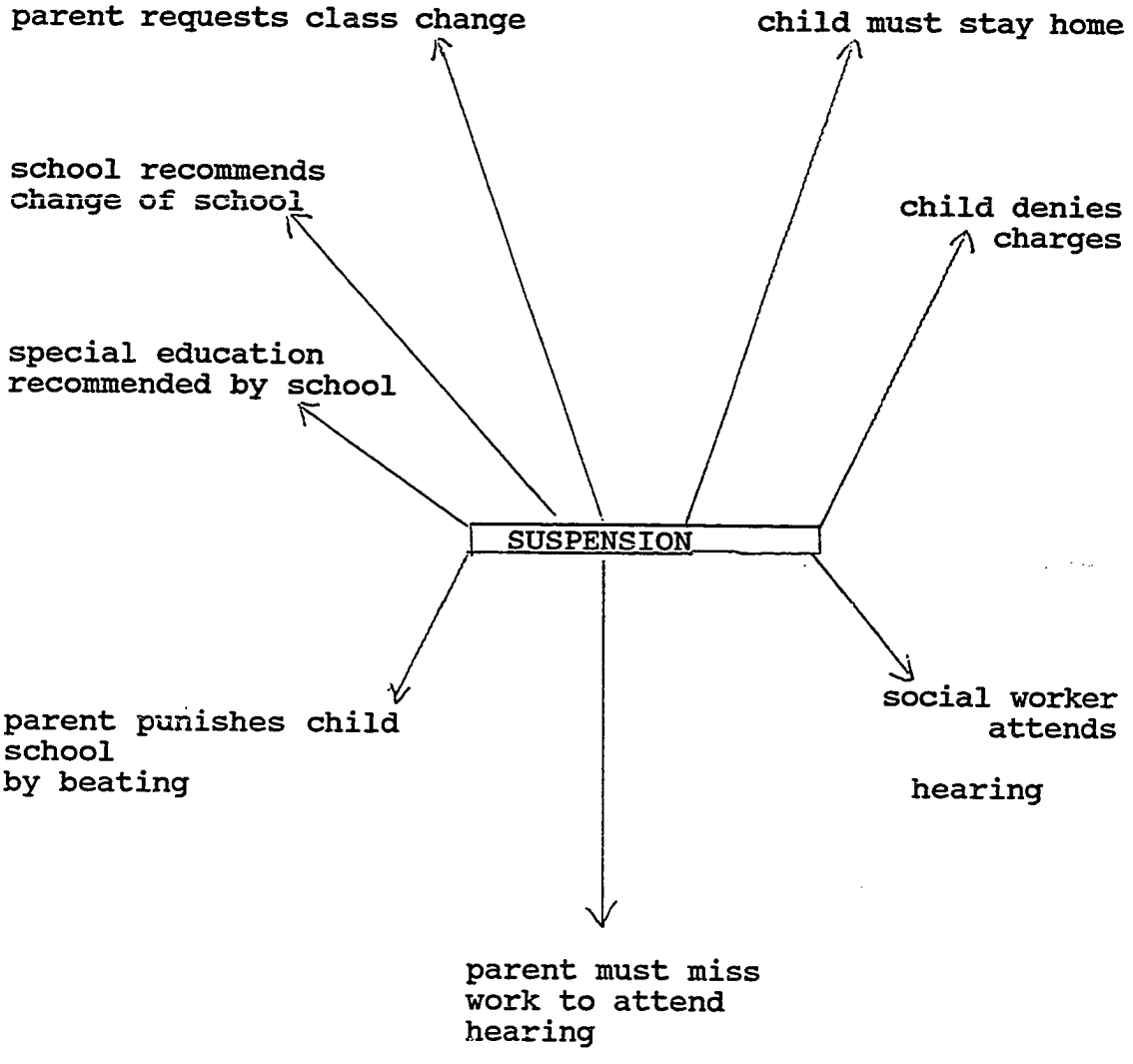
We are now at the stage in the developmental research sequence of exploring multiple semantic relationships by a method called componential analysis (Spradley 1979). In both the domain and the taxonomy a single semantic relationship was the focus in discovering the folk terms which are cultural symbols of the West Indian family. Also, in domain and taxonomic analysis the emphasis has been on the similarities of sets of folk terms. In this analysis, however, the focus will be on the contrasts or differences of sets of folk terms which will enlarge and expand our discovery of cultural meaning.

As previously mentioned, the focus of the search now is for multiple semantic relationships among folk terms that are both similar and different through the use of semantic contrasts (Spradley 1979:158). There are two types of semantic contrasts, unrestricted and restricted. Unrestricted semantic contrasts refers to the fact that a particular folk term contrasts or differs with other folk term in the language to such a degree that is is hard to find any similarity between them. Because of this great difference, unrestrictive semantic contrasts are not very helpful in the search for cultural meaning. Restrictive

semantic contrasts, on the other hand, refer to the fact that a folk term belongs to a set of terms which are both alike and different which can be an avenue that leads to an array of cultural meaning. The contrasts or difference are restricted to a limited amount of semantic information. This means the terms all share important similarities but there are differences which contain important cultural meanings which are determined by their usage. The contrasts or differences are discovered by listening and making use of contrast questions. During interviews and analysis of the data the fundamental rule is using contrast questions for the folk terms which are members of the same contrast set and therefore share similarities.

Even when the focus was on discovering domains, informants always volunteered additional information and semantic relationships about a folk term under examination. This was information that could not go into our domain or taxonomy because according to our methodology design and analysis, it contained additional semantic relationships. We are now prepared to conceptualize this additional information in a manner that expands cultural meaning. This type of analysis will continue to map as accurately as possible the social and cultural reality of the informants. If we graph the folk term suspension from the ethnographic interviews we can see the numerous semantic relationships as illustrated in figure 13.

FIGURE 13



The numerous semantic relationships are dimensions of contrast for the folk term suspension and each of the semantic relationships are referred to as values of the dimensions of contrast. When referring back to the folk term these relationships are attributes of the folk term. An attribute (Spradley 1979:174) or component of meaning is

defined as any element of information that is regularly associated with a symbol (174). Attributes are related to folk terms by additional semantic relationships. For example, in our example of the folk term suspension request for a class change and a parent missing work are values on the dimensions of contrast whereas all of the dimensions of contrast are attributes of the folk term suspension.

The search in componential analysis is for the attributes of folk terms within a restricted contrast set meaning the set of folk terms belong to a set of terms that are both similar and different which were not revealed in the domain and taxonomy because it did not permit additional semantic relationships. For instance failing and fighting belong to the same contrast set of kinds of school problems. But each of these terms has meanings that are not revealed by the similarity of belonging to this domain. Initially these terms were grouped because of their similarities which were connected by one semantic relationship.

When contrasted fighting means a child becomes involved in a physical altercation with someone else and failing means a grade is given that prohibits a child from being promoted to a higher class. Each fact or piece of information is a component of meaning or attribute of the respective folk term and communicates the differences. The attribute is regularly associated with the symbol and encompasses additional semantic relationships. The task of the analysis

now is to focus on multiple semantic relationships for sets of folk terms.

In moving forward with our componential analysis, Spradley (1979) conceputalizes a way of constructing a paradigm or pattern using a set of folk terms that are similar called a contrast set and terms called dimensions of contrast which explicate their differences. Therefore, a paradigm is a schematic representation of attributes which show multiple semantic relationships with a set of terms. Paradigms represents graphically the most important attributes for a set of folk terms showing multiple semantic relationships and the ways in which the folk terms of the category are different.

In componential analysis the first step is to locate a contrast set as in a domain or taxonomy in which the folk terms are linked by one semantic relationship. Next any information about the members of the contrast set from interviews or inferences are written down on separate pieces of paper which become the worksheets for the dimensions of contrasts. A dimension of contrast is an idea or descriptive phrase about the folk term under examination which are the values on the dimensions of contrast. After collecting the values of the dimensions of contrast inferences, values are combined that are closely related to each other. Because this kind of paradigm produces descriptive phrases of specificity and detail, the use of

symbols become unwiedly and it is suggested that numbers be the symbolic representation on the paradigm. The paradigm makes possible the viewing of numerous semantic relationhships which belong to a category. This does not exhaust or fully define all the relationships but it gives some of the most important information in summary form and allows for examination quickly of the differences. In this cognitive map one can quickly see the interrelated systems of meaning of the terms schematically. The dimensions of contrast or values can come directly from something an informant says or at other times it can be inferred from what has been said. As information is entered on the paradigm one sorts out the phrases, descriptive words, and verifies them with informants using contrast questions. As in domain and taxonomic analysis, alternate interviewing and data analysis keeps the researcher focused on discovering the world of the informants from their perspective.

Figure 14 represents the paradigm from the ethnographic interviews, participation observation, and inferences following the methadology outlined above.

FIGURE 14
COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS
PARADIGM: KINDS OF FAILING OF DOMAIN KINDS OF SCHOOL PROBLEMS

Contrast Set / Kinds of failing	Dimensions of contrast 1.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	6.0	7.0
Bad grades	1.1 1.2 1.3						
Special education		2.1			5.1 5.2 5.3	6.1 6.2 6.3	7.1 7.2
Not attending			3.1 3.2 3.3 3.4 3.5	4.1 4.1 4.3			
Not doing work		2.2 2.3			5.1		
Cutting		2.4	3.1 3.2 3.3 3.4 3.5				

Dimensions of contrast

1.0 Grade promotion
- 1.1 Holdover in same grade
- 1.2 Unsuccessful in school
- 1.3 Incomplete work

2.0 Behavior in school
- 2.1 Disruptive
- 2.2 Talking instead of working
- 2.3 Socializing instead of working
- 2.4 Missing classes

3.3 Behavior outside school
- 3.1 In street when should be in school
- 3.2 Grafitti on subway when should be in school
- 3.3 In street with wrong kind of friends when should be in school
- 3.4 Exposed to drugs in school when should be in school
- 3.5 Remove attendance cards from mailbox

4.0 Home school dynamics
- 4.1 Failure of school to notify home of problems and nonattendance
- 4.2 Blame on parents during school conferences
- 4.3 Dual and work hours interfere with school appointments

5.0 School personnel dynamics
- 5.1 Appropriate remedial help lacking
- 5.2 Stereotyped by personnel as being unable to learn
- 5.3 Stereotyped by personnel as not being normal

6.0 School work focus
- 6.1 Work at low level
- 6.2 Work is boring
- 6.3 work is too easy

7.0 Class composition
- 7.1 Segregated from mainstream children
- 7.2 Class contains all students with problems

CHAPTER XI

THEME 1: "SHARING AND CARING"

As previously stated in the section on methodology, theme denotes " a...position, declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted" (Opler 1945:198). Designated activities, prohibitions of activities, and references are all expression of themes which aid in the discovery of them. Themes are products which help define the culture which is the shared collective and individual behavior, ideas, and values of the members of the group.

A word needs to be said about Spradley's (1979) developmental research sequence in this phase of the project in the discovery and analysis of themes. This stage has a less developed systematic method for discovering and analyzing themes than we encountered in the domain, taxonomic, and componential phases. The major guiding principles for this phase of the work is immersion as much as possible through listening to the words of informants and constant reviewing of fieldnotes and data already collected for facilitating the discovery process.

Martin and Martin (1978:1) define a Black extended family as a "multigenerational, interdependent kinship system which is wielded together by a sense of obligation to relatives;

is organized around a family base household; is generally guided by a dominant family figure; extends across geographical boundaries to connect family units to an extended family network; and has a built-in mutual aid system for the welfare of its members and the maintenance of the family as a whole." Their definition encompasses the West Indian family constellation before, during, and after immigration as the households in the United States and the Islands become interdependent and interlocking family units.

The theme of a strong kinship bond sets the stage for determining behavior, instilling attitudes and values, and providing the structure for the socialization of the children. The usual immigration pattern is one in which an adult, usually a female, comes unaccompanied to the United States and becomes the core member to begin the chain of migration for sponsoring spouses, parents, siblings, and children. This arrangement becomes a mutual helping network system and the household structures reflect this pattern with extended family members living together in one household.

The shared experience of this strong kinship bond is one of physical, economic, and emotional support for its family members. As the adult prepares to emigrate, other family members support the move by becoming the caretakers for the children who are to be left in the homeland until a future date. After the move both children and family members are provided for in the homeland by the immigrant as gains are

made in monetary and material rewards in the new country. Even after the children of the immigrants join their parents in the new country, the family members who remain continued to receive goods, services, and money. This network of helping was always presented as the normal process for West Indian family functioning.

The children of immigrants born in the United States and those who were sponsored by the emigrating adult have a pattern of returning to the Islands to spend time with other family members during summer and vacation periods. This continuous caretaking role of the extended family provided a support system for the parents and supervision of children within a family setting where emotional ties exist. Although there were instances when the immigrants themselves had not visited the homeland for years, there was a sense of connectedness to the Islands that prevailed because of the visits from relatives from the homeland, letters, phone calls, and the sending of money and goods. There was the consistency of a strong responsibility throughout the ethnographic interviews for sharing any prosperity or wealth with relatives and family members back in the Islands. This sharing transcended the geographical boundaries and created strong kinship bonds imbedded in a mutual helping network.

As family members left the household of the dominant figure or core member, there continued to be a centrality around the person who started the chain of

migration which reinforced the bonds even after family members began to live in separate households.

With the Ray family a pattern of mutual help has spanned almost twenty years with Ms. Ray the dominant figure who initiated the immigration process for the entire family. She continues to play a major role as a bridge with households in the United States and in the Islands where her mother, who once lived in the States for a period, resides again. This strong kinship bond and sense of responsibility to other family members remains even as the social circumstances and situations of the members change. There is an unwavering obligatory theme of sharing that is ever present. In listening to Ms. Ray on first arrival in the 60's, we hear the underlying theme of the strong bonds of mutual helping of relatives and friends as she begins her life in the United States as a household worker:

> I came here as a legal alien, that's what they call you when you have a sponsor. I had a sponsor from New Jersey. These were people my girlfriend was working for and she asked if they would sponsor me because she was getting ready to leave that job. So then I said yes, I'll come because she had always told me these good things about America and she would tell me, "Oh girl, you don't have to be without money." So, of course who wouldn't jump at something like that. Of course, it wasn't quite true. She did not say you had to get out there and work so hard for it... When I came I knew no one except my girlfriend and her mother. She had a sister and other relatives here but I did not know most of them. I did know the relatives she had back home. Well, fortunately for me when I came they were the ones who picked me up from the airport, They took me to their homes before I had to go out to those people who I had to work for in New Jersey...They were from Jamaica and relatives of my

> friend but they had been here for quite a while. They were settled in their own homes and everything...I started working in the country with the people that sponsored me...I found other Jamaicans who were also working in the hills...And then we began to look around for others who were sleeping in to see if they were from Jamaica and see if we could get together and we would start calling and that's how I found a lot of the friends I had over there...And we used to get the same days off so we could go into town together and have parties together...I worked as a sleep in for three and a half years before I got my own place.

Mrs. Ray relates her experiences as the dominant figure sponsoring other family members sequentially:

> In 1969 I sent a vacation letter for my bother. Then I filed again for my sister who ended up living with me for I think 9-1//2 years. She was 14 at the time when she first came over. She went through high school here. Then when she finished high school she went to Manhatten Community College. After I got my sister here, then I fixed the papers for my mother and another younger brother...So, after my mother came she sponsored the other two girls--my sisters...I started a whole generation here...I have one brother in Jamaica who is my oldest brother...He is so set in his ways. He has not shown any special interest in coming to live here, only just to visit...After my mother got my sisters over, they were able to get their children because they had married in Jamaica...My mother is back in Jamaica now living and she is remarried after my father died.

Ms. Ray was the first family member to obtain separate living quarters with the help of the father of her two children who were born in this country.

> Actually, I got this apartment in 1971. The kids father got it for me...I am not married to him. My brother was here living with my girlfriend's mother because I had fixed the papers for him...Then a cousin of my mother's had to move from where she was living because there was a foreclosure on the place. I was still sleeping in at the time but I was the only one in a position to get a place. So I came from Jersey and got this place and and my

brother and cousin began living here while I was still working in Jersey. then later that year with the birth of Sam, I left my job and moved in here...The same girlfriend that got me the sleep in job helped me get on at American Express. She was working there and got me the job...We are still good friends...and I will never forget her even though that was a long time ago. She actually gave me my start in this country...And then when my sister came I went back to work part time because she was in school. When she came home from school she would watch the kids and then I went to work full time because John was in kindergarten... And their father was there watching them until I got home. He is very good to me even though we are not married. Then my mother came and she stayed here maybe a year before going back home...She lives in both places...Most of the summer she spends here and then she goes back home. She cannot take the weather here.. . My nephew spends every summer with her and she is very close to him because of that. It gives my sister a rest and she doesn't have to worry about him. I have asked Sam about going but they don't want to spend the whole summer there. So they are not as close to their grandmother as their cousin. But when I write her I always ask them what they want to say and they always tell me something to tell her...The rest of us are still here, fighting on. Both of my brothers that came here got married after being here. My brother went to school while he was working for Barton candy. He did taxi for a time also. Everybody tried because you want to try and make something of yourself, and especially if you come from Jamaica without a degree. To get a really decent job you have to go to school and try to accomplish something. I encouraged them. The oldest one moved to New Jersey and bought his own home and has two children and is doing fine. My other brother, the younger one is also married. My sister that was here with me for 9 years is now married with a son. We talk all the time, we see each other all the time. I like to get everybody together at Thanksgiving and holidays.

Mrs. Ray says even though her sisters have their own households now they continue to depend on her if a problem arises. They also show recognition and appreciation of the role she has played in their lives by buying things for her

on special occasions. She relates sending things to them in the homeland before sponsoring their voyage to the United States.

> I still help my sisters with their children when I can. Just last week my niece went to a wedding and she called to see if I could help her get the dress as she is singing in the choir...I know they appreciate it and they always take advice...Sam says why do you have to do this all the time and I say they are my sisters and I would hope that you and John would have this same kind of communication. Whatever you have it should be shared between the both of you. Love one another and share with each other because this is how we grew up. When I left home my sisters were small and I usually sent them things. I used to write their names on each of the things so they would know who it was for. And everybody said that Jeanette got a little more than everybody else. She is the one that lived with me for the longest, almost ten years. But they have different personalities so you have to pick things according to that. So, I practically took care of them when they were smaller with going to school and everything. So when you have a big family you share. If one has then the other will help...They get together and buy me something real nice during holiday and birthday time. And I say why do you want to spend so much money on me and they say you deserve it because you have been like mother and father to us...In a way they all look up to me. Because if anything happens, they call me and say you have to come and talk to so and so. When there is a problem they always want me to call a meeting and talk it over. I always have to be there and my brother from Jersey--always going to solve their problems.

The theme of strong kinship bonds between family members in the United States and family members in the Islands is also elucidated in listening to Mrs. Dale. She relates her experience as the dominant figure, invited by her cousin, who started the chain of immigration for her siblings, parent, and spouse. There is a strong obligation and responsibility

for sharing and caring for extended family in the homeland as money, and other material possessions earned in the United states is sent to the Islands. This strong relationship was observed by the researcher during one of the ethnographic interviews when one of Mrs. Dale's sisters was visiting from the Islands and the researcher had an opportunity to interview the sister as one of the informants for this project which was affirmation of this theme. According to Mrs. Dale, her stages in the migration process proceeded from an invitation letter as a visitor to her own sponsorship as a live in household worker to the status of herself as the central figure in sponsorship of family members. During the period of the ethnographic interviews and participant observation, Mrs. Dale and the children were planning and preparing for a visit for a visit to the Islands during the summer. This pattern is spoken of in detail by Mrs. Dale:

> I was invited by my cousin to come and see what the United States was like...I said yes so they sent me an invitation letter and I had to make sure that I had a certain amount of money in the bank. My cousin also had to send a bank statement stating that in case that I don't have money, that I'm short that she would be able to support me...But afterwards I liked it and my cousin said instead of me sitting here I could get a part time job. So I did. I worked upstate with a doctor and his wife was the principal of High College...But in my mind having a visitor's visa wasn't permanent and I was going to lose the opportunity of being here and have to go back home so I wrote to the Embassy myself and they were corresponding with me. When everything was approved I told the lady I worked for that I

had some letters here from the Embassy in the Islands and I would be glad if they would sign it for me so I could get to be a permanent resident here...They said they would be glad to do that...Anyways, they still didn't understand so I sent the papers home to a lawyer and he fixed everything up and they signed it...I had to go straight to the Islands to pick up the papers...You have to be well checked by a Doctor...Thy ask you a few questions and then you just get through. So after I got my papers I spent about a week because I wanted to visit with my parents...Even though I had a sponsor I really did all the papers myself because they really didn't understand what to do... I did all the papers for everybody, even for my husband...I brought my mother here...My sister who is blind I brought her here and her kids. My mother lives with her...There are five of us here...My father is still at home and one sister and an aunt...You have to send things to support them. Like myself and these kids are going home and I have to buy a lot of things to take when we go for my family that is there and for us to use while we're there...Yes, we have our plane fare and I'm shopping for food to take while we are there... Things are too expensive there...I will stay for three weeks but my sister, the one you met when you were here last time, says the kids can stay a week before they have to go back to school. That will be a relief for me. The kids have gotten use to her now and they realize how strict she is.

Mclaughlin's (1981) study and analysis of 101 immigrants from the Islands of Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, and Tobago document the wide impact of the kin network and extended family in her findings of their social networks. Her findings confirm the issues discussed by the informants above. According to her, this involvement begins before the migration move as kin are involved in the decision to move, serve as sponsors, contribute to the airfare, and provide care for children. In her study (Mclaughlin 1981:121) 92 percent of the respondents were sponsored by kin and friends

and 45.5 percent of the immigrants had assistance with transportation costs. The study also revealed the high proportion of children left with relatives on emigration. Even though this separation often stretched to considerable lengths, the immigrants assumed financial responsibility for the children and also for the kin who had enabled them to emigrate by caring for the children. After the immigrant arrives in the United States, again kin becomes the primary source for help for initial socialization by the provision of sheltar, orientation, information, advice and material support. 73 percent of the immigrants were met at the airport by relatives and friends from home and 87 per cent moved in with relatives and friends in McLauglin's study (1981:123). This extended family network continues in the new country as she found one third of the households included other relatives and non relatives from home. She also found the theme of fictive kinship prevalent in the Islands and the United States where adult friends of parents would be referred to as "aunt" and "uncle". Her data validated that the extended family relations extended over great geographical distances as the immigrants traveled back and forth between the Island and the States. The visits, frequent phone calls, and letters resulting in closeness and interdependency. Mclaughlin (1981) says her study suggests that the social networks of West Indians in the United States are emeshed in kin and friends from the Islands.

Gordon (1979) also confirmed the strong bond of kinship in her study of 234 respondents from Jamaica of which 42 were early immigrants (period between 1920 and 1940) and 192 were recent immigrants (period between 1960 and 1975). The analysis (Gordon 1979:128) of the data was significant with 76 percent and 74 percent respectively living with relatives when they first arrived in the United States.

Sudarkasa (1980), a proponent of the linkages between African families and American Black families, says examination of the contrasting bases of consanguinity and conjugality in the African tribes sheds light on the transformations of this phenomenon and its reflection of strong kinship bonds. Although there was a diversity of ethnic tribes, some form of kinship organization was universal among the tribes which created a unity which bonded the tribes.

Consanguinity (Sudarkasa 1980) refers to kinship that is biologically based and rooted in "blood ties" whereas conjugality refers to affinal kinship created by spouses and rooted "in law". Although both types of kinship relationships were a part of African families, the dominant pattern has been the consanguineal core formed by adult siblings of the same sex or by larger same sex segments of patri- or matrilineages with the conjugal core as subordinate. "This co-resident extended family occupied a group of adjoining or contiguous dwellings known as a compound" (Sudarkasa 1980:41). Therefore, when a marriage

occurred the couple did not form an isolated unit but joined a compound in which the extended family of the bride or groom were already residing. The African extended family could be subdivided in two ways. One way consisted of the nucleus of the consanguineal core group and their children with the "outer group" formed by the in marrying spouses. Another way for division of the African extended family was the conjugal core comprised of parents and children. However, this conjugal pattern does not look like the nuclear pattern of the West. African conjugal families involved polygmous marriages at some stages of their development. These institutional arrangements were all one family rather than several distinct nuclear households with one husband/father in common. All the children of the same generation regarded themselves as brothers and sisters within the conjugal units with no rigid boundaries which is characteristic of the nuclear families of the West. In terms of differential emphasis of family life the consanguineal core was paramount rather than the conjugal couple. When an extended family resided in a single compound, decision making centered in the consanguineal core group.

These institutional arrangements of family life in Africa created an environment where socialization of children involved the entire extended family. Although each conjugal unit had special responsibility for their children, the physical arrangements of living together did not mean that

husbands, wives, and children lived in separated, bounded space from other units. Children of the same compound played together and shared many experiences. The kinship was based on descent and they were socialized by all the adults to identify themselves collectively as brothers and sisters. The stability of the African extended family did not depend on the stability of the marriage or individual core group members. Men and women depended on extended family, as will as spouses for emotionally gratifying relationships. "Interpersonal relationships within African families were governed by principles and values...of respect, restraint, responsibility, and reciprocity. Common to all these principles was a notion of commitment to the collectivity. The family offered a network of security, but it also imposed a burden of obligations" (Surdarkasa 1980:44).

According to Sudarkasa (1980), the Africans who were captured as slaves brought the societal codes they had learned about family life. The extended family networks formed during slavery were a transformation of the African institutional heritage as well as the political and economic circumstances of this enslaved population. Even as conjugal households formed, strong bonds of obligation and cooperation prevailed among kinsmen including households in different localities which were built around the consanguineal kin. This consanguineal kin helped with child rearing, in life crisis events, in work, and in obtaining freedom. There was a

willingness to assume responsibilities for relatives beyond the conjugal relationship. Sudarkasa (1980) suggests that these networks of extended kin have been transformed and are imbedded in the family life of Blacks today.

In The Helping Tradition in the Black Family and Community, Martin and Martin (1985) analyze the origin of the helping tradition in the Black extended family with its emphasis on cooperation and mutual aid originating in African tribes with the collective being of the group taking precedence over individual tribes or members. As the tribes were dispersed by the institution of slavery, the ethos of collectivity and cooperation was the impetus for Blacks to survive by helping each other. The extended slave family included more than just relatives by blood. It established a fictive kinship network that encompassed the entire slave community which enlarged social obligations and extended the slaves' mutual aid efforts for survival. The fictive kinship facilitated cooperation among the different slave groups - the house slaves, the field slaves, and the skilled slaves. This fictive kinship which enlarged the social relationship among the slaves produced a growing racial consciousness and unity for the "protection, survival, advancement, and redemption of the Black race" (Martin and Martin 1985:93). This racial consciousness became the base of the helping tradition of the networks of sharing and helping. The extended family and the Black church became the two most

powerful institutions for this helping tradition. In chronicling the historical sequence of the helping tradition for Blacks from slavery to the present, the authors (Martin and Martin 1985) contend it is still a powerful mechanism for Blacks while acknowledging observation of its decline and weakening of its major elements.

Martin and Martin's (1978) The Black Extended Family presents a compelling portrayal of the significance of the extended family for Blacks. Their study population consisted of over thirty extended families which included over a thousand persons in two small-town areas and two urban areas during an eight year period. In their work they discovered the dominant family figure is the key element for the continued existence of the family network. This figure is widely respected and has often made personal sacrifices on behalf of other family members without question or challenge. All of the dominant figures in their study were women and elderly with the exception of three who fostered a sense of obligation towards other family members.

According to Martin and Martin (1978) the built in mutual aid system of economic interdependence of family members was a major survival component for Black families. The financial support that was shared was out of economic necessity and a sense of obligation that had been instilled and internalized as a family member. The economic aid also took on elements of emotional support which was just as important in the lives

of its members. The emotional security of belonging at a time of trouble and crisis became just as important as the material and economic goods that were shared. This mutual aid system allowed its members by sharing collectively to have some if not all of their needs met. These authors (1978:95) contend that "important as the church was, the Black extended family has been the institution most significant to Black survival".

Stack (1974) has systematically documented the strong kinship networks and domestic households in her ethnographic data on a group of poor Black families residing in the Flats. The sharing of functions, child care, money, goods and services were essential to the maintenance and sustenance of these families. Stack (1974:31) says she ultimately defined family "as the smallest, organized durable network of kin and non-kin who interact daily, providing domestic needs of children and assuring their survival." In this community sometimes non kin have become fictive kin and part of the domestic network without anyone remembering the original connection. A kin became defined as anyone that a person has good social relations with and part of the personal network in which that person can be counted on. These "fictive kin relations are maintained by consensus between individuals, and...can last a lifetime " (Stack 1974:53). Social relations are under the idiom of kinship and the friends continued to be recognized as kinsmen when they assumed responsibilities.

These relationships all become part of the domestic networks operational in the Flats from which the daily activities and functioning of its members proceed. Much of the kin group is structured around the parent child connections which contains its own folk system of duties and rights. In the Flats a child's mother is the immediate sponsor of the child's personal kinship network which mean the mother's relatives and their husband and wives are eligible to become part of the child's personal kinship network. The manner in which a child has a personal kindred through the father is the father acknowledging paternity of the child and then offering his kin to that child. As long as the father acknowledges paternity, his relatives consider themselves kin to the child and therefore responsible for him. This means a network is developed around the child which includes an active role of nurturing, caring, and sharing of goods and services for that child.

McAdoo's (1979) study of middle class Blacks also found the phenomenon of kinship networking and sharing to be alive and flourishing. The study consisted of 178 randomly selected families in Washington, D.C. and suburban Maryland who were interviewed using a family profile scale. The findings revealed that this generation of Black middle class have consistently kept a part of their roots: "the networks of mutually helpful family and kin who helped them rise" (McAdoo 1979: 67). The patterns of this kinship was expressed in

keeping in close contact with parents, siblings, and other kin; taking care of children; giving money; and talking out personal problems. Many of the families in this sample had been middle class for three generation based on their education and jobs. All of the families in the study said they had received help from their families and kin and mentioned great sacrifices that the families had made to help them. The subjects saw their mobility not just as individual achievements but as processes shared by the larger kin group.

Although McAdoo (1979) found a smaller percentage of the middle-class that lived in extended households as compared to poor and working-class Blacks, by no means were they cut off emotionally or geographically since many of them made choices to live in close proximity to family members. The five categories of help exchanged among kin that were documented were (1) childcare, (2) financial help, (3) emotional support, (4) help with repairs and chores, and (5) gifts of clothes and money. Regarding the kinds of help week end child care was exchanged most commonly by an average of 35 percent of the families while financial help was next with 27 percent of the families (Mcadoo 1979:79). Talking over personal problems was a shared experience for 25 percent of the families (McAdoo 1979:79). Only 10 percent of the families exchanged help with repairs and chores and only 5 percent gave help in the form of goods (McAdoo 1979:79). The amount of helping was the same for people who had been middle

class for years as those who had just arrived. McAdoo suggests these kin networks among Blacks at all socio-economic levels patterns may mean on the one hand that Blacks perceive social agencies as not very helpful or sensitive and therefore they must have their own shared kin network that is assured and in place or on the other hand it is very cultural in the sense of the memories and reminiscent of the African heritage of kinship. According to McAdoo (1979:110), the subjects in the study responded they were not behaving out of a burdensome obligatory fashion but "this is what is done in families."

The above works corroborate the phenomenon of extended family and kinship networking as prevalent in Black families with suggestions of it genesis in the tranformation of African culture. The ethnographic interviews confirm these themes as the West Indian families live together, share, and assume responsibilities without question for other family members. Herskovits (McPherson et al 1971:32), who has been the most comprehensive in epousing African residuals, concedes these influences were greater among Blacks in the Caribbean and South America than the United States.

However, the extended family and sharing of functions, were not without its problems in the parent-child relationship when West Indians immigrated to the United States and extended family members became primary caretakers for the children. The prolonged separation of parents and

children often created tension in the relationships upon reunification. It took Mrs. Cross nine years before she was able to sponsor and reunite her four children born in the Islands in one household in the United States. The last two of the six children in the family were born in the United States. Mrs. Cross discusses the difficulties she is experiencing with Larry who lived with his grandparents from age 3-12 until Mrs. Cross brought him to America.

> I am worried about Larry. He does not talk about what is bothering him. He has never really had an easy time of things since he's been here. With my working and with the babies I am very busy. He is still not used to this country. I have no problem with him at home. He is just quiet and he likes to fix and putter with things...I know it has not helped this thing of him being in special education...I don't know why he took this butcher knife to school...He says the kids bother him and he is afraid of them but this is not a child that fights at home. None of that goes on here...I have no problem with them at home. I know I am strict but I am afraid for them here in these streets. That is way we are trying so hard if we can get enough money and buy the house it will help if we can just have more space...This is a puzzle to me...There is no fighting that goes on here. I do know he misses his grandmother, but we call and write...I don't know what counseling can do because he is not a big talker...I already spoke to Susan and she is helping me look into a different school...This is his third suspension and I am just afraid I am going to lose my job at the hotel if I keep missing work going to the school. It has just been God's blessing that Susan is helping me with the school.

The researcher was able to engage Larry in discussing the Islands where he had spent most of his life. We can hear the sadness of his separation from his grandmother and the things he is missing.

> At home you can be outside all the time. Sometimes I can just walk and walk, day and night...My grandparents have a farm and you can just cook and eat outside...Susan helped me write a letter to my grandmother and I sent her $2 from my job and I told her to have a good meal...Yes, I did want to be here with my mother...

It is a common phenomenon of this sample for children to live for long periodes with other family members who provide caretaking roles. Mrs. Evans says her sons lived with her two sisters for 2 1/2 years while she worked as a household worker before their reunification in the United States 2 1/2 years later. Even after arriving in the United States, children maintain a strong bond with their relatives and extended families in the Islands as they spend summers and vacation time there. Mrs. Jones, who lives in an extended household in the United States with her parents and a sibling, says her two children spend summers in the Islands with her sister. As a single parent, this arrangement provides her with relief from child care responsibilities and emotional support. These child care arrangements were also portrayed as positive alternatives for the children in a loving, secure, and supervised family environnment from the freedom and stimulation of the urban scene.

The shared parenting and socialization of children by extended family and relatives results in West Indian children having strong emotional bonds with adults other than their biological parents at an early age. This is an area that has been relatively unexplored in the parent-child relationship.

Stacey (1980) raises the issue of the infant-mother attachment in social and personality development and asserts that it is a fallacious belief that the breadth of the infant is a two-person (mother-infant) network. She argues the richness, complexity, and breadth of the infant's interpersonal world has been ignored. Although the point of reference is to infants, the viewpoint is applicable for children at other stages of their development. This perspective is one in which significant others contribute considerably to the growth and development of the child. So much emphasis has been placed on the mother child relationship that households in which there is shared parenting, as exemplified by the immigration pattern reflected in this project, have not been systematically explored and studied.

CHAPTER XII

THEME 2: "With God's Help"

The theme of a strong religious orientation with a full range of expression was evident throughout the ethnographic interviews with the adults and in the socialization process of the children. For the adults this often meant God was personified as a source of personal comfort and a problem solver in the daily encounters with life's adversities. It was a framework for expression of the values and standards of the family and was instilled in the child-rearing and socialization practices. In some instances there was a formal church membership with accompanying rituals and procedures ascribed to by the families. In the church setting the children had activities in a safe environment that offered protection from the negative influences of the freedom of the city streets. Even in those instances where regular church attendance and membership was not adhered to, a spirituality and religiosity was acknowledged as significant components for family functioning.

Looking at the phenomenon of religion for Blacks from a broader perspective, Nobles (1978) theorizes that religion and philosophy are inextricably linked and are the very essence of the ethos and culture of Blacks with its genesis in Africa. He postulates this framework from an examination of

the African tribes. He maintains although there were distinctions in language, customs, and rituals between the various tribes there was a community of wholeness which united the differences, transcended the differences, and which were observed and expressed in the religious practices handed down through the oral tradition.

Nobles (1978) says there are certain concepts of this ethos which are comparable to a spiritual disposition. One concept is there is no separation between ones' belief system and ones' actions with one springing from the other. This means the body and the spirit are one without clear distinctions, creating a unity with the Universe and God as the creator of Man. No dichotomy exists between humans and nature but there is a oneness.

Another concept postulated by Nobles (1978) has to do with time but is also closely related to the concept of unity. Time meant what one could experience presently and what lived on through past generations of the tribe. In the African tribe there was a rythmic pattern of birth and death where the individual never dies but becomes immortal through a process of rites and customs. As long as one is recognized or remembered after death through lineages one could be a part of the living dead. When all vestiges of the deceased cannot be recognized among the living then the deceased joins the state of collective immortality among the nameless spirits. Therefore, personal immortality becomes collective

immortality but life never ends.

Nobles (1978) contends that the distinct tribes of West Africa shared a collective consciousness that valued the survival of the tribe which translated into strong bonds and a spiritual ethos where an individual did not exist apart from his collective being. He asserts this belief system and ethos has been retained from its African origin because of the institution of slavery which isolated Blacks from the larger society. and manifests itself in certain artifacts such as time concept, etiquettes, spiritual expressives styles, cooperation and sharing, folklore, and motor habits.

Historically, the Black church has served as a mechanism of survival as the spirituals and the encoded messages of the ministers were used to give messages and assist runaway slaves. Frazier (Willians 1974) traces the significance of the Black church in the rural South as the focal point of the family's social life which gave meaning to their life. According to him, it was the most important association next to the family with its functions of community expression and often served as a center for recreational activities and as a school house. Because of the centrality of the Church in the lives of Black families, financial and material sacrifices were made to maintain it.

At the turn of the century DuBois (Nelsen 1971:78) chroniciled the functions of the Negro church in urban cities into six major functions which are (1)the raising of the

annual budget, (2) the maintenance of membership, (3) social intercourse and amusements, (4) the setting of moral standards, (5) the promotion of general intelligence, and (6) efforts for social betterment. In his examination of the Black church as a socializing institution in an exhaustive fashion, he says it was the center of social intercourse unknown in White churches.

Mydral (Nelsen 1971:82) made a cogent point when he said that even though all churches function to bucy up hope for its members in the face of adversity but it is "especially true of Negroes who have had a hard lot and to whom so many channels of activity outside church have been closed." This viewpoint is consistent with the theologian Moss (1986:15) who says the Black church is a pillar of hope and survival of the Black culture with integrity in spite of the racism faced in the larger society. In the Black church a Black can be somebody in a spirit of unity, togetherness, and community.

This all inclusive role of the church for integrity and unity for Blacks is also a finding exemplified in Hale's (1982) research. According to her church membership goes beyond Sunday morning worship but extends throughout the week with adults and children. Black people have an opportunity to experience leadership and compentencies that are not available in the wider society. For example a woman who is a domestic may be president of the Missionary society or an

elevator operator may be a deacon or a trustee on the financial board. Also, for children who have gained experience growing up singing in the church choir, this has been invaluable training ground for later success in the entertainment field in the wider society.

Hale (1982:121) discovered her finding through the study of 30 grandmothers, 15 Black and 15 White. She constructed a file of 16 questions to ascertain the religious orientation of the two groups to determine if there was a difference in their childrearing practices based on any differences noted. After an analysis of the questions, as hypothesized, there was a stronger religious orientation of the Black grandmothers as compared to the White grandmothers with the t-test showing an overall significant difference (Hale:122). The Black subjects reported spending more time at church, having a closer relationship with other church members, longer church services, and being more familiar with magical and spiritual practices.

Consistent with the larger Black culture, religion and church played a significant role in the lives of the West Indian immigrants of this project.

Mrs. Evans immigrated in 1980 from Guyana as a live in household worker. She said the reunification of her family of her husband and their eight sons took approximately 2 and 1/2 years which is a relatively short time for completion of the necessary legal forms. Mrs. Evans ascribes the success

of this migration process family to the help of God even though the family does not attend church regularly or have church membership in America.

> I was able to get my whole family here with God's help. I didn't go to parties but just saved my money...I worked seven days a week...My family and I are very close...I work hard and we stay together and pray together...I always try to walk with God...I have been to a church here occassionaly but not regularly do I belong or have a membership, but we pray together here. Every Sunday morning we have services here at home. We did this back home and we have it right here. This is the way of worship that we started and we still worship God.

The children in the Dale family from Antigua speak vividly of the church's role in responding to family problems, physical and mental. Ten year old Lee recalls his experience with a fever and his 15 year old sister Jan says she will never forget the incident. Church elders were called upon to deal with the crisis in the family. Jan recalls:

> Lee was sleeping upstairs and I was downstairs with my cousins watching television when all of a sudden Lee ran downstairs and said Jan, Jan, --he was scared -- there are two men upstairs in my room on my clothes...And we ran and told my cousin's father and we all ran upstairs and when we got there nobody was there -- so that's when we found out that Lee was hallucinating and he had a fever, a high fever...The next evening they called a meeting with my father and one of the evangelist of the church and the pastor and my godfather who is my cousin and they had a conference...I think they asked Lee if he knew what was happening and everything.

Lee interrupts Jan and continues with the story:

> We were downstairs with a few people from the church and they were asking my father if I had hallucinated before and my father said no. So, then all of a sudden they started to pray. After praying, there

> was a discussion...Both when they were praying they called all of us in, my bother and sister, and my mother and father...We didn't go to a doctor, we only prayed. And that same might when I went to sleep, it happened again and all of a sudden I just snapped out of it and then I was just lying there with my eyes open. It was like I couldn't move or anything. I had to go back to sleep quickly. And then when I woke up, I was okay and nobody was in my room again. It was all from the fever.

Jan also discusses the active involvement of she and her siblings in church activities which is a positive alternative to the activities on the block where they live:

> I do everything not to be on this block because I don't like the way the people on this block acts. For instance like the people next door, they don't do anything--like their girls don't have any ambition. It's like a drug block around here all of a sudden. It's like everywhere you turn you see them either pregnant or they already have a child and stuff like that...We go to the summer day camp at our church where they have a bus and take us on trips and fun things... I teach in the Sunday school. I have been a Sunday school teacher for a long time and I really like it...Lee, John, and I play music for the church with our instruments. We learned from our father...My mother sometimes sings along with us and so do the elders of the church.

The mother of these three children is explicit about her belief that her religiosity has played an important part in childrearing and protecting her children from the street. The church is also the chosen place to take family problems, including marital issues.

> Yes, my kids are in the church and it is good for me and for them. You obviously don't have to watch them in the same way. You have to talk to them but you know that the church has a standard just like you family has at home. And these are certain standards that eventually will set in...Kids have to come to the knowledge of knowing or having the experience of who God is and what God has done for them and if they are willing to be kept, God is able

> to keep them. If you look at it, and you try to explain to them --so many kids are out there using drugs because their parents don't try to push them into Sunday School or don't try to get them to church where they can get the real understanding. The parents have to take them to church so they can hear what is right...The Bible says that if there is a problem with any member of the family, the brethen and the minister have to get involved and see what they can do with the parties involved. If the problem can't be solved the Bible says take another two or three brethen and go back again to see what can be done...If we go to court, we are wrong. One passage of the scripture says that you are not allowed to go to court--you go to these men and even though they are called judges they are not Christians and they are allowed to take sides which is wrong...My husband went to court so I had to go. Right now, he leaves from the church and went and opened his own little thing...The point is it is not a problem for me because I went to the minister and the brethen and showed them that my husband went to court and they said then I have to go because the law of the land is stronger than the Gospel...So when I go to court I just pray and fast and speak the truth and that's that.

Mrs. Ray explicates how she has she has incorporated God into her life on a daily basis, the church activities of her children, and how her religious beliefs emanated from her own childhood.

> I have faith in God, you know. I really do and I thank Him everyday. As I am walking down the street to the car, I thank Him. My sister said to me the other day after there was a robbery in this building, "I always think about you going down in that garage by yourself every morning and at that early time in the morning." But you know I said to her, "When God is within, nothing is going to happen to you." I know it and I do have strong faith and I do try to push my kids into the church too...I go to church every other Sunday. Because since I work Sundays, I don't get to go every week, But every other Sunday I don't miss it. I go without fail. The kids go to Sunday School every Sunday unless it is a bad Sunday. Even the Sundays when I'm at work, I will forget to call and wake them up until the last minute and when I call they are already

> dressed. This is conditioning to them. They are both in the choir and they are both acolytes. John is still there but Sam dropped out because he feels he is too big for it now...The acolytes are robed and they will light the candles for the church. They perform other rituals also. They open the Bible and they put out the candles after the services are over...John went for the acolyte training and he loved it...I tell both of them about my mother who was a Christian every since I could remember and I used to tag along with her to night services back and forth. Now, my mother is an evangelist back home in Jamaica. My father was not much of a church person but after he died my mother remarried, and my stepfather is a minister with his own church. My mother just goes from church to church preaching as an Evangelist. Actually, they have their own church but they are in charge of three different churches in the area, so they divide their Sundays going to different ones and preaching...Their church is a Church of God which is different from the Methodist church that I belong to here. Their church has stricter rules and they are not allowed to do a lot of things, more like the Pentecostal...They wear their dresses a certain length, no pants, no straightened hair or lipstick. I'm not strict like my parents but I started from small and I still hold on to God.

A strong religious orientation by Blacks has been identified by Hill (1971) as a strength of Black families. In his national survey (1971:34), he indicated that over 60% of Blacks felt that the Black church was helping the cause of Blacks somewhat or a lot.

The most profound impact of the Black church was the Civil Rights movement as symbolized through the nonviolent protest leadership of Martin Luther King Jr. He was able to engage the institution of the Black Church in the struggle for social, economic, and political rights for Black people. His commitment to equality, justice, and human dignity

through nonviolent protest became a model for other minorities to gain access to American institutions. The 1988 presidential political campaign of Reverend Jesse Jackson is further confirmation of the role of the Black church and religion as a source for developing consciousness and significance for Blacks.

CHAPTER XIII

THEME 3: "SEEN AND NOT HEARD"

My people feel that people should be respected, especially by children. They feel children should be seen and not be heard around grownups. Children must know their place--you are a child and you must be a child--not try to grow up faster than you are or try to act like an adult. Grown people--- you and I are here sitting talking-- you don't have children sitting around listening and talking with you... The people back home don't stand for back talk. I know I have to bend a little, but I am not about to let myself falter by the wayside and let them be disrepectful. You show respect by being quiet around grownups. My kids know I will not have this loudness, talking, and laughing which shows no respect. Not me.

You don't talk back to nobody. And even if myself and another family have a problem and even if we go to court my kids are not allowed to pass that family on the street and never say good morning to them. The other family would eventually say to me, "You know what happened Mrs. Dale, we are not on speaking terms but I don't think Lee had a right to pass me on the street as an adult and not speak to me." And I would say "Lee did that". And I would give Lee a thorough spanking and let him know that is disrepectful.

A lot of people go to school and spend their time talking and then being disrepectful. I tell my kids if I ever hear you've been disrespectful to your teacher, if I ever go to a parent/teacher's conference one night and they tell me you were disrespectful, I'll make you do 50 push-ups for a week. Because I say you go to school to learn and I instill this in them all the day. No talking. When it is recess time and free time that is the only time you do your talking. I say while the teacher is talking you keep your mouth closed and your ears tilted forward to pick up everything. You go for learning not to talking, playing or socializing with your friends... When we were growing up we never said no, it was yes ma'm, no ma'm. We could not talk back or frown and let them

see us frown. If they said something and we frowned we would have to hide our faces. We couldn't look at them and frown and talk. No, we couldn't do that... No, my kids don't talk back. I could yell and scream my head off they would not say a word. As big as Sam is,if he just say something, I'll say "What did you say?" And he would say , "Nothing Ma, I am not talking to you". Not a word from them.

I give my children the same training my parents gave me because we come from very strict parents back home. Strict means children cannot go out in the street like you see most of these children here. You cannot do that in Jamaica. I don't allow them outside all the time or keeping late hours. Even though the girls are older, they are in the house by 9 and there is no company you know bringing all this company in and out the house. That is what being strict means. You can have company but you must know who the company is and the parents of the company.

At PS 100 they called and said Chad was doing no work but talking, and they had him sitting outside on the bench. They called for testing and found out he scored the highest in his class. Chad is no fool you know. Mr. Boyle the teacher said he doesn't see why he should have the highest score. It's his behavior and they recommend counseling to see what that can do. They just put him out of class for a day or two and that was that. In JHS he was talking the same way and whenever he would talk they put him out on the bench. Now they want to put him in special education. If he would do his work and go to class and shut up everything would be okay. In fact the dean even said to me "Mrs. Hall if Chad would just come in and do his work and shut up we would give him a break, but he just keeps talking.

A sample of these different but distinct voices of the parents reflect the themes of the culture and the attitudes, values, and behavior expected from children in the parent-child relationship and towards other authority figures. A picture emerges of the socialization process

within the family unit to be transferred to the larger environment, particularly the school. The folk terms of respect and strict across the domains become intertwined as reflectors and assertions of the culture. The activities are designated which meet with approval or disapproval. The rules and procedures come through with specificity as these voices infer that for children to be silent meets with the group's social approval as it shows respect and high regard for adults. Listening to the themes and a description of the culture through the natives' own words portray their social and cultural reality.

The emphasis on respect illuminated by these portraits of West Indian families are consistent with a study by Hale (1982) of the childrearing practices of Black grandmothers in the United States which she compared to the childrearing practices of White grandmothers. In a file which Hale (1982) categorizes as autonomy/discipline thirteen items were included of behaviors or offenses that could elicit discipline with choices of the strategies of punishment for the offense to determine the level of severity between the Black and White grandmothers. The overall tendency on all the items were for the Black grandmothers to be more severe. What is also significant, however, for the theme under discussion above is that the items that were the most important were being disrespectful to elders, talking back to parents/adults, and disobeying (Hale 1982:123). In some

instances, as the one described above, the themes of the West Indian immigrant family coexist with the themes of other Black American families. In other instances the themes will be germane only to the experiences of the West Indian Immigrant as a subculture of the larger Black American culture. The themes of children showing respect, obedience, and not talking back to parents and adults appear to be a part of the socialization process across Black families in America and with West Indian Immigrants.

The themes of respect, obedience, and silence in the presence of adults were regularly referred to by the West Indian families as child training which in the social science language would be categorized as child rearing practices. One of the indicators of the children showing respect toward adults was not sharing the same space simultaneously with them. This physical separation and distancing discouraged an egalatarian status between parent and child and maintained children in their place in relationship to adults. Creation of this situation was possible because of the spacious living environment and conditions in the Islands which was not transferrable to the closer living quarters of the urban setting. The frustration of the inability to maintain this physical separateness as a barometer and component of child training is evident:

> It is important for children to know their place in the presence of grownups. If adults are having a conversation you don't have children present,

> listening and talking. But it is hard to do that here. For instance you and I are sitting here talking in the living room and the kids are in the bedroom doing what they have to do. But if they have to go to the kitchen for something or to the bathroom they have to come right through here. At home they would have the yard and all the space to be doing all their things away from us.
>
> Chad knows he should keep his place but he doesn't. When I was growing up we did not sit around where adults were like he is doing right now. He should just not be sitting here but just be someplace else and just wait for you to call him.
>
> I still make them come upstairs at 6 even though there is really no place for them to be. With all of us in one bedroom there is only the living room which is used by all of us, my parents, brother, and my nephew. And yet I find it hard to let them stay downstairs in the street. I know it does not make sense since we don't have the kind of space here that we had all home where the house was big and the yard was big and there was just plenty of room for everybody.

In the domain of child training, chores was another folk term that was used repeatedly as a way of training children. There was not a single family that did not emphasize the importance of the children performing chores as they had performed in their childhood as key and necessary ingredients for preparation for adulthood and responsibility. The families went into great detail describing their own chores while growing up and their attempts to adapt this element of child training to fit the new environment and situation.

Ms. Ray who immigrated here in the 60's recalls vividly and at length that she had chores from an early age in

Jamaica and there was no time to play.

> You work real hard from childhood. You have chores before you go to school in the morning, you have chores after school. You have to go and take care of the goats, the water and all those things before you go to school. You come home from school and it is the same thing. Sometimes you are coming home from school and you have to bring water home -- if you don't have water in your home -- because we have something like a well but you call it tanks. If it goes dry you have to get water from some place else to bring it into the house and you have six drums and you will have to fill that drum sometimes before you leave for school because your mother have to have water to wash the clothes, to cook and things like that. And, coming home from school sometimes you have to carry water home so we wouldn't have to make another trip. So we would carry our pans and leave it there and on our way from school at 3:00 o'clock we just fill it up and bring the water home. We had to learn how to use our heads -- how to get the chores done without too much fuss. You did not have time to play. When the time came that you had to work, you had to work. Because there are times when the coffee crops come in and we have to do that. We had a lot of coffee and we had to pick that coffee and we had to pick the pimento when the time comes. At different times of the year when the crops come in we have to gather those crops in to make the market and there are times when we have to dry the pimento. We would have to put it out in the morning on a big square pit --its called a barbeque and you would pour all the pimento on it and let it dry. And in the evening -- you cannot leave it overnight because it may rain -- so in the evening you take it in and repeat the same process again next morning. So we have all of that to take care of because the adults have other things to do. They havetogo tothefieldorwhatever.

Then Ms. Ray talks about how she has incorporated this value of chores into the training of her two teenage sons in this environment.

> For instance when I got to school I tell them my kids have chores because I had chores so they don't get away with anything. There is dusting and then the mirrors - that's all John. The vacuuming and

> the garbage, that is Sam. And the cat that is Sam. Each person washes their own dishes. They wash everything they use -- they don't leave anything for Mommy. I boil my water and if I don't have bottled water and when the bottle goes down Sam knows he has to put water in it. And so I give them things to do because this is an apartment and there is not a whole lot you can do. It's not like back home where there is a big yard to mow but whatever little there is they help. I wash but they have to fold their own clothes when they are dry. Every Friday night it is cleaning. I try to make it a routine. If they are outside and playing they know when they come up they have to clean and of course I will supervise them. But I don't have to --John will just come and start taking off the things because he knows and even Sam when he is finished he would go and vacuum and he'll get the garbage from all the areas, tie it up and put it out. I break my kids in from a long time and this teaches them some sort of responsibility. Not just to go out and play, come home and watch T.V. and that'sthatandIdoeverything.

Many families explained, like Mr. and Mrs. Evans, that because of low wages in the Islands it is quite common for many families to have a maid. However, this had no effect on the fact that the children still had their chores. Mrs. Evans works seven days a week as a home care worker. The two bedroom apartment is immaculate and sparkling in its appearance:

> The children have their chores and everybody helps out. They were trained with this kind of upbringing from small, even in Guyana they had chores and it has been the same here. In Guyana they knew they had to be home at a certain time. There is no change, it is the same thing here.

As illuminated by these voices chores were behavior indicators of an important part of the child training in the socialization process in teaching responsibility towards

preparation for adulthood in the West Indian family and the broader social environment.

The socialization process of West Indian culture takes place within the family unit. The family unit, however, not only prepares a child to function within its distinct culture and environment but also extends beyond the family to the larger culture. The conceptualization by Billingsley (1978:22-27) of the instrumental and expressive functions of the family explicates the patterns of family functioning for Black families and its relationship to the larger environment. Family functions which are more instrumental in nature refer to the basic physical and social integrity of the family such as food, shelter, clothing, and health care. Expressive functions refer to the socio-emotional family needs and relationships. These two functions are highly related to each other, with the distinctions being relative rather than absolute, and with the operationalization of them dependent not only on the structure of the family but also the structure of the larger society. The economic function is the major instrumental function in the family since it sets the paremeters for family stability in meeting the physical and social needs of its members. There can be no question the family's capacity to meet this basic need adequately will have far-reaching consequences in the other functions. Expressive functions are those emotional and psychic functions which generate a sense of dignity, a sense

of belonging, self awareness, and self esteem to its family members.

As previously stated the separation of these two functions are for understanding and discussion only since they are highly related and interdependent and at times they may appear to conflict. An example of this potential conflict is heard in the words of this immigrant mother about her school child:

> Neal keeps getting into trouble and they want me to come to school every time. I cannot keep taking time off from my job. The boss does not like it plus thisis my business and not the bosses'.

In the example described above even though the parent is providing the major instrumental economic need by working, there are some expressive needs for the child in terms of emotional support by the parents' physical presence in the school that may have to go unmet.

The family, therefore, not only prepares a child for living within the family of orientation but also for relating to the structures and institutions beyond the family. It becomes clear, as delineated by Billingsley (1978:28), that socialization of its members for Black families must be very different from that of White families because of "(1) the peculiar historical development, (2) the caste-like qualities in the American stratification system which relegates all Negroes to inferior status, and (3) the social class and economic systems which keep most Negroes in the lower social

classes. For the Negro family, socialization is doubly challenging, for the family must teach its young members not only how to be human, but also how to be Black in a White Society." This is a dilemma that faces all Black families.

For the Black West Indian Immigrant family, on whom this project is primarily focused, the socialization process becomes even more complex as the family must deal with the issues of migration into a new society that is White dominated and populated whereas the West Indian family has lived in a society where its numbers were in the majority.

In addition to the socialization process for Black children who face different social structures than White children, Ogbu (1985) postulates that children in the inner city require different competences for adequate master of the social environment. He proposes a cultural ecological approach for examining the socialization process and child rearing practices. This perspective, like that of Billingsley (1978), views the social environment in its broadest sense with its organizational structures, restrictions, and cultural values having major impact on the life of the family.

Ogbu (1985) says child rearing is a culturally organized formula to insure that infants survive to become competent adults who will contribute to the survival and welfare of its social group. This means most children will be able to grow up and perform cultural tasks competently as defined within

their specific population or family unit. The other assumption which is related to his approach is that the child rearing at the micro level is influenced by the broader social environment. He argues that there are realities that face Black families in the larger world in which specific competencies, skills, and attitudes, become a necessity for coping in those situations. The main premise of Ogbu has to do with the subsistence activities or economic resources available to Black families in the inner city. Because of inacessibility or marginality of the effective environment or economic resources, development of alternative strategies in which one becomes competent becomes a reality. The alternative strategies of competency suggested by Ogbu (1985) progress from childhood to adulthood and refers only to males with the exception of girls in the childhood category.

Boykin and Toms (1985) conceptualize the socialization process for Black families as one of a triple quandry. They postulates a comprehensive perspective encompassing (1) socializing attendant to Euro-American mainstream, (2)socialization realities of a minority in the larger society, (3) and socializing attendant to the Black culture experience. According to the authors these three distinct arenas of experience -the mainstream, minority, and Black cultural- require distinct realms of social negotiations with dynamic interplay and competing forces within the three areas. There is..."socialization in the mainstream of

American society, socialization informed by oppressed minority status, and socialization linked to a proximal Black cultural context that is largely noncommensurate with the social dictate of mainstream American life" (Boykin and Toms 1985:46).

The conceptualization by Chestang (1976) of the nurturing and sustaining environment gives us yet a closer look at the environmental influences on Black family functioning and its impact on the socializing process. Chestang defines the nutritive aspects of culture as those expressive features where the individual can experience personal and social gratification, a sense of intimacy, and psychology comfort within the haven of the family. The sustenance aspects of culture refer to the objective elements of one's livelihood like sheltar, physical comfort, and safety. "In essence, the sustenance aspects...respond to man's basic instinct, survival. The nutritive aspects, ...are the social character of a people" (Chestang 1976:69). Accordingly these two aspects of culture, the nutritive and the sustenance, become integrated and a unified whole when an individual is permitted full participation and access to society. Chestang asserts that the Black experience consisting of social injustice, societal inconsistency, and personal impotence in the social environment pose a dilemma in the socialization process for Black families. Social injustice refers to the denial of legal rights to Blacks that occur when schools

remain segregated, when courts operate unjustly, or law officers treat Blacks unlawfully. Social inconsistency is the institutionalized disparity between word and deed where an individual's self worth and dignity is attacked and devalued because of his group and there is no legal recourse since these acts are unoffical and are acts of social rejection. Chestang says these two conditions produce a powerlessness in the individual to affect change on the environment which is felt and consequently experienced as personal impotence.

In summary, Billingsley (1978), Ogbu (1985), Boykin and Tom (1985), and Chestang (1976) all write about the complexities of the socialization and culture of Black children within the family and how that cannot be separated from the social context of being Black in a White dominated society. The necessity of having to adapt to two cultures simultaneously is a dilemma faced by Black families in the socialization process.

CHAPTER XIV

THEME 4: "DON'T SPARE THE ROD"

Parenthood is recognized as a complex phenomenon. The changing of the social environment, changing male-female roles, and societal stresses on the family unit has complicated the socialization tasks of the family of its children. Given society's response to Blackness, the Black parent is faced with a mammoth task in raising children to function effectively and humanely within the context of the family and society.

Viewing these factors from the perspective of the Black West Indian Immigrant, the focus of this study, the process is further complicated. Bryce-LaPorte (1972) succintly articulates the inattention and general disregard for any cultural worth attributed to this population. As a result of this state they suffer a double invisibility using the Ellisonian meaning - as Blacks and as Black Immigrants. This state of affairs has larger implications because it means that an inattention to the cultural worth and richness of West Indians translates into any problems go largely unattended to in the larger society or responded to negatively.

An examination of the family unit of West Indians through the ethnographic interviews reveal some strategies for

socializing children and responses with disciplinary methods when children do not behave in the acceptable cultural manner:

> It is hard to discipline kids and in the first place you have to love them. Let them know that you love then and when you discipline them, when you are hard on them it is not because you do not love them. It is because you love them and you want them to make something of themselves. That's why you have to be overly hard on them, sometimes you have to push them a little more.

This same informant of teenagers continues as she discusses her own responses and generalizes about the culture:

> Children shouldn't have to be hit all the time to do things right but sometimes it is necessary. But, I think the children come here and they find out that they can get away with murder, practically. They can curse children out and nothing happens. Sometimes, they can curse the teacher out and nothing happens. They get three days suspension and they are right back in school. And what do the parents do? If the parents beat them, here they take them up on charges for child abuse. So the kids ends up getting away with a lot of stuff. I know a kid where the father beat the child, she was 13, and she went to school and told how the father beat her up and don't you know the next day the social worker rang the door bell--hardly smiled and they almost put him up on charges for child abuse. So how is the child going to learn? I am saying that if the government steps in and they do all of these things. Don't they know that parents have to discipline the child? As old as Eric is, 15, if he gets out of hand I will take a belt to him right now.

The pattern of disciplining by hitting does not appear to be simply cut and dried for the West Indian as can be inferred from these voices. There seems to be conflict around the age which it is most effective, its response by the larger society as child abuse, the options available for

maintaining control of children, and the holding to a culturally sanctioned practice which had once been effective. These themes converge dynamically in the language of the informants which is not surprising since we learned when doing the componential analysis that informants always give additional information and connections with other aspects of their life when discussing specific topics. In this domain of child training and the pattern of hitting, we are able to hear their own specific incidents, general commentary, and some of the internal conflict and intensity of emotions involved.

Mrs. Lewis, in referring to her 14 year old articulates the dilemma of physical punishment:

> But you see, I told him you are too old for this. I don't want to do this. So, when I say something if you want to be treated like an adult you have to act like one, because no one is beating me because I am an adult, so if you want to be treated like that you have to act the part, but when you act like a child you are going to be treated like a child and you are going to get spanked.

Mrs. Lewis continues as she said her son does not always follow the rules and procedures which can put her in the same situation as many of the other immigrants from the West Indies:

> Kids are going to say "Well, if you hit me I can call the cops on you and I can file child abuse and you will be in trouble." And then now you know they use that as a weapon. They do use that as a weapon, and there again you don't want to hit because they'll throw you in jail for child abuse. I mean, you know, West Indian people are afraid of jail. My people don't want to hear about jail and courts,

> and all of that stuff. So, I try to avoid it as much as possible. And so you don't want to end up where you have to sleep behind bars and all of that. I don't want to go to jail.

Mrs. Dale, with two sons and a daughter, has strong thoughts and feelings about the conflict with the dominant society and her role as a parent:

> Kids are not supposed to talk back. But they tell you from small about their rights. And they are telling you this is child abuse if you as a parent do such and such. But me when it comes that forcible to me I hit, I'll hit and I make up my mind that if I go to prison I just go. Once and for all I do that because I don't think that my kids that I give birth for, that I have to support, that I have to protect them, that they can talk back. No! I'll die before that...And like some kids when you call them there is a certain way that they should answer. You don't just answer anyway and in a loud voice and if they don't answer at all and if you feel within yourself that they hear you and you call them the second time, there's a blow behind that, it's a lick behind that and they know that and they are not going to fool around.

Conducting the research in the homes of the informants provided an opportunity for participation observation including joint interviews and interactions with other family members as situations evolved. The following is a case in point when Mrs. Reed talks of not only spanking her own children but being able to hit others in her homeland:

> In Jamaica, there is no reason to seek out the parents of another children if a problem arises between your child and another child. If they are all doing something, you know you can slap them and nobody is going to breathe down your back saying don't slap that kid. Parents do spank their kids there. They don't spank them every day but when they think whatever they do warrants a spanking they will get it and a good one too. But here it is

> called child abuse and it does undermine what you are teaching them as parents. Plus you want them to think that spanking is the right way and sometimes that is the answer. I believe in a kid having a good spanking now and again. There is nothing wrong with spanking a child.

The 12 year old David interrupts this flow of conversation and says:

> Yes , it is -- it's abusing.

Mrs. Reed continues:

> Yes, that's what they all keep saying, abusing. Yes, there is a difference. Spanking does not necessarily mean that you are abusing kids. Then you find a lot kids tend to think--they look upon spanking as abusing, physical abuse. Because they feel you should not spank a child, you should talk to a child. Well, David gets spanking most of the time because he simply does not listen. I have a very short patience too. Very short.

Discipline seems to be an important issue in raising children which parents give much thought and energy to as reflected by the parents in our sample. Different dimensions of the concept of discipline carry different connotations. The process of discipline, which are the behaviors requiring disciplining and the disciplinary behaviors such as spanking and other forms of physical punishment are usually viewed negatively. However, the state of discipline has a positive connatation and indicates desirable behaviors of self-control and restraint, a state of self-discipline. When parents evoke the external process of disciplining in childrearing, it is assessed in relationship to its effectiveness in

producing the desired trait of self-discipline.

The cultural theme that emerges in the West Indian voices above, of responding by physical punishment to discipline and instill self-discipline, is a theme that is a part of the larger Black culture.

Black psychiatrist, Harrison-Ross (1974), deals with the complexities of discipline and spanking for Black parents in her book The Black Child: A Parent's Guide. According to her, discipline has its own Black dimensions in terms of the larger social environment which distinguishes it from White discipline. The first is fear. "Fear is a Black reality. Not too long ago, even a child who stepped out of line could be in real trouble-- let alone a grown person" (Harrison-Ross 1974:191). She says this fear has resulted in Black mothers and fathers bringing their children up to be quiet, almost to the point of self- effacing. The next dimension she identifies is time and money. The majority of Black parents are so busy and harassed with earning a living that stern economy must be practiced with their time which means a decisive or sharp tone, or a slap on the backside which quickly conveys the message as to the appropriate behavior. This method achieves its aims with a minimum of time and effort. The third dimension that she identifies is survival behavior for Blacks. However, the kind of survival that is needed today is different than the past and she says Blacks need to rethink this dimension. She is forthright in taking

the position that she does not fault the Black parent for following the axiom of "spare the rod and spoil the child", but she suggests "talking to" and discussions in making this type of punishment effective.

Norment (1981) surfaces the dilemmas and issues for Black parents about spanking with his interviews with notable and respected Blacks in the fields of education, entertainment, sports, and elected officials as he explores their use of spanking and other disciplinary methods with their own children and their thoughts on the subject. Marva Collins, the celebrated educator who has been successful as the founder of Westside Preparatoy School in Chicago, supports and acknowledges spanking as effective punishment for her own children although she does not use it on her students. She suggests Black parents use parallels from their own upbringing and says, "I've only been successful because of the discipline I got from my parents" (Norment 1981:52). Actress Marla Gibbs and actor Glynn Turman are both advocates of spanking although discussion is included so that the spanking becomes part of a learning process. Both of them equate spanking with establishing respect and manners. According to Ms. Gibbs, "...I never spanked them without discussing what they did wrong and why. They were never disrespectful...I have a son who's six feet five inches, but he doesn't talk back to me" (Norment 1981:52). The Rev. Ralph W. Canty, president of the Progressive National Baptist

Convention, says he and his wife use "spanking...in...severe cases of defiance" (Norment 1981:54). He goes on to say, "I would spank one of my children at any point where he or she would blatantly disrespect and disregard my authority." He said his parents maximized the rod but he and his wife try to minimize its usage. Dr. Richard Arrington, mayor of Birmingham, says he believe in using the rod but he allows the individual differences of each child dictate the frequency of its use. Musician Ramsey Lewis states that over the years his values have changed in using the rod from its frequent use and less talking to "85 percent discussion and very seldom more than a smack or a slap" (Norment 1981:54). Singer Tina Turner says she believes in sparing the rod but there are times when it must be used. Boxing champion Sugar Ray Leonard says he believes in sparing the rod. "It would be easy to spank him...but I don't believe in that" (Norment 1981:54).

As indicated from a survey of these remarks, spanking continues to be a debatable topic across the board with Black families without a clear consensus. There are indicators, however, that behavior and attitudes are changing in this area. Even the families who were strong advocates of the rod believed discussion and open communication should be part of the process. What also emerges from these comments is that physical punishment and discipline are often used interchangeably.

The theme of physical punishment as a disciplinary method emerged in the study cited earlier by Hale (1982) comparing Black and White grandmothers in child rearing methods. The Black grandmothers were more prone to using physical punishment than the White grandmothers and reported using the switch, an Afro- centric instrument of punishment. The Black grandmothers initiated physical punishment earlier in the child's development and reported spanking a child for making mistakes during the toilet training period although this was not the practice with the White grandmothers.

This rather severe judgment by Black families of children as compared to other populations is reflected in research by Giovannoni and Becerra (1979) cited earlier in this document. In the vignettes that were used for the study there was no consensus of assessment between Blacks, Whites, and Hispanics. In 94% of the vignettes the Blacks and Hispanic groups rated the incidents of the children more serious than the Whites.

Although there is an extensive body of literature on child abuse and neglect with a cursory review of it reported in the pilot study of this document when discussing discipline, it is a complex phenomenon with conflicting, ambiguous, and confusing interpretations regarding the definition and etiology. There has been no clear consensus or agreement at the local, state, or federal levels as to specificities. Although all the states have laws prohibiting

child abuse and neglect and statutes for the reporting, very few of them have clarity in what constitutes this phenomenon. As a result the social science literature is replete with clinical impressions, subjective interpretations, descriptive material, variations, and very little empirical data to support the research studies.

Although it is widely acknowledged the cultural elements of a group must be considered when discussing child abuse and neglect, this continues to be an area that is neglected.

This cultural theme and value of West Indian families using physical punishment to discipline and instill self-discipline seems to be at a cultural dissonance with the dominant culture. We hear the voices of the Immigrants saying this child training practice is being labeled and depicted as child abuse. In the dominant culture, however, with the tremendous amount of confusion, ambiguity, and lack of consensus in the entire spectrum of child abuse and neglect an issue is raised whether the dominant culture is capable of judging a minority culture group appropriately. It becomes even more complicated from the minority perspective when that minority perspective has not had access to be heard and examined on its own merits before judgments are made and labels are cast.

We hear the voices of the immigrants state clearly and strongly their use of physical punishment in child training is in conflict with the dominant culture and has become an

area of conflict for the family in the new environment. This culturally sanctioned practice parallels their own childhood history considered part of the learning process of growing and developing. The immigrants express this labeling and criticism by the dominant culture results in an undermining and loss of power of their authority as parental and authority figures with their children. We are able to hear and see the conflict emerging between the parents and the children during the field visits as the parents deny that spanking is abusing and the children call it abusing. It appears the children are no longer accepting the physical punishment but reporting it to school and other officials. This behavior by the child is a futher complication of the conflict already in existence between the parent and the child. This changed relationship sets the stage for role confusion and diffuse boundaries between the parent and child. The theme that emerged earlier in children knowing and keeping their place which is strongly and culturally sanctioned becomes unclear and ambiguous in the light of the conficts in the new environment where the immigrant's values are divergent with the dominant culture.

CHAPTER XV

THEME 5: "EDUCATION IS THE WAY"

There is wide agreement in society that school is the primary socializing agent after the family for the transmission of culture and values, and the acquisition of skills and knowledge. Basic to democracy in the United States is every child has a right to pursue his education as far as one's ability permits. The landmark court decision of Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka in 1954 was a culminating victory for Blacks in mandating their access to equal educational opportunities and facilities. The opinion by the court reflects the democratic principles of a participatory citizenry in its declaration of separate being inherently unequal. "Education is perhaps the most important function of state and local government. Compulsory school attendance laws and expenditures for education demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic responsibilities...It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Such an opportunity is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms" (Smith 1964:150).

Although education was always locally controlled, this momentous decision paved the road for federal intervention in

the provision of equal educational opportunities for Blacks. Responding to the political and social climate of this era, according to Congressman Brademas (U.S. Office of Education 1968:33), Johnson signed more federal aid to education bills than his thirty-five predecessors combined. Johnson (U.S. Office of Education 1968:8) said equal educational opportunity had still remained a promise unfulfilled for the poor and for Blacks. He proposed freedom from ignorance which is the freedom to develop one's full potential and talent, unhampered by arbitrary barriers of race, birth, and income.

The importance and value of education to West Indian families, for both adults and children, is consistent with its centrality as a prevalent value throughout Black families. The strong achievement orientation of Blacks was documented in the ground-breaking work by Hill (1971) in his examination of Black family strengths. Family strengths are defined as those components or factors which are fluid, interactive, and interrelated throughout the life cycle of the family with the end result one of which gives a quality of solidity and strength. "The components are defined as strengths but with the recognition that as an aggregate, they result in Family Strength" (Otto 1962:78).

The methadology of Hill's (1971) research on Black families cannot be overstated. He used national data from the Census Bureau, the Labor Department, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and discovered analyses

which had been overlooked by less sensitive observers. This analysis illuminated that Black family life cannot be captured by rigid questionnaires or White middle class perspectives. Although Blacks are grappling with the heritage of slavery, racism, and discrimination, there continues to be a residue of strength, resilience, and adaptation. The strong achievement orientation of Blacks prevailed in both low and middle income Blacks which illustrated there is no homogeneity of values and lifestyles regarding education because of similar socio-economic levels. Studies of the American Council on Education and census data of Black freshman from low income families reflected parents who had not completed high school and in which parents had no college education. However, there was a high achievement orientation for the children and strong pressures for the children to finish college and succeed.

Hale's (1982) of Black and White grandmothers cited earlier in this document supports Hill's (1971) conclusion of the high achievement orientation of Blacks. The importance and significance of education for children was stated quite differently for the Black grandmothers than the White grandmothers as revealed by the responses to the items in the study. The Black grandmothers' value of education and hard work is predicated on their knowledge of the reality of how easy it is for Black youths to be tracked in low status, low paying, hard- labor jobs. Education becomes the avenue

to upward mobility. The study revealed the Black women could more clearly articulate the kind of work they did not want their children to do rather than specific career and educational paths they desired for them. They were constantly urging the children to have high aspirations but were not able to offer them step by step plans for achieving those goals. "Black parents verbally tell their children to be successful, but they do not know how to assist their children to implement the mechanisms of success" (1982:148).

Education is the other primary reason besides employment that the West Indian gives for migrating to the United States. There is a keen awareness of opportunities in the United States that were not available in the Caribbean as expressed by this female immigrant who came to the United States in her late 20's as a live-in household employee and combined work and school in pursuit of a high school diploma.

> I did not have much education back home and I was hungry for it. My father had a dream of wanting me to be a Postmistress. He always said he would like to see me up there in that post office, in that little country post office. That's a big thing in our country. My father could not read. He never learned to read. I felt more or less that I disappointed him and that's why when I came to this country I went to school often. I went to North High School in New Jersey and I went to Medley High School for typing. Everywhere they had a free program I was there. I came to New York and went to Bentley while I was working at the Can Company. I never sit around...If you can get out there and do something extra, do it...Sometimes you have to make your own luck. And you just have to get out there and do a little more -- especially Black people. You need to get everything you can get and

> it's here, it's free. This is what I am saying...America, this is freedom. The school is here and it is free. You don't have to pay for it. In my country you go until about 13-1/2 to 15 years old and that's it unless your parents have the money to send you to a secondary school. So you have to take advantage of it here...That's why I push my children and I also tell my sister to push her children. I just called Mills High School for my sister the other day and they said they have a test coming up for a High School Equivalency. They give a test to see what you remember and what grade you fit in. It is free. So you take the test and if you score low they start you at that grade. The class is all adults and there are no teenagers mixed in with it. When I started here to get my high school equivalency, I went to Evans with the high school kids at night and they laughed at me saying we're going to school with our mother. But never mind, I still went. Because I said to them if you were doing so well by day, you wouldn't have to be here at night.

This same woman, of two children born in the United States who are now teenagers, was the first family member to immigrate and was responsible for sponsoring a host of relatives including her mother and siblings. She speaks of her ascendancy to upward mobility through education and job training:

> I have been on the same job in Manley Hospital for seven years. I actually started out as a dietitian aide in which you just serve the patients their trays. It was a good job and I worked up to an evening supervisor. I had thirteen people that I supervised and it was fun. After that I moved up to Dietitian Coordinator after a couple of years and they trained me regarding the different diets. Right now if you don't have two years of college you can't get this job. I bought a car and paid cash and was able to sell it and buy a better one. I am driving a Seville right now and I have a job and it is steady. I haven't got a two year college degree. Sometimes I feel as if I want to leave but I would have to go back to college and get that B.S.

degree. I feel sometimes I should just go and get that degree. Just to have that piece of paper because then you feel you have accomplished something. I thought of it and I figure I might go to weekend college if I could get every weekend off.

Mrs. Dale immigrated from one of the Caribbean Islands in the 60's and met and married a man from a different Caribbean Island. This union resulted in three children. She also relates her history of achieving educational and training goals which emanated in her country of origin.

I went to 7B which was the last standard in school and then my parents had wanted to send me to England, but I didn't go. I was very smart in school. But I was looking on the map with my friend of the boats and the water and I told my mother I wasn't going to England. So I stayed home and I never went back to school and that was that. Then I applied to a nursing school and I didn't get through and they said I should apply again and I didn't bother about it...I have been at the hospital now for 18 years since coming here. I am a nursing attendant and there are three of us on the floor, two R.N.'s and myself, and they try to think it is low class but I had to go to school when I came here to get my papers for what I am doing, especially the White ones but I just fix them because I know what I am doing and my rights and certain things I don't have to do so I just sit there. There are some White nurses that are real good because when I first went there Ms. Parks was in charge and she was real good. But you get to know immediately the prejudice ones. I know the prejudice ones. So when they come they walk in like they don't see you -- and when they finish giving the report I do what I have to do and find a place to sit down and I don't see them either...I was the one who got the money from the union through the job to buy this house from the city, not my husband. I fixed up all the papers and everything.

Mr. And Mrs. Hall immigrated to the United States with two of their three children in the 60's. The move has resulted in on the job training for both parents and continuous upward mobility. The couple has progressed from living initially with relatives on arrival to owning two family house to the present situation of living in a one family house with family and extended relatives while renting their two family house for additional income. Mrs. Hall relates the opportunities available to them on arrival in the United States:

> It was not hard in those days to find a good job. I have been at the Bay Hospital now for 12 years in the operating room as a technician... Oh yes, they trained me right there, because I had not worked in my country before coming here. So many people were coming here at the same time in order to make a better living. Now times are different and its kind of hard. Murray has been at the same job also every since he's been here working for the Bank. They trained him on the machines, and he works on the night shift and that's why I told you to come to talk to us right before he goes to work because he's sleeping earlier.

The voices of these immigrants and their emphasis on education and training are consistent with a study by Mclaughlin (1981:104) of 101 Black immigrants from the Islands of Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago. She contends that education and employment are difficult to separate because often the employment gains would be the impetus to obtain education. Over one half of the respondents in her study immigrated for education or

employment reasons. She attributes this educational migration motive to (1) the high value of education, (2) adult education is virtually non-existent in the Islands, and (3) spaces in the high schools are limited and entrance is based on highly competitive exams (McLaughlin 1981:105). Therefore, America is seen as the land of opportunities. In her sample 72% of the respondents had gone to school or participated in some type of training program since arriving in the United States (McLaughlin 1981:184).

Education as a primary factor in migrating and an avenue for upward mobility was also confirmed in a comparison study by Gordon (1979) of early immigrants from Jamaica between 1920 and 1940 and recent immigrants between 1960 and 1975. Gordon (1979) also notes and interprets the linkage of the education and economic motives in the data analysis as it relates to upward mobility. This study (Gordon 1979:44) consists of a sample of 42 of early immigrants and 192 of recent immigrants. 51% of the early immigrants and 65% of the recent immigrants indicated they had some education since arriving in the United States and of these 31% and 48% respectively claim the reason for improving their education was their perception as education as the means to upward mobility (Gordon 1979:128).

The theme and emphasis on the importance of education for the adults was transferred over as critical elements for the parents in their childrearing and socialization tasks in this

project. Since this sample is comprised of families who were seeking help because of the identification of problems with children, the educational and school issues confronting the parents and children were familiar themes dispersed throughout the ethnographic interviews.

Mr. and Mrs. Rufus, both employed, have four children in the United states with three still in Jamaica. Mr. Rufus was a teacher in Jamaica and is self-employed here. The family immigrated five years ago. In relating the problems with their 9 year old Carl, Mr Rufus says:

> I have been up to that school four times and I am not going anymore. His mother will have to go. I know Carl can do the work. I can tell you stories about the things he was able to do when he was just three years old and I know he's not dumb. He can do it if he wants to. It's a matter of who is going to be in charge, him or me.

Mrs. Rufus continues in a distressed tone:

> I keep telling Carl he has to listen. I have been trying to do everything they ask me to do at the school. I took him for the tests like they say I must do. When I ask Carl what happens that he gets mad it is never the way they say it happens. I know Mrs. Young told the Program that Carl started the fight and threw the chair and now he has to stay home for three days because of the suspension. I keep him in the house and his father gives him reading to do...But they won't let him back in school unless we take him. It was easier for his father to go because I don't have the time off from my job. This is just a big problem.

Socialization for race is a glaring contradiction of American national beliefs and ideals. However, this appears to be a critical element of the socialization process for

Black parents with their children with implications in the education arena. Peters (1985:161) defines racial socialization as..."responsibility of raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations." In the ethnographic interviews the parents grappled with racial socialization, racism, and its interconnectedness with education. The children also noted behavior they consider prejudiced and discriminatory. One author (Rothenberg 1988:20) has described "racism...as any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of his or their color... This is true of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Chinese Americans, and American Indians." Racism requires prejudice plus power. Historically this has meant White persons holding power and using it to maintain that power and privilege over people of color. "Racism...can be either conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional" (Rothenberg 1988:6).

The relationship of education and racism and education as a way to combat racism is illuminated with the Hall family. Mrs. Hall spoke vividly about the problems her 15 year old son Chad was facing in the school environment. Mrs. Hall and Chad were being interviewed jointly when she introduced the school problems. She began by saying Chad misbehaves in school which he protested denying its truth. Mrs. Hall and Chad began arguing and Mrs. Hall insisted that

Chad leave the room so that she could speak separately to the researcher. Later, Chad also requested to speak to the researcher separately. Mrs. Hall said Chad did not belong in the same room talking as equals with adults since he is a child. Throughout this interview, which was laden with the emotionalism she was experiencing, she made connections with her own life, racism, and her attempts at resolution.

> Chad's behavior is the problem. He keeps talking and not doing his work. He is no dummy, you know. Now they want to put him in a special education class with 5 other children. The only way out is to try this counseling... When I went to the school this social service tried to get in my business by asking me if Chad has his own room and if his father spends time with him...I keep telling Chad how to behave and act when he is there because the people in charge of the schools are White and they will protect themselves and not him. It's the same thing as on my job with the Blacks and Whites. I have been there for 12 years in that operating room and I see what happens. At first it was mainly Whites and there was no problem when something happened. It would be handled in an impersonal way and nobody was fighting with each other. It has now become mostly Black except for the people in charge and it's different. When there's a problem among the Whites, they still keep it impersonal but if there is something wrong that a Black does the supervisor gives the person's name when its reported and this person goes to the other person and they start fighting with each other and the Supervisor is out of it because the two Blacks are fighting even though the supervisor is the one that started it by using names. The Whites just come here and get training and then they just transfer across the street to keep working except for those in charge. I try to explain all of this to Chad but he pays no attention and does not listen or know how to behave. He does not understand about the Whites being in charge. Just like with the psychiatrist and psychologist, if it's a Black child they say something is wrong but if it's a White child they say he is talented or gifted. I know because Chad

> has been in the highest reading level all the time. In the fourth grade his teacher was upset because Chad had the highest reading score in the class because he said that shouldn't happen because Chad is not working. My girls listen to me and I don't have these problems with them. I do not agree with this thing about special education and that's why I'm glad I found the Program. Chad can do the work but he must stop talking and learn how to behave.

As indicated above, Chad requested to speak alone with the researcher to discuss the school issue. He spoke freely from his perspective:

> My mother believes what the school tells her and she doesn't know what's going on. The Dean keeps pulling me out when we're in the hall even though there are a lot of other kids around...I admit that I talk but so do the others. Now they told my mother they want to put me in special education classes. I can show you my tests with my high reading scores... I never do bad on these tests. Ellen has told me she is going to the meeting with my mother and me to fight this thing of me going into special education. It doesn't make sense what they want to do.

Peters (1985) examined the process of racial socialization in a study of 30 Black children and their parents for two years by interviews and observations in their natural home environment and indepth interviews in an office setting. These parents revealed they were raising Black children whose culture and background differed and in which the Blackness is often devalued by the majority culture. They discussed situations encountered in which their Black identity created a problem and /or stress on the families. Therefore, they saw their task as preparing children to

survive in the harsh world of prejudice and discrimination. Over and again education emerged as the top priority for coping with these situations. One respondent in the study stated, "When your're Black, you have to get a little more education than Whites have" (Peters 1985:166). The respondents acknowledge telling their children that teachers do not value them as highly as Whites and therefore will not encourage them to go ahead. All of the respondents related incidences of racial discrimination in their own lives and were pragmatic and unflappable abou the reality in the face of the persistence of racism in the real world their children must experience. Peters says her findings support the findings suggested by Richardson that there are connections among the three factors in the socialization process for Black children which are "(1) that racism acts as an intervening variable in the socialization process of Black children; (2) that the sociocultural/racial environments and experiences of mothers influence their perception of social reality; and (3) that the perception of social reality and adaptations parents make affect their child rearing values and behavioral strategies" (Peters 1985:172). In essence the culture specific child rearing values, attitudes, and behaviors which Black parents have developed as a response to racism must be an integral part of any exploration for understanding the socialization of Black children.

Concommitant with the racial factor as a significant

component in educational goals, Scanzoni (1985:113-121) presents theoretical underpinnings of the high achievement orientation for Blacks as critical because of the racial factors which have resulted in blocked opportunities. The orientation that parents pass on to Black children is to get as much education as they can because their Blackness may impede the avenues of upward mobility due to economic and racial discrimination. The message is to go to school and remain there as long as possible to get as much education as possible as a way of confronting the blocked opportunity structures. Again, the message is loud and clear as education as the way to success, a better life, and upward mobility.

Ogbu (1987:149-177) also examines the unavailability of the opportunity structure as it relates to Blacks in their pursuit of academic goals and school success. Even though parents constantly urge their children to pursue education and the importance of it, the children are able to see the reality of the situations of Blacks around them in which education has not lead to higher paying jobs and other resources and amenities of the society. Ogub (1987) says this dissonance becomes a paradox and confusing for Black children as they are unable to parallel what they are told should happen into the social realities of the world. As a result he suggests that a different folk theory evolves as to how Blacks have to make it in the real world which can

become antithetical to the one of school credentialing.

Although "education as the way" was the consistent theme throughout the ethnographic interviews that parents imparted to their children, there appeared to be substantial problems in the consummation of this goal.

Mrs. Jones recounts her experiences of five years of school problems with her son Alvin who is now a teenager. He has just returned from Trinidad where he lived with his father for two years and attended school there. Mrs. Jones, who is divorced, was ambivalent about the separation but felt it was the lesser evil of the options facing her in trying to resolve Alvin's school problems. Her 17 year old daughter had been instrumental in this plan by writing the father in Trinidad and soliciting his assistance. Mrs. Jones is a food service supervisor in a private religious high school and she was able to gain his admission there on his return from the Islands. She says family members originally immigrated here for educational purposes and she has siblings who have earned advanced degrees. Education is emphasized and highly valued in this extended family household. Mrs. Jones spoke forthright of the unresolved school problems with Alvin beginning at the elementary level. The precipitating factor for sending him to the Islands was his constant truancy. The last time the police found him on the subway with a group of other boys and they told her it was clear that he did not belong with that group since he was not a bad child. She

found this experience frightening and a culmination of a long history of unresolved school problems. The intensity and impact of the educational environment is heard in her voice:

> I think in the elementary school there seems to have been a lot of antagonism with him. They put me through really bad times. The teacher tried really hard---she was a nice person, Mrs. Strong. I remember she called here one night and she said she noticed certain kids were not in school and Alvin was among them and she was concerned and we talked about it. But then once the guidance counselor got involved, things got bad. I got a call from him and he said--and this is while I'm at work--we can't find Alvin and I am going to call the Department of Social Services to tell them you are an unfit mother and, I said what? And he said you are to get here as soon as you can. So I left the job and came running all the way from Queens to Brooklyn and this guy just berated me and tried to tell me that I was not interested in my child. I tried to tell him to look at the records and he would see this was a child that had come from Holy Cross, a Catholic private school, and I was a single parent but had sacrificed for him to get the best education and religious training. I will never forget that experience with that guidance counselor. He said that apparently I was not taking care of my child since the child was having a problem by hiding and not attending school. Then one day he called me to come to school and I got there and he said I have witnesses that your child is taking drugs. Then I really got scared thinking that Alvin had gotten worse. So, I said bring the witnesses. He brought a little boy and I said did you see Alvin take drugs. He said no but somebody told him Alvin was in the bathroom taking drugs. So, then I said well maybe it's the kids in the school - because the kids were older so I said I was going to transfer him out. I transferred him to 152 but apparently this guidance counselor called the guidance counselor at 152 and told her he was a bad kid. I say that because before the information arrived one day I went to pick him up and I saw the teacher and she told me what an intelligent boy Alvin was. She said he was the only one in the class that could explain a river and a valley and what impressed her was the way he explained it. Well, exactly one week

later this same teacher said that Alvin was dumb and the worse kid. I believe that was after the information had arrived from the other school. Things just got worse, from the principal down. It seems Alvin was playing and throwing a ball and the ball hit a girl in the yard. I was called to the school about the incident, and Alvin was suspended. At the meeting they called the little girl down and she was allowed to talk but Alvin was not. She was White, of course. They wanted to put him in special education but I insisted that the principal look at Alvin's math and reading scores and see he did not have low scores. So, I said no way, with these scores you are not going to put this kid in special education. So then do you know what he said? He said, okay Mrs. Jones you are going to come and sit in the school to be here if anything goes wrong. So I refused to do that. So I went up to the district office and I asked to see somebody and I told them what was happening...They told me at the district office that the principal cannot ask you to sit in the school to be responsible for your kid. And do you know what that principal told me when I got back -- I'll never forget that--he said Mrs. Jones I thought very highly of you before you went and tried to report me to the district office but now I have second thoughts about you...All of these things were just getting to Alvin. Alvin told me the guidance counselor would go to the class and say to him in front of all the kids, "I hope you are behaving yourself because you know you are a bad kid." Things got worse and Alvin would just walk out of the class and leave the school. Finally the last time when he was found in the subway and the police brought him home, I was really scared for his safety. The cop was the one who said this boy is really intelligent and asked if he could help. That is when I started coming to the Program...When things did not really get better, Mary is the one who really helped by writing her father and asking him to help us by having Alvin come to Trinidad and live with him and go to school there.

A sample of the voices of the children illuminate the school environment as an area of stress for the children including feelings experienced when held over, low grades, fighting, suspensions, and the system as racist:

I'm doing bad in my subjects. Like I'm failing--not all of them-- some of them. It makes me feel bad. You get these deficiences which are warnings that you are about to fail.

In school it goes like this--I am in the sixth grade and I got left back because I didn't want to go to summer school. I didn't tell my mother about the summer school...in fact she just never got the note they gave me at school... I don't care about being left back but the thing that bothers me is I'm in the same grade as my brother so I have to put up with him all day. If I was in my right grade I wouldn't have to put up with him.

I got suspended a lot in that other school. That's why I'm glad I'm no longer there. The kids used to bother me a lot and I would fight. But that school is prejudiced, I really mean prejudiced. There was a riot where this gang of White boys came with bats and chains and garbage can tops. It started by them hitting this Black girl first. But the next day the principal said that the Black kids started it which was not true.

I feel our Dean should not be in the school. She doesn't need to be in the school because the way she talks to kids is not funny...She doesn't really talk to you--she has to use every word in the book to get her point across. Like she uses the "F" word...Yes, the four letter word. Just to get you scared of her. But I don't think she has to use these words to get her point across. That school is just prejudice. That school does not like Black people. You just know it.

When you come here they just put you back in your grade. They say they don't know what you learned in the Islands but that's just not fair. My cousin Tricia is smart and they put her back. I agree if they would give you a test or something but that's not how it works. You should see how smart Tricia is. We all know it, yet she is not in her right grade.

This mother of two expresses the difficulties in the communication process between the school and the home. One

of the children are in special education and the other is considered hyperactive. In spite of this, one can sense her hope and aspirations for them. She also generalizes about the culture shock in the adjustment that children must make to adapt and achieve in their new environment upon immigration to the United States.

> Never mind the note the school sends home and it gets thrown away before your mother comes home from work. They have the mailbox key. She never sees that note, so she thinks you are doing fine when you are not. And the teacher figures you are not interested, because you never come when they send for you when you don't even know about it. Things are different in the schools here -- it is a whole culture of difference. There is a different way of talking. I find that when kids come here and go to school other kids laugh at them. It is a little better now because of Bob Marley and Reggae and they are getting used to West Indians. But when my sister came and went to school the kids would laugh because of how she talked... Yes, with the accent and the different terminology for different things --like I told you we have a thing called Bar-B-Que. Here when you say Bar-B- Que they laugh at you because Bar-B-que is something outside and you throw coals on a stove and bake chicken. So those are things -- you have to learn the different way of describing the same things -- the same words but they mean different things. My sister had a big adjustment to make going to school and learning to say stairs or for instance hall. For us hall would be a room like this where everybody congregates or like a family room, that is what we would call a hall. So those kind of differences make things a little harder for a child. And you find some of the kids when they come here instead of facing those things they would be out in the hallway or not go in the class at all, because they do not want to open their mouths because they know someone would laugh at them. They get confused and stuff because they get caught up in everything going on around them. Other kids are out there cursing at adults which they are not used to and they start acting like them. I tell my kids if I ever hear of you

> cursing or using a curse word in front of an adult I will whip you. So they have a big adjustment to make in this area...But like I have said before some of the kids come here and the adjustment is very hard on them and it makes them slow in school. I'm not as bad off as most of the parents because both of my kids go and they like school. Even though John is in special education, he goes and I buy them books as you can see here in the apartment because I push them. They say that Sam is hyperactive because he used to do better in his grades. Even though he does well on the reading tests, his grades are not good. That's why they said I should try this counseling with him. But he got a trophy last year for perfect attendance. And I have to be at work by 6 you know so both of them get themselves up and out. But I have a niece here and she hates school...But here it is just a different way of learning. Back home you will find one teacher teaching math, science, and history. Here you have a separate math and a separate English and a separate history teacher, and you go from one period to the next running into this room and into that room. It is something to get accustomed to. It is a big adjustment for them. If you are born into it that is a different thing, but when they are 13 and 14 and come here to start school it is very hard for them. I am very lucky because I am off during the week and I was able to work through the school system through the Parents' Association.

The reality that major problems exist in the achievement of educational aspirations in the lives of the children of the immigrants has emerged from various sources. Telman (1985) examines some of the sources and problem areas in Dilemma of Caribbean Students in Urban American Schools: Problems and Suggested Approaches to Solutions. According to him, a conference hosted by the Jamaica Educational and Cultural Institute in New York City in 1977 concluded Caribbean students were experiencing educational problems in the school system. The long work hours and schedules of the

parents which prevented parental involvement in the schools and the linguistic differences were suggested as possible reasons for the genesis of the problems. In 1978 Monica Gordon (Telman 1985), a sociologist and educator, conducted a series of interviews with high school administrators and teachers in New York City and confirmed that indeed Caribbean students were experiencing adjustment problems in the school system. In addition, in 1979 Gordon (Telman 1985) organized a conference of the Caribbean Teacher's Association in which she presented a paper highlighting some of the adjustment problems the students were experiencing. She suggested "that American educational authorities and Caribbean parents share the responsibility of making the success of students a reality" (Telman 1985:6). In 1980 London (Telman 1985), an educator and former New York city public school administrator, related some of the communication and adjustment problems the Caribbean students were facing at a conference sponsored by the Association of Caribbean Studies. He cited the lack of knowledge of American educators about the culture and the background of these immigrants as significant obstacles in preparing these children for academic success. Telman affirms, as an educator in special education in an inner city school, he has witnessed the inappropriate educational placement of children because the educators were not adequately equipped to assess the Caribbean student.

Regarding problem areas, Telman (1985:20-22) identifies language as a significant potential problem for the immigrant students on entering the American school system. Even though the student may be from an Island that is English speaking, there are differences of Creole English in the separate Islands. According to him, there have been systematic studies in Canada and England where there are substantial Caribbean populations delineating these linguistic differences. These studies show the adverse affects in communication and academic performance in the use of Caribbean and Creole English as opposed to standard English. The studies also show how the Caribbean choice of words, pronounciation, and intonation can lead to difficulties in communication with British and Canadian teachers.

Another problem identified by Telmann (1985) is the different teaching approaches and school environment of the Caribbean as compared to the United States. The educational setting in the Caribbean is structured, formal, and didactic with children learning through memorization and rote with little encouragement of student participation and interaction. The academic freedom in the American schools with the expectation of student participation is a new and unfamiliar experience for the Caribbean student.

Telmann (1985) also identifies psychological problems such as depression and anti-social behavior manifested in the

classroom as a product of the immigration process which separates children and parents, confirmed in some of the England studies. He says there is a second loss when children are separated from the foster parents they were originally left with in the homeland to join their biological parents in the new country. This reunification has the potential for internal conflict with the children connected to relationships in both the new and the old country and can have negative impact on functioning in the new educational environment.

The findings of Cummings, Lee, and London (1983) support the problem areas for Caribbean immigrant students identified by Telman (1985) above. These authors assert that teachers need to familiarize themselves with the unique problems of the population if the students are going to succeed. They cite the cultural shock of coming from a relatively uncomplicated environment into a more complex, stimulating, and sophisticated society and the repercussions of the impact of this in the lives of the students. This freer, less authoritarian environment is problematic for the students who are accustomed to absolute quiet and low classroom participation. The language differences can create a myriad of misunderstanding and communication problems. A New York City high school teacher admitted not understanding a Grenada student in asking if the student was speaking German (Cummings et al 1983:491). As a result of this blunder the

student never engaged in any further classroom discussions. A West Indian who subsequently became a lawyer was labeled as "retarded" because he did not participate in the classroom with his silence being interpreted as a lack of intelligence (Cummings et al 1983:492). These authors feel the richness, worth, and diversity of these immigrants are not appreciated which becomes an additional burden on the adjustment process.

Nothwithstanding the major court decisions and federal interventions in education referred to at the beginning of this chapter on behalf of Blacks, educational success for a substantial number of West Indian immigrant children remains elusive. The schools have little understanding of the cultural diversity and richness of the students to facilitate their development towards academic and educational success.

We are faced with the voices of the parents and children where the theme of education is valued but the educational experience is filled with turmoil and wrought with problems. The authors cited above illuminate the dissonance between the families of the immigrants and the school system with problems in the areas of language, teaching styles, school atmosphere, lack of knowledge by American educators of Caribbean culture, psychological problems emanating from immigration patterns, and lack of parental involvement in the schools.

What are the avenues for bridging the dissonance as outlined above? Conceptualizing the school as a social

organization as proposed by Litwak and Meyer (1974) provides a framework applicable for developing linking mechanisms between families and a school systems. In their schemata a school is diagnosed for the purpose of developing appropriate linking mechanisms for a school community relations program in order to achieve the optimum relationship between schools, families, and neighborhoods. They contend in order for a school to be maximally effective, there must be a position of optimum "distance" between the school and the family of which there are three possible positions. These are the closed door, the open door, and the balanced theory position. In the "closed door" position, the assumption is the school handles best the problems of education and family involvement should be kept at a minimum. In the "open door" position the assumptions are that many of the basic educational processes take place outside the school building in the family which necessitates intimate school family relationships. The "balanced theory" position recognizes some validity in both the "open" and "closed" door approaches. It assumes both intimate and distant family relations must exist and be balanced in degrees depending on an assessment of the different circumstances and substantive issues. The authors propose the balance theory because of its inclusiveness of both positions and its recognition of the complementary functions of families and bureaucratic structures.

The balance theory of coordination (Litwak & Meyer 1974) recognizes the validity and necessity of both the expert and nonexpert tasks in education. In the area of expert tasks, the professional educator provides specialized knowledge, technical skill, and expertise in certain areas in a school setting that has equipment such as libraries, laboratories, and other physical facilities that a typical home will not have. In addition to the nonexpert tasks performed by the family such as adequate food, rest, and clothing there are other nonexpert tasks that are more subtle which include such things as inculcating values that affect behavior and attitudes in school, exposing children to significant role models, supervision of homework, and providing educational motivation for preparedeness for school functioning. In essence, the educational process requires both the technically trained educator and the nonexpert family members and therefore close cooperation is needed between these two groups for the child to experience educational success. There are contributions to be made from both sides which is the complementary nature of the balance theory of coordination. Using this framework it means the two groups should be in communication with one another through community linkages but not so close that they impair the social structures that are required to sustain each as autonomous units. If they are too close their antithetical structures may lead to reduction of effective contributions

of expert or family group. If they fail to communicate, however, the contributions of both cannot be brought to the common educational purpose. Therefore, a midpoint or communication for balance is the underlying premise of this approach with appropriate linking mechanisms to create the optimum distance. Litwak and Meyer proceed to suggest mechanisms or linkages that a school can use to impact on a family and also linkages that a family can use to impact on a school system. We can see the utility of this model for the problems outlined above by both educators and families of West Indians since linkages, coordination, and communication need to be flowing in both directions if these immigrant children are going to achieve in the school system.

Another perspective to bridging the dissonance is an examination of the cultural differences as reflected in learning styles which has received scant attention among educators. The issues raised by Hale (1982) of the relationship between culture and cognition promote understanding and guideposts for exploration of this area. According to her a guiding principle for education needs to be mechanisms for bridging the natural learning styles used in Black families and the learning styles introduced by schools.

Asa Hilliard (Hale 1982:31) has compiled a summary of two styles of learning that have been categorized by Rosalie Cohen as either analytic or relational style:

Analytic Style

Stimulus centered.
Parts-specific.
Finds non obvious attributes.
Abstracts common or generalizable principle of a stimulus.
Notices formal properties of a stimulus that have relatively stable and long lasting meanings.
Ignores the idiosyncratic.
Extracts from embedded context.
Names extracted properties and gives them meaning in themselves.
Relationships tend to be linear.
Relationships that are noticed tend to be static and descriptive rather than functional or inferential.
Relationships seldom involve process or motivation as a basis for relations.
Perception of conceptual distance distance between observers and observed.
An objective attitude -a belief that everything takes place "out there" in the stimulus.
Stimulus viewed as formal, long lasting, and relatively constant therefore opportunity exists to study in detail.
Long attention span.
Long concentration span.
Greater perceptual vigilance.
A reflective attitude and relatively sedentary nature.
Language style is standard english or controlled elaboration.
Language depends upon relatively long-lasting and stable meanings of words.
Language depends upon formal and stable rules of organization.
Communications are intended to be understood in themselves, i.e., without dependence upon nonverbal cues or idiosyncratic context.
"Parts of speech" can readily be seen in nonsense sentences.
Analytic speech characterized by "hesitation phenomena": pauses for verbal planning by controlled vocal modulations and revision of sentence organization to convey specific meaning, since words have formal meanings.
Sometimes view of self expressed as an aspect of roles, such as function to be performed.
View of self tends to be in terms of status role.

Relational Style

Self-centered.
Global.
Fine descriptive characteristics.
Identifies the unique.
Ignores commonalities.
Embedded for meaning.

Relevant concepts must have special or personal relevance to observer.
Meanings are unique, depending upon immediate context.
Generalizations and linear notions are generally unused and devalued.
Parts of the stimulus and its nonobvious attributes are not given names and appear to have no meaning in themselves.
Relationships tend to be functional and inferential.
Since emphasis is place on the unique and the specific, the global, and the discrete, on notions of difference rather than on variation or common things, the search for mechanism to form abstract generalizations is not stimulated.
Responses tend to be affective.
Perceived conceptual distance between the observer and the observed is narrow.
The field is perceived as responding to the person.
The field may have a life of its own.
Personification of the inanimate.
Distractive.
Emotional.
Over-involved in all activities.
Easily angered by minor frustrations.
Immediacy of response.
Short attention span.
Gestalt learners.
Descriptive abstractions for word selection.
Words must be embedded in specific time-bound context for meaning
Few synonyms in language.
Language dependent upon unique context and upon many interactional
characteristics of the communicants on time and place, on inflection, muscular movements, and other nonverbal cues.
Fluent spoken language.
Strong colorful expressions.
Wide range of meaningful vocal intonation and inflection.
Condensed conditions, sensitivity to hardly perceptible variations of mood and tone in other individuals and in their surroundings.
Poor response to timed, scheduled, preplanned activities that interfere with immediacy of response.
Tends to ignore structure
Self-descriptions tend to point to essence.

According to Hale (1982) the selection and organization of information and the growth of information are the two processes that are rewarded in school and measured by

standarized tests which is cognition. "Cognition style" refers to the process of utilizing logical skills. According to the research conducted by Cohen, (Hale 1982:31) the schools require the analytic cognition style and children with a different cognition style will be poor achievers that will accelerate as they move to higher grades. Not only does the school support the analytic style of processing information but its overall ideology and environment support behaviors associated with that learning style. Both Cohen and Hilliard (Hale 1982) agree that the relational style users are the most creative in the arts. "The difference between children who function with relational and analytic styles is so great that a child whose cognitive organization is relational is unlikely to be rewarded socially with grades regardless of his native ability, the depth of his information, or his background of experience. In fact he will probably be considered deviant and disruptive in the analytically oriented learning environment of the school " (Hale 1982:34).

Hale (1982) traces the research studies that have been completed regarding learning styles between Black and White children. The studies suggest Black children seem to be more feeling-oriented, people-oriented and more proficient at non verbal communication than White children. However, the realms of feeling and affect and the cognitive processes arising from interpersonal relations does not mean that Black

people do not think or conceptualize their experience symbolically. The studies suggest that White children are very object oriented. That is, they have numerous opportunities to manipulate objects and discover properties and relationships. Consequently, this society's educational system is very object-oriented. Hale concludes the lack of human interaction in the learning process has not been fully explored in responding to the family and natural learning styles of Blacks.

Whatever perspective one takes in responding to the educational issues of Black children, and more specifically West Indian Immigrant children, this is an area of centrality for them as a way of participating in the new environment of American ideals and achieving their migration goals.

Although "education is the way" is a theme in this sample, the stories and voices of the parents and children confirm it has become an elusive goal.

CHAPTER XVI

PRACTICE IMPLICATIONS

The implications for practitioners and treatment strategies suggested in this chapter emanated from the themes and core values as presented by the voices in this research sample. Themes have been defined throughout this project as those positions, declared or implied, used to conctol and/or stimulate behavior which are tacitly approved or openly promoted by a particular cultural group.

There is an important preface to the overarching themes and worldviews that are disseminated here about West Indians derived from this research project. All attempts to generalize about ethnic minorities are open to the risk and danger of sterotyping and that fact must always be stated at the outset and kept in the forefront. As practitioners this awareness must be carefully attended to in the helping and social service delivery process as we monitor and question any generalities as to its relevancy and applicability in specific situations. However, without generalizing and risking the danger of sterotyping, we are left with the alternative of doing nothing, ignoring differences, and treating all alike as if the "melting pot" phenomenon was a reality. In the United States this approach has translated into the Western model as the frame of reference for judging

all populations. This approach devalues cultural differences by omission and failure to acknowledge their existence and/or to judge those differences negatively. This project and workshop chooses the first approach by looking at the cultural variabilites and values of West Indians and attempts to generalize in meeting the needs of the families from their worldview. The ideas stated here are themes and central tendencies derived from an analysis of the sample from this project. This sample does not purport to be respresentative of all West Indian families but is is the social and cultural realites of the families presented from their worldview and has significance and importance within its own context.

1. Although the focus of the project was the parent-child relationship, the findings from this research project suggest the family-child relationship would be a more appropriate and descriptive term in reflecting the actual socialization process of West Indian children. Before immigration, there is an integration of families and households who share a single complex or to use the folk term "yard" or "compound" even though these yards may consist of separate dwellings. These arrangements have resulted in shared household tasks and shared parenting in raising and socializing children. It has been suggested these family patterns are residuals of African cultural survivals and are more prominent in the Caribbean than the United States. These extended household patterns result in many family

members as caretakers in the child rearing process. In some instances a child may not live in the same household as the biological parents even though they share the same compound and see each other frequently. This brings into question the applicability of the Western model with its emphasis and pattern on the nuclear family of biological parents and their children living apart from other family members and functioning autonomously. After immigration, adults often leave their children in the Islands but maintain close contact and continue to operate as one family unit even though there is geographical distance. The recognition of these arrangements and the significance of the extended family across households and geographical boundaries become critical for practitioners in assessing and helping families.

2. The migration process, i.e, separation of households from other family members, employment outside of home of adult members, unavailability of other adults for caretaking role coupled with the reasons for migration have a major impact and disruption on the family patterns and lifestyles which are not readily transferrable to the new environment. Assessing these social situations in the context of West Indian culture provides the practitioner with a knowledge base for areas of potential stress and conflict for the families.

3. Respect is a pervasive core value and culturally sanctioned theme encountered repeatedly in this project and it needs to be given serious attention by practitioners if

services are to be culturally responsive. It is a socialization goal emphasized in certain aspects of the domain of child training.

Manifestations of this theme is seen in the Islands where it is important for children to know their place in a respectful relationship to parents and other authority figures by maintaining a physical separateness and distance from them in certain social interactions and activities. This separation gave children the space for freedom and spontaniety, physically and mentally, without imposing on the space of adults. This arrangement also established boundaries of appropriate child and adult roles.

The new environment after immigration of closer living arrangements and the lack of physical space of the Islands do not support these kind of boundaries and there is a consistent presence and interaction between children and adults. It becomes a challenge for the practitioner to help families develop new ways of relating to children which support the value of a respectful relationship within the changed physical boundaries.

4. The communication process in the culture between children and adults or authority figures is a distancing and quiet one, denoting respect and boundaries. This dynamic is antithetical to the clinical model which values interaction, openess, spontaneity, and freedom of expression.

5. This distancing pattern, i.e. between children and

adults, between clients and authority figures, may resemble resistance of the clinical model. However, a cultural awareness perspective enables a practitioner to make use of this culture variability in an appropriate manner for the helping relationship to develop.

6. Self-disclosure and revelation of the practitioner as a real person may be an approach to dissipation of the authority role in which distancing is the usual stance for creation of a climate for helping that is not in dissonance with the culture.

7. Although physical punishment as a method of discipline has emerged in this research project as culturally sanctioned, the complexities of this phenomenon cannot be overstated. Adults viewed the judgment of hitting as child abuse by the dominant culture as undermining of their authority and failure to recognize them as loving and caring parents. The adults also viewed this labeling as role reversal when authority figures in agencies ask children to tell or report incidents of hitting by their parents. There is real dissonance between West Indian adults and children about the value of hitting, its equation with abuse, the effectiveness of such, and judgments of it by the dominant culture. This issue requires a context of understanding by practititioners prior to exploration and expectation of alternatives for change.

8. Education, one of the major immigration reasons,

continues to play a central role in the lives of the families and has the potential for use by practitioners as an intervention strategy and treatment goal as a response to culturally relevant social services.

9. It is important to keep in the forefront that many of the immigrating adults have benefited from educational opportunities in America and have the same high aspirations and expectations for their children.

10. The findings of this project indicate significant problems in the educational setting for West Indian children ranging from academic failure to behavior problems including some children as classified in need of special education.

11. With institutional racism identified by the immigrants as an impediment to educational success, it becomes a circular and complex dilemma as education is still perceived as the route to confront racism and become upwardly mobile.

12. In addition to practitioners using education as an access and entry to the population this theme holds promise for collaboratve activities with the school system with a focus of person in situation which is consistent with social work practice models of systems interventions.

13. The strong spiritual and religious values of the families ranging from the use of the church as the place to seek help to seeing God as a personal presence in everyday functioning is an area that holds promise for the

practitioner to make use of in developing relationships and establishing goals.

CHAPTER XVII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Although the liberalized United States Immigration Acts of 1965 marshalled in a new wave of immigrants, West Indians -- those Blacks born in the English-speaking Caribbean Islands --, this has not been accompanied by adequate research data in the social science literature about the lives and experiences of this population in the new environment. A serious consequence of this dearth is a monolithic perspective which treats all Blacks alike and which fails to recognize and respect the differentiation of Black cultural subgroups. This omission has not provided the social work profession with a body of knowledge about West Indian families for effective delivery of social services.

This research project discovered the cultural distinctions of West Indian families through ethnographic interviews and participation observation conducted in the natural environment of the homes to address the gap of empirical and systematic data for this population. Ethnographic interviewing describes the cultural symbols and distinctions through the language, worldview, folk terms, and perspective presented by the families in their own terms rather than preconceived cultural categories or hypotheses imposed from the outside. The voices of the immigrants

became the focus for understanding, exploration, and discovery of the events in their lives.

A pilot study consisting of a survey of 30 West Indian families receiving social services at a Prevention Program, mandated to prevent child abuse and neglect and the placement of children in foster care, became the source for the self-selected sample of 10 families and 45 informants for the indepth ethnographic interviews. Although the ethnographic interviewing in this project is over a wide range of topics, there is a focus on the parent-child relationship which is referred to as strategic ethnography in the literature because of its identification of a social problem. The geographical area of the fieldwork has the highest number of West Indians in the Metropolitan New York area.

A number of themes emerged and were discovered through this research project which underscore the cultural distinctions of West Indian families, particularly as it relates to the parent- child relationship. The first is the strong family bonds across geographical boundaries that exist between the family households in the United States and the families left back in the homeland. This configuration results in multigenerational households. The usual immigration process is one in which an adult, usually a female, migrates alone to America leaving children, spouses, and other family members in the homeland with this person

becoming the core member to begin the chain of migration for the entire family. This strong obligatory pattern is reciprocal as family members in the homeland care for children and are primary caretakers so that the adult may emigrate. Many years may pass before the reunification of all the family members in the new country occur but there is constant and close contact with visits, letters, and phone calls with the household in the United States and the household in the Islands functioning as one family unit even though great distances separate them. Consequently, socialization tasks and child-rearing practices are shared by multiple adults resulting in shared parenting. The immigrant's pattern of family functioning of socializing children is not easily transferrable to America with the closer living quarters which diffuse the boundaries of adult and child, with the adults in the household no longer available because of employment outside of the home, and with the issues involved in getting to know the biological parents from whom the children have been separated for many years. These factors become potential sources of conflict for the West Indian family in the United States.

The strong religious and spiritual orientation of the population emerged as another theme with the families although this did not necessarily translate or manifest itself into formal church membership or participation. In some instances, however, the church became the institution for

help-seeking for the family unit since the culture does not support or encourage discussing intimate or family problems outside of the family unit except to a religious leader or pastor. In other instances the church was a socializing agent to reinforce the values of the family and provide an avenue for structured recreational and educational activities for the children to combat the freedom of the urban streets.

The theme of respect is embedded in the culture in the child-rearing practices between adults and children and is also mainifested in relationships of West Indian adults toward outside authority figures and institutions. In the parent-child relationship there were expectations that a child would show respect by being silent and quiet in the presence of other adults unless asked to speak. It also means maintaining a degree of physical distance for certain social activities in order to maintain a hierarchy of adult and child roles. In the new environment, lacking the freedom and spaciousness of the Islands, these physical boundaries can not be maintained resulting in constant and closer interaction between children and adults. These changes have been a source for conflict in the diffusion of these roles and dissapation of the hierarchy between child and adult. These same patterns denoting respect become transferred over when West Indian adults interact with institutions or authority figures by a distancing in the relationship which can be antithetical to the clinical model in a helping

situation which values a more spontaneous, open interactive exchange.

The use of physical punishment as a disciplinary technique to instill discipline is culturally sanctioned and emerges as a theme which is in conflict with the dominant culture. There are suggestions the use of physical punishment has resulted in this population being reported for suspected child abuse. This conflict and dissonance with the dominant culture has generated a source of confusion and anger by West Indians toward the dominant culture as illuminated by the ethnographic interviews. They feel it has undermined their roles as authority figures for their children by creating a climate where children have the right to report the actions of their parents. This is a very complex and important issue for this population and will require careful attention and understanding for satisfactory resolutions.

The centrality of education as a value with West Indians cannot be overstated with the education and economic goals so intertwined that they are inseparable. Many of the immigrating adults of this project benefited from the educational and training opportunities available in America during the 60's. They have the same kind of educational aspirations and expectations for their children who are facing tremendous problems in the educational environment, with racism not the least of it. There have been suggestions

there are real differences in language, learning styles, and school environment faced by West Indian children when they enter the new environment which American educators have not recognized and addressed. Education appears to be an access for entry in engaging this population. Although West Indians do not generally seek help outside of the family unit, they are receptive if their children are experiencing school problems and education becomes one of the treatment goals.

The workshop for practitoners in a social service agency in the geographical area of the ethnographic fieldwork involved both process and content and was conducted in two parts. In the first part a cultural awareness exercise heightened the participants' sensitivity to their own ethnicity as a person within a group with attitudes, beliefs, and values toward members of other groups. This exercise served as a foundation to teach skill building of ethnographic interviewing in the second part using the prototype of West Indians of the research project for illustration which suggested treatment implications extrapolated from the specificities of the themes as outlined above.

The practitoners' receptivity to the challenge of interviewing clients ethnographically to discover the world view of West Indians as illuminated by this project holds promise for the integration of the cultural distinctions into strategies for the delivery of social services. Although

this project discusses the specificities of West Indian families it is a framework applicable for discovering cutltural distinctions of other ethnic minorities.

APPENDIX A

WORKSHOP FOR PRACTITIONERS:

FROM CULTURAL AWARENESS TO CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

The second phase of this project is the design, implementation, and evaluation of a workshop for practitioners generated from the ethnographic interviews and participation observation with West Indian Immigrants from the first phase of the project. The workshop integrates research and practice by providing practitioners with an approach for discovering cultural distinctions and its practice implications with ethnic minorities. More importantly, the workshop is an opportunity to make a direct impact on the delivery of social services by giving something back to the community where the research project and findings were generated. Although the findings of the first part of this project are specific to the cultural distinctions of West Indian families, a subculture of Blacks born in the English-speaking Caribbeans, the design of this workshop holds promise for its utilization in discovering cultural distinctions of other ethnic groups.

The workshop addresses the neglect often found in the social sciences of mechanisms for bridging the gap between research and practice. This omission is often experienced as tension between the researcher and the practitioner. It is familiar to hear the practitioner lament that the goals

of the researcher are irrelevant to his needs and on the other side hear the researcher chide a practitioner for not making use of his work in the development of practice guidelines and delivery of social services. This workshop is a framework for a resolution of that tension by the incorporation of the research phase of this project into tools for the practitioner.

A culturally relevant intervention becomes even more significant when dealing with ethnic minorities because there are additional tensions between research and practice, not the least of which is the limited empirical base. Sue and Sue (1977) say minorities are skeptical to be involved in research because they do not see its applicability or relevance in meeting their needs. Another criticism by minorities is the instruments used have been constructed based on White middle-class groups which can be misused when applied to them. These authors believe these skepticisms to be valid and document the negative stereotypes in the literature of Blacks, Asians, Mexican-Americans, and Chicanos, omitting minority group culture and values. Sue and Sue assert that researchers have failed minorities with their heavy emphasis on abstract theories and academic interest which translates into experimental research at the top of the echlon and exploratory research at the bottom. They criticize researchers for feeling their responsibilities are discharged once their work is published without making provisions for

giving something back to the community that supplied the research data. The design and implementation of this workshop addresses these issues raised above by integrating research and practice, providing practitioners with skills in discovering cultural distinctions to use in practice models, and giving something back to the community where the research was generated by providing a workshop in a social service agency with a significant West Indian population.

The workshop is designed and implemented in two parts. The first part uses a cultural awareness exercise to help the practitioners reflect on their own ethnicity and culture and share this information and experience with others. The assumption of this project is that practitioners are products of a particular culture and ethnic group with beliefs, values, and attitudes which affect their thinking, feeling, and behavior toward other cultural groups that are different. The cultural awareness elicited from the exercise is a foundational base for facilitating and focusing on the importance of culture and ethnicity in the lives of the families served by awareness of one's own ethnicity and culture. The second part is a didactic presentation by the researcher of a type of interviewing, ethnographic interviewing, for eliciting and discovering cultural distinctions with West Indian families. Examples from the research project and case material from the participants' own practice are used in teaching the skills and techniques of

ethnographic interviewing. The implications from practice are interwoven in the cultural knowledge and themes that emerges from the technique of ethnographic interviewing.

The training in the workshop involves both content and group process, beginning with the practitioners' own ethnic experiences as a critical instrument for discovering cultural distinctions in ethnic minorities, and proceeding to teaching strategies for discovering the practice principles to be incorporated in the delivery of social services to West Indian families.

PART I

The premise of the workshop recognizes social work delivery and practice operates with a knowledge base from a variety of disciplines within the context of social work values and ideology. The concepts of access and empowerment become key in any discussion of ethnic minorities. Social work has always been committed to access for the least advantaged and most vulnerable of populations. The research in this document confirm that West Indians as well as immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere and South America have been the last to gain equal access of entry into America. The Western hemisphere has always been preferred and given priority status even as immigration policy became more liberal. Historically, immigration policy has been accompanied by the underpinnings of Nordic superiority with prejudice and discrimination played out towards people of color as exemplified by the national origins statute and the quota system by country. The liberalizing immigration policy of 1965 has moved America to a more open, diverse, and pluralistic society. There is widespread recognition of United States as a "melting pot" as a fallacious myth. However, this has not always been accompanied by equality and social justice. Although immigration policy has moved towards equity, the Western model and values dominate. Judgments of other ethnics continue to be based on Western thoughts, values, and philosophy. Social work has

historically been in the forefront of advocating for ethnic minorities and the values of other cultures. However, this requires a constant vigilance and an awareness of the prevalence and power of one's own ethnic ancestry and history. The knowledge of self becomes a springboard to identifying and advocating for other ethnic minorities.

The concept of empowerment is not new to social work and is integral to the helping profession. It is a process and a goal with both client and practitioner. Solomon (1976:6) defines empowerment as a "process whereby persons who belong to a stigmatized social category throughout their lives can be assisted to develop and increase skills in the performance of valued social roles." Pinderhughes (1983:332), in her discussion of power relationships and a goodness of fit between the clients and the environment, defines power as "the capacity to influence the forces which affect one's life space for one's own benefit." The goal of this workshop is predicated on the inherent strength of culture and facilitation of its own power. Empowerment becomes the validation of peoples' lives and experiences within their cultural context. The worker uses empowerment to draw upon the natural resources of the clients which is their culture which has a rippling affect of empowering them. As we become empowered as practitioners, it enables us to use knowledge, values, and skills of the social work profession to empower clients. This openness to cultural variability by the

worker becomes a path to new possibilities in the delivery of social services.

Cultural Awareness Exercise

This exercise sensitizes us to the concepts of access and empowerment discussed above as we begin to think of our own experiences as ethnic persons with distinct cultures. The workshop was implemented in the Prevention Program in the community of East Flatbush which was also the focus of the fieldwork for the ethnographic interviews for the research project in the first part of this document.

Four professional caseworkers, a clinical supervisor, the Director of the Prevention Program, and the researcher were the participants for the workshop. The group was quite diverse consisting of American Jews, an American Black, an Asian American, an Irish American, and a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Each participant answered the following five questions and then, led by the researcher, shared responses with the group.

1. What is your ethnic identity?
2. In what locality or community did you grow up, and what other ethnic groups resided in the community?
3. How did your family see itself as alike or different from families of other ethnic groups?
4. What are your earliest images of color as an ethnic factor?
5. What are you feelings about your ethnic identity? How might they be influenced by the power relationship between your ethnic group and others (Pinderhughes 1979:312-313)?

As previously stated, this exercise is designed to provide a framework for cultural awareness by the use of

one's own personal experiences as an ethnic person as an avenue and window towards understanding of cultural variability in others. Pinderhughes (1979) says practitioners should be clear about themselves as ethnic persons with personal and professional experiences which influences their attitudes and behavior about power or lack of power with themselves and with their clients. This process also surfaces and defines the power differential that exists between worker and client, inherent in the helping relationship, allowing the worker an opportunity for equalizing this hierarchy through discovering the client's culture and strengths and validating the worth of such distinctions.

A sample of some of the comments shared during this cultural awareness exercise follow:

The American Black remembers growing up in a small northeastern town where her ethnic identity was a person of color. The town was racially divided with the Blacks and Whites living in separate rows of houses. The section where the Whites lived was called White Row but the section where Blacks lived was not specified. There were stark differences in the two sections. The homes in the Black section were worn, dilapidated, unattractive, and meager in stature. The homes in the White section were physically attractive, sturdy, and brightly colored with spacious lawns. There were two stores in the community, both owned by White persons who

lived in the backs of the stores. The only distinction between these two merchants was one was called the Jew's store and his store was always available to the Blacks in the town, even after regular closing hours and on holidays and Sundays. One just went to his home at the back of the store and he would open the store and a purchase could be made. On the other hand, the other merchant was not always accessible outside of regular business hours. It was only in later years after growing up that it was learned he was Polish. These early experiences left am impression that the Whites had power and possessions that were desirable and there was a less powerful position that people of color had in these relationships.

The American Jew recalls growing up in a Northeastern urban city in a section that was predominantly Jewish where the characteristics of one's Jewish heritage was emphasized so as to be distinct and separated from other groups. When the family moved to a section in the city populated predominantly by Italian Americans, Irish Americans, and a small number of Black Americans, the distinctness of being Jewish became uncomfortable. With the Jewish presence in the minority, it evoked for the first time strong feelings of being excluded, left out, and feeling bad about this. The survival of Jews historically is something this participant feels proud of and supports their participation in world politics as symbolic of their pursuit and endeavor for

social justice and equality for all respecting cultural differences.

The Asian American recalls her experience of social rejection during adolescence because of color and ethnicity. The family lived in a changing, volatile neighborhood in the inner city and it was suggested the children should leave the public school and enroll in a private school. She and a brother were awarded scholarships at a predominantly Jewish school and began attending. The experience of education and social interactions were positive throughout the lower grades and she recalls mingling freely with everyone. In junior high school she began to be excluded from social and party invitations until finally she was asked if she had someone of her own kind that she could bring to the parties so that she could be included. From that moment on was the realization of the demise of her social life in that environment because of who she was.

This phase of the workshop was stimulating, provocative, and revealing as the WASP related how upset he was to discover that his grandfather had been a slaveowner and quite racist. The American Jew revealed her distress when confronted by students in a new high school, a community populated predominantly by Catholics, if she had horns after having lived in an affluent suburban Jewish community most of her life.

This exercise of cultural awareness brought to the

surface one's position in families as persons with specific ethnic backgrounds and persons of color that had its own history of access and power or the lack of. This first part becomes transitional to becoming more attuned to differences of the clients that are served and utility of their cultural distinctness to be used in the helping relationship.

PART II

Ethnographic Interviewing

The second part of the workshop provides practitioners with a technique of interviewing, ethnographic interviewing, to understand the ethnic minority client and discover cultural distinctions using West Indian Immigrants from the research project as the prototype for illustration.

This phase of the workshop was a didactic presentation by the researcher allowing for interaction, clarification, and questions by the participants. The purpose of this phase is to provide the practitioners with a technique of interviewing which they can modify and adapt with the regular social work interview. The discovery and analysis of domains, the first and most important cultural category is presented in detail, while a brief definition is given of the other units of cultural categories.

In ethnographic interviewing the goal is for the practitioner to suspend his preconceived cultural and theoretical categories and discover the native's or insider's view of the client's reality by becoming a learner or a student. Language is the access to this cultural knowledge based on a relational theory of meaning that language is meaningful based on the social interactions with others in the culture. The climate of the interview is close to a friendly conversation with the exception that the practitioner will be guiding and leading the client in a

direction so that the cultural material is elicited. The goal is to understand the client from their world view, in their own terms, in their own language.

Ethnographic interviewing legitimizes friendly conversation and dissipates the power relationship between worker and client. The interviewer shares more of self resulting in a self disclosure which is facilitating to the process of discovery of the insider view of the native.

It has been suggested that in ethnographic interviewing, the interviewer should not start with the presenting problem but should prepare a short list of global questions about the client that might be perplexing or puzzling. The idea is to set a friendly tone of global sorting out of problem areas rather than specificity which may inhibit or constrict the client from expansion of the cultural knowledge.

As the interview develops, certain words and phrases often stand out, either because they are unfamiliar or because they seem to have special meaning to the person. These may be jargon words or they may be ordinary English words but with special references.

The basic unit or cultural category of inquiry is that of domains. Domains are the cultural units of knowledge or basically the way in which people classify or organize their cultural knowledge. The goal in ethnographic interviewing is to organize the cultural information in categories that are derived from our clients rather than our culture of social

work theories and categories.

Cultural categories of the informants will be discovered through listening for their folk terms and phrases called domains. The domains are the larger cultural symbols which include other symbols. Discovering the domains of West Indian families is the focus of the interview. Domains will be discovered by listening to the way people express themselves by using terms that are linked together by means of semantic relationships. People do not talk by using isolated words but they use two or more words in relationship to each other, i.e. linking an object and a condition, i.e. her leg was broken. The goal then is to limit for identification purposes two terms and a relationship. There are a limited number of universal semantic relationships that can be considered, for example:

1.	Strict inclusion	X is a kind of Y
2.	Spatial	X is a place in Y, X is a part of Y
3.	Cause-effect	X is a result of Y, X is a cause of Y
4.	Rationale	X is a reason for doing Y
5.	Location for action	X is a place for doing Y
6.	Function	X is used for Y
7.	Means-ends	X is a way to do Y
8.	Sequence	X is a step (stage) in Y
9.	Attribution	X is an attribute (characteristic) of Y

As the domains are discovered, the practitioner must ask and lead the client into a description of them so that the included symbols can be discovered which make up the domain. The structure of the domain has four features. The cover

term is the word that stands out either because it has certain meanings to the client. It becomes the "window" to the cultural reality of the other person. The second feature of the domain is there are two or more included terms that belong to the category of knowledge named by the cover term. The third feature is a single semantic relationship links a cover term to all the included terms in a set. The last feature is there are boundaries to the domain which means there are things that belong inside the domain and things that belong outside the domain. Since people do not talk in domains but in ordinary conversations, it becomes crucial for the interviewer to suspend preconceived categories and allow the domains to emerge as the interviewer sets a tone of friendly conversation in gathering descriptive information about the domains.

Domain Examples

This phase of the workshop presented analyses of domains or categories of cultural knowledge of West Indian families from the ethnographic interviews using the linkage of two terms or semantic relationships as described above. The language or symbols of the cover and included terms are the folk terms that belong to the native which are descriptions in their own language and represents the way in which they organize their world. Since this social service agency had for its focus a child that might be at risk of placement because of conflict in the family, the domains selected for

analysis were showing respect for parents, being strict with children, child training, and school problems (Figs. 15,16,17,18). The semantic relationships of the included terms as a symbol of the cover term becomes clear. In the domains of showing respect for parents and being strict with children, the included terms are a means to that end which is the semantic relationship. In the domains child training and school problems, the included terms are terms that are kind of, attributes, or strictly included which is the semantic relationship.

In addition to the domain analysis presented in detail above, further analysis can be made of the client's language and cultural knowledge through taxonomic, componential, and theme analysis illustrated in the first part of this project derived from the ethnographic interviews and participation observation of both parents and children in the natural environment of their homes. Taxonomic analysis is the indepth analysis of a few selected domains revealing the subsets and internal structure of the included terms. In componential analysis the focus is on sets of folk terms that are both alike and different but the differences are restricted to a limited amount of semantic information. Componential analysis explores multiple semantic relationships. Theme analysis is the overarching ethos of the culture where the core values, postulates, assertions and principles occur over many domains which give a world view

of the native.

As practitioners we are accustomed to the value and use of empathy in facilitating the helping process. Empathy means being able to understand and identify with a person by symbolically being able to be in his or her shoes. This is not possible without knowledge about and from that person. Ethnographic interviewing becomes a discovery route for understanding and getting into another person's shoes for the affective use of empathy.

In writing up the ethnographic summary the practitioner is able to use the domains with the descriptive language from the family of the included terms which comprise the domain. The interview becomes one that is representative of the client's world view, of his social and cultural reality in his own language and terms.

FIGURE 15

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship: means-ends

Form: (is a way to)

Example: Reviewing notes (is a way to) study

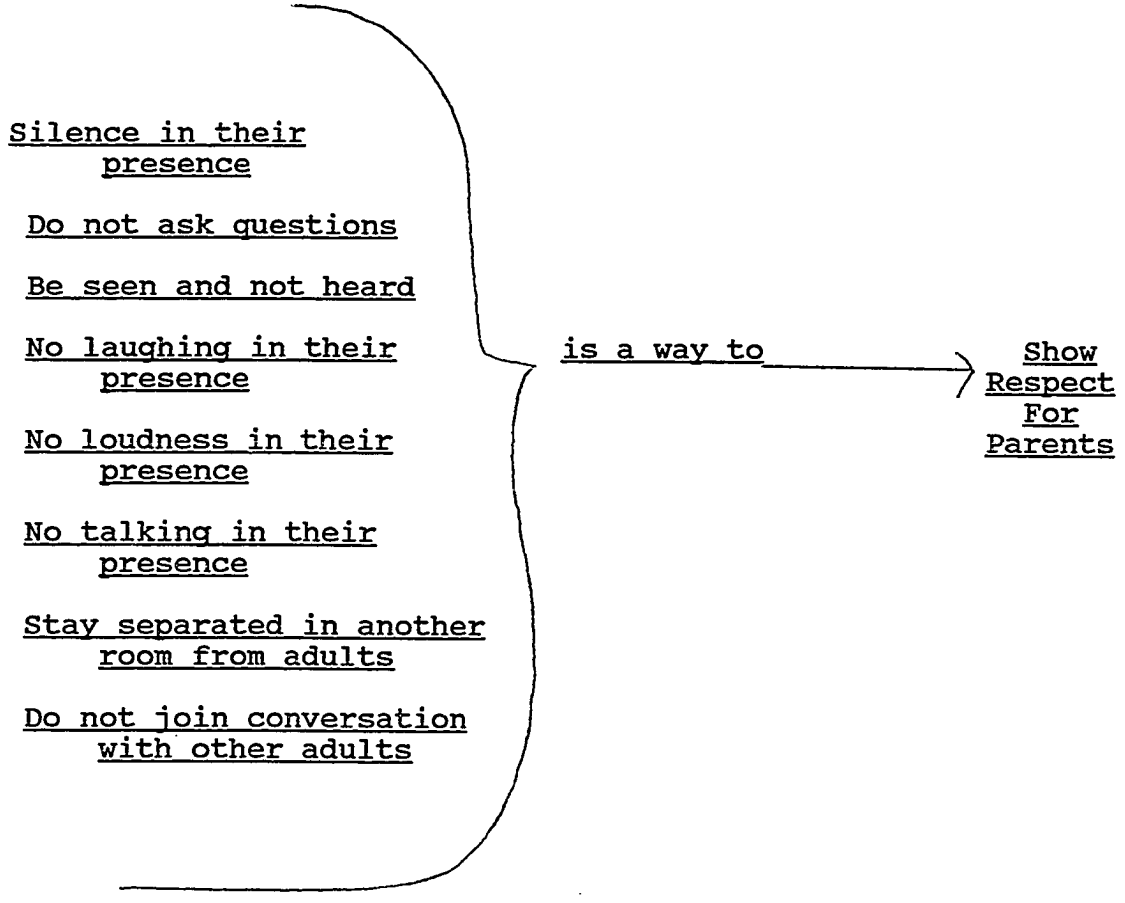


FIGURE 16

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship: means-ends

Form: x (is a way to) Y

Example: Reviewing notes (is a way to) study

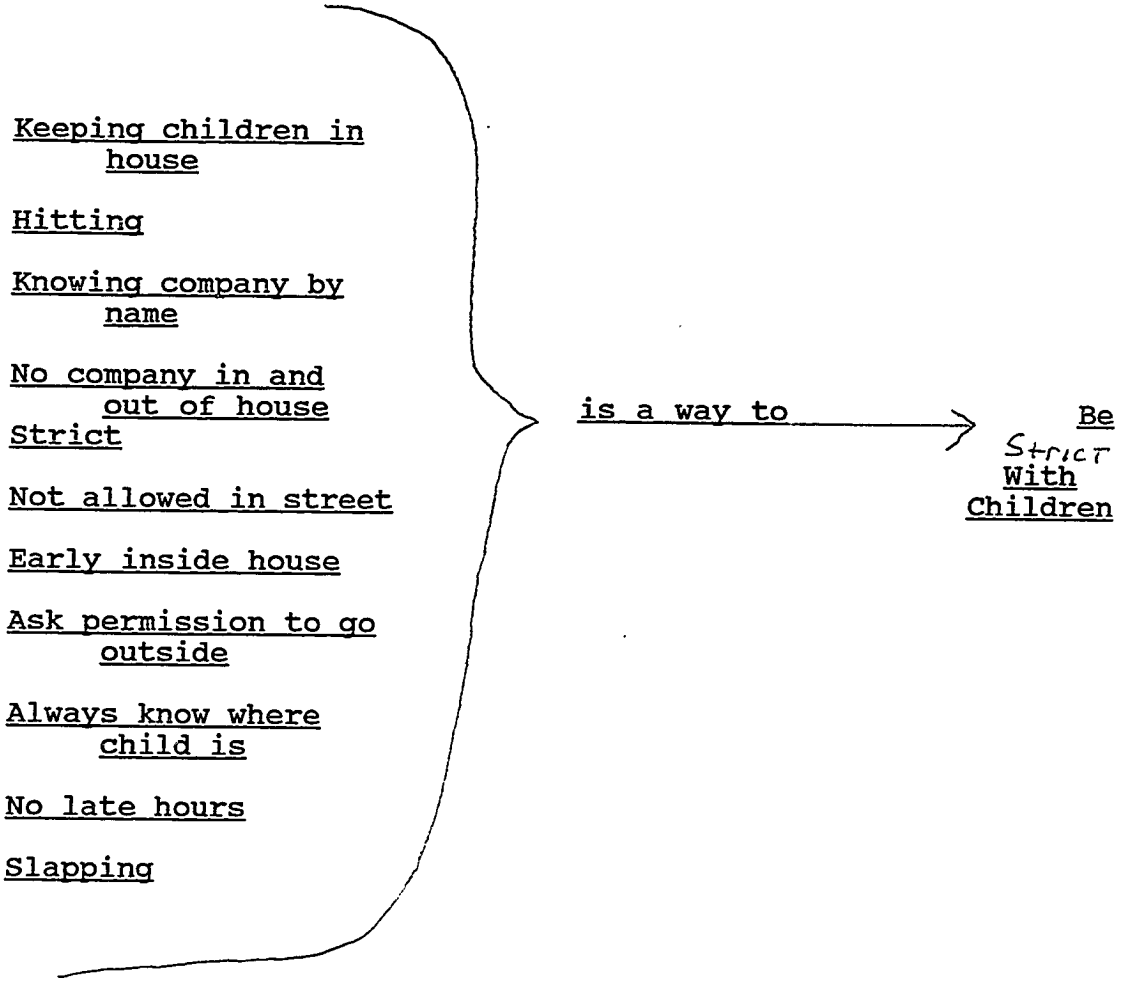


FIGURE 17

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship: strict inclusion

Form: x (is a kind of) y

Example: as oak (is a kind of) tree

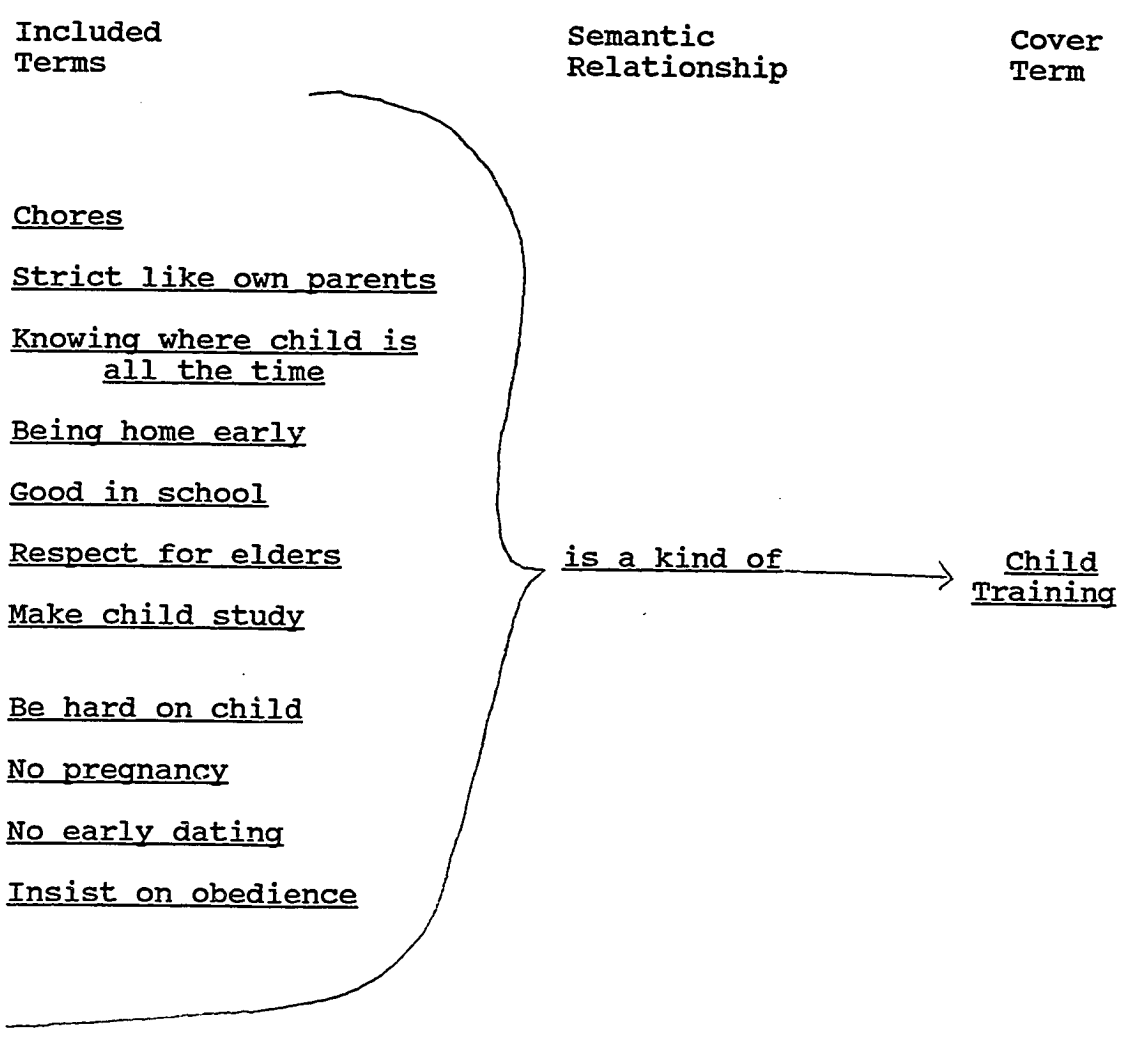


FIGURE 18

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Semantic Relationship: strict inclusion

Form: x (is a kind of) y

Example: An oak (is a kind) of tree

Included Terms	Semantic Relationship	Cover Term
Bad grades		
Not attending		
Fighting		
Talking		
Cutting		
Failing		
Special Education		
Hitting		
Running in halls	is a kind of →	School Problem
Rudeness		
Cursing		
Suspension		
Racism		
Discrimination		
Caribbean Accent		
Being put out of class		
Not doing work		

APPENDIX B

WORKSHOP EVALUATION

The participants in the workshop were requested to respond by written comments (Appendix F). Two of the participants returned the completed evaluation instrument to the researcher on the day of the workshop and the remainder of the participants completed and returned the instrument within one month of workshop implementation. In addition to the written comments, there were personal communications regarding the workshop with some of the participants immediately following the workshop and at later times after the workshop. The following summary of those comments is, therefore, inclusive of both the written comments on the instrument and personal communications with the participants.

All of the participants had affirmative responses to the totality of the workshop, referring to both the process and the content with comments ranging from the workshop being helpful to enthusiastic endorsement of it as very, very helpful and extremely helpful.

Some concepts identified as learning experiences by the participants from the workshop using their own language were:

(1) learning a perspective that allows the language of the client to give you a view of their world.

(2) entering a client's value system and world through their language.

(3) learning about the West Indian family unit and child rearing practices from a perspective of their belief system.

(4) the importance of dealing with one's own racism, prejudices, and ethnicity membership from a perspective of having power or feeling powerlessness before dealing with those same issues of the client.

(5) using culture to empower, value, and understand clients.

(6) using ethnographic interviewing with social work interviewing to understand cultural differences.

The participants indicated the workshop provided immediate applicability in sensitizing them to be better listeners to the needs of clients which they felt would subsequently have an impact on the delivery of the social services. The participants specified the parent-child relationship of West Indian families as illuminated by the domains in the presentation gave them an enlightened perspective and a new technique for interviewing.

All of the participants indicated that the cultural awareness exercise had a strong impact, stirring emotions and provoking feelings and thoughts that are not routinely surfaced with professional colleagues in a group in a social service agency. There was honesty in the conflictual nature of these feelings and the acknowledgement of discomfort as one participant said she liked this part of the workshop the least because of the intraspychic rumblings that it elicited.

This same participant felt she wanted more time for this part of the workshop. After being opened up, she wanted more time to process and talk with the group before trying to make the shift to interviewing clients with cultural differences. Two other participants revealed discrimination and exclusion as members of a minority culture, describing these incidents of their life as instrumental in their career choice of the helping professions.

In a personal communication between a participant and the researcher three weeks after the workshop, the participant said it was a very strong workshop which had caused her to reflect on her early experiences in a way that she had avoided because of residual pain from those experiences. This had accounted for her delay in returning the instrument. The participant said although I had provided psychological safety, security, and sensitivity as a workshop leader, there had still been discomfort during the cultural awareness exercise. This became an opportunity for the participant and researcher to reflect on how difficult it must be for clients to continuously reveal their pain and intimate details of their lives in their request for help from us as helpers.

There was a consensus among the participants that the weakness of the workshop was an insufficient time to deal adequately with all the parts. The time frame of the workshop as implemented was a half day. The cultural awareness exercise and the treatment implications of the research

project were especially noted as needing more time. One participant noted a certain level of frustration of being presented with so much with so little time to process and incorporate.

The additional comments focused on a desire for a return of the researcher to devote more time to all the components, especially those dealing with the treatment implications. There were also requests to hear some of the immigrant stories elicited from the ethnographic interviews. They wanted more discussion of the specificities of West Indians as discovered by the research and an opportunity to explore specific treatment strategies and interventions with the researcher. There was an expression of a genuine desire to meet the challenge of respecting cultural distinctions while providing the needed and requested services.

APPENDIX C

PILOT STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

CASE NAME_____

ISLAND_____

NAMES	SEX	DOB	RELATION-SHIP	EMPLOY-MENT	EDUCA-TION	YEAR OF IMMIGRA.	RELIG.	LIVING ARRANG.
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								

1) Why did this family leave the Island?

2) Why did this family come to New York City?

3) What were the living arrangements on the Island?

A) Rural or Urban?

B) If the children were left on the Island, who was the caretaker?

C) How do they describe their life on the Island?

D) How often do they visit the Island?

E) Do they plan to return to the Island, permanently some day?

4) What language is spoken at home?

PRESENTING PROBLEMS

5) Note Presenting Problem(s):_____

_____

_____

6)Goals:_____

_____

7) Category:

__ Parent-Child Conflict (School)
__ Parent-Child Conflict (Non-School)
__ Marital Conflict

__Other:_____

WEST INDIAN RESEARCH STUDY

PRESENTING PROBLEMS (cont.)

Discipline

8) Discipline techniques/types?

9) What adults discipline?

10) What child(ren) is disciplined?

Agency Contact

11) Hospitalizations?

12) Mental Health Diagnosis?

13) Psychiatric Visits?

14) Prior agency contacts? Number and agencies?

Services Needed

Services Offered/Supplied

Common Themes

APPENDIX D

INITIAL TELEPHONE CONTACT

Hello Mr./Mrs_____

This is Shirley Thrasher. Your first conversation was with me when your requested help for you and your child at the Prevention Agency of which I was the Director. I spoke with you by phone to determine if the Program was the appropriate place for you to come based on your specific needs and the services available at the agency. Subsequently, you and your child began coming voluntarily to the Program to see a caseworker. In the course of these interactions it was discovered you were born in one of the English-speaking Caribbean Islands and migrated to the United States. I am currently doing original research at the Hunter School of Social Work at the City University of New York by conducting interviews with West Indian Families who have immigrated to the United States and have come voluntarily to Prevention Programs to seek counseling and other services because of problems they are experiencing with their children. My interest in this area is a result of my experiences at the Agency. I would like to request your permission to interview you and your child. The purpose of the research is to learn about any cultural distinctions and especially the parent-child relationship. It is my belief that social workers can be the most helpful to West Indian families if they can understand them by learning about them from their viewpoint. The interviews would try to discover distinctions through talking to you and listening to you from your perspective. So that you may have an opportunity to think about the things I have said, I would like to call you back in a few weeks for your decision or any questions your might have. Your decision presents no danger or denial to services you are presently receiving or might request in the future. Any information would be treated with the strictest confidence by disguising identifiable information in the research project and no individual views would be shared by me to anyone. The information would be used in training workers in social service agencies about the cultural distinctions of West Indian families with the hope for appropriate services.

Note: On return call I clarify any of the substantive issues as outlined above and set up an interview schedule. At the initial interview I repeat the purpose of the research again and discuss confidentiality before signature of the consent form.

APPENDIX E

CONSENT

I was told by Shirley Thrasher of Hunter College School of Social Work of a research project she is conducting with West Indian families who have migrated to the United States about their adaptation and experiences as a family unit.

I was told that my participation has to do with conducting fieldwork interviews to learn firsthand about these experiences especially as they relate to the parent-child relationship. The purpose of the research is to understand services that might be needed in social service agencies.

My participation is voluntary and I was told the material will be kept in strictest confidence with no identifiable personal information.

Date:_____

Signature_____

Residence_____

_____

APPENDIX F

WORKSHOP EVALUATION INSTRUMENT

Did your find this workshop helpful?

What were the most important concepts your learned?

Will you be able to apply the concepts with your clients?

Which part of the workshop did you like the most?

Which part of the workshop did you like the least?

Are there parts that you feel need further expansion or deletion?

Additional comments

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