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SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES AMONG BLACK

ADOLESCENTS IN NOVA SCOTIA, CANADA

AND MICHIGAN, U.S.A.

By

Gwendolyn Gibbs Wade

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ABSTRACT

PSYCHOLOGICAL NEEDS, BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, AND
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This cross-cultural study was both exploratory and
experimental in nature, focusing on the impact of socializing
agents (specifically, educational institutions) on Blacks'
self-valuation and racial pride as well as on their psy-
chological needs. The scoring for the needs was based on
Maslow's formulations, and the results were discussed in
terms of their disconfirmation of Maslow's hierarchical
organization. Even among a relatively economically deprived
Black group, safety needs were not prepotent. Subjects for
this investigation included forty Black high school students
in their last two years of school in Halifax County, Nova
Scotia, Canada, and forty upperclassmen from a Detroit,
Michigan U.S.A. high school. While the groups were similar
in cultural heritage, with many being the descendants of
Blacks who had journeyed north in search of freedom and a
new life, they differed markedly in their opportunities,

as delineated in a psycho-historical account of their back-
grounds. On the basis of this information as well as
previous research regarding consciousness-raising among
Blacks, the following hypotheses were advanced:

1. Black adolescents from the Michigan sample will
demonstrate a stronger degree of Black consciousness and
accompanying prepotency for self-actualization than will
Black adolescents from Nova Scotia. Conversely, Black
adolescents from Nova Scotia will demonstrate a stronger
prepotency in needs for love and belongingness and self-
esteem, with an accompanying lower valuing of Black con-
sciousness than will their Black counterparts from Detroit.

a. The students' identified reference groups
will vary as a function of present socialization practices
evidenced in the school curriculum and activities.

2. Black consciousness and self-actualization
needs will become more prepotent and subscribed to among
adolescents who are provided with education about their
cultural heritage that is aimed at developing a positive
valuing of Black consciousness.

3. The past, present, and/or future tendency to
participate and/or subscribe to collective action and
activities with group members aimed at enhancing the
potentialities of one's group and obviating the restric-
tions serving to derogate the group will be functionally
related to the degree adolescents embrace the value of

Black consciousness and demonstrate prepotency of the self-actualization need.

All subjects were tested once on a sentence completion test assessing psychological needs, a Black Consciousness attitude scale, a demographic and socialization questionnaire, and a behavioral activity scale. Because of local conditions it was not possible to test the Detroit group further; therefore only a sample of the Nova Scotian students were exposed to an experimental manipulation. Applying Solomon's Four Group Design, the researcher randomly assigned the forty subjects to two experimental groups (only one of which was pretested) and to two control groups (in which, again, only one was pretested). The treatment that the experimental groups received involved an intensive three-day exposure to lectures, discussions, and readings regarding Black people, as well as tape recordings of such prominent individuals as Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, Angela Davis, Martin Luther King, Jr., and B. Rocky Jones. Post-tests were administered to all four groups both at the end of the treatment period and one month later to assess the stability of any observed changes.

The results confirmed the hypotheses; however, limitations on the present findings were discussed. In particular, the Black Consciousness Scale, which was developed with a sample of United States Blacks, may be

inappropriate for Canadians because of its strong component of system-blame--a dimension which appears less salient at present among Nova Scotian Blacks. Aside from cultural differences, it was also noted that the two groups differed on a rural-urban dimension; thus interpretations of the findings should take this fact into account. Finally, problems of implementing a control group design in a field setting were described. In the small-rural setting where the study was conducted, the researcher was a salient figure as a Black visitor from the United States, and it was not possible to control the leakage from experimental to control groups. Thus under more ideal conditions even stronger effects might have been observed; nevertheless, in this situation the leakage had the positive effect of enhancing Black consciousness even among the control groups.

DEDICATION

To my mother, husband, children (Michael, Sharon, and Kwame), and brothers--who have been the most motivating forces in my life. From them love, understanding, and support existed on many levels. Transcending these personal forces, this research is dedicated to the renaissance of a positive and productive Black psyche among my people.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis emerged as a result of several field experiences through parts of the Canadian Black Diaspora. Most influential was a trip to Nova Scotia in 1968. Engaging friends and colleagues in discussions on the various impressions, ideas, and hypotheses resulting from these experiences served to encourage my pursuits.

It is beyond the scope of these pages to express individual thanks due the many people who made it possible for the thesis to come to fruition. I should like to gratefully acknowledge the support, encouragement, and helpful suggestions of teachers, friends, and relatives. Thanks are first due to the groups of beautiful brothers and sisters from both Graham Creighton High School in Halifax County, Nova Scotia and the inner-city high school in Detroit, Michigan for their willingness, time, and involvement in the study. Without their participation and cooperation the results being reported might never have been more than speculation and hypotheses.

The word advisor does not sufficiently capture the much appreciated relationship and role that Dr. Jeanne Gullahorn assummed throughout this research. Above and beyond the many thanks accorded her for the scholarly and

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The black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man. Overnight the Negro has been given two frames of reference within which he has had to place himself. His metaphysics, or less pretentiously, his customs and the sources on which they were based, were wiped out because they were in conflict with a civilization that he did not know and that imposed itself on him.

(Frantz Fanon, 1967, p. 110)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: SIGNIFICANCE,

IMPLICATIONS, AND NEED

Educational systems are microcosms of the larger social system. Few would argue that in order to get a true picture of what takes place in learning institutions, one must understand the contributing aspects of the social system and broad culture involved. With such an understanding we see that the problems that plague our society also plague the schools; the values that are prized by the broader society are the values that are taught in schools. Rather than merely transmit traditional values educational institutions can play a decisive role in providing needed guidance to answer societal problems and develop values that reflect current reality by incorporating meaningful programs which can serve as models for other institutions. In fact, it becomes an obligation if the educational institutions are to reflect the democratic precepts espoused for this society.

The number one domestic problem existing in the United States has been identified as white racism (Kerner, 1968). Continuing the line of reasoning developed above, it follows that white racism must constitute a problem of

1

sizable proportion in our school system. Baratz (1971)
clearly demonstrates how white racism is based and firmly
embedded in the social sciences. It is necessary for
educational institutions to move from the point of per-
ceiving such a concept on an abstract level and to begin
to deal with it concretely. The following kind of questions
must be asked: (1) What are the identifiable aspects of
racism in our educational system? (2) How can we move to
obviate these aspects as soon as possible? (3) Can we .
speculate on what the results will be? In response to
the first question, we can first note the uni-cultural,
uni-racial orientation of the curriculum--on every level.
This is perpetuated by omission and distortion of truth
regarding Blacks and other oppressed groups. The effect
has been devastating on the psychological well-being of
two broad groups: the first group has lived with myths
and dishonesty to self, deriving such benefits as the
prestige of acting superior to another group, and unfortu-
nately providing opportunity for some misanthropes to act
out their hostility; the second group has been made to
feel unworthy, incompetent, inferior and devaluated in
the eyes of others as well as self. In the present study
our major focus will be on this second group. It becomes
the task in the present study to explore how this group's
needs for growth have been thwarted as a result of being
educated to identify with values that are contradictory
to self acceptance and actualization.

To the second question, a partial answer flows from the first response. We must begin to drastically change the curriculum by educating students with knowledge that reflects the history and lives of "minority" groups in this country.

Finally, we can speculate that the results will represent two levels. On the first level, a tremendous readjustment will be required of both groups--more painful for some than others--along with conflict almost inevitably nested into this readjustment. On a higher level, and probably with a time lag, a more humanistic group of people will emerge. This will be reflected in educational institutions as well as the other institutions that comprise our society.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to conceptualizing the links between values, needs, and socialization. Historical background information relative to the problem also will be summarized; furthermore, the statement of the problem will be explored in the context of the two cultures involved in the study.

Values, Needs, Socialization

What forms the basis upon which one incorporates a certain value system? In what ways are needs, values, and socialization processes related? Elizabeth Simpson (1971) tells us that social scientist, have long been aware

of the inter-relationship between values and the sociali-
zation process. She further suggests that socialization
processes considered in a vacuum will not tell us much
about personality. Rather, the personality that evolves
is dependent upon the "cultural environment in which
socialization takes place, on the predisposition of the
individual to internalize cultural values, based on his
previous history and his innate characteristics, and on
situations in which the individual is asked to act (p. 12)."

Continuing, she conceptualizes how these values
and socialization are related to needs. From an extensive
review of the literature in these areas she derives a
"basic postulate for a simple theory of values" and two
accompanying correlates: Existential belief systems, that
is, values, are the product of biogenetic needs acted on
by the social environment." She deduces that a prediction
of one's value orientation should follow from information
on their need state. Thus, "diagnosis of needs and
subsequent gratification should make responsiveness to
direct socialization possible."

To this extent, the theoretical orientation of
Simpson's is rather consistent with the central thesis of
the present study. The problem to be explored is multi-
faceted and complex. The central idea is that the valuing
of Black consciousness is a result of socialization
practices occurring in the cultures of Blacks, which

interact to affect the <u>psychological needs</u> that are important for a self-enhancing individual. It is also postulated that the degree to which one values Black consciousness and the level of his self-actualization need will be reflected in certain behavioral activities related to Black consciousness.

How does socialization enter the picture? According to Stoetzel (1963) socialization is considered to be a two-fold process: the subjective aspect emphasizes the need for individuals to choose freely from among the innumerable behavioral alternatives the ones that will provide him the most gratifying relationships in his environment; on the other hand, the objective aspect reveals the pressures exerted by society to establish norms in order to determine its members' beliefs, values, attitudes, and behavior for the purpose of providing the stability and order needed.

Past research reflects both of these processes. Perhaps most known is the classic Whiting and Child's research (1954) based on a theoretical model which starts with the political, socio-economic system as the basis for the developing individual. These are the key elements of the maintenance system which is perpetuated through socialization and child training practices. In turn certain personality characteristics develop which are reflected in the cultural realm. The following diagram reflects this hypothesis (Hsu, p. 356):

Maintenance ⟶ Child ⟶ Personality ⟶ Projective
System   Training Practices Variables   System

Many social scientists refute this model (e.g., McClelland, 1950; Aronoff, 1971). Hsu (1961) raises some thought provoking questions, which compel us to probe the implications of Whiting's model.

> If the psychological characteristics of the individual, whether indentified with his total personality or with the socially functioning part of it, are dependent upon culturally conditioned child-rearing practices or socialization processes, what are the factors which determine or at least shape the patterns of culture, which in turn condition the child rearing practices or socialization?

He believes:

> The best accepted view at present is that the individual and society-culture relationship is a two way traffic in special progression. The individual's psychological characteristics are results of his socialization processes, but his psychological characteristics are in turn, at the root of the patterns of culture, in change, or in stability, which govern the socialization process (p. 356, Italics added).

The questions he raises are important and need to be answered. The writer of this paper has some hesistancy accepting the underlined portion of his response, i.e., ". . . but his psychological characteristics are in turn at the root of the patterns of culture, in change, or in stability, which govern the socialization process." The fallacy lies in the generalizability of such a concept. For members of the broader and controlling culture this may have merit. But, Hsu, as many of his colleagues in the social sciences fail to qualify the exceptions which may be operant when considering the minority, subordinate, and oppressed members of a society.

David Aberle (1961) puts forth a theoretical
orientation that allows for these differences. After
questioning the analysis social scientists frequently
give to socialization practices, he goes on to comment:

> . . . now we see that the ecological niche of the
> culture affects its socialization practices. Thus,
> factors themselves the results of socialization can
> be seen to affect socialization practices and
> through them (as well as directly) the personalities
> of constituent members of the society. The task ahead
> is that of tracing the impact not only to ecological
> and technological factors, but to economic and
> political units in which the bulk of childhood
> socialization occurs--the family in almost all
> societies, age groups where present, and schools
> in the socializing units, and on the aims of the
> socializers, these factors can probably be shown
> to account for a very large amount of the variance
> in socialization patterns from one society, or
> segment of a society, to another (p. 383).

Historical Background of the Problem

The extant body of research on Americans of African
descent is voluminous. Up until the civil rights movement
in the 1950's such research efforts were chiefly concentrated
on the "I.Q. of the Negro" and other such interests, often
with the intent of demonstrating the innate inferiority of
this group. During the 1950's a U.S. Supreme Court Decision
(1954) reversed the previous 1864 ruling by declaring
"separate but equal" educational facilities inherently
unequal. The consequences of attempts to implement (or
subvert) this decision apparently have not appreciably
improved the lot of most American Blacks. Nevertheless,
the 1954 decision along with the emergence of Rosa Parks

and Martin Luther King, Jr. leading the bus boycotts in the South, as well as other similar events paralleled a shift of emphasis to research on "The Negro Personality." With the advent of sit-ins in South Carolina protesting public segregation, the emotionally tinged concept of "Black Power" demanded by Stokely Carmichael, the rioting or rebellions in the urban areas (Los Angeles-Watts, Newark, and Detroit), the decolonization of African countries and the accompanying manifestations of Blacks in America identifying with their African heritage, a different and more probing emphasis emerged in research undertaken during the 1960's. Researchers began to probe into such long held prior assumptions such as the beliefs that Blacks were submissive by nature, interested only in intermarriage with whites and integration (as defined by the white populace), and could be appeased and comforted if given a "larger piece of the pie" in the economic and social system. The overt behavior of Blacks was contradictory to these firmly stereotyped impressions. Contradictions existed between what seemingly had been imprinted in the minds of whites, what continued to be reported by the mass media and the research by whites regarding Blacks, and the reality that whites were perceiving in the actual rhetoric and actions of black people.

Apparently perplexed, members of the broader culture began a new phase of studies as to the causes of

Blacks' discontent. This was reported in such documents
as the McCone Commission Report (1965), the National
Advisory Commission (1968), the Detroit Committee (1968),
and others. In general, the conclusions acknowledged the
social ills resulting from the negative attitudes and
behavior of white racism. For some reason, at this time
in history, a more asserting black man emerged. He was
more overtly responding to this inherent tradition (white
racism) in our society. More important however, and more
positive was the fact that he began to act instead of
merely "reacting" to bring about the necessary changes
for his freedom and equality.

The perennial question, open to considerable
polemics, is "What caused this new man to emerge?" In
attempting to answer, we might ask whether a group of
people was experiencing some internal drive-motivating
state that caused a drastic change in their needs, prior-
ities, and values; or, we might inquire whether conditions
in the society, culture, and milieu were leading to different
socialization practices. Actually, an interaction of both
these processes probably precipitated the behavioral changes.
From our vantage point the ultimate question to be answered
is whether we can extricate the psychological understanding
germane to this behavior from a detailed study of black
cultures.

Returning to our "new black man," what are the salient
characteristics worthy of exploration? It is important and

appropriate to amplify upon use of the term "new black man."
What I am suggesting here is really more a difference in
degree rather than kind. For history reveals that Black
men have been protesting domination, enslavement, and
racism from the time of the "Middle Passage." The first
notable Negro slave revolt in Hispaniola broke out as
early as 1522. Famous revolutionists in subsequent periods
include Denmark Vessy, Nat Turner, and David Walker. Today,
however, individual acts of protest seem to be more intense
on a larger scale, and they affect a significantly larger
cross-section of Black populations. Considerable research
more recently has been devoted to "militancy" in explaining
his personality (Caplan, 1968; Tomlison, 1968; and Marx,
1967). Alternative explanations have been racial pride
(Schuman, 1968). Regardless of which orientation one
chooses to accept, the increased assertiveness among
African Americans has been linked to his "Black conscious-
ness." That is, he began to acknowledge his blackness
(mentally and physically), and the place of his origin
without the long held feelings of inferiority; moreover,
it was manifested in a manner reflecting a valued, realized-
self in contrast to the varying degrees of a hated-self
which had prevailed in the past.

Being Black immediately defines you as part of a
group. One is not a doctor, lawyer, musician, teacher,
salesman--rather, he is a Black doctor, Black lawyer, etc.

Growing up Black one experiences these designations as a part of his existence. With the spawning of the "Black Power" movement in 1964, Blackness was viewed from a different vantage point. No longer were the "others" defining members of the "negro" group. Rather, a more intense self-determining group emerged. Members of this group shed the name Negro and began to refer to themselves as Black. Blackness took on a positive connotation. It became a part of one's consciousness about self. This consciousness compelled one to explore Blackness from its depth to its apex--from historical roots in Motherland Africa to wherever he might be dispersed in this universe. Blackness was an awareness of one's total existence. Thus, this Black consciousness had to be explored in the many contexts of one's existence.

In the present research Black consciousness is being defined as a value as used within the frameworks of R. Handy's (1970) valuing transaction and of F. Kluckhohn's (1961), value-orientation.

Since the concept of "value" carries many different connotations and definitions, Handy attempts to provide some specificity for the concept, while at the same time allowing for broader interpretations. To avoid hypostatization or reification of the concept he uses the phrase "valuing transactions" which is taken as a behavioral process. By this he means that one does not value a

concrete "thing" so to speak; rather, he values a dynamic, behavioral process that is comprised of varying beliefs. For example, freedom is not a tangible, concrete thing. Instead, it reflects a dynamic state and represents many beliefs that are a part of the total concept.

Florence Kluckhohn's definition is particularly rich and operationally relevant to black consciousness. She defines value orientations as "complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactual interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process--the cognitive, affective, and directive elements--which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of 'common human' problems (1961, p. 4)."

What accrues to those who have a high degree of Black consciousness? How does it interplay with the more overt and assertive Black individual? It was stated in the early part of this paper that the valuing of Black consciousness interacts with psychological needs producing a self-actualizing individual (or group, if perceived as an extension of self).

Proponents of an interaction existing between needs and values include such social scientists as Maslow (1954), Murray (1967), Lee (1959), Parsons and Shils (1962) and R. Parks (1950), to name a few. They do not all agree,

however, as to the order of emergence of the two. It appears as though what one comes to value is an almost natural outgrowth of what one needs. It is adherence to such a belief that underlies the distinctions expected to be at odds between the two cultures under study.

Providing additional theoretical support for the writer's belief in an isomorphism between values and needs is Handy's position:

> . . . it seems to me that most of the things we might call valuable are also things that satisfy needs (as 'need' is used here). This is not, of course, to say that people mean 'X satisfies a need' when they say 'X is valuable,' but rather that the field of reference are similar (1970, p. 187).

What are needs? The need theory to be tested in the present research is Abraham Maslow's (1954). According to Maslow, needs are universal and organismically based. That is, they are physiologically or neuro-physiologically based states within the individual. He identifies five hierarchical needs which ascend from <u>physical</u>, <u>safety</u>, <u>love and belongingness</u> needs to <u>self-esteem</u> and <u>self-actualization</u> needs. These needs will be operationally defined and explored in later sections of the paper.

Handy takes issue with theories postulating needs as being entirely organismic, stating,

> Need is an unstable or disturbed equilibrium in behavior. . . . Behavior is taken not as of the organism alone, but as the organic-environmental situations. These organic-environmental instabilities, which are found throughout adjustive behavior (including sign behavior) typically are accompanied by increased or protracted activity and tension. The behavior concerned may focus on the achievement of some goal object or on the avoidance of some object or on the avoidance of some object situation.

Preferences are displayed, the responses made are
selective, and the outcome is a restoration of
equilibrium or its stabilization (e.g., release
of tension, quienscence) (1970, p. 183).

Both Maslow and Handy, nevertheless, consider needs
as drive motivating states. The critical issues concern
how much needs are affected by environmental and social
forces, and whether they are totally autonomous of the
environment in their derivation.

Statement of Problem

The proposed cross-cultural research is three-fold
in nature. First, it is designed to determine and compare
the prepotent psychological needs of black adolescents in
two North American countries. These countries propound
different cultural orientations. One country espouses a
"melting pot" philosophy for its many ethnic groups; while
the other country clearly (at least conceptually) evidences
a belief in "cultural pluralism" (Winks, 1969). The second
aim of the study is to examine the relationship existing
between certain psychological needs and the valuing of
Black consciousness as a function of different socialization
practices in the two cultures. Finally, the researcher
hopes to demonstrate the salience of such information for
socialization practices by revealing how a change in the
educational programs geared to developing a positive Black
consciousness can significantly enhance the propensity
toward self-actualization.

Moreover, since one of the aims of research is to confirm the generalizability of postulates set forth in existing theories, then we must continue critically to analyze and test their applicability to different populations within the universe. The current study examines the relationship between psychological needs, as developed in Maslow's organismic theory, and their functional levels for Black adolescents who live in settings with conflicting cultural values. It seems fairly obvious to the researcher that there is a different patterning of interaction between needs and culture for those individuals whose needs are interacting with the demands of the broader culture only. Specifically, the researcher is proposing that the functioning level of needs demonstrated by Blacks in the two cultures under investigation are not subject to the same kind of interaction with this broader culture as would be the case for their white counterparts. The present investigation is limited to black subjects only; however, a similar study comparing blacks and whites should be very revealing in regard to the proposition set forth by current writer.

Such a position requires a knowledge of external forces; therefore to get a more complete picture of how the prepotency of needs may develop in black people it is imperative that a penetrating analysis of black cultures be seriously undertaken. Past failures to present

information in this sphere is unfortunate--for it has allowed a massive body of research relative to blacks to start with false premises and to err seriously in interpretations.

This penetrating analysis of black cultures will best be understood in relation to the central position of the paper. The main theme of this paper is that social learning for Blacks (especially as it is taught by primary socializing agents such as educational institutions) inculcates a devaluation of self (and either directly or by extension of self--one's racial group), along with a distortion of self, is insensitive to the needs of Black youths, and in turn serves to stifle growth toward self-actualization.

This can best be exemplified through the following frames of references as related to socialization in the cultures of Blacks:

1. Psychological needs within the two Black cultures will be analyzed first as related to role theory (Rose, 1965; Parsons and Shils, 1962; Homans, 1950). That is, each group will be viewed in terms of the roles which the dominant cultures have ascribed for them and in terms of their acceptance or rejection of the roles. Are the roles self-esteeming or self-depreciatory?

2. Next, we shall focus on the more global aspects of socialization practices. Of particular relevance to

this aspect is whether the socializing practices within the Black culture are in accord with or in conflict with the prescriptions and proscriptions of the broader cultures' socializing beliefs, values, attitudes, laws, etc. As is evident from writings dealing both explicitly and implicitly with socialization, we are made aware of its centrality in cultural diversities. We know that values within cultures are transmitted through socialization processes, and often they tend to reflect those needs required for the maintenance of a system (e.g., S. Elkins, 1968; and K. Stammps, 1956 work on Slavery; Whiting and Murdock, 1950; Whiting and Child, 1953). Values also reflect a culture's reward system (French and Reven, 1959; French, Morrison, and Levinger, 1960; Mowrer, 1950; 1958). A quote from Parsons' (1962) definition of socialization is appropriate for amplification of this point:

> . . . the child becomes oriented to the wishes which embody for him the values of the adult, and his viscerogenic needs become culturally organized needs, which are shaped so that their gratification is sought in directions compatible with his integration into this system of interaction (p. 18).

There is a considerable body of literature attesting to socialization practices which have led Blacks to devalue themselves and to manifest needs and desires to be white or gain white acceptance (e.g., Clark and Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Landreth and Johnson, 1953; Moreland, 1962; Radke and Trager, 1950; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958). Parker and Kleiner (1956) document the psychological unhealthiness in aspiring to be white.

Diametrically opposed to this pattern of sociali-
zation is a new body of literature indicating socializing
practices that negate pro-white and anti-black (Banks, 1970;
Johnson, 1966; Maliver, 1965; Noel, 1965). Thus, it might
be suggested that a change in the culture of Blacks has
induced a corresponding change in personality. Blacks
are being re-educated, so to speak. There is less emphasis
on modeling white and more on enhancing black. Kurt Lewin
is very convincing in viewing the re-educative process as
fulfilling a task which is essentially equivalent to a
change in culture (1948). From a social learning point L.
Ferguson (1970) says that much of socialization is more
efficiently accomplished through imitation and observational
learning. Modeling and imitation for blacks has been more
available through audio-visual equipment, e.g., as demon-
strated in T. V. series "Black History, Lost, Strayed, or
Stolen" On Black America (Summer of 1968). Sékou Touré has
defined culture in such a manner that is supportive of this
deduction:

> By culture, we understand all the material and
> immaterial works of art, of science, plus knowledge,
> manners, education, a mode of thought, behavior and
> attitudes accumulated by a people by virtue of their
> struggle for freedom from the hold and dominion of
> nature; we also include the result of their efforts
> to destroy the deviationist politics--social system
> of domination and exploitation through the productive
> process of social life.

> This culture stands revealed as both an exclusive
> creation of the people and a source of creation, as

an instrument of socio-economic liberation and as
one of domination. Culture implies our struggle--
it is our struggle (1969, p. 12).

This change in culture is also to be noted in a
change in reference groups. In pursuing this line of
reasoning it is necessary to ascertain which reference
groups the persons in our two cultures identify with in
establishing socialization practices. We are using
identification as defined by Kelman: "Identification can
be said to occur when an individual accepts influence
because he wants to establish or maintain a satisfying
self-defining relationship to another person or group
(1958, p. 514)." Reference group as used here refers to
that group which an individual uses as a point of reference
in assessing and evaluating himself and others (Homans,
1950), and one in which an individual is motivated to gain
or maintain acceptance (e.g., Merton, 1950; Newcomb, 1950;
Sherif, 1956). As pointed out by H. Kelley (1965),
reference groups are significant for: (1) interpreting
development of attitudes, (2) predicting their expression
under different social conditions, (3) understanding the
social basis of stability or resistance to change, and
(4) devising means to increase or overcome this resistance.

Finally, we want to look at the prepotency for
self-actualization (in relation to self-esteem and love
and belongingness) and how it is related to subjects
identification with Black consciousness when compared with

information emitted from the analysis described above.
This aspect is suspected to bear particular relevance to
the education one has received about himself. We will
seek to establish the extent to which education has and/or
can be effective in enhancing the self-actualization need.
To further accomplish this task we must undertake a two-
fold analysis: First, we must ascertain what factors
(concretely) have been operant in the past to stifle growth
in this tendency toward self-actualization; and secondly
we must look at the strengths in Blacks' personalities
which are correlates of self-actualizing individuals.

Research has demonstrated the commonalities in
Black Americans' personalities that can be traced to their
"peculiar cultures." At one end of the continuum we are
provided with the self-hate explanations (e.g., Ausubel and
Ausubel, 1965; Clark and Clark, 1947; Grier and Cobbs, 1969;
Poussaint, 1969) which actually have proved invaluable to
the black man for relating his perceived self to the system
in which he lives--i.e. over a period of time he has
recognized why this negative view of self persists. The
other end of the continuum, self-love, has not been fully
explored and presented as a concomitant trait in the image
of Black Americans projected by such sources as mass media,
radio, television, newspapers, magazines and schools. This
has encouraged the tendency to subsume Black Americans in
certain common rubricized categories as one homogeneous,

self-negating group, with supposedly the same needs, values,
attitudes and behavioral patterns (mostly predicated on the
model of "lower socio-economic Negroes"). Maslow's theory
of needs provides a basis for either supporting or
refuting the homogeneity of these needs. Further his
theory provides us with a base to look at strengths by
pursuing the positive aspects of needs.

We must begin to ask the question as to how much
of what we have been saying about Blacks in U.S. will also
hold true for the Blacks in Canada. To begin, the dearth
of information in the literature on Black Canadians is
even more striking; yet, that which is available tends
to present them from the same perspective given Black
Americans--one monolithic group. Inherent in this study
will be the task of dispelling such faulty impressions
and processes of analysis.

The characteristics immediately entering one's
mind about Blacks north of the United States border are
varied. One frequently hears such comments as "I didn't
know there were enough Blacks to even consider them as
having problems." There are other commonly held assump-
tions which prepare us to expect Black Canadians to be
different from Black Americans--generally in a more
favorable sense. The primary motif for such beliefs is
that they do not have a long and intensive history of
slavery in that country; in fact, many people do not know

there is any history of slavery in Canada and remind us
that Canada was a place of freedom for Black Americans
(i.e., end goal of the Underground Railroad). As with
the history of Blacks in the United States there is another
side to be told.

Excerpts from a recent article by Robin Winks
(1969d) are apt to convey a different impression, and at
the same time support some of the assumptions mentioned
above. He points out, "The black man that Canadians
discovered by the 1960's was, in fact, in many ways very
different from the Negro in the United States. The Canadian
Negro, despite his longer period of legal freedom, despite
the lack of any historical memory within most white Canadians
of an indigenous slave period, and despite his comparative
scarcity in Canada, has been considerably less agressive
in seeking out and laying claims to his rights. . . ." As
he continues his analysis, the stereotypic thinking is
evidenced: ". . . this seems at first all the more strange,
since a process of natural selection in all probability
sent to Canada more energetic, more enterprising, and
imaginative Negroes than often remained in the American
South. Yet the Canadian Negro as a whole does not seem
to have shown the cumulative pride, energy, enterprise
and courage that the catalog of individual acts of defiance
would lead one to expect (p. 2)."

At this point we are curious as to whether there
is actual dissonance between the personality characteristics
suggested as being inherent in this group of Black Canadians
and those personality characteristics which are manifested;
or, did the writer put himself in a bind by starting with
invalid assumptions about the modal personality and "modus
operandi" of Black Canadians?

Are there other significantly noted differences
between these two groups? Winks provides us with a cross-
cultural analysis of some noticeable differences:

> More basically, the various identifiable Negro
> groups in Canada differ because they have continued
> to preserve far more than have Negroes in the United
> States their own self-conscious lines (1969d, p. 9).

Continuing, he attributes much of Black Canadians'
plights to divisions which they have created and continue
to perpetuate, resulting in the inability to organize as
a group. Due to these conditions, national leadership is
lacking among Blacks. If one raises the question "Who
speaks for the Negro?", Winks is quick to reply, "No one
does, least of all the Negro Himself (p. 9)." The
explanation for this is that Negroes in Canada continue
to identify with the historical group from which their
ancestry is traced to. That is, the Loyalist Blacks
(those who came as slaves or free men with the United
Empire Loyalists and comprised the Black Pioneer units)
consider themselves superior to all other Blacks in Canada.

Seen as competing for this spot are the descendants of
Jamaican Maroons who are hung up on pride in their West
Indian heritage. Refugee Blacks (according to Winks) are
viewed with disdain by the Loyalists and Maroon descendants.
And last on the totem-pole are fugitive slaves, along with
the present day United States and West Indian Blacks. Winks
further notes cleavages within the West Indian groups which
can be attributed to island rivalry.

Given this situation it is hardly surprising that,
as Winks claims, "the Negroes of Nova Scotia and those of
British Columbia have never been brought together through
an organization or leader (1969d, p. 3)." This is unfortu-
nate, if true, for we have seen how involvement in organi-
zations among Blacks in the United States tends to heighten
awareness and serves as a catalyst to change. Indeed, we
would expect that in those places where organization for
redressing grievances are available, those individuals
who participate will be consciously aware of their blackness
and will tend more toward self-actualizing behaviors.

Thus, Winks (1969d), describes the "Canadian
Negro's Dilemma" as striving for more acceptance as a
Canadian. But such striving for individual acceptance
entails minimizing identification with the Black race as
a group. In contrast, Blacks in the United States at this
period generally acknowledge their common historical past

with slavery, the civil war, and reconstruction; furthermore,
they now tend to view the nation-wide civil rights struggle
as forming the basis for unity.

Since we believe that culturally relevant factors
influence the values one holds, on the basis of the fore-
going account of differences between Blacks in the United
States and Canada we expect Blacks in Canada to demonstrate
a lower valuing of Black consciousness.

Other than their different ancestral heritages and
differences created by the "cultural pluralism" vs "melting
pot" orientations of their respective countries, how might
the culture of Blacks in Canada differ from that in the
United States? More specifically, how will the aspects of
culture within our sample populations differ? It is
hypothesized that to a large extent differences in pre-
potency of needs which emerge can be traced to cultural
relevant factors.

We will begin our analysis by erecting as guideposts
some of the components of Black cultures in America. Then
we must ask if we can assume that such components will also
be prevalent in Black cultures in Canada.

What are the components of the Black cultures in
America? Needless to say there are many. However, a Black
anthropologist summarizes some of these elements and gives
us a foundation to begin with. Johnetta Cole (1970) proposes
three main components reflected in Black cultures in America.

First, there are those drawn from mainstream (shared inter-cultural interactions) America; secondly, we have those which are shared in varying proportions with all oppressed people; and finally, those which appear to be peculiar to Blacks. Explicating this model she points out that with the main culture Black people share many of the traits of material culture, values, and behavioral patterns--such as cars, clothing, emphasis on technology and watching T.V. With oppressed groups, she hypothesizes a "denial urge," which is common to all members. This is the condemnation of one's status and by extension one's self. The third element is concerned with cultural patterns peculiar to Blacks and reflected in soul and style. These descriptive categories are very important for purposes of analysis, for they aid in demonstrating how certain needs are represented and expressed in cultural terms. As defined by the author, soul is not considered a genetic phenomenon; rather, the result of being Black in America (or in the world)* teaches one how to live, feel, and express soul. The following three notions are suggested as being en-compassed in soul: (1) soul is long suffering; (2) soul is deep emotion; and (3) soul is the ability to feel oneness with all black people.

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*Writers insert--based on impression and to some extent documentation from the history of blacks dispersed throughout the world.

These elements postulated as being embedded in
Black cultures requires one to provide a more in-depth
analysis of these cultures--both, their inherent qualities
by choice and those qualities reflecting the impinging
forces of extraneous sources that create needs in response
to deprivations from the broader culture--and thus
acquiring a survival and defensive quality.

With this foundation the central focus of study
re-emerges: For Blacks in the United States and Blacks
in Canada their basic needs, while having some physiologi-
cal or neuro-physiological derivation, are more a function
of their cultures, which have been determined or developed
to a large degree (though not totally) as a defense and
response to the prescriptions and proscriptions demanded
of them by the majority in the broader culture and social
system. Given these as background conditions, it is
hypothesized that the self-actualized Black individual
who develops today will tend to follow a pattern unique
in itself; i.e., there will be less of the propensity to
respond defensively to extraneously induced deprivations
and more of a tendency to respond to intrinsic gratifying
needs. It is not the intent to present the "oversocialized
model of man." The emphasis on the socio-cultural signifi-
cance is necessary to assess systematically Maslow's need
theory. For if it is accepted in its present postulated
form and most prevalent usages, the level of needs which

are prepotent for Blacks emanate from within. They take on
a totally innate characteristic. Thus, we respond to his
progress as we have in the past--the individual Black. Once
we respond to him at all as <u>a Black</u> we identify his importance
as being entrenched in this group. Therefore, we must
explore his needs as being reflective of his group's situa-
tion. The model being suggested is speculative and the
researcher feels that it should be examined systematically
and critically for confirmation or rejection. Some recent
research (Gurin and Gurin, 1969; Lao, 1970) indicates
differences in Blacks and whites relative to internal or
external control of beliefs--which has some implications
in the direction of the hypothesized model. Lao (1970)
found that ". . . whites show a much higher relationship
between personal and ideological beliefs than Negroes."
She concludes that, "For without the same experiences of
discrimination and racial prejudice, <u>whites</u> <u>are</u> <u>less</u> <u>likely</u>
<u>to</u> <u>perceive</u> <u>an</u> <u>inconsistency</u> between <u>cultural</u> <u>beliefs</u> <u>and</u>
<u>what</u> <u>works</u> <u>for</u> <u>themselves</u> (p. 269)."

Most generally this is true; however we can see
the situation with more clarity by observing those whites
who are giving cogent thought to the cultural beliefs they
have been socialized to accept and are now rejecting them
as invalid. As a result, they to are experiencing disson-
ance. This is witnessed on a day to day basis in their
attempts to incorporate cultural values of other groups.

In other words, they are attempting to reconstruct the
broader culture by living according to the precepts which
are stated in the "noble document" (U.S. Constitution),
mimicked in their religious doctrines, and stated by their
parents as moral dictates--but nullified in their behavior.
These youth are trying to re-educate themselves as well
as those in the groups which define their existence.

Kurt Lewin (1948) develops a convincing theoretical
formulation which claims that the re-educative process ful-
fills a task which is essentially equivalent to inducing
a change in the culture. Accordingly, this re-educative
process is conceived as changing knowledges and beliefs,
values and standards, emotional attachments and needs.
For didactic purposes, he illustrates how this process
works in re-educating a carpenter who decides to become
a watchmaker. This involves considerable more than the
task of teaching this carpenter a set of new watchmaking
skills. That is "before he can become a watchmaker, the
carpenter . . . will have to acquire a new system of habits,
standards, and values--the standards which characterize
the thinking and behavior of watchmakers (p. 58)."

It is being suggested here that the culture of
Blacks must be changed, and the broader culture must
incorporate these changes. A new culture emerges which
is healthy for all. Educational institutions are in the
most ideal position for accomplishing this task. To a

large extent, they are responsible for the necessity of such a change and are compelled to rectify earlier mistakes.

Statement of Hypothesis

In concluding the theoretical framework it seems appropriate to restate the central position in the present study. Our main theme is that socializing agents (specifically, educational institutions) are in conflict with Black cultures and contribute to Blacks' devaluation of self (and by extension their racial group), along with distorted views of the self, and in turn serve to stifle growth toward self-actualization. This can best be tested through the following hypothesis:

H_1: Black adolescents from the Michigan sample will demonstrate a stronger degree of Black consciousness and accompanying prepotency for self-actualization than Black adolescents from Nova Scotia; conversely, Black adolescents from Nova Scotia will demonstrate stronger perpotency needs for love and belongingness and self-esteem needs with an accompanying lower valuing of Black consciousness than will their Black counterparts from Michigan.
(a) The student's identified reference groups will vary in the two cultures as a function of present socialization practices evidenced in the school curriculum and activities.

H_2: Black consciousness and self-actualization needs will become more prepotent and subscribed to for adolescents who are provided with education about their cultural heritage and aimed at developing a positive valuing of Black consciousness.

H_3: The past, present, and/or future tendency to participate and/or subscribe to collective action and activities with group members aimed at enhancing the potentialities of one's group and obviating the restrictions serving to

derogate the group will be functionally related to the degree adolescents embrace the value of Black consciousness and demonstrate prepotency of the self-actualization need.

These hypotheses can be more fully appreciated from the perspective of Proshansky and Newton (1968). They assume that negative self-identification is frequently rooted in negative group identification and that positive self-identity is dependent on positive group identification. This is in keeping with corroborative evidence that personal or self-pride is essentially the expression of group pride (Cheirn, 1948; Grossbach, 1956; and Lewin, 1948). Proshansky and Newton feel that answers lie in three modes:

1. Social insight--If a Negro, he needs to view the social system and the white man, not himself, as the source of his difficulties.

2. Negroes must see possibilities for 'action.'

3. The Negroes perception of the significance and historic weight of his struggle provide a further resource for feelings of self-worth. . . . Unlike the Jews, American Negroes had no 'apparent' heritage or tradition to give significance to their existence or to instill hope for their future. . . . Spurred by emergence of the African nations and the pervasive influence of the mass media, there has been a rediscovery of 'black culture' and a growing bond uniting black people throughout the world. In his own battle, the American Negro is able to achieve a new sense of kinship and feeling of purpose--a new, larger, black identity. The struggle of black men has become symbolic of the struggle of all oppressed groups to achieve dignity and respect in the face of bigotry and discrimination (pp. 213-14).

Overview

A common expression heard frequently among Blacks and other oppressed groups is that the institutions and socializing agencies are not "relevant to our needs." This has often been passed off as a "cliche" or "in-vogue rhetoric" that will pass over. However, history does not warrant or absolve such a matter of fact handling. It can be demonstrated cogently that Black peoples needs have not been met. One of the questions that the present study hopes to answer is what are the cultural factors and socialization practices which predispose Blacks to value Black consciousness? For, it is postulated that the valuing of Black consciousness is related to the psychological need of self-actualization. Psychology, along with history, anthropology and sociology provides the focus for looking at needs in this study, as they relate to the valuing of Black consciousness among Black youth in the United States and Canada. That there is some relationship between needs and values has been theoretically postulated (R. Handy, 1970; Lee, 1959; Maslow, 1954; Murray, 1967; R. Parks, 1950; and Parsons and Shils, 1962). Handy, along with others go so far as to posit a causative direction. He posits the view that values tend to reflect needs. Psychological needs are viewed as either organismically based (Maslow, 1954) or organic-environmental in derivation (R. Handy, 1970).

The valuing of Black Consciousness and the level
of needs will be assessed among Canadian and U.S. Blacks.
Due to a more overt identification with Blacks as a group,
struggling and massive protest among Blacks throughout
the country in U.S., and lessened tendency for Blacks in
U.S. to look down on one of their members due to his
ancestral heritage, it is hypothesized that they will
demonstrate a higher degree of Black Consciousness and
demonstrate a prepotency for self-actualization need more
frequently than their Canadian brothers and sisters.

Chapter two presents a more thorough review of
Black history in Michigan and Nova Scotia. It is the intent
of the writer to provide evidence regarding the viability
of Winks' propositions set forth in this first chapter.
Secondly, past research using Maslow's theory will be
reviewed. The need levels will be described. And
finally, Black Consciousness will be operationally
defined for the present study.

With this background the experimental manipulation,
which will be described in the third chapter, will take
on more meaning a relationship to Lewin's re-education
theoretical formulations. Socialization as provided by
schools, and other primary agencies will be alluded to.
Results of the study will be presented in Chapter IV; and
interpretations, summaries, and discussions will provide
the foci for Chapter V.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Black Consciousness

It is often asserted that Black consciousness is
nothing new. On the one hand one might be inclined to
agree, yet on the other hand disagree. Before attempting
to explain this paradoxical position let's first define
Black consciousness. It has already been defined earlier
in the paper as a value-orientation or valuing process.
Let's be more specific and dissect this phrase.

Black is--Black is a race of people whose descend-
ants are from the continent of Africa. They have been
dispersed to most parts of the world. Certain physiologi-
cal characteristics generally identify them from other
groups of races. On an emotional level they are people
who have experienced much suffering, loved deeply, but
often hated themselves. For irrational reasons they have
been treated inhumanely by other races. All of these
descriptive terms have something to do with a consciousness
about the self as part of a unique group. A consciousness
about the Black self as part of a unique group.

What do we mean by consciousness? In William
Hitt's (1969) article on "Models of Man," Jasper talks

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about self-awareness and consciousness. For him con-
sciousness has four distinct characteristics.

(A) The feeling of activity--an awareness of being
    active.
(B) An awareness of Unity.
(C) An awareness of self as distinct from an outer
    world, and all that is not self.
(D) An awareness of Identity.

His is a dynamic and an almost tangible conceptualization
of what is meant by consciousness.

Black consciousness thus combines the above
description of Black with this moving concept of con-
sciousness. Other views easily fit into this framework.
Stokely Carmichael speaks of developing a consciousness
for Black. He explains this to mean a sense of peoplehood,
pride rather than shame in Blackness, an attitude of
brotherly, communal responsibility among all Black people
for one another. He goes on to say this consciousness
must be used to speak to the needs of the people.

Using a different approach which leads to more
polemic conceptualizations and moral connotations we can
compare Black consciousness with the "class consciousness"
that Wilhelm Reich (1971) describes. He questions
salience of "class (Black)-consciousness" as an ethical
concept. The question he poses is,

> If two human beings A & B are starving, the first
> accepts his fate, refuses to steal, and takes to
> begging or die of hunger, while the second may
> take the law into his own hand in order to obtain
> food. A large part of 'lumpen proletariat' lives
> according to principle of second . . . and not

sharing any romantic admiration of the criminal underworld. Which of the two types has more elements of class-consciousness in him? (p. 24).

Thinking of Black consciousness as militant, as some define it, may bear some semblance to the analogy Reich draws. The rebellions in the city might be partially understood in this realm.

Concluding, Reich makes the following deductions:

Stealing is 'not yet' a sign of class-consciousness; but a brief moment of reflection shows--despite our inner moral resistance that the man who refuses to submit to law and steals when he's hungry, that is to say the man who manifests a will to live has more energy and fight in him than the one who lies down unprotesting on the butcher's slab.

We persist in believing that the fundamental problem of a correct psychological doctrine is not why a hungry man steal's but the exact opposite! Why doesn't he steal? We have said that stealing is 'not yet' class-consciousness, and we stick to that. A brick is not yet a house; but you use bricks to build houses with (p. 25).

The point is that consciousness is manifested on many levels. For example, Art Mathis (1971) in a study on Black consciousness among college students, found it to ultimately mean nationalism--both cultural and political.

Baraka (Leroi Jones, 1969) speaks of Black consciousness as developing within a nationalistic defined Black value system. The specific aspects of this valuing process are closely related to Carmichael's explanation, as well as Hitt's characteristics of consciousness, and Mathis' nationalistic view. Included in this value system that Baraka proposes are: (1) UNITY-(Umoja); (2) SELF-

DETERMINATION-(Kujichagulia); (3) <u>COLLECTIVE WORK</u> &

<u>RESPONSIBILITY</u>-(Ujima); (4) <u>COOPERATIVE ECONOMICS</u>-(Ujamma);

(5) <u>PURPOSE</u>-(Nia); (6) <u>CREATIVITY</u>-(Kuumba); and (7) <u>FAITH</u>-

(Imani).

Reflecting on these various descriptions of Black

consciousness, one quickly notes the similarity of the

acts performed by earlier Black figures--i.e. those who

actually lived according to this value. Harriet Tubman,

Frederick Douglass, David Walker, are but a few examples.

To this extent it certainly can't be defined as new.

Secondly, such movements as the Harlem Renaissance and

the Garvey Movement were built around Black consciousness.

But in spite of its presence before, in a paradoxical

manner Black consciousness today carries an aura of newness

as part of the current <u>Zeitgeist</u>. Again this is perhaps

related to a difference in degree rather than kind. It

is not merely the individual acts, or the outstanding

Black organizations where one witnesses this valuing

transaction occurring; the manifest aspects of it are to

be found almost everywhere there are Black people, it cuts

across class-lines and age brackets. It is this extensive

nature and level of intensity which is new. As we note

the conditions and origin of Blacks settling in the United

States and Canada, the "sine-qua-non" for a Black con-

sciousness becomes obvious. However, as a link to this

historical material let us give further attention to research on Maslow's theory of needs.

Maslow's Theory of Psychological Needs

Maslow proposes a theory of needs which are hierarchical in development. That is, an individual must satisfy needs lower on the hierarchy before he can move to the next level. The lower needs are believed to be more closely linked to biological necessities. As one moves up this hierarchy and the higher needs become prepotent, the more he is moving toward growth needs and away from deficiency needs. In ascending order his needs are: (1) physiological, (2) safety, (3) love and belongingness, (4) self-esteem, and (5) self-actualization. He expresses the belief that these needs are in some ways and to some extent "constitutional or hereditary" in their determination. In keeping with this, he asserts that his "main hypothesis is that human 'urges' or 'basic needs' alone may be innately given to at least some appreciable degree. The pertinent behavior or ability, cognition or affection need not also be innate, but may (by our hypothesis) be learned, analyzed, or expressive (1954, p. 127)."

Thus, as presented, he accords some inner precipitate to needs, while acknowledging the feasibility of external inputs in the manifestation and expression of them. A more

critical analysis of his theory will be a part of the
present study. In particular, the external inputs which
he acknowledges need to be explored more. Maslow's theory
was an evolving one, rather than a completed system.
Unfortunately, many researchers accept it as a given.
The importance Maslow attaches to the intrinsic nature
of needs are expounded, yet the questions he raises as
to societal and cultural influence are not explored. For
example, Maslow states forthrightly the discernible influ-
ence of cultural norms in relation to one's needs. " . . .
The ways in which self-esteem may be expressed and achieved
are in a large part, although not completely, culturally
determined. We win the love of other people and express
our affections for them through culturally approved
channels (1954, p. 45, italics added)." In developing
this view Maslow provides information that fits in well
with earlier statements centered around roles. If one
can think of Blacks as he reads this, it seems that the
model I have proposed will begin to take on more meaning.
Maslow says "The fact is that in a complex society, status
roles are also in part culturally determined and will often
shift the expression of personality syndromes. It should
be pointed out that there is often a 'culturally approved
syndrome level' for each of the syndromes, e.g., security,
self-esteem, social activity. The fact can be seen most
clearly in cross-cultural comparison and in historical
comparisons (1954, pp. 45 & 46; italics added)."

We can now move ahead to the other part of our schema, i.e., the proposition that the self-actualization need for Blacks will follow different patterns. It is hypothesized that Blacks who demonstrate a prepotency for this need will be responding to some inner drive (toward growth) with little or no concern for the need prepotency (or deficiency needs) as imposed by the broader culture. It is believed that these individuals will strive to satisfy the self-actualization need in spite of severe deprivation of basic needs (a notable example in history was Frederick Douglass). This conceptualization thus questions Maslow's need prepotency hierarchy. There are many examples of Blacks in history whom we would consider self-actualized individuals but who contradict Maslow's tenet that, self-actualization need arises to prepotency only after other basic needs have been satisfied. According to Maslow, "the healthy organism is, paradigmatically need gratified and therefore released for self-actualization, then we thereby assume that the organism develops from within by intrinsic growth tendencies, in the Bergsonian sense, rather than from without, in behavioristic sense of environmental determination . . . (1954, p. 116)." Thus it appears that some aspects of Maslow's theoretical conceptualizations on self-actualized individuals hold true for Blacks while others do not; furthermore we expect different correlates of self-actualization for Blacks.

Such findings would suggest needed modifications in Maslow's theory. These speculations thus provide background for questioning and possibly broadening Maslow's propositions.

Continuing his exposition, Maslow makes a cogent analysis that has importance for blacks in our system. He contends that, "the neurotic organism is one that lacks certain satisfactions that can lnly come from the environment. It is therefore more dependent on the environment and less autonomous and self-determined, i.e., more shaped by nature of the environment and less shaped by its own intrinsic nature (1954, p. 116)." The rhetoric and action of self-actualized Blacks seem to reflect a striving for an end state opposite to this; i.e., they seek self-determination and to be shaped by their own intrinsic nature. The permeating theme among Black Americans who are moving in such a direction is that a Black must first accept himself by achieving a positive identity if he is to actualize and not derogate himself.

"But what if the 'milieu' is determined to let live only at the expense of a permanent loss of identity? (Erikson, 1950, p. 213)." Then, if an oppressed man wants to continue to live and at the same time actualize himself, he must change the "milieu" (for history continues to demonstrate that the "milieu" rejects black self-actualization).

Let us now review two studies using Maslow's theory of needs as a background for this investigation.

Two Studies on Maslow's Theory of Needs

In an investigation exploring the relationship between culture and personality among fisherman and cane cutters in St. Kitts, Aronoff (1967, 1971) used Maslow's theory of needs. He proposed a model to challenge the Whiting model which places the central emphasis on culture. For, in keeping with the central thesis of Maslow's theory, he argues that needs are the central focus that influence societal institutions. However, he acknowledges that these needs are in interaction with two other factors--historical-sociocultural institutions and environmental determinates. Schematically, he proposes the following model.

```
+------------------+                    +------------------+
| historical       |                    | psychological    |
| sociocultural    |                    | determinants     |
| institutions     |                    |                  |
+------------------+                    +------------------+
            |          +--------------+          |
            |          |environmental |          |
            |          |determinants  |          |
            |          +--------------+          |
            v                 v                  v
+---------------------------------------------------+
| reciprocal interchange between                    |
| sociocultural institutions and                    |
| psychological organizations                       |
+---------------------------------------------------+
            |                                   |
            v                                   v
+------------------+                    +------------------+
| personality      |                    | sociocultural    |
| variables        |                    | institutions     |
| observed         |                    | observed         |
+------------------+                    +------------------+
```
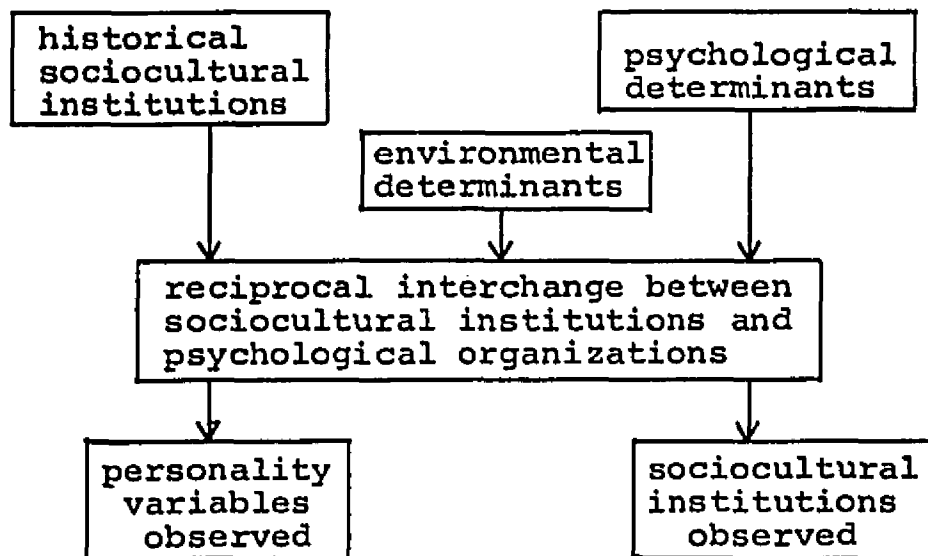
In his initial study (1967) he hypothesized an interaction between culture and personality as related to needs and societal institutions. The needs he was most interested in were safety and self-esteem. Safety prepotency

was operationalized in terms of high or low loss of family
members at an early age of life. Thus, due to deprivation
in the realm of safety and security, it was hypothesized
that those with high losses would show greater prepotency
for safety; conversely, those with low loss would not be
as fixated on safety and would be free to concern them-
selves with the higher needs of love and belongingness
and self-esteem. As a result, the societal institutions
in which these individuals worked would be greatly
influenced by the need level most important to its members.
As fishermen show significantly lower safety needs they
tended to be more concerned with self-esteem, love and
belongingness. This was reflected in the way their
fishing crews were organized (i.e., with prestige systems
based on individual personal capacities; satisfactory
interpersonal relations; democratic leadership roles as
well as membership roles requiring much personal initiative;
and pay systems rewarding individual output). Diametrically
opposed to this was the organizational structure of cane
cutters gangs. These men had high losses at early ages
and tended to be more safety "fixated." Thus in their
work gangs, they tended to be more fearful and distrustful
of each other; had developed authoritarian work structures
in which the high status of the head cutter had little to
do with his personal capacities; in which membership roles

presupposed a lack of individual initiative and responsibility; and in which group rather than personal effort was rewarded.

The results support the theory that deprivation of needs at a particular level tends to create a certain amount of fixation at that level, and does not allow individuals to move to higher levels.

Theoretically Aronoff's position is sound and confirmed. Several methodological problems, however, lead one to question his conclusions. First, he states that he could demonstrate that all historical, cultural, racial and political factors were the same for both groups. Comparing cane-cutters gangs and fishermen crews on other surrounding islands, he notes that the organizations are often the direct opposite from those on St. Kitts. On this basis he concludes "this shows there is no force inherent in the economic structure that demand this particular organization. Thus the findings suggest that the differing psychological needs strongly influence the different social structures developed by cane-cutters and fishermen (1971, p. 54),"

While there is seemingly nothing inherent in economic structures to make for organizational differences in fishermen and cane-cutters, there may be social and historical factors which are operant. But the major basis for questioning Arnoff's conclusions is his failure to

offer other factors besides early loss of significant family
which might influence safety. The extended family of
African origin is prevalent among Black people, particularly
in the West Indies; therefore early loss of parents might
not have the same connotation in their culture as it would
in the white-middle class culture of the United States.
For example, Aronoff attributes a change which he found
among cane-cutters in 1966 to the fact the "new cane-
cutters were born and reared during World War II, when
world transportation was frozen. Parents stayed on the
island, reared their children in intact families, satisfied
their safety need and so produced a different kind of
person, who in seeking to satisfy his esteem needs,
totally reorganized the traditional economic structure
(1971, p. 55)."

One cannot conclude from the fact that parents
stayed on the island that they reared the child (as opposed
to aunts and grandmothers whom he states raised many of the
children from emancipation to W.W. II); and that the parents
above influenced level of need prepotency among islanders.
How was the Black power Movement affecting this island?

Aronoff's model is ideal in depicting an indi-
vidual's personality interacting with historical, socio-
cultural forces to influence both the needs observed and
the social structure of evolving institutions. Unfortu-
nately Aronoff limits his conclusions to needs resulting

from family as the cultural force. What other socializing
agents might contribute to the level of needs?

Aronoff mentions that the population of St. Kitts
is generally forced to work on estates and reside on
estate-owned land. As an alternative they may emigrate.
How might one relate this situation to safety? Further
in Aronoff's description of the medical, economic,
nutritional, and demographic factors of deprivation
which most St. Kittitians are exposed to, one begins
to see sociocultural factors greatly influencing need
level. Thùs taking Maslow's central position that needs
are organismically based as a given leads to ignoring the
possibility of a bio-social interaction

It is within the context of these unanswered
questions that the present researcher wishes to explore
psychological needs. Since Simpson's research is relevant
to this exploration, we shall now turn to it.

Simpson's (1971) theoretical propositions relating
needs, values, and socialization was referred to at the
beginning of this paper. Her research is important, first,
because if makes use of Maslow's theory of needs; secondly,
it bears some relationship to the present study. That is,
she is interested in the relationship between needs,
values and schools as socializing agents.

Simpson conducted a field study in three communities
in the United States. The subjects cut across races and

class lines. High School students in southern Georgia and two California locations provided geographical comparisons. We shall focus on the southern Georgia population since this sample of 66 Black students attended a school with an all black faculty and student body. The physical neglect of the school is described as obvious to the casual observer. According to the report, students are generally products of broken homes and disadvantaged_on many levels. For background and comparative data they were studied in four major psychological areas in addition to the psychological deprivation state related to Maslow's theory of needs. The four areas were self, social world, education and vocational world, home and family. The results are interesting. According to the Gordon Survey of Inter-personal Values, these students do not find social fame, as such, important to them. They are not dependent upon others for self-esteem--rather, they depend upon themselves. Their career ideals are altruisitic. The writer suggests that high altruism may be the outcome of the civil rights movement. The total picture of these students need levels present following:

1. Physical 27.28
2. Security 48.49
3. Belongingness 45.46
4. Esteem from others 68.16*
5. Self-Esteem 9.11

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*Explanation for this esteem from others refers to others close to them (as opposed to other individuals whom they may not feel close to but can dispense rewards of prestige, etc.).

Overall, Simpson found significant differences between the Black and non-black groups on both need levels and values. She concludes, (pp. 110-111).

> The need for acceptance by others and for their regard which blacks manifests . . . is in sharp contrast to the needs (of) non-blacks. . . . When socio-economic status is controlled, differences between non-black and black groups remain (p = .01), a finding which suggests strongly the reality of the varying psychological conditions which these two groups confront. . . . In our sample heavily biased toward blacks on low socio-economic level, low status is associated with higher self-regard than is high status. In our discussion above of the genesis of high self-regard within the supportive confines of intimate groups, we attempt to account for the development of a sense of mastery and self-worth among members of the protestive southern black enclave at debouchement (pp. 110-111).

In relating levels of needs to values, the findings revealed a relationship between psychic variables and historical correlates of democratic belief. The relationships were found to be highly suggestive in confirming the initial position that "values are products of biogenetic needs acted on upon social environment (p. 134)." Simpson's study thus provides data relevant to an extension of Maslow's theory of needs. That is, needs are taken as organismically based, but constantly acted on upon social forces.

Historical Foundations

Due to the fact that there has been little information available on Blacks in Canada, the major portion of this section will be devoted to the history of our Canadian population. A second reason for emphasis is due to the

experimental design. The experimental manipulation was conducted on Canadian groups only. And finally, devoting as much space to a report and analysis of the history of the Michigan population would result in a paper of such proportion as to constitute a historical monograph in itself. This is not the aim of the present study and limitations were drawn rather arbitrarily.

Blacks in U.S.A.

Blacks are known to have settled in the U.S.A., long before the coming of the Mayflower (1619). Accompanying De Ayllon in 1526, blacks were a part of the group that established the settlement of San Miguel, near what is now Jamestown, Virginia. Further west Blacks accompanied Narvaez and Cabeza de Vaca in 1527 in settlements in the Southwestern parts of the U.S. (Woodson, 1959). Many historicans document other settlements before the Mayflower in which Blacks made up a portion of the population. These Blacks who settled in the country were generally free men.

The point which is most significant for understanding the Blacks in the United States today occurred when one the Dutch East India Company's ships brought twenty Africans to be sold as slaves to the colonists at Jamestown, Virginia (Woodson, 1964). It wasn't long before other European companies became involved in the massive shipment of "Black Gold" to be sold as chattel in the United States. Slave

trade corporations were set up in the manner that General Motors, Gulf, and other corporations are established. When the slave trade was at its peak, 50,000-100,000 were brought over each year.

We are all more or less familiar with the history of slaves in this country, the inhumane treatment forced upon them, and the frequent plotted revolts to escape this condition. One method of escape was through the famous Underground Railroad, where slaves escaped from the south to the north.

One of the northern terminal points of the Underground Railroad was the state of Michigan. The Underground Railroad was most active between the year of 1815 and 1850.

Blacks In Michigan

Cass

Blacks were in Michigan before it became a part of the Union. They were dispersed throughout the State (see Figure 2.0). Early history of Blacks in Michigan found them in rural settings. Starting with the Sanders colony in Cass County in 1840's, sizeable Black rural communities have existed (Katzman, 1969).

The largest Black settlement in the Northwest, founded in 1847, was referred to as the Chain Lake Settlement. A Virginia slaveholder named Sanders brought his slaves there and set them free. Rogers tells us that in 1961, this

Figure 2.0.--Michigan's Black Population--1970.
Based upon the 1970 census returns
released by the Secretary of State.

settlement had expanded from its original size of one square mile to its current size of 38 square miles. Descendants of these Blacks "still live there in large farms and homes amid the beautiful lakes from which came its name (p. 58)."

This group of slaves was to have been originally provided with land in the state of Indiana. Indiana was not receptive and sought to exclude Blacks from the state. Therefore the executor of Sanders' saw that these Black men were taken to the Chain Lake Settlement instead.

The first settlement in this area, however, arrived shortly before Sampson Sanders. A group of pioneers and their families--the Allens, Ashes, Byrds, Gamers, Hawleys, Hursts, Jenkins, Linmans, Lyners, Newsomes and Wades-- migrated to Michigan from North Carolina with a group of five Blacks. This was a group of Quaker farmers who were forced out of North Carolina in the 1830's because of their stance on slavery.

This black community constantly increased in size, developing its own institutions. The Black population grew from 389 persons in 1850 to 1,368 in 1860, and to 1,837 in 1880.

As with many other Black settlements, men from these communities fought together in all black military units. In this case, the all black 102nd United States Infantry Regiment fought in the Civil War. Upon returning

to Cass County, the veterans formed a fraternal organization.
Other Black organizations followed in this community.

During the period of 1880 until the Depression of
1930's the Black population of Cass gradually declined.
The younger generations began to leave the farms and head
to large urban areas such as Detroit, South-Bend, and
Chicago.

Descendants of one of the original early families,
the William Allens, still farm in this area. Booker T.
Washington visited the home of William Allen in 1903. Allen
headed one of the more prosperous farm families, with over
700 acres of land, 50 head of cattle, 10 horses, 300 sheep
and 25 hogs. Many of the farmers were using mechanized
farm equipment, there were black-owned stores and saw mills,
black physicians and teachers. It was a self-determining,
self-governing community.

Due to this self-government Blacks here were able
to exercise privileges denied them by the Michigan constitu-
tion. That is, it was not until 1870 when the Fifteenth
Amendment nullified Michigan's constitution which banned
Black voting, that the residents were legally enfranchised.
Yet, due to the organization of their own schools, Blacks
had been able to vote in school elections as early as 1855.

In a reverse kind of migration pattern, Cass County
again increased its population following the depression in
the 1930's. Unemployed southern born Blacks from Chicago,

began moving to this rural settlement. In addition,
pensioners and retirees also began settling there. In
1960 Blacks comprised ten percent (10%) of the population
in Cass County. Other rural areas in this county have
attracted more prosperous Blacks who purchase sprawling
summer resorts. One such community is Idlewild, Michigan
where a large number of upper middle class Blacks from
Chicago are found.

Mecosta

This area is located in the center of Michigan's
lower peninsula. The original settlers migrated here
around 1870 from Ohio and Southern Ontario. Following
a pattern similar to Cass, the majority of the descendants
of early settlers have abandoned the farms for unemployment
in the cities.

Washtenaw

About forty miles south of Detroit, a rural Black
community developed in Augusta Township, forming the town
of Whitaker, located about 8 miles south of Ypsilanti,
Michigan. Original settlers here were from southwestern
Ontario and Ohio. Being so close to Detroit and Ypsilanti,
many of the young people abandoned the prosperous wheat,
corn, livestock, and poultry farms to seek careers in the
cities within close proximity.

This however, was not the first Black settlement
in Washtenaw county. Rather, Pittsfield county which lies
south of Ann Arbor was where Blacks first farmed. They
settled here in the 1820's and 1830's. This group migrated
from east of the Alleghenies via the Erie Canal. Others
settled east of this area surrounding Detroit farming
wheat, corn, and barley. Following the well established
patterns most migrated to the cities.

Katzman (1969) tells us that not all Blacks farmers
lived in Black communities. There are isolated cases of
small families living in virtually all white areas such as
Charlevoix. Travelling in Michigan today, one can still
witness this in such places as Manistee and Livonia, Michigan.
However, most Blacks did leave the rural areas and many
migrated to the largest city in Michigan--Detroit.

Detroit

As we have noted, between 1870 and 1930, trinklings
of Blacks from the various rural communities migrated to
Detroit for work. World War I provided an impetus for the
first large migration of Blacks from outside the state.
That is, many southern born Blacks came to get work. How-
ever the largest influx came to get jobs created by the war
industries during World War II.

According to a study conducted by the Urban League
in 1965, Detroit had a Black population comprising about

1/3 of the total residents in the city. With the constant

exodus of whites to the suburbs, that number has risen to

about 48%. Though seemingly more spread out than in some

other cities, the Black residents still tend to be concen-

trated in defined areas around the "inner city."

Closely related to the housing patterns, several

of the high schools tend to be comprised of over 90% Blacks.

For example, in 1965 Central High School had a population of

99% Black; Northwestern, Eastern, and Northern high school

had Black concentrations close to 99%. In practically all

white neighborhoods, schools such as Cooley, Osborn, Denby,

and Redford had white concentrations of close to 99%. Teacher

personnel in these Black high schools tend to be 50% or more

Black, whereas there are less than 10% Blacks in the white

schools. Some of these figures have shifted somewhat in the

last few years, but the pattern is pretty much the same.

Economically, Blacks in Detroit tend to fare better

than nationally (Detroit Urban League, 1965). The un-

employment rate is lower and per capita income is higher.

Yet there are many conditions leading to discontent

among the Black population, as witnessed in the Detroit

rebellion on July 23, 1967. There were several studies

done on the Black population following the riot (New Detroit,

1968; Caplan and Paige, 1968; Aberbach, 1970). Conclusions

were of the following nature.

> Among 3,800 arrested-in interview with Detroit Free
> Press reports found that 'their bitterness had' nothing
> to do with money or T.V. sets, but stemed chiefly from
> sulting resentment over personal indignities, sub-
> standard living conditions, police brutality and
> double standard of justice for white and blacks (New
> Detroit Committee, 1968, p. 13).

Caplan and Paige (1968) hypothesize three categories

to encompass the varying theories set forth as to why Blacks

riot.

1. 'Riffraff theory'--which suggests rioters are
   irresponsible deviant: criminals, unassimilated
   migrants, emotionally disturbed persons or
   members of underclass with cumulative records of
   personal failure.

2. 'Relative--deprivation theory'--which attributes
   riots to a gap between rioters objective economic
   and social situations and their expectations.

3. 'Blocked-up opportunity theory' sees riots as the
   consequence of the prolonged exclusion of Negroes
   from American economic and social life. The
   Blacks in this category are more likely to rebel
   to barriers set up which do not facilitate the
   maximum development of self, and who perceive
   their own economic and social situation as a
   result of discrimination and not personal in-
   adequacy.

The survey supported the third theory--implying that such

rebellions are not to be attributed to pathological,

deprived criminal individuals who might be changed through

social work, psychotherapy, or prolonged confinement.

Rather, it is the white institutions which must be changed.

Blacks in Canada

Lying north of the United States border, Canada
spans the width of the United States. With United States
industry and a history that intricately relates it to the
United States in many ways, the two countries are similar
in ways of life, values, and social structure. Fred
London (1927) tells us that, "no great movement in the
United States during the 19th century was without its
repercussions in Canada."

Our central point of inquiry is whether the culture
of Blacks in Canada has developed along lines similar to
that of Blacks in the United States. What aspects of Black
culture are shared by groups in both countries?

Blacks have been in various sections of Canada
almost as long as they have been in the United States.
They are represented in all its provinces and territories.
Their places of origin are quite diverse. According to
written document, they are descendents of British Loyalists,
who either fought on the side of the British in the American
Revolution, or came with the Loyalists who left the United
States with their former masters and settled in the United
States (1776). They also include: Jamacian Maroons who
came to Nova Scotia in 1796 to repair fortifications such
as The Citadel; refugee Blacks who came in 1812; and fugitive
slaves who escaped through the Underground Railroad (Winks;
1971). In addition to these original settlers, various

Black individuals and colonies have migrated to Canada in
recent years and various West Indians are allowed in the
country through immigration quotas.

Blacks in Canada have been both free and slaves.
Smith (1898), tells us that beginning in 1688 references
were made in many letters of high French officials as to
the need for labor that would not be costly. The sug-
gested remedy was Negro slaves. Following this, in a
royal mandate issued in 1689, Canadians were given the
right to import Africans as slaves. The sale of a Black
Madagascar in Quebec in 1628 is the first recorded sale of
a slave in Canada (Winks, 1971). Canada was thought of as
a place of freedom which, in many ways, did attempt to abolish
slavery, and open its arms to Black slaves from the United
States. However, as a part of the historic bigotry,
Canadians also thought of these Blacks as inferior. Let
us focus now on the Blacks in Nova Scotia.

Blacks in Nova Scotia

As mentioned earlier, the four groups that formed the
original settlers of Blacks in Nova Scotia, included
Loyalists (Black Pioneers), Jamaican Maroons, Refugee
Negroes, and Fugitive Slaves. In addition, a large
number of West Indians were brought up to Sydney, Cape
Breton in the early 19th century to work in the coal mines
and steel mills. They are dispersed throughout the province

(see Figure 2.1). Thanks are due to Father Francis of Sydney, Nova Scotia for the hours he gave describing how Blacks were enticed to Cape Breton Island (principally Sydney) in the early 1900's to work in the coal mines. This section of Nova Scotia today still reflects the early neighborhoods that developed around the industries and the large West Indian population. Contrary to the statement "It is interesting to note that the Garvey Movement . . . did not have any impact in the Maritimes," (Clairmont and McGill, 1970), the Garvey Movement was very active in Sydney. Old residents can relate stories of the movement. Interesting also is the neglect of Winks, a reputed authority on Black Canadians, to adequately research this population. Census data from 1871 to 1961 provide us with some idea of Blacks dispersion in this province (see Table 2.1 from Clairmont and McGill's Nova Scotian's Blacks, p. 38).

Pre-Loyalist Blacks

Before the Loyalist Blacks had come to Nova Scotia either as free men or slaves, "The Negro, 'La Liberte' who.was at Cape Sable in 1786 . . . when a census was prepared of Acadie, was perhaps a slave who has escaped from one of the colonies of the south (Fergusson, 1948, p. 1)."

Slaves arrived in Halifax soon after its founding in 1749 as attested to by a number of documents in the
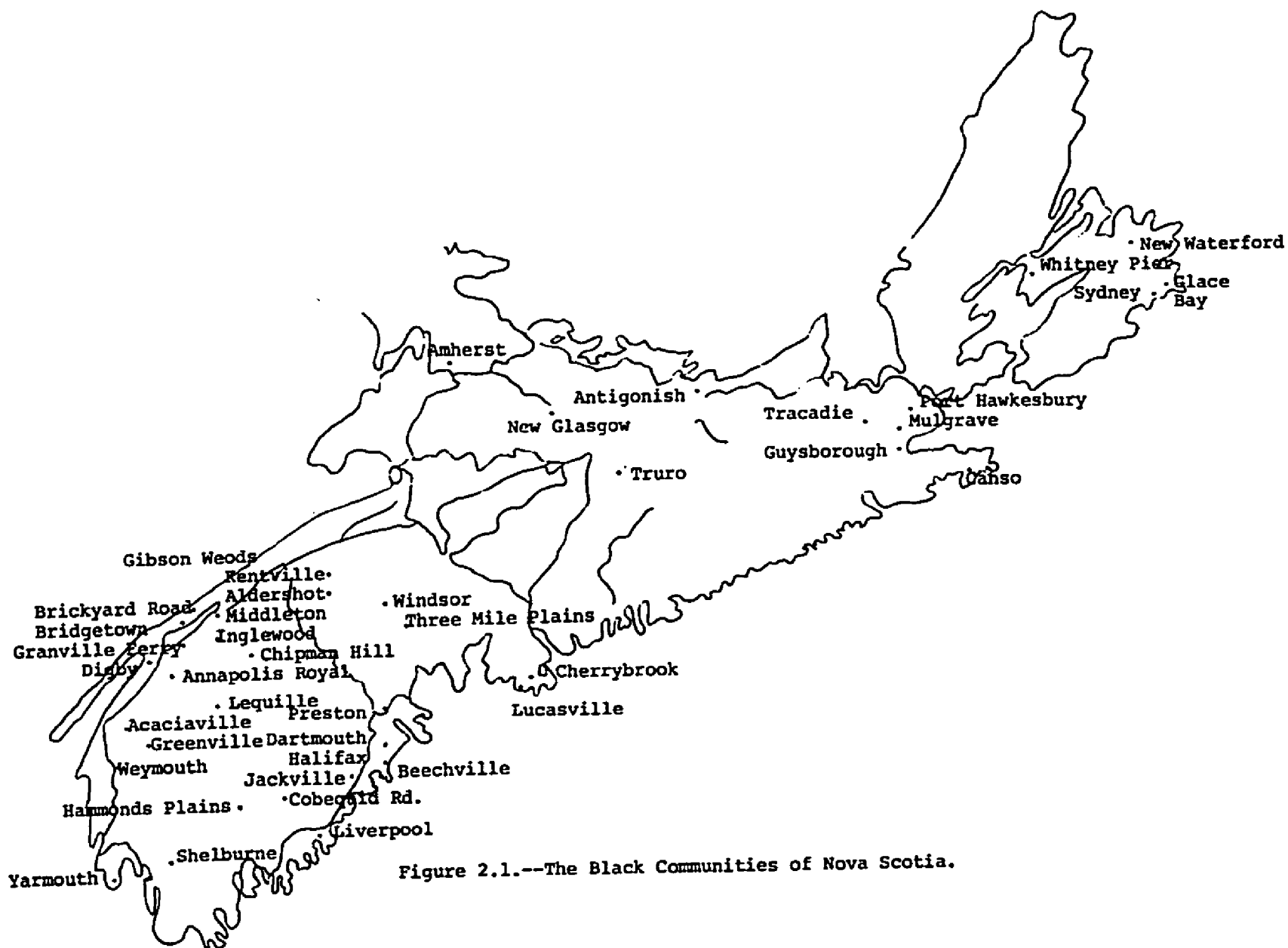
Figure 2.1.--The Black Communities of Nova Scotia.

TABLE 2.1.—Percentage of Black Population in Halifax-Dartmouth, Cape Breton County, and "Other Nova Scotia" at Ten-Year Intervals, 1871-1961.[a]

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Halifax-Dartmouth	17%	16%	*	15%	15%	17%	**	13%	*	19%
Cape Breton County	0.8	0.3	*	0.3	5	5	11	10	*	8
"Other Nova Scotia"	82	83	*	84	80	78	80	77	*	73
Base	(6,212)	(7,052)	(*)	(5,984)	(6,541)	(6,175)	(7,524)	(8,817)	(*)	(11,900)

*Census data are not available for 1891 and 1951.

**Census data on the number of Blacks residing in Dartmouth are not available for 1931.

[a]Due to rounding, the percentages by year may not total 100%

SOURCE: D.B.S., Census of Canada.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia. An early issue of the Nova Scotia Gazette, published at Halifax on May 30, 1752 carried the following advertisements:

> Just imported and to be sold by Joshua Marger, at Major Lockman's store at Halifax several negro slaves, viz., a very likely negro wench of about 35 years of age, a creole born; has been brought up in a gentlemen's family, and capable of doing all sorts of work belonging thereto, as neddlework of all sorts, and in the best manner; and every other thing that can be expected from such a slave, also two negro boys of 12 or 13 years old, likely, healthy, and well-shaped and understands some English (P.A.N.S. vertical file Negroes #25).

Loyalists

During and after the American Revolutionary War thousands of Blacks settled in various communities in Nova Scotia (Winks, 1971; Fergusson, 1948). A map in Appendix F will illustrate their dispersion throughout the community.

In a study reported on Blacks in Guysborough (Rawlyk, 1968) the harsh and cruel conditions they faced are blatantly pointed out. He talks of the trauma they faced leaving their former homes, but is quick to suggest that this was minimal compared to difficulty they faced establishing themselves in a foreign land. These difficulties were multiplied by white prejudice, poverty, starvation, and ignorance. While these problems confronted Blacks throughout the province following their settlement there, Rawlyk feels that the conditions for Guysborough Blacks was intensified. Not only because the land there was less fertile, but also because of the extreme isolation of the

area and the fact that Blacks could not depend on help
(if necessary) from either the government or white "neigh-
bors." Rawlyk also states that the degree of racial prejudice
was more intense here and other similar isolated communities
where Blacks live. I am wondering if he means "isolated"
to be equated with rural. For virtually wherever large
settlements of Blacks are found throughout the provinces
they are isolated. Naturally, it is not the same degree as
in a city. On the other hand residents of Africville
in Halifax might disagree with this. The segregated com-
munities are described as resulting from "an assumption
reached more or less independently by both races, (and)
even before being granted their farm lands the Negroes had
become quietly established in their own <u>primitive</u> settlements
in Chedabucto Bay. One of the most important of these was
"Niggertown Hill" on the fringe of what would be known as
Guysborough (Rawlyk, 1968, p. 25)."

It is difficult to accept Rawlyk's interpretation.
First, as he proceeds in his account of the Guysborough
settlement referrence is made to the 3,000 acres of land
granted the Blacks by the government. This in itself was
segregation defined. Why were they granted land isolated
long distances from existing populations in the area?
Secondly, it will become crystal clear as an account is
made of some of the other Black settlements, how they were
always granted lands in isolated areas away from existing

settlers. The second generation of Guysborough residents were "no longer 'Loyalists Blacks'; they were Nova Scotia Negroes (Rawlyk, 1968)."

Tracadie

This was another area near Guysborough where Blacks were granted 3,000 acres of land in September, 1787, in hopes that 172 of them would leave Chedabucto Bay area and settle there. Clairmont and Magill report that the attempts to disperse Blacks in smaller communities, i.e., to break up the larger groups was economically motivated. "Local government officials appeared to believe that Blacks, if scattered might be found useful as Labourers." Obviously, Blacks were aware of this, and we can account for their rejecting proposals offering to move them to better land, but only in small groups. Tracadie was an area near the Acadian Nova Scotian community, but far enough away from them to be isolated on barren land. Tensions and hostility existed toward these two groups. For as late as 1815, the Catholic priest of the church wrote to the Bishop:

> There is a sort of antipathy between the whites and
> the Blacks, and it is one of great obstacles I have
> to overcome. There is a complaint that these newcomers
> bring in a bad odor and that there is no way to put up
> with them. . . . In my sermon last Sunday I exhorted
> the parishioners to show a bit more charity toward
> these infidels. . . . A sure way to bring about peace
> would be to construct a gallery where the Blacks alone
> would be admitted (Rawlyk, 1968, p. 31).

Under such attitudes and poor conditions for taking care of basic needs, Blacks struggled and remained in the county,

settling such other areas as Country Harbour, New Harbour, Canso, Little River, and Manchester.

According to the census reports of 1871, there were 747 Blacks living in Guysborough county. The only settlement of Blacks with a larger population was Halifax County. It reached its peak in 1891-1918, and decreased gradually thereafter to a mere 471 in 1931. This decrease can most generally be accounted for by migration to opportunities in the mining and industrial centers of Cape Breton, New Glasgow and Halifax. It is suspected that a small segment migrated even farther west into the provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

In the process of trying to eke out a living, most energy went into survival. However, education was desired and there was an attempt to increase the educational level. Two schools were built in Guysborough County for the first time in 1872. Attendance was poor generally for reasons mentioned above. There were few Blacks educated even at the elementary level up until 1932 or 1936 (see Table 3.1 from Clairmont and Magill).

After this period minimal progress was made, though the whole educational system was extremely poor in quality-- i.e., from delapidated school houses to unqualified teachers who acquired "Permissive Licenses." The area continued to be an extremely depressed location, lacking the opportunities for residents to meet some of the most basic physiological and security needs. Even today, in talking to a few

residents from the area--who come to Halifax seeking
employment, for social reasons, or educational opportuni-
ties--one realizes the depressed conditions that exist.
Overall a view of physical conditions supports the con-
tentions. Amazing, however is that drive to survive and
grow. There is a healh beyond description and a feeling
of pride in seeing the attempts and efforts made under
such conditions to provide and achieve. As one passes
through, the physical conditions portray one picture.
However, from talking in depth, living among, and social-
izing with the people one acquires a view that negates many
initial negative feelings experienced due to the physical
conditions.

Naturally, there are variations in the counties
and other areas with large Black settlements; however, a
substantial amount of space has been devoted to the Blacks
in Guysborough county for several reasons:

1. Pattern-wise the life of the original Blacks
   settlers in Nova Scotia were similar.
2. These early "Loyalists Blacks" were some of the
   first 'free' Blacks, and represent those whom
   Winks tells us are regarded as highest among
   the Black groups.

Preston (Township of)

In 1784 lots were granted to a surveyer, Theophilas
Chamberlain and one hundred sixty three others, primarily
Loyalists, who left the United States and came to Canada.

There were 56,772 acres in the tract allowed, with
Chamberlain and company receiving 32,000 granted to them.

Blacks who had fought on the side of Britain had
been promised freedom and land in Nova Scotia, and Preston
was one of the areas where they were granted land. How-
ever, they received the infertile part of the tracts
allowed for the Loyalists.

(P.A.N.S., Vertical File #1) discloses that their settle-
ment in Preston, and subsequent removal as being due to
the dissatisfaction, discomforts, and poverty in their new
lives. This is attributed to their being unaccustomed to
providing for self, "unable to supply their own wants, and
proved to be a most unsatisfactory class of emigrants (p. 156)."
Thus, on January 15, 1792 eleven hundred and ninty-five left
for Sierra Leone. The story is not quite this clear cut.
First, in a similar manner slaves in U.S., upon legal
"freedom" were not accustomed to being given the opportunity
and responsibility of supplying for all their wants. They,
too, found it difficult to survive after the Civil War
because their background as slaves had not prepared them
for their new responsibilities (DuBois, 1964).

Let us return briefly, however, to the Refugee
Blacks' plights. July (1967) provides an account of the
conditions leading to this group of Blacks leaving Nova
Scotia. After the war, the Blacks who had fought as
soldiers and sailors were not to be returned to former

owners; instead, they were to be provided "with free passage to Nova Scotia where they would be given substantial tracts of land and farming equipment as a basis for permanent settlement (p. 53)." Such an attractive offer was accepted with enthusiasm; but theory unfortunately, was not so easily translated into practice. There were thousands of Loyalist immigrants in Canada, and good land was scarce in that glacier scoured country. Many Negroes received grants but often they were in remote, uncleared areas. Others were forced to wait several years, landless and unsettled (p. 53)."

Further amplifying on the position of Blacks in Nova Scotia, one should note that slavery existed contiguously, and distinctions were not always made between "freemen" and slaves. Many of these Loyalists built their own existence and survival on maintaining slaves. When the Loyalist slaveholders found the cost high and food low they frequently let the slaves loose to fare for themselves, and not infrequently, these "free" Blacks died of hunger. The surviving ones were often reclaimed after years of freedom and sold to new masters in the United States. Discrimination, prejudice, and persecution were commonly practiced on the Loyalist Blacks who had fought for Britain. In a rather thorough account July (1967) informs us that,

> One observer reported that no more than ten percent
> of the three thousand Negroes who migrated to Nova
> Scotia ever received what was promised to them and
> those who remained behind permanently in Canada
> ended up more often than not as tenants, farming
> lands that others owned. The choice waterside lots
> were exclusively reserved for whites who in turn
> made the Negroes pay fees for the use of their
> wharfs. Upon their arrival in Canada, the Negroes,
> were set to work building new towns for the immigrants,
> both white and black, for they were obliged to live
> separately as a segregated community. There were bad
> relations with the white ex-servicemen who on one
> occasion destroyed a number of Negro homes because
> they resented the Negroes accepting lower wages:
> Former slaves were particularly sensitive over
> matters of land ownership, for to them a freehold
> guaranteed the free man, and the discrimination of
> the government in giving precedence to the claims
> of white loyalists was threatening them with land-
> lessness and a share-croppers fate. To Negroes,
> only recently freed, this was but slavery renewed
> in another form. . . . Finally after several years
> of fruitless waiting, one of the Nova Scotians,
> Thomas Peters journeyed to London in 1791 in search
> of some sort of redress (p. 53).

He was granted his wish. Arrangements were made for free

passage to Africa and plots of free land. In January,

1792 almost twelve hundred Blacks boarded the boat and

arrived there March 6, 1792. However, the effects of

slavery and the bitter and disillusioning experience in

Nova Scotia had left its marks. Still there was tremendous

hope, high spirits, and motivating industriousness. But

again, things did not work out as stated, and the Blacks

encountered conditions similar to those experienced in

Nova Scotia. The settlement was governed by the Sierra

Leone Company, not the settlers. For its social psychologi-

cal significance, their settlement in Sierra Leone is worth

analysis; however, due to the focus of the current paper and the dictates of space it cannot be pursued. The purpose of this section was to give some background on the historical settlements of Blacks in Nova Scotia and to demonstrate how their interaction with their milieu and various social forces affected their psychological needs.

Jamaican Maroons

One group of Blacks who spent the shortest time in Nova Scotia and yet caused the government and white settlers much concern and fear were the Trelawny Maroons. By the 23rd of July, 1796, three ships carrying these proud Black men had arrived in Nova Scotia. They did not merely arrive physically, they arrived also with a reputation. The commissionary travel had received an order issued from Prince Edward not to allow them to disembark from the ships. It is suggested that this was due to unfavorable reports on Maroons, and the local residents were not particular eager to have them (Robinson, 1969). Nevertheless, here they were between five to six thousand (Oliver, 1967). After assurance from the Prince and others that they need not fear these Jamacian Blacks, the people allowed the Maroons to disembark from the ships. Apparently wanting first hand confirmation, the Prince went aboard the ship to inspect them. Impressed by their physical stature he ordered that they be put to work immediately to help build fortifications being built for protection against the French. The

governor of Nova Scotia suggested that they be settled in
Preston, an area about fifteen miles from Halifax. His
reasons supposedly were fear that if they were located
"too near Halifax" (it is interesting that the thought of
their actually settling in Halifax never was entertained),
they might be more attracted to jobs in the town and balk
against producing from the land.

They were settled in Preston during the months of
September and October, but ill-prepared for the cold weather
out in this isolated area. Clothing and stores were supposed
to be provided by the government, but things did not go as
well as planned, and they faced a severe first winter. Two
residents (about 35-40 years of age) of Preston in April,
1971, related the oral history of this account. From their
father, grandfather, and great-grandfather the story had
been told that the Maroons were mainly brought to rebuild
the fortress. After this task was completed there was
little concern with their welfare. Secondly, they were
resistant and refused to work for whites as servants. This
angered the whites, and the Maroons were left out in the
area during the cold winter without the minimum supplies
(food, clothing, shelter) to survive. They were expected
to die, "but because of our strength we survived."

The primary aim was to enculturate these men to
adopt the European ways of life (i.e., instruction in the
Christian religion was primary along with arithmetic and

reading for the youngsters, and marriage in church according
to Christian doctrine). The Christianity attempts failed,
in spite of the suggestion so frequently used in colonizing
people--that God will punish them in the after-life for
disobedience. It didn't work with the Jamacians.

These failures led the government to plan new
courses of action. It was felt that the only way to get
the Maroons to adopt a European way of life was to break
up their communities and scatter them among white inhabit-
ants, as far as New Brunswick. Needless to say, the Maroons
rejected the proposal. As another setback, the potatoes
coming from England to supply Maroons were destroyed.
Flour and some other provisions replaced them in insuffi-
cient amounts. The Maroons were depressed by their condi-
tions and asked to leave Nova Scotia. Determined to use
them, some local residents in Halifax, impressed by the
Maroons' excellent work in helping to build the fortress,
proposed that they be used as indentured servants:

> When the Trelawnys were informed, they smiled. Even
> in this strange country they were very much aware
> of their proud and independent history which has
> lasted nearly one hundred and fifty years. They
> were not about to tarnish their heritage. So they
> laughed at the attempt to make them indentured
> servants, told the Governor that they were a free
> people and requested they be moved to a warmer
> climate (Carey, 1969, p. 148).

With all these unforeseen problems, local inhabit-
ants became more disenchanted with the Blacks from Jamaica.
However, there was still the forthcoming advantage of their

producing from the land. It was late in May, 1797, before frost was off the ground. They were then told to begin farming. As a protest against remaining in Nova Scotia, and particularly against the infertile area they had been placed in, they resisted the work assignment. A small group on about 150 responded to various pressures and began to plant potatoes, "but the militant groups beat them up." This situation was remedied by removing a number of families to another section about four miles above the Halifax harbour. Secondly, the group was placed under scrutiny and supervision by the schoolmaster. He was instructed not to feed them if they refused to work. Through such efforts approximately an additional 150 began work. During the next few months, the Maroons continued to resist the work. Instead they engaged in such activities as cock-fighting, playing cards, and going into Halifax where they frequently did various odd-jobs and earned money. This lasted until winter set in. Weather conditions limited them to spending most of the time in the house where they continued to reflect on leaving this miserable cold place and returning to their home.

Throughout the next two years conditions worsened and conflict between Maroons and the government continued, with the resistance of the Maroons becoming more persistent. Eventually, the government decided that perhaps they should join the earlier Blacks (Loyalist) who had left Preston to

settle Freetown, Sierra Leone. The Maroons won their battle and 550 left Nova Scotia to arrive in Sierra Leone by October of 1800 (July, 1967). There they maintained their same pride and heritage, resisted European enculturation and agreed to use their commendable crafts for wages.

They had left their impression on Nova Scotians. One can see why there would be pride among those who are descendants. It is the same pride one encounters when talking to an Ashanti of Africa, or Ethiopians who boast of never being captured and colonized.

Refugee Blacks

These were the first group of Blacks to arrive at a time when slavery was "supposedly over." Yet the conditions and atrocities they suffered were worse than others. As with the Revolutionary War, Blacks were encouraged to fight on the side of the British in the War of 1812. Freedom would be the reward! With such an opportunity many hastened north of the border. This is borne out by the fact that about 2,000 Blacks were in Nova Scotia between 1813 and 1816 (Fergerson, 1948). The largest number to arrive in Halifax in any single year during this period was in 1815, when 900 landed on the shores of this gateway to the north. Not all Blacks came willingly, however. One means used to hamper the enemy was to deprive them of their

slaves. Consequently, it was not an infrequent act of the British to carry slaves away from the United States by force.

The Blacks were scattered throughout the province, and some crossed the border. In 1815, between four and five hundred Blacks were sent from Nova Scotia to New Brunswick. These Blacks encountered conditions similar to those of their earlier brothers. The province did not always make preparations to live up to their promises. Fergusson (1948) points out that many of the first refugees to arrive from Virginia, in the summer of 1814 were in a distressful condition by October 1, 1814.

> Their situation was such that on that date the commissioners of the Poor at Halifax notified the Lieutenant-Governor that they were in a deplorable state of distress and unable to gain their subsistence! (p. 21).

To make things worse, smallpox broke out primarily among Blacks in that same month. They were living in cramped living conditions and barely surviving.

Again they settled in enclaves of Blacks, segregated from the other inhabitants. According to a census taken December 30, 1816 they numbered 1,619. Preston had the largest amount with 924, another 504 were settled in Hammonds Plains, 70 at Refugee Hill, and 115 resided in Halifax.

The province did attempt to aid them; however, they were gradually seen as a burden. Prejudice was evidenced as stated in an address to the Assembly:

> . . . they were unwilling by any aid of theirs 'to encourage the bringing of settlers to this province whose character, principles and habits (were) not previously ascertained. . . . (and suggested) that the proportion of Africans already in this country is productive of many inconveniences; and that the introduction of more must tend to the discouragement of white labourers and servants, as well as to the establishment of a separate and marked class of people, unfitted by nature to this climate, or to an association with the rest of his majesty's colonists (Fergusson, 1948, p. 21).

Such feelings and attitudes prevailed. In fact, with the war over, many concluded there was no reason for the continued influx, since these Blacks had served their purpose, and it was questionable if they could still be used (Fergusson, 1948).

One might suppose that perhaps these Blacks were lucky, because the coal mines opened around this time and some jobs became available. In spite of this, they posed a major problem to the white Nova Scotians. As a final attempt they considered importing them to Africa, Tobago, and to Trinidad where they had been invited by Governor, Sir Ralph Woodford. In fact, on January 6, 1821 ninety-five Blacks sailed from Halifax to Trinidad. It was the hope of many white provincials that the others would follow. Several offers followed at varying times, but the overall exportation plan was to no avail. As late as 1839 representatives were still coming in Nova Scotia to persuade Blacks to come. It is strongly suggested that part of their refusal was "fear of returning to slavery."

The refugees were thought of as the "worst of the lot" of Blacks that had thus far arrived in Nova Scotia. Winks (1971) attributes this to several factors. They were not trained and skilled as those who had accompanied the Loyalists. They were considered unable to help themselves, "so recently escaped from slavery, they at first assumed that freedom involved no responsibilities (p. 126)."

Prejudice, discrimination, and their overall treatment in some areas was of a nature not experienced by earlier Blacks (or at least not documented). Let us look at some of the many examples of the degradation perpetrated on these Blacks.

> One of the Refugees' white school teacher James Fortune, took a Negro mistress; another, together with her daughters, had Negro children deliver notes inviting army officers to sleep with them when school was out. As late as 1826 a Black woman was publicly whipped in Shelburne (Winks, 1971, p. 126).

Educationally, they didn't fare well. The government would appoint a schoolmaster once a schoolhouse was built and the local people had raised of £50. The refugee settlements could not meet these requirements.

Fugitive Slaves

This group primarily arrived between 1815 and 1861. They generally settled near the border in Upper Canada (Ontario). Very few went to Nova Scotia initially, but some did eventually migrate that far.

Black Nova Scotians Today

It appears as though today there is little overt
distinction made among Black Nova Scotians as to their
Ancestral Heritage. Certainly, to be Black elicits fairly
typical responses from White citizens. As a result Black
Nova Scotians have begun to "unite with self" and begun a
more concerted effort to overtly aggress against the
oppressive and racist conditions they have experienced.
As stated by a Black student at Dalhousie, "we too, had
a small scale rebellion here in Halifax." Organizations
such as B.U.F. (Blacks United Front) are operative; B.U.M.M.
(Blacks United for More Money), and a T.Y.P. (Transitional
Year Program) have been established for the purpose of
increasing the number of Blacks and Indians in the Uni-
versities. One of the major activities the T.Y.P. students
engaged in was a Black History project, under the direction
of B. "Rocky" Jones (Referred to as the Stokely Carmichael
of Canada in a Toronto Newspaper). A whole section of this
paper could be devoted to describing the project in terms
of the energy, committment, scholarship, and closure.
However, I will only allude to it in terms of illustrating
a change in unity and self-actualizing that the youths are
developing. The project was called Black H.E.R.O. (Histori-
cal, Educational, and Research Organization). About 30
youth worked all during the summer (May-September) with
cassettes going to every province in Nova Scotia with a

population of Blacks. Only Blacks who were 65 or over were interviewed. Oral history of their settlement, forefathers, and experiences in Nova Scotia were taped and transcribed. When their work is completed, a more authentic picture of Blacks in Nova Scotia will emerge that is far superior to documents that have thus far been produced. (I sat in classes with these same students earlier in the Spring while they critically and analyzed Clairmont and Magill's book on Nova Scotia Blacks.)

I relate this particular experience for many reasons. First, this group epitomizes the Black conscious-ness and self-actualizing persons developing. I see much of this as being related to their coming together (from all different Black communities in Nova Scotia) in this program, being educated in the traditional curriculum required of them to get through the Universities and at the same time redefining the educational process by adding new dimensions to it through self exploration. They negate the conclusions drawn by Winks as to lack of unity and possibilities of national leadership emerging among Black Canadians.

These same qualities were present among many of my students who participated in this study. However, they differred in not always having an outlet such as provided by T.Y.P.

A quote from one of the Baptist magazines reflects this:

> A new spirit of self-respect and self dignity has emerged among Blacks in the Province of Nova Scotia. . . . Blacks in Nova Scotia are thinking in terms of such words as and phrases as 'Black'; 'Solidarity'; 'Common Interest'; 'Casting off Inferiority Complexes', and most of all Black Power.
>
> Questions being asked include,
> (1) Why have I loved to be called 'coloured' rather than 'Black'? Is it because 'coloured' makes me feel a little closer to White.
> (2) Why is one of the highest standards in our lives to be 'accepted' tolerated by the White man when most of us do not have respect or toleration for our own Black brothers and Sisters? (Oliver, D., 1969, P.A.N.S. #51).

Recent newspaper clippings, articles in McLean's and the Canadian issue of Times also point to the emergence of this consciousness. However, an in-depth analysis of these Blacks is seriously lacking. This is partically due to lack of opportunities for Blacks to seriously engage in such research. The Nova Scotia Association For Advancement of Coloured People is moving in new directions and expanding the role they have played cumulatively in seeking redress for Blacks.

The limitations of the printed word confront me now. For the kind of things B. "Rocky" Jones has done and is doing is most clearly reflected in a lengthy tape which was used in the experimental manipulation. Taking excerpts out of context cannot do the justice deserved. But as brought out in an article written last August, he

represents the crop of leaders that have been working for years and we sometimes don't hear him. His word is hardly ever published; rather, some reporter reinterprets it as he wishes and presents it to the press.

Equally difficult to capture in words is the progress going on in the Preston area. How can one reflect the pride in such self-development projects as building a new group of co-op homes, using skills that have been forced to lie dormant; or the organizational efforts of many of the beautiful high school students who for the first time in history were able to get public transportation out to Preston (so there is no more walking to Dartmouth for those without cars); or the efforts of a Gene Williams working with the people through Social Welfare to clear land deeds which were never legally recovered in the rural areas. A poem given to me by one of my students is inclosed in the Appendix F. It says a lot for consciousness, love, and actualization. Thus, in spite of the past conditions, and time lags acknowledged, Blacks in Nova Scotia are "not waiting for salvation, to be delivered" as described to me by a white sociologist on my first trip to Nova Scotia in 1968.

There are other factors, however, which still might account for differences between our two cultures. The Educational Institutions are still lagging. Religious and Political organizations are also aspects which need

exploring in the Black Communities. Economic standards certainly differ. As late as 1965, the Guysborough Blacks per Capita income was $325. Table 2.2 (from Clairmont and Magill, p. 54) illustrates this and at the same time is suggestive of the kind of roles most Blacks must be placed in to have incomes at such low levels.

Summary

It appears as though the basis for Blacks settling in Michigan and Nova Scotia are not the same. Blacks coming to Michigan generally were given an opportunity to develop themselves, and aided by liberal whites who were against slavery and possibly in favor of the self-determining man evolving. With the exceptions of a few, Nova Scotians generally encouraged Blacks to come to that province in order that whites might benefit from their service in some way. Under the guise of bringing them to freedom, they actually offered a neo-slavery.

Another distinction between the two places revolves around the question of slavery. According to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 (in U.S.A.) slavery was legally outlawed; however, this document was not totally adhered to. Thus, some slaves existed before Michigan became a state in 1837. A census subsequent to 1836 shows that all slaves were dead or manumitted in Michigan by that time (Hartgrove, 1916). On the other hand slavery was legal in Nova Scotia up until 1833, and had existed there almost from the establishment of the province.

TABLE 2.2.--Approximate Distribution of Annual Income Among Male and Female Halifax
Mid-City Blacks the Urban Fringe Community, and Three
Rural Non-Farm Communities.*

Income	Halifax Mid-City			Urban Fringe			Rural Non-Farm		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Under $1,000	19%	58%	32%	6%	33%	9%	76%	86%	79%
$1,000-$1,999	29	33	31	3	0	3	17	7	15
$2,000-$2,999	37	8	27	40	67	43	4	0	4
$3,000-$3,999	13	1	9	37	0	33	2	7	1
$4,000 +	2	0	1	14	0	12	1	0	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Responding	(226)	(118)		(30)	(3)		(92)	(14)	
No Response	(60)	(213)		(18)	(12)		(0)	(0)	

*Clairmont and Magill, 1971.

The question to be pondered is whether the existence
of slavery as a legal institution contributes to a psychic
development different from a psychic development which
emerges in an area where slavery has existed--though not
legally? This should be critically explored. It is
analagous to a contemporary philosophic debate as to
whether "de jure" segregation has a different impact than
"de facto" segregation?

From this brief review, it thus appears that Blacks
in Michigan had a base for a more autonomous self emerging,
whereas Blacks in Nova Scotia were put in situations that
were not as conducive to this development. Nevertheless,
Blacks in Nova Scotia have survived hardships generally
not experienced by most Blacks in Michigan. This can be
witnessed even today in comparing rural Black communities
in the two places. How might these two different experi-
ences contribute to varying cultures and perhaps be mani-
fested in different aspects of Black consciousness being
valued on different need levels being most prepotent in
Nova Scotia when compared with Michigan?

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The research reported here was carried out in two countries, the United States of America and Canada. Samples populations came from Detroit, Michigan and Halifax-County, Nova Scotia.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out with a group of Black high school seniors at Sexton High School in Lansing, Michigan. This group was of particular interest to the present study inasmuch as three weeks prior to the Pilot Study, Black students had closed the school down, protesting the wanton disregard for Black Students' needs in the education programs. A list of these demands appears in Appendix .

Three instruments were used in the Pilot Study:

1. A 50 stem sentence completion test;

2. Black Consciousness Survey (original one developed by Banks, 1970); and,

3. A questionnaire developed by the present researcher to elicit demographic, background, and socialization data.

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Subjects and Procedures

The 60 subjects were tested in two groups, with one half of the subjects tested in the morning, and the second half tested in the afternoon. The three instruments described above were administered in the following order: (1) Sentence Completion, (2) Demographic Questionnaire, and (3) Black Consciousness Survey. It was the initial intent to reverse the first two orders, but this seemed unadvisable because of submitting the permeating atmosphere of suspicion. Two students refused to participate because they felt I might be "a tool of the administration collecting data to be used against students." I was questioned as to who I was and what my purpose was. I report my response because the atmosphere immediately changed to one of solidarity warmth, and cooperation. I defined myself as "A sister who has your interest in mind and at heart. My purpose is long-range, because you are the first group who will give me some clues about education. I cannot tell you too much, for it might influence your responses. Then, it would be 'no good.' After you have finished I'll explain in detail. As you'll notice on the second inventory, I do not want your name or to be able to identify you." The statement on the front of the demographic questionnaire was then read. Additional introductory remarks were given explaining the order of testing. Subjects were then told that the researcher would like to begin. A couple students

were asked to pass out the Sentence Completions in any
order they chose. Tests had been pre-numbered. For the
first measure, Sentence Completion, subjects were told to
respond with the first thought coming to mind, as there
were no right or wrong answers. I reiterated the need
for completing all instruments. Subjects were asked to
raise their hand upon completion of one instrument and
were then given the next by the researcher or the Black
school coordinator helper.

Judges

The instruments were scored independently by the
researcher, one judge and an undergraduate student. The
Judge was a fellow psychologist whom the researcher had
been meeting with to discuss operational definitions for
scoring Maslow's theory of needs. An undergraduate
student was provided with a key to score the Black
Consciousness Survey. Analysis on socialization,
demographic, and background information was done by
researcher. Correlation between the researcher's scores
and the judge's on the sentence completion were .92. After
discussing differences correlations increased to .97.

Instrument Revision

The researcher along with thesis advisor Jeanne
Gullahorn revised the demographic questionnaire to
facilitate better coding and added items to the Black

Consciousness scale to give more balance and better represent the two cultures. Stems for the Sentence Completion were suggested by Joel Aronoff and some of these were added to the original stems. A behavioral measure was suggested by another committee member, George Fairweather, to ascertain the relationship between valuing Black Consciousness and actually engaging in activities which reflect the value.

To further test the effectiveness of experimental manipulations, the students were given a project to engage in during the four weeks between post-test one and post-test two.

The instruments used appear in Appendices A, B, C, D, and E along with scoring instructions.

The Present Investigation

The Canadian Study

Initial contact regarding research in Nova Scotia was made in the fall of 1970. One of the active Black figures in Halifax, whom the researcher had established contact with in 1968, was approached for references to proper school personnel. A letter was written explaining the nature of the research and requested permission to conduct research in Halifax County at the high school containing largest Black population. The school official was quite receptive, and passed the letter on to the

principal of the high school to be used. A second letter requested information on the exact number of Black students in the 12th grade, with names so that they could be randomly assigned to a group. A response indicated there were only six or eight Black students in the last year. I was faced with my first example of cultural differences. Canada is on a different school system. Students actually go to school 13 years if they are in the college preparatory curriculum. As most Blacks are not, their last year of school is the eleventh grade. Thus my sample population become students in their last two years of school. (See Table 3.1 as explanation of 12th grade Black population.)

Subjects

The subjects were 40 Black students in their last two years of school at Graham Creighton High School in Halifax County, Halifax Nova Scotia. Most of the students lived in Preston or the Preston area (including Cherry Brooks and Lake Loon). Only three students lived in integrated areas because their fathers were in the armed forces. Two of these subjects dropped out. Subjects were randomly selected from a list of students' names.

Experimenters

There was a female and male experimenter used with all groups. Instructions as to procedure was discussed before hand.

Instruments

1. A 60 item <u>Sentence Completion Inventory</u> (See Appendix B-1) was developed to elicit responses concerning psychological needs of the individual. The test is a slightly modified version, using some stems from two previous sentence completion tests developed by Joel Aronoff, as well as additional stems developed by present researcher. For the present study the researcher is particularly interested in the safety, love and belongingness, self-esteem, and self-actualization needs. Each stem was scored on the criteria established for each of the four levels of needs--safety, love and belongingness, self-esteem, and self-actualization. As there were a possibility of 60 responses, an average score for each need level was 15 (60 ÷ 4); thus scores ranging from 10-19 were designed as average; below 10, scores were considered low, and above 20, they were considered high. Scoring criteria appears in Appendix B-3.

2. The second instrument is a <u>Black Consciousness Survey</u> (see Appendix A), developed recently by an intern at the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, and used with students from a senior high school and junior college in the San Francisco Bay area (Banks, 1970). A content analysis of the survey by the present researcher revealed an overwhelmingly emphasis of items clustering around political and system blame values;

therefore additional items to tap aspects of cultural awareness values (e.g., racial awareness, unity, pride, assertiveness) were added for balance. The original survey consisted of two forms with 40 items in each, with both being administered simultaneously. Subjects respond to each item on a four-point Likert scale-- ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. With the addition of new items, each form had 48 items. Since the scale would be administered to subjects outside the United States, a few of the new items reflected culture specificity to the Canadian sample. The emphasis in Banks' survey is consistent with his adaptation of Nathan Hare's definition of Black Consciousness as:

> The state of being conscious of one's Blackness vis-a-vis White Racism. Awareness of, or aware to, membership in the Black Race and it's struggle, including the state of being void of dreams of one day waking up white. The state of being 'together' on matters concerning the Black man (Banks, 1970. p. 44).

This scale was scored in the conventional summated manner for Likert scales, with a possible range of scores on both forms extending from 48 to 192. To attach some value to this range, scores were designated as reflecting high, medium, or low valuing of Black consciousness as follows: High = 144-192; Med = 143-97; Low = 96 and below.

3. Demographic, Background, and Socialization Questionnaire (see Appendix). This is a 38 item question-

naire developed by the researcher. Format of items vary
from forced choice, Likert, diagrams, and open-end questions.
In addition to demographic information such as age, sex,
place of birth, etc., questions probe the influence of
socializing agents such as family, school, peers and
church in the subjects' lives. Other questions ask about
the subjects activities in relation to Black consciousness
and their propensity toward self actualization.

4. A ten item <u>Behavioral Activity Measure Scale</u> of
Black Consciousness was given to subjects (see Appendix D).
One point was given for each yes response, allowing a maximum
of 10 points, with 7-10 points considered high; 4-6 con-
sidered medium; and 0-3 considered low.

5. Subjects were given a project to complete between
Post-test 2 and Post-test 3 (see Appendix E).

<u>Materials and Apparatus</u>

1. For the treatment aspect of the experiment, a
tape recorder was used in the experimental manipulation
sessions. Taped speeches by famous black leaders and
presentations on Black cultural history were played to provide
the students with meaningful and positive education about
themselves. These were accompanied by lecture and dis-
cussion. Some tapes were from figures such as Malcolm X,
Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, "Rocky" Jones,
I. Henry.

TABLE 3.1.--Last School Grade Achieved by Male and Female Halifax Mid-City Blacks, The Urban Fringe Community, and Three Rural Non-Farm Communities.[*]

Grade	Halifax Mid-City			Urban Fringe			Rural Non-Farm		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1-3	10%	5%	7%	15%	12%	14%	30%	15%	23%
4-6	28	26	27	32	27	29	56	44	52
7-9	44	50	48	38	51	45	13	34	22
10-12	16	18	17	15	10	12	1	7	3
over Grade 12	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%
Total Responding	(234)	(294)		(58)	(63)		(117)	(92)	

[*]Clairmont and Magill, 1971.

2. Also for the treatment condition, reprints of articles and speeches of famous black figures were presented to the students for reading and discussion.

3. The instructions to the treatment group included a recording of "Stand" by Sly & Family Stones, used as a basis for discussion in reeducation.

Facilities

A large class room with tape recorder, blackboard, and maps was provided each day for the treatment. Students who were to participate were told the day before to come to the room designated. Their names were also called over the intercom to report to the designated class after home- room. Any absentees were then reported. There was never more than one student absent during the three day treatment.

Sample

The subjects included both male and female seniors in high school who were randomly selected from students in the last two years of high school. To fit Solomon's 4 Group Design, students were randomly assigned from this pool of subjects to one of the four groups. Each group had an equal number of subjects (10).

Procedures

The experiment provided for before and after repeated measures of needs, Black consciousness, social- ization data and behavioral activities. Half of the

subjects (assigned to two different groups, i.e. experi-
mental and control) were administered all the instruments
on the first day.

Experimental Manipulation

On the second, third, and fourth days, experimental
treatment was given to the two experimental groups (one
group which had been pre-tested and the other group which
had not received a pre-test). Each day from 2-3 hours
the students listened to tapes of famous black leaders who
provided them with correct, positive information about
themselves, as well cultural heritage information. They
also read and discussed various articles aimed at developing
self-actualizing tendencies and positively valuing black
consciousness.

Post-Tests

Number 1.--Immediately following experimental treat-
ment (the 5th day) all 4 groups, i.e. experimental and
control, were administered the sentence completion inventory,
black conscious survey, and socialization questionnaire of
behavioral measure.

Number 2.--Four weeks later the entire group was
retested on the instruments used in post-test number one.
In addition they were given a behavioral activity measured
project which they were asked to participate in during the
past month (see Appendix). On the socialization questionnaire
only starred items were to be responded to (see Appendix).

The design thus may be summarized as follows:

$$\text{Design} \begin{cases} R & O_1 & X & O_2 & O_7 \\ R & O_3 & & O_4 & O_8 \\ R & & X & O_5 & O_9 \\ R & & & O_6 & O_{10} \end{cases}$$

According to the hypotheses the following should be noted on the immediate post-tests:

(a) O_2 vs O_1 [O_2 will be >

(b) O_2 vs O_4 [O_4 should be >

(c) O_5 vs O_6 [O_5 should be >

(d) O_3 vs O_5 [O_3 should be <

Comparing O_2 with O_5 assesses pretreatment effects and differences between O_3 and O_6 provide a measure of the impact of possible intervening events in the time interval. The second post-tests provides opportunities to assess whether an immediate effect occurred and either dissipated over the four week period or remained stable; or, alternatively, whether an immediate effect did not occur but then appeared after the four week time lag.

The conditions can be tested in the following manner:

(a) O_2 vs O_7 [$O_2 > O_7$]

O_5 vs O_9 [$O_5 > O_9$]

The Michigan Study

Subjects

The subjects were 40 Black students randomly selected from students in their last two years of high school in Detroit, Michigan. At the request of personnel granting permission to conduct study the school will remain anonymous. Initially, personnel from four different high schools in Detroit had granted permission and welcomed such a study. A new rule was passed and all research had to go through a connected bureaucratic network. I proceeded along this line. After three weeks I received a letter stating that I could not be allowed to conduct the research. In direct interviews with these sources I was told that "Detroit did not want to emphasize racial distinctions and research such as mine tended to divide groups." I might add that each of these administrators up the line was white. I was finally granted permission (by an administrator) through the non-bureaucratic route. I could not get permission however for the time needed to conduct experimental manipulation. Thus, the information available from the Detroit Group is limited to questionnaire data.

Experimenters

There were two females used with this group.

Instruments

The same instruments (1, 2, & 3) from the Canadian study were used with subjects. Instrument 4 was not given because there was no experimental manipulation.

Procedure

The students were tested in 4 small groups over a period of two days to minimize interference with class scheduling.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Black Consciousness and Psychological
Need Levels

It was postulated in this study that the valuing

of Black Consciousness and needs of Black adolescents

would follow a different patterning in Canada opposed to

the United States. Specifically, it was hypothesized that

Black adolescents in Michigan would demonstrate a stronger

degree of Black consciousness and an accompanying pre-

potency for self-actualization in contrast to Black

adolescents in Nova Scotia. Conversely, Black adolescents

from Nova Scotia were expected to demonstrate stronger

prepotency needs for love and belongingness as well as

self-esteem.

With reference to the predicted differences in

Black Consciousness, Table 4.0 reveals that the Michigan

group did, in fact, score significantly higher on this

scale than did the students in Nova Scotia.

Table 4.1 summarizes the mean scores for each of

the needs along with their rank ordering for each group.

For both groups the lowest means are for the safety needs,

followed by needs for love and belongingness. As predicted,

TABLE 4.0.--Black Consciousness in Michigan and Nova Scotia
Groups.

	X	t*	df	P
Michigan	149.95			<.001
Nova Scotia	133.33	4.15	68	

*t-test for independent scores.

TABLE 4.1.--Comparison of Mean Scores and Rank of Psychologi-
cal Needs of Safety Love and Belongingness, Self
Esteem and Self-Actualization for Both Groups.

	Michigan		Nova Scotia	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Safety	5.4	4	4.7	4
Love and Belongingness	8.2	3	10.9	3
Self-Esteem	20.77	2	21.6	1
Self-Actualization	21.3	1	16.9	2

however, the groups differ in the prepotency of self-actualization need versus the self-esteem needs. According to t-tests for independent measures, the Michigan sample's self-actualization mean scores are significicnatly higher than are those of the Nova Scotia groups (see Table 4.2). While the Nova Scotia students scored higher than the Michigan adolescents on self-esteem, the difference is not significant (see Table 4.3). The predicted group differences on love and belongingness needs are significant, however, with the Nova Scotians scoring higher than the Detroiters (Table 4.4). Thus, the data uphold the first hypothesis, with only the finding regarding self-esteem differences non-significant, but nevertheless in the predicted direction.

Additional data relevant to hypothesized group differences in Black Consciousness are provided by the socialization questionnaire. Students were asked how many Black poets had they been exposed to in school. There were five response categories--(a) none, (b) 1 or 2, (c) 3 or 4, (d) 5 or 6, (e) over six. For the Nova Scotian group the highest percentage (57.5) of responses were "none," and the next highest was "one or two" (22.5). In contrast, the highest percentage or responses for the Michigan group was "over six" (32.5), and the next highest was "three or four" (30). For a comparison of all categories see Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.2.--Self-Actualization in Michigan and Nova Scotia Groups.

	X	t*	df	P
Michigan	23.2	2.02	68	.05
Nova Scotia	16.9			

*t-test for independent measures.

TABLE 4.3.--Self-Esteem in Michigan and Nova Scotia Groups.

	X	t*	df	P
Michigan	20.70	.32	68	N.S.
Nova Scotia	21.63			

*t-test for independent measures.

TABLE 4.4.--Love and Belongingness in Michigan and Nova Scotia Groups.

	X	t*	df	P
Michigan	7.3	2.08		
Nova Scotia	10.9		68	<.05

*t-test for independent measures.

An earlier discussion alluded to the importance of models in developing a sense of self. On this aspect, the Michigan group differs considerable from the Nova Scotian group. The faculty and administration at the Nova Scotian school is about 98% white with no Blacks, and only 2% Third World group members (primarily East Indians). In contrast, the Michigan subjects attend a school with Black faculty and administrators comprising about 80% of the total force, with the other 20% made up of whites and other racial groups. When asked, "Do you learn enough history about yourself?" a strong consensus among the Nova Scotian group was "no" (100%), whereas the Michigan group had a majority responding "yes" (65%). In agreement, however, both groups stated that the group they learned most about in history was "white people" (100%).

How do these educational factors interact with other cultural aspects contributing to consciousness of being Black? Who are the leaders seen as most significant in their lives? The Michigan subjects find 75% of their significant figures among such Black leaders as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., Angela Davis, and Stokely Carmichael. Similar responses but with a lower percentage (57.5) were elicited from the Nova Scotian group, with the addition of "Rocky" Jones' name. In both groups some students also mentioned famous white leaders. In Michigan the Kennedys (John or Robert) were the most frequently

added (20%); while for the Nova Scotians, in addition to the Kennedys, Premier Trudeau was added (42.5%). The Michigan group also referred to some Third World figures (5%).

When given a choice of places to go for social activities involving music and dancing, subjects from Michigan evinced a slightly greater preference than did the Nova Scotians for Black cultural activities. For example, almost half of the Michigan students and two-fifths of the Nova Scotians preferred a place with Africa music and dancing.

In still another questionnaire item subjects were presented with an unstructured hypothetical situation, where they could place themselves next to others they would most desire interaction with. For the Michigan group, 65% of subjects places themselves near teenagers of the Black race and 30% near teenagers of both races. The Nova Scotian preference was a situation with both races (62.5%), secondly, a situation with Black teenagers (32.5) and last one with all white teenagers (5%).

These data regarding the students' environments, educational exposure, and reference groups provide further background for understanding the observed differences in Black Consciousness in the Michigan and Nova Scotian samples.

A summary of these data appearing in Table 4.5 and Figure 4.1 provides a clear graphic illustration of the interaction of parents, school, and friends with self attitudes, and attitudes about the civil rights movement. On questions about political orientation most Nova Scotians consider themselves liberal (45%), their parents liberal (35% & 41.6%), and their friends militant (35.8%). Contrasting to this picture is the Michigan groups' responses. Most consider themselves militant (42.5%), their parents liberal (35.1%-38.2%), and their friends militant (33.3%). More striking is the difference between the two groups on the radical dimension. In terms of parents and schools acting as socializing agents who can either reward or punish participation in the civil rights movement. an interesting picture emerges. Although, the students in Michigan perceive their parents' views as less militant than their own, nevertheless, more than half believe that their parents are more likely to approve rather than disapprove of their participation in Civil Rights Movements. The Nova Scotian group is more likely to have only one parent approve (68.5%), only 22.8% expect approval from both parents; and 8.5% expect disapproval from both. How are these patterns either supportive of or in conflict with school socializing agents attitudes? For Michigan students there is some congruence, with slightly over half claiming encouragement at school for participation in Civil Rights Movements and activities. The Nova Scotian students overwhelmingly respond in the

TABLE 4.5.--Cultural Aspects of Socialization.

Groups		3 Leaders (most import.)	3 Favor. Singers	Soc. Act. Pref.	Black[*] Poets In School				
					0	1-2	3-4	5-6	6+
Black	N.S.	57.5%	67.5%	40%	57.5%	22.5%	10%	5%	2.5%
	M.	75	90	47.5	10	15	30	5	32.5
White	N.S.			20					
	M.			12					
Black & White	N.S.	42.5	32.5	40					
	M.	20	5	40					
Third World African	N.S.								
	M.	5							

Groups		Self Placement	Learn Most History	Faculty and Adminis.	Learn Enough History about Self[*]	
					Yes	No
Black	N.S.	32.5%		0%		100%
	M.	65		80	65	35
White	N.S.	05	100	98		
	M.		100	20		
Black & White	N.S.	62.5				
	M.	30				
Third World African	N.S.			02		
	M.	5				

Explanatory Chart

for Figure 4.1

Scores of %'s are for Nova Scotia (N.S.) and Michigan (M)

Comparisons

1 - Self

2 - Mother

3 - Father

4 - Friend

1-5 Responses

1 = Conservative
2 = Moderate
3 = Liberal
4 = Militant
5 = Radical

5 - Parents' attitudes on
    Civil Rights Activities

1 = Both Approve
2 = 1 Parent Approves
3 = Both Disapprove

6 - School's attitudes on
    Civil Rights Activities

1 = Yes   Approves
2 = No   Disapproves

Nova Scotia   Michigan

FIGURE 4.1.--Socialization Variables on Civil Rights Involvement.
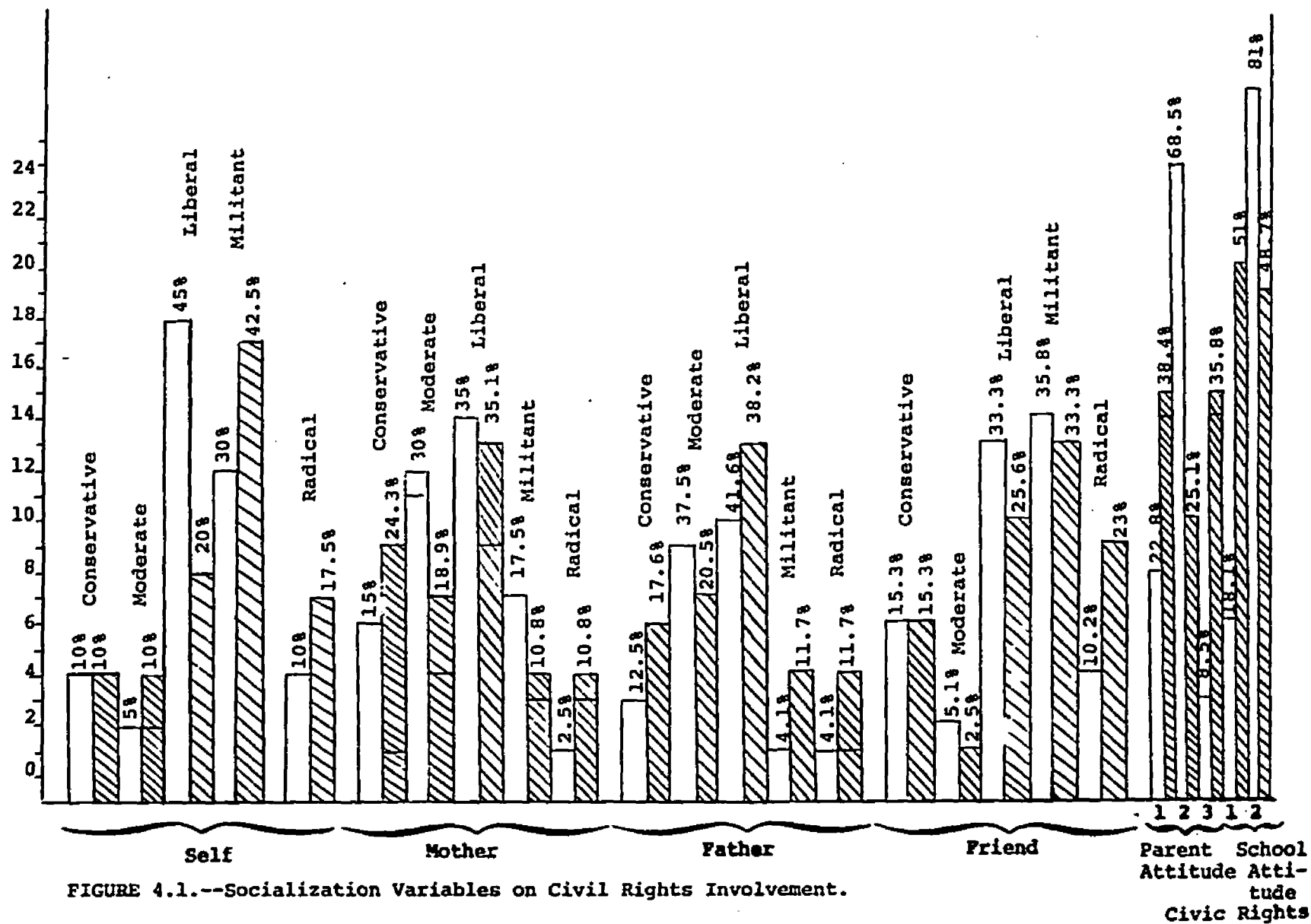
negative (81%)--that is, they are discouraged considerably more.

The results reported in Table 4.5 and Figure 4.1 are in the expected direction relative to the school's acting as a socializing agent either facilitating or inhibiting the valuing of Black consciousness. Students in the Michigan school are most likely to be facilitated; whereas, students in Nova Scotia are more likely to encounter barriers. As already noted, parents in Michigan seem to be more encouraging than those in Nova Scotia regarding participation in Civil Rights Movement.

In terms of other important influences it is interesting to note that there is a stronger tendency among Michigan students to embrace a Black reference group than among Nova Scotians. Perhaps this reflects "Separatism vs Integrationalist" propensities.

Manipulation of Black Consciousness and Need Levels

The second hypothesis investigated in this study predicted that Black consciousness and self-actualization needs would become more prepotent and subscribed to among adolescents who were provided with education about their cultural heritage and aimed at developing a positive valuing of Black consciousness.

As noted in the discussion of research methods this hypothesis could be tested only with the Nova Scotia sample,

and the results are summarized in Table 4.7. Tables 4.6 (ANOVA design) and Table 4.8 also shed light on these results.

As predicted subjects in the treatment condition scored significantly higher than control group subjects receiving no treatment ($F = 17.3342$, df = 1, $p < .01$). The second major effect involved the effects of testing over a period of time. The treatment was more successful with a time lag, thus scores were higher on the second post tests than on the first post test ($F = 283.4507$, df - 1, $p < .01$). A significant interaction occurred between the post-tests effects and treatment. Increase over delay was greatest for those who received treatment. We can note this by looking at mean differences in Table 4.6.

Those in the cell A_1 C_1 B_1 D_2 (see Tables 4.6 and 4.8) who were pre-tested and given experimental treatment had a greater increase in post test 2 mean scores when compared with mean scores of post test 1 ($\overline{X} = 149.8$ post test 1 to $\overline{X} = 158.7$ post test 2) than did those in Cell A_1 C_2 B_1 D_2 who were pre tested, but received no treatment ($\overline{X} = 136.7$ post test 1 to $\overline{X} = 140.7$ post test 2).

An interaction of moderate significance also occurred between tests scores on Black consciousness and self-actualization and treatment ($F = 2.98582$, df = 1, $p < .10$). Further indication of this effect appears in

TABLE 4.6.--ANOVA Table.

Var.	Total	N	$\overline{X}$	SS
A_1 C_1 B_1 D_1	1498	10	149.8	225,752
A_1 C_1 B_1 D_2	1587	10	158.7	253,305
A_1 C_1 B_2 D_1	286	10	28.6	8,474
A_1 C_1 B_2 D_2	354	10	35.4	12,904
A_1 C_2 B_1 D_1	1367	10	136.7	189,833
A_1 C_2 B_1 D_2	1407	10	140.7	201,195
A_1 C_2 B_2 D_1	188	10	18.8	4,484
A_1 C_2 B_2 D_2	207	10	20.7	5,545
A_2 C_1 B_1 D_1	1426	10	142.6	204,728
A_2 C_1 B_1 D_2	1535	10	153.5	237,263
A_2 C_1 B_2 D_1	256	10	25.6	7,460
A_1 C_1 B_2 D_2	322	10	32.2	11,242
A_2 C_2 B_1 D_1	1282	10	128.2	165,158
A_2 C_2 B_1 D_2	1341	10	134.1	180,747
A_2 C_2 B_2 D_1	147	10	14.7	2,445
A_2 C_2 B_2 D_2	175	10	17.5	3,463

A_1 - Pre-test B_1 - Black Consciousness Scores

A_2 - No Pre-test B_2 - Self-Actualization

C_1 - Treatment D_1 - Post-test 1

C_2 - No Treatment D_2 - Post-test 2

TABLE 4.7.--ANOVA Results.

Var.	SS	df	MS	F
<u>SS Between</u>	26,491.475	39		
SS_A	1,050.625	1		2.2033
SS_C	8,265.625	1		17.334**
SS_{AC}	9.025	1	476.838	
SS_S within grps.	17,166.200	36		
<u>SS within subjects</u>	568,938.500	120		
SS_B	565,012.900	1		12,323.0730
SS_{AB}	122.500	1		2.67175
SS_{BC}	136.900	1		2.98582***
SS_{ABC}	1.600	1		2.98582***
SS_B Subj. with grps.	1,650.600	36	45.850	
SS_D	1,428.025	1		283.4507**
SS_{AD}	13.225	1		2.62504
SS_{CD}	216.225	1		42.91881**
SS_{ACD}	0.625	1		
SS_D Subj. within grps.	181.400	36	5.038	
SS_{BD}	84.100	1		36.83749**
SS_{ABD}	6.400	1		2.80332
SS_{BCD}	0.900	1		
SS_{ABCD}	0.900	1		
SS_{BD} Subj. within grps.	82.200	36	2.283	
SS Subj. Total	595,429.975			

* = $p < .05$.   ** = $p < .01$. *** = $p < .10$.

Significant Effects:

A = Pre-No Pre-test--No Diff.
B = Conscious/Need--Cons. Scores Higher
C = Treatment-No Treat--Treat Grps. Higher
D = Immed./Delay--Delay Higher
CD= For Treat. Group--Increase over Delay Greater than for no Treat.
BD= On Conscious and on Need: Treat/No Treat--Treatment Much Higher

TABLE 4.8.--ANOVA Design.

				S_1	S_2	S_3	S_4	S_5	S_6	S_7	S_8	S_9	S_{10}	
A_1	C_1	B_1	D_1	165	163	148	162	174	144	139	138	138	137	1498
			D_2	176	170	156	171	193	155	150	143	150	143	1587
		B_2	D_1	33	40	27	30	31	27	24	23	31	20	286
			D_2	44	45	34	39	38	33	30	31	36	24	354
	C_2	B_1	D_1	182	147	147	132	127	126	131	121	126	128	1367
			D_2	188	152	150	134	131	130	136	122	131	133	1407
		B_2	D_1	45	24	22	16	10	18	15	10	13	15	188
			D_2	49	31	25	18	12	18	16	10	11	17	207
A_2	C_1	B_1	D_1	158	144	147	162	148	146	129	123	133	136	1426
			D_2	175	155	158	172	158	157	139	135	141	145	1535
		B_2	D_1	39	33	27	33	37	25	12	11	22	17	256
			D_2	44	40	34	41	40	33	18	16	32	24	322
	C_2	B_1	D_1	144	135	131	136	133	121	126	123	122	111	1282
			D_2	147	141	132	150	136	128	128	137	124	118	1341
		B_2	D_1	25	18	15	17	20	10	14	13	9	6	147
			D_2	28	23	15	25	21	11	14	19	10	9	175

comparison of scores on Black consciousness for both experimental and control groups at post-tests 1 and 2 (see Tables 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, and 4.12). Thus, as will be discussed in the next chapter, even those who did not receive treatment had score increases of appropriate significance.

Pre-tests along with treatment did not effect post-tests any more than pre-tests without treatment. The data thus confirm expectations about the effectiveness of the experimental treatment.

Relationship of Valuing Black Consciousness and Behavioral Activities

According to the third hypothesis, "the past, present, and/or future tendency to participate and/or subscribe to collective actions and activities with group members aimed at enhancing the potentialities of one's group and obviating the restrictions serving to derogate the group will be functionally related to the degree adolescents embrace the value of Black consciousness and demonstrate prepotency of the self-actualization need. It can be seen from looking at Table 4.13 that the correlation between valuing Black consciousness and engaging in behavioral activities reflect it is significantly high for both groups (Michigan-rxy = .59, p < .001; Nova Scotia--rxy = .62, p < .001). As noted before (Table 4.14) the valuing of Black consciousness for the two groups was significantly different. It now appears that the

TABLE 4.9.--Levels of Post-Test I Scores* on Black Consciousness Survey.

Levels of Consciousness	Experimental 1 (Pre-Tested)	Experimental 2 (No Pre-Test)	Control 1 (Pre-Tested)	Control 2 (No Pre-Test)
High (144 and above)	$\bar{X}$ = 158 N = 6	$\bar{X}$ = 151 N = 6	$\bar{X}$ = 159 N = 3	144 N = 1
Average (97-143)	$\bar{X}$ = 138 N = 4	$\bar{X}$ = 130 N = 4	$\bar{X}$ = 130 N = 7	126 N = 9

*Scores rounded to nearest whole.

TABLE 4.10.--Levels of Post-Tests 2 Scores on Black Consciousness Survey.

Levels of Consciousness	Experimental 1 (Pre-Tested)	Experimental 2 (No Pre-Test)	Control 1 (Pre-Tested)	Control 2 (No Pre-Test)
High (144 and above)	$\bar{X}$ = 160 N = 9	$\bar{X}$ = 160 N = 7	$\bar{X}$ = 163 N = 3	146 N = 3
Average (97-143)	$\bar{X}$ = 128 N = 1	$\bar{X}$ = 138 N = 3	$\bar{X}$ = 130 N = 7	$\bar{X}$ = 129 N = 7

TABLE 4.11.--Levels of Scores on Self-Actualization Measure Post-Test 1.

Levels of Self-Actualization	Experimental 1 (Pre-Tested)	Experimental 2 (No Pre-Test)	Control 1 (Pre-Tested)	Control 2 (No Pre-Test)
High (20 and above)	$\bar{X}$ = 28.6 N = 10	$\bar{X}$ = 30.8 N = 7	$\bar{X}$ = 30.1 N = 3	$\bar{X}$ = 22.5 N = 2
Average		$\bar{X}$ = 13 N = 3	$\bar{X}$ = 13.8 N = 7	$\bar{X}$ = 12.7 N = 8

TABLE 4.12.--Levels of Scores on Self-Actualization Measure Post-Test 2.

Levels of Self-Actualization	Experimental 1 (Pre-Tested)	Experimental 2 (No Pre-Test)	Control 1 (Pre-Tested)	Control 2 (No Pre-Test)
High	$\bar{X}$ = 35.4 N = 10	$\bar{X}$ = 36 N = 8	$\bar{X}$ = 35 N = 3	$\bar{X}$ = 22 N = 5
Average		$\bar{X}$ = 17 N = 2	$\bar{X}$ = 14.5 N = 7	$\bar{X}$ = 12.6 N = 5

TABLE 4.13.--Correlations Between Valuing Black Consciousness
and Engagement in Black Consciousness Activities
For Michigan and Nova Scotia Groups.*

	rXY	N	df	Significance
Michigan	.59	40	38	p < .001
Nova Scotia	.62	30	28	p < .001

*Pearson product movement correlation.

TABLE 4.14.--Black Consciousness Behavioral Activities in
Michigan and Nova Scotia Groups.

	X	t*	df	Significance
Michigan	6.5			
		3.086	68	p < .01
Nova Scotia	4.96			

*t-test for independent measures.

differences in behavioral activities are consistent with
this pattern. Table 4.1 reveals the mean differences
(Michigan $\overline{X}$ = 6.5; Nova Scotia, $\overline{X}$ = 4.96) on behavioral
activities are significantly different (t = 3.086, df = 68,
p < .01).

A point of interest for further exploration is the
fact that the correlation between Black consciousness and
behavioral activity is slightly higher in the Nova Scotia
group than in the Michigan group.

Additional Findings

In developing these hypotheses a number of postu-
lates were set forth regarding the psycho-historical
developments of these groups. Though not tested, they
bear importance to our results. For example, Winks (1969)
places heavy emphasis on the differences and importances
Blacks in Nova Scotia attach to their ancestral heritage
and ethnic groups. Results from the Demographic and
Socialization Questionnaire do not lend support to these
propositions. Thus, Table 4.15 on Ethnic and Racial Group
Identity and Heritage reveals that 92.5% of the Black sub-
jects from Nova Scotia referred to their grandparents as Black
or African; 80% referred to themselves as Black of African;
their friends were referred to as Black 85% of the time.
In respective order, the other times they referred

TABLE 4.15.—Ethnic and Racial Group Identity and Heritage.

Groups		Grandparents Ethnic Different		Ethnic or Racial I.D. of Self	Ethnic Group Like		Eth.-Rac. Gp. or Friends
		Yes	No		Most	Least	
African or Black	N.S.	92.5%	7.5%	80%	65%	5%	85%
	M.	87.5	12.5	45	37	2.5	93
White	N.S.					40	
	M.						
Black & White	N.S.						
	M.						
Third World	N.S.				5	7.5	
	M.				7.5		
Others B.S.U., Panthers, etc.	N.S.			10	17.5	7.5	10
	M.			15	30		2

to ethnic groups of either their family, friends or self as belonging in "other" categories (e.g., Black student Union, Panthers, etc.).

Black consciousness as described earlier in this paper is multi-dimensional in nature. Consequently, individual or group scores on the scale are possibly related to what aspects of Black consciousness are most salient in their repertoire. In keeping with the definition of Black consciousness used by the developer of the scale (defined in Chapter II) it was expected that those who were more consciously aware of system blame might score higher. To explore the scale's dimensions further two factor analyses were undertaken--one on the Nova Scotian data and Ø the other on the Michigan scores.

Results for the Nova Scotian group reveal five major factors: (1) Black pride and identity; (2) Militancy; (3) Sense of Community; (4) Discrimination vs Integration, and (5) Justice and Equality. For the Michigan group, the six major factors are: (1) Black pride and identity; (2) Political nationalism; (3) Pan-Africanism; (4) Cultural nationalism; (5) Self-determination, and (6) System Blame. The results are interesting but limited in application due to statistical problems. The number of subjects was smaller than the number of variables; however, major factors were isolated and are suggestive of dimensions of Black consciousness being tapped in our two sample populations.

The implications of these factors and further amplification on the same identifiable characteristics will be discussed in the next chapter, along with further interpretations of the results of the present investigation.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

> History was so written as to make all civilization
> the development of white people; economics was so
> taught as to make all wealth due mainly to the
> technical accomplishments of white folks supple-
> mented only by the brute tail of colored peoples;
> brain weights and intelligence tests were used and
> distorted to prove the superiority of white folk.
> The result was the complete domination of the world
> by Europe and North America and a culmination and
> tempo of civilization singularly satisfactory to the
> majority of the writers and thinkers at beginning
> of the Twentieth Century. (W. E. B. DuBois, 1946,
> p. 37).

Theoretical Analysis

In view of this extensive penetration of white

dominance in every aspect of our society some a priori

supremacist assumptions have affected beliefs, values,

attitudes and behavior regarding non-white people; they

also have influenced theoretical models which are supposed

to apply to all people--across races. And even worst than

these assumptions forming the basis and premises upon which

we educate, they have been used successfully in getting

most people in our society to identify with them and on

occasion internalize them.

In Kenneth and Mamie Clark's (1947) classic studies

on doll preferences, why did Black children choose a white

doll more frequently than a Black doll? This kind of behavior has been interpreted as Black self-hate.

If Black people have consistently demonstrated a hatred of self, we can use this as a pivotal point for acknowledging awareness of self; however, the awareness that emerges is debilitating to growth and development. A different awareness must be evoked--one that is positive and obviates conditions which perpetuate this stifling growth. Littleton and Burgers (1971) report how Garvey attempted to turn this tide. He emphasized the necessity of a Black consciousness. To some, his beliefs and values were visionary; yet, he persevered. One might say he (along with Blyden) provided a benchmark on which the Harlem Renaissance and current Black Power movement emerged. An unforgettable passage from "An Appeal to Conscience of the Black Race to See Itself" (Littleton and Burger) is revealing of both Garvey's philosophical and rhetorical approach:

> . . . the evil of internal division is wrecking an existence as a people, and if we do not seriously and quickly move in the direction of a readjustment it simply means that our doom is universally conclusive (p. 62).

To subvert this development Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association. His central theme was that to bring out the best, a race must make an effort itself. This entailed creating for self and proving to self the ability to survive. Freedom, liberation, and self-determination, and pride in self were prerequisites.

Continuing his discourse, Garvey outlines the ideology and
action necessary:

> When a man is a slave he has no liberty of action;
> no freedom of will, he is bound and controlled by
> the will and act of others; as of the individual,
> so of the race. To see your enemy and to know him
> is a part of a complete education of man; to
> spiritually regulate one's self in another form of
> the higher education that fits man for a nobler
> place in life, and still, to approach your brother
> by the feeling of your own humanity, is an edu-
> cation that softens the ills of the world and make
> us kind indeed (p. 67).

Throughout his book (The Philosophy and Opinions of
Marcus Garvey, 1967) he speaks of the substantive elements
of Black consciousness--self-reliance and respect, progress
and humanity, acknowledgement of slavery, improvement in
education, undoing prejudice, wariness about race assimi-
lation, and utilizing power. In this sense, perhaps, he
too was perceiving Black consciousness as a value.

Black consciousness as a value in the present
research becomes significantly linked to one's psychologi-
cal needs. In particular the relationship of Black
consciousness to self-actualization become salient.

Psychological Needs

This study focused on Abraham Maslow's (1954)
hierarchy of needs. We wanted to assess the fixation of
this hierarchy. According to theory, one must have
satisfied the lower needs before the higher needs become
prepotent. That is, physical and safety needs must be

satisfied before one becomes concerned with the needs for
love and belongingness, self-esteem, and self-actualization,
in respective order. For several reasons this theory
seemed incomplete. First, it is _questionable_ whether love
and belongingness is a lower need than self-esteem. It
appears to me that love and belongingness may be closer
to some aspects of self-actualization (e.g., not too indi-
vidualistic, acceptance of self and other, gemeinschaftsgefuhl--
deep feeling for human beings in general). This of course,
means that the concept of love and belongingness must be
expanded. Love is more than the one-to-one relationship
we so often think of in Westernized contexts. It encompasses
love for many people, for a group--love which is so deep
that it frequently may transcend the individual love rela-
tionship. This needs to be explored very critically. It
is in keeping with the African concept of brothers and
sisters--not the rhetoric but the believing and living one's
life based on these precepts and genuine feeling of kinship.

Secondly, if we were to accept Maslow's fixity of
need hierarchy, we certainly need to explore safety needs
as related to Black and other oppressed people. According
to theory, these needs are basic and are satisfied when
individuals live in a good society which ordinarily protects
its members from tyranny and criminal assault. These needs
are expected to be most salient, however, among economic
and social underdogs, who are powerless and exists with

unorganized, unmanageable, and unpredictables aspects as
constants in their world. Granted, to some extent this
may characterize the life of most people in our society.
It seems unnecessary to document here all the activities
of a Ku Klux Klan, racism in jobs, housing, education,
etc. that magnify the deprivations experienced by Black
people. Consequently, many Blacks might remain fixated
on this safety level. A moving experience in Frederick
Douglass' life sheds some light on the subject. Speaking
as a slave, he creates an image:

> In hottest summer and coldest winter I was kept
> almost in a state of nudity. . . . I slept generally
> in a little closet, without even a blanket to cover
> me. . . . My feet have been so cracked with the
> frost that the pen with which I am writing might
> be laid in the gashes. . . . (1968, pp. 14 & 15).

Yet his energies, thoughts, and needs were of a self-
esteem and self-actualizing nature. He taught himself to
write by tracing carpenters' chalk marks at his master's ship-
yard. He was busy reading essays on "Liberty" and preached
this theme to other slave teenagers. In spite of the bruta-
lity and possibility of death he fought the slavebreaker:
"After resisting him, I felt as I had never felt before.
It was a resurrection from the dark and pestiferous tomb
of slavery. . . . When a slave cannot be flogged, he is
more than half free (1968, p. 14)."

According to Maslow, this resistance to encultu-
ration, autonomy, and independence are characteristics of

those with dominant propensities for self-actualization.
Paradoxically, the conditions in which Douglass lived
were ones that would make physical and safety needs most
prepotent; thus, theoretically preventing his engaging
in the acts he performed. How do we explain this?
Perhaps it is not Maslow's total theory that is so much
at fault. For he talks about the degree of fixity of
these needs. He would explain such behavior in terms
of reversals and related to ideals, high values, and
martyrs. The point is, he does allow room for modification
of his theory. To often, this has been ignored and his
theory has been accepted and used in a rigidly literal
manner. It is important to bear this in mind, for the
results in the present study may be partially explained
in this light.

We might also look at differences among Blacks
in terms of the prerequisites established. That is, there
are certain prerequisites for the satisfaction of basic
needs which constantly operate to mitigate chances for
Blacks:

1. Freedom to speak

2. Freedom to express oneself

3. Freedom to investigate and seek information

4. Justice, fairness, honest and orderliness in
the group.

Before responding, I would beg one to give serious thought to those prerequisites and relate them to Blacks historical development. With these thoughts in mind we can move to the third major variable in the present study.

Socialization

Immediate questions which come to mind are, (1) Who are the agents of socialization, and (2) What are they socializing their "subjects" to become? Recall the head-note at the beginning of this section, and partial answers emerge. Let us go on to more specific questions. Why does the situation described by DuBois exist? How did Blacks come to be excluded in educational curricula? Why is it heretofore, that no concerted efforts have been made to trace their plight and develop theories which speak poignantly to the significance of these factors? Mannheim (1936) tells us that societies tend to inculcate those values which perpetuate their interests. Thus, the values which white society socializes its members to accept are in keeping with their interests. It is to their short-term (and shortsighted) interest to have a slave-master relationship, "have-nots and haves," oppressed and oppressor. To accomplish this, the slaves, have-nots, and oppressed must believe they have those statuses because they are inherently inferior. It is to be expected that they have low self-esteem, low self-worth, and no self-actualization.

There are many fallacies in such a line of thinking; however, of most importance in terms of scholarship and academic excellence is the failure of our social scientists to educate themselves about the lives of "non-white" people, and eradicate the ignorance they pass on to students through writings and theories based on erroneous assumptions. For all of their activities serve some aspect of the socializing function.

Mead (1963, p. 185) suggests that the development of a cross-culturally viable theory of socialization requires a meticulous examination of the details of enculturation. We have espoused enculturation, but ignored the process. We have assumed that where a group of people were not enculturated, some deficiency existed within them and have usually traced this to origins in their families (Moynihan, 1967).

In psychology too often we have ignored the reasons for socialization. For example, Clausen, et al. (1968) suggests there are four major themes in socialization:

1. Concern with modes of social control.

2. Significance of social interaction in the attainment of human nature with particular emphasis on development of social self and self-other patterns.

3. Influence of social structure and value orientations on child-rearing practices and emphasis.

4. The significance of social role, role recruitment, and role training for the understanding of behavior.

For our Black populations they are too often the victim of these socialization practices and are allowed to contribute very little to implementation for their advantage.

Of particular relevance to socialization as a factor in the present study is George Herbert Mead's pivotal focus--the rise of meaning and of selfhood in the process of social interaction.

An Explanation of the Present Findings

Black Consciousness

In terms of hypothesized relationships, the first finding to be examined is the significant difference between Blacks in Nova Scotia and Blacks in Michigan on Black consciousness (Table 4.0). To analyze the meaning of these results, we must first look at the instrument used to measure Black consciousness. This instrument was developed by a United States Black man, standardized on a United States Black population in San Francisco and Marin counties, California, and finally, the questions and statements comprising the scale were designed for Blacks in the United States. Even though the current researcher added some items that were related to Black Canadian's experiences they were few and did not make up for the other items which were quite culturally specific to Blacks in the United States. Thus, it is possible that the Blacks in Canada did not have enough items reflecting

their Black culture. Overall, the items of the survey place heavy emphasis on system blame and militancy as indicated in the factor-analysis. System-blame was not a major factor for our Nova Scotian population. The instrument also favors separation to integration. Taking the historical account of the Black Nova Scotian into perspective one might expect that integration is not viewed in the same context as it is for United States Blacks.

On another level we might want to consider findings in relation to other studies. For example, Marx (1967) in reporting self-image among conservatives, moderates, and militants found that militants had a more positive self-image. Figure 4.1 reveals that Michigan subjects are militant more often than Nova Scotians. Thus, if militancy is related to Black consciousness as suggested by Art Mathis (1971) the Michigan group is expected to score higher.

Of particular importance from another standpoint is the fact that the lower valuing of Black consciousness among Nova Scotians may also be related to differences between an urban population and a rural population. This should be viewed in terms of the differing aspects of Black consciousness. Those activities and dimensions of the value may differ in the two settings. For example, Blacks in the urban areas may have more direct contacts

with whites in day to day activities, such as going to
the stores several times in one day, going to nearby
university lectures and seminars which speak to the
political implications of the "system" on the Black man's
position. These particular kinds of interactions would
probably be lessened in more rural areas. This is not
to imply that Blacks in rural areas are less aware of
the white system impinging upon their freedom; rather,
it speaks to the intensity and an aspect of Black
consciousness which possibly occupies a lower priority
than does Black pride and militancy.

One final remark on the Black consciousness scores
seems appropriate. Compared with the United States group,
the Black students in Nova Scotia both articulate and
engage in religious activities to a disproportionately
higher degree. (The forthcoming Africville Report by
Institute of Public Affairs, Nova Scotia, gives countenance
to this). Religion plays much the role for the Nova Scotian
Black communities that it has in Black non-urban communities
in the southern part of the United States. Inherent in
this religious fervor are dictates such as "love all people,
make no differences because of race," "turn the other
cheek," and similar statements. Consequently, a response
which might be scored correct, if it emphasized beliefs
against religious principles the subjects in Nova Scotia
would tend to disagree. There are several other indications

and factors supporting this religious hypothesis. In scoring the sentence completions, it was noted the Blacks in Nova Scotia had considerable more completions with religious reference. While in Nova Scotia during August, 1971 I attended the annual meetings of the African Baptists Association in Preston. This was given extensive coverage in most newspapers throughout the province; people came from all over the province in spite of hard rains and a hurricane passing through. Many of the students who participated in the present study took an active part in the services and expressed deep religious conviction. An unpublished manuscript on Africville (a Black community located on the fringe of the city of Halifax until urban renewal abolished is several years ago) devotes a whole chapter on the significance of religion in lives of Blacks in Nova Scotia.

Historically, religion generally has been used in two ways--as an opiate and a controlling device. It can be used, however, as David Walker attempted in 1820, to encourage people to rise up and protest the conditions which are antithetical to the doctrines in the Bible. Unfortunately, religion appears to have had a more controlling function with our Black Nova Scotians.

Self-Actualization Needs

One identifiable characteristics of Black consciousness is the enhancing of self and self-love as a Black

person. In the broadest application of these beliefs, one begins to develop in a manner that puts him face to face with some of the characteristics of Maslow's self-actualized person. These include such attributes as follows:

1. Acceptance of self and others

2. Problem Centering (Less Ego Centered)

3. Autonomy: Independence of Culture and Environment

4. Gemeinschaftgefuhll (Deep feelings for Human Race)

5. Interpersonal Relations

6. Democratic Character Structure

7. Resistance to Enculturation

(The total list of characteristics assessed in the present research is presented in Appendix B-3). It is extremely important to analyze the needs for these kind of characteristics in Black lives. As alluded to earlier, Simpson attributed the high scoring on self-esteem and altruistic goals of Blacks as being partially accounted for by the students' involvement in Civil Rights Activities. Dr. Juanita Collier, a clinical psychologist with years of experience in the field and working with Black people, tells us that there is a "post-riot" structural personality emerging in Blacks. They have scored higher on tests measuring self-esteem and inner direction during the years following Watts, Detroit, Newark, etc.

As defined and conceptualized by Maslow, self-actualized persons were considered in reference to a white population. I cannot overstress the significance of this. Many of the characteristics he lists for self-actualized persons are ones which some must exert considerable energy and efforts to acquire. For they are against the white cultural norms; whereas, some to these same characteristics have been a necessary part of the Black experience. For both cultures, racism has been a salient factor.

Racism is irrational and frequently unconscious; thus, it is very difficult for individuals who have been affected with this disease to even remotely entertain the possibility that Blacks might have stronger prepensities for self-actualization than what has been shown on white populations. Yet, if we look at the strengths that Blacks have acquired in order to survive, at their abilities to love and relate with warmth and sincerity to those who have and continue to commit the most atrocious acts upon them, one must give cogent thought to the uniqueness of this kind of character growth. Explore for a moment the implications for whites to have a heightened need for a: (1) more efficient perception of reality, (2) acceptance (self, others, nature), (3) problem-centered (in broad sense of worldly human problems), (4) autonomy; independence of culture and environment; (5) gemeinschaftgefuhl (deep feelings for human race), (6) interpersonal relations-- extended, (7) democratic character structure, and

(8) resistance to enculturation. These characteristics could be more of a burden than a reward for those who enjoy all kinds of benefits from undemocratic behavior, for denial of reality--which allows them to "tar and feather" in a northern Michigan city today and rationalize such behavior on grounds of inferiority of people who are victims of such acts. What is the price they must pay when resisting this type of enculturation and striving to become autonomous of such a culture. We need not look far to get some answers. By no means are all white students protesting the War in Vietnam doing it in the process of becoming more humanist, problem-centered, etc. Yet we must acknowledge these activities and those individuals who are so terribly committed to self-actualized activities. This certainly must be done critically. Again, I emphasize-- every war protester, just as every Black power advocate is not a self-actualized developing person. To become self- actualized is to transcend strong self-esteem (from others) needs serving as motivating force.

Self-Esteem

Subjects from both populations scored high on self- esteem. Table 4.3 reveals that the differences between these groups were not significant. How might this be accounted for? Maslow breaks self-esteem needs into two sets. In the first set such characteristics as strength, achievement, adequacy, mastery and competence, confidence

in the face of the world, and independence and freedom
are most prepotent; in the second set, characteristics of
need for reputation or prestige, status, dominance,
recognition, attention, importance, and appreciation are
predominant. It becomes clear that the second set reflects
self-esteem more likely to come from others. Both groups
scored fairly close on this second aspect with the Nova
Scotians scoring slightly higher. The first set, on the other
hand, reflects more concern about personal growth and competency.
Maslow's characteristic of independence and freedom closely
approach a self-actualized propensity (see his footnote on
this in Appendix B-8 where the needs are explained in
detail).

It is hard to imagine people in general--but Blacks
in particular, being free from strong self-esteem needs.
Traditionally, any recognition and status Blacks have
received from others has been the only hope of feeling
good about self. Simpson offers a plausible explanation:
the high self-esteem from others in her Black population
is viewed as being inextricably related to the close-knit
group in their Black community which served to give these
youngsters esteem. In an all or predominantly white com-
munity this need might not be as prepotent for those with
high consciousness of self (Black). That is, the students
will have learned by then that self-esteem is generally
taken away from Blacks by whites. After all, the
whites are the ones who set the criteria for status,

dominance, importance, etc. In keeping with the philosophy and ideology of a racist society--to provide self-esteem for Blacks would be antithetical to the norms. This interpretation needs to be explored more systematically in various institutions and societal settings.

The Experimental Treatment

The results indicate that the experimental manipulation was successful in raising Black consciousness scores and propensities for self-actualization needs. It is not surprising and consistent with non-empirical findings of organizations in Black communities (e.g. T.W.O. in Chicago), work with Black communities in the southern United States, and school programs which have incorporated viable, well developed Black Studies.

A study reported by Smith (1967) provides some countenance for the present findings. Students in an honor's English class in a "disadvantaged" Chicago high school had eight speakers come in during the course of the year. These were outstanding Black men with varying experiences and backgrounds (e.g., civil rights activist, attorney, poetess, psychologist, doctoral student in divinity). These speakers gave twenty-minute talks and allowed for a twenty minute question and answer period. Results showed that these students self-concepts were strengthened, much self-rejection instilled by racism was replaced with high self-esteem, intellectual growth

occurred, and a new hope with higher aspirations emerged. In a follow-up one year later these students' educational achievement, including high school graduation and attendance in colleges, far surpassed the average for the school.

Too often these are the kinds of reports which do not reach journals reporting "prestigious disciplinary studies" (and can be attributed largely to racism). Thus, the social scientists who have potential to become scholars falter because they continue to analyze and assess Blacks behavior within theories developed on whites, and are not aware of research on Blacks which can increase their knowledge and growth.

The results of the study reported above and findings in the present study strongly indicate that Black students have an interest, need, and desire to know more about themselves. In fact, it is the belief of the present researcher that it was the quest for such knowledge among the control group subjects that caused their scores to increase over the three observations. Along with need for knowledge, when given an opportunity (such as the project between post-test 2 and post-test 3) they participated in behavioral activities which heightened their Black consciousness. This resulted in a certain amount of leakage and certainly deviated from strict tradition control groups design such as implemented in a laboratory setting. Such happenings are to be expected in field research, however. This

leakage actually has advantages however, in demonstrating the effects even indirectly awakening a need and changing values.

One of the major limitations of the present study is lack of comparative data of both groups across all three observations. Since the Michigan group was high in Black consciousness from the onset, we cannot generalize what happens to a group of individuals who are already high. If we look at individuals initially high on Black consciousness in our Nova Scotian group it appears as though they continually increase in this consciousness as they are provided with more information about self, but this needs further investigation.

Behavioral Activities and
Black Consciousness

A very high correlation was found between both groups' valuing Black consciousness and participating in Black consciousness raising activities. One interesting aspect of this particular finding was the significant difference between Nova Scotian and Michigan subjects on behavioral activities. The Michigan population scored much higher on behavioral activities, indicating a high level of involvement in activities related to Black consciousness. Yet, the correlation between valuing Black consciousness and engaging in behavioral activities was slightly higher for the Nova Scotian subjects. Although

this difference is not significant, it is interesting to explore it further for explanatory purposes. In terms of the close and rather cohesive communities in which the Black Nova Scotians live, it is possible that they may be limited in the number of activities they can engage in; however, when Black consciousness is highly valued subjects would engage in whatever behavioral Black consciousness activities were available. As a case in point, many of the Nova Scotian subjects responded no to the question, "Have you been to a meeting on Black consciousness in the last month?" In contrast, a considerable higher proportion of the Michigan group responded yes. This difference might be accounted for in terms of accessibility of public transportation. There is none going from the Preston areas into Halifax (where most such meetings would be held); therefore, many people are not able to go to activities they would be interested in attending. In Detroit, public transportation is available 12 or more hours in a day.

In terms of another questionnaire item we should note that students in Nova Scotia may be less likely to make a bulletin board on Blackness, if they are discouraged by the school. Several students reported that they had learned more about themselves and Black history in the three days of treatment than they had ever learned in the whole year in a Black history course (taught by a non-Black).

Certainly, we can't expect Black consciousness to be valued positively when students are being <u>taught that the Moors were a</u> "<u>bunch of barbarians and hoodlums running through Europe.</u>"

Socialization

The underlined portion of the statement above could be used to capsulize the kind of socialization process Blacks are exposed to in their schools--particularly when non-Blacks are doing the teaching and administrating. Results from the present research indicate that Blacks who are encouraged to engage in civil rights activities and are exposed to Black writings and history tend to have both a higher degree of Black consciousness and self-actualization. Further, there seems to be some consistency between how the school views socialization of norms and values that are antithetical and in conflict with broader society and parents' views on these factors. Thus, the job which is required entails massive educational overhauls and extensive counseling with parents.

The postulates set forth by Winks that Blacks in Nova Scotia tended to be divided by ethnic identity based on their ancestral heritage did not hold up when tested. Interestingly Jim Walker, a doctoral student (April, 1971) in history doing his dissertation on Black Loyalists also disagrees with Winks on this matter. He related to me a small-scale research project he and Rocky Jones carried out in 1970,

asking Blacks in Halifax what ethnic group they belonged
to. The results revealed that Blacks did not identify
themselves as Loyalists, Maroons, Refugees, or Slaves.
Instead they responded that they were Negroes or Blacks.
Similar findