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Jill Rowe-Adjibogoun

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**THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE QUALITY OF LIFE  
FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES IN LIMA, OHIO  
A COMMUNITY HISTORY**

**By**

**Jill Rowe-Adjibogoun**

**A DISSERTATION**

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## ABSTRACT

### THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES IN LIMA, OHIO A COMMUNITY HISTORY

By

Jill Rowe-Adjibogoun

African American males are simultaneously loved, hated, and feared in American culture. Historically, they have been depicted in the mainstream media as violent agents of destruction, and at the same time, they have been admired and idolized for their athletic ability and their creativity as entertainers, most recently as the standard bearers of Hip Hop culture, rap music, and conspicuous consumption. This historical and ethnographic study focuses on the lives and identities of African American males in Lima, Ohio. It utilizes a practice approach and an historical methodology to explore the changing identities of African American males and the structural constraints that have contributed to the normalization of violence in this often isolated segment of society.

The intent is to shed light on major historical events and structural features that have been instrumental in shaping their present day identities. The telling of a local history, through the voices of those who lived through it, is a feature of ethnographic research that validates the lived experiences of the actors themselves and illustrates the social construction of their perspectives on the past. The ethnographic description of local community life and people's experiences and outlooks further reveals the impact of changing structural forces related to social class, (de)industrialization, environmental



changes, the civil rights movement, the school system, familial relationships, community role models, gang affiliation, popular rap artists, and language use. These structural and cultural elements have fused, creating an externalized self where toughness is equated with manhood and an internalized self where suffering is a normalized part of life. In many ways, Lima serves as a microcosm of life for some African American males in other places in the country and as a mirror of historical events that occurred concurrently in other Midwestern towns and cities.



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2004

In dedication to my father, Richard Rowe, who was the wind beneath my wings.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## Introduction

*It doesn't amaze me that we're crazy—it amazes me that we're sane.*  
Na'im Akbar<sup>1</sup>

This dissertation is an examination of organizational dynamics and historical forces that have constructed and impacted the African American community in Lincoln, Ohio. It is primarily concerned with how structural constraints have contributed to the contemporary identity formation of African American males (AAM)<sup>2</sup> living in the city. A structural constraint refers to institutions, public policies, authority figures and civic organizations that mold certain characteristics. They include school systems, public policies, prison systems, employment practices, housing availability and quality, hiring strategies, churches, and public and private individuals. Their structure plays a vital role in the vibrant interplay of a community. Regarding the word structure, a discussion of the meaning implied is warranted.

Structure is the domain that anthropologists operate in as they engage in any type of fieldwork. The term refers to the internal and external factors that makeup an individual's environment. Structural constraints largely deal with institutions that are in constant interaction with one another. They determine what individuals are unable to do in a given society. As such, structural elements affect each person's life in a different way. As evidenced in the literature, some of these constraints are out of

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<sup>1</sup> Na'im Akbar is a noted psychologist who has written a number of books on the psychology of African American males. The quote is from a talk given at Michigan State University on February 19, 2003 entitled, "African American Centered Approaches in Psychology."

<sup>2</sup> The term African American males (AAM) will be used to describe the persons of interest. The use of the word males instead of men shows the liminality of their existence in the population in question in which they are definitely not boys, at the same time they are not men—rather they are somewhere in the middle. Unfortunately, there are no formal rites of passage for African Americans in the United States (U.S.) that symbolize the completion of the transformation from boyhood to manhood.



individual's control (Massey and Denton 1993, Essed 1991), occur through changes in public policy (Wilson 1996, 1987), evolve over time (Farley et al 2000, Scott 1997, Sugrue 1996) or are institutionalized by those in authority (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, Foucault 1977, Willis 1977, Illich 1976). Further, structural constraints are often quite difficult for an individual to overthrow (Sawicki 1991, Foucault 1980).

The theoretical stance employed is practice theory, which focuses on agents, systems, social relations, and domination and resistance strategies. Practice approaches assert the primacy of human action and interaction, or what people are actually doing, over what the rules state should be done. They presume that people strategize and make choices rather than enact or react to scripted dictums. Moreover, it assumes that choices have political implications, though people are not always aware of them.

The theory largely focuses on resistance to dominant culture by the agents themselves (Devine 1996). An examination of cultural materials, specifically qualitative interviews and lyrics to the music listened to by these particular AAM, reveals that culture is both a structuring and transforming process. Furthermore, this study demonstrates the use of institutionalized structures to both contain and restrain the actors. It illustrates how contemporary AAM occasionally view rules and regulations as contrary to their own interests and either resist them openly or conform to them under pressure from those in authority. This methodology provides examples of the ways human beings dialectically create, resist, and accommodate themselves to prevailing ideologies and shows that there is an active nature of both domination and resistance among AAM living in the Lima area.



Feminist theorists (di Leonardo 1998, Abu-Lughod 1993, Sawicki 1991, Hill Collins 1990, hooks 1990, Lock and Scheper-Hughes 1990, Ortner 1984) have critiqued the earlier work of scholars<sup>3</sup> of both post structural and practice theory as being sterile and devoid of the people involved. The aim of this study is to provide those missing voices through the collective memory of the actors themselves. Analysis of the contemporary situation steps beyond the literature that focuses on African Americans as people acted upon (Ferguson 2000, Fine and Weis 1998, MacLeod 1995, Kotolowitz 1991) by presenting their agency in response to historical forces.

The choice of Lima as a field site is significant because I believe that it is the social scientist's moral obligation to conduct research in a community to which he or she has a sense of commitment. Because I am a former resident of the city, this ethnography is an insider's view of the African American community there which is a critical feature due to the difficulty involved in writing about a population that has been deemed bad by the larger society. People who have been demonized in a particular social context are often much more complicated than one is led to believe. Further, these demonized selves belong to a larger more complex community where they do not exist as one-dimensional entities but are multi-dimensional. As such, the formation of their external and internal selves is impacted by a number of sources both from within and outside of the larger structure of the society. Their true sense of self is ever changing, depending on their individual habitus, and the historical, political, and social events and figures that impact their lives.

Because of my belief that anthropology is the study of history in the present, emphasis is placed on the collective memories of people living in Lima, both currently

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<sup>3</sup> I am referring specifically to the previous work of Foucault (1977) and Bourdieu (1977) here.



and in the past. According to Climo (2002), shared memories are important to anthropological research because they inform human societies. He goes on to say that the significance of the language used in the construction of these collective accounts is that it is often representative of both the resistance of the dominated to the larger power structure and the effectiveness of the powers of domination on identity formation. Frequently, it is the only type of resistance available to those who do not maintain powerful positions in society and is an example of an everyday form of resistance (Scott 1985).

Shared memories are material examples of the integration of Appalachian dialect<sup>4</sup> in the African American speaking patterns characteristic of the area and can be attributed to the historical mixing of the two cultures (Hartigan 1999, Feather 1998, Wray and Newitz 1997). Official records indicate that European Americans from Appalachia arrived at the same time that African Americans did (Hirisimaki 1986, Hipp 1971). Evidence of this connection is witnessed both in contemporary and historical speaking patterns of various community members. The use of language structures also points to the role of social isolation and the affects of segregation on the development of collective identities (Massey and Denton 1993).

This historical journey is divided up chronologically, and informants' responses have not been edited to reflect the speaking patterns of the language of wider communication (Smitherman 2000). The historical significance of this feature illustrates changes in the structure, metaphors, and street dialect of the language in use in Lima's

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<sup>4</sup> Appalachian dialect is a feature of the speaking patterns evidenced by the choice of verb tense utilized by the local population. Examples include the use of come instead of came, and seen instead of saw. It is a dialectic feature of community members who hale from the upper south, specifically, Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. People from these areas of the south came to Lima during the migrations of the 1830s (Selfridge 1981, McGee 1980).

African American community. Language studies conducted by Rickford and Rickford (2000) suggest that the use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) has shifted further away from Standard American English (SAE) on a national level. They explain that it is an indication of the effects of the ever-increasing levels of social isolation of economically disadvantaged members of the African American community. Their analysis concludes that many African American children who live in hypersegregated environments are becoming either unwilling or unable to shift to SAE when the social or educational situation requires it.

Another critical element in the shaping of the collective identity of African Americans is the word used to distinguish them for the time period in question. Historically, they have been identified by a variety of derogatory and non-derogatory terms. Often, the choice of the appropriate categorical descriptor was imposed on them by the larger structure with little or no input from the people themselves. Some common differentiations include Negro, Nigger, Coon, Jungle Bunny, Colored, Black, Monkey, Afro-American, and African American. The changes in the term used to identify them had a profound effect on how African Americans were viewed by others, how they conceived of themselves, and their connection to the rest of the world. Informants' word choices will not be altered and each period under discussion will adhere to the name the people themselves utilized during that time.

To gain a firm grasp of the historical factors that influenced the lives of African Americans living in Lima, I began to look through the archives at the library in the Allen County Museum. During this investigation it was noted that the history of African Americans in that city was reduced to two black boxes in a back room on a top shelf.

Investigation into the boxes revealed a series of newspaper articles, unpublished papers, historical studies, census records and other important primary source materials. After many weeks of sorting through the documents, I began to realize that in order to understand the contemporary identities of AAM in Lima; I must first understand the African American history of the town. As this level of inquiry progressed, various community stakeholders<sup>5</sup> came forward to share their individual family histories, family documents (largely in the form of family bibles, scraps of paper with important events written on them, and family photos), old newspaper accounts of events that had taken place in Lima, and obituaries from the local newspaper. I was also given a copy of an historical documentary, funded by the *Ohio Arts Commission*, which featured local actors (See Appendix E).

As I reviewed the documents, a range of topics began to surface. The most prevalent of which included localized accounts involving churches, businesses and industries, schools, area politics, segregation, housing and employment practices. The recurrent themes that emerged included: the growth and decline of area industries and their impact on the local population, the role of black churches, the impact and consequences of segregation, economic inequalities, the types of employment available to African Americans living in the city, the quality of housing and schools, the role of politics, the role of structural constraints, public policies, terrorism, discrimination by law enforcement and public school officials, and under-representation in local politics. Topics and themes were enriched by the agency of the African American citizenry who had either lived through or participated in the events discussed. The spirit of resistance to

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<sup>5</sup> Community stakeholders are those members of the population who have a vested interest in what is written about their lives. Their input was vital in providing the voices of the people being discussed in the narrative.

the hegemonic infrastructure provided rich insight into the process of reacting both to and against historical forces. Finally, the historical events that occurred in Lima, though specific to that city, are a mirror of events that concurrently took place in a number of midwestern cities. A brief historical sketch of localized events follows.

The African American presence in Lima began in 1830, with the settlement of pioneers in what would later become Allen County. They migrated from states that comprised the Upper South, specifically Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and North and South Carolina, as freed, manumitted—meaning they brought their freedom, or runaway slaves (McGee 1980). Selfridge (1981) indicates that many of the early African American migrants came with skills, land that had been willed to them by their former slave owners, and money to purchase real estate in the area. Frazier (1957) suggests that the Upper South consisted of states where the plantation system of agriculture did not flourish allowing some African Americans to hire their time out and eventually buy their freedom, a process that is also called manumission. It supplied both the income needed to buy farmland and developed their skills as mechanics and skilled artisans (Frazier 1957). Lastly, historical documentation indicates that they were also active in early politics of the time (Hipp 1971, McGown 1921).

Settlement into the area was a time of great transition for the local African American citizenry. Further, many of them were able to purchase land and establish a better life for their families. An interruption of their quest occurred when some European Americans who, in response to their fear of economic competition from the new settlers, enforced structural constraints (in the form of public ordinances and terroristic actions)





that hindered their settlement in the area. The never ceasing disputes between the two groups led many African Americans to resettle in the city of Lima (McGee 1980).

As African Americans moved into Lima they were largely segregated in the Westend of town and limited to employment in positions where they were subservient to the local European American population. Their main occupations were in the capacity of servants, housekeepers, laborers, barbers, maids, and porters (Selfridge 1981). Additionally, they made their life in Lima under the watchful eye of a faction of the Klu Klux Klan (KKK), called the “Black Knights” (McGown 1921).

In the 1930s, Lima’s African American community, along with the rest of the nation, experienced the Great Depression. Jobs were scarce for area European Americans and even more scarce for African Americans. Nevertheless, they were able to weather the storm and continued their segregated life in the Westend of town. The period signaled a national shift in African American political affiliations from alliance with the Republican Party or the party of Lincoln (Schweninger 1978) to the Democratic Party or the party of Roosevelt (Frazier 1957).

The 1940s were marked by a new migration of African Americans that was spearheaded by the Ohio Steel Foundry (Davis 1978). They were recruited by the steel foundry for laborer’s positions left vacant by European Americans who were serving in World War II (WWII) and to fill the demands on the industry to supply the war’s need of steel products. The southern states of the Mississippi Delta—Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, and Georgia—were representative of the home states of this stream of migrants (Gale 1978). As such, they came to the area with a shared history of a segregated life as sharecroppers, controlled and enforced by the violent racial structure of



southern white hegemony (Hale 1998). Housing for the new arrivals was limited to a group of trailer parks owned by Ohio Steel in the Southend of town. Thusly, their lives can be described as a type of Northern sharecropping in which they lived in homes provided by the steel foundry, worked in the steel foundry, were transported to and from work and shopping by busses supplied by the steel foundry, and shopped in stores owned by the steel foundry (Gale 1978). The circular nature of the process validates the sentiment of popular blues music of the period in which musicians proclaimed, “I owe my soul to the company store” (Titon 1994).

Lastly, the new group of migrants was viewed as a threat to the identity of the first group of African Americans that were the servant class and confined to the Westend of town. A division between the two, largely based on perceived differences in social class, quickly developed. The conflict resulted in an antagonistic divide involving the inhabitants of the Westend and the Southend that continues today.

The 1950s witnessed the development of social and political organizations among the local African American’s. Two significant institutions that surfaced were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Bradfield Center. Local citizens began to channel their activism and effectively challenged the segregated system in place. Sparks of unity between African Americans living in the Westend and Southend were beginning. Unity was further developed with the guidance of prominent African American church figures, i.e. charismatic ministers and church mothers.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The term church mothers is culturally specific and refers to African American women with strong alliances to the black church. They function in the administrative and financial arm of the church and have a stake in determining church policy and procedures.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, African Americans in Lima experienced the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements that swept the country (Gales 1978). The fundamental point of these organizations was that there was a problem with the system, specifically, that it was not inclusive of all Americans. As such, they represented a struggle by the agents themselves to change the system.

During this time, there was a displacement in the language from Negro to Black that had a constitutive effect on the black social experience and ensuing identity. The shift occurred as African Americans began to question the meaning of the term used to describe them. According to Taylor Gibbs (1988), Negro designated the inferiority and pathology of African Americans, which resulted in stereotypic treatment, while Black symbolized African American achievement of race consciousness and unity. The sentiment was enhanced by a marked progression toward self-improvement (Harper 1996).

Malcolm X (1970) saw the changes in the terms used to describe African Americans in a different way. Negro, according to X, denoted subservience to the white power structure. Nigger was a term that referred to predictable Blacks that harbored racial stereotypes of what it meant to be black in the white mind. Black was an identity marker that provoked inclusiveness and unity and broadened the black experience to include all nonwhites in the world. He allocated the systematic use of the word by people of color worldwide and viewed this as the catalyst needed to begin to transform the entire system.

The change in language and shifting collective identity was evidenced in Lima by the formation of proactive black churches, a branch of the Black Panther Party, and

student protests in Lima area schools. These acts led to the most active period of mass rebellion and unrest in the area. Additionally, antagonistic relations between the Lima Police Force and local area AAM was solidified and continues to plague the city.

The 1970s were a period of prosperity for many local African Americans (Davis 1978). The intense work of the earlier civil and political organizations resulted in an increase in their employ in area industries. One predominant characteristic of the citizenry was a blue-collar mentality.<sup>7</sup> Lifetime employment in the manufacturing sector became a goal of many of the city's inhabitants. The socioeconomic structure experienced dramatic changes as workers began to acquire real estate, automobiles, and middle class lifestyles. Roles of local area churches began to shift from that of political leadership to socialization. New leadership flourished with the creation of a new art form that was labeled rap music and AAM were primarily the innovators of the genre. Early practitioners of the art form provided a creative outlet for the region's youth.

During the 1980s, Lima endured the strain of "Reaganomics" and the ensuing recession that earmarked that administration. Many of the local factories began a process of downsizing, which resulted in a loss of employment for area citizens. There was an exodus of some of the college educated and politically aware class who left in the pursuit of viable economic opportunities. At the same time, a string of legislative policies were enacted by the Reagan administration that funded the erection of correctional institutions (Kitwana 2002). The city's infrastructure followed the trend and converted the mental hospital into a correctional facility. The resulting prison system provided over one

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<sup>7</sup> Blue collar mentality, in Marxist terms, refers to the ideologies of the class of industrial wage earners who, lacking either capital or production means, must earn a living by selling their labor (Harvey 1990). It was characterized by a 40 hour work week and physical and manual labor. Moreover, it offers little incentive towards future orientation, or pursuance of individual business ownership. As such, it is a crucial element of capitalistic enterprises.

thousand jobs, which boosted the economy. Introduction of this means of production affected community race relations as European Americans predominantly held the prison jobs and African Americans, primarily males, surfaced as the inmates. High incarceration rates of AAM in local facilities shaped their view of the world and themselves. Rap music was reflective of their shifting identities as some of it began to focus on the significance of institutionalization in the African American community.

In the 1990s, Lima became home to three correctional facilities by adding a privatized prison to the registry. Simultaneously, there was a sharp decrease in funding for recreational activities for youth. Correctional experiences continued to color life for local AAM and connections to prominent gangs were established through involvement with the system. Gang membership was associated in familial kinship terms and became a rite of passage for some AAM in the area. This was especially true for those among them who had never been included in the formal economy and took advantage of the informal economy by utilizing the most profitable resources, primarily the sale and use of drugs and firearms, to finance their operations. Due to an increasing availability, these two vices flourished in the local underground economy. The combination of social isolation, mass incarceration, disenfranchisement, and lack of recreational outlets resulted in an atmosphere that fostered gang involvement, firearms, drugs, and the normalization of incarceration for some AAM. Popular rap music reflected the internalization of these norms and artists began to surface as the voice and leadership of area youth. Though African American churches were respected and continued to maintain their distinction as one of the oldest institutions in the community, they lost their appeal to many youth, which limited their voice and effectiveness in their former leadership role.





Regarding the contemporary situation, currently, there are 40, 081 citizens in the Lima area (Federal Census 2000). Of that number, European Americans make up two-thirds (27,776) and African Americans make up one-third (10,614) of the citizenry (Federal Census 2000). Single family homes continue to dominate the community landscape, however, this characteristic has been impacted by a recent trend in which massive foreclosures of locally owned properties has replaced individual ownership (See Table 13). Some local industries include the following: a division of Ford Motor Company that specializes in making engines for light trucks, Premcor, which produces petroleum products, and a division of Proctor and Gamble that produces *Downy*, a brand of liquid laundry detergent (See Table 6). Main employers in the city include: St. Rita's Medical Center, Lima Memorial Hospital, Ford Motor Company, Allen County, Premcor, Lima Schools, and Lima Correctional Institute (See Table 9).

Ravages of deindustrialization are evident in the unemployment figures (See Table 5) and over abundance of vacant buildings that clutter the panorama. Business growth is dominated by service-oriented industries. Examples include check cashing stores, Rent-A-Centers, pawnshops, fast food restaurants, Super Goodwill Stores, fingernail shops, cell phone shops, and large low quality retail clothing and houseware chains. The absence of parks, recreational facilities, banks, bookstores, libraries, and large retail grocery outlets is starkly evident. Signs of the beginnings of a limited community renaissance are witnessed by the construction of a new senior high school and the county commissioner's attempts to revitalize the downtown area. Like many cities in the nation, Lima has experienced economic flight from the inner city; those with the



financial means have moved to suburbia, while the economically disadvantaged have remained in the deteriorating metropolitan area.

In summary, this dissertation is an historical journey into the African American community in Lima, Ohio. The intent of this methodology is to shed light on the major historical events and structural features that have aided in the social construction of the identity of AAM in the city today. Evidence will be given that suggests that they were shaped and determined by a number of factors, including the school system, the prison system, popular rap artists and music, community role models, economic status, familial relationships, community-police relationships, language, and gang affiliations. The major question I seek to answer is "How have structural constraints impacted the identities and quality of life for AAM living in Lima?"

## Methods

The methods I used in collecting the data were participant observation, archival research, life history narratives (See Appendix A), in-depth interviews (See Appendices B and C), literature reviews, attendance at political and social community events—specifically Family Reunions<sup>8</sup>, media sources, a local documentary (See Appendix E), family documentation from the Goings, Williams, and Brown families, and analysis of rap music and the writings and photography of the AAM in question (See Appendices F, G and H). Additionally, each community participant was asked to sign a consent form (See Appendix D). This methodology is culturally specific and relevant, as the history of African Americans has largely been handed down through oral methods, and kept alive by families getting together, especially for reunions and funerals. In this sense, what emerges is a rich social history of how ordinary people lived and thought.

Historical archival resources included: county documents, specifically the *Allen County Censuses* of 1840, 1870, and 1880, annual reports from the *Allen County Health Department*, the *Allen County School Board*, the *Allen Economics Development Group*, the *Ohio Department of Health: HIV/AIDS Quarterly Statistical Summary*; the *US Federal Censuses* of 1950, 1990 and 2000, the *US Department of Justice: Uniform Crime Reports* 1997; local area literature, both published and unpublished (See Allen 1931, Bennett 1969, Bowsler 1994, Davis 1978, Gales 1978, Hackman 1958, Hipp 1971,

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<sup>8</sup> Family Reunions are a primary source when compiling histories of African Americans in the U. S. They are essentially yearly gatherings of kin from all over the U. S. and consist of participants bringing a potluck item, and meeting and discussing family histories. I am a member of the annual Goings Williams Family Reunion that has been meeting on the first Saturday in August at a park in Defiance, Ohio since 1919. Family oral histories are passed down from one generation to the next at these affairs. Adero (1993), sites the passing down of oral histories at yearly family gatherings as one of the major ways that African Americans have been able to preserve family histories throughout the major migrations from the South to the North.

Hirisimaki 1986, McGee 1980, McGown 1921, Selfridge 1981, The Spring Quarter History Class of Ohio State University the Lima Branch (SQHC) 1971, Stark 1993, Stemen 1998, Watson 1976, Williamson 1931, and *Wren Historical Publication: From Greenwood to Wren 1837*); local area newspapers, specifically, the *Lima Daily*, the *Lima News*, the *Lima Times Democrat*, the *Allen County Democrat*, and the *Lima Voice*; and a locally produced documentary, entitled, "Hats, Handkerchiefs, and Fans," (Scott 1993).

A key archival source that I employed to describe the community life in the voice of those who lived through early historical events in the Lima area was unpublished data from 26 citizens who participated in a study conducted by the now deceased Lima area resident Vera Gales entitled, "The Spedy Historical Research Project" in 1978. Consent forms, transcriptions of interviews and tape recordings of those interviews were available to me through the archives in the library of the Allen County Museum. Interviews were transcribed verbatim from their original tape recordings, which is a research feature that is crucial in reflecting differing variations in speaking patterns among the local African American population.

Participants in the current research study included community members, school administrators and teachers, and AAM themselves. There were a total of 54 participants, 27 of which were AAM and 27 community members. The 27 AAM included: athletes, musicians, students, high school dropouts, night school students, gang members, independent contractors, fathers, brothers, and sons. The 27 community members included: parents, school administrators and teachers, and community stakeholders. All of the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed by the author of the report. I began the research in December 2002 and ended in August 2003. During the term of the

research I lived in a variety of living situations, both in private rooming houses, and in different community member's homes.

The archival research encompassed spending long hours in the library at the Allen County Museum searching through two very large boxes that were marked "The Black History of Lima." Committed, community members who were pleased that someone from Lima was writing about the Black History of Lima in an organized and structured way further bolstered archives. Family documents were shared with me, which proved to be crucial in gaining the level of depth needed to understand life for African Americans in the earlier part of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Further, a local private historian who had been collecting the history of Lima's African American citizens for 20 years also assisted me in this quest. Her collection consisted of original documents, historical Black Newspapers, photographs, and a 20-year collection of *The Lima News* (which is the local mainstream paper). Her database consisted of piles of newspapers and archival documents stored in rooms in five of the houses she owns throughout the Lima area. I felt quite honored and privileged when she sent word that she would allow me access to these archives. The private historian imposed conditions on the use of her historical documents, specifically that she must accompany me as I read and made copies of newspaper articles. This research feature added an element of both the lived experience of the private historian and provided information that was not available in the historical collections of the Allen County Historical Society.

A series of interviews (See Appendices B and C) were conducted in a variety of locations throughout the community including private homes, restaurants, recording



studios, local area shopping centers, local area bars, dancing establishments, churches, business establishments, work environments or wherever the people being interviewed chose to meet which was a feature that allowed more freedom and provided the greatest access to the most people. Conducting interviews in this way was extremely helpful in obtaining a holistic view of life for AAM in the city of Lima.

Additionally, life history narratives (See Appendix A) were used to structure the individual interviews of the 27 key participants which enhanced the research by providing a conversational style, establishing trust, and breaking down initial barriers. Each participant was asked to describe his life as a book starting with chapter one and progressing forward until he chose to end the book. The final question asked was what the title of the book would be.

I gained knowledge of the initial seven participants in the study when I volunteered in a literacy program conducted at Lima Alternative High School during the fall of 1999. Through volunteering I became acquainted with both the students I assisted and their mothers. This bond was nurtured and continued throughout the 2000/2001 school year which proved helpful in establishing rapport and developing a mutual trust between myself and members of a population that are labeled at-risk.

This aspect of my volunteer position became particularly relevant to me because the mothers that I interacted with were far different from how they are depicted in the media (Dickerson 1995, Vaz 1995). Many of the mothers wanted their sons to do better in school and constantly talked about them graduating from regular school and staying out of trouble. Some of them understood that the goal and mission statement of alternative school was not to graduate students or prepare students for the job market but



to control behavior (Starks 1993). Through these interactions I became acquainted with gatekeepers and key members of the neighborhood and further developed my sense of commitment to the community.

Lastly, a rough draft of the dissertation was distributed to several local historians, a local music historian, and interested community members a feature that was in keeping with the general tone of the research that prefaced the voices, recollections, and memories of those being studied. I will also be presenting the findings at the annual African American History Program at the Bradfield Community Center in Lima in February 2004, to members of the Allen County Historical Society in their annual "Lima's Histories" event in September of 2004, and at the annual Goings Williams Family Reunion on August 7, 2004. A copy of the completed dissertation will be given to the society for inclusion in their "Black History of Lima" archival collection.

## **Chapter 1: The Early Black Settlers**

*We seldom study the condition of the Negro today honestly and carefully. It is so much easier to assume that we know it all. Or perhaps, having already reached conclusions in our own minds we are loath to have them disturbed by facts. And yet how little we really know of these millions—of their daily lives and longings. W.E.B. DuBois<sup>9</sup>*

### **Early Settlements**

In 1803, the state of Ohio was founded on land inhabited by the Shawnee Nation. In 1817, Pe-Aitch-Ta (Pht), the leader of the Shawnee Nation signed *The Treaty of the Foot of the Rapids of the Miami Lake* with the U.S. government (*The Lima News* February 23, 2003). The treaty gave his people 25 acres of land in the present Shawnee Township for their reservation.

Allen County was established on April 1, 1820 (Hirisimaki 1986). In September 1812, Colonel Thomas Poague and his command built Fort Amanda and installed sawmill operations and a shipyard to supply the U.S. Army and Navy with scows for the navigable Ohio Rivers (Hirisimaki 1986). The area was officially part of the Northwestern Ohio Congress Lands, which were surveyed by Captain James Riley in 1820 (Hirisimaki 1986). The 1820 survey led to the annexation of 440 square miles of the former Indian Territory into Allen County and was attached to Mercer County for judicial purposes (Hirisimaki 1986). In 1824, the first organized government was formed when Christopher Wood established the township in Allen County (Hirisimaki 1986).

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<sup>9</sup> W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903: 101).

### First White Settlers

The first known white settlement was Sugar Creek and was located in Bath Township in Allen County (Hackman 1958). The first families in this community included the Woods family and five other white families in 1824 (Hackman 1958).

Another white settlement was established in the county in 1825. It was called Hog Creek and was founded by Samuel McClure, Joseph Walton, and Joseph Ward, and built on the banks of Hog Creek about five miles southeast of the Sugar Creek settlement (Hackman 1958). In 1831, the first Allen County officials were appointed and charged with laying out a town to be the seat of the county government. Northwest Ohio sat in an area known as “The Black Swamp Wilderness”, which was a wetland forested in maple, beech, oak, hickory, and ash trees (*The Lima News*, February 23, 2003).

The city of Lima was founded and incorporated when the first city council convened on March 29, 1842, on a 160-acre land tract (Hackman 1958). The judges of the newly formed Court of Common Pleas in Allen County appointed the first county officials and named Christopher Wood the first town director (Hackman 1958).

Ten years after it’s beginning, Allen County numbered 578 residents and after making Lima the county seat, it continued to grow (Hirisimaki 1986). In 1845, the Miami-Erie Canal was completed, opening the area up to businesses (Hackman 1958). By 1850, the Allen County Census records show 12,116 residents. According to Hackman (1958) the main stream of growth can be attributed to the local lumbering enterprises and migrating workers seeking to better themselves. In 1854, the first railroad came through Lima (Hackman 1958). By the fall of 1856, the township consisted of four school districts and 63 households (Hackman 1958).

## First Black Settlers

Though the historical record indicates that black settlers moved into the area at the same time white settlers did, there is a lively debate concerning who, exactly, the first black settlers to the area were (Selfridge 1981, McGee 1980, McGown 1921, Williamson 1931, *Wren Historical Publication* 1837). Research into the matter reveals that the first government documented record of blacks in the area was in 1840 (Allen County Census 1840).

The Allen County Census of 1840 reports that James Robinson and his family were possibly the first black family (Selfridge 1981). Selfridge explains that James Robinson was a farmer and that both he and his wife Martha were illiterate. His name appears as both Robison and Robinson on that census. Robinson and his family were reported in the early Allen County Marriage Records of 1837 as the first black family in Lima (Selfridge 1981).

This claim is contested by oral tradition that holds that the first black man in Lima was a man named Banks who married a white woman named Brown (*Wren Historical Publication* 1837). According to family documentation, Banks was a farmer and owned a farm on Findley Road, west of the McCullough Lake (Williamson 1931).

A newspaper clipping (*The Lima News* February 16, 2003), historical publications and family documentation disclose that Godfrey Brown, a former slave of John Randolph of Roanoke, Virginia, was the first black man to settle in the area. According to the historical documentation, *Wren Historical Publication* (1837), Brown reportedly purchased release for his family and moved to freedom in the Xenia area in 1830. There Brown, a minister, founded Middle Run Baptist Church, now the oldest black church in



the state of Ohio (*Wren Historical Publication* 1837). Further, Brown is reported to have founded a cemetery, which has become the final resting place of many blacks that moved to Ohio for freedom from Virginia slave owners (Brown family documentation).

According to family records, Brown was granted freedom on March 7, 1820, when he was 52 years old. He was the son of slave parents of an agricultural and tobacco slave owner. Further family documentation verifies that slaves freed from the Randolph's estate began arriving in the Wren area of Van Wert County in 1837.

The oral account is problematized by oral tradition that states that it was not Godfrey Brown, but his grandsons William Harvey Brown and James Brown, who were the members of the family to make their way to Van Wert County. They were reported to be the sons of Godfrey Brown's son Samuel, also a minister. William and James are reported to have left the Xenia area to move to Van Wert County to join an already flourishing black community that had settled in the area (Brown family documentation).

An informant in an unpublished paper from the Spring Quarter History Class of Ohio State University Lima Campus retells the Lima connection to Godfrey Brown that has been passed down through oral tradition by his ancestors in 1971. In that paper Brown's ancestor explains the relationship in the following way:

Godfrey Brown, a runaway slave, joined the Revolutionary Army where he became renowned for bravery. His former owner, hearing of his valor, gave him his freedom at the close of the war. Somehow, Godfrey Brown made his way to Van Wert County where in 1780-85, he is reputed to have purchased for 25 cents per acre over one-eighth of the county. His family held title to this land (intact) until the Civil War. One of his descendents is still the owner of a large farm in the county. Mr. E. Elmer Brown and Mr. Bert King of Lima are descendents of that pioneer.

Upon analysis, the dates given for Godfrey Brown's arrival to the Ohio area are in conflict, which stems from differing accounts of collective memories, family documentation, and the historical record. Taking all of these sources into consideration, the significant thing about the settlement of Godfrey Brown, is that his descendents are still living and thriving on the land he purchased in Van Wert County, Wren, Ohio (*Lima News* February 16, 2003). Land purchases of other early black settlers are no longer in the hands of their descendents. According to historical scholars of the area, this is largely attributed to the impact of structural forces, namely in the form of unrecorded land deeds, the establishment of terroristic broad signs posted throughout the area, and segregation of available resources that was based on skin color (McGee 1980, Watson 1976, Bennett 1969).

### First Black Families

A paper by Captain Peter McGown<sup>10</sup> in 1921 appears to be the first written history of Allen County's black community during the Civil War period. Although McGown does not provide the date of the first black family settling in Lima, he does record the name of the first black child born in Lima as Viola Moss, daughter of John and Becky Moss. According to Selfridge (1981), the information could not be verified through county records, but is supported by oral tradition that holds that she died in

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<sup>10</sup> According to Selfridge (1981), Henry McGown was a black man who was enlisted in the 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Infantry during the Civil War and was assigned to Detroit as a cabinet maker to assist in the manufacturing of coffins. He came to Lima in 1870 as a carpenter from Kentucky owning \$400 in real estate. His wife, Anna, was also from Kentucky. They had five children, one of whom was Peter McGown. U.S. Army Captain Peter McGown was a prominent war hero. He served as an American soldier who fought in several Indian campaigns and also served in the Philippines. He is best known for his bravery in Cuba during the Spanish-American War for which he was awarded to the Distinguished Service Corps and the Distinguished Service Medal. He served in the 10<sup>th</sup> U.S. Calvary in the Spanish-American War under 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant John Pershing. His services were refused in World War I (WWI) because he was 80 years old. He was a respected member of the Black community in Lima.

infancy. Another of the early black children reported in Allen County, was James Robinson. The Allen County Census of 1840 records that he was born in 1837 and list him as the son of James and Martha Robinson.

Between the year 1837 and 1849, at least thirteen black families moved into the Lima area (McGown 1921). Additionally, it is known that the James Moss residence on South Union Street was the apparent center of social activity for the growing black community (McGown 1921). It may also be noted, that in describing the recreational and social life of the early black pioneers, McGown does not mention any contact with the white community. The finding may indicate that blacks were segregated socially from whites in the area.

### Origins of the Early Black Pioneers

Who were the early black settlers? Where did they come from? Were they escaped slaves or freemen? Additionally, who were the early white settlers and where did they come from? According to a talk on “Black History” given by local historian, Elizabeth McGee on November 16, 1980, to the Allen County Historical Society in Lima, the passage of the Black Laws was one tool that effectively limited which early settlers would be able to remain in the area. Her explanation is as follows:

Although Ohio was considered a free state that forbade slavery it passed a series of Black Laws. In 1804, 1807, 1829, and 1830 that eroded the civil and legal rights of its black population and that discouraged settling in the state. Examples of these laws were: 1) Blacks and Mulattos were not allowed to settle in the state unless they could produce freedom papers issued from some court in the U.S. 2) Blacks already living in the state must register with the county clerk 3) Newly freed Blacks were forbidden to enter the state unless they could provide a \$500 bond signed by two white men guaranteeing their good behavior and support 4) Blacks were not to be counted when determining the number of elected seats to be filled in the general assembly 5) Blacks could not benefit from the law providing



for the maintenance of the poor in the state since the law applied only to legal residents and they were not considered legal residents 6) Blacks were denied admission to the state common school system and prohibited from sharing the state common school fund.

This document is an example of how structural forces, in the form of Black Laws, were instrumental in barring blacks from settling in Ohio. McGee (1980) goes on to explain that in spite of laws and economic conditions, blacks continued to settle all over Ohio and in 1849, the Black Laws were finally repealed. The finding indicates that blacks were actively resisting structural forces.

Further, she summarizes that the black population that was successful in settling consisted of two predominant groups. One group was made up of people who had established their freedom by legislation, by military service, by deed or will, by birth, by self-purchase, or by escape. The pattern of migration for the first group was usually in an Easterly-Westerly direction (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969, Woodson 1918). Examples of this group of early settlers were the Robinsons and the Browns. The other group consisted of fugitive slaves—their migration pattern was in a Northerly direction, as such they were always on the run (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969, Woodson 1918). An example of this group was Joel and Wesley Goins<sup>11</sup> (Goings family documentation).

Further, Selfridge (1981) reports in *A Directory of Blacks in Allen County Prior to 1883* the following demographic information. The list is compiled from the federal census, city directories, county histories, previously prepared reports, early county marriage records, and from the reminiscences of prior citizens as reported in articles and

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<sup>11</sup> I am a descendent of the Joel Goins family who came to the Ohio as a runaway slave from the Hughes slave plantation in Kentucky (Williams' family documentation). Joel Goins was significant to the early African American settlers because his son, "Doc" D.C. Goings, who was born in Rumley, Ohio in 1839, would emerge as the local area faith healer. His skills in alternative health practice earned him respect throughout the area (Hipp 1971). In the contemporary context, the name Goins has been changed to Goings and the Goings-Williams family reunion has been celebrating his contributions to African American identity in the area annually since 1919.

papers. Selfridge (1981) notes that no effort was made to search Lima newspapers for the mention of blacks, or to search any records at the Allen County Courthouse.

- They were largely from the following Southern states: Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee. Additionally, there were a few from Mississippi, Arkansas, Indiana and Canada.
- Many came as laborers with the following skills: engineers, barbers, farmers, teamsters, draymen, seamstresses, merchants, barkeepers, stone masons, machinists, plasterers, brick masons, blacksmiths, whitewashers, tailors, carpenters, missionaries and ministers.
- Some of their occupations included: wood sawyer, car builder, restaurant clerk, laborers, servants (the job classification was specific to black women who were in-service to white families), farm laborer, day laborer, housekeeper (the job classification was specific to black women who worked in the homes of wealthy white families), tannery worker, house mover, groom, domestic, washer woman, hairdresser, saloon cook, and sawmill worker.
- Many were property owners; specifically they owned their own farms and various real estate in the county. (Selfridge's document gives a detailed account of the amount in dollars of the real estate each person owned).
- There was no listing of any of the early black settlers in the professional classes, specifically as doctors, nurses, dentists or undertakers. "Doc" D.C. Goins is an example of the resilience of community members regarding their health care.

- Quite a few of the early black settlers took in boarders<sup>12</sup>, both white and black. Some of the black men, particularly those from Virginia, married local white women as they settled in the county.
- The businesses in Lima that employed many of the early black settlers were: Lima Handle Factory, French House (a restaurant), Lima Paper Mill, Shade's Livery Stable, The Lima House (a restaurant), Lima Gas Company (they were employed lighting gas street lamps).
- There was an even distribution of both literate and illiterate people among them. The finding is significant as McGee (1980) and Watson (1976) record that a manual training school for blacks had been established in the area by August Wattles, a Quaker from Connecticut, in 1835.
- A few of them were listed as prisoners in the Allen County Jail.<sup>13</sup>

In 1978, Lima resident Vera Gales conducted a research project entitled, "The Spedy Historical Research Project" (SHRP 1978). The aim of the project was to gather together a history of black residents of Lima. To date the data gathered from that project has never been formally analyzed or published, however, tapes of oral interviews conducted by her research team were transcribed and donated to the archives of the libraries of the Allen County Museum in Lima, Ohio. Data gathered from those oral interviews is fruitful in depicting the types of employment Lima's early black residents were engaged in. An example from an interview in that project is as follows:

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<sup>12</sup> In his classic work, *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) W.E.B. DuBois finds that taking in boarders was prevalent among blacks living in the seventh ward of Philadelphia as well.

<sup>13</sup> The first actual courthouse was built in 1832. The small hewn-log structure was two stories high and also housed a jail and the county offices (*The Lima News*, March 2, 2003).



**Q:** So you're a native Lima resident?

**A:** I'm a native of Lima.

**Q:** What year were you born?

**A:** 1894

**Q:** So you've been around for a good little bit?

**A:** Yeah, except for the help of the good Lord, I wouldn't never made it.

**Q:** So what kind of work did you do then?

**A:** I started out doing a little bit of everything, kind of work whatever I could get to make a piece of money and I finally started, I settled down to doing porter work. The first job I had, real steady was at Albert's Beauty Parlor, a white place and I worked there four years and a half.

This finding is consistent with other scholarship, which documents the types of employment available to blacks (DuBois 1899). The only employment available to many of the migrating blacks was restricted to service to the white population a process that fostered the growth of dependency and discouraged independency of this segment of the population. McGown's (1921) composition is insightful here, as he states that local whites were much more comfortable with blacks in the roles of servitude which he felt maintained the superior-inferior status among the two groups.

### Origins of the Early White Pioneers

Who were the early white settlers in Ohio at this time? McGee (1980) states the following:

By the 1850s the white population in Ohio consisted mainly of three groups. The Scotch and Irish from Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky had settled in the Southern counties along the Ohio River. They were opposed to slavery but were staunchly resistant to the presence of free

blacks under any circumstance, because of their economic threat.<sup>14</sup> Another group was the New England contingent that settled in the Western Reserve Region down to around Marietta. Their Puritan background opposed slavery morally and they could accept free blacks as long as they were an idealistic image in their minds. But when they came in contact with them, they generally went along with the severe Southern Ohio thinking. The third group of whites was the Quakers who came from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. They settled in the Central and Southeastern counties and resolutely maintained their humanitarian idealisms and their strong religious beliefs enabling them to fight for better treatment of blacks<sup>15</sup> (McGee 1980).

The details of the migratory patterns of white settlers indicate that they came into the area at the same time as blacks. A crucial difference between the two is that whites were able to settle anywhere they liked without fear of being harassed by blacks who were arriving at the same time. This finding validates McGown's (1921) earlier observation regarding superiority-inferiority and the advantages of white skin privilege.

#### Early Black Settlements: Rumley and Carthegena

According to the historical record, there were a number of early black settlements. They were specifically, the village of Rumley in Shelby County, the village of Carthegena in Mercer County, and smaller unnamed black settlements in Van Wert and Paulding Counties (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969). An understanding of events that occurred in two of the settlements is a crucial element regarding the migration patterns of the early blacks that settled in the Lima vicinity. Thusly, a brief history of the villages of Rumley and Carthegena is warranted.

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<sup>14</sup> In *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940*, Hale (1998) makes the same observation.

<sup>15</sup> In *Mountain People in a Flat Land* Feather (1998) confirms the finding.

### The Village of Rumley

The village of Rumley was an early black community founded by Joel Goins and his brother Wesley when they purchased 400 acres of land on the Indian Trail between Lima and Piqua in 1830 (McGee 1980, Hipp 1971). The Goins brothers were reputed to be runaway slaves from the Hughes plantation in Northern Kentucky (Williams's family documentation). They changed their name to Goins so they would not be captured and sent back to slavery (Williams's family documentation). They were soon joined by various groups of black settlers including free blacks from Baltimore who pioneered their way westward to join the new community (McGee 1980). Oral tradition holds that Rumley was a part of the Underground Railroad, which added to its attraction. It was also a natural rest stop for the stagecoach, which led to the construction of an inn and livery stable and to the establishment of stores, a saloon and industries—specifically, a brick factory, a sawmill, and a gristmill (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969). The Rumley community also supported three black churches, among them the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) and the Baptist (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969). Both denominations were founded in Lima shortly after the Rumley churches were established (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969).

In 1837, a group of free blacks migrated to Rumley. Two of the new black settlers were Solomon Lott and John Robinson who both received land deeds equaling 120 acres apiece signed by then president, Martin Van Buren (McGee 1980, Hipp 1971, Bennett 1969). From there the population of Rumley continued to grow to over five hundred people (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969). The village continued to flourish until

1865 when a broadside warning to blacks appeared throughout Shelby County (McGee 1980). The contents of the sign were as follows:

**WARNING!!!**

To Negroes in Shelby County

At a meeting of the I.O.O.N.A. it was resolved that in consequence of the late influx of Negroes to some parts of this county, especially near Romley (sic), Daysville, and vicinity, and in consequence of their bad conduct, insolence, and competition with white labor and other numerous causes it was resolved to give you

**WARNING!!!**

That you must arrange your business and depart within sixty days from this date, or by the 20<sup>th</sup> of November 1865, or measures, already adopted, will be taken to make this location unhealthy for you. Our means are adequate, and it is a duty we owe our families, ourselves and society to use them promptly

September 15, 1865 By Order of I.O.O.N.A.

(Source: McGee 1980)

The poster was reflective of what was happening to free blacks throughout the nation and led to a panic which resulted in the massive exodus of early black settlers and their families (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969). Many of them migrated to other towns including Lima, Dayton and Toledo (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969). In this regard, McGee's (1980) talk and the supporting document of a copy of the actual broadside warning sign is significant. In a number of historical documents, newspaper accounts and local literature no explanation is given for the drastic decline of black settlers in the Rumley area after 1865. A paper written by the Spring Quarter History Class of the Ohio State University Lima Campus (SQHC) in 1971 makes no reference as to the reasons early black settlers vacated the Rumley site. The paper concludes the discussion of Rumley with the following statement, "Today at the present site of the Rumley settlement, there are few remaining black families."



## The Village of Carthegena

Rumley was not the only black settlement in Northwestern Ohio. Carthegena was another significant early black community in the area (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969).

Carthegena is of further significance to the area as it is reputed to have served as a station in the Underground Railroad before emancipation (McGee 1980).

In the historical document "From Greenwood to Wren" (Wren Historical Publication 1837) the date given for the establishment of the Village of Carthegena is 1837, by the freed slaves of John Randolph of Roanoke, Virginia. The document supporting the event states specifically,

Randolph's will provided for the emancipation of his 318 slaves and also funds for their support. Between 30 and 40 ex-slaves were granted deeds from 40 to 60 acres of land in Mercer County, Wilshire Township. The administrators of the estate sent two agents to Mercer County to assist freed slaves in settling. Eventually the size of the community had grown to 125 Negro male voters (Wren Historical Publication 1837).

McGee (1980) counters this claim, and provides the following account of the events that occurred in Carthegena concerning the freed slaves of John Randolph.

August Wattles, a Quaker from Connecticut established a manual training school in 1835 in the then sparsely settled Mercer County. Blacks from Cincinnati were encouraged to settle there. The community developed to such an extent that by 1840 a black named Charles Moore planned the village of Carthegena, which consisted of 64 lots. Some of the black residents were employed in Celina. Some of the whites attempted to run them out of the area, but that attempt failed. The peacefulness of the settlement, however, was to be short-lived. White settlers began to move in and encircle the black homes. Complaints were constantly made that the residents of Carthegena were sheltering runaways. The pressure on the black population to leave the area was to increase considerably with the migration and attempted settlement of the Randolph freed slaves.

Who were the Randolph freed slaves? John Randolph was a brilliant and eccentric slaveholder from the Roanoke Virginia area. His original will in 1819 gave his slaves their freedom and made provisions for relocation in

another state upon his death. However, his last will, written January 1, 1832, contradicted his manumitting of his slaves. On his deathbed in May 1833, Randolph remembered the contradictory nature of his wills. Therefore, he remarked to an attending doctor in an earnest manner, "I confirm every disposition in my will especially that respecting my slaves, whom I have manumitted and for whom I have made provision."

After his death, a dispute followed with his heirs pertaining to which will was valid. After almost 13 years of litigation, the courts in May 1846 recognized the first will as valid; and a William Leigh was duly recognized as Executor of Randolph's estate. During those thirteen years, the slaves were still kept in bondage and hired out. Leigh then traveled to Mercer County to make arrangements to buy farmland (near where the town of Celina now stands) to have local people build the houses and supply the food and to leave the bond money. In early June, Leigh led the group of almost 400 newly freed slaves to the Ohio River, then by boat to Cincinnati and up the Miami-Erie Canal by canal boats to Mercer County. But alas, the German settlers had passed several resolutions, which made their position perfectly clear on the matter of these new colonists coming to their area by their adoption of these resolutions:

- 1) Resolved: that we will not live among Negroes, as we have settled here first, we have fully determined that we will resist the settlements in this county to the full extent of our means, the bayonet not excepted—(this was aimed specifically at the Randolph folk, Resolutions 2 and 3 were aimed at blacks already living in the area)
- 2) Resolved: that the Negroes of this county be requested to leave the county on or before the first day of March, 1847, and in the case of their neglect or refusal to comply, we pledge ourselves to remove them, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.
- 3) Resolved: that we who are assembled pledge ourselves not to employ or trade with any Negro or Mulatto person in any manner whatever or permit them to have any grindings done at our mills after March 1, 1847.

When the Randolph contingent arrived in the village of Carthegena on a Sunday in July 1846, they were met by a vicious group of Mercer and Auglaize white residents armed with pitchforks and guns. After a bitter confrontation, the newcomers were put on chartered boats and were escorted, by the armed white citizens back to the county line. Some of the blacks stopped off at Sidney, others went down to Piqua, Troy, Lima and Cincinnati. Leigh returned to Virginia, giving the power of attorney to someone else, who in turn sold off the land. Neither the Randolph folk, nor their descendants ever received any compensation because the land was never recorded in their names (McGee 1980).

This account is problematized by the living relatives of Godfrey Brown, that state that he was one of the former Randolph slaves. Their claim is confirmed by historical record, family documentation and the fact that they are still living on the original land purchased by Godfrey Brown (Brown family documentation). The finding may indicate that at least one, if not more of the freed slaves of the Randolph plantation were successful in resisting the structural constraints imposed on them by the early German immigrants.

The recorded incidents of terrorism toward the Rumley and Carthegena blacks may have been the force that served to bolster the growing black population in Lima. Interviews from SHRP (1978) support the Rumley/Carthegena/Lima connection. Examples of the connection from the project's oral interviews are as follows:

**Q:** Where are you originally from?

**A:** From Carthegena, Ohio.

**Q:** Were your parents also from Carthegena?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** Did you attend school in Lima?

**A:** No, I attended school in Carthegena, the elementary school, and I went to high school in St. Mary's Ohio (SHRP 1978).

Another interview from that project further details the connection:

According to my information we've gathered through my black friends, there was a colony of black settlers over around Van Wert in the early 1800's, 1827 or 1847, I'm not sure. They were given 750 acres of land by their owners down south that freed them. They brought this land and turning free they settled up on it. I think there was another colony down by Anna, I don't know if land was involved there, there was another one in Shelby County, I believe, I think there were 3 groups settled in the general area, and there's one family I understand that still owns 157 acres of land around Van Wert County, the original ranch that they had. These folks,

many of them came in to Lima and worked as domestics and stable hands and gardeners, many of them chauffeurs and carriage drivers and so forth for the well to do (SHRP 1978).

### Early Social Life of Lima Area Blacks

What is known about the social life of early blacks in Lima comes from *The Lima Times Democrat*, a monthly black newspaper of the period. In the January 25, 1878, issue references are made of “Black Camp Meetings” that were held quarterly at the Allen County Fair Grounds. A summary of some of the activities that occurred at these events gathered from articles in the 1878 edition of *The Lima Times Democrat* are as follows:

- Held annually at the fairgrounds for many years
- Both Methodists and Baptists participated
- Fairground especially decorated
- Tents used as living quarters for staff
- As a rule good order was maintained
- Horse car service maintained to fairgrounds from the square during the period of the meetings
- Services held several times on Sundays and at least twice on week days
- Music usually excellent—Negro chorus from Lima frequently furnished the music—Negro Spirituals sung by entire audience drew crowds
- Both blacks and whites attended the meetings and white ministers often spoke
- Methodists held their meetings in July or August and the Baptists in September—the meetings lasted about 10 days—one day was always given to “Temperance Meetings”
- At least 20,000 people visited the fairgrounds during the meetings

*The Allen County Democrat*, which was another county wide black newspaper of the time, describes “Black Emancipation Day Celebrations” in the area. The October 5, 1887 edition of this paper features the following headlines:

Colored people celebrated Emancipation Day at the Fairgrounds  
Ft. Wayne, Delphos, Troy, Lima, Sidney, Piqua, Findley, Dayton

McGown (1921) makes reference to these celebrations and states that they were held every year at the “Old Fair Grounds” in Allen County. He goes on further to state that

they were well attended by blacks from all the surrounding counties and adds that large potluck meals were passed around and dances accompanied by fiddle music rounded out the night. The celebration of Emancipation Day by early blacks is consistent with findings from other historical sources on this part of the country (Smith 1999, Thomas 1992).

The black population in Lima continued to flourish during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Information from the Allen County Census of 1870 indicates that there were at least 63 blacks in the county at that time. The Allen County Census of 1880 reveals that by that time the number increased to 260.

#### The Role of the Early Black Church

During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the church played a central role in the lives of blacks in America and as well as the Lima (Raboteau 2001, Franklin and Moss 1994, DuBois 1899). In 1858, St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopalian (AME) Church was founded (Stark 1993). The church founding indicates that there were enough blacks living in Lima to start a church. As the population grew, new black churches were started. In 1873, Second Street Baptist Church was founded (Stark 1993). Later, in 1917, Fourth Street Baptist Church was founded (Stark 1993).

The following narrative in the unpublished paper by the Spring Quarter History Class (SQHC) (1971), concerning the history of the black church in Lima, demonstrates the connection between the Lima/Rumley/Carthegena black populations.

The first black church in Lima was St. Paul's AME. It was started in 1858 by the reverend Father Grafton Graham. A Mrs. Rebecca Howard, whom had previously pastored, was instrumental as well. At first the membership was small and they met in their homes, where a Mr. Hudson

preached to them. Then, through the efforts of a Mr. James Robinson (he is also listed in the Allen County Census of 1840 as the first black settler in the area, additionally he later became a steward and then pastor of the church) an old school building at 666 West Spring Street, was purchased, and the new church was dedicated by Bishop Paul Irwin and attached to the Carthegena Church to form a circuit. Services were held there until 1876, when it was sold, and a former Presbyterian Church at the corner of Spring and Elizabeth Streets was purchased under the administration of R.P. Clark. The North Ohio Conference was formed in this church at the September 6<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> session of the AME Ohio Conference in 1882. The church was remodeled in 1893, when the Reverend Major W.T. Anderson was pastor, and a lot at 1103 West Spring Street was purchased.

The second notable black church in Lima was founded in 1873, when Reverend Revells, seven other people and the help of Reverend Shelton of Rumley organized the Second Street Baptist Church. Services were held in a hall over Langan's grocery store on the Northeast corner of the Public Square and Main Street. A Reverend Meredith served as pastor. Later the meetings were moved into the Stamets Block on the Southwest corner of Market and Union Streets, then to the home of Mary Moss (a member) on South Union Street, where it remained until 1876 when the present site at 520 West Spring Street was purchased at a cost of \$700 from Charles and Elizabeth Samison on May 15, 1876. There was a four room dwelling on the property, which was converted into a one-room church. The mortgage on this property was burned in 1886, and the Articles of Incorporation were filed with the State of Ohio on February 19, 1889. The first new frame church was completed in 1890, and in 1891 the original dwelling was remodeled to serve as patronage. By 1893 the membership had increased to 115, and the Reverend Moss served as supply minister.

The third and last black church during that period was the Fourth Street Baptist Church. In 1917, with the leadership of Reverends Leroy and William McGee, this church was organized. For a short time, the seven members met in their homes, and then a storeroom on the corner of Norval Avenue and Fourth Street was rented for future services. In the latter part of November the church became a part of the Northwestern Association. Services were held in this building until 1919 when the membership had grown to 45 (SQHC 1971).

These three churches played a significant role in connecting Lima area blacks to the larger community, providing social welfare, and spiritual solace. As such, they were the center of the community, which is a finding that is consistent with previous scholarly research on the subject (Raboteau 2001, Franklin and Moss 1994, DuBois 1899).



Black church formation illustrates the development of leadership in Lima's black community. Agency surfaced in the form of early ministers who served as moral, spiritual and political guides and used the church to offer a variety of social services for the neighborhood. Some of the services provided were concerts, suppers, socials, fairs, literary exercises and debates, plays, excursions, picnics, and celebrations (DuBois 1899). Additionally, it was one of the most financially stable institutions in the black community (Raboteau 2001). The significance of this cannot be understated as it was funded by the community at-large; therefore, it was one of the first grass roots organizations. According to DuBois (1899), early churches were the birthplace of all the agencies that wanted to promote the intelligence of the masses because they were the leading institution where news and information was disseminated. Lastly, they were responsible for providing a moral foundation and recreational activities for area youth.

#### Early Black Politicians in Lima

In correlation with the national trend, many of the local blacks were members of the Republican Party (Schweninger 1978, Watson 1976). The Republican Party was the party of Lincoln; it was the party, which had given them freedom (Frazier 1957). The Democratic Party, on the other hand, was the party of the southern white men who had been responsible for lynching, disenfranchisement, and segregation (Frazier 1957).

Several sources from around the Lima area document that early black Republican Party members were active in precinct work. A clipping from *The Lima Times Democrat* (1888) indicates that William H. Wilson, a black man from the Lima area, was bidding for the Republican nomination for mayor during the spring primaries of 1888. There is



no evidence as to the success of his campaign; however, the fact that any black person would even try to run for office at such an early date is very significant. In the March 23, 1888 edition of *The Lima Times Democrat* in an article entitled, "Colorline" a Lima area black citizen provides the following assessment of Wilson's run for office and his subsequent campaign.

One of the most distressing and disrespectful things under observation for some time is the refusal of the *Gazette* to announce the name of Wm. H. Wilson, a highly respectable colored man, as a candidate for mayor. It would certainly be in accord with the American idea for personal liberty to pay due respect to all men irrespective of color or nationality, providing they are men of character, and they should receive equal recognition.

The finding indicates that black people in the Lima area were attempting to resist the larger power structure by exercising their right to participate in politics. It is also interesting to note that Lima area blacks did not refer to themselves as "Negro" but preferred the less derogatory term of "Colored".

On March 25, 1888, an article that appeared in *The Lima Daily*, the white newspaper of the time, reflects the white sentiment of Wilson's aspirations. In that paper Wilson's candidacy is viewed as "an attempt to use the colored vote to further schemes of the politician managers" and states that "there is no disposition on the part of the Republicans to give him the nomination for the position."

### Race Relations

The literature is scarce regarding race relationships between local area whites and blacks. However, that is not to say that they did not occur, in this regard the SQHC (1971) reports the following incident:

The incident happened in 1888 between the Negroes and Irish Americans. It started in the Del Flora Saloon when Negroes and Irish Americans were there together. Someone started the song, "Don't Like a Nigger, No How." An exchange of words was followed by an exchange of fists. In the melee, an Irish boy by the name of Pat Hughes was getting a drink of water from a pump outside the saloon when he was knifed by Fred Harrison, a Negro. The boy died and violence erupted. There were other injuries from this incident, but no other deaths.

The historical clash continued to plague the black and Irish community in the Lima area. Evidence of the clash emerges with the integration of blacks from the Deep South to the Southend of Lima in the 1940s. The Irish communities' response is that they flee from the area.

### Early Black Businesses

In the 1870s and 1880s, historical records divulge that Lima area black's organized a number of mutual aid, secret and beneficial societies a finding that is consistent with prior research (Frazier 1957, DuBois 1899). DuBois (1899) describes the formation of these societies in other Northern black communities and details them in the following way. "Essentially all that was required to join these societies was a small initiation fee and small monthly payments. These payments supported members when they became ill, or in the case of the death of a member these fees went to pay funeral expenses and help the widow" (1899: 221). Some organizations formed in Lima included the Occidental Lodge #44, Free and Accepted Masons, Lima Lodge #2355, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, the United Brothers of Friendship, the Sisters of the Mysterious Ten, and the Morning Star Lodge #15 (SQHC 1971). The presence of early social organizations illustrates the agency of area blacks in pooling their resources to help each other and become self-sufficient which made them central to the social life of the

black community. According to DuBois (1899), similar societies were prevalent in numerous Northern black communities and provided social intercourse and insurance against misfortune. Next to the church they were the most popular organizations.

#### Early Industries: The Rockefeller Connection

Around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Lima was becoming much more industrialized. In 1870, John D. Rockefeller and several others formed the Standard Oil partnership to own refineries in a handful of major cities. Rockefeller emerged as the only person interested in building a refinery in Lima after oil was discovered (Stemen 1998). Using three million dollars of his own money he brought the land and established the Buckeye Pipe Line Company to gather and store the product (Stemen 1998). The refinery was built in 1886, by Standard Oil and turned Lima into a booming oil town until 1910. Whether blacks worked in the oil fields during that time is unknown.

Additional prominent industries of the time were:

(Source: *The Lima News*, March 2, 2003)

- 1840: A doomed brick courthouse was erected. The jail was located in the back of the building
- 1879: Lima Locomotive Works began producing locomotives
- 1880: The first telephone system was installed
- 1884: business man Faurot opened an electrical generating plant

- 1886: Standard Oil Refinery opened<sup>16</sup>
- 1887: city's first horse drawn streetcar

The establishment of industrial plants shaped and influenced the Lima environment in a number of ways. The legacy of these industries surfaced in the high prevalence of environmental pollution in the area, which has been linked to high rates of cancer in cities with similar production (See Table 12). Recent construction of two cancer treatment centers is evidence of the growing problem.

### Conclusions

Historical evidence supports the following characteristics of the early African American settlers in the Lima area: many were landowners (Selfridge 1981, McGee 1980, Hipp 1971, Bennett 1969); some owned and operated their own businesses (Watson 1976, McGown 1921); others came to the area with skills (Selfridge 1981, Bennett 1969); and most came in search of a better life for their families (Brown, Goings, and Williams families documentation). Their quest was interrupted by the terroristic tactics of early European American settlers who feared economic competition (McGee 1980). The endless disputes between the two groups led African Americans to resettle in the city of Lima (McGee 1980, Hipp 1971). Once they resettled in the Lima area, their agency was exhibited in a number of ways including: the establishment of social institutions, organizations and significant community events, activity in area politics as participants in

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<sup>16</sup> In 1900 the breakup of Standard Oil was ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court. In the mid-1990s the refinery was ready to close until 1998 when Clark USA agreed to buy it from British Petroleum. In 2000 Clark changed its name to Premcor. Today (2003) the refinery employs about 400 people and sits on 650 acres. The petroleum products produced there are gasoline, diesel and jet fuel, commercial propane and heavier fuel oil. Currently (2003) the refinery produces 25% of the gasoline sold in the state (*The Lima News*, March 2, 2003).

the election process and as political candidates, and produced and maintained their own newspapers which could indicate that there was a level of literacy among them.

## **Chapter 2: Life for Blacks from 1900 to 1950**

*For, while the tale of how we suffer, and how we are delighted, and how we may triumph is never new, it always must be heard. There isn't any other tale to tell, it's the only light we've got in all this darkness. James Baldwin<sup>17</sup>*

### **Early Black Businesses**

The 1900s proved to be as segregated for Lima's black community as the prior century, though there was no actual segregation law. The city's black residents remained largely constricted to the Westend. McGown (1921) writes that in 1920 many blacks owned their own homes and many took advantage of their education. He does not provide names of the available educational institutions, but states that black children were part of the public school system in the Lima area.

McGown (1921) stresses that the majority of the black community lived in the same area, which indicates the degree of segregation they had within the larger community. He goes on to say that they were law abiding and were found in business and other professions. The names of two of them were Hicks Brothers Barber Shop and Busher's and Oglesbee's Freight Shop (McGown 1921).

He details the following concerning their employment possibilities. Many of those that came to Lima between 1870 and 1900 were servants and laborers (McGown 1921). In 1892, a group of blacks was brought in to pave the public square and Main Street (McGown 1921). One profession that some blacks were in was the barbershop

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<sup>17</sup> James Baldwin, "Sonny's Blues," quoted in Gerald Early, *Tuxedo Junction: Essays in American Culture* (New York: Ecco Press, 1989), 307.

business<sup>18</sup> and in these establishments they were only allowed to cut the hair of whites (McGown 1921). The following account from SHRP (1978) is illustrative of this practice.

**Q:** Okay, I also wanted to ask you about the black businesses around here in about 1920 to 1930?

**A:** Let me see, the barbershops, they was quite a few way back there in the 20s, colored barber shops were the head, most of them, they were good barbershops, but the better barber shops had white trade, was about three I know of but mostly had white trade and they had other barber shops colored went to, but the best shops had white trade for quite a while til that run out, til it died out. There were a few restaurants and things like that. A colored restaurant around and they had a saloon, they had two or three saloons, restaurants, nightclubs and beauty shops and a few poolrooms, stuff like that.

In 1914, the Southend of Lima had grown large enough to support the opening of several civic organizations. The first was a small mission project that functioned, primarily, to assist local black children. It initially began as the Mission Union, which was a forerunner of Church Women United, and eventually succeeded in opening a Sunday school to accommodate the growing black community. Sometime later, a weekday kindergarten was initiated and the name of the project was changed to the Mizpah (which means Watch Tower) (SQHC 1971). In 1938, the Bradfield Center was opened to provide recreation for black children and in 1939, the Lima Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was formed (SQHC 1971).

There have been blacks on the Lima police force since the 1890s, which is a unique finding because scholarly investigation reveals that this was not the case in other cities around the country (Stolberg 1998, Fine 1989). Bowsher (1994) notes that there

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<sup>18</sup> This information is consistent with other scholarly work on early black occupations, specifically DuBois (1899).

were three black policemen on Lima's police force. Beyond stating that there were black police officers, he fails to provide the details concerning their duties. However, the fact that they were in the department is significant as it indicates that the police force was one of the first organizations to integrate in the Lima area.

### Industrial Growth Continues

In the early 1900s, Lima experienced growth in the following large industrial operations.

- 1907: The Ohio Steel Foundry began in Lima under Harry Wright and John C. Calvin Jr. It was a leading employer in the area for many years.
- 1910: The Standard Telegraph Academy began training area residents as telegraph operators.
- 1915: The Garford Motor Truck Company began operating—Garford trucks were used for farm work and assisted the federal government during WWI.
- 1916: The Steiner Brothers opened a machine shop.
- 1920: Lima had become a major thoroughfare for train traffic with eight steam railroads operating locally.
- 1924: Superior Coach opened (the name later became Sheller Globe).
- 1936: Westinghouse operations began in Lima as the "Small Motors Division." (Source: *The Lima News*, March 2, 2003)

The rapid influx of industry is significant to the entire population. Current research suggests that they produce industrial waste that is harmful to overall health, a finding that will play a key role in the social construction of a dependent blue-collar working class (Fine and Weis 1998).





### Segregation:<sup>19</sup> Early Formation of Class and Ethnic Boundaries

During this period of massive industrial growth in Lima, there was little economic or social movement for blacks. In fact, the city remained segregated, and the majority of blacks remained confined to the Westend. Data gathered from SHRP (1978) helps explain the phenomenon. The informant came to Lima in 1901, when she was 2 years old.

**Q:** When you were growing up could you tell me what it was like because I know there wasn't so many homes and everything around here?

**A:** Well I lived there on Elm Street and there seemed like there were a lot more homes there than there are now, they tear them down and make parking lots out of them now. At first Elm Street was just a dirt street, there for a long while before it was paved and there weren't many cars, everybody was riding horses and buggies and sleigh riding and all that other stuff. And I forget just when the cars did start because there were very few. People would go home from church and they would walk right out in the middle of the street and come home at night or the day and go home. There used to be a lot of people living out here in the Westend. We used to call it Clipton.

**Q:** How did it get its name Clipton?

**A:** I don't know how, what caused that, it seemed like there was a separation line or somehow it seems like West of Collett they used to call it Clipton and curl around to about Woodlawn and they had their boundaries at one time. In the Southend, Eastend, Northend, and not many colored folks went north of the railroad and the Eastend, I don't know, they had a separating line.

Another response from that same series of interviews from a white informant who moved to Lima in 1913 is descriptive of the city's ethnic segregation patterns.

During that time, the early 1900s, the Southend was made up of different groups, primarily Italians, some Russians, some Czechoslovakians, some Lithuanians and Polish but more Italians, the Irish mainly were up North, the Italians were primarily brought to work on the railroads by Italian

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<sup>19</sup> Segregation, as defined by Norrell (1985), is the system of laws, customs, and residential patterns that separated blacks and whites that whites used to control blacks after slavery.

families here, indentured to them over in Europe and they gave them off for their transportation and in bringing them over here.

Other evidence of how segregation—or the general tendency for blacks and whites to live apart—affected early blacks is indicated by McGown (1921) when he discusses how it carried over into their social lives. According to his account, prior to 1914, all of the local theaters accepted blacks unconditionally. In 1914, a southern white man bought the three major theater houses, the Royal, Dreamland, and the Strand. After the change in ownership, blacks could only come to the theater on specific days. In the 1920s, Hoover Park was designated as a place that area blacks could use for picnics and for swimming. Streetcars of the time carried signs which signified that whites were given priority and were allowed to fill as many seats as needed. The rest of the seats were left for black passengers.

In the 1890s and early 1900s, Lima began to attract black doctors who were needed to serve black patients, a finding that is consistent with other scholarship on the subject (Dagbovie 2003, Woodson 1969). McGown (1921), reports that the early black doctors in Lima were Dr. Howard, Dr. Beam, Dr. Peters, and Dr. Bradfield. Dr. Bradfield stands out for his pioneering work in integrating the local medical facilities and for his work in promoting recreational facilities for the city's black children. He was born on February 19, 1889, and attended Starling Medical School and the Medical Department of Ohio State University. Additionally, he served in the Medical Reserve Corps in WWI (McGown 1921). Locally, Dr. Bradfield was on the staffs of St. Rita's and Memorial Hospitals and was a member of the Allen County Medical Society (McGown 1921). He was a respected surgeon who worked to integrate Lima's medical facilities. Outside the field of medicine, he served as trustee of the Second Street Baptist

Church and was a teacher of the young people's class (McGown 1921). He was also active in social and political circles.

In 1933, Dr. Bradfield and others formed a committee to promote recreation for Lima's black community. The group changed its name to the Citizens' Recreational Council in 1936, and in 1938, the group became the Bradfield Community Association, in honor of Dr. Bradfield who died in 1936 (SQHC 1971). They were responsible for the erection of the Bradfield Center in 1948—a community organization that provides a physical outlet for local youth. The legacy of a community center in his name indicates the respect of Dr. Bradfield and his work by the locals.

During the 1920s, the Klu Klux Klan (KKK)<sup>20</sup> became a national phenomenon. Historical records indicate that the KKK was involved in activities against local blacks in the Lima area. In *The Lima Profiles* (Davis 1978) an incident is reported that details an activity of the KKK in the Lima area. In 1924, the KKK, dressed in full regalia, marched downtown through the public square. They ended their march and occupied a section of the Trinity Methodist Church. It is reported that the KKK had such a large following in Lima that it was home to the Black Knights, a local faction of the larger group (McGown 1921).

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<sup>20</sup> The KKK has been described as a reformist organization that was drawn, as a rule, mostly from the less educated and less disciplined elements of the white Protestant community (Allen 1931). Most Klan activities focused on defending white, Christian civilization, promoting community activities, enforcing morality, and combating concentrated economic power among anyone who was not considered white (Allen 1931). Their main objective was the establishment of white supremacy and was fostered by a strong belief in the inferiority of blacks, which eventually branched out to include Jews and Catholics (Allen 1931). The Klansmen terrorized public officials in efforts to drive them from office and blacks in general to prevent them from voting, holding office, and otherwise exercising their political rights (Allen 1931). When these tactics failed to produce the desired effect, their victims might be flogged, mutilated, or murdered (Allen 1931). These activities were justified by the Klan as necessary measures in defense of white supremacy and the inviolability of white womanhood (Allen 1931).

World War I (WWI) was a military conflict that lasted from August 1914 to November 1919 (Keylor 1984). It involved many of the countries of Europe as well as the United States and has been characterized as one of the most violent and destructive wars in European history (Keylor, 1984). Large economic forces were required for the war, and both whites and blacks in Lima were drafted to participate in that war. The experiences of the black soldiers and the effect of their segregated status were telling of the racial divisions that were prevalent in Lima as well as the nation during that time. A narrative from SHRP (1978) illustrates how the assigned job duties of black soldiers during that war impacted their identity formation.

**Q:** You're a veteran of WWI?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** Where did your travels in WWI take you?

**A:** I was in a training camp, I think we were there 6 weeks, and they pushed us on over to France.

**Q:** Was it an all black unit?

**A:** Oh yeah, it wasn't a mixed unit like it is now.

**Q:** Do you remember the name of your unit?

**A:** 313.

**Q:** Now was your commanding officers black?

**A:** No, they were white.

**Q:** Were you involved in active fighting then?

**A:** No, I was in France in 1919 for about a year and a half, then we didn't get to go on to the front, we didn't get to fight or anything, which I was glad. After the peace was signed, after that was signed, we had the job of going around picking up the dead that was a bad job to do.

**Q:** I heard that they gave that job to the colored troopers. The job of picking up the dead.

**A:** Yes, we picked up the dead for about 2 weeks, that was the last job we had to do, and about 2 weeks we went out, had trucks and mostly colored, but some whites, and we had to pick up those bodies and put them in those trucks and bring them back and of course they had boxes, you know, to put them in. One day we went out to pick up the dead, you know, and the day we picked up the dead there'd be a bunch digging graves. The next day the bunch that was digging graves they'd go out and we'd dig.

**Q:** So then they buried a lot of the right ones there?

**A:** Oh yeah, practically all them.

**Q:** They didn't bring them back to the states?

**A:** No.

**Q:** So how long before you got out of there?

**A:** About a year and a half or maybe 3 not very long, but it was long enough for me, but I did that.

**Q:** So when did you come back to the states?

**A:** We come back, I think it was in the 20s and I think we come back around June or July, must of been July on the seas and we spoke about how the people were doing back home, you know.

**Q:** What was going on back home?

**A:** Fourth of July entertainment.

**Q:** And so, when you came, did you live anywhere other than Lima, after that, or did you come back to Lima?

**A:** I came back to Lima.

Analysis of the conversation indicates the subservient and demeaning status of black soldiers in American military forces during this war. They were commanded by white officers, but never allowed to fight. Instead, they were relegated to performing the



dirtyest jobs. In this case, the soldier states that his job was to pick up dead bodies; and he performed it for one and a half to three years.

### The Great Depression<sup>21</sup>

The impact of the Great Depression brought difficulty for the majority of people living in America, and Lima area blacks were no exception. Excerpts from SHRP (1978) are illustrative of what life was like for blacks living in Lima during those years. The informant in the first interview is white.

**Q:** What was the employment situation for blacks that lived in Lima during the Depression?

**A:** I have lived in Lima since 1935. I was born and raised in St. Mary's but moved to Lima to start with the Kroger Company. Back then I had an opportunity to come to Lima and run the Kroger store, at the time we had a lot of small stores and that was during the Depression time. Prices were very reasonable, like cigarettes were 15 cents a pack and coffee was 15 cents a pound and some of the other things we use to sell, bread 3 loaves for a quarter, that's how prices were back then. We used to have to sack up our own brown sugar and our dry beans. We didn't have self-service meats, we had to cut everything. During that time my association with the colored community was just super. I had so many friends down there and it was just because I recognized their needs and the kind of service they wanted. I tried to be congenial, tried to do what I think to better their conditions and the whole community. I even saw that I was the first supermarket to hire a colored checker or cashier, I think better now today. Also I hired quite a few colored boys as courtesy boys, also I had a colored meat cutter sometimes and I'll say some stock boys. Kroger always did give me recognition about the need to hire colored people and I think that's why we were successful in the city of Lima.

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<sup>21</sup> The Great Depression in the United States has been called the worst and longest economic collapse in the history of the modern world (McElvaine 1993). It began at the end of 1929 and lasted until the early 1940s (McElvaine 1993). It was caused by a number of weaknesses in the economy that were characterized by rapid declines in production of products, the sale of goods, and a severe rise in unemployment rates which resulted in the closing of businesses and banks, and personal losses in the way of jobs, homes, and savings (McElvaine 1993).



The following interviews are from black informants.

**Q:** How was life in Lima affected by the Depression?

**A:** Well, we were able to buy a house when we only made \$15 a week and that is the house we're living in right now, we brought cloth, and fuel and paid the taxes and a loan and everything off \$15.

And another black informant.

**Q:** Okay, during the Depression, how did it affect you?

**A:** What do you mean, how did that affect me, it affected me like it did everybody else, we had a rough time. I would say that it was rough during the Depression. I don't know what you would mean by that, how it treated me or anything like that but I do know that during the Depression that I was broke. I had worked as a night porter and I started out working at \$60 a month, during the Depression and then we started falling off and everything like that, I was working for \$15 a month. They cut me from \$60 to \$15 and then the management told me, if I could get something else why to go get it. That's all, it was really a rough time for everybody.

These interviews indicate that the job opportunities some blacks in Lima filled were in the positions of service providers. The Great Depression is also significant to the history of blacks on a national level because they shifted their support from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party (Frazier 1957). The shift was largely attributed to the social programs instituted by the Franklin Roosevelt administration called the New Deal—a public policy that set up economic relief reform for the masses (Frazier 1957).

### The Impact of World War II and the Ohio Steel Foundry Migrations

The leading event to affect blacks in Lima during the 1940s was the impact of World War II (WWII)<sup>22</sup>. Blacks and whites from Lima served in WWII, which led to a

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<sup>22</sup> WWII began in 1939 and ended in 1945, and has been called the most devastating war in human history because of the number of lives lost and material destruction (Ziemke 1975). It began as a conflict between Germany and the rest of Europe but ended in what has been termed a “new world order” dominated by the United States and the former Soviet Union (Ziemke 1975).

severe labor shortage at the Ohio Steel Foundry in 1940-1945 (Davis 1978). As an answer to the labor shortage, Ohio Steel Foundry engaged in a campaign aimed at recruiting the workers needed from the Lower Delta, an area of the country that includes the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi (Davis 1978, Frazier 1957).

The Lower Delta is significant to the development of local African Americans' collective identity because those who cite it as their place of origin served as field hands during slavery and moved up to sharecroppers during reconstruction. Life for them as sharecroppers was bleak at best. The son of one such migrant from the Arkansas area describes his early life and his subsequent arrival to Lima:

I was born, as I said, in Arkansas, in Cotton Plant. My family was sharecroppers. My family would provide the labor to cultivate the land and the owner would provide the house and the land and whatever else we needed to live on. Normally, there would be some kind of account whereby there would be things that you needed in order to live, such as food. We normally had a garden, and could go out hunting rabbits, squirrels and wild turkeys, wild hogs, whatever, in order to provide the food. What we couldn't provide we had to buy from the owner's store in town. That way our money seemed kind of circular, in other words, it seemed like we could never get out of debt.

Well, anyway, that's what we did. I was born on this property and lived there for a period of years. By the age of about 12 or 13 years old, we had lived on several farms because my dad would be on a farm for a year or two, have a disagreement with the land owner and we moved on to another farm and we'd stay for a year or two. Eventually this got to be a bit much for my father and he and my mother started fighting all the time.

Eventually they separated and my mom moved to town and got a domestic job working for a white Jewish family. The siblings and myself, we would pick cotton, not as sharecroppers but as day laborers, and chop cotton and do other kinds of farm work. After living there for a couple of years, one of my mother's best friends, who had moved to Lima with her husband to work at Ohio Steel for a couple of years, came down one summer. She said to my mother, look why don't you come with us to Lima. We rode back to Lima with very little other than what we could get in a car, in terms of clothes. In Lima, my mother's friend provided us with a room and my sister and my mom they got jobs in a laundry. It was

where my mother's friend worked and she got them a job there. Eventually we managed to get our own little apartment in Victory Village and I've been in the Southend ever since.

To entice early workers, the Ohio Steel Foundry promised jobs in the foundry, along with transportation and housing, a practice that was also common at the Ford plant in Detroit (Farley et al. 2000). It can be considered a type of Northern sharecropping in which the laborers worked in the foundry, lived in homes provided by the foundry, and traveled in transportation provided by the foundry. It was a circular process, much the same as the custom that is reported in Southern sharecropping practices, where the money earned by the workers never leaves the control of those who are providing the means of production (Franklin and Moss 1994). The system is set up in such a way that those whose labor produces the product are indebted to the owners. In all 1,110 workers and their families were recruited to Lima to work in the Ohio Steel Foundry (Davis 1978).

The influx of a different stream of southern blacks clashed with the earlier stream of southern blacks that arrived in Lima with the first migrations of the 1840s. The new group of migrants was housed initially in what were first constructed as trailer camps, and later were formally constructed into a housing project called Victory Village in the Southend of Lima (Davis 1978). Prior to this period, the inhabitants of the area hailed, primarily, from Eastern and Southern Europe (SHRP 1978).

Additionally, the local black population that had been confined to the Westend of town working as servants, laborers, maids and housekeepers openly expressed their superiority to the new arrivals which resulted in a division between the two groups (Scott 1993, Davis 1978). The fallout from this split is better illustrated by the interviews that

were conducted by the SHRP (1978) of both blacks who had been living in the Westend of Lima prior to the new arrivals and the recent migrants.

**Q:** Around about the 1940s the blacks started migrating here to work in the factories?

**A:** Yeah, it seemed like out at the steel foundry it seemed like they brought quite a few from Alabama, quite a bunch of them from those parts, seem like a lot of them came from Florence, when they started here they were in, they called it, I forget just what they did call it.

**Q:** Trailer courts.

**A:** Yeah, trailer camps, there were buildings out there. It brought in a lot of people because there was a lot of work to do at the steel foundry you know. During the war they were doing a lot of building, making parts for different things. It brought in a lot of people, a lot of them still here, some gone you know.

Another interview:

**Q:** Okay then, since you are a life long resident, do you remember the time of the migration and workers from the South came?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** They worked at the steel foundry, can you recall, of course you were out West then, can you recall meeting any of them or hear any stories about the development of the Southend?

**A:** No, I heard some things, mostly things I wouldn't say or want to say. The black population in Lima didn't begin to develop until WWII when they were called here by the Ohio Steel Foundry to work in the foundry and to work in the war production. The black folks were brought up from the south during the war to fill the need for labor and so they reported here to take care of the needs of our wartime labor in the industry.

Another interview:

**Q:** Do you remember when Ohio Steel was hiring people from the south to come to work in Lima?

**A:** I can remember that, they went down and brought them up here and put them in Victory Village.

**Q:** Okay, what was Victory Village?

**A:** Victory Village was something like Grandview Homes was, Grandview Homes was brought up from Victory Village, it was something like trailer courts now, and then Victory Village was something like a trailer court, but the Ohio Steel Foundry took all of them up to a house then and fed them and they went down to Georgia and Alabama, those places the hardest.

Another interview:

**Q:** How long did you say you've been in Lima?

**A:** I've been living in Lima about 33 years and 6 months.

**Q:** Can you give me some background on how you decided to come to Lima?

**A:** Well, yes, my husband's cousin was here, and home on a visit once, he was telling us how simple it was at the steel foundry to get a job and he asked him if he wanted to come and he said yes, so he sent him a ticket and he came up here in '44 of November.

**Q:** Now where was home?

**A:** My home was in Houston, Mississippi.

**Q:** Did you have a special feeling or reason for leaving to come to a place where you've never been before or had been here?

**A:** No, I hadn't been here before. No, no special feeling only difficulty. In fact, I never lived in the North before, they told me the children had better opportunities in school then and it might have been a little better then. We, and all my children in school, we came here to put them in school.

**Q:** When you came to Lima, having been living in the area in Mississippi, what did you think it was going to be, did you have any notions of what it was going to be like when you came?

**A:** From my hometown in Mississippi, at the time in the area we lived we didn't have any electric works and water works either then. We didn't have a sink to wash dishes and things like that. When I first came to Lima I didn't think there would be any sink in the house. I thought coming to a city, I never been here before, and I just thought every day would be just perfect.

**Q:** Okay, when you first lived here there wasn't any plumbing so it was just like what you had left in Mississippi.

**A:** Right, outside toilet and everything.

**Q:** Did you think of the North as some kind of "Promised Land"? Like pouring milk and honey?

**A:** I just pictured it as being a place not like no country or town and places I've seen. You can look way out and see houses and things. I hadn't pictured seeing those kinds of things. I was 35 years old. I always went back to Mississippi.

**Q:** So describe what you did, to us, when you came to Lima. What was Lima like?

**A:** What I thought it was about, there was a lot of people that lived in what they called "The Village" then.

**Q:** So the village was occupied when you got here?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** People were living there?

**A:** Yes, people were already living there. I didn't go to too many places, I only went to church.

**Q:** Now were the trailer courts still around when you all came?

**A:** They say there were still some, but I never lived in one.

**Q:** Did you remember seeing them at all?

**A:** Yes, I remember seeing some, there wasn't as many left as there had been.

Analysis of the data provides a view of the imagined reality of many blacks regarding life in the North in which it was depicted as a "Promised Land." Rumors of employment availability, superior education, and lack of racial prejudice were dominant ideologies in the minds of these laborers (Sugrue 1996). Upon arrival, they quickly

discovered that the image was a façade. In actuality, life in the North was not much better or worse than it had been in the South. Additionally, many arriving migrants were unused to the cooler climates and suffered from poor health (Davis 1978).

Blacks who were already living in Lima resented the southern arrivals and their positions as laborers in the factory (SHRP 1978). The self-imposed superiority of the “indigenous folks” would prove to be a factor that would continue to divide the two groups into the contemporary period. Additionally, the housing that was available to blacks that were living in the Westend was superior to what was provided for the new arrivals. Those who had been in the area longer were buying their homes, meaning that they were becoming property owners, which may explain why they were more vested in the system (Davis 1978). It also indicates a growing class division among blacks that revolved around type of work performed and area of town where they lived. The separation of black residents by perceived difference in class is still quite prevalent among local area blacks in the contemporary period.

### Integration

Occupations in the white-collar sector in Lima were still very limited to area blacks. The three primary positions in which they were underrepresented were as teachers, nurses, and trained medical personnel (SQHC 1971). The lack of professional representation in these occupational sectors is significant because they are crucial specialized roles. Collective community response to the oversight illustrates how the locals effectively challenged the practice.

Regarding teaching, Mrs. Joyce Garret was the first black schoolteacher to be hired on a full-time basis by Lima's public school system (SQHC 1971). However, Garret was not able to get her teaching job in Lima until 1953. In 1953, a bond issue was set before the people of Lima. Through Lima's League of Cooperation and Improvement (LCI), members of the black community stated that they would vote the measure down if no blacks were hired as teachers (SQHC 1971). The day before the bond issue was voted on Mrs. Garret was hired as a full-time teacher and became the first black person to be thus employed (SQHC 1971).

The local black community experienced similar incidents in local hospitals. Black patients were not integrated with white patients and there was a very low percentage of trained black professionals in these facilities (SQHC 1971). By 1930, the color line was broken in the hospitals so that interns and nurses were allowed to obtain jobs. On May 14, 1936, Dr. Dalton, a prominent black physician, integrated the rooms at St. Rita's when he discovered one of his patients out in the hall while there were plenty of rooms available (SQHC 1971).

In 1948, LCI teamed up with the NAACP in an attempt to get Memorial Hospital to accept blacks in the hospital's nurses training class (SQHC 1971). The hospitals would hire trained nurses but they would not train any. The hospital used the excuse that they needed two applicants because a black girl was not allowed to room alone, and she could not room with a white girl (SQHC 1971). In the meantime, Mrs. Fort Ricks was successful in getting her daughter-in-law, LaJoyce Ricks, admitted to St. Rita's School of Nursing without any group assistance. Ricks was the first black nurse to be trained in Lima (SQHC 1971).



The local businesses and community organizations practiced segregation. Many of the area theaters had special sections for blacks. Some of the local eating facilities had special seating areas for blacks, and some restaurants would not serve them (SQHC 1971). Several of the downtown businesses would not hire blacks. For many years the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) would only permit them entrance in the Y on a specific night, so the black community formed their own Hi-Y Clubs (SQHC 1971). Hi-Y Clubs provided black youth with books, newspapers, recreational activities, and an opportunity to socialize with their peers. Historical records indicate that segregation continued in the area as late as the early 1950s (SQHC 1971).

### Early Civil Rights Movement<sup>23</sup>

The early Civil Rights Movement in Lima began at the end of World War II and was sparked as African American soldiers, returning from European tours, began to question their segregated existence at home. The thought occurred to them, as many had given their lives to fight for freedom of people involved in the war, that they were not free at home. Poetry from one of Lima's African American soldiers that expresses that sentiment follows:

In Remembrance—Germany, November 1943

Alone, I lie here in my darkened room,  
And naught save stars to share my silent thoughts  
Thoughts of dear friends—comrades far away,  
Who ne'er again will see the light of day  
They gave their lives for things they loved so well  
The pains and heartaches—what more we cannot tell

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<sup>23</sup> The Civil Rights Movement in the United States is characterized as a political, legal, and social struggle of the attainment of full citizenship rights for blacks to achieve racial equality (Norrell 1985). The movement began with the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 and ended with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Norrell 1985).

They died for what—for glory—honor—fame?  
Or did they give their lives only for the white man's own gain?  
The sands of time flow on to heal our heartfelt pain  
But in the hearts of colored men, the memory will remain  
Of how they shed their blood in the bitter hell of war  
So that in their hometowns they will remain shackled by the color of their  
skin forevermore

Black citizens continued to express concern about social inequalities and formed a local chapter of the NAACP in 1939. The first president was the Reverend Leroy McGee from the Fourth Street Baptist Church (SQHC 1971). The organization worked to improve the condition of Lima's black community. One of the earliest projects they decided on was the integration of Schoonover Pool, which had set aside Mondays as the only day blacks were allowed to swim (SQHC 1971). The details of the event are instructive of the successful strategies and agency of individuals within larger organizations towards the structural constraint of segregated recreational facilities.

In 1948, the local NAACP selected Dave Powell, one of Lima's black residents, to challenge the segregation rule of Schoonover Pool (SQHC 1971). Details of the incident are that Powell and two whites approached the entrance to the pool, Powell laid his money on the desk and ran and jumped into the pool. He was later arrested on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon. It is believed that one of the men with him had been chosen to set him up, because when he came out of the pool and sat on the bench, there was a towel beside him with a gun rolled up in it (SQHC 1971). They put Powell in jail and would not allow him to post bond, although he had more than enough money on him (SQHC 1971). They kept him in jail for one day under the pretense of looking for relatives. He got a lawyer who proved that the gun belonged to relatives of the man who is believed to have set him up (SQHC 1971). An employee at the pool said the manager

had the following to say concerning the need for local blacks' use of the public pool:  
"Those niggers don't need to swim here, they have their own." (He was referring to the Bradfield Center pool) (SQHC 1971).

Another example of the agency and integration efforts of the local NAACP involved the hiring policy of BLH, which was a local construction company (SQHC 1971). In 1950, the management of BLH told Dave Powell, who was the president of the NAACP at the time that they would not hire black people because there were already too many in the area. The NAACP filed charges and the U.S. Government withdrew a two million dollar contract that they had with BLH (SQHP 1971). The incident proved to have far reaching consequences resulting in other local businesses reconsidering their policies pertaining to hiring blacks. Lastly, black people were also beginning to be allowed in Lima restaurants, and the NAACP was successful, through litigation, in integrating area theaters (SQHP 1971).

The final significant development was the arrival of the Ford Plant in 1954 (Sugrue 1996). It would become one of the first of the large industries to begin hiring blacks. This is consistent with Ford's hiring practices in similar Northern cities (Farley et al. 2000). The population in Lima during this time was 50,246—12,008 of whom were black (U.S. Census 1950).

### Conclusions

The significance of this time period on the identity formation of AAM is that there was a shift from independent landownership to dependent subservience to the European American population there. Limited employment opportunities aided in

fostering this dependence, coupled with a wave of incoming migrants from the Mississippi Delta, who were recruited by the Ohio Steel Foundry. Their job positions at the foundry redefined their role as one of Northern Sharecroppers. In the newly acquired status, they lived in homes provided by the foundry, worked in the foundry, were transported to and from work and shopping in buses supplied by the foundry, and shopped in stores owned by the foundry. The period marked the beginnings of class divisions, based on type of employment and residence, between African Americans in the city. The era is also crucial in illustrating the impact of the structural constraint of segregated housing on the African American population in the city.

Lastly, in the 1950s, Lima witnessed a growth in social and political organizations among area African Americans. The key political and social movements that affected identity formation were the Civil Rights Movement, the NAACP, and the Bradfield Center through which the locals practiced resistance strategies that aided in shaping community outcomes.

### **Chapter 3: Life for Blacks in 1960**

*When we open our eyes today and look around America we see America, not through the eyes of someone who has enjoyed the fruits of Americanisms—we see America through the eyes of someone who has been the victim of Americanism. We don't see any American dreams because we've experienced only the American nightmare. We haven't benefited from America's democracy, we've only suffered from America's hypocrisy and the generation that's coming up now can see it and are not afraid to say it. If you go to jail, so what, if you black you were born in jail—in the North as well as the South. Stop talking about the South; as long as you're south of the Canadian border you're South. Malcolm X<sup>24</sup>*

#### **The Black Church Takes a Stand**

The late 1950s and early 1960s were marked by some major undertakings in the black church that promoted the further development of political and social organizations in Lima and local area blacks began to challenge the status quo. The majority of these movements were headed by prominent black ministers from area churches, specifically St. Paul AME, Fourth Street Baptist Church, and Second Street Baptist Church.

Reverend Thompson, a minister of St. Paul's AME Church, located in the Westend, would go into Lima's historical record for his work in the area of housing for the black community (SQHP 1971). In 1964, Reverend Thompson arrived from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania as the new pastor of St. Paul. Upon his arrival, he immediately became involved in the problem of housing for blacks and in 1969, formed St. Paul's Missionary Housing Corporation (SPMHC), to obtain better housing for blacks in Lima (SQHP 1971). After searching for and either being unable to obtain the land or to get government approval for a suitable site on which to erect a Rent Subsidy Housing Unit, they finally located a satisfactory parcel of land on Fourth Street (SQHP 1971).

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<sup>24</sup> Malcolm X from "The Ballot or the Bullet" speech 1964.

Problems developed with the proposed 174 unit dwelling because part of the land was in Lima and part was in Perry Township. Additionally, there was considerable opposition from Perry Township because of an increase in taxes for roads, sewage, and a fear of overcrowding of the township's schools. According to Thompson, this was a ridiculous claim since the children who would live there were already, for the most part, attending the township schools (SQHP 1971).

The proposal for a 174 unit dwelling under the Rent Subsidy Program came before the Lima City Council on January 12, 1970. The Lima Planning Commission Councilmen voted for it on the first two readings, but against it on the last (SQHP 1971). When the initial proposal was rejected, SPMHC proposed a new project that consisted of a 70 unit dwelling for the aged on the same plot of land initially proposed for the Rent Subsidy Housing Unit (SQHP 1971). This proposal went through the Planning Commission with no difficulty. Reverend Thompson commented that the reason the first proposal failed was because it was a rent subsidy program (SQHP 1971).

Fourth Street Baptist Church, located in the Southend of Lima, played a role in the fight for integration as well. Reverend Edward Broyles, of that church, was instrumental in the fight for equal representation and employment of blacks in Lima's growing business and institutional environments.

Reverend Broyles came to Lima in 1957, and observed and experienced discrimination in housing, employment and other areas (SQHC 1971). He also observed that there were no blacks employed in banks, as clerks, or as high school teachers (SQHC 1971). In the summer of 1958, he met with the superintendent of schools to discuss the hiring of black teachers. At this meeting he realized that only a certain kind of black was

1950-1951

1952

1953

1954-1955

1956-1957

1958-1959

1960

1961

wanted. When a light-skinned black woman, wearing a blond wig, applied she was hired. Broyles took this as a sign that this was what they were looking for and called it a type of tokenism in that institution (SQHC 1971).

Additionally, Broyles noticed the ill will that had existed in Lima since the migrations of the 1940s, between blacks living on the Westend and Southend and devised a plan that he felt would decrease the animosity between the two sides. His plan was the formation of a fellowship between the leadership from churches on both sides. He enlisted the help of the local branch of the NAACP in his quest (SQHC 1971). The plan failed and Broyles blamed it on the ineffectiveness of the NAACP and advocated for the installation of a local chapter of the Urban League in the Lima area (SQHC 1971). He reasoned that the only way blacks could succeed was through participation in politics and did not see those qualities in the organizations in place in the area at the time (SQHC 1971). This was in direct connection to his growing dissatisfaction with the lack of community visibility of the local NAACP.

Broyles tried to assume a responsible position in politics by leading the Human Relations Commission (HRC) in 1960. He was unable to accomplish reform within the commission because it had no legal power. Instead he tried to push reform by exposing the problems of Lima through referral and complaints of discrimination to the Ohio Civil Rights Commission and Fair Housing Commission (SQHC 1971). Broyles tried to have more power allotted to the HRC but the city's infrastructure never took action on his proposal (SQHC 1971). As a reaction to the break down of the HRC, a group formed which later joined a larger group formally known as the Black Panthers (SQHC 1971). Broyles explained his involvement with this group as crucial to the formation of a



nonviolent welfare movement for Lima's black neighborhoods. Some of the earliest community centered activities of the Panthers were to raise money to feed and clothe the needy. Curiously, city officials reacted in a hostile manner to their actions and aggressively worked to demonize the Panthers, making them a scapegoat for all of Lima's racial problems (SQHC 1971). However, their strategy backfired and at the end of the 1960s, the Panthers inspired local youth to challenge the institutionalized racism of the area's police department and school system.

Second Street Baptist Church, located in the Southend of Lima, was also vigorous in the early struggle for the betterment of life for blacks in the area. In 1965, the leader of the church was Reverend Woodard (SQHC 1971). Woodard felt that blacks were discriminated against in churches in Lima, and affirmed that the catholic churches there were the most open and the others only seemed to welcome blacks for one Sunday, but not as regular members (SQHC 1971).

In 1967, Woodard started an in-service sensitivity program for Lima area teachers (SQHC 1971). His program consisted of training youth leaders in the area of racial harmony at the junior and senior high schools twice a year. He believed that there was a definite need for this type of training, especially at the senior high school (SQHC 1971).

In 1968, Woodard decided to run for mayor because he felt things were moving along progressively and that he could "make some very worthwhile changes in the community" that would keep down the hostile atmosphere (SQHC 1971). Woodard lost the mayoral race and blamed it on the "close-mindedness" of the city (SQHC 1971). After losing the election, Woodard became unavailable for any activities other than those



related to his church. The purpose of this was to show the community how important his prior involvement had been (SQHC 1971).

In 1971, Woodard probed the employment practices of various corporations in Lima and discovered that the hiring ratio of black to white was out of proportion to their numbers in the population (SQHC 1971). He also observed that when blacks did get jobs they usually were for lesser-paid positions in which they were not interwoven into the fabric of the total employment picture. He found the prevalence of these factors in particular corporations, specifically at Superior Coach, Excello, Westinghouse and Standard Oil (SQHC 1971). The validity of Woodard's observations remains in question as he made no attempt to take political or legal action against individual companies or hiring practices in the city.

Political activity conducted by prominent local ministers is a significant finding. It illustrates their leadership skills in organizing Lima's black community by working within the structure. They exhibited agency by forming organizations, working within federal guidelines, openly questioning discriminatory hiring practices, and striving to address the pressing issue of racial unity in local area schools. Lima's black churches played active roles in community organization and involvement, making this one of the most progressive periods in the city's history.

#### The Importance and Significance of the Mizpah

In the 1960s, the Mizpah program began to grow as other agencies and organizations became involved, and in 1965, the administrative procedures were reorganized (SQHC 1971). Programs, care of the building and budget publicity were

assumed by a Board of Directors that was accountable to the United Church Women, but involved the whole church—meaning all members of the congregation (SQHC 1971).

This design attempted to broaden the base of support and enlarge the scope of the program to include activities for all age groups, and to involve more Mizpah area residents. The name of the mission was changed to Mizpah Community Center, with its purpose stated thusly:

To extend Christian love and concerns to residents of the area and to provide a place where persons may come to have their spiritual, emotional, and physical needs met through various activities and services.

The first full-time staff person was hired, Anabel Fischer, a Presbyterian Commissioned Church Worker (SQHC 1971). As Program Coordinator, Fisher supervised domestic skills classes, the establishment of scout troops, tutoring and study hall sessions, and many other community involvement projects (SQHC 1971). At this time the Head Start Program (founded through an Ohio Economic Opportunities [OEO] block grant) assumed responsibility for the Mizpah kindergarten (SQNC 1971).

The Reverend Loo arrived in Lima in August 1969 as the Director-Informant for the Mizpah (SQHC 1971). He was an ordained Presbyterian minister who had worked with black churches, Puerto Rican churches, and community centers in various parts of the country. Reverend Loo came to the Mizpah to be involved in what he termed the “frontier situation” (SQHC 1971). His special fields of activity were social change and poverty.

With Reverend Loo came a philosophy new to the Mizpah that offered the black community a more balanced relationship with the organization (SQHC 1971). He brought with him the attitude that the church had to stop being a parent and become a

helpmate in solving the real problems that existed for blacks living in Lima.

Additionally, his arrival coincided with the area's racially troubled times.

Reverend Loo encountered the Black Panthers directly after his arrival in Lima (SQHC 1971). His first introduction to the Panthers involved negotiating with them regarding the running of the Mizpah Center. The issue was resolved when the Board of the Mizpah and Reverend Loo decided that all groups not advocating violence were permitted usage of the center to achieve a better neighborhood and was considered the center's first move into the mainstream of the community (SQHC 1971).

### The Lima Branch of the Black Panthers<sup>25</sup>

The Black Panther Party was a national organization that actively voiced the concerns that blacks in segregated communities were facing. For this reason, it is not surprising that branches of the Panthers began to form in racially divided cities across the country in the mid 1960s. Blacks in Lima had long suffered under the auspices of the institutionalized racism entrenched in the city, so it is understandable that a faction of the group developed and attracted a following of the youth who were living there.

Who were the Black Panthers in Lima? How were they crucial to the formation of identity of young blacks living in Lima at the time? James Williamson is generally

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<sup>25</sup> The Black Panther Party has been described as a militant black political organization originally known as the Black Panther Party for Social Defense (Riddenhour and Jah 1997). It was founded in Oakland, California by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in October 1966 (Riddenhour and Jah 1997). Newton became the party's defense minister and Seale its' chairman. They advocated black self-defense and restructuring American society to make it more politically, economically, and socially equal. It was one of the most militant black organizations, advocating direct confrontation to acts of police brutality that were surfacing in segregated communities throughout the country. The Panthers' emphasized community development and service programs in black neighborhoods and was responsible for the earliest form of what is now called Headstart—which is a program that promotes education of young black children. According to Riddenhour and Jah (1997), the National Black Panther Party reached its peak in the mid 1960s and was not effectively disbanded until the late 1980s.



given credit for the creation of the local branch of the Panthers and did not believe that they were radical, but rather a reactionary group reacting to a radical government and situations (SQHC 1971). Williamson initiated the Panther program in April 1969 in the Southend of town because he felt the community needed such an organization (SQHC 1971). Initially there was strong neighborhood support for the Panthers and they lasted for almost a year by receiving contributions (SHRP 1978). The group started out by serving breakfast to area children in the Mizpah Community Center, and did hands-on work in the Southend of town by providing public oriented forums that focused on self-education and activism (SQHC 1971).

The Lima branch of the Black Panthers became politically active after a series of racial disorders involving the Lima Police Department. The first incident occurred when Tom Lee, a young black man, was shot by the Lima Police in 1969 (SHRP 1978). The catalyst that would lead to their demise began with a shooting incident by the Lima Police in 1970 which involved Christine Ricks, a 42 year old black woman who was shot and killed as she was walking down to visit her son (who was a member of the Black Panthers) at the Black Panthers' Headquarters (SHRP 1978). *The Lima News* August 5, 1970 reports the occurrence but focuses on the actions of then Lima Mayor, Christian Morris who imposed a state of civil emergency due to the racial tension resulting from the police assassination of Ricks. Further, the situation grew so intense that Mayor Morris involved the federal government and the National Guard who sent troops in to Lima to guard the Panther Headquarters and restore order amongst area citizens. The following interview from SHRP (1978) is telling about the racial unrest that resulted from the killing of Ricks, the goals and organization of the Lima Branch of the Panther Party,





and the structural forces responsible for the termination of the Panther party there. It is also illustrative of the agency of local black youth, particularly those who resided in the Southend. The interview is presented in its entirety, in keeping with the focus of attending to the voices of the people in the telling of their own history. The informant was a Panther member during the period.

**Q:** At what point did you become involved with the Black Panthers?

**A:** That was in 1970, I was there when they organized and everything but not as a prospecting Black Panther. You know, they was just friends of mine and after about 6 months I did join the Panthers. I think they started in June, it must have been 3 months because I joined in September of that year.

**Q:** What was the ideology, the thought that the panthers or the philosophy they were founding at that time?

**A:** You mean the Panthers?

**Q:** Yes, the local Panthers.

**A:** Oh, the local Panthers, okay, the only thing they had to pattern themselves after was national headquarters as far as the separate state. You know socialistic state. I don't think they were really aware of what that really meant, you know, but they use to practice the 10-point system.<sup>26</sup>

**Q:** Now what is the 10-point system?

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<sup>26</sup> The *Ten Point Plan* (1966): 1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black and oppressed communities. 2. We want full employment for our people. 3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black and oppressed communities. 4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings. 5. We want decent education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society. 6. We want completely free health care for all black and oppressed people. 7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people, other people of color, all oppressed people inside the United States. 8. We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression. 9. We want freedom for all black and oppressed people now held in U.S. federal, state, county, city and military prisons and jails. We want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country. 10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's community control of modern technology (*The Ten Point Plan: Black Panther Organization 1966*).

**A:** Okay, the 10-point system was the ten things in the *Panther Creed* that everyone was working to achieve. It was written on the back of every Panther newspaper we use to sell.

**Q:** What kind of activities were the Panthers involved in as far as the community?

**A:** They established a free breakfast program at the Mizpah and a score of other community events.

**Q:** Can you list them? Free breakfast for whom?

**A:** For the children, an ongoing program even during school too, where they would have buses or rides and some walked because at that time they were having it inside the Mizpah and merchants in the neighborhood freely, gladly gave up groceries for the drive.

**Q:** Were they intimidated do you think?

**A:** No, they freely gave, I'm telling you all they had to do was ask because it was the Panthers asking, they was glad, you know and we were aware that there were people who used their weight, because they played up on people's fear you know.

**Q:** At its height how many members would you say the local Panthers had?

**A:** Oh, I'd say about 60.

**Q:** Do you think the larger community was alienated from the Panthers?

**A:** Yes, do you mean that I feel that's true, yeah, but I didn't feel alienated from it. But it was the press played a big part in that because automatically, Panthers, you know, they started writing articles that instilled fear in the people, of the Panthers, you know, because automatically they were painted as gun killing looters, match carrying, gasoline totin', you know, fire burners.

**Q:** Was that your perception then?

**A:** See, I knew what a real Panther was cause I had already become aware of the Oakland-based Panthers and I had read material concerning the organization and chain of command. I was aware of what the Panthers were and what they were trying to do.

**Q:** And what they started?

**A:** Right.

**Q:** Besides this free breakfast program, what were they trying to do locally?

**A:** To establish a little power in South Lima, cause South Lima at one time was considered to be the commons of the city.

**Q:** The commons?

**A:** The wrong side of the tracks and they were trying to change that image. We were all young and inexperienced and all this was new, all this was new to all of us but they began too soon I think, to work on defensive evasion of the police in the South end.

**Q:** What exactly does that mean?

**A:** Only certain hours of the day they would be in the Southend, you know for patrol purposes, it wasn't necessary for them to be there constantly all day, you know prowling, because some people just didn't like the police.

**Q:** And you think there was an increase of police squad cars prowling, as you say, during the time of the Panthers.

**A:** Yes definitely, there were even more curfew arrests at that time too. They had to have a reason to stop cars.

**Q:** On several occasions there were racial eruptions in Lima, in the community at large, generally the ones I could remember were always instigated by killings by the police. I heard of a young man getting killed, I think an older man was killed, and in each of these incidents there was a racial eruption. Were the Panthers around during the first couple of those riots that we had in Lima or was it only with Mrs. Ricks?

**A:** Okay, I think the Panthers as a whole were only around for Mrs. Ricks, but the same people, mostly the same people who were Panthers was here for the other two killings.

**Q:** Okay, can you recount for us just a little, the incidents that happened after Mrs. Ricks was killed by the police. Mrs. Ricks was killed August 5<sup>th</sup> 1970 and there were a lot of things that seemed to happen after the word got out that she was dead and a lot of it seemed to focus around the Panthers. Can you just give me a brief account of what was happening right then?

**A:** Okay, one of Mrs. Rick's sons, one of her sons was a Panther and at the time, what they did, we decided we were going as a whole group to pay respects to Mrs. Ricks' family or just a few of us was going to go and somehow we decided we was all going to go as a group. We were going to walk, we were walking down the sidewalk and we got to, we weren't expecting, we hadn't intended, we hadn't started out walking with any intentions of anything happening. We were walking from Panther's Headquarters that was at that time on 4<sup>th</sup> Street.

**Q:** That's 4<sup>th</sup> and Union?

**A:** Where "Old Joe's" store used to be, it's a motorcycle disco or something now—yes and we were walking there straight down Main Street, going to Mrs. Ricks who lived on the 700 block of South Union and when we got to Main Street there were policemen there. They had the street barricaded, we couldn't cross the tracks and they weren't going to let us cross the tracks and everybody just kept walking. They threw tear gas and they started picking them up and throwing them back and they just kept on walking. Then they got guns and wouldn't let anyone cross the tracks. So we started walking down the tracks until we came at the crossing at Vine Street and they were there trying to push them back. There was too many of them to push and there wasn't enough of them pushing. They had on helmets, the whole bit—I think it was the first time they got to wear them helmets.

**Q:** Now was it only the Panthers that was walking or was it people in the community too?

**A:** People in the community who had joined us as we were walking.

**Q:** I'd like to just interject here just for a minute, what was the feeling that you were having at that time? Were you frightened of the police? What kind of feeling was going on inside of you?

**A:** I was excited because I was there you know, and I've had the kind of upbringing that would allow me to be there and it was happening. I wasn't scared because I was caught up in the mood of the whole thing that was happening and that we weren't going to let them stop us. I wasn't afraid at any point, not that particular time. Then when they started firing tear gas everybody became afraid. They didn't know it was just tear gas at all. They fired tear gas and the guy up front picked it up and threw it back and when they threw it back everybody picked it up and threw it back. We made it to Mrs. Rick's home and that Sunday the Panthers had a memorial service at the Mizpah Center and the funeral was the following day.

**Q:** Was that the first confrontation?

**A:** That was the first confrontation, the first, see what it was there hadn't been a confrontation, you know there wouldn't have been no confrontation, well I don't say there wouldn't have been no confrontation, they were trying to find out, there were some people, you know a lot of sympathizers in the community. Black people and White people with pull who would get in and out of places that we as citizens couldn't have the ability to get in and out of. They kept us informed or they found out things for us. That's how we found out that Mrs. Ricks had been shot 5 times and not 2 times like the paper reported. It wasn't 'til Paul Jones<sup>27</sup> volunteered the information to us, or we wouldn't have known.

**Q:** I can remember though, going down myself that afternoon after the news had come out that she had already been killed going down to the Panther's Headquarters and there had already been some incidents of violence, if you will, that people getting off of work at BLH, that white people's cars were you know, rocks or bricks that kind of thing.

**A:** Yeah, but because there were those people who only knew to lash out to white people and white people is the ones who had them oppressed and they knew it. So when they lashed out, it was white people they lashed out against.

**Q:** Now, there was also some trouble at night if I recall, because that was the incident where the squad was brought in.

**A:** Yeah, that night after the return from Mrs. Ricks it wasn't that night, I'm sure it was the following night, but after I returned from the march we were planning a community play or talent show. At that time there was this lady who was helping us and she was supplying us with fabric to make the scenery and the costumes for the Mrs. Black America Pageant, when they had a man in from Uganda here as one of the judges. We were going over fabrics or something inside of headquarters and we were the only three people inside the building. What happened was they were just out in the parking lot, out in front of headquarters and word had spread fast because there was an organization here from Dayton, and there was two from Toledo one was a white organization and one was a Chicano organization.

**Q:** They had come in after they heard Mrs. Ricks had been killed?

**A:** Right, and they were offering their services to the community and they were at headquarters. They were all standing outside and they were

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<sup>27</sup> Paul Jones was one of the first black undertakers and proprietor of Jones Funeral Parlor in Lima (Stark 1993).

talking outside of headquarters when the police paddy wagon came and the guard had a megaphone and said, "Citizens of Lima." They had established a curfew, streets had to be cleared, everybody in their homes. They started throwing rocks at the paddy wagon and that's when they shot tear gas into the headquarters. There was three of us in there, but it didn't reach us because we just went out the back door.

**Q:** Okay, you were one of those in the headquarters?

**A:** Right, myself and another lady, a wife, another lady who was a member of the Panthers and we were coming out, we went out the back. By the time we came around to the front there was this one person standing and throwing garbage cans. They were sitting there, out front at the time, so they could pick them up. They threw them against the paddy wagon and the force made the paddy wagon rock. Then there was gunfire, the police, I don't know who fired first, when they fired that tear gas, some of the Panthers returned fire.

**Q:** So the Panthers fired back at the police?

**A:** Yeah, put a whole bunch of tear gas in the police car and then they left and when they came back, see they hurried up and got out of there, a car turned around and got out of there before the paddy wagon got out of there. I think that was the first year the paddy wagon was used, but anyway the police came back. The curfew was in effect, it was on the radio, on the news, "curfew at 6 o'clock." And anybody, everybody was being arrested on the street after curfew. The police were moving down the street and they were firing flares and everything trying to see because they shot out the light at 4<sup>th</sup> and Union, all the streetlights were gone. It was blacked out man. I was right beside this man with a gun who was firing. I remember standing there looking at him like Lucas McCain, he had one of those rifles that just went pow, pow, pow.

**Q:** Across the street from the Panther Headquarters?

**A:** Right and because everybody had moved over there because there was protection on that side of the street. They was firing tear gas and shooting at the headquarters and he told us to get down. I remember I was afraid then, you know, because of the gunfire, so when he told us to get down, I got down. I remember we were laying in the wet grass, we heard shots cause they were shooting back and forth. They had cleared out and we were all at this lady's house and they had cops all around it. People were coming and going and there were people, it was like a telephone system, you know from house to house they were calling to tell us where the police were on foot in back of people's yards.

**Q:** Police were?

**A:** Yes, and there were people in the community who would call and tell us what they were doing and where they went and how many there was.

**Q:** So at that point, at Mrs. Ricks' death there seemed to be some solidarity between at least a portion of the community.

**A:** I think that's when it came closest in its relationship.

**Q:** When they had the fight?

**A:** Yes, because after that the community became unconscious to a lot of things—well anyway we were in this house and the next morning there were curfews at 6 o'clock and the next morning we all left this lady's house. We headed for headquarters and there they were, the National Guard, all laying on top of cars, guns trained on us. They told us to stop and then they read us an order.

**Q:** What did the order say?

**A:** Telling us that headquarters was under siege until an investigation was over. That didn't bother me because there wasn't nothing in there but newspapers and headquarter trapping posters. We couldn't go in but they couldn't keep us out of the area, at one point the National Guard, their trick was they had to replace several of them because they couldn't stand up under the worries, the verbal abuse that was coming from the people from the community.

**Q:** The verbal abuse?

**A:** Yes, now they didn't touch none of them but they got awful close, close enough to breath on them. People was saying stuff and they had to replace several of them. There was this black dude from the Lima Chapter of the Guard, he wouldn't go. He worked for the telephone company and when they called him he wouldn't go and there was a big thing about that too, him not doing what he was supposed to.

**Q:** Now so was it after this that the Panthers began to decline? What happened to them then, they are no longer in existence?

**A:** Okay, see at that time they began harassing people and arresting people for minimal things, curfew violations, a whole bunch of junk, you know arresting people and actually having trials, the whole bit. People lost their jobs and couldn't get jobs. The FBI came around questioning

people and made it difficult for them to get jobs, the FBI did they made it hard for a lot of people to get jobs.

**Q:** Did you experience that personally?

**A:** Yes, I did. One day I was at home, this was about a month or so after Mrs. Ricks got killed and the phone rang. I answered it and it was a man. I've always been cautious how I answer the phone and he asked if he could speak to me. I said, "who's calling?" He said, "Excello." I said, "Well she's not here right now could you tell me what you're calling about?" He said, "insurance and I want to find out if she works here." I had never put in a day at Excello and I knew it was the police. I said, "well she's not here right now, you'll have to call back later." I just knew that was them because I had heard other people's experience.

**Q:** This was the police or the FBI?

**A:** FBI, and I went upstairs and I seen them go down the street and turn around. I was curious so I went downstairs to see what was happening and they were already in my yard. My brother-in-law was on the porch telling them I wasn't home, but I didn't know at the time cause they asked me my name and I told them. They said they wanted to talk to me so I told them to come in. We were in the living room and he say he wanted to know where I was on the night of August 5<sup>th</sup>. I told him to give me an idea of what he wanted before we started talking and then I'd know if I wanted to talk about it or not. He said it didn't work like that. He said he wanted to know where I was that night because there was a car with one headlight on it that had been seen driving away from the Naval Reserve that was firebombed and somebody had reported seeing me in that car. I responded that I wasn't in a car that night—we kept playing each other and he kept asking me questions and he couldn't trip me up on anything so he finally said, okay, "why do you hate the police?"

**Q:** And this is the FBI?

**A:** Yes, a detective, a FBI agent, but he said why do you hate police. I said I don't. He said you don't? I said no, see that lamp, I was pointing to my mom's lamp, I don't care nothing about that lamp and I don't care nothing about the police, I don't have time to hate them.

**Q:** Wow, that's deep.

**A:** Yeah, so he said we know you been looking for a job and everything and he said we might be able to help you find a job. I said, I ain't looking for a job. He pulled out this legal pad with every place I'd been looking for a job, phone numbers, everything. I got mad and that's when I decided no, I don't know nothing, I'll find a job when I find one, if not this



couldn't go on for a lifetime. I told him I didn't want him to find no job for me, matter of fact all I wanted him to do was to get out of my Momma's and them house before they got home.

**Q:** So was your interpretation of what he was saying was that they had been involved somehow in you not getting a job?

**A:** Exactly, we could help you get a job at the filling station—I told him I don't want no job and I didn't get one for two years.

**Q:** So you're saying that all these kind of questions made the Panthers not be involved?

**A:** Yes, it forced the key people in the Panther organization to leave town.

**Q:** For jobs, some of them had families.

**A:** Yes, they had families to support and there was this one who lost his job as a result of bad publicity, a smear campaign. He didn't get his job back but they had to pay him from the time they had fired him for no legitimate reason. Until they made that decision they didn't give him his job back.

This exchange is illustrative of both structural forces and the agency of the black community during the period of active involvement of the Black Panther Party in Lima. The informant clearly describes the early participation and support of the citizenry, both white and black, of the Panthers by the level of individual surveillance of police activity and reports by professionals to the Panthers concerning confidential information. This narrative is also very telling of the tension between the police department and area youth. It is interesting to note the association of the federal government in the form of the National Guard and the FBI in the racial unrest, which is characteristic of their connection to rebellions, and civil unrest in other parts of the Midwest, particularly Detroit (Fine 1989). The informant clearly indicts the FBI in blocking access to employment, black balling those who were employed, and sanctioning blacks who

resisted participation by refusing to serve as protective elements for the government against their own people. The fact that she mentions the resistance of a local black National Guardsman indicates strategic planning by members of the black community who functioned in the formal economy. The issues raised show the critical analytical skills of the community during the Panthers' reign and provide a clear example of the beginnings of unity between black youth in the Westend and Southend of Lima.

The informant is insightful of the role of the media in both instilling fear and shaping the image of the Panthers as agents of destruction in the mind's of the local community. She provides the often-missing explanation of why groups like the Panthers felt the need to assemble. In the case of the Lima branch, they formed after a series of shootings by the police of local blacks. The shootings intensified strained relationships between black citizens and members of the police department. The Panthers not only garnered support from the local community, but drew in other like-minded support organizations, which marked the development of unity among people of color based on a shared sense of inequality at the hands of law enforcement officers.

The structural elements used to constrain black citizens materialized in the form of curfews, city ordinances, and police surveillance of daily activities. In the end, those in control attempted to place the blame of the volatile climate on the people themselves. The FBI agent's question, specifically, "Why do you hate the police?" illustrates this point.

The agents demonstrated resistance and intelligence in the following ways: fighting back; shooting out street lights that made it harder for the police to both see and

conduct their jobs; and using mental intimidation to wear down the National Guard. All of which are representative of practical resistance strategies.

Lastly, Black Panther involvement by Lima area black youth was also impacted by the Vietnam War, which was a military struggle, fought from 1959 to 1975 (Gilbert 2002). The United States became involved in this conflict in 1965 and sent troops off to fight in this war. Both white and black males from the Lima area were drafted and sent to this battle. The United States claimed it needed to take part in this war to prevent the South Vietnamese government from collapsing, but failed to achieve this goal and Vietnam was reunified under Communist control in 1975 (Gilbert 2002).

Lima's branch of the Black Panther Party was officially disbanded during the late fall of 1970 and replaced by the National Coalition to Combat Racism that lasted until 1971 (Davis 1978).

### Black Politics in this Era

In 1964, Furl Williams, a black citizen, ran for city council but lost (SQHC 1971). At that time, he expressed that his loss was due to political apathy in Lima's black community. Further, he complained that they were not using all their political strength, and that they could have a bigger influence on elected officials if more would register to vote (SQHC 1971). In 1968, community activism, spearheaded largely by politically aware black youth, resulted in a massive voter registration drive and Williams was elected Lima's first black councilman (SHRP 1978).

The drive to vote in council elections could not surpass the structural restraints built into the local election procedures. For instance, the Board of Education, which had

always been white, was elected at-large, making it more difficult for minorities to elect representatives to that body than to city council (SQHC 1971).. When one considers the importance of the public educational establishment in Lima, both in terms of its budget and its influence on the thinking of the students, faculty, and the community, it was imperative for the black community to organize to have its own interests represented on the school board. Organization in this capacity never occurred and proved to be an important omission that played out in the racially charged student disruptions of the late 1960s and early 1970s at Lima Senior High School.

### Racial Clashes in the Lima Public School Systems

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the formation of several new organizations and an increase in trouble in Lima's public schools. In 1962, a charge of racial discrimination was brought against the public school system. The case involved twenty-two black children who were denied admittance to an elementary school that left the school with an all white attendance (SQHC 1971). The school claimed they refused the students because they did not live in the district. The children's parents countered this by calling the practice segregation and formed an organization called "The Concerned Parents Group" and boycotted the school (SQHC 1971). Even though they took this gallant action their children were never admitted and returned to schools in their districts.

1969 marked the beginning of racial conflicts at Lima Senior High School that commenced with a student walkout one year after the assassination of Martin Luther King<sup>28</sup> and continued with a string of racial incidents in 1970 and 1971(SQHC 1971).

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<sup>28</sup> Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was an African American minister, Nobel Prize winner and one of the principle leaders in the American Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. His role in that movement was to

Newspaper accounts indicate that the activities were at times explosive and racially charged. The following account is taken from a concerned citizen who advocated for black students at Lima Senior during a disturbance there on February 10, 1971 (SQHC 1971). The account is presented in its entirety as versions of it were shared to me by a number of community members, indicating its importance in the collective memory of Lima's black community.

It started over a letter written by a white girl to her boyfriend in which she criticized a black girl and called her a "damn nigger." This was Wednesday morning. The incident was brought to the attention of the principal who proceeded to get both girls involved in settling the issue. It was possibly another of those well meaning attempts to bring about resolution and to maintain apparent harmony by suggesting that one or both parties acquiesce. For the white girl, it would mean apologizing. For the black girl it would mean dismissing another demeaning attack upon her integrity as a black person.

However, word spread and the entire student body was soon on edge with the long smoldering problem of racism. This culminated in the outbreak of several fights, first in the cafeteria during lunch-hour and then spreading throughout the school. About twelve persons were hurt, but only one seriously enough to go to the hospital. School was dismissed. The black students gathered in the auditorium to further air their grievances, conducting themselves in a very orderly and dignified manner. They left school at about 3:30 p.m. while the faculty continued with their meetings in the cafeteria.

After the faculty meeting, several parents and myself met with the principal to discuss the policy of the school in regard to the black students' settling some of the issues themselves. It was understood at the beginning of the discussion that the black students would be allowed to meet in the auditorium the next morning before school started and that classes would continue. One of the parents suggested that it might be wise if the school was actually dismissed the following day to avoid any further conflagrations and that the blacks be allowed at least two hours, if not the whole morning, to get their grievances together to present to the school administration. The principal accepted the suggestion but said that he did not have the authority to dismiss school. He phoned the superintendent of schools, who came down to the school and talked to the principal

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challenge segregation and racial discrimination through nonviolent protest. He is a respected icon in the African American community and worldwide. He was assassinated by a sniper on April 4, 1968.

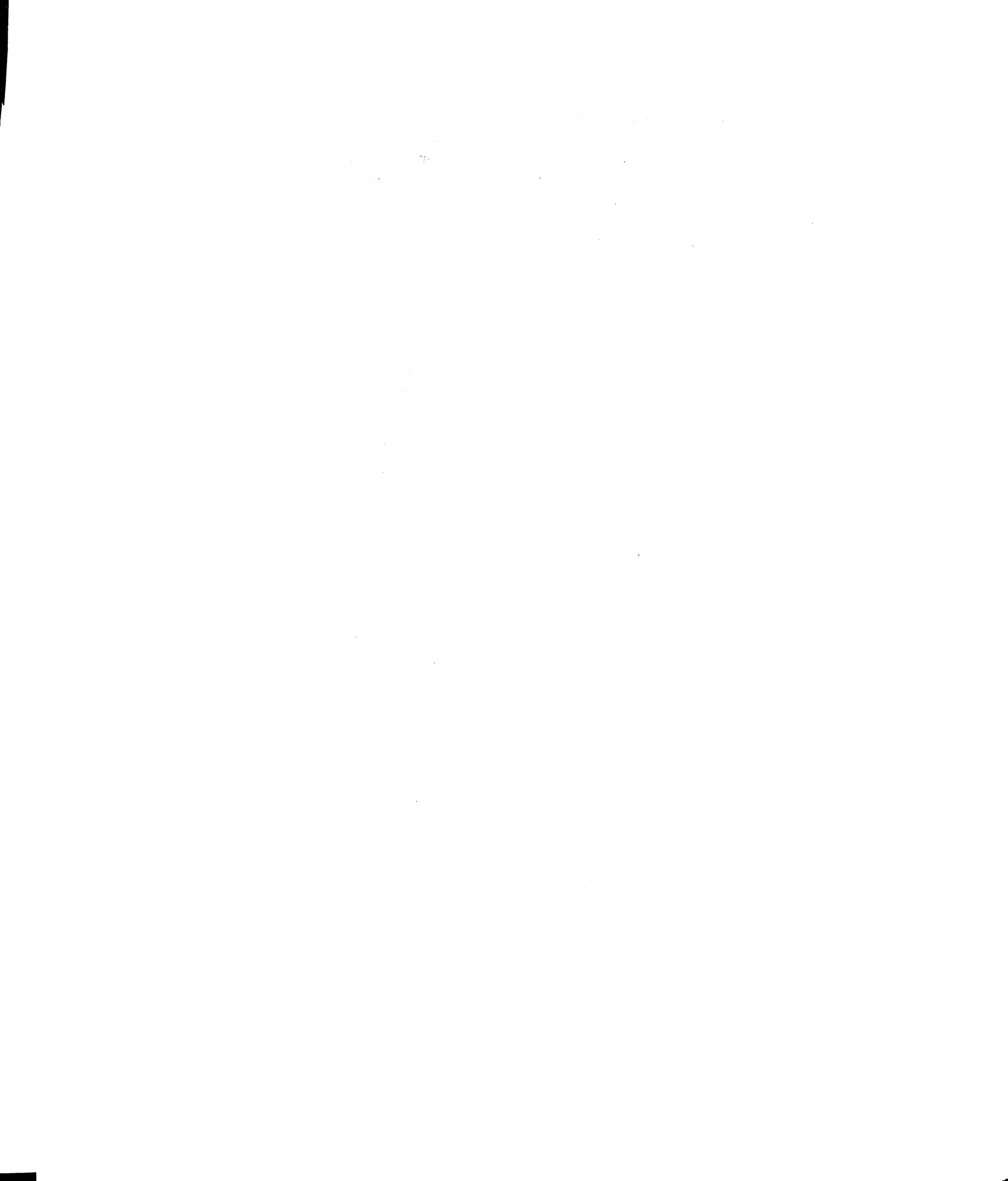
privately. When the principal came back, he had taken a different stance. He made it clear that there would be no mass meetings in the morning even though there had already been an understanding among the black students who had left and that the meeting would be re-adjourned in the morning. The parents were quite shocked by this complete about face and counseled that the new decision would create the possibility of greater turmoil and violence. The principal explained that this was the only position he could take.

On Thursday, February 11, at 8:00 a.m. students (both black and white) had gathered in school. A group of white students congregated in the cafeteria. Since the auditorium doors had been locked, the black students also gathered in the cafeteria. Eventually the white students left and reassembled outside on the lawn. Those in the cafeteria now numbered 150 or so black students and 15-20 parents, teachers and ministers. The students, in attempts to settle the situation among themselves, continued to conduct themselves in an orderly manner. There were several expressions from various students concerning specific degrading experiences of racism and condescension. Obviously, the situation had become much broader and deeper than the relatively minor incident of the letter.

The principal and the superintendent of schools eventually arrived. The principal cited to the group his attempts to involve black students in the school. There was a short period of questions and answers between the principal, the superintendent and the students. The superintendent then told all in the cafeteria that he could not allow the group to meet in the school and that everyone in the room would be engaged in unlawful assembly and would be arrested if they did not leave. The students, however, decided that they had committed themselves to staying in school in order to settle school problems, and that they would not leave even if it meant that they all had to go to jail.

Mayor Morris then entered and read a Lima ordinance concerning unlawful assembly. The superintendent presented a deadline at 9:15 a.m. and said that all those not out of the building by then would be arrested. At 9:15 a.m. the police arrived and under the direction of the superintendent proceeded to arrest those whom the superintendent pointed. The 10 or so students left without resistance. The adults in the room were dazed by the Gestapo-like tactics employed. The superintendent then announced that he would allow another 5 minutes at which time another batch of people would be arrested.

It was at this point that Reverend Loo felt an obligation to point out the discriminatory enforcement of the law. He got the attention of the audience and suggested that if this be done fairly, either everyone in the room (including adults) should be arrested or that the students now being



arrested should be released. “If some of the students are arrested, then all of us should be arrested. The few students should not be used as scapegoats, public examples or lambs of sacrifice. If the ten were guilty of unlawful assembly then everyone in the room was guilty of unlawful assembly—including the superintendent who actively participated in the assembly. Therefore all should have been arrested or none should have been.” Before Reverend Loo could complete his statement, the superintendent “fingered” him as worthy of arrest and had arrested 10 more. It was interesting to note that after 40 plus students and Reverend Loo had been arrested, they did not bother to return to arrest the remaining 100 or so who remained in the cafeteria. Reverend Loo ends up by saying: “As I reflect upon these events, I find myself appalled, both as a citizen of the U.S. and as one who is called to proclaim the Gospel of Christ, that there is so much blindness to the problem of injustices and racism. I appeal to those whose consciences have not been paralyzed by fear to face the real problems in this city, reflected so well in the school system. It is the challenge of a new openness and understanding that takes seriously Christ’s command to love our neighbor as ourselves.”

This example shows how structural forces, in the form of school officials and city ordinances blocked progress of blacks in the Lima area. It is a clear case of how public policies are used by the power structure to disregard both the people’s voices, political activism and equal treatment under the law. Reverend Loo exerted agency by demonstrating how unjust both the mayor and the superintendent of the schools were, which resulted in him being escorted to jail. Loo’s assessment of the administrations need to address the “real problem of racism” in the city which he saw reflected in the school system went unheeded. After this incident Reverend Loo became a popular leader among blacks in the city.

The role of students was in the form of nonviolent resistance to the issue as such they exerted agency by attempting to resolve the dispute using methods that were part of the structure, specifically school policy. It is an example of the growing discrimination against blacks in the law enforcement in the area and occurred on the heels of the



previous clash involving Lima's police department and the Black Panther Party and served to enhance growing racial disparities. The divide was deepened when Reverend Loo accepted a position in San Francisco and left the area in 1971 (SQHC 1971).

#### Integration in the workforce by the NAACP

In 1943, the local NAACP began working on the problem of the integration of blacks into the local workforce, but no major changes occurred until 1960, with the election of Dave Powell in the position of vice-president. Powell dedicated the organization to the task of acquisition of jobs for blacks in local industries and was instrumental in getting more blacks hired at Westinghouse, Davis Enamel, Superior Coach and BLH (SQHC 1971). He was the driving force leading to the hiring of blacks in stores and banks in downtown Lima (SQHC 1971).

Another of his successes was the local UAW. In 1962, he took thirteen blacks to the city to take the civil service exams. Eleven of them passed their exams—they were in electrical, welding, plumbing, pipe fitting trades and one in the meat cutting trade (SQHC 1971). All together, Powell processed 175 jobs for blacks through the NAACP during his period in office (SQHC 1971).

In 1966, the NAACP filed a suit against Laibe Trailer Court due to an incident involving unfair housing practices (SQHC 1971). The incident began when Richard Lyons, a black man who was in the U.S. Air Force, attempted to move his family and trailer to the Laibe Trailer Court in Lima, but was denied a space even though there was some available (SQHC 1971). The reason given for this refusal was that the other residents voiced their objection of the move to the court manager. The NAACP talked to

them and found that they had no objections, which allowed Lyons to move in, and the case was settled out of court (SQHC 1971).

In 1963, Standard Oil only employed five or six blacks. In that year they eliminated all of their jobs except one, who according to an informant of the SQHC (1971) “looked white and had gotten hurt on the job so he had a lifetime job”. In 1969, the local NAACP decided to do something about the employment practices of Standard Oil, so they sent information to the national NAACP office. They, in turn, sent notices to all of the branches to boycott the company (SQHC 1971). The real pressure came from area farmers who stopped buying chemicals and automotive products unless the truck driver was black (SQHC 1971). The strategy proved to be effective and the company hired more black employees.

The activities of the NAACP reveal the effectiveness of their agency and active resistance to the structure in place. Successful organization and focusing of leadership enabled them to make great strides concerning the hiring practices of local industries. The broadening of opportunities to Lima area blacks would continue into the 1970s.

#### New Construction: Factories and Community Organizations

The decade ended with the addition of a new manufacturing industry and a civic organization geared toward investment in future orientation for the area’s youth. Proctor and Gamble surfaced on Lima’s industrial landscape in 1968, produced the product *Downy*—a liquid fabric detergent—and employed over 500 people (*The Lima News* March 2, 2003). Community interventions regarding area youth in the Southend was spearheaded by the opening of the King-Kennedy Center in 1968 (SQHC 1971). Its

mission was to provide local black students an adequate place to study and served as a resource for those who were planning to pursue college. At this point in the history of the city, the quality of life for some members of the black citizenry was looking up.

### Conclusions

The late 1960s and early 1970s, were a time of unity and leadership development for blacks in the Lima and nationwide due to gains made by organizations like the local area churches, the NAACP, the Black Panther Party, and the UAW. The fundamental point of these organizations was that there was a problem with the system, specifically, that it was not inclusive of all Americans. Sparked by the Civil Rights Movement, they challenged the structure by actively organizing differing segments of the community that included church members, area youth, students, workers, and politicians and policy makers.

The structural forces involved in this transformation included civil organizations, area factories, public schools, and social service agencies. As institutional forces succeeded in acquiring employment for some local African Americans in the established industries, their identities began to shift to blue-collar workers making them dependent on factory owners for their livelihood. The changing identity was embodied by area youth as they began to witness the affects of stable employment on their quality of life. The period marked a transition in the quality of life of some of the city's African American inhabitants.



## Chapter 4: Life for Blacks in the 1970s

*You better not look down if you want to keep on flying, put the hammer down, keep it full speed ahead. You better not look back, or you might just end up crying, you can keep it moving if you don't look down. B.B. King<sup>29</sup>*

### Local Area Politics

The 1970s were the beginning of another large change for Lima area blacks. More black candidates ran for city council and this time, perhaps inspired from the actions of the Lima City School Board concerning racial incidents at Lima Senior High, ran for seats on the school board and pivotal positions in law enforcement. In 1976, Lewis Hamilton ran for County Sheriff and lost (Davis 1978). In 1977, Frances Napier ran for City Council and Cheryl Allen ran for the Lima City School Board (Davis 1978). Though none of the political pursuits was successful, they are noteworthy, signal an increase in political involvement, and suggest a growing awareness of in the community.

### Industrial Growth and the Development of the Blue Collar Working Classes

This decade witnessed significant growth in employment of Lima area blacks in the larger industries that were in town, namely Proctor and Gamble, Ford, Westinghouse, Sheller Globe and Dana and provided the income needed for some blacks to move up to the middle classes (Davis 1978). Equal participation in the larger economic system was crucial in the evolution of the area's blue-collar working class however it did not change their status on a national level. Lemelle (2001) explains the phenomenon and points out that the higher income of blue-collar blacks indicates, primarily, their evolution as consumers. In this role they function as the producers needed to strengthen those who

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<sup>29</sup> B.B. King from the song "Better Not Look Down" on the album entitled *Take it Home* (1979).



control the means of production by allowing them to continue to regulate society through the distribution of wealth.

This examination of an aspect of western capitalism was first proposed by Max Weber where he described class as a two-tiered structure based on two inter-related factors, income and status (Gilbert 1998). His analysis is useful in demonstrating power differentials inherent in the two-tiered configuration. Further, blacks that attain income based class risk a chance of becoming complacent. As such they are not viewed as a challenge to the larger system and, in fact, support the structure that oppresses them.

On the other hand, a change in class by status signals social movement in the infrastructure. Lemelle (2001) describes the characteristics of this process as the ability to control regulation of society (political power), productive distribution of wealth (economic power), collective wealth and corporate and financial institutions. In his view, blacks in America have never experienced a growth in class status and therefore do not control decisions that regulate or redistribute wealth in the social order.

Ogbu (1978) expands this observation with the addition of a political focus. In his view, the fact that blacks in America have only acquired a change in economic class is the crux of the argument. He clarifies his comments by detailing what he describes as a caste-like system that prohibits them from gaining status and suggests that it is inherent in the institutionalized racial structure of American society. Other scholars have joined Ogbu and evaluate it as a system that prohibits upward and downward mobility by acting as a means of regulating unequal social relations between blacks and whites (Scott 1997, McKee 1993). The historical legacy of this practice is that blacks in America, no matter

what economic class are below the lowliest whites in the social hierarchy, due to membership in the white caste system (Scott 1997, Omi and Winnant 1986).

The integration of blacks into the blue-collar classes in Lima is illustrative of what Harvey (1990), in *The Condition of Postmodernity* calls “time-space compression” which is a crucial process in understanding the levels of developing consciousness. Harvey (1990) details the mechanisms of Fordism in framing his concept. In his view, the practice starts by the owners of the means of production convincing the first generation of laborers that their labor is quantifiable and can be reduced to time. New world industrialists, like Henry Ford, instituted this concept by paying workers a minimum salary for their hourly labor. It was effective in changing the concept of time, which progressed from a natural process to a calculated structured practice, in this way it could be counted. In the resulting paradigm shift it went from being something people did to buy food to becoming a part of who they were. This mentality was further instilled in the second generation who began to normalize the 40-hour workweek as a way of life, which led to the development of a disciplined work force. In the third generation of workers it was further enhanced as they not only accepted the 40-hour workweek but fought for time and a half. As people began to lose their skills and work for wages there was a tremendous drop in their quality of life and a growing dependence on the system for their livelihood. Job retention in the factory was determined by the ability to perform rote mechanisms on the assembly line, which set boundaries on the development of artisans and skilled laborers (Georgakas and Surkin 1998). The end result was the creation of a percentage of the population that was linked and dependent on the jobs available in the manufacturing industry.



The group of black blue collar laborers, in the Lima area, that participated in industry during this time, were second and third generation laborers who followed their fathers, mothers, and siblings to employment in the factories. They worked 60, 70 and 80 hour work weeks which led to greater economic stability and they invested their earnings in real estate and automobiles in the same way that local whites had. Acquired property was largely limited to the West and South ends of town, which did not alter their segregated status (Davis 1978). The two-tiered class structure was at work; specifically the gains in income did not transform status in the larger community.

Lima area blacks developed a blue collar working mentality that affected some of their children evidenced by their future aspirations centered on lifetime employment in one of the local manufacturing enterprises (Davis 1978). This finding is supported by other scholarship (Farley et al 2000, Georgakas and Surkin 1998). One informant, who was a teacher in the Lima City Schools, summarizes his interpretation of the mindset that developed in some of the locals in the following way:

The vision of the parents for their children in the Lima Public Schools at that time, the mid 70's was the same as their vision for themselves. You know, the job that I have is a laborers job and if my child can just simply get out of high school and get this type of job that'd be fine. They had that mentality.

Additionally, educational aspirations beyond high school for some youth was not strongly supported or encouraged and many of the locals planned their lives around their permanent employment in area conglomerates. Positions in the manufacturing realm were viewed as prestigious, practical and a status symbol for both black and white members in the community (Davis 1978).

### Lima Public Schools and the Introduction of Black Studies

The Civil Rights Movement and incidents of civil unrest fostered the development of radical activism in black communities which was evidenced by the challenges of politically aware citizens who advocated for the inclusion of black studies in both public and university education systems (Norment 2001). The purpose of these programs was four-fold: to study the culture of Black American ethnicity as historically and socially defined by the traditional literature; to promote the development of new approaches to the study of the black experience; the development of social policies that would impact positively on the lives of black people; and to provide an all inclusive voice in the telling of the story (Norment 2001). Marable (1998) ties the importance of the initiation of such programs to the enhancement and restoration of identity and self-esteem and suggests that a possible result was that students would use the information that they learned to “interpret their collective experience for the purpose of transforming their actual conditions and the totality of the society around them” (p. 4).

Though this was the rhetoric, some members in the black community viewed the situation in a different light and interpreted them as the establishment’s answer to politically savvy blacks that knew how to push their agenda (Norment 2001). Others saw the adaptation as an answer to fear in the white mind that failure to instigate such an initiative would result in a repeat of the urban rebellions of the late 1960s (Marable 1998). The pressure was on and the federal government heeded the call by providing funding to support black studies programs in the standard high school curriculum on a national level.



Lima Senior High School responded to the mandate by what was termed “Black History Week”. Black students in the local area were influenced by the national sentiment and were enthusiastic about the addition in the high school curriculum (Davis 1978). The following interview from a black student at Lima Senior High school who participated in *The Spedy Historical Research Project* (1978) articulates the process.

**Q:** Were you a student at Lima Senior throughout the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grade?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** What year did you graduate?

**A:** 1976.

**Q:** Do you remember what year they started to have “Black History” week at Lima Senior?

**A:** They started in 1974.

**Q:** That was the first one?

**A:** That was the first one; it was instigated to be a kind of pacifier or something to give the black students an identity within the school system. That year, '74, they didn't do anything, everybody went home. Nothing came off. Everybody kept waiting for whatever, you know, they hadn't asked school participation or anything, it was just a black history week.

**Q:** What do you mean nothing came off?

**A:** I mean, you know, they didn't offer, they didn't plan a program, tell us we had the use of the auditorium or any of the you know school facilities or anything like that, you know, or they didn't have a program planned where they had asked for student participation or anything like that, it was just a black history week.

The Lima School Board initiated a black history program on paper, but in actuality never implemented it in practice. No information was uncovered to suggest that the proposal ever became part of the high school curriculum. Since no blacks had



successfully been elected to the Lima School Board, neither black history nor black studies ever became a part of the regular high school curriculum.

### New Social Organizations

This period in Lima's history witnessed the development of federally funded programs geared toward easing racial tensions. One such organization was the King-Kennedy Community Center that was founded in 1968 and fully functional in 1971 (Davis 1978). The King-Kennedy Community Center was one of the neighborhood opportunity centers funded by a block grant given to the Community Action Council (CAC) (Davis 1978). It was located in the Southend of town on Union Street in the Mizpah Center and provided recreational and educational activities for Lima area black youth (Davis 1978). The center's programs included tutors from nearby Bluffton College who assisted youth with their homework two nights a week, the development and staffing by community members of a community newspaper, and housed a community food co-op (Davis 1978). Utilization of the center by local area black youth was high and they began producing a community newspaper, *The Lima Voice*, which became an important media source for Lima's black citizenry.

### Living Conditions

Despite the activism of local area ministers in the 1950s and 1960s, about the living conditions of Lima area blacks, housing for those who lived in the Southend continued to decline. To gain insight into the inherent structural deficiencies in the system that sustained and supported this occurrence the following interviews from the SHRP (1978) are helpful.

**Q:** If you had any changes that you could make yourself, what would you do?

**A:** Like what?

**Q:** Environmental.

**A:** Well, there's so many, there's so many things I don't suppose you have enough room to write down all the things that need correcting. Number one, we have a, I guess I'm black I could notice our plight quicker than anybody else that is not, we have a horrible condition in the Southend of Lima. For one thing, if I was in a responsible position where I could really do something about it, I would start with the Southend of Lima. The Southend of Lima has been neglected far too long. We're way overdue. I used to come in here more than 30 years ago and the Southend was practically a mud hole and today it is not much better. But I would make some great changes in the city of Lima.

Another interview:

**Q:** And what is your prognosis for Lima, as far as the black community is concerned. I feel youth thought the need to have some changes several years ago—have you seen any of the changes having been implemented, are there any other changes or things you think need to be done in Lima or you'd like to see done?

**A:** Yeah, for changes at the time, some of the changes were implemented but now I mean those changes that were necessary at that time were really small in comparison to the ones that need to be made now. I think the city is responsible for the city you know and if they just did their part you know, but they don't because the Southend of Lima, you know, or black people in general, you know they hurried up and gave people their poverty program jobs, they only last a minute anyway, it's a lot of changes that need to be made. I'd like to see an investigation in living conditions in areas, in different areas of town for those areas designated as quote "black areas" unquote. You know, investigations, even health department standards, how they live, two and three families in a two-bedroom apartment, you know nine people in a two-bedroom apartment. That's because where else is there to go? Where are they going to go? I mean the village<sup>30</sup> is packed, every place is packed, overflowing and nothing is being done about it, nothing. Every new housing development that is being established is for Senior Citizens. There is a lot of discrimination against blacks in this city, a lot of it.

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<sup>30</sup> The informant is referring to Victory Village—a housing project that was erected for the black workers recruited by the Ohio Steel Foundry during the 1940-1945 migrations.

These citizens are voicing their concerns about the lack of available housing and living conditions in the Southend of town. They are also very clear that poverty programs were not effective and that the city's trend in housing was geared toward building new facilities for the elderly. The economic picture for local blacks was varied and a number of them espoused aspirations outside of the blue-collar world. Those who came from families who could not afford to send them to college took advantage of Affirmative Action programs and pursued degrees and upon completion returned to the city (SHRP 1978). This revival was short-lived as many could not find local employment in their careers of choice and some encountered the structural constraint of racism, which surfaced in the hiring strategies of the local infrastructure; specifically whites with the same qualifications secured the best positions, so many blacks were forced out of the area on the basis of economic survival (SHRP 1978). An example of some of the brain drain from the city of educated or progressive blacks comes from an interview conducted by the SHRP in 1978.

**Q:** Could you tell me some of the changes you have seen in Lima since you've been here?

**A:** Well, I've accepted Lima as it is, my children all graduated from the high school here in Lima. They have all gone out and made something of themselves. I have one son who's a pilot; one daughter is an executive secretary of The Allen County Council for Retarded Children. I have one that's a supervisor at the General Electric in Cleveland, Ohio and another girl has a nursery in Warrensville Heights, and my other daughter is a secretary to the Lazarus Company in Columbus and my one son's a minister. So they've all done well by being raised in a small town like Lima to leave here and do these things.



## Black Leadership

By the end of the 1970s, a unified black leadership had not emerged a factor that was not limited to Lima but to the nation as a whole (Cruse 1967). Difficulties to unification of Lima area blacks were problematized by dissimilarities among those who hailed from different backgrounds, classes, residential areas, and age groups. The strong black leadership that emerged among black ministers during the Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s was only barely visible. Neither they nor their churches ever assumed or took the initiative to provide leadership to the locals as they continued to voice the inequalities that existed between the black and white communities in Lima (SQHC 1971). Instead, these churches and their ministers assumed a “middle of the road” position, meaning that they were not controversial and largely stayed out of area politics (SHRP 1978). Traditionally, when racial trouble had occurred in Lima, black ministers and church leaders were called upon by the black populace to give emotional and social support in times of crisis. By the end of the 1970s, their role was reduced to socialization leading to a divorce between area youth and church activities and a weakening of their status in the community (SHRP 1978). Local ministers decreased, and in some cases ceased, their involvement in local and national politics. Area churches, ministers, and their congregations were aligned with the status quo (Davis 1978). Attainment of property, long-term job security, and family health benefits contributed to a reduction in the financial stress of many local area families creating an atmosphere that was not conducive to rebellion against the system. Local area blacks became complacent, a factor that can be attributed to their economic investment in the system.

On a national level, the seeds of future leadership of the black community took root among the youth at a different level. It appeared in the form of black male artists who performed what would later be termed rap music. The genre was appealing to the masses of black youth because of it was culturally relevant. Some scholars suggest that this is tied to its reliance on oral tradition, a feature that comes from the traditional black church (Kitwana 2002). Others suggest that its' critical force grew out of the cultural potency that racially segregated conditions foster (Rose 1994). Regardless of the explanation, its presence was loudly felt by the nation's youth.

The first rappers to emerge from this new art form largely focused on the commonalities encountered in day-to-day life. The music they produced was replete with danceable rhythms and upbeat and the youth of the time strongly identified with it. One of the first rap records of the period was 1976's Curtis Blow with "The Breaks" in which he parodies the troubles one goes through in life. Examples of some of his lyrics are:

And Ma Bell sends you a whoppin' bill  
With 18 phone calls to Brazil  
And you borrowed money from the mob  
And yesterday you lost your job  
And he told you the story of his life  
But he forgot the part about his wife  
Well these are the breaks, break it out, break it out, breakdown

This was followed by the Sugarhill Gang's "Rappers Delight" in 1979 in which the group introduces the world to the concept of rap (Rose 1994). Some words from that single are:

What you hear is not a test  
I'm rappin' to the beat  
And me, the groove, and my friends are gonna try to move your feet  
Well I am Wonder Mike and I'd like to say hello  
To the red, the brown, the purple and yellow

Rap artists were becoming the voice of black youth in a variety of ways; some of their messages were simply to get people dancing, while others had much more political and social undertones. They were singing about their quality of life and their experiences of being black in America. One very telling example is a line from Grandmaster Flash's "The Message" (1982):

Broken glass everywhere  
People pissin' on the stairs you know they just don't care  
Roaches in the front room, rats in the back  
Junkies in the alley with a baseball bat  
Tried to get away but I couldn't get far  
Cause the man with the papers repossessed my car  
Don't push me cause I'm close to the edge  
I'm tryin' not to loose my head  
It's like a jungle, sometimes it makes me wonder  
How I keep from going under

Nationally, those in powerful positions at the larger record companies paid little attention to the emergence of this new art form (Riddenhour and Jah 1997, Rose 1994). Their general prognosis was that it was a fad that would quickly go away. However, these earlier artists, who were primarily black males, persisted and made cassettes of their music from home-based stereo systems and began to distribute them to club owners, local area D.J.'s or sold them out of the trunks of their cars (Riddenhour and Jah 1997, Rose 1994). Distributed tracks were played at parties by local D.J.'s and black youth of the era were receptive to it. The influence and development of rap artists on black youth at both the national and local level would grow stronger in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000.

### Conclusions

In the 1970s, many African Americans in Lima acquired employment in local area manufacturing. Inclusion in this sector led to the development of a blue-collar

mentality among the some of the citizenry whose future goals were limited to obtaining lifetime employment in local industries. For this reason, they did not acquire the skills needed to survive in a shifting economy and relied soled on an industrialized employment base. Through this means, some of the local African Americans experienced upward movement in the financial class structure however; there was no change in their class status, so they did not gain economic or political power over the means of production, which would have sealed their future roles in American society.

The façade of this decade was that life for many Lima area African Americans was on the mend. There was a firm belief that things had gotten better for many community members. It was a climate was not conducive to the development of the type of African American leadership that had surfaced in the prior decade. At the same time, the youth were impacted by an awareness of African American cultural elements awakened by progress made during the Civil Rights era of the 1960s. Chief among these was the development of the cultural art form of rap music a genre that influenced identity formation because the artists who performed it looked like area youth and sang about issues they could relate to. The introduction of rap music served as the initial seed that African Americans, primarily males, channeled to exhibit agency and develop a new type of leadership. The type of movement that this music would create had not existed in the youth movements of the past.

## Chapter 5: The 1980s in Lima

*I was in Arizona State Prison shooting a film with Gene Wilder and I noticed a strange thing. 80% of the prison population was black. What's strange about that is that there are no black people in Arizona. I asked myself, "what are they doing, bussing black people in to fill up the prisons here?"* Richard Pryor<sup>31</sup>

### Reaganomics

In the 1980s, Lima began to experience the pinch of the recession, which was impacted by the election of the new Republican president, Ronald Reagan. The Reagan administration strongly favored de-regulation of industries previously regulated by federal government policies that were enacted in response to civil and human rights legislation fought for during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s (Kitwana 2002; Boger 1995). "Reaganomics"—a term coined in reference to these administrative policies, impacted America's social, political and economic system on a national level.

The aftermath of the sweeping structural changes was witnessed in Lima in the form of drastic downsizing in area industries. Localized conglomerates, specifically Motor Company, Westinghouse, Dana, and Ohio Steel shifted two of the major components in their business modes. First, they adopted technology that increased productivity but required less manpower to operate, and they began to employ non-union laborers. These changes led to a decrease in employment opportunities for the local population, limited the workers' voices in the decision making process. The Ford Company, in particular, shifted the base of its Lima operations to Atlanta, Georgia and began to

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<sup>31</sup> Richard Pryor from his live recorded performance entitled *Live on Sunset Strip* in 1982. It is a significant event in Pryor's comedic life because it is the concert tour where he vowed to end his use of the word "Nigger" in reference to black people.

specialize, exclusively in the production of small motors in the Lima-based plant (*The Lima News*, March 2, 2003).

The local area's economic base began to change, evidenced by an influx of chain stores in the Lima area; they included Super Kmart, ValuCity, and Wal-Mart, which were all part of large national chains allowing them to charge lower prices for their products. The impact of this marketing scheme was two-fold, it attracted low-wage earning consumers, and it drove smaller community stores out of business due to limited financial capital. The large competitors dominated the consumer market and hired low-skilled workers for minimum wage service opportunities. Consumers were at an all around disadvantage, especially in small towns like Lima, due to limited shopping and employment options. Another consequence was the growing reliance on overseas labor to assemble products as companies found this labor source cost effective (Bogger 1999). These developments resulted in a reduction in the blue-collar labor base in Lima.

Nationwide, the country began to experience the effects of the change in manufacturing production and experienced a recession in the middle 1980s. Lima residents with skills or who could get transferred by their companies took advantage of the opportunity and did so. One informant who was a Lima area proprietor of a small business discusses how the recession of the 1980s forced him out of business.

During the recession of the 80s, '85 and '86, this thing went so bad because my business was geared to the steel industry, Ohio Steel Foundry. We were making deoxidized bars, buying scrape aluminum, converting it into deoxidized material and selling it to the steel mill. A combination of things resulted in the business not being profitable to the point where I decided to leave it. The equipment I sold to a company out of Pittsburgh and I just closed the business down.



## The Growth of Lima's Prison Industry

There was a decrease in funding for Lima area youth's initiatives culminating in the closure of the King-Kennedy Center in 1978 (Davis 1978). The Bradfield Center remained open but due to a drastic reduction in federal funding was unable to offer a wide array of programs. Literature reviews indicate a similar trend in the depletion of youth recreational facilities around the country (Taylor 1996). Participation in these activities became severely limited for those hailing from families with restrained household budgets, characterized by employment in the low-wage sector. The young people from these economically disadvantaged groups experienced a marked reduction in the availability of positive outlets to channel their energy.

The closing of recreational facilities was not the only concern and in 1980 there was a change in national policy that had very clear racial implications (Boggs 1997). The Reagan administration initiated a "War on Drugs", which refocused earlier anti-drug efforts from rehabilitation to punishment (Kitwana 2002). The decade brought a wave of legislation aimed at getting tough on crime. Some of the crime bills that were passed were the Omnibus Crime Bill of 1984, the 1986 Anti-Drug Abuse Act, and the 1988 Omnibus Anti-Drug Abuse Act (Kitwana 2002). Funding for prison facilities increased as a consequence of the get-tough stance. Federal reports reveal that the impact of this massive construction of prisons was largely felt among AAM as they account for more than half of the prison population in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Justice 1997).

In accord with the national trend, Lima, like a number of small communities, invested in building and refurbishing local area correctional institutions. In 1980 the Lima Correctional Institution (LCI) was converted into a facility to hold adult males



*News*, February 9, 2003) followed by the opening of Allen County Correctional Institution (ACI) in 1987 (*The Lima News*, February 9, 2003).

LCI housed 2,000 inmates and required 500 support staff (which translates into jobs); while ACI housed 1,500 inmates and 330 support staff. Both were ranked as medium/minimum security risks by the Ohio State Department of Corrections (*The Lima News*, February 9, 2003). The introduction of prisons impacted the local economy in two ways, it became a source of middle class employment, and created new inmate facilities for Ohio's overburdened corrections system. On both the national and local level AAM became the bodies that would predominately fill prison cells.

According to Span (2000), Black males constitute only 6% of the nation's overall population but 46% of the country's prison population. In the late 1980s and early 1990s more black males of the age's 20 to 29, nearly one in four, were in prison or on parole than in college<sup>32</sup> (Starks 1993, Taylor Gibbs 1988).

In the case of Lima, and black males that live there, the following statistics<sup>33</sup> as of July 2003 were available, regarding the demographics of the prison populations based in these two facilities.

**Table 1- Allen Correctional Institution**

<b>Black Inmates</b>	<b>White Inmates</b>	<b>Hispanic Inmates</b>	<b>Other Inmates</b>
<b>512</b>	<b>691</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>8</b>

**Total number of inmates as of July 2003=1,240**

<sup>32</sup> The accuracy of this statistic is in current debate among scholars of black males in the United States. Chideya (1995: 197) challenges its' accuracy in the following statement, "In 1991, there were 136,000 black males aged 18-24 in prison, and fully 378,000 black males of the same age in college. The sentencing group's statement is misleading; comparing black male prisoners of all ages to the overwhelmingly young college population gives a very false perception."

<sup>33</sup> The source of this information is the internet website for the State of Ohio's Department of Corrections.

**Table 2- Allen Correctional Institution's Operational Statistics 2003**

<b>Total Staff</b>	<b>313</b>
<b>Total Security Staff</b>	<b>167</b>
<b>Annual Operating Budget</b>	<b>\$28,018.916</b>
<b>Annual Cost Per Inmate</b>	<b>\$23,721.60</b>
<b>Daily Cost Per Inmate</b>	<b>\$64.99</b>

**Table 3- Lima Correctional Institution**

<b>Black Inmates</b>	<b>White Inmates</b>	<b>Hispanic Inmates</b>	<b>Other Inmates</b>
<b>261</b>	<b>352</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>

**Total number of inmates as of July 2003=621**

**Table 4- Lima Correctional Institution's Operational Statistics 2003**

<b>Total Staff</b>	<b>441</b>
<b>Total Security Staff</b>	<b>279</b>
<b>Annual Operating Budget</b>	<b>\$17,269,083</b>
<b>Annual Cost Per Inmate</b>	<b>12,252.84</b>
<b>Daily Cost Per Inmate</b>	<b>\$33.57</b>

In 1990, the total population in Lima was 45,549 (U.S. Federal Census 1990). 10,949 of those people were black, of which 5,873 were black males with a median age of 27.7 (U.S. Census 1990). If the definition of disproportionate complies with the national standard, specifically plus or minus 10% of the percentage of their total number in the population (Chinn and Hughes 1987), then black males are disproportionately represented in Lima's prison population. There is a lack of available data to confirm or deny the percentage of incarcerated black males that originate from the city. Requests for current statistics from Warden Jesse Williams of ACI and Warden Terry Tibbals of LCI were denied and labeled "a breach of security." A discussion with a number of informants proved helpful in establishing the quantity of black males from the Lima area housed in either facility. Excerpts from their Life History narratives (See Appendix A) are as follows.

**Q:** What would be the name of the second chapter?

**A:** Teen Life.

**Q:** What kind of stuff would you talk about in there?

**A:** 'bout how I lost my brother when I was 12, he was killed.

**Q:** He was killed here in Lima?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** How was he killed?

**A:** He was shot.

**Q:** Was your brother's killer black?

**A:** Yeah.

**Q:** And he's locked up here in Lima, in one of the, aren't there three prisons here?

**A:** Yeah, he out there in one of um.

Another interview:

**Q:** What would be the name of that chapter and what kind of things would you put in it?

**A:** I would call it "Too Grown" and talk about how I ended up in jail.

**Q:** You ended up in jail here in Lima?

**A:** Yeah, in juvenile, I did 65 days, it wasn't long but it was long enough—it seems like it just goes on and on—I would tell about how my brother got shot in the face.

**Q:** Here in Lima too?

**A:** Yeah, how I been shot at.

**Q:** But you were never actually shot right?

**A:** No, but my brother got shot.

**Q:** So how many brothers do you have?

**A:** I have two.

**Q:** And they're both younger than you?

**A:** I'm the youngest, I'm the baby, at the time my older brother, he's my dad's son, not my mom's son, he was doing time, he had did 9 and a half years for murder, but I really didn't know him. Since he been out I just started knowing him. I was young when he went in; he went in like in '90.

**Q:** That was in Lima too?

**A:** He was doing most of his time in Marion and the last part of it, the last 3 years he did here in Lima, that's the one I said got shot in the face.

**Q:** But he lived right?

**A:** Yeah.

**Q:** Well that's good.

Another interview:

**A:** My brother got a lot of talent and a couple of things but he let it all go to waste by going to jail and everything.

**Q:** He went to jail here in Lima?

**A:** Yeah, he been going to jail here in Lima since he was 14, he's 21 now.

**Q:** What kinds of things has he been going to jail for?

**A:** Oh stuff like; there was a time he got caught with a stolen vehicle or fighting or stuff like that. Here recently, the recent one, he was in prison here and he had to do 4 years, they had got him for a gun underage and breaking and entering, so he got arrested for that. He got out last December. He was in school while he was in prison and everything like that. I think prison actually helped him.

An analysis of the narratives reveals an aspect of the quality of life for some

**AAM** in the Lima area in which there appears to be little stigma associated with *incarceration*. Further, following the national trend, they are being incarcerated largely



for violent acts committed against each other and property crimes (Kitwana 2002, Dyson 2001). Stints in prison are normalized and the agents are submitting to the larger power structure through structural constraints that are out of their control illustrating the active nature of domination and resistance to the system. Additionally, the exchange is a conversation with key informants who are between the ages of 17 to 21 and reflects the worldview of young men that may be considered developmentally appropriate. Examples from the narratives include engaging in property offenses, and physical altercations.

In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977), Foucault critiques the structures' role in the normalization process of incarceration in Western societies. He discusses their use as vehicles of surveillance, which is an important element in the process of transforming prisoners into "docile bodies" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983). According to Foucault (1977), the prison system functions by reducing docile bodies into records that must be analyzed by authorities to produce more knowledge about delinquents and serves to break down collective identity and individualize the perpetrators. Societal forces seize on this opportunity and present these bodies as diseased and deviant instilling a sense of fear in the public's mind. Structural constraints surface in the form of correctional institutions that serve as protection of the citizenry, which takes the accountability off of the system and places the blame on the individual. The end result is a transformative process that places the responsibility of changing on the individual not the environment. At both the national and local level, current statistics reveal that AAM have surfaced as a crucial element in the process, and have become the docile bodies that fuel the system (Chideya 1995).

## Popular Rap Artists: Public Enemy and NWA

Nationally, the prominent rap musicians in the 1980s consisted of groups that symbolized the link between AAM and the criminal justice system. Representative examples include Public Enemy (1988) with the album *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back* and NWA (1988) with the album *Straight Outta Compton*. Impressionable youth was influenced by their display of signature clothing styles, such as monogrammed sports caps and sports jerseys. NWA was characteristic of “Gangsta Rap<sup>34</sup>” and dressed in extra large shirts and pants in all their public appearances marking the beginning of a fashion trend that was displayed on the bodies of young black males in many black communities across the country. Dyson (2001) asserts that these clothing styles are inspired by prison gear, and reflect prison culture, specifically intake in which shoelaces and belts are confiscated by prison guards and inmates are issued prison clothing that is often too large.

Additionally, musical lyrics addressed life for black males in the penitentiaries and prison systems of the nation. The words in the songs were filled with prison metaphors, the strength of street knowledge, and the state of the black community, especially as it was becoming synonymous with the word ghetto. The musical genres that emerged characterized the geographic locations of the artists. Two types of distinctive styles emerged, one was labeled East Coast and featured musicians who originated in the Eastern part of the country, and the other was labeled West Coast, which emphasized performers from Western states.

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<sup>34</sup> An informant explains his interpretation of the term in the following way: “gangsta rap refers to like gang bangin’, like beefin’, like talkin’ about guns, fightin’ on the streets. What I know what can happen, a big stat like, messin’ with such and such can get you kilt, just drama about gansta.”

Public Enemy<sup>35</sup> is representative of the genre that was developing on the East Coast, primarily New York and New Jersey. On a national scale, their music was highly political and rebel rousing. Public Enemy consisted of group members, Chuck D<sup>36</sup> (who represented the educated black man), Flavor-Flav (who represented the stereotyped urban black male e.g. dark glasses, gold teeth, and overly flashy attire), and Terminator X (who was the official mix-master). An entourage of three black men dressed in military attire accompanied them on every tour and represented “The Security of the First World”—a term that referenced third world nations and communities of color (Rose 1994). Public Enemy questioned the trials and tribulations of the real world in their music and sang about highly controversial and relevant issues in black society. In this way they served as the political voice of the generation by problematizing such things as the high incarceration rate of black males, white supremacy, police authority, racism, social isolation and inequality, the disproportionate amount of liquor stores and check cashing businesses in black communities, crack addiction, the strength of the media, the failure of the system to provide public services to inner city neighborhoods, and black male’s parental responsibilities. Additionally, they taught black history through their lyrics, and wrote the highly controversial song entitled “By the Time I Get to Arizona” the lyrics of which addressed the state of Arizona’s refusal to honor the Martin Luther King Holiday. Their musical forum was highly accessible to black youth and they were featured in

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<sup>35</sup> Public Enemy was labeled controversial by the authorities because of their connection to The Nation of Islam, which has been described as the “Black Muslims” and is an organization that was founded by Elijah Muhammad but is more commonly associated with the charismatic, prolific scholar and activist Malcolm X (Riddenhour and Jah 1997).

<sup>36</sup> Chuck D is a product of the early Headstart Program set up and managed by the New York branch of the Black Panther party of the 1960s. Currently he is involved in motivational speaking, conducting community teen forums, and is an active participant in a public service announcement drive that encourages the renewal of art and music programs in public schools nationwide. In his book entitled *Fight the Power: Rap, Race and Reality* he describes rap as “the CNN for young people all over the world” (1997: 256).



Spike Lee's movie "Do the Right Thing" in 1988. On the album cover of, *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back*, lead singer Chuck D and group member Flavor-Flav peer out from behind prison bars and indict the federal government as "the number one killer and destroyer of black men." Lyrics from their song, "Black Steel in the Hour of Chaos" illuminate how the high incidence rates of incarceration of black male were shaping their identities.

I got a letter from the government the other day  
I opened and read it  
It said they were suckers  
They wanted me for their army or whatever  
Picture me giving a damn I said never  
Here is a land that never gave a damn  
About a brother like me and myself  
Because they never did  
I wasn't wit' it but just that very minute  
It occurred to me  
The suckers had authority  
Cold sweatin' as I dwell in my cell  
How long has it been?  
They got me sittin' in a state pen  
I gotta get out—but that thought was thought before  
I contemplated a plan on the cell floor  
I'm not a fugitive on the run  
But a brother like me begun, to be another one  
Public Enemy serving time—they drew the line ya'll  
To criticize me for some crime—never the less  
They couldn't understand  
That I'm a Black man and could never be a veteran

The lyrics are politically charged and question the government's authority to incarcerate a black male for refusing to participate in the armed forces. The artist justifies the appropriateness of the decision to refuse to contribute to a war for "... a land that never gave a damn, about a brother like me and myself." The song questions the government's use of authority to accomplish this goal.

NWA—which stands for “Niggas Wit’ Attitudes”—hailed from the West Coast. Their music aided in the normalization of the term nigga in reference to one’s friends, and the plural niggas to express collective identity among young urban black males. Additionally, they drew upon their experiences as gang members in Los Angeles, presenting a glorified depiction of the lifestyle that was replete with violence, drugs, guns and confrontations with law enforcement officers. The music they produced was later termed “Gangsta Rap” and gained a huge following, especially among urban black youth.

When their album, *Straight Outta Compton* was released in 1988 it sold 3 million units, a record for rap albums of that time (Rose 1994). NWA featured group members, Ice Cube<sup>37</sup>, Dr. Dre<sup>38</sup>, Easy-E<sup>39</sup>, DJ Yella, Arabian Prince and MC Ren. In September 1988, Music Television Video (MTV) refused to air the video for “Straight Outta Compton”, stating the clip was a re-creation of a police sweep of black teens and glorified violence (Rose 1994). The song was labeled anti-establishment.

NWA popularized the ideal of equating women and girls to the status of bitches and ho’s in their music and videos. They metaphorically used the word bitch to refer to a

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<sup>37</sup> Ice Cube would eventually leave the group and become a highly successful solo artist, producer, actor, and director. Some of his most popular films were, “Boyz in the Hood”, “Friday”, “Next Friday” and “Friday After Next.” “Boyz in the Hood” is significant because it depicted gang life in Compton. When it was released it was banned from many inner city theaters by state infrastructures. The ban played on the fear of the myth of black rage in the white mind in that the viewing of the film by blacks would incite them to riot and commit acts of violence against whites nationwide (Kitwana 2002). John Singleton, the producer of the film was successful in ending the ban and the film debuted in local theaters in 1988 with no single incident of violence erupting.

<sup>38</sup> Dr. Dre would go on to become a highly successful producer and would produce such mega artists as Eminem and 50 Cent. Eminem is significant, because he is a white rapper from Detroit. Dr. Dre publicly commented that his strategy with Eminem reverses the traditional way artists are brought to the attention of the masses. The usual trend is that black artists are produced by whites. Dr. Dre’s hand in marketing Eminem’s music reverses this with a black producer using the voice and image of a white artist to both profit and gain access to youth in the white middle classes. The success of the venture is evidenced by the high volume of record sales in 2003 of both Eminem and 50 Cent (personal communication 2003).

<sup>39</sup> On February 24, 1995 Easy-E was hospitalized for what he believed was a case of chronic asthma. On March 16, 1995 his attorney, Ron Sweeney released a statement disclosing that Easy-E had contracted AIDS. On March 26, 1995 Easy-E died at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles at the age of 31. The cause, according to his doctor, William Young, was complications from AIDS (Rose 1994).



weak male. The group was started by Easy-E who financed them through money he earned as a profitable drug dealer in the section of Compton in Los Angeles (LA), California (Rose 1994). Their music aided in the de-stigmatization of certain elements of society like gang life, drinking 40 ounce bottles of malt liquor, and living in the inner city ghetto. NWA instilled a sense of pride in culturally specific terrain through the use of declarative statements such as, “it’s time to put Compton on the map” or “our music is not about a salary but about realities” of the quality of life in Compton. These elements were relevant to the lives of many black males with similar experiences throughout the country.

In this context, a discussion of the city of Compton is warranted due to the national reputation of the antagonistic relationship between the LA police and black males living there. Further, it is representative of a black ghetto, an element that will continue to resurface as a characteristic of the genre. NWA depicts the quality of life in Compton is by consistent references to the relationship between the local police and AAM. The national image of the area is depicted in the stand-up comedy routine of Robin Harris, a former resident who is now deceased. On the album *Robin Harris* (1988), Harris explains that one night, while he was intoxicated in Compton; he decided to make a long distance call to hell. He goes on to say that he picked up the phone, dialed the operator, and asked for her assistance in completing the call. The operator asks where he is calling from. When he responds that he is calling from Compton, the operator states, “you don’t need my assistance sir, a connection from Compton to Hell is a local call.” Through his routine, Harris is making keen social commentary of the two places—

which in his mind are one and the same—to live in Compton is living in hell and vice versa.

The most controversial song on NWA's album *Straight Outta Compton* is, "Fuck the Po'lice". When the group sang it on stage it created a controversy that was played up by local and national media. The song was revolutionary was viewed as so threatening to the authorities that in September of 1989 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) sent a letter to NWA's record label, *Ruthless Records*, warning the group that they did not take kindly to the single (Rose 1994). In the lyrics, NWA questions the police's tactics and discusses the injustices perpetrated against black males in the inner cities, especially gang members. It is elucidatory of the strained relationship between the police and AAM and successfully depicts the agents' ability to strategize against the power structure. Some of the lyrics from the song are:

Fuck the po'lice comin' straight from the underground  
A young nigga got it bad cause I'm brown  
And not the other color  
So po'lice think they have the authority  
To kill a minority  
Fuck that shit cause I ain't the one  
For a punk mothafucka with a badge and a gun  
To be beatin' on and thrown in jail  
We can go toe-to-toe in the middle of the cell  
Fuckin' with me cause I'm a teenager  
With a little bit of gold and a pager  
Searchin' my car lookin' for the product  
Thinkin' every nigga is selling narcotic  
You'd rather see me in the pen  
Then me and Lorenzo rollin' in a Benzo

NWA's observations are supported by recent scholarship that suggests that AAM are disproportionately singled out for more scrutiny and suspicion by local police forces across the nation (Booker 1999). More importantly, as observed by Booker (1999), the

practice frequently results in the detention, arrests, and engagement in behaviors by the police that brutalize AAM. It is a structural constraint in the day-to-day lives of AAM that is psychosocially damaging and prohibitive to their freedom to move around the country unharassed by law enforcement officials.

Gangsta Rap and its image had an impact on the identity of black males because the artists who were producing it came from the streets. It was a voice for the disenfranchised by expressing their pain and the inequalities inherent in the system. There was a rallying quality to it that challenged authority at the highest level. Another significant feature of this art form is that it originated with black male youth, a development that had not been witnessed in the previous generations of other musical movements.

On a local and national level rap emerged as a source of social status in a community whose older local support institutions were rapidly being torn down along with larger sectors of the environment (Rose 1994). Rap artists used their style as a form of identity formation that plays on class distinction and hierarchies by using commodities to claim cultural terrain. In this way, they utilized clothing and consumption rituals to testify to the power of consumption as a means of cultural expression (Rose 1994).

The importance of the classlessness of rap music to its' listening public cannot be understated. Analysis of interviews indicates that participants are drawn to the music regardless of class status, material possessions, or educational attainment. It is relevant to their life experiences and what they witness on the streets everyday. The influence of national rap artists on local area youth is evidenced by the replication of clothing styles,

incorporation of slang terms, and the shared experience of the impact of an increased rate of incarceration among AAM in the local population.

### From Black to African American

The final significant event to be discussed is the change in terms used to identify blacks. During the decade, the word used to distinguish them shifted from black to African American. Harper (1996) credits this development to Ramona Edelin, who was Jessie Jackson's secretary. According to Harper (1996), in December 1988 Jesse Jackson was meeting with a group of black policy makers in Chicago. Edelin suggested that the Chicago Conference employ the term African American when Jackson asked her to act as official scribe for the meeting. Edelin posed these words in hopes that their use would restore a sense of pride and connectedness to the roots of the black community. Jackson favored the change and made the following observation, "Black tells you about your skin color and what side of town you live on, African American evokes a discussion of the world" (Harper 1996: 59). Noted sociologist, Ruth Hamilton, agreed with Jackson but problematized the transformative potential by the following statement, "I'm willing to call myself African American, but I think the crucial question is, "So what, does it really change the social conditions and consciousness of people" (Harper 1996: 58). Further analysis of the transition by linguist and scholar of African American vernacular English, Geneva Smitherman, points out the shift's potential impact on ethnic pride and identity. She comments that "language plays a dominant role in the formation of ideology, consciousness and class relations" (Harper 1996: 55). These remarks suggest that there is really not a common acceptance, among black Americans, of the transcending

possibilities of the term in daily vocabulary. Currently, it is used predominantly in academic and politically correct formats, and has yet to be exclusively agreed upon by all African Americans. An excerpt from one informant explains current perceptions:

**Q:** Do you use the term African American or Black to describe yourself?

**A:** I like the term Black, African American doesn't really say anything, it could mean a black person living in South or North America, further I think we're too removed from Africans to connect with them, most of the people I know still call themselves black.

The finding suggests that the idiom African American has not been internalized by everyone in the black masses. Further evidence that supports this claim comes from the results of a national survey conducted by the Urban League in 2001 entitled “The State of Black America Survey”. The National Urban League surveyed 800 African Americans concerning the state of Black America. The first question asked was, “Are you, yourself, black, African American, black Caribbean, black West Indian, or some other race?” 51% of the respondents answered that they were black, while 43% reported that they considered themselves African American that could indicate that there is not yet a clear consensus of which term is the most appropriate among African Americans on the community level. Nevertheless, it has been adopted as the national collective identity on the federal level<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> Davidson (2001) takes this argument one step further by advocating for a national discussion of the differences between “race” and “ethnic group” when describing traditional African American culture. He argues that the African American community should be viewed as an ethnic—which he defines as distinct culture—rather than a racial—which he defines as a non-cultural group—group. He bases the observation on the claim that this type of change is crucial in restructuring the African American community as one that has distinct core values, norms, and beliefs. Further, according to Davidson, this transformation would aid significantly in shaping the gray area that is based on skin color with more of a shared collective identity.



## Conclusions

The structural constraints of the 1980s included an economic recession, downsizing of local area factories, privatization of industry, and a rapid growth in the local prison industry. The introduction of this means of production impacted the identity of AAM due to the large numbers of them that were incarcerated in these facilities (See Tables 1 and 3). Evidence of the impact of mass incarceration on AAM is best illustrated by the lyrics and clothing styles of the popular rap musicians of the period. Examples include baggy pants, extra large shirts, and laceless shoes that are strikingly similar to the fashion trends exhibited by inmates in which belts and shoelaces are removed by prison officials for security reasons (Dyson 2001). The existence of these aesthetic features on some AAM both inside and outside prison walls suggests collective identity formation.

Lastly, their identity was further impacted by the structure's installation of a different term to identify them. The terminology went from black to African American. Though this change was not widely accepted by everyone in the African American community, it was adopted as the politically correct way to refer to them and was standardized in the collective identity through use on federal forms, academic literature, and an assortment of media sources.

## Chapter 6: Lima in the 1990s

*This generation mourns Tupac  
As my generation mourned Till  
As we all mourned Malcolm  
This wonderful young warrior  
Tupac told the truth  
There are those who wanted to make him the problem  
Who wanted to believe that if they silenced Tupac all  
would be quiet on the ghetto front  
There are those who testified that the problem wasn't  
the conditions, but the people talking about them  
But he will not go away  
As Malcolm did not go away  
As Emmett Till did not go away  
Your shooting him will not take him from us  
His spirit will fill our hearts  
His courage will strengthen us for the challenge  
His truth will strengthen our backbones—Nikki Giovanni<sup>41</sup>*

### Privatized Prisons and the Link Between Prisons and Gang Activity

In 1992, the Bush Administration created the Violence Initiative—a series of federally funded studies seeking behavioral and biological markers for predicting the propensity for violence in young males—that developed violence intervention models and anger management classes to “study” urban violence. Civil Rights groups protested the programs arguing that they were an attempt to statistically confirm that young black males were biologically prone to violence (Kitwana 2002).

The initiative was continued in 1994, when the Clinton administration enacted a Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, which earmarked nearly \$10 billion for prison construction alone and sanctioned the death penalty for federal crimes such as carjacking and drive-by shootings (Kitwana 2002). It targeted gang members with new and harsher penalties for drug crimes, and made life imprisonment mandatory for federal

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<sup>41</sup> Nikki Giovanni from her poem dedicated to Tupac Shakur entitled “All Eyes on U” (1996).

offenders after more than two state or federal convictions for violent felonies or drug crimes (Kitwana 2002). The initiative was branded “Three Strikes and You’re Out” and changed the lives of both inmates and corrections officers. The impact was largely witnessed by rapid increases in the levels of violence inside prison facilities and a decrease in incentives among incarcerated individuals to change their behavior. To attract potential employees, individual states raised starting salaries making employment in prison corrections a job of choice for many people struggling in the rapidly de-industrializing communities of the Midwest (Chideya 1995). Nationwide increases in the number and availability of criminal justice programs suggests the broad range marketability of the industry.

The final legislative act that directly connected to AAM and high incarceration rates occurred in 1994 in the form of a law allowing adult prosecution of thirteen and fourteen-year-olds charged with certain violent crimes (Kitwana 2002). Enforcement of the legislation was experienced primarily by young AAM, who received longer and more frequent incarcerations (Booker 1999). Prison markets were viewed as wise investments at the state, local, and private levels.

Lima’s first privatized facility is Oakwood Correctional Facility (OCF). OCF officially opened in 1994 as a medium security prison contracting with the State of Ohio Department of Corrections (*The Lima News*, February 9, 2003). An article in *The Lima News*, February 9, 2003, lists the total number of inmates as 168, a staff of 288 and an annual budget of \$24,171, 185. In that piece, State Representative, John Williamowski, argues against the privatization of the prison system in the state of Ohio. Williamowski bases his disagreement on the claim that privatized facilities unfairly tout their savings

over state facilities. He details this dispute by stating that they only accept healthy inmates, which leaves the more costly unhealthy inmates to state facilities. According to Williamowski, "These are the inmates everybody wants because that's where the profit is. That's why the private prison demands the state send those inmates. It makes the private prisons look good." Williamowski's comment is illustrative of the commodification of prison inmates in which they are no longer seen as people but reduced to monetary values.

Findings from this study suggest that the growth in the local prison industry and the disproportionate amount of AAM there have contributed to the development of gangs<sup>42</sup> in the area. The gangs that developed are the Crips, Bloods, Disciples, and Folks who formed strong affiliations with AAM both inside the prison system and in the city of Lima. They aligned on the city's long established rivalry between AAM living on the Southend of town and those living on the Westend. Westend AAM identified with the Bloods (red is the color that symbolizes the affiliation) and Southend AAM became associated with the Crips (blue is the color that symbolizes the affiliation). Both gangs originated in Los Angeles. The Disciples and Folks took hold of the section of Lima called the Neutral Zone. The Neutral Zone is located in the center of the city. The Disciples and Folks are gangs that originated in Chicago.

An informant, who is currently a gang member himself, explains the connection between Lima's gangs, the gangs in Los Angeles and the prisons that are there:

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<sup>42</sup> In general, gangs are characterized as spontaneous groups of marginalized individuals who integrate into society through conflict. Nationally, they are not new phenomena. Gang behavior stems, primarily from adolescent concerns, specifically; the need for peer respect and approval, security and protection, group support and acceptance, and age and sex role identification (Taylor 1990). Recent scholarship indicates that they may also be linked to lack recreational facilities and other creative outlets for youth (Taylor 1996).

**Q:** Where do the Crips and Bloods that are now in Lima come from? Are they affiliated with the gangs in LA?

**A:** I think it's when somebody that was in jail ended up meeting somebody that was from LA. I guess they got enough rank to take you under their wing, put you in it, give you knowledge and you give them rank so much to start the rest of the group. WCSR that was the West Coast Southside Rule, West Coast meaning it started out in LA. It's somebody, you know what I'm sayin', that was either associated with them from LA or was in the pen with somebody whose home is in Lima, so they come and start that there. Bounty Hunter Bloods, which is from LA, same thing. People branch off. They was one set called Crenshaw Mafia, ain't no street called Crenshaw in Lima it comes from LA.

With the introduction of gangs via connections in the prison system the level of violence increased in the Lima area. Shootings, and gang banging—which is fighting between two rival gangs—were intensified and was felt in the larger community and in the schools. A community member shares views on how things have changed with the introduction of gangs into Lima's African American neighborhoods.

**Q:** How would you compare what living in Lima was like in the 70s and 80s as to how it is now?

**A:** Before Lima was a pleasant place to be and we didn't have all this killing and shooting, we didn't have it. You could walk down the street any time, morning, noon and night and you wouldn't be apprehended by anyone or slugged or killed. Nothing of the sort, it was very, very few things that happened like they are now.

The sophisticated organization of LA based gangs in Lima is better expressed by key informants who are gang members, know gang members or grew up among gang rivalries. Their stories are as follows.

**Q:** How are the gangs organized here in Lima?

**A1:** I don't know about the Crips, whatever or how they dissed somebody, cause there was some branch of Folks from the Bloods or whatever. Most of the people I know, grew up with, my brother, they were Bloods. They hung around out West and stayed in like a Blood neighborhood. It's all about money, you got to sell dope to get money or

you ain't in. You makin' money illegally, rather than flippin' burgers at McDonald's and you got your hat to the left that was considered Blood money. The two coasts of this country, East and West are more Bloods and Crips. As you come in more like Chicago that's where the Folks and Vice Lords are. They're like the Bloods and Crips of the Midwestern states. So the more you come in they got like they own gangs. Mainly, the more you come in land, the Midwest and inner states that ain't around water, there are Folks and Vice Lords.

**A2:** You see comedians talking about it on BET<sup>43</sup>, like Comic View, they was in LA and this dude from New Orleans, alright ya'll killin' over colors, huh, niggaz in New Orleans killin' cause they in a bad mood, that's real New Orleans is the murder capital of the world, Shorty.

**A3:** It's beyond that you wearing the wrong color, it revolves around money, material things and money. But along with that it comes with more haters and if you a Blood or a Crip or whatever set you still is to this day. If you blew up and got money your own Crips, your own Bloods, they gonna eventually hate you and try to knock you off. It revolves around money retrieval; I don't see no middle class. If you got money or you don't got money.

The previous dialogue suggests that integration of gangs among some Lima area youth has contributed to the normalization of violence process there. Involvement in gang activity is not surprising in a community where there are limited employment opportunities and few recreational activities for the youth. They also demonstrate the awareness of class divisions among participants' in the following statement "It revolves around money retrieval. I don't see no middle class." Another interpretation of this response is that the speaker views involvement in a gang as all inclusive. In other words, everyone has an equal chance as long as they are willing to work and bring in money to the principle unit. Gang involvement fills the need for a formalized structure that is culturally relevant to this particular subset of the population. The major gangs, in the Lima area, originate from distant locations, which could indicate how organized they are.

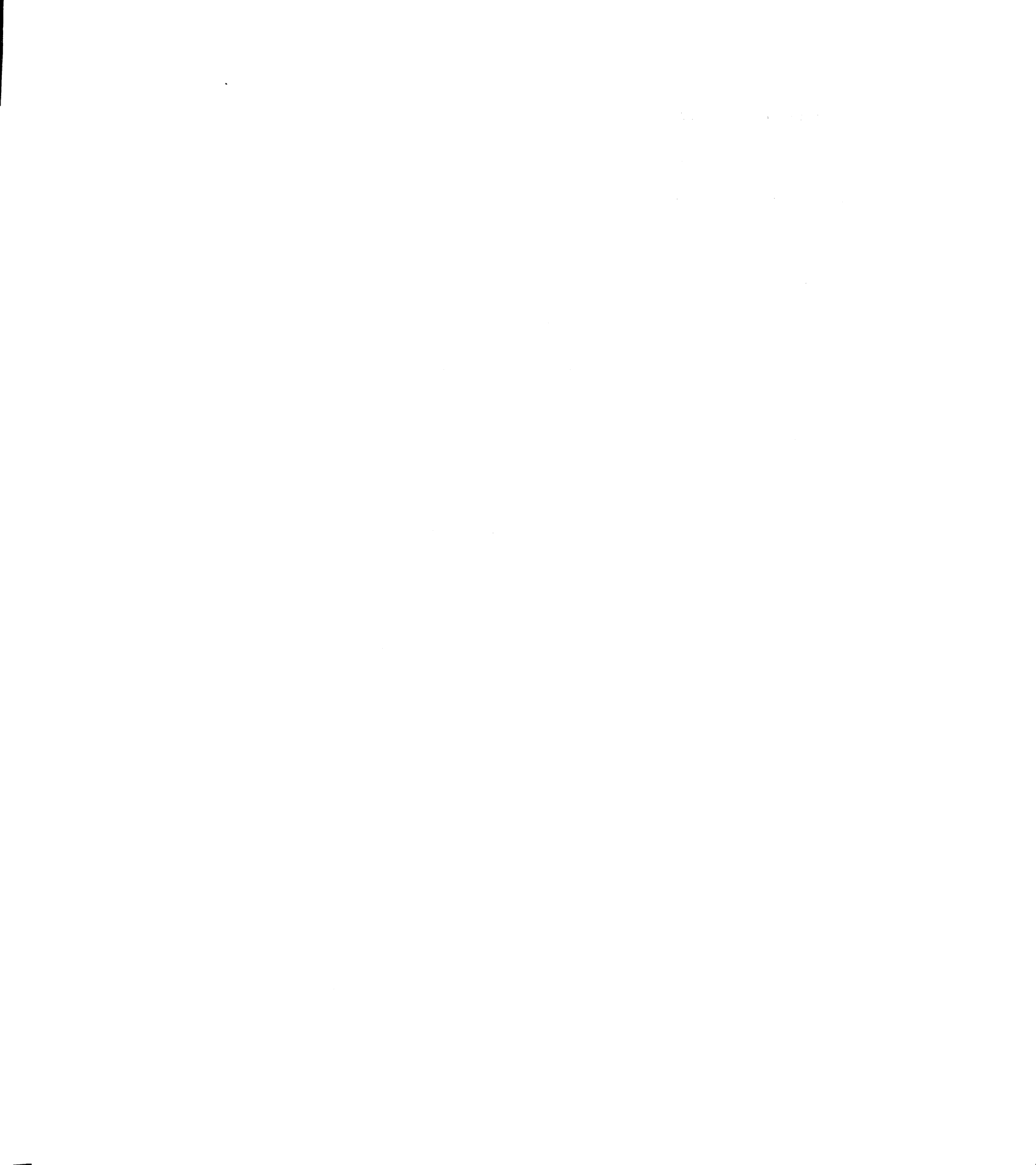
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<sup>43</sup> Black Entertainment Television

It is an example of agency in that they appear to have developed out of the need for this marginalized group to find a place in larger society.

Further, though informants' acknowledge that their original attraction to gangs is their inclusiveness, they admit that once a person joins they are considered a member for life. The following statement illustrates this point, "...if you a Blood or a Crip or whatever set you still is to this day." Ironically, gang life becomes more restrictive than public institutions—like schools or prisons—that some informants rebel so vehemently against.

Gang affiliations also appear to foster a collective sense of identity as informants' detail what parts of the country particular gangs originate from, awareness of gang signs (i.e. the reference to wearing a hat on the left while working at McDonald's—wearing a cap to the left symbolizes an affiliation with the Bloods—wearing a cap to the right signifies the Crips). These actions are explicatory of the agents' resistance to socially sanctioned norms and speak to the importance of the variable of age and the inherent age appropriateness regarding rebelliousness to societal rules. Gang involvement stretches the behavioral norms of western adolescent development by raising the stakes of the outcomes of such rebelliousness. Socially sanctioned society is replete with rebellious actions initiated by adolescent youth, however many of those who rebel eventually succumb to the rules of the larger social structure as they age, acquire employment or become active participants in the dominant culture and economies. Rebellious acts that are played out in gang culture yield to different ends. If one is successful in acquiring material goods and wealth through this means they have the potential of being killed by another member as is evidenced in the informant's following statement, "If you blew up





and got money, your own Crips, your own Bloods, they gonna eventually hate you and try to knock you off.” The reward for a youth who successfully commits to this lifestyle can be death, which is a striking finding.

### The Beginning of Gang Activity

There is a lack of written documentation to determine exactly when gang activity started in the Lima. I reviewed newspaper articles from 1995 to 1996 to collaborate my informants' information. No newspaper articles appeared in the local media that detailed the introduction of gangs on the local scene, which could indicate that the infrastructure was unaware of the growing trend in the area. Law enforcement officials were not included as community participants in this study because I did not want to compromise the confidentiality of key informants nor my street credibility. To this end, a key informant was helpful in establishing the origins of the phenomenon in the Lima area.

**Q:** What year did gang banging start here in Lima?

**A:** When I was growing up there was gang bangin'.

**Q:** What year would that be?

**A:** That would be around 1995, mostly all the gang bangin', that's when it got about original with Lima as far as I know. And then like in '96 was probably the worst year, cause '96 was nothin' but pain.

**Q:** What gangs were here?

**A:** As of right now?

**Q:** In 1996?

**A:** In '96 it was Bloods, Crips and Folks that's about it.

Additionally, informants were asked when they started gang banging and elicited the following responses:

**Q:** So you started doing that kind of stuff when you were in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade?

**A:** Well, I wasn't doin' it, it was just like my big brother was in it and we used to play sports on the corner then a drive-by came through and they shot at us.

**Q:** And nobody was killed?

**A:** No, but a couple of people was shot.

Another response:

...then goin' for my 10 goin' into teenage years the stuff I tried to do, or who I tried to be, I tried to be like my brother or be the people he hung around. I thought it was cool. I thought it was cool to be in a gang or whatever, smoke cigarettes; believe it or not I started smokin' weed at 9. So I'd probably tell about how I started to grow fascinated with just being high, tryin' to be a Blood or be down. I also got into it like at the skating rink, I almost got jumped by a whole bunch of Crips because I was wearin' red and on they set.

The exchanges are telling in that they elicit how normalized gang activity has become to some of the informants. In this sample, participants address how traditional role models, specifically older brothers, transmit the normality of gang violence and involvement into the everyday lives of their younger siblings. Gang affiliation, typical adolescent teen activities (drug use, smoking, fighting) and the violence that accompanies it (use of weapons, e.g. killings, drive-bys) synthesizes into a community norm.

### The School-Gang Connection

Due to the high prevalence of gang involvement among these informants, it is not surprising that their activities have carried over to the local schools. In many instances,

school gang connections in the Lima are a significant part of daily life for some study participants and they divide the city up by Blood or Crip territory. Further, they developed a set of rituals that consisted of hand signals, color strategies, and vocabularies that identified their particular “set” or gang affiliation and became part of the collective identity of many of the young men involved in this study. Young AAM who went to both of the area schools were involved as incidents from their life history narratives indicate:

At graduation from Lima Senior High School:

I just let um know which side of town I was from and which block I hung on. K block and grabbed my diploma and shake hands and marched down there.

At Lima Senior:

The Southside/Westside beef that was real strong in junior year, but I never got involved in none of the conflict. I may have put my two cents in or whatever, or they throw down<sup>44</sup> Westside, I'd throw it down too. There was this one altercation that year, this dude throwin' it down and I'm in lunch line, so I throw it down too. An upside down W is an M and I'm like you're not from North Memphis Tennessee, that's what they throw up. So he throw off his clothes and he swing, step out here, do whatever. I told him like if you swing fuck the Southside, fuck the Westside; it's me gettin' in your ass. That's what it's about. I'm not repin' no side of town. Yeah, I'm from the Westside or “Goody-Goody” how ya'll put it. I'm not none of these lil' wanna be thugged out or gangsta or hold they own people from out West. And when I said that he said he was cool, we been cool ever since.

Analysis reveals how much the environment influences those who live in the city. The historical tensions among the African American community on the South and Westend naturally became the dividing line for gang affiliations and activities.

Additionally, they were class based, which is better expressed by the following statement,

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<sup>44</sup> Throwing down refers to hand gestures that symbolize the particular gang one is affiliated with.

“Yeah, I’m from the Westside or “Goody-Goody” how ya’ll put it. I’m not none of these lil’ wanna be thugged out or gangsta or hold they own people from out West.” As such they are illustrative of how entrenched class divisions are in the ideology of African Americans living in this city. Study participants follow the long established pattern of disenfranchised people who fight and rebel against each other instead of the system that equally oppresses them.

A collective identity has been established with the formation of gangs that appears to have developed into a tradition, esprit de corp, solidarity, and attachment to each local territory. In this study, gang affiliations gave Lima area AAM a sense of community in the disenfranchising environment.

### The Hip Hop Generation

Rap music developed further and represented what art historians have labeled pastiche—which means to borrow from the past with images from the future. Some began to label the new forms of rap as “Hip Hop” and the decade’s youth the “Hip Hop Generation.” Kitwana (2002) defines the Hip Hop Generation as black youth who were born during the years 1965-1984, after the civil rights and Black power generation. As such they are the first generation of African Americans to come of age in the era of globalization (Kitwana 2002). Globalization impacted them through the widening division of the haves and have-nots. Additionally, they have had to face the realities of rising unemployment rates, reliance on the underground economy—particularly the crack-cocaine explosion of the late 1980s—and the boom in incarceration rates,

especially among AAM. Lastly, they are the first generation of African Americans to come of age outside the confines of legal segregation.

Hip Hop culture is attractive because it is classless in a sense, and in that manner is all inclusive. An understanding of this generation is crucial in understanding their identity formation. Characteristics of it include rap music, music videos, designer clothing, popular Black films, and Black television programs (Kitwana 2002).

Rappers of the Hip Hop Generation are highly influential to AAM at both the local and national level. The use of pastiche is ever present in their art forms as they blend melodies from previously recorded musicians in the African American world with new and original musical forms. It is evident in the visual media through Hip Hop films, and elaborate music videos, a medium that is equally accessible to the Hip Hop generation on a national and international level.

#### Popular Rappers: The Legacy of Tupac

The most significant and influential rapper to AAM who participated in this study was Tupac Shakur a finding that is collaborated by recent scholarship (Dyson 2001, Rose 1994). Tupac was another rapper who had affiliations with the Black Panther Party his connection was through his mother who was a former Black Panther. He was a product of the School of Performing Arts in New York though he never graduated from that institution (Rose 1994). The music he produced questioned the status quo and was laden with perceptive social commentary. Though he never formally graduated from high school he was a voracious reader (Dyson 2001). According to interviews of Tupac's contemporaries by Dyson (2001), the use of classic literature in his music inspired many

of his rap mates to read seriously, many for the first time and led to his development as an icon to the age group. In this aspect, he is as important as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X were to previous generations.

Tupac was gunned down and killed in 1996, a crime that has never been solved. Some of his fans espouse the theory that his assassination was a political action to silence his keen analysis of the social inequalities of life for African Americans in the black ghettos (Giovanni 1996).

Other members of the Hip Hop Generation believe that he was never really killed and cite the continuous release of his new recordings as evidence. In this sense, he has emerged as a kind of “Black Elvis” and conspiracy theories abound (Dyson 2001). Some informants explain their theories:

I don't feel like Tupac dead. I don't, people say I'm crazy, I don't. I got a paper about how this man took and broke down how everything that happened (to Tupac) had something to do with God—it was like 13 shots in the car, that happened on the 7<sup>th</sup> day—it was so much stuff, I don't think Tupac dead. On his last CD, at the end, you know what he say, “expect me to come back like Jesus came back. I'm coming.” That's letting you know the man ain't dead. He say on one of his CD's, he say, “I'm over in Jamaica sipping daiquiris.” Tupac, then he got a CD, my girl tripped off it yesterday, where he says, “Rest in peace to my Biggie Smalls<sup>45</sup>.”—everybody try to cover it up and say he made all these songs before he died because he felt it coming. Certain stuff man, now doggone, just like Eminem, Eninem came out way after he died, on one of his songs he say, “Eminem, white boy shut up”—I don't believe the man dead.

And another:

This white woman on MTV, she talkin' bout how people's trippin' because Tupac's still coming out with albums. That man ain't went in the studio and made that many songs and they can't be that accurate. He got killed in '96, now it's 2003 and he's still talking about stuff and new CDs are still comin' out. There was a comic one night on BET who said Bin

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<sup>45</sup> Biggie Smalls was another East Coast Rapper who was gunned down in 1997, one year after Tupac (Kitwana 2002, Dyson 2001, Rose 1994).

Laudin and Tupac are the only two people I know that they keep sayin' dead and keep comin' out with tapes.

Tupac was prophetic, he discussed culturally relevant issues in his music and gave his songs titles that showed he was not only well read, but understood the power of metaphor and simile. He was a wordsmith and used the skill to his advantage. Themes in his music centered on life in prison, death, and the social isolation of an AAM living in the racialized ghettos of America. There was a fatalistic quality to his music that centered on suffering (Dyson 2001). Study participants' related to this theme three-fold: in terms of the self; the shared suffering of others; and causing others to suffer.

His music also popularized descriptive terms that still color African American street slang. Examples include hatin'—which is a term used to describe someone who is jealous of another's possessions; and the term thug which can translate both into something desirable someone wanted to be or can be used to talk about an undesirable quality in a person. For Tupac part of being a thug was to stand up for one's responsibilities by keeping it real, which translates into—saying how one feels, right or wrong (Dyson 2001). He described thugs as “the nobodies because we really don't have nobody to help us but us” (Dyson 2001: 113).

Tupac vigorously embraced and popularized the term “thug life”, a concept that emerged during a 1995 prison interview of the artist (Dyson 2001). During that meeting he explained the term as, “...it's not an image, it's just a way of life. It's a mentality. It's a stage we all go through. It's just like that for white kids or rich kids. They get to go to the military academy or ROTC, or they take all the risk, energy and put it into the armed forces. And for a black male, Puerto Rican, or Hispanic person, you've got to put this in

the streets; that's where our energies go. It is part of our progression to be a man"

(Dyson 2001: 113).

The following excerpts are illustrative of Tupacian Theory in the lived experience of study participants' who were asked what they liked about Tupac and what songs they like by him.

**A1:** One of the songs that I really like by Tupac is called "White Man's World" and "Keep Your Head Up."—I like how he bases his songs on what is real.

**A2:** I like Tupac cause he kept it real, in all aspects, before he got rich he acted the same way he act now. You know what I'm sayin'. He didn't start talkin' proper on camera. "Oh I'm rollin' a blunt right now. I'm drinkin' Hennessey." He just kept it real, he didn't sugar coat nothin', whether he was broadcast on a million stations and they seen his every move, he did what he did behind closed doors, no cameras, no lights, he kept it real.

**A3:** My favorite song by Tupac is, I'd have to say, "It Ain't Easy."—It was just like he was referrin', it ain't easy being him. It ain't easy being who you are. He was basically sayin' that some of the stuff you can relate to that he do you do. Or you just say it ain't easy being me at your little job, or seeing somebody get kilt or gettin' shot or whatever happened to you in your life. Your life ain't easy. You could be the richest person in the world but it ain't easy.

**A4:** I like all of Tupac's. I like about him cause he don't fear no man. Anybody want to battle with him or fight with him or whatever, he'll fight back. He hold his own ground. I like his music.

**A5:** Tupac, he real, he speak his mind, he tell it like it is. He don't hold nothin' back and that's the type of person I am. I'm real and I tell it like it is. I don't like holdin' nothin' back.

**A6:** The song I could feel him on was, "Fuck All Ya'll."—Cause it's some stuff, this country is the best country, but it's also the worse country, in my opinion. It's so much stuff messed up with this country. But on that note the rest of the song go like "I don't need nobody." I was feelin' that, everybody feel like that rather they rich or poor, whatever, I could relate to that.



**A7:** Tupac sung a song, "I See Death Around the Corner." That song, a lot of times when I'm depressed I think about that song. You know, because I done come so close to death, but thank God he saved my life. Yeah, I think about it because it definitely is right in my face a lot. But God right there. It's like God keeps snatchin' me away like, it ain't time for you. Sometimes I be like, I wish He would just take me in.

These responses are illustrative of the themes of suffering that characterize so much of Tupac's music. He spoke to the disenfranchised, the forgotten. He spoke to the pain of what it meant to be an AAM. Many of the people interviewed related to this sentiment as evidenced by their elaborations on the lyrics of his songs that speak to these issues. The reference to his ability to "keep it real" points to a shared sense of otherness and indicates Tupac's and the participants' awareness of the two-tiered class system so prevalent in Western societies.

Additionally, one informant used Tupac's music to rationalize his use of violence. The violent act he was involved in was an altercation with his uncle in which he beat him so savagely that his uncle was hospitalized and remained in a coma for a two week period. The following quote illustrates how he uses Tupac's music to normalize his behavior.

This is the thing that happened with me and my uncle. I could have kilt him. I could have let him die, but Tupac say the realist thing, "I ain't a killer but don't push me." Nobody is a killer but everybody can become a killer. Everybody has that point where you done pushed me to far. You pushed the wrong button, whether it be from physically beatin' somebody down or getting a weapon and doin' it. Everybody is a killer, everybody can be pushed to that point, but don't push me. You can try to be peaceful and be real, be you and be blunt. If I say somethin' that offends you, I didn't put my hands on you. So there's no need for you to put your hands on me. No need for you to go get a gun to go shoot me. That's just how I feel about that. That's why I believe nobody's ever gonna surpass Tupac. Tupac could make you feel sad, happy, mad whatever.

In the interviews that were conducted, informants' acknowledged that Tupac's music was not always used to exemplify negative or sad occasions. The positive aspects of his musical legacy are evidenced by one participant's interpretation of his song, "Dear Mama."

Tupac's song, "Dear Mama" I like that one cause, like me, his dad's dead now. His dad didn't care. His dad didn't come around, so he's givin' all the praise to his mom. The one who stuck with him even when he was gettin' on her last nerves. I can relate to that, my mom is a strong Black woman. She did what she had to do for her children. She took it upon herself, that's my responsibility. So he was givin' her all her props back. Even when I act crazy, you know what I'm sayin', even when I do stuff you don't agree with. The main thing, you had my back. You always kept it real, whether you liked somethin' I did, you told me stuff for my own good.

On the other hand, his music was used to explain relationships some informants' had with their fathers and is revealed in one participant's interpretation of Tupac's song, "Papa's Song."

In "Papa's Song" Tupac was talkin' about Daddy's home, he be like so, you act like that means something to me. You been gone a mighty long time for you to come home with that daddy's home shit. He just explainin' like, me and my mother and my brother been gettin' along fine without you and he's made it. He's like now you can step the fuck off pops. Fuck you. I had to play catch by myself, a sorry sight. I was like man that is just so real. I lived that. In the video his pop's got locked up so, in a way he was kinda held back, but he still could have communicated with them or showed he cared or whatever. He tried to show up when he done made it.

Tupac's music dealt with an issue that first surfaced in the American cultural realm in the 1970s. The particular topic involved the notion in the public's mind in which living in the ghetto became synonymous with African American culture. In Tupac's song, "I Wonder If Heaven Got a Ghetto" he discusses this theme and the connection. The lyrics from this selection have an eerie quality. He questions the value

of a black man's life on earth and ponders if the same type of segregated existence will continue upon his death in the "ghettos of heaven" that are reserved for AAM. To understand the significance of the word ghetto to contemporary images of African American culture and identity formation an historical review of the term is warranted.

In *Sociology and the Race Problem*, McKee (1993) discusses the origins and conceptualization of the word "ghetto" in an American context. According to McKee (1993) the origins of the word date back to 1926 as a reference to the areas of the city where immigrants, who were largely coming to America from Europe, lived. Sections of town were allotted to these newly arriving persons and a form of accommodation between two divergent population groups was established in which one group effectually subordinated itself to the other. What emerged was an historical form of dealing with a dissenting minority within a larger population.

Further, early ghettos were constructed as transitional housing and collective ethnic identity. Assimilation was a central factor and newly arriving immigrants viewed their inhabitation in there as a temporary placement, which is an important factor because it lessened the stigma. People entering these sections were able to secure employment that allowed them to move up the social structure by income and maintained class status via white skin privilege (Sugrue 1996, Massey and Denton 1993).

In the 1950s and 1960s, the image of the ghetto transformed into inner city housing projects whose construction was termed urban renewal (Fine 1989). McKee (1993) summarizes that during the two decades the principle inhabitants of these developments shifted to socio-economically disadvantaged African Americans. Clark (1989) takes this analysis further and suggests that as the inhabitants changed, the earlier

vision of them as transitional housing evaporated and they developed into racialized ghettos and instruments of social control (Clark 1989). The term became standardized by sociologists' as a way to characterize the developing pattern of residential segregation of African Americans in Northern cities.

Print and visual media aided in the social construction of the place as reservations for African Americans. Common characteristics included a shared hopelessness, lack of future orientation, and lack of positive mentors. Further, these images have been used to hypersegregate lower income African Americans and present all African Americans as a monolithic group. The depiction of African Americans as ghetto inhabitants continues to permeate society through the media. The internalization of this representation is evident in the words of rap music, like Tupac Shakur's, which is a reflection of how African American culture is viewed by the larger society.

### Lima Alternative School

In the 1990s, there was a national trend toward the creation of Alternative Schools for students who have been labeled behaviorally disordered<sup>46</sup>. The creation of these schools, and their inherent bias towards AAM, gained importance after the results from a recent study conducted by Harvard University Law School called *The Civil Rights Project*, was published. The major finding of the project was that AAM were twice as likely to be diagnosed with behavioral disorders as European American males (Losen and

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<sup>46</sup> Behavioral disorders are characterized as patterns of behavior that violate the basic rights of others or major age-appropriate societal norms or rules. They are classified by a pattern of negativistic, hostile, and defiant behavior (American Psychiatric Association 2000). The types of behavioral disorders most frequently identified in students by classroom teachers include: assault/violence, self abuse, lying, off-task, out-of-place, physically inappropriate, and vocally inappropriate (Council for Children with Behavioral Disorders (CCBD) (1989).

Orfield 2002). Other conclusions were that this pattern has lasted over twenty years and that there are major statistical disparities between these two groups depending on the state (Losen and Orfield 2002).

A number of studies conclude that the behavioral and verbal styles of many AAM, adolescents in particular, frequently result in misinterpretation and inappropriate behavioral disorder classification by mainstream professionals (Patton 1998, Porter 1997, McIntyre 1996, Harry and Anderson 1994, 1999). Additional research suggests that what is being labeled behavioral disorders is, in actuality, a social construction by the power structure to maintain the illusion that AAM are violent, deviant and diseased and as such are in need of placement in alternative schools (Price 2002, Daniels 1994, Starks 1993, Kunjufu 1985). Starks (1993) has critiqued the role of these schools as geared more toward controlling behavior rather than academic performance. Dunbar (2001) sums up the findings and inserts that they function as a gateway into the juvenile justice system.

In keeping with the national trend, Lima opened its first alternative school in 1992. The school's mission was as follows, "to provide a hands-on approach designed to enhance at-risk<sup>47</sup> youth's environmental literacy and awareness" (Annual Report of the Allen County School Board 1992). Lima Alternative School was located in a formerly vacant elementary school behind Lima Senior High School with a total capacity of 300 pupils (Annual Report of the Allen County School Board 1992). Students from all four of the area middle schools and the senior high school were eligible for placement there.

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<sup>47</sup> Currently, the use of the term is being debated in the social science community. Criticism largely centers on the notion of its use as a code in formulating public policy to mark both underprivileged and minority children (Price 2002, Harry and Anderson 1994). One informant, who is currently a high school principal in one of the neighboring large cities, described "at-risk" in the following way: "There's a group of people who say that's a buzz word for black folk who are not academically inclined. That's a buzz word for poor folk. That's the buzz word of continuing the status quo in terms of the working class. There are people who would believe that."

The main criteria was that they were displaying behavior, emotional or academic, that either interrupted the flow of the regular classroom or they were lacking the sufficient skills needed to successfully complete state mandated and federally sanctioned tests (Annual Report of the Allen County School Board 1992). The goal of the alternative school was to provide a much more one-on-one experience by a student to teacher ratio of 1:13 (Annual Report of the Allen County School Board 1992).

Lima Alternative School quickly developed into a place where the worst students, especially behaviorally, were sent. The structural features of the school were reminiscent of a correctional facility with a metal detector located at the entrance and a key punch admittance system. This finding is consistent with scholarship on alternative schools in other localities (Dunbar 2001, Devine 1996). The types of students chosen, the reasons they were sent there, and the environment at the school are better illustrated through interviews of former students at that school.

**Q:** Would you describe a typical school day at the alternative school while you were there?

**A1:** For me, it was kinda hard because the principal ain't like me. He doesn't too much believe in inner-racial dating and my baby mama is white, so he didn't like that. He just kept givin' me and her problems. I also didn't like goin' through the metal detector everyday and punchin' in, so I jus stopped goin'.

**A2:** They started scanning in, or punching in if you ain't had your card. Just go to class. It was like separated, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grade wing was to the right of the main doors and to the left was the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> graders.

One informant elaborated on the curriculum a little further:

**A3:** I go to science, it's okay. Leave science, I go to English, which is okay, social studies then I go to lunch. Then I go to this class called, "Jobs for Ohio Graduates." Then I leave there and go to electronics for like four periods and it's like the boringist class ever.

**Q:** What do you think of the jobs class? Do you think that they're preparing you for a job after you finish high school?

**A:** Uh-huh.

**Q:** What kinds of things do they teach you in there?

**A:** Well they teach us like, how to fill out a resume and make sure we got our references and everything down. They teach us like responsibility as we get older.

**Q:** In the vocational part of the class what do they teach you?

**A:** Electronics.

**Q:** Do you think they're giving you enough training in electronics so that you'll be able to get a job in that field when you graduate?

**A:** They're giving us training but its kind of boring because we're in there for four periods straight and like you do your work 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> period, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> period you can do what you want to do.

**Q:** What do people do during 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> period?

**A:** Some people sleep, some are playing games, some are sitting around the classroom talking, things like that.

These responses indicate that racial tension was prevalent at the alternative school e.g. the principal's reference to inner-racial dating. The division of students in separate wings is depictive of how youth are separated in detention centers. According to one informant, there is a vocational structure to the curriculum with large blocks of time allotted to non-constructive activities. The finding is significant as previous research indicates that boredom is often the most cited reason students' give for dropping out of school (Polite 2000, Davis 2000, Hilliard 1991, Willis 1977).

When asked about the racial and gender make-up of the school respondents' made the following observations.

**A1:** Almost everybody is black and mostly males, I would say there's only about two white dudes in the whole school, yeah about two.

**A2:** I have to say it's more males, it was more black males and from what I seen it was way more black males on the male-female/black-white thing. But it was way more males than females there.

The informants' observations that the majority of students who attended alternative school were black males is significant as the most recent census of the Lima area, *United States Federal Census 2000*, reveals that whites outnumber blacks by three to one. This finding is consistent with national studies that assert the overrepresentation of AAM in these types of programs regardless of proportional racial distributions (Losen and Orfield 2002, Harry and Anderson 1999). When a meeting was requested to clarify the findings and verify the racial and gender divisions with the former principal of the alternative school—who is currently the 10<sup>th</sup> grade principal of Lima Senior High School—the appeal was denied. However, results from a study conducted by Dunbar (2001) that was based in an alternative school in the Midwest, concludes that statistically the ratio of AAM to European American Males (EAM), in alternative school placements, is three to one.

When asked why they had been sent to alternative school informants' gave the following responses.

**A1:** They told me it was because it would help me out because it would be smaller classes, so they would just send me there.

**A2:** Well, I got put into this other school because I was told it was going to be easier, but I guess it's not. It's not the same but it's kinda harder.

Another student answered the question and chose to elaborate on the behaviors he was displaying at the regular school before he was sent to the alternative one. This example elucidates the normalization of violence and violent behaviors. In that regard,



there is a level of remorse in the informant's analysis, which could suggest that his actions were not a random act of violence but a cry for help in the only way that was accessible to him. Therefore, the authorities could have chosen a more appropriate referral, specifically a psychotherapeutic or psychiatric intervention.

**A:** It's like if you bad, like real bad and they feel like you need help, they send you there. You know, for whatever reason, whether you truant a lot, whether you ah...as in my case try to burn the school up or fightin' too much, or cussin' out teachers. They'll send you there so you can get help. That's basically what it is a program to help, the kids that, that got problems you know, attitude problems.

**Q:** Okay, what was happening when you said you were trying to burn the school up? What's up with that?

**A:** I felt I wanted to die at the time. I wanted, you know, to burn the school down and if everybody was goin' with me, then everybody was goin' with me. If they got out, they got out. That's jus how I felt at the time. But, you know, I seen the light and that ain't the way to go, so I left that alone.

Lima's use of alternative schools to house behaviorally disordered males is a national phenomenon critiqued by scholars who describe the development of alternative schools as environments that hypersegregate AAM (Losen and Orfield 2002, Dunbar 2001, Harry and Anderson 1999). Recent research questions the value of education received there and finds that they are not geared at challenging students academically but function in the role of behavior management (McIntyre 1996, Harry and Anderson 1994, Starks 1993, Hilliard 1992). Additionally, they are profitable for school systems due to the compartmentalization of behaviorally disordered youth where each student who enters is assigned a team of experts that handles a different aspect of his behavior (Losen and Orfield 2002). Team members can include any or all of the following: youth detention facility staff, therapists, social workers, counselors, and behavioral health

specialists. In this way, the staff support needed for alternative schooling is not cost or academically effective and has been linked to later placement in the juvenile justice system (Dunbar 2001).

The Lima Alternative School was also a site of gang culture as detailed in an interview by a key informant.

I had a folder and I wrote my nickname down, I was called Mr. Wicked. And I wrote down K Block, which is Kenilworth. And the principal seen my paper and he pulled me to the office and he called my mom to come to school. He had the police officer there, and he was like, who's Mr. Wicked?—I was like, that's my nickname and he says do you know what that means? I says yes, I looked in the dictionary and it means bad and evil. And he says so what's K Block? I say that's Kenilworth it's a street. Is it a clique or are ya'll a gang or anything? I was like no, I was like K Block that's where we grew up at, everybody that's out there we grew up there ever since we was little. We pretty much family or real close friends. So he was like, if I move onto Kenilworth would I be able to be K Block? If you was real close friends with us or family yes, you would be, as of right now no. He got mad about it and said I'm goin' to give you an in-school suspension and if I see anything like this again I'm a have you arrested.

K block is considered Blood Territory in the structure of organized gangs in the city of Lima. K block or Kenilworth is located on the Westside of the city. The informant's response describes his connection in familial terms and K block is discussed as part of his collective identity. In his analysis, initiation is based on long established family ties with the area. A sentiment he expresses in the following sentence, "...K Block, that's where we grew up at, everybody that's out there, we grew up there ever since we was little." In the informant's ideology K Block is an exclusive location, and one can not become a part of it by simply moving there, rather they must have a connection to the inhabitants. The sense of connectedness to place in the dialogue is

significant and an example of agency over the power structure. It is a location of pride and shared collective identity.

Similarly, another informant shared rap lyrics he had written about the meaning of K block to his identity. The lyrics are as follows:

So you bet's stay in yo' section or they'll be readin' about you in the  
obituary section of the *Lima News*, have you singin' the blues when you  
battered and bruised, I got the gat<sup>48</sup> so nobody move, nobody get hurt  
unless you want yo' face on a shirt<sup>49</sup>, six feet under dirt, that's how this  
nigga works, bullets whistle while I jerk the gun, nigga you done, we dead  
serious, ain't no reason for being curious, we ain't playin' no games  
Elm Street to Spring Street, K-Block,  
Damn, Spring Street to Market, K-Block,  
Damn, Market to High Street, K-Block,  
Damn, High Street to Oakland, K-Block,  
Damn, Oakland to Brice Street, K-Block, Bitch

This exchange illustrates how extensive K block or Blood Territory is in the larger Lima area. In fact, the example reveals that it takes up half of the Westend of the city. Additionally, the lyrics suggest that the informant is willing to kill to protect his territory (e.g. "I got the gat so nobody move, nobody get hurt unless you want yo' face on a shirt, six feet under dirt.") It is a further indication of the normalization of violence among this sector of Lima area AAM.

### African American Progress in the 1990s

There were a number of positive aspects of life for some AAM who lived in Lima during the 1990s. Moreover, there was an equal share of African American women who

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<sup>48</sup> A "gat" is a gun, of the submachine type that has been associated with the Gangsta Rap Movement and lifestyle.

<sup>49</sup> A tradition has been established, by some African American youth, in which a photograph of a young man that has been killed in a violent confrontation is put on a t-shirt and worn by his friends. The practice serves to memorialize his death, show respect, and humanize the individual to the community.

were participating in activities and the community witnessed a growth in political, professional, and business proprietorships. An article that appeared in the February 1999, edition of *The Lima Voice*—the current paper of the African American community, lists these accomplishments.

- Jerome O’Neal a 36 year old Lima area African American is the owner of two major senior care facilities in the city.
- William White, formerly of Lima and the son of Reverend James White is a professional football player for the Atlanta Falcons.
- Reverend Sharon Jefferson became pastor of her own church in Lima called, “Word of Mouth Christian Center”. She also opened “Happiness House” which is a shelter for battered, homeless and drug addicted<sup>50</sup> women.
- Vann Pruitt purchased the Lima-Lincoln Mercury car dealership, his brother Mike Pruitt purchased and runs Mike Pruitt Ford. The significance here is that they are the only two African American owned dealerships in the city.
- In the late 1970s, Antelle Haithcock became the first African American television broadcaster regularly on the WLIO television station. In 1980, she became promotions manager at that station and host of her own television show, “A Gospel Sound.”
- Desarai Downs came to the city in September 1996, to become station manager of the city’s first station with an urban music format. She was joined by Joan Garcia who hosts a contemporary jazz program and Devon Jones who is the host of D.J.’s place on that same radio station.

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<sup>50</sup> The highly addictive drug crack hit the Lima scene in the 1990s. Homelessness began to surface as well. Both are indications of the area’s declining economic conditions.

- In 1989 Yolanda Putnam became the health reporter, LaTanya Fletcher became the education reporter and Boyzell Hose was the photographer for *The Lima News*.
- Chris Jackson became a fire inspector and was named “Firefighter of the Year” by the Lima Noon Sertoma Club in October of 1998. He also volunteers his time as president of “100 Strong Men<sup>51</sup>.”
- Jennifer Pughsley and Frances Napier have served together on the City Council since 1996.
- Kathy Roberts is one of the few Lima area African Americans to hold a managerial position with the City of Lima, she manages 11 parks as well as forestry and recreation programs.
- African American attorney Jerry Pitts was appointed to the Ohio Supreme Court for a 2-year term in 1993. He also served as council for the Minority Contractors Assistance Program<sup>52</sup>.
- In 1991 the Ohio Arts Council commissioned Dr. John Scott from Bowling Green University to compose a video history project that focused on selected elements of 150 years of the African American experience in Lima. It consisted, primarily, of the oral history narratives of African Americans living there from 1900 to 1950. The video project that Dr. Scott produced is entitled, “Hats, Handkerchiefs, and Fans” and was distributed by American House in 1993 (See Appendix F). The

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<sup>51</sup> The group’s mission is to provide mentors for local area AAM youth.

<sup>52</sup> Currently, there are a number of new construction jobs opening up in the area. The construction projects included a new senior high school, major additions to Lima’s two hospitals and a gentrification of the downtown area. The formation of a minority contractor’s group insures equal distribution of some of the new construction business.

video’s production illustrates how important the oral history tradition is in the collective memory of Lima area African Americans.

Lima’s Changing Industries

In the 1990s, a service-oriented economy developed on a national scale and created a demand for highly skilled workers, while simultaneously decreasing the need for low-skilled workers (Farley et al. 2000, Kitwana 2002, Rose 1994). The shift in the occupational structure produced new forms of inequality in which there was a sharp divide between an affluent, technocratic, professional white-collar sector and a low-wage, low-skilled sector (Farley et al. 2000). Nationally, the second sector was made up of African Americans and Hispanics (Rose 1994).

Following the national trend, Lima experienced a drastic increase in the number of fast food businesses, check cashing stores, and lotto outlets. The service jobs they provided were low skill, low pay, and provided no health insurance benefits. The Allen Economic Development Group’s statistics on the changes in types of area employment and the unemployment rates from 1997 to 2001 are displayed in the following charts.

**Table 5 - Unemployment Rates for Allen County**  
 (Source: *Allen Economics Development Group—January 9, 2003*)

<b>YEAR</b>	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
<b>Average</b>	5.6%	4.9%	4.7%	4.7%	5.1%
<b>Unemployment</b>					

**Table 6 - Employment by Sector in Allen County<sup>53</sup>**  
 (Source: *Allen Economics Development Group—January 9, 2003*)

<b>Industries</b>	<b>1980</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>2000</b>
Private Employment	66,640	74,810	81,065	94,222
Agricultural Services	250	610	691	625
Mining	190	150	128	433
Construction	4,050	4,350	5,430	39,444
Manufacturing	22,800	22,720	20,261	18,086
Transportation & Public Utilities	3,230	3,590	3,881	4,231
Wholesale Trade	3,160	3,090	3,795	3,191
Retail Trade	13,430	15,690	17,701	17,638
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	4,590	3,560	4,061	3,028
Services	14,760	20,360	25,117	33,935
Government Employment	8,430	9,930	10,392	9,758

These tables are illustrative of Lima's current employment structure. Table 6 presents an indication of how private and service employment has significantly risen in a twenty year span. At the same time, manufacturing jobs have significantly fallen which suggests a climbing service industry and is consistent with findings in other Midwestern cities (See Farley et al. 2000).

<sup>53</sup> The total population in Allen County in 2000 was 108,473 (U.S. Census 2000).

## Growth of Lima Area Hospitals

Lima hospitals were another local industry that witnessed a great deal of growth in the following ways: real estate, construction, patient population base, and employment. One explanation summarizes that there is an increase in the area's elderly population and as such is symptomatic of a national trend. The two area hospitals are St. Rita's Medical Center and Memorial. Time lines provide a visual representation of localized events that contributed to their enlargements.

**Table 7 - St. Rita's Medical Center's Time Line**  
(Source: *The Lima News*, March 2, 2003)

YEAR	EVENT
1918	End of WWI, during an influenza epidemic the Sisters of Mercy open St. Rita's Hospital
1948	7-story addition is built adding 150 beds
1967	Another 150 beds are part of a new air-conditioned addition
1977	8-story patient tower is added to the hospital and the name changes to St. Rita's Medical Center
1993	New Century Project is completed adding a 5-story building, renovating surgery, intensive care, radiology, same-day surgery, endoscopy, outpatient and maternity areas
2003	With about 2,800 employees, it is the county's largest employer, its capacity is 450 beds



**Table 8 - Memorial Hospital's Time Line**  
 (Source: *The Lima News*, March 2, 2003)

YEAR	EVENT
1899	Incorporated as Lima City Hospital
1904	First commencement of nursing school
1923	Name changes to Lima Memorial Hospital
1933	State of the art, \$55,000 Lima Memorial Hospital opens at it's new site
1950	A new 3-story addition opens, increasing the capacity to 250 beds
1984	More expansion, hospital adds 6 <sup>th</sup> , 7 <sup>th</sup> and 8 <sup>th</sup> floors
1996	The Family Birthing Center opens and expands a year later
2003	Construction underway for a \$15 million emergency room to be completed 2004

The drastic growth in the area hospitals indicates that there is a large enough senior citizen population to warrant an investment in the hospitals' expansion. In 2000, St. Rita's became the top employer in the Lima area. Though jobs were created through this expansion, the professional jobs, such as nursing, physicians, and pharmaceuticals, were largely filled by whites who lived in the smaller outer lying cities in Allen County (informant 2003). African Americans, on the other hand, tended to fill the service oriented jobs, specifically in maintenance and the dietary unit (informant 2003).

Conclusions

In the 1990s Lima witnessed the incorporation of yet another prison into the local economy that differed from the other two because it was a privatized facility. The prison industry is significant in the transformation of the identities' of local AAM because of its role in establishing national gang connections and affiliations of area youth. Among

many of the informants interviewed, gang membership increased and became a normal part of what it meant to be an AAM living in Lima. Drugs and firearms surfaced to finance this activity. The introduction of these vices in the inner metropolitan areas of the city led to an increase in both violent and illegal activities.

The most popular rapper of the period was Tupac Shakur. Shakur's influence on the identity of local AAM is reflected in their speaking patterns, specifically the use of words like, gangsta, gang bangin', hatin', nigga, thug, and keepin' it real. Shakur defined thugs as "the nobodies because we really don't have nobody to help us but us" (Dyson 2001: 113). The local disenfranchised, socially isolated AAM could relate to his message.

Simultaneously, local AAM were being hypersegregated into alternative schools due to behavioral disorders—defined as behavior that interrupts the flow of the regular classroom. The impact of cultural and structural components resulted in an identity of AAM that glamorized externalized aggression and internalized a shared sense of suffering.

Lastly, there was a drastic change in the type of employment available to Lima area citizens. Manufacturing jobs that had been lost in the prior decade were replaced by low wage service oriented jobs that were problematic and offered very limited income and no health insurance benefits. The conversion of the employment sector from manufacturing to service oriented is consistent with the national trend.

At the same time, there was an increase in African American participation in local politics, civil services, local media, ownership of local private enterprises, and public visibility in professional roles. There was a growth in denominations of area churches,

inclusion in local youth oriented mentorship programs, and a escalation in social services, specifically, homeless and battered women's shelters. Lastly, there was a drastic expansion in area hospitals with St. Rita's Medical Center emerging as the top employer.

inclusion in local schools, and the impact of these policies on the educational attainment of the children of immigrants. The authors also discuss the role of the state in the provision of social services, and the impact of these services on the well-being of the children of immigrants. The authors conclude that the state has a significant role to play in the provision of social services, and that these services are essential for the well-being of the children of immigrants.

## **Chapter 7: Life in Contemporary Lima**

*Everybody who hear our music, say, 'them 'lil', they label us niggaz though, they say, 'you 'lil niggaz got talent'. Informant 2003*

### **Current Demographics**

What events are occurring in contemporary Lima that shape the identities of AAM? What is the quality of life for the African American community there? A discussion regarding basic demographic, employment, health, and housing availability statistics are useful in providing a current sketch of these aspects on the lives of local citizens.

The Federal Census (2000) lists the total population for the city of Lima at 40,081, which is a drop of 5,461 from the previous decade. 27,776 of those citizens identified themselves as white/European American and 10,614 identified themselves as black/African American. In the space of a decade, the area lost 355 African Americans.

To gain some insight into an aspect of the current economic structure reports from Allen County's poverty level statistics and the top employers of the area are helpful. The county's poverty rate is 11.5%; for people under 18 the poverty rate was 17%; for children 5 to 17 the poverty rate was 14%; the median household income for a family of 4 in Allen County was \$36, 857 (U.S. Census 2000).

The following table lists the major environmental issues that are discussed in this chapter.

Current Environmental Issues

- 1. Air Quality: The Clean Air Act (CAA) is the primary law governing air quality in the United States. It sets national air quality standards for various pollutants and requires states to develop and enforce air quality plans to meet these standards.
- 2. Water Quality: The Clean Water Act (CWA) is the primary law governing water quality in the United States. It sets national water quality standards for various pollutants and requires states to develop and enforce water quality plans to meet these standards.
- 3. Land Use: The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) is the primary law governing land use in the United States. It requires federal agencies to consider the environmental impacts of their actions and to prepare environmental impact statements (EIS) for major federal actions that significantly affect the environment.
- 4. Global Climate Change: The Paris Agreement is an international treaty on climate change that was signed in 2015. It aims to limit global warming to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase even further to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels.
- 5. Biodiversity: The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) is an international treaty that aims to conserve biological diversity. It was signed in 1992 and has been ratified by over 100 countries.
- 6. Ozone Depletion: The Montreal Protocol is an international treaty that aims to phase out the production and consumption of ozone-depleting substances. It was signed in 1987 and has been ratified by over 100 countries.
- 7. Hazardous Waste: The Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) is the primary law governing hazardous waste in the United States. It sets national standards for the management and disposal of hazardous waste and requires states to develop and enforce hazardous waste management plans to meet these standards.
- 8. Nuclear Energy: The Atomic Energy Act (AEA) is the primary law governing nuclear energy in the United States. It sets national standards for the safety and security of nuclear energy and requires states to develop and enforce nuclear energy safety plans to meet these standards.
- 9. Environmental Justice: The Executive Order on Environmental Justice (EO 12896) is a federal policy that aims to address environmental justice issues. It requires federal agencies to consider the environmental impacts of their actions on vulnerable populations and to take steps to address these impacts.
- 10. Environmental Monitoring and Assessment: The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) is the primary law governing environmental monitoring and assessment in the United States. It requires federal agencies to monitor and assess the environmental impacts of their actions and to report the results of these monitoring and assessment activities to the public.

The Top Employers for Allen County in 2000 is illustrated by the following chart.

**Table 9 - TOP EMPLOYERS FOR ALLEN COUNTY—2003**  
 (Source: *The Lima News*, March 2, 2003)

Employers	Workers
1. St. Rita's Medical Center	2,400
2. Ford Motor Company	1,696
3. Lima Memorial Hospital	1,388
4. Allen County	1,212
5. Lima Schools	822
6. Sun Mgmt Services (Supermarkets)	611
7. Roundy's	550
8. Premcor	500
9. Meijer	500
10. City of Lima	500
11. Lima Correctional Institute	500
12. Allen Correctional Institute	350
13. Oakwood Correctional Facility	300

Analysis reveals that the hospitals and Ford Motor Company are the top employers of the county. Strikingly, the total employment figure for the three prison facilities in the area is 1,250, which almost doubles the number of people employed in the Lima school system making them the fourth largest employer and a viable industry. Concurrently, the unemployment rate has reached an eight year high (*The Lima News*, May 3, 2003).

## The Link Between HIV/AIDS and Incarceration Rates

Reports from the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) (2000) confirm the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS among African Americans on a national level. The reported cases of HIV/AIDS is eight times that of European Americans even though they only make-up 13 percent of the total population (Zook 2003). Further, fifty percent of African American adults living with HIV/AIDS are women. The rate at which American women are developing AIDS has tripled since 1985 with African American women representing 64 percent of newly diagnosed cases of HIV infection (Zook 2003).

Pregnancy<sup>54</sup> is a key source in obtaining HIV rates among women in lower socioeconomic groups because it is often the only time that they seek health care (Zook 2003). A culturally specific explanation that is helpful in clarifying this increase is termed the down low syndrome, which occurs when men have sex with men without telling their female sex partners (Winters 2003). The phenomenon has been tied to the massive incarceration rates of AAM in which they engage in same sex practices while there, but due to the stigma that is attached to homosexuality in the African American community, fail to disclose this practice to their spouses or girlfriends (Wright 2003).

As of March 2003, the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate of reported persons living with the virus in Ohio is 111.8 per 100,000 of the population (Ohio Department of Health 2003). Further, recent statistics indicate that minorities have been disproportionately impacted by HIV/AIDS. The March 2003 prevalence rate in Ohio, among African Americans, was over six times higher than the rate amongst European Americans (Ohio Department of Health 2003). Additionally, in Ohio HIV/AIDS is increasing among

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<sup>54</sup> In 2000, Allen County had the 17<sup>th</sup> highest teen pregnancy rate and the 6<sup>th</sup> highest live birth rate among 88 counties in Ohio (*The Lima News*, March 16, 2003).



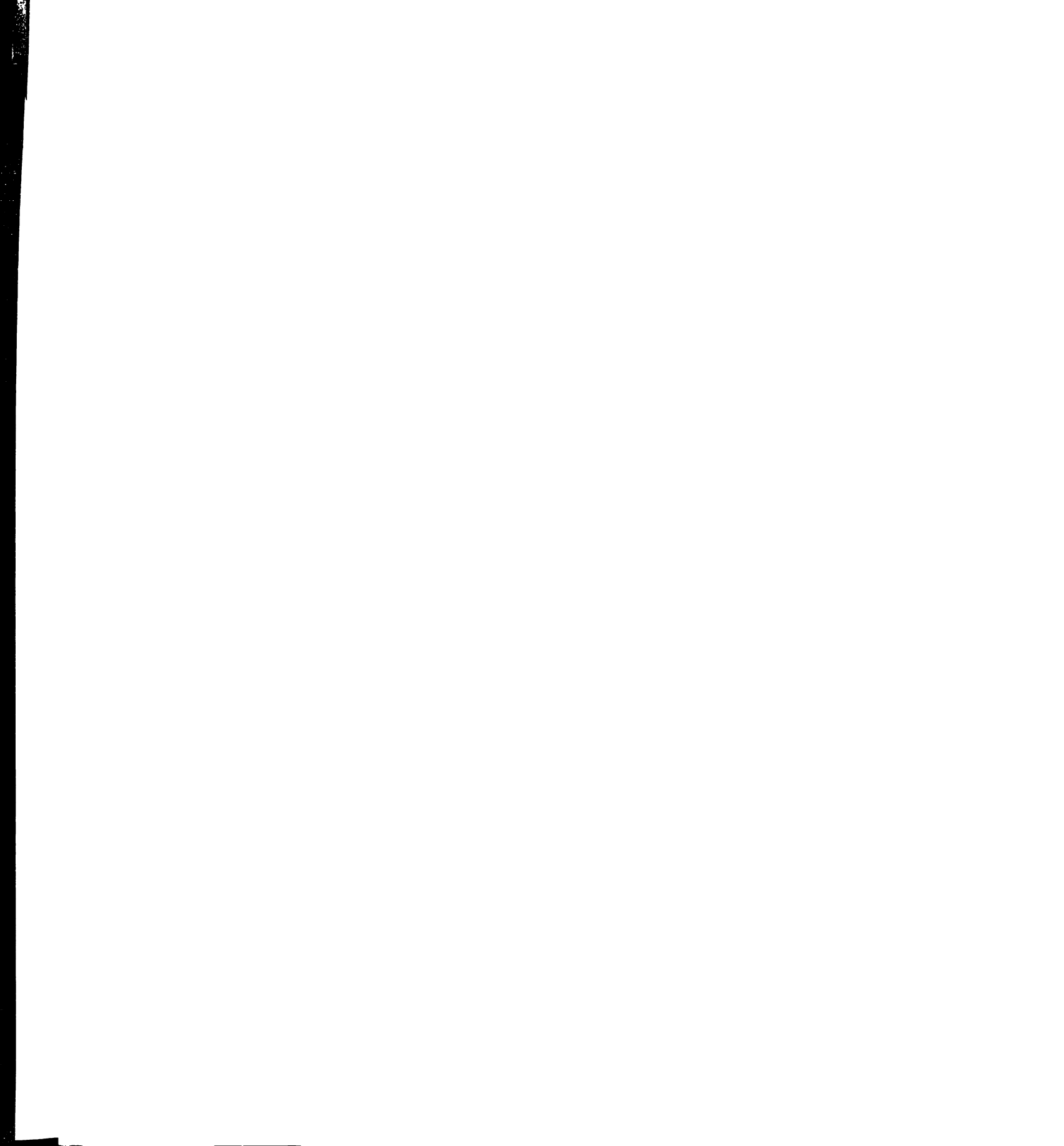
women. As of March 2003, they represent 23% of reported persons living with HIV and 16% of reported persons living with AIDS (Ohio Department of Health 2003).

Demographics of the impact of reported cases of people living with HIV/AIDS in Ohio and Allen County illustrate the impact on African Americans living there.

**Table 10: Persons Living with HIV/AIDS in Ohio and Allen County as of March 31, 2003**

(Source: *The Ohio Department of Health HIV/AIDS Quarterly Statistical Summary, March 2003*)

Demographics	Reported Persons Living with HIV/AIDS in Allen County		Reported Persons Living with HIV/AIDS in the State of Ohio	
	#	%	#	%
<b>Gender</b>				
Male	55	61.1%	10207	80%
Female	35	38.9%	2489	20%
<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>				
European American	43	47.8%	6326	50%
African American	42	46.7%	5303	42%
Latin American	3	3.3%	589	5%
<b>Age</b>				
<13	2	2.2%	92	1%
13-19	1	1.1%	65	1%
20-29	14	15.6%	969	8%
30-39	35	38.9%	4366	34%
40-49	23	25.6%	4958	39%
50+	15	16.7%	2248	18%
<b>Race/Gender</b>				
European American male	32	35.6%	5471	43%
European American female	11	12.2%	855	7%
African American male	19	21.1%	3954	31%
African American female	23	25.6%	1348	11%
Latin American male	2	2.2%	410	3%
Latin American female	1	1.1%	179	1%



These statistics confirm the growing epidemic of HIV/AIDS in Lima's African American community. If the trend continues it will become one of the leading causes of death, particularly for those in the 20 to 49 age group. The high incidence of the virus among this particular section of the population is consistent with studies on a national scale (Winters 2003).

**Birth and Death Rates**

Death and birth rates for all of Allen County are reported in the following chart

**Table 11 - Allen County Resident's Death and Birth Rates 2001**  
 (Source: *Annual Report of the Allen County Health Department 2001*)

Totals	2001	2000	1999
Total Deaths	966	1,038	1,056
Total Births	1,474	1,429	1,523

These statistics indicate that the birth rate is only slightly higher than the death rate in some years, specifically 1999 and 2000, but surpasses it in 2001, which suggests that there is a substantial elderly population in the Lima area.

**Causes of Death**

The top three leading causes of death, as reported by the Allen County Health Department in 2001, are heart disease, cancer, and stroke, which is significant as they are chronic diseases largely, attributed to ecological and behavioral factors. Industrial plants produce environmental waste, which has been associated with increasing rates of cancer.

These results suggest that the health care system is not doing a good job of preventing deaths among this population. The results also suggest that the health care system is not doing a good job of preventing deaths among this population.

Discussion

These results suggest that the health care system is not doing a good job of preventing deaths among this population.



These results suggest that the health care system is not doing a good job of preventing deaths among this population. The results also suggest that the health care system is not doing a good job of preventing deaths among this population.

Conclusion

The Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) is responsible for the health of the American people. The results of this study suggest that the health care system is not doing a good job of preventing deaths among this population. The results also suggest that the health care system is not doing a good job of preventing deaths among this population.

Additionally heart disease is associated with diets high in fat and sugar that largely dominate the food options available from the growing number of fast food restaurants in the area. The leading causes of death are illustrated in the following chart.

**Table 12 - Leading Causes of Death in Allen County 2001**  
**(Source: *Annual Report of the Allen County Health Department 2001*)**

Disease	2001	2000	1999
Heart Disease	342	372	336
Cancer	199	219	213
Stroke	92	96	73
COPD*	45	48	59
Accidents	12	10	12
Suicide	8	9	10
Homicide	3	7	6

\* Respiratory Disease (Chronic Pulmonary Disease)

### Foreclosures

Foreclosures in the Lima and Allen County area are at an all time high and have been steadily increasing since 1994 (*The Lima News*, January 12, 2003). According to county officials, the move is not confined to Allen County but is a growing regional trend. The percentage of those who have lost their homes to foreclosure is illustrated in the following chart.

The following information is provided for the year ended 31/12/2017:

Revenue 1000000  
Cost of Sales 600000  
Gross Profit 400000  
Operating Expenses 300000  
Operating Profit 100000

The following information is provided for the year ended 31/12/2018:

Revenue	1100000
Cost of Sales	680000
Gross Profit	420000
Operating Expenses	320000
Operating Profit	100000
Depreciation	20000
Interest	10000
Dividends	50000
Retained Profit	100000

The following information is provided for the year ended 31/12/2019:

Revenue

The following information is provided for the year ended 31/12/2020:

Revenue 1200000  
Cost of Sales 750000  
Gross Profit 450000  
Operating Expenses 350000  
Operating Profit 100000  
Depreciation 20000  
Interest 10000  
Dividends 50000  
Retained Profit 100000

**Table 13 - Allen County Foreclosures as of 2002**  
 (Source: *The Lima News*, January 12, 2003)

Year	Foreclosures Filed	Sheriff Sales	Total Value of Sales (in millions)
2002	678	498	\$8.911
2001	583	390	\$7.016
2000	415	296	\$6.631
1999	440	276	\$6.585
1998	336	338	\$3.852
1997	242	210	\$1.977
1996	206	214	\$1.851
1995	164	222	\$2.683
1994	194	172	\$1.270

These statistics confirm the growing number of Lima's citizens who have lost their homes to foreclosure and sheriff sales. No information was uncovered concerning the relocation of those who have lost their properties though the increase in homelessness provides one explanation of their plight. It was noted that *The Community Access Channel* advertises a number of programs for the homeless and the workshop, "Bridges to Understanding the Culture of Poverty" which signals the growing significance of homelessness and the issue of poverty in the Lima area. Further, the opening of Happiness House—which is a shelter for battered, drug addicted, and homeless women—provides an example of the need for shelter for this segment of the population.





### Mayor's State of the City Address

On May 4, 2003, Lima Mayor David Berger issued his annual *State of the City Address* and stated, "The city may need to heed calls for a new revenue source to get through its problems. If the economy does not rebound very soon, we may need to heed this call." He also acknowledged the city's current budget problems, noting deficiencies in the fire department's buildings and equipment, problems with the streets department's equipment, along with ongoing state and federal cuts as confounding Lima's problems (*The Lima News*, May 4, 2003). The mayor's comments reflect a shared sense of community apathy regarding the city's economic infrastructure.

### Rappers of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: 50 Cent

At the beginning of the decade, the normalization of violence for AAM living in the city of Lima had come full circle. The most popular rap artist, among the people who were interviewed, is 50 Cent. 50 Cent is a rapper from the East Coast and is produced by Dr. Dre, former group member of the now defunct NWA. 50's claim to fame is that he was a former drug dealer and in that role survived nine gunshot wounds, one of which was to his face (informant 2003). He represents the placement of violence with success, the kind of material attainment that disenfranchised AAM have been gravitating to since the mid 1980s. Informants' compared 50's music to Tupac's in that they could relate to the issues his music addressed especially regarding their daily life experiences. The following responses were elicited to the question, "What do you like about 50 and what are some songs that you like by him?"



**A1:** 50 like another Tupac, he don't bar none. He don't hold nothin' back. He gon' tell it like it is. That's how I am, I don't bar none. I tell it like it is. He just another Tupac to me, he ain't as tight as Tupac to me. I 'ont think nobody's as tight as Tupac, but he cold wit it.

**A2:** It's a song on his CD called, "21 Questions"—it's like a love song almost. It's just like, kinda like I be feeling about stuff. He asks like, if she still love me if I was riding on the bus, if I was pushin' a Bentley, just stuff like that, if I was poor would you love me, if I was rich would you love me.

**A3:** I like all his songs, but one of my favorites is "What Up." Uh, I like him because he raps about what he saw in the street. He raps real stuff. He 'ont rap about nothin' fake. Like he don't tell people like he'll shoot um and then he probably won't, so I guess he say he'll probably do it cause he been shot 9 times.

**A4:** 50 is, if I show you that DVD, 50 he sit there, you know what I'm sayin', he got shot 9 times. He sittin' on a video at the place he got shot and laugh about it. It's like this nigga ain't really tryin' to kill me. He like ran over and shot me, boom, boom, boom—like I'm layin' on the ground tryin' to shoot him and he shot me in my hand again. He laughin', he like he wasn't really no thug cause he would a kilt me.

**A5:** 50 Cent is the hottest thug out. The song, "Many Men Wish Death Upon Me" is very powerful—it's real. What he went through getting' shot an all that. Many men wish death upon me, Lord I don't cry no more, I don't look to the sky no more, have mercy on me, have mercy on my soul, somewhere my heart turned cold—that's a good song. For the lifestyle he livin', even when he wasn't ballin' people wanted him dead. That's just real, he could sit and write about it and put it in a song.

The admiration of 50 Cent and the things he represents follows closely to an observation made by Anderson (1994) in his article "Code Of the Streets" in which he describes the code as it applies to the AAM he studied in Philadelphia. The excerpt is telling of how multiple acts of violence are equated with the status of manhood.

On the street young AAM are taught that in order to become a real man one must first gain respect. One of the most effective ways of gaining respect is to demonstrate "nerve." Nerve is shown when one takes another person's possessions, "messes with" someone's woman, throws the first punch, "gets in" someone's face or pulls a trigger. True nerve unmask a lack of fear of dying over the principle of respect. AAM who internalize

this notion and convincingly display it in their public bearing are among the most threatening people of all. It is commonly assumed that they fear no man. Not to be afraid to die is by implication to have few regrets about taking another's life. Participating in violent acts becomes a way of life. Violence becomes the accepted norm (p.62).

The normalization of violence among Lima informants' is exposed as they discuss current violent events among AAM living in the city. The structure employed to frame these incidents is the life history methodology.

**Q:** What would be the name of the next chapter and what would be in it?

**A:** Starting my adult life.

**Q:** What are some of the things that would be in there?

**A:** I would tell how I live my adult life. As a teen I had the habit of carryin' a gun, that's where I got myself in trouble, when I was a teen by carryin' a gun. I had like 6 charges when I got arrested and 2 of um was felonies. Thank God they all got dropped down and I didn't get any charges. Starting my adult life I almost found myself in the penitentiary a couple of times. I done calmed down now, but I always been a hothead. When it came to violence I was down to roll wit it. That was just me. If you came to me with gun fightin' we dealt wit it—like I said I never been no wild thug.

Another informant:

...he got 2 brothers, okay he have a brother who shot 2 cats and he doing 19 years. Then he got another brother he shot 2 cats when he was 16, did 8 years, got out and wasn't out a whole year and kilt another cat. The blood run through they family. Them 3 killers. They all killers. The last brother kilt that boy, he shot that boy down cold blooded. Shot him about 7, 8 times. Called him to the car and he got to the car and he opened fire. He used to love to sing lines from Master P that go, "Pac and Biggie taught me a lesson to never leave home without my Smith and Wesson."

Another informant:

...don't act like you no gangsta but you really ain't. I don't say I'm no thug. I ain't no killer. I ain't never kilt nobody and I pray to God I never do. I pray to God I never shoot nobody and nobody shoot at me. But if

you come at me, if somebody come through that door, I won't give um a break. Like Biggie say, you nobody til somebody kills you.

A conversation with another informant:

I see so many playaz around here talkin' about they such a macho guy but they soft as butter. Like so many playaz around here start gettin' so much money, now they hard. Where that hardness come from? I had to check this one lil' dude a couple of months ago. He started runnin' wit a group called "Swat House" he messed around and got shot one night. Somebody messed around and shot him accidentally outside of the club. They wasn't even shootin' at him. I'm talkin' to him and he talkin' fly to me. I had to check him, "who is you?" 'cause you got shot now—who is you? You still sorry ain't nothin' changed. I ain't hard but I bar none. I fear no man but God.

**Q:** What club did he get shot at around here?

**A:** The Bayou Gator, it ain't nothin', I wouldn't even go back, it's somethin' every week or they shootin' outside. Some of them pimps playin' that they so tough, but they really ain't.

**Q:** There was something on the news yesterday (April 8, 2003) about some brother carjacking people at the Lima Mall and then they drove the car to the Miejer parking lot.

**A:** Yeah, I heard 'bout that, one of Tupac's CDs, how they go, they say, you got cops killin' blacks, the white man killin' blacks and blacks killin' blacks. That's all we doin' an it's real. White man sittin' back and they ain't got to kill us no more. We killin' each other. Not sayin' we should go kill them, but why are we killin' each other? 'Cause nigga you on my block, you in my 'hood, the red and blue, over a rag. The white man, instead of him stop makin' the rag, he steady makin' the rags so you can put um on your head and keep killin' each other.

**Q:** That's deep.

**A:** Yeah, cause shootings a big thing here in Lima. People ain't tryin' to fight hand-to-hand or face up, they just tryin' to shoot and just get it over with. It ain't even worth it. That's why I'm not on the streets like I used to be, cause you'll think it's somebody that's so perfect and all of a sudden they be on the news for killin' people. So I ain't messin' with the streets no more. In Chicago I saw Bloods walk up to people and just shoot um. I saw Crips killin' people. I was in the grocery store, Eagles and I saw a black guy got kilt by the police. I saw a lot.

Analysis of the responses reveals that they are testaments to the growing level of violence on the streets of Lima. The types of crimes, such as car-jacking—which is usually associated with the inner cities—are starting to occur in this small Midwestern town. Further, the activities discussed in the dialogues have been associated with growing rates of unemployment, poorly structured school systems, high incarceration rates, and lack of recreational facilities (Giroux 1996, Devine 1996, Taylor 1996, Anderson 1994). The presence of these behaviors should be of great concern to community activists and city administrators as they consider viable solutions to the growing trend.

Additionally, interviews reveal that the relationship between Lima area AAM and the local police still appears to be at odds and, according to one informant, harasses them at unprecedented levels. He details the police's specific actions to support his statement and describes the inherent racial disparity in the practice:

The Lima police, a lot of them dirty, I 'ont hate all police, a lot of them they dirty, just cruel, they see a group of blacks walking down the street they want us to separate—for what, we ain't doing nothing—just like a couple of summers ago, some black boys had brought some motorcycles, they made the black boys split up, they can't ride their bikes together, but you got all these white men coming down the street with Harley Davidson's and they can ride 20 deep, why they don't bother them? A lot of white police don't want to see black men have nothing, nothing. They think we from the ghetto and we gonna stay in the ghetto. This 2003, people changing, people looking for more goals and coming out the ghetto just like white men.

Future Goals: "I wanna be a rapper"

The influence of the rap world and the connection to the formation of AAM identity is demonstrated when informants' comments, concerning their future goals, are examined. Some of those who were interviewed are contemporary rappers while others list this occupation as one of their aspirations. The names of some of the area rap groups

are, “The 419er Boys<sup>55</sup>”, “The Young and the Restless” and “12 Rounds”, and follow the territorial lines in place in Lima’s African American communities since the migrations of the 1940s. Thus, rappers in Lima identify the side of town they are from when discussing their rap. Examples are as follows:

**Q:** Tell me about your goal of becoming a rapper, how long have you been a rapper here in Lima?

**A:** I’ve been rappin’ for a long time, most everybody in my family rap, or has some talent in music. I been rappin’ since I was 8.

**Q:** So you’ve been doing it for a long time.

**A:** Yeah, that’s what I like doin, I like to challenge people. People normally look at you by your looks, say he ain’t ‘bout nothin’, so I like to challenge them, do somethin’ good. I ain’t gonna lie I do gangsta rap. That’s what I do. That’s what I like to do. And some people tell me, that’s not gonna get you anywhere. But I tell um just sittin’ down doing nothin’ ain’t gonna git you nowhere. At least I’m tryin’ to do somethin’. I ain’t tryin’ to do nothin’ else on the streets to mess up and get kilt. Drama can git you kilt. But really I ain’t doin’ no beefin’ with nobody. I just challenge people rappin’.

**Q:** Tell me about the gangsta rap that you do?

**A:** In this generation it’s really not gangsta, it’s just like somethin’ that will make somebody say oh and ah. And make them like you, like let them know your name. Tell people about you and doing similes and metaphors and stuff like that. Cause that’s what I’m good at. I ain’t good at singin’ or anything. I’m good at rappin’. My hobby is like gang bangin’ like, cause that’s what we lived around. We lived around gang bangin’. Like now there’s nothin’ but gang bangin’, that’s all we know is gang bangin’. So I just come out wit it. Now I’m not gang bangin’, that’s not what I’m about, but I let people know I fear nobody. I just rap about basically everything I see on the street. I just say that our click, our rap click is the hardest around so people understand that. What I say in my raps is real. I let um know what I seen on the streets, like drive-bys, I saw people get kilt all that. So I let them know that’s what I saw. I let them know I fear death but I also let them know I ‘ont fear no man, but God.

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<sup>55</sup> 419 is Lima’s telephone area code. The fad of using them to “represent” where a person lives was started by a rapper named Ludicris whose style is an example of rappers from southern states—or in the vernacular from “The Dirty South.” It also symbolizes collective identity.

**Q:** Are all your raps about violence?

**A:** I also rap about love. I rap about girls and how I feel about them. There was a shooting on Eureka Street in 2003 at the beginning of it, it was January. There was a robbery for drugs and the baby was cryin' so they put a gun in a 3 year old baby mouth and shot her and kilt her. So I was makin' slow songs about that.

**Q:** Did they catch the people?

**A:** Yeah.

**Q:** And they were from Lima?

**A:** Yeah, they fount um I believe in Dayton, in a hotel. They kilt 2 people. So I rap about that. I rap about death and how its sad and it shouldn't happen, but I also rap about beefin' too. People will think they so hard in rappin', it's good to think that, but I'm like don't take it to the extreme, don't get your head to big about it. Like sayin' you the best rapper around. Cause I'm sayin' I ain't so you ain't either—everybody could be a little better.

**Q:** In Lima is rap divided by sides of town?

**A:** Yeah, there's not much Eastside rappers here, there's people who try to rap like Eastside, Westside, Southside.

**Q:** What do you consider yourself?

**A:** I consider myself East and Westside; I don't like all that A, B, C stuff. Pick any word that come to your head and write that down. I like challenges. It's not easy, rappin' is not easy. You can say you get done quick, but you 'ont want to get done quick cause it just makes it sound boring. You don't want people to understand it til they listen to it about 5 times. Then they like, okay, I understand what he said.

**Q:** How do you handle comments from people that say you're just wasting your time?

**A:** I laugh at people who talk bad about me like I'm low life. I ain't gonna be shit or whatever. But when I make it where I am, or if I get to where I want to be on rappin' or whatever, I'm a put they name on a song and say, "hi" I am somebody. I'll even give them money if they let me smack um with every dolla. Like I'm a low life, smack, smack, I will give you money.

**Q:** What are your short term and long term goals?



**A:** My short term goal is to finish my CD. My long term goal is to make it big. I 'ont care about the money or the fame, it's just to get the point across.

**Q:** To make it big rapping?

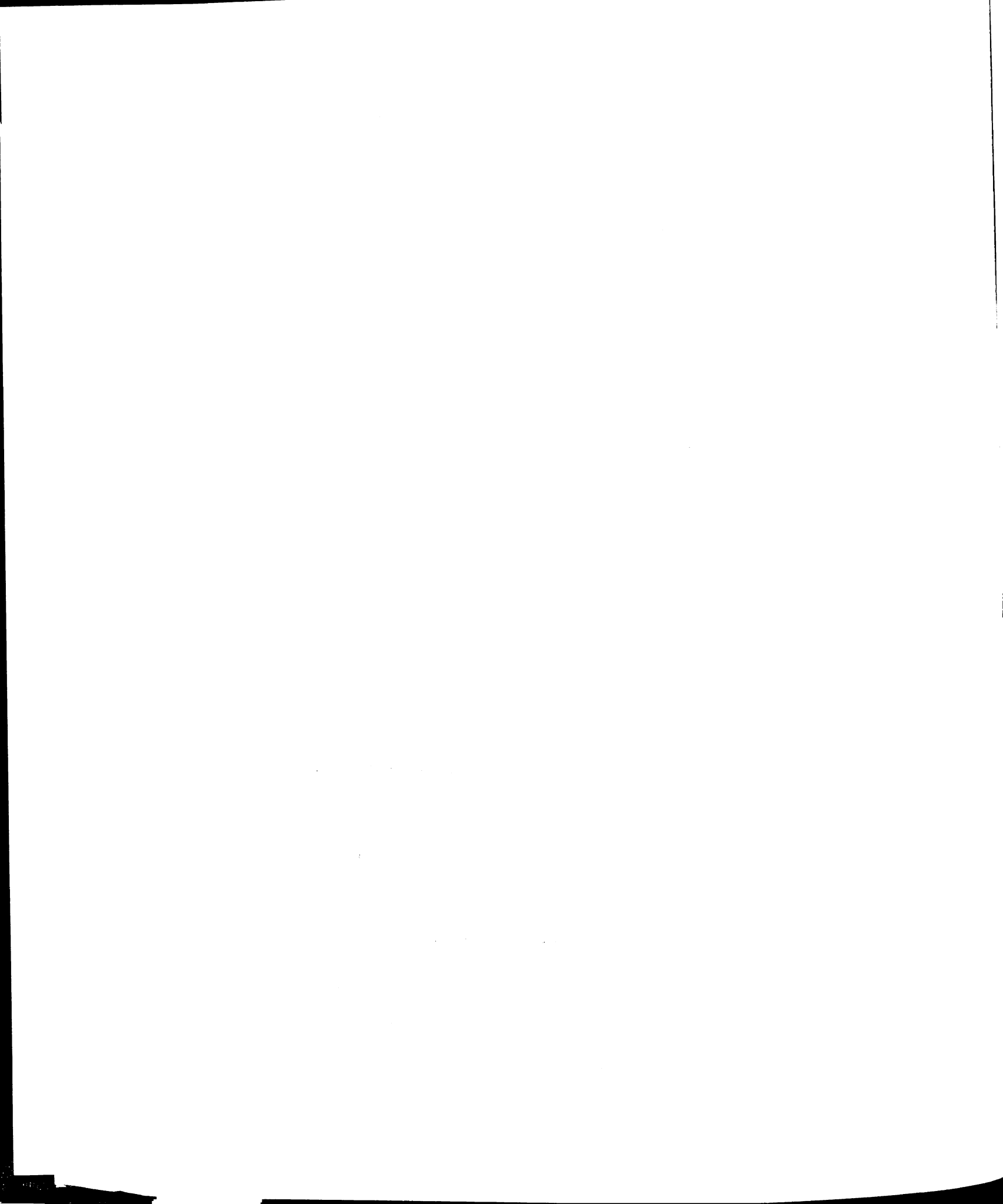
**A:** Yeah, like it's just the point across that if I can do it without my family and stuff anybody can do it. Nobody ain't better than nobody. I'm tryin' dancing music and I'm tryin' to make music to get people thinking. When I do that I got to be isolated from everybody else because I get distracted. I got to really think cause quick stuff don't last long. You got to put time into it. I'm tryin' to put Lima on the map. Most people ain't never heard of Lima.

**Q:** Do you plan to be here in Lima when you're 21?

**A:** If I'm here, I'm a represent Lima still. Cause it's just getting' too deep here with the killings and all of that. I don't want to get mixed up in it, but I'm a represent Lima. If it come down to makin' the first video, I'm gonna make it here in Lima because it's my hometown.

Analysis of the data reveals how perceptive young artists are to what is happening around them. (e.g. the graphic descriptions of area murders, drive-bys, and the fear of death). As informants' discuss the thoughts they put into composing rap lyrics the theme of suffering is prominent. Examples from the interviews include: "I rap about death and how it is sad and it shouldn't happen." "I let them know what I seen on the streets, like drive-bys, I saw people get kilt all that." They also appear to view their skills as rap artists as a way out of the seemingly hopeless confines of the city boasting about their alliance to the place and state, "I'm tryin' to put Lima on the map. Most people ain't never heard of Lima. If I get famous I'm a put Lima on the map." Rap music appears to shape their identities and indicates local AAM interest in entrepreneurial enterprises.

The growing rap industry has not gone unnoticed by corporate conglomerates on a national scale. According to Rhea (2000), hip hop music is the second best selling genre behind country music. In 2000, sells of Hip Hop music were close to 2 billion dollars



(Rhea 2000). In fact, it is one of the only two musical varieties that continues to grow in earnings as the overall industry revenues slip. Hip Hop artists are now over selling many international music icons (Rhea 2000). Further, the music continues to influence other parts of the hip hop economy. Examples include: the domination of hip hop formats on major radio station markets; the production of hip hop music videos with their bold styling and million dollar budgets; the creation of a multi-million dollar film industry where artists are both producers and actors; a score of local and national publications that are quickly becoming the top-selling magazines among the youth of the nation; and individual hip hop artist's clothing lines and production studios, which all aide in shaping the identities of today's youth.

### Lima's Rap Industry

There is massive interest in producing CDs and rapping nationwide which could be attributed to media images of both new and established rappers and advancements in technology. Independent recording studios are materializing in people's homes and reflect the current demand, research uncovered that Lima is no exception to the trend. Emerging rappers share where they produce their rap CDs and who owns these neighborhood studios.

**Q:** Where is your studio at?

**A:** There are so many of them.

**Q:** Are they owned by AAM?

**A:** There's a couple of um here that's owned by whites.

**Q:** How much do they charge for studio time?

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of persons who have been notified of the hearing. This list includes the names of the parties, their addresses, and the names and addresses of their attorneys. It also includes the names and addresses of any other persons who have been notified of the hearing.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the issues that will be heard at the hearing. These issues include the validity of the contract, the amount of the damages, and the appropriate remedy. The issues are listed in a clear and concise manner, and each issue is accompanied by a brief summary of the facts and circumstances that give rise to the issue.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the evidence that will be presented at the hearing. This list includes the names of the witnesses who will testify, the names of the exhibits that will be introduced, and the names of the documents that will be submitted. Each item of evidence is accompanied by a brief description of the evidence and the purpose for which it is being presented.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the questions that will be asked of the witnesses at the hearing. These questions are designed to elicit the facts and circumstances that are relevant to the issues that will be heard. The questions are listed in a clear and concise manner, and each question is accompanied by a brief summary of the facts and circumstances that give rise to the question.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the questions that will be asked of the parties at the hearing. These questions are designed to elicit the facts and circumstances that are relevant to the issues that will be heard. The questions are listed in a clear and concise manner, and each question is accompanied by a brief summary of the facts and circumstances that give rise to the question.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of the questions that will be asked of the court at the hearing. These questions are designed to elicit the facts and circumstances that are relevant to the issues that will be heard. The questions are listed in a clear and concise manner, and each question is accompanied by a brief summary of the facts and circumstances that give rise to the question.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of the questions that will be asked of the jury at the hearing. These questions are designed to elicit the facts and circumstances that are relevant to the issues that will be heard. The questions are listed in a clear and concise manner, and each question is accompanied by a brief summary of the facts and circumstances that give rise to the question.

**A:** Well the one we in now charge \$20 for an hour, if they like you alright and they'll sign you, you'll get free studio time. The one on Cole and Latham Street charge \$35 and CRG charge \$40 to \$45.

**Q:** Which one do you like best?

**A:** They say CRG the best because they got all the equipment, its all engineering and everything. They'll master mix for you right there and then.

There are a number of recording studios in the Lima area and they are run by both black and white people. The price that is charged varies, and there is a belief that a recording of one's group is crucial in obtaining a recording contract. I conducted several interviews in what were termed recording studios and noticed that they are where large numbers of AAM congregate. In this sense, they are becoming places where youth can go to socialize and a welcome break to the growing levels of violence in the streets of Lima.

### Other Future Goals

Though rap was by far the most popular response other future goals and regrets were mentioned. The following answers were given to the question, "Where do you see yourself at 21?"

**R1:** I see I'm going to make it big. I see a lot, I see myself happy, anything that makes me happy, that's what I see.

**R2:** Hopefully, I get a good decent paying job and be done got my GED or diploma by then.

**R3:** In college, majoring in computer technology, carpentry, I got a little experience in construction.

**R4:** I want to start helping kids, speaking to kids about how I lived my life, I got a goal, if I can stop 5 kids from livin' they life the way I lived my life I'd be proud.

**R5:** I would like to be married; I would like to have kids. I would like to show them the father that I didn't have. I would like to do some things for them that my father didn't do with me. I would love to take them all around the world. I would love to give them everything they ever wanted even if I had to struggle and had holes in my shoes. I would love to be a millionaire one day. I would love to give my wife everything she wants.

The variety of responses humanizes those who were interviewed. The crucial element is that there is a sense of future orientation, an example of this is that one of the interviewees has gotten a scholarship and will be going to Ohio State University in the fall of 2003.

It is also interesting to note that two of the informants see their role in the future as one that will involve children. One states that he would like to get married and give his children all the things that he was unable to have and discusses a willingness to sacrifice himself for his children and his plans to marry one day which is an endorsement of societal norms. The other is remorseful about his life, but would not like to see others go down the same path that he has chosen for himself, an observation that should be nurtured by current community leaders. Additionally, each person is realistically assessing the probable future for themselves, which may suggest that they have come to terms with the reality of their lives.

A few informants answered the question by talking about things they regretted doing in their current lives. Curiously, those who expressed the most regrets were those who stressed how "hard" they were in their earlier interviews. Examples include the following:

**R1:** I wish I'd have listened to all my aunts, uncles, my mother, my brother, even the ones I was tryin' to look up to, the Bloods, the Crips, Folks, all of them who was tryin' to tell us lil' niggaz, "hey you tryin' to be like me, slow down, stop doin' this, stop doin' that, you need to smarten up." I really wish I would have listened. Sometimes at night I sit

and cry cause I still ain't forgave myself for the little things I did. Even the people who was out there doin' bad they had words of wisdom for me.

**R2:** I admit I cry a lot about it, like going to jail, I had people tell me how to avoid going to jail, but no I didn't listen, so I found out the hard way. Maybe that was good for me, a good learning experience. It let me know, when I look back and I'm older and understand what they was sayin'. A lot of people had love for me and still do.

These are significant findings as much of the media coverage of AAM who have gotten involved in self-destructive behavior excludes their multi-dimensional aspects. The individuals' interviewed obviously see themselves as connected to the larger community and offer a step beyond the mask they display amongst their peers. In the code of the streets, one gains respect through displaying a tough exterior and crying is not an option. The informant admits to crying in the night, when he is alone, away from his friends, which softens the tough guy image so prevalent in the self displayed in public.

### Challenges for the Future of AAM in Lima

If Lima persists in the current trend of mirroring the social ills of larger cities by a lag of five to ten years, the following issues will start to become prevalent. The rise in cases of AIDS ( See Table 10 for local and state statistics) (the soaring rates of AIDS in African American communities nationwide has been associated with the trend of high incarceration rates of AAM as well) (Kitwana 2002, Zook 2003), the rise in suicides, homicides (especially among AAM); and the rise in cancer rates. The increase in rates of cancer is already becoming a major concern as both St. Rita's Medical Center and Memorial Hospital have constructed treatment centers as part of their hospital systems.

Though these challenges seem steep there are some innovative programs that are starting to take place in the Lima Public School scene and AAM are receptive to them.

With the closing of Lima Alternative School in the 2002/2003 school year, students who had been hypersegregated there are now being included in regular classrooms at Lima Senior. Additionally, in the 2002 school year an intervention program called “Amer-I-Can” was introduced in the high school curriculum and targeted at AAM.

Amer-I-Can is a program that was started by Jim Brown, a devoted African American activist and former football star. The mission is to provide mentors for AAM in public school systems that are not funded by state or federal monies but by private donations to the nonprofit organization. The goal is to utilize transformative intellectuals—defined as those who seek to instill future orientation in youth—to provide an essential aspect of future orientation to their charges (Arnowitz and Giroux 1985, Giroux 1996). Mentors are often former gang members and “shot callers” who can relate to the life worlds’ of participants. As such, they target at-risk youth by teaching them skills in critical thinking. An example of the effectiveness of the program at Lima Senior is illustrated by a participant there. His response is as follows.

**Q:** Do you think you’re being taught things in school that will help you reach the goals that you have set for yourself?

**A:** Yeah, one class in particular, my last period class for this semester, called, Amer-I-Can, it’s like a program tryin’ to deal with kids, not bad kids, just kids in general. Teaching you how to deal with everyday life struggles and how the real world is. It just really teach you stuff you know. Help you on your attitude and the workforce, what they be looking fo’, you know it help. It mainly do help out blacks more then what it do whites, but some whites that grow up around us know the same thing, the same struggle. It help them out too. But its mainly aimed at the black youth trying to get them to realize what, what they say the white man is tryin’ to do, you know. Have us in a little box, try to get us out that and just explore everything we can and live life to the fullest. I like that class cause it really teach you a lot of stuff about politics and stuff like that. Like with the election we was really gettin’ on that. Mainly my class don’t like Bush. We get on what the black people had when his dad was president to him and maybe the same thing will happen again. Crime rates



might go up more now, more drugs might be sold like it was in his father's day. I really like that because it really helps us out like with the real world and how to deal with certain things. And help you know life ain't fair.

**Q:** Who teaches that class?

**A:** Mr. Smith

**Q:** Is he a black man?

**A:** Yeah, he like from, he from Dayton, but he really got to do with some school in Cleveland, some college, and he went on a football scholarship. And he, you know, like I did think of football as my career, I just stopped early; I wanted to do somethin' else. He stopped once he got there, he just stopped and then had to decide or plan that he wanted to do something else with his life cause football ain't everything. So I guess he went into sociology or something, talking to youth or whatever. And he liked it and met Jim Brown, the owner of Amer-I-Can, cause he work for the government, he don't work for the school. So he getting' paid from the government.

**Q:** So he can pretty much plan his classes based on what he wants to teach and not what the school wants?

**A:** Yeah, yeah.

**Q:** That sounds very good. How do you see yourself? How would you describe yourself as a black male?

**A:** Ah...I always express myself, but I always like, can't come out wit it without thinkin' about the consequences. You now, you say this or what might happen. I just come right out with it and expressed myself to the fullest without thinkin' about somethin' goin' right or wrong. I never thought about it like that. I just blurted out whatever I had to say and now I think about life in general like after high school, cause I used to think before this, you know, oh high school going to be the bomb. Be when my mind's made up. It just roll up on you man, I'm a junior now and I got another year to think about what I really want to do and I ain't got my mind made up. I got my mind right but I ain't got it made up yet so, you know, you just gotta sit down and realize that nobody's gonna be a kid forever. You gotta work out and look at the real world and look at what's really goin' on so, I changed and looked at things from a different perspective. I still express myself but to a degree. I think about if one day this what might happen or say I got a beef wit a teacher or a student, if I fight the student and I get caught for startin' the fight, I'm gonna get kicked out for 10 to 13 days and that's gonna affect my grade. I cuss out

the teacher and it's gonna be the same difference. He still gonna get paid whether I learn what I need to learn or not. You know, that's how I feel about myself now. I look at it from a different perspective. I like analyze the game before I go in to do what I'm gonna do.

**Q:** That's outstanding. Well I appreciate your time. You really helped me out a lot. Is there anything else you would like to say?

**A:** Oh, what I just said about analyzing the game, you know, the teachers are gonna get paid whether or not. Mr. Smith taught me that. He taught me that you gotta look at it this way, "we gettin' paid regardless" whether you just come here and get what you need and leave it's all on you. Cause they gonna get theirs regardless so, you might as well get what you came for and then go ahead with your life. You may never see um again but as long as you gettin' your education right, you can be in the same position they in, gettin' paid. Whether the person is doing something right or wrong you still gettin' yours, that's about it.

**Q:** That's very good advice. Thank you again for this interview.

**A:** You're welcome.

The interview offers a telling example of the importance of culturally relevant and specific programs in education. He acknowledges his internalization of the stigma that was attached to being assigned to the alternative school in his reference to bad kids versus kids in general. He offers insight regarding the inherent biases in the current system in his statement that Mr. Smith, "don't work for the school" and so he can teach what he wants to teach and refers to Amer-I-Can as teaching about how the real world works and the importance of struggle. The informant acknowledges that there is a shared struggle between black and white students especially among white students, who come from the same background that he does, or in academic terms, from the same class. When we look back at the racial divide between black and white students in the Lima Senior of the 1960s, the contemporary analysis is significant and may indicate that student's in the new generation are grappling with the shared experience of white

classmates on the economic front. The success of Amer-I-Can in other school situations has not yet been determined, but it is a step in the right direction.

There is another innovative program that is available to youth in the Lima area and is aimed specifically at those who have dropped out of the public school system. The person in charge is a retired teacher who has constructed a regimen that consists of tutorial sessions at the Bradfield Center that focus on providing assistance in completion of Graduation Equivalency Diplomas (GED). A unique feature is that he allows youth to make their own decisions concerning what element of GED preparation they would like support with. Additionally, the class is structured to allow students to leave for such things as smoke and dinner breaks, which is an element that allows for freedom of movement a tactic that has proven successful in other research aimed at keeping AAM engaged in educational endeavors (Span 2000, Davis 2000).

Another important aspect of the endeavor includes a level of flexibility that allows students to change their schedules if the situation in their home or community life warrants it. Previous research suggests that this element is crucial as many youth who opt to drop out of regular school do so because of work schedules or disruptive family and personal lives (Dunbar 2001). They are also provided information about community resources like mental health centers, treatment centers, and shelters for the battered and abused. Students can elect to come to sessions after any length of time, which is an addition that attends to the reality of their lives where periodic spells of incarceration abound. Self reports from the coordinator reveals that the rewards are two-fold, not only does it give him something useful to do; it also provides a needed community service. He also confided that since he has been conducting the program he has noticed that

people may not return for a year, yet come back in the next year, or only attend every other month, the choice is left totally up to each individual. Outcome data regarding the retention rate of participants' that complete their GEDs in this less structured atmosphere is crucial in evaluating the effectiveness of like initiatives.

The cultural relevance of experimental targeted youth educational engagement classes has not been determined. However, the loose structure of such programs supports the findings of previous research that suggests that one of the key mechanisms this group of students employs is an opposition to authority figures by refusing to submit to a rigorous curriculum (Willis 1977, Bowles and Gintis 1976). Perhaps these alternatives will assist in bridging that divide as they appear to account for the differing behavioral and verbal styles of the targeted population. Programs of this nature are highly suggested to begin to encourage AAM in Lima to pursue and obtain a general education.

AAM themselves are not totally left off the hook. Kitwana (2002) reports that one of the responsibilities of the Hip Hop Generation is to acknowledge the damage they have done to themselves. The damage he is speaking about concerns the popular culture of AAM that is best witnessed through rap lyrics and 'hood films that promote violence, flashy materialistic lifestyles, disrespect for women, and every day life situations which include inadequate parenting, resentment-filled interpersonal relationships, and inferior educational performance. Kitwana (2002) cites these issues as examples of AAM going counter to traditional ideals of Blackness—he is referring to the massive strides African Americans have made as a whole—and proposes that members of the contemporary generation owe an indebtedness and respect to the many courageous souls who have gone

before. He suggests that they not forget from whence they came and forge ahead to make the crucial adjustments that will make the community a better place for all its inhabitants.

### Conclusions

Throughout this study, the identities' of AAM have been impacted by a number of structural constraints. Their roles in the community have shifted from being independent landowners, to dependent laborers, to prison inmates. Local economic indicators do not suggest an end to the downward trend (See Tables 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13). The prominent rapper of the period, 50 Cent, represents the placement of violence with success, which serves to encourage and support the normalization of violence. The influence of his music is further evidenced by an analysis of life history narratives of key informants' in which violent acts are glorified. However, all is not lost and there is a sense of future orientation that is brought out when they discuss goal attainment, and innovative educational programs. The growth and support of the local rap industry is consistent with the national trend (Rhea 2000) and may indicate the possibility of entrepreneurial enterprises among the locals.

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## **Chapter 8: Conclusions**

*People are always speculating—why am I as I am? To understand that of any person, his whole life, from birth, must be reviewed. Everything that ever happened to us is an ingredient. Malcolm X<sup>56</sup>*

The interpretation of the above quote is that in order to understand a person one must first consider all the aspects of his/her life. It is instructive as the major question this research strove to answer was, “How have structural constraints impacted the identities and the quality of life of African American males living in this city?” Through an historical examination of major events and figures of African Americans living in Lima, Ohio that question was explored.

This study began by investigating the influx of the first African American settlers to Allen County. Locating this data proved to be a difficult task due to the limited amount of information available at the Allen County library. To further complicate matters, the majority of the resources listed in the card catalog were no longer in the possession of the library and were described as lost (see Appendix F).

The futility of this search resulted in a trip to the library in the Allen County Museum where a scattered collection of “The Black History of Lima” was located. The compilation amounted, essentially, to two large dusty boxes tucked away on a back shelf. Investigation into this source uncovered a number of unpublished documents written by former members of Lima’s African American community consisting of a social history of success, struggle, and strategies that often went against the norm. This proved to be crucial in establishing a precedence of how everyday people strove to obtain a better quality of life for themselves. Recurrent themes in the literature included a long established pattern of economic inequality and discrimination in the areas of housing,

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<sup>56</sup> Malcolm X from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* by Alex Haley and Malcolm X (1964).

The first part of the book is devoted to a general introduction to the subject of the book. It is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the general principles of the subject, and the second part deals with the specific details of the subject.

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the subject. It is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the general principles of the subject, and the second part deals with the specific details of the subject.

The third part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the subject. It is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the general principles of the subject, and the second part deals with the specific details of the subject.

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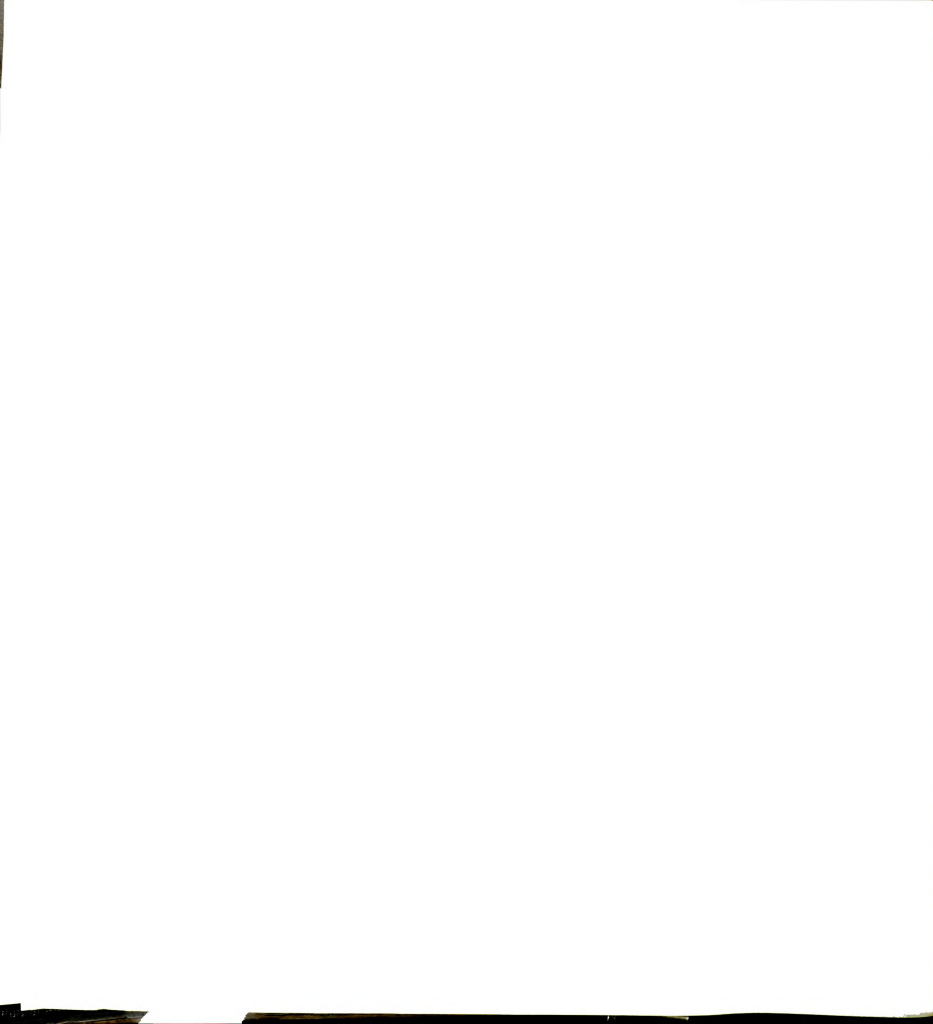
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quality of education, and employment options. There was a long history of racial segregation and an antagonistic relationship between the Lima police department and the African American populace. Lastly, documentation was uncovered that revealed the strengths and importance of the African American church in the daily lives of area citizens and civil rights struggles.

Data from “The Spedy Historical Research Project” (1978), proved to be of crucial importance to the research, which began in 1976, when Lima resident Vera Gales set out to record Lima’s version of “Roots” by collecting oral history narratives from local residents. The unpublished materials from that endeavor consisted of taped interviews and transcriptions that were unquestionably a key component in adding the people’s voices in the telling of the story. Not only did they enrich the narrative, they proved useful in illustrating the changes in the structure of language through time in Lima’s African American neighborhoods.

A comparison of past and present interviews reveals that the area’s speaking patterns have steadily moved away from standard forms of English an occurrence that could be attributed to the long history of isolation, alienation, and segregation between African Americans and European Americans in the city. As a result of this long separation, African American English has become progressively more uniform across the socially disadvantaged areas of the city and has developed into a speaking pattern that is increasingly remote from that spoken by European Americans there. The problem, therefore, becomes that the less contact African Americans have with European Americans, the greater their reliance on African American English and the less their ability to speak standard American English. The importance of this is it limits their



capability of obtaining employment in the emerging service oriented economy where success is tied to effective communication. Further, it attests to an unintended consequence of segregation and social isolation. Other scholars have documented the occurrence of this phenomenon in similar African American communities on a national level (Rickford and Rickford 2000, Smitherman 2000).

This investigation was followed by a meeting with a local private historian who granted access to her personal collection of an assortment of historical documents, photographs, and newspapers. From these resources, the African American heritage of Lima began to emerge. That history began with the migration of free, manumitted, and runaway African Americans from states in the Upper South who founded cities in Mercer, Shelby, and Allen Counties in about 1830 (McGee 1980, Bennett 1969). These courageous early settlers set up fully functioning towns some of which were reputed to be stations of the Underground Railroad and as such welcomed all incoming African Americans (McGee 1980). However, their prosperity was short-lived and they were driven out of the area by the terroristic tactics of European American settlers who were arriving at the same time.

The African American settlers who left relocated in Lima and were segregated in the Westend of town. The only jobs open to them were in positions of subservience in which they surfaced as maids, butlers, housekeepers, laborers, and the like. Though they were assigned to subservient roles there were resistors among them, one of whom became politically active and attempted a run for mayor of the city in 1888 (McGown 1921). The African American church was a large part of their existence and functioned as the center of social activities. They opened and ran restaurants, barbershops, and drinking

establishments. Though they did not socialize much with Lima area European Americans their lives were well rounded and the African American community began to thrive.

The structural constraints that were imposed by the larger society were in the form of segregated housing, theaters, eating establishments, and recreational facilities. The period set the stage for a process of social isolation that would continue to mark and divide the African American community in Lima. Lastly, towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, John D. Rockefeller made a major purchase of land that would later become Standard Oil (Stemen 1998).

Industrial growth is a large part of the history of the city because of the number of jobs they created. Even though African Americans were not directly working at the factories they benefited indirectly as they provided an income for European Americans who attained these jobs, enabling them to hire African Americans to do the more menial tasks of domestic service and day laborers. Though the work was tedious, it provided a financial base for African Americans to grow and progress. Evidence of this was a small growth in entrepreneurial enterprises in which goods were sold and traded (McGown 1921).

In 1929, the country experienced the Great Depression, which was a critical historical force for Lima and the whole country. It was felt by most members of the community and created a fear among people of government institutions, particularly the banking industry (Frazier 1957). It also signaled a shift in African American political affiliations which changed from Republican—their original support was tied to the Lincoln administration and the Emancipation Proclamation—to Democrat—this support

was tied to the Roosevelt administration and the New Deal which provided governmentally funded and supported social projects and services.

The Depression dovetailed into World War II and both African Americans and European Americans were called to fight in that war. However, they were segregated in housing and in duty assignments, with African American soldiers allotted to subservient positions (e.g. cooks, cleaning the camp site) and the dirtiest and most undesirable jobs (e.g. assembling dead bodies for transport home). The war created a labor shortage in the Ohio Steel Foundry who began to recruit laborers from the Deep South, specifically lower Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana to meet the demand. These states were known, during slavery, for their particularly harsh and large plantations (Hale 1998). This was the second migration of African Americans into the area.

Those that came to Lima, under these conditions, were indebted to the Ohio Steel Foundry and found their life similar to what they had left behind in the South. The cotton field was replaced by the foundry and they were given the dirtiest and least desirable jobs and segregated in the Southend of town. Eastern and Northern Europeans, who had been living in there prior to their arrival, objected to living with them and moved out of the area in droves.

Curiously, they met with the same type of hostility from their African American peers who were living on the Westend of town. They did not welcome the newcomers who they considered backwards, coming from the rural and largely agricultural South. A rift between the two was created that would continue to characterize the two groups into the contemporary period.



The early Civil Rights Movement in Lima began at the end of WWII and was sparked as African American soldiers, returning from European tours, began to question their segregated status at home. Their thoughts evolved and inspired the locals to start focusing on the disparities in the system and led to the formation of a local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). This organization functioned in the role of inquisitor and began to question housing patterns, segregated swimming pools, employment practices of local area industries, and hiring practices at local hospitals and medical facilities which proved to be the first step in the battle between European Americans and African Americans in the city for equal rights. Early Civil Rights activists' surfaced in the form of church ministers who guided their congregations towards active resistance.

African American women and their organizations were not left out of the fray. The founding of the Mizpah Community Center is an example of their dedication and hard work toward providing affordable and available daycare for Lima's working African American women. The major organization credited for this center was the United Church Women, which was the women's division of the United Presbyterian Church (SQHC 1971).

In the 1960s, African Americans in Lima were impacted by changing conditions in the world market, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Vietnam War. It was one of the most active periods for area churches and ministers began to organize and voice their discontent with the quality and availability of housing in the African American community. The period witnessed the development of organized labor unions that prompted the hiring of African Americans in the industrial sector.





On both a local and national level the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s ushered in a rise in civil unrest and African American militancy. Community members began to protest the unequal treatment of African American students at Lima Senior High School, and the racist actions of the Lima Police Department. This era witnessed the development of the Lima branch of the Black Panther Party whose voice was so powerful that the city mayor called in reinforcements from the National Guard to deter their carefully orchestrated protests (*The Lima News*, August 5, 1970). The Panthers questioned the segregated and horrific conditions that prevailed for African Americans living in the Southend of town and are historically important as an example of Lima's youth taking a stand against the racist and corrupt police force and city administration. Unfortunately, the period was short lived and people who were identified with the Panther party were systematically banned from employment, harassed, or drafted for service in the Vietnam War. The potential for African American leadership quickly shifted and no substantial leader was produced, a feature that was mirrored in African American communities on a national level (Cruse 1967).

Though the reign of the Panther party was short lived, it was successful in planting the seeds of future orientation in Lima youth. The implementation of Federal Affirmative Action Programs provided the catalyst needed to encourage some of them to attend college, which was, for many African American families in the area, the first generation to accomplish this goal.

The development and threat of militancy also challenged the city's white power structure and jobs for African Americans opened up in the local manufacturing enterprises. Those who gained employment in this medium shifted from jobs of

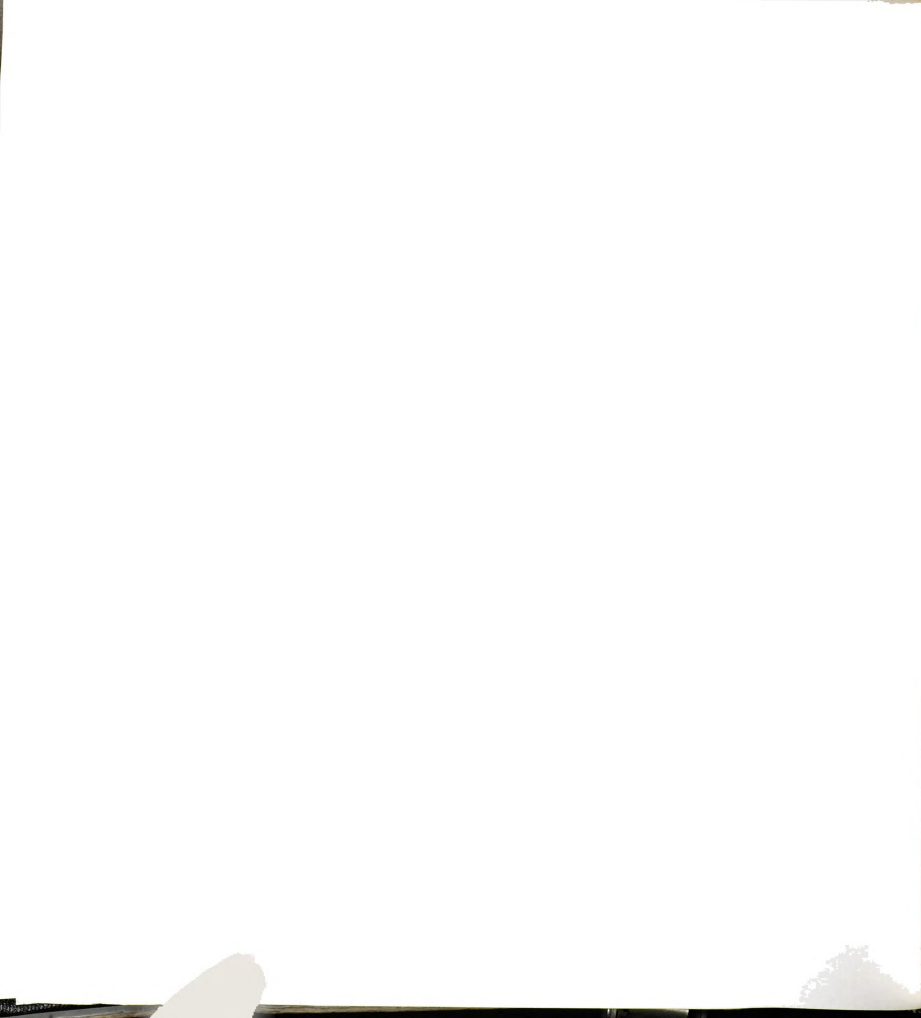


subservience to jobs of monotony in which they conducted repetitious tasks. Through employment in this sector they were able to participate as consumers in the economic middle class, however there was no significant change in their status on a national or local level.

Additionally, the period marked the beginning of the involvement of African Americans in the political infrastructure of the city and they began to run for seats in the City Council. Though they were not successful they set the stage for future candidates.

The 1980s was marked by the Reagan Era that was largely responsible for eliminating federal programs in Lima and on a national level (Kitwana 2002, Boggs 1995). Characterizations of the administration included a poor civil rights record, non-initiation of fair housing legislation, and endorsement of a de-industrializing economy (Boggs 1995). African American in the Southend of Lima who had been hypersegregated became more socially isolated, witnessed a decrease in the quality of community schools, and had little opportunity to obtain the technological skills needed to compete in the evolving global economy. Local plants downsized their operations or relocated to the South where cheaper non-unionized labor abounded. Lima's youth felt the sting as employment became hard to find, and many of their parents found that they had to work two jobs to survive, leaving their charges unsupervised. The area experienced a high incidence of "brain drain" and many African American citizens—who had marketable skills or wanted greater choices in employment—left the city, many never to return.

On both the local and national level employment opportunities remained largely service oriented (Farley et al 2000, Rose 1994). Decades of intense social and economic



isolation had left African American street culture increasingly divorced from the basic American ideals of family, work, and respect for others (Kitwana 2002). Lima's reaction to these rising problems was evidenced by a growth in both the prison and hospital industry.

The prison industry impacted the area two-fold. It both provided employment for residents and jail cells for the area's young adults, who had been disillusioned by the lack of jobs or recreational facilities. The result was a growth in differing forms of delinquency. The city's answer was an increase in law enforcement, and incarceration rates, predominately for AAM.

The hospitals benefited in two ways as well. First, they were able to expand at rapid speeds (See Tables 7 and 8) second; they became the top employers in the area (See Table 9). The growth of area hospitals is also significant because they attest to the growing number of elderly in the area (See Table 11) (Age is a crucial factor as government infrastructure's decide on the level of healthcare required to obtain the maximum health of the population.); and the growing rate of chronic diseases in the area (See Tables 10 and 12) (Chronic diseases require extensive and costly treatment regimens).

As the prison industry grew and more AAM in the city became a part of it; they made connections to members of both West Coast and Chicago gangs and a strong gang affiliations were nurtured in the city. Gang culture was aided by the mindset fed to the public by the media that demonized AAM, labeling them as the criminal other. Further, community-police relations continued to be at odds, and AAM continued to experience alienation from the local law enforcement infrastructure.



Rap was the music of choice for this generation of AAM because the artists who produced and performed it not only looked like them, and sang about issues they could relate to. The recordings focused on two major themes, suffering and conspicuous consumption. The suffering theme is consistent with older African American art forms, namely the Blues and Negro Spirituals (Titon 1994).

The suffering theme, in the contemporary period, is further divided up into three areas: the suffering of self, empathy towards the suffering of others, and causing suffering to others. The sentiment voiced by artists is revealing of how AAM themselves interpreted their quality of life. National media, specifically television and newspapers, public intellectuals, and policy makers offered a different reading holding that the predominant subject of the art form was violence. The explanation is problematic in that it serves to create and sustain the image of AAM as violent, deviant, and diseased in the public mind. Society's portrayal leads to the acceptance of the labels and influences them to favor the use of structural constraints as protection them from these individuals. Correctional facilities and alternative school programs were the manifestations of the process and insurgents were sent there so experts could begin to cure them. By managing perceived behaviors in this manner, the responsibility for the situation is taken off of the system and attributed to the individual. Instead of the system, it is the individual that must change. It is the individual that must be disciplined and taken out of the society due to societal norms that endorse the system's role in control individual citizens instead of making structural adjustments that promote a more equally balanced society (Foucault 1977).

The first stage of the process is the identification of the problem. This is done by the project manager in consultation with the client. The next stage is the analysis of the problem, which involves identifying the causes and effects of the problem. This is done by the project manager in consultation with the client and the project team. The third stage is the development of a solution, which involves identifying the best way to solve the problem. This is done by the project manager in consultation with the client and the project team. The fourth stage is the implementation of the solution, which involves putting the solution into practice. This is done by the project manager in consultation with the client and the project team. The fifth stage is the evaluation of the solution, which involves assessing the effectiveness of the solution. This is done by the project manager in consultation with the client and the project team.



Further, the development of high tech media played a role in providing greater access to the medium of rap music to the masses. Rap artists, like many others, took advantage of these advances and began producing videos, clothing lines, and 'hood films<sup>57</sup> (Kitwana 2002). Conspicuous consumption became part of the cultural milieu for a growing number of disenfranchised AAM that were not only surfacing in Lima but around the nation as a whole (Rose 1994).

Simultaneously, funding in education was decreased in the Lima area and countered by an increase in financial support for the local prisons. With less spent on schools, test scores began to drop and the quality of education, for those in the public school system, began to deteriorate. Additionally, much of the funding for recreational facilities, namely parks and youth centers was drastically reduced. The youth in the city predictably were becoming bored. Involvement in the local gangs, for AAM living in the city, became their collective identity (See Appendix H). Due to a lack of employment in the formal economy they resorted to the informal economy of drugs and guns to finance their operations. The result was the introduction of the highly addictive drug; crack, in the African American sections of the city. Distributors came to Lima from the larger cities of Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit. With the introduction of drugs and guns the level of violence and violent crimes began to escalate.

In summary, the following factors have impacted the quality of life and identity formation of AAM living in contemporary Lima:

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<sup>57</sup> 'hood films began to make the contemporary arena in the late 1980s as an attempt to explain the generation gap (Kitwana 2002). The question they seek to answer is, "How is it that the hip-hop generation is so different from their parents' generation?" The majority are produced by AAM featuring the music and acting talents of popular rap artists, and the images of African Americans in the roles of gangstas, hustlers, pimps, playas, bitches and hos. Many glorify a criminal lifestyle as the only way out of the hip-hop generation's poverty, legitimize their outlaw status, and promote the accumulation of material possessions (Kitwana 2002).



**Segregation and Economic Inequality**— Careful review of the history of African Americans' in the city of Lima reveals how long they have been segregated, and in the case of those living on the Southend of town, hypersegregated from European American citizens. Massey and Denton (1993) describe this process as “American Apartheid.” In *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, the authors thoroughly and systematically analyze how this came about in African American communities nationwide. In their view, African Americans, predominantly in the under classes, have been confined to certain areas of the city by economic disadvantage, racism, and segregation. Given the reality of their situation, their powerlessness, alienation, and social isolation they have ceased to question their segregated inferior status.

Additionally, economic inequality is a reoccurring theme in the lives of many African Americans in the city as well. Economic inequality has surfaced in structural features of the city such as type of available employment and quality of housing. The persistent economic disadvantage of members of society that make up the lower classes is telling of their perceived powerlessness in the larger structure. Sugrue (1996) in *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* puts it thusly, “Economic inequality constrains individual family choices. They set limits on human agency. Within the bonds of the possible, individuals and families, resist, adapt, or succumb” (p. 5).

**De-industrialization**—As Lima went through a massive de-industrialization period during the Reagan Era, those who could, fled the city in search of more lucrative employment opportunities or higher education. Those that were left behind were largely



products of generations of blue-collar families who previously had invested their futures in the lifetime manufacturing employment of their fathers, mothers, relatives and siblings before them which left them unprepared for employment in the highly service oriented and technologically driven economy of the contemporary period. Additionally, the jobs that were available paid wages that were far below those of the factory and offered little or no health benefits. The income earned by contemporary workers is inadequate for decent housing options. Many AAM who are employed in Lima's service economy cannot afford apartments or homes and live with their parents or relatives. Most are what social scientists call the "working poor," and their wages relegate them to a standard of living just above, at, or below the poverty line. This finding is consistent with previous scholarship on a nationwide level (Kitwana 2002, Farley et al 2000).

**Growth of Prison Economy**—The Reagan Era witnessed the growth of the prison industry in the area and on a nationwide level (Kitwana 2002, Rose 1994). In the short span of twenty years, Lima has become the home of three prisons, which have surfaced as the fourth largest local employer (See Table 9). The rise in correctional facilities coincided with an increase in the incarceration rate of AAM (See Tables 1 and 3). Involvement in the city's prison industry has been linked to the development of gang connections and affiliations and an escalation in the incidence of HIV/AIDS on a local (See Table 10) and national level (Wright 2003). The impact of structural forces has led to the normalization of a violent counter culture that is at odds with the basic values and goals of the dominant culture.



**Over 100 Years of Environmental Pollution**—Historical analysis reveals that the Lima area has been home to over 100 years of environmental pollution largely in the form of the numerous industries that have continuously inhabited the local landscape. The following companies have all played a role in this development, Sheller Globe, Standard Oil, Ford Motor Company, General Motors, General Electric, Proctor and Gamble, and Dana to name a few. The impact of environmental pollutants is evidenced by a review of the leading causes of death in the area, namely heart disease and cancer (See Table 12). The extent of the damage on the health of the locals warrants further investigation, which goes beyond the scope of this study.

**Drastic Decrease in the Quality of Education**—Currently, the quality of education in public school systems in this nation is in rapid decline (Price 2002). In the Lima area, the deterioration has been attributed to a number of factors. Leading the list is the rapid decrease in area families' incomes. As they became lower and lower the tax base needed to fund the public school systems became less and less. With a decrease in funding Lima City Schools became less able to attract teachers, leading to understaffing, overpopulation and limited availability to technological resources. These deficits serve to weaken the employability of the area's young people and deepen the growing digital divide between the haves and have-nots in the city. According to recent scholarship, this phenomenon is not only isolated to the city of Lima but is occurring on a national level (Price 2002, Kitwana 2002, Farley et al 2000, Massey and Denton 1993).

Simultaneously, the area witnessed a drop in positive recreational activities for the youth resulting in a large percentage of adolescent males with little to do and little





prospect of a future. Out of this environment emerge AAM whose aggressive behavioral styles are appropriate and essential to survival in their home environments, but detrimental and inappropriate in public school environments (McIntyre 1996, Anderson 1994, Starks 1993).

**Impact of Massive Foreclosures**—The importance of the increasing number of foreclosures and sheriff sales—beginning in 1994 and nearly doubling in 2002 (See Table 13)—suggests the troubled state of Lima’s real estate. The loss of homes has affected the community as a whole, which is witnessed by the growing phenomenon of homelessness in the area—an issue that in the prior decades was principally confined to larger more urban cities.

The loss of property has impacted the types of retail establishments that have emerged. The major franchises that dot the landscape are check cashing stores, Rent-A-Centers, “Super” Goodwill Stores, and a large variety of fast food restaurants which impacts AAM by limiting employment opportunities and experiences crucial to the development of future-oriented goal attainment. (See Appendix I for an example of a study participant’s resume, note that there is not much job experience that would indicate that he has attained the skills needed to reach his career objective).

**Decrease in Political Activities**—The quandary of voter apathy is apparent in the arena of politics at both a national and local level. This issue is especially relevant to African American communities as the current political trend appears to be targeted toward the abolition of civil rights and affirmative action legislation (Rubio 2001). Further, if these



programs are successfully eradicated, it is the African American community that will experience the greatest hardship.

Another component is the lack of a strong united front involving both the African American church and the African American community. It is a crucial omission as historical analysis illustrates how influential the church was in challenging Lima's political infrastructure. A current trend of both local and national African American churches is to "grow" or become more institutionalized and less personally responsible for parishioner's welfare (Williams and Quinton 2003). The results of the change is seen in the community-church relationship as many churches have failed to address the crucial issues in the African American community namely: HIV/AIDS (See Table 10); quality of education; lack of recreational facilities for youth; growth in the incarceration rate of the youth; the massive availability of drugs and firearms; the growing gang culture; and the rise in unemployment. Recent scholarship confirms these findings (Williams and Quinton 2003).

What recommendations are there for these challenges? What realistic and practical things can be initiated to make the city a better place not only for AAM but for everyone to live in? Some suggestions include:

Continue to develop and nurture innovative school programs whose main feature is that they are taught by someone who has no links to the school. They are effective because they deal with real life issues (e.g. poverty, drug abuse, unemployment, racism, the importance of political awareness and voting, attainment of education, acquiring



marketable job skills, gang membership, peer pressure, economic inequality, and future orientation)—deal with practical issues (e.g. how to write a resume, how to find a job, how to get a GED, how to fill out an application, where to go if you need shelter, food, help with a drug addiction or grief)—and allow some flexibility to participants. The drop-in or drop-out feature is attractive to youth whose main objection to traditional schooling is that it is too rigid and perceived as too authoritative (Giroux 1996, Willis 1977). Further, recent studies found that this factor is commonly the basis many high school drop-outs offer as the reason they do not like school (Davis 2000, Polite 2000, Willis 1977). These initiatives listen to what youth have to say, a feature that is sorely missing in many parts of their lives. Lastly, they allow students to explore their own creativity and value that as an important cultural resource, coping mechanism or guide to begin the process of critical thinking and future orientation.

Provide a living wage with real insurance for families in the community, which is a growing issue in neighborhoods across the local and national spectrum. The change in employment from manufacturing to the service sector has greatly impacted Lima's African American community. In 1997, the service sector produced more than 46 million jobs, 5.6 million of which went to African American workers (Kitwana 2002). Unlike the working class jobs of the previous generation, most of the service oriented jobs lack the wages and benefits that afforded low-skilled workers in the 1970s a middle-class existence. The previous generation's low-skilled workers could afford to buy homes and cars, had paid vacation time, and full health insurance. In contrast, the lack of income and benefits of today's low-skilled workers is fueling the growing divide between the

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haves and have-nots in the country. Contemporary AAM find themselves trapped in a vicious cycle. In the case of those in the Lima area, many have opted out of participation in the formal economy in favor of the more prosperous, but short lived informal economy, which is characterized by drugs and violence.

Provide decent and affordable housing that is integrated into the larger fabric of the community. This will limit the effects of living in hypersegregated, socially isolating environments which prohibit the passing on of practical knowledge (like code switching when seeking employment) and provides positive role models or mentors (that is people who are actually doing something productive with their lives that young people can see) for youth living in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Provide governmentally sponsored and funded environmental research initiatives that address health problems that are associated with toxic waste. This is especially crucial for the city of Lima because of the large number of major industries that have environmentally impacted the city in every decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Further, these studies should include both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in order to gauge the true impact on the community.

Admit that racism exists and is a problem, which is an issue that can be addressed in a number of ways. Some suggestions include: sponsoring community forums, creating courses in the public schools, and conducting local televised debates. The nation

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has not and can never heal if it does not admit the very real impact of racism on the fragile relationships between African Americans and European Americans in America.

Acknowledge the job growth potential of the national phenomenon of the economically viable Hip Hop industry. Lima's homegrown rap industry is an example of the youths' interest in this entrepreneurial enterprise. Local leaders should take note and help craft it towards a positive end.

Lastly, the intent of this study was to shed some light on the major historical and structural features that have aided in the social construction of the identity of AAM in the city today. Examining their shifting identities is crucial as it refocuses the light away from the literature that largely centers on the plight of AAM in the larger inner cities to those in the smaller towns and is instructive of how entrenched many of these issues are on a national scale.

Finally, the status of AAM youth has deteriorated in employment, delinquency, homicide and suicide on a national level (Dyson 2001). The tragedy is that this has occurred despite fifteen years of Affirmative Action programs and two decades of economic progress (Farley et al 2000). African Americans living in the ghettos of America remain separate but not equal, dependent on the paternalism of the white power elite, disenfranchised and powerless, treated as second class citizens, dehumanized, depersonalized, exploited, extorted, neglected, and narcotized (Giroux 1996). The unintended consequences of Civil Rights legislation and anti-poverty programs was that they benefited working and middle class African Americans who were in better positions

to take advantage of them (Boggs 1995). The result was that it served to create a wider gap between middle class and socially disadvantaged African Americans who remain the most isolated and hypersegregated. Social isolation provides a ripe environment for the perpetuation of gang culture and the violent activities needed to sustain it. Gang leaders have emerged as mentors and gang affiliations as a sense of localized collective identity.

On the other hand, the Hip Hop industry is another force that has surfaced as a rich source of identity formation on AAM in this study. As such Hip Hop culture has an important role to play in constructing positive identities. Will this music and the artists who perform it serve as the catalyst needed to begin to produce African American leadership, rebel against structural constraints and instill in its listeners the desire to transform their lives? Only time will tell.



## **Appendices**



## **Appendix A**

### **Life History Interview**

1. If I asked you to describe your life as if it were a book what would the name of the first chapter be?
  - a. What kinds of things would be in that chapter?
2. What would be the name of the second chapter?
  - a. What kinds of things would be in that chapter?

(The rest of the interview continues like this until the person decides that they would like to conclude the book—at that point the interviewer asks for the name and contents of the concluding chapter)

The final question posed is: “If you had to name your book what would you call it?”  
(an alternative form of this question would be “What would be the title of your book?”)

## 2. 证明

证明 (1) 和 (2)

设  $f(x)$  是  $\mathbb{R}$  上的连续函数,  $f(x) \geq 0$ ,  $f(x) \leq 1$ .

则  $f(x)$  在  $[0, 1]$  上可积.

由 (1) 知  $f(x)$  在  $[0, 1]$  上可积.

由 (2) 知  $f(x)$  在  $[0, 1]$  上可积.

由 (1) 和 (2) 知  $f(x)$  在  $[0, 1]$  上可积.

设  $f(x)$  是  $\mathbb{R}$  上的连续函数,  $f(x) \geq 0$ ,  $f(x) \leq 1$ .  
由 (1) 知  $f(x)$  在  $[0, 1]$  上可积.  
由 (2) 知  $f(x)$  在  $[0, 1]$  上可积.  
由 (1) 和 (2) 知  $f(x)$  在  $[0, 1]$  上可积.

设  $f(x)$  是  $\mathbb{R}$  上的连续函数,  $f(x) \geq 0$ ,  $f(x) \leq 1$ .  
由 (1) 知  $f(x)$  在  $[0, 1]$  上可积.  
由 (2) 知  $f(x)$  在  $[0, 1]$  上可积.  
由 (1) 和 (2) 知  $f(x)$  在  $[0, 1]$  上可积.

## **Appendix B**

### **Teacher/Administrator Interview**

1. What is your occupation?
2. How long have you been a teacher/administrator?
3. Describe a typical day in your classroom.
4. Do you feel that you were adequately trained to perform the job that's asked of you?
5. What is the process that a student goes through to be assigned to your class? (i.e. what tests do they take, teacher recommendations, physician's recommendations, parent's recommendations, ect.)
6. In your opinion, do African American males, in your classroom, present any special problems? (i.e. disciplinary, attitude, extra aggression)
7. Do you think African American males are more 'behaviorally challenged' than other males?
8. Do you think that African American males need special attention in school? (If so, what are some of the things you would suggest that the school do to give them special attention?)



Question 10

Answer: 100%

1. 100%

2. 100%

3. 100%

4. 100%

5. 100%

6. 100%

7. 100%

8. 100%

## **Appendix C**

### **Student Interviews**

1. What school do you attend?
2. Describe a typical school day?
3. How are race relations at your school?
4. What are your future goals?
5. Do you feel that you are being taught things that will help you to attain your future goals?
6. Is graduating from school part of your future plans?
7. Who do you go to for advice?
8. Who are your favorite musical artists and why?
9. Where do you think you will be or what will you be doing when you're 21?

0 1 2

**Appendix D**  
**Consent form and information about:**  
**The Shifting Identities of African American Males in Lima, Ohio**

**INTRODUCTION**

Jill Rowe Adjibogoun, a graduate student and a researcher from Michigan State University is conducting a study to understand the behavior of young adult males in this community. As a person residing or who resided in this community you are being invited to participate in this study.

**PURPOSE**

The purpose of this study is to determine how students, parents and community members feel about the behavior of young adult males in this community, and how that behavior impacts or is impacted by the school system and the community. As a part of the study the researcher hopes to gain a better understanding of the behavior of young adult males in this community.

**PROCEDURE**

If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to consent to an interview that will involve answering a series of questions about your life in this community. The questions allow you and the researcher to have a conversation for approximately one hour. Everything you say will remain confidential, only the investigator will have access to your identity.

**RISKS**

Although it is highly unlikely, there is a chance that you might feel uncomfortable during the course of this interview. If at anytime you get fatigued, wish to refrain from answering a question, or simply wish to stop participating, the interview can be postponed and/or stopped so the experience is a positive one.

**BENEFITS**

The researcher cannot and does not guarantee you will directly benefit if you take part in this study. Through your comments and conversations the researcher can gain valuable information about the behavior of young adult males in this community.

**PAYMENT OF SUBJECTS**

As a participant in this research study you will not be paid for your input.



## ALTERNATIVES

The alternative to participating in this research study is to decline. Participation is purely voluntary, and for research purposes only.

## CONFIDENTIALITY

Procedures will be followed to protect the confidentiality of the information you give. Information will be kept in a locked file at all times and only Jill Rowe-Adjibogoun will have access to these files. After the study is complete, all files will be destroyed. No individual identities will be used in any notes, reports or publications, which may result without your permission. Furthermore, your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent of the law. The researcher will not reveal your identity if she publishes the results of this study.

## QUESTIONS

If you have any questions concerned with the protection of volunteers in research projects you may contact the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS). You may call Dr. Ashir Kumar between 8:00am-12:00pm and 1:00pm-5:00pm (Eastern Time) Monday through Friday at (517) 355-2180 or by writing: UCRIHS, Michigan State University, 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824-1046

Dr. Judy Pugh, the researcher's faculty supervisor, can be reached at Michigan State University, Department of Anthropology, 354 Baker Hall, East Lansing, MI, 48824 or (517) 353-9634, Jill Rowe-Adjibogoun, the researcher, can be reached at Michigan State University, Department of Anthropology, 354 Baker Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824 or (517) 353-2950.

## CONSENT

You have read the information in this form. The researcher has answered your questions to your satisfaction. The researcher will give you a copy of this form for your records. Your signature below indicates your voluntary agreement to participate in this study.

Participant's Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Please Print Participant's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Responsible Researcher's Signature/Telephone Number \_\_\_\_\_



## **Appendix E**

### Letter

Dr. John Scott  
Humanities Chair & Director  
Performing Arts Center  
15800 N.W.  
Miami, FL 33054

July 8, 2003

Dr. Scott,

My name is Jill Rowe-Adjibogoun and I am a graduate student in Anthropology at Michigan State University. I am writing regarding a research project you conducted in Lima, Ohio. The project was specifically focused on the African American experience in Lima and was a collection of oral history narratives from 1900 to 1950. The piece was made into a video recording entitled, "Hats, Handkerchiefs, and Fans" in 1993. According to records at the Allen County Library in Lima this recording was done by American House.

I am interested in this particular piece because I am writing my dissertation on African American males and identity. My research is based on a case study of 27 African American males in Lima. I am interested in your piece because my dissertation will look at life for African American males in Lima historically, specifically at how life was for the very first African Americans there and moving up to the contemporary situation. I have tried to locate your piece via the library in Lima but the only copy they had was lost, additionally I requested the piece from Bowling Green University but they state that they don't have a copy. Lastly, I have looked into various resources, i.e. Amazon, ect, but have not been able to find any resource that has a copy of your video.

I am writing to ask if you still have a copy of that video and if so, if I may purchase a copy or make arrangements with you to view it. I have access to a car and can drive to Bowling Green and view it at the university if that sounds like an option. My interests in the history of Lima are not only scholarly, but I am an African American who was born and lived there for the first 15 years of my life. Additionally, my family home is still there and I have both a brother and a sister who still reside there. I was able to make copies of several historical documents, individual studies, and individual events from a collection of Black History at the library in the Allen County Museum in Lima. I have also conducted a series of interviews with the males in my study. I am in the beginning stages of writing my dissertation and feel that your video is crucial to my understanding of the dynamics of life for African Americans in Lima



Dr. J. H. ...  
Department of ...  
University of ...  
March 15, 1940

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter of March 10, 1940, regarding the ...  
The ...  
I am ...  
Very truly yours,  
[Signature]

I am ...  
The ...  
Very truly yours,  
[Signature]

I am ...  
The ...  
Very truly yours,  
[Signature]

Any advise or information that you could share with me regarding this issue would be deeply appreciated. I would also be very interested in knowing of any other resources that might have a copy of the video. I would love to purchase a copy to have for my own personal library. I look forward to hearing from you. I can be reached by phone or e-mail: [rowejill@msu.edu](mailto:rowejill@msu.edu) or (517) 853-0643.

Respectfully,

Jill Rowe Adjibogoun

P.S. The Allen County Library in Lima also lists the following, “Telling the African American Story in Lima, Ohio” Video Recording/American House (1993)—could this be in reference to your work as well? According to library records this item is lost as well. Any help you can give me regarding either item would be GREATLY appreciated.

Any advice or a number that you could give me with any of the things I  
could appreciate. I would like to know if you have any other information  
that might have a copy of the report. I would love to purchase a copy to have in my  
personal library. I look forward to hearing from you. Thank you very much.  
My wife and I  
10/15/73

Respectfully,

Dr. Robert M. Johnson

P.S. The University of Chicago Press has published the book "The  
American Story" by Robert M. Johnson. It is a very interesting book  
and I would like to know if you have any information on it. I would  
like to purchase a copy to have in my personal library.

## **Appendix F**

### Example of Study Participant's Poetry

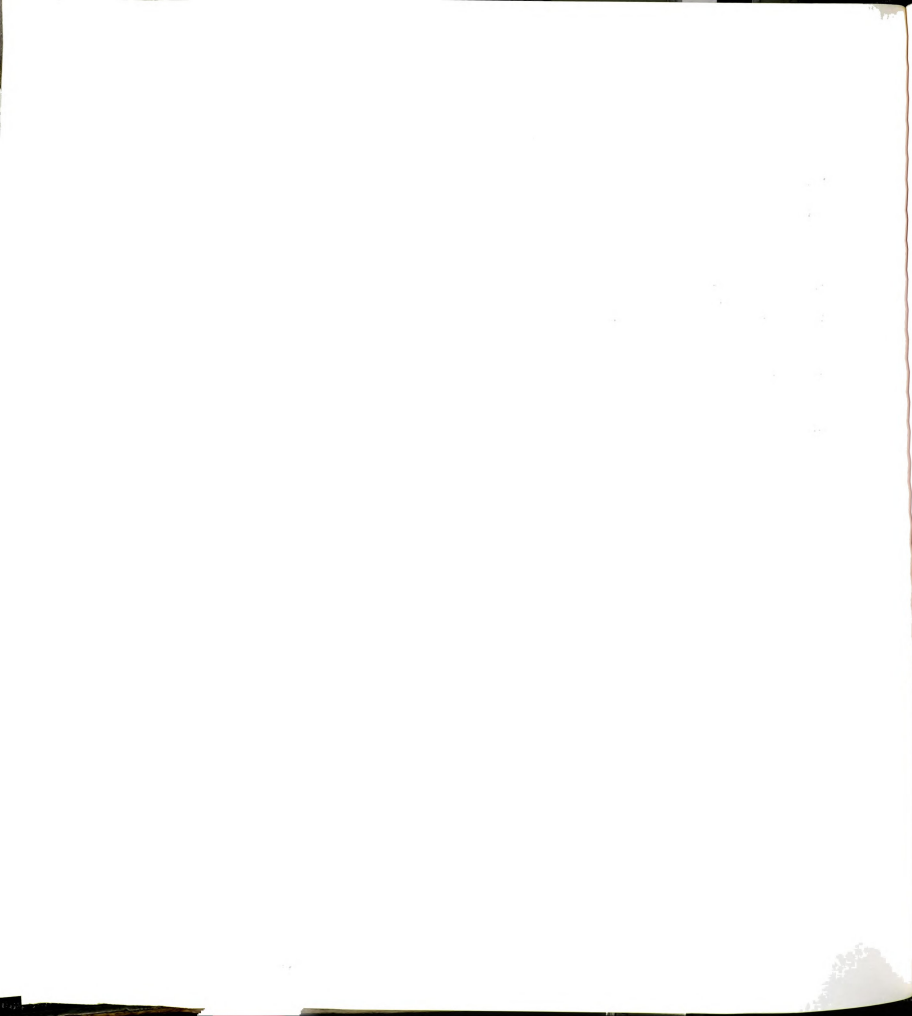
#### Love

Love is every time I look at you I see Heaven in your eyes  
Love is every time I hear your voice  
Love is every time we make love without touching

Love is every time we hold each other  
Love is every time we clown with one another  
Love is the day you had my daughter

Love is the day I laid my eyes on you  
Love will be the day you become my wife  
Love is every time I wake up and see you laying there

But most of all love is you



## Appendix G

### Example of Study Participant's Poetry

#### For the Love of the Bloods

For the love of the Bloods  
I bust them slugs  
For mean mugs  
From these wanna be thugs  
Who never sold drugs a day in they life  
That's why I stay low  
And try to get my mayo  
But niggaz always gotta throw in they say-so  
So bodies start droppin'  
Guns get to poppin'  
People stoppin', like what's happenin'  
That's when I snap in another clip  
I'm on some other shit  
And there's no stoppin' it  
Cause I'm always grabbin' the gun and cockin' it  
And demanding everything  
I keep heavy things  
So you betta think twice about bringin' ya team  
You got tossed in the mud  
Cause it's all for the love of the Bloods  
Feel me, family



## **Appendix H**

### Example of a Study Participant's Résumé

#### **Statement of Purpose**

To be the CCO of my own interactive multimedia business which involves web page design, video and audio clips, graphic design, and projection clips. I would like to create a video game that involves writing the story, creating the character, and creating the whole environment.

#### **Career Objective**

To become successful at whatever I choose to do.

#### **Education**

Lima Senior High School  
1 Spartan Way  
Lima, Ohio 45804  
Class of 2002

#### **Skills**

Creating a web page, web page design, video creating/editing

#### **Work History**

1998-1999—Tudor's  
2383 Elida Road  
Lima, Ohio  
Position: Salad Bar Organizer

1999-2000—Taco Bell  
2050 Allentown Road  
Lima, Ohio  
Position: Production

2000-2002—Steak-N-Shake  
3165 Elida Road  
Lima, Ohio  
Position: Production





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SECRET

1. The purpose of this document is to provide information regarding the activities of the [redacted] in the [redacted] area.

2. The [redacted] has been identified as a [redacted] and is currently operating in the [redacted] area.

3. The [redacted] is currently active in the [redacted] area and is engaged in [redacted] activities.

4. The [redacted] is currently active in the [redacted] area and is engaged in [redacted] activities.

5. The [redacted] is currently active in the [redacted] area and is engaged in [redacted] activities.

6. The [redacted] is currently active in the [redacted] area and is engaged in [redacted] activities.

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10. The [redacted] is currently active in the [redacted] area and is engaged in [redacted] activities.

11. The [redacted] is currently active in the [redacted] area and is engaged in [redacted] activities.

12. The [redacted] is currently active in the [redacted] area and is engaged in [redacted] activities.

13. The [redacted] is currently active in the [redacted] area and is engaged in [redacted] activities.

14. The [redacted] is currently active in the [redacted] area and is engaged in [redacted] activities.

15. The [redacted] is currently active in the [redacted] area and is engaged in [redacted] activities.

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for ensuring the integrity and reliability of the data collected. This section also outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze the data, highlighting the challenges faced during the process.

In the second part, the focus shifts to the results of the study. The data shows a clear trend in the behavior of the system over time, which is consistent with the theoretical predictions. The analysis also identifies several key factors that influence the system's performance, providing valuable insights into its underlying mechanisms.

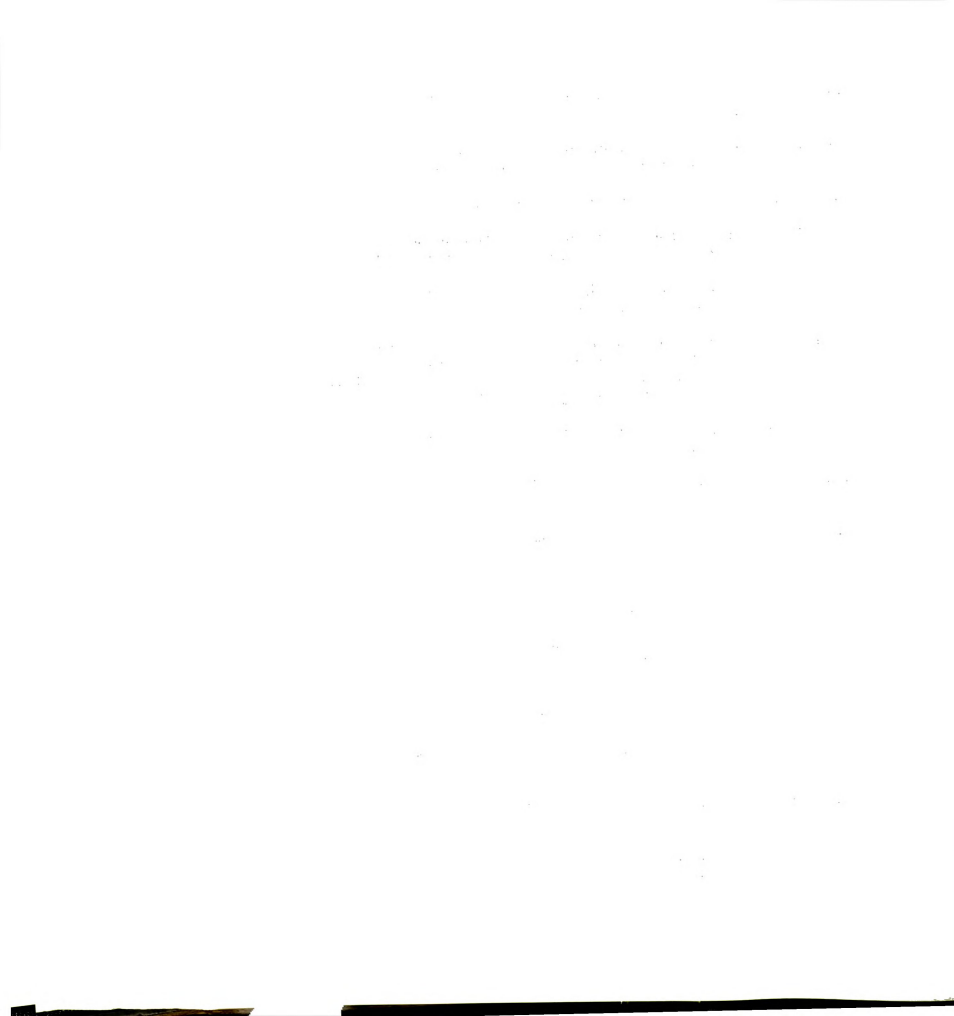
The third part of the document discusses the implications of the findings. The results suggest that the system is highly sensitive to certain parameters, which could have significant consequences in practical applications. Further research is needed to explore these implications in greater detail and to develop strategies to mitigate any potential risks.

Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the key findings and a list of references. The overall conclusion is that the study has provided a comprehensive understanding of the system's behavior and has identified several areas for future research. The references cited throughout the document provide a solid foundation for the work presented here.

The author would like to thank the following individuals for their assistance and support during the course of this project: [Name], [Name], and [Name]. Their contributions were invaluable in ensuring the success of this study.

This work was supported by the [Organization Name] under grant number [Number]. The author also wishes to express their appreciation to the [Organization Name] for providing the resources and facilities necessary to conduct this research.

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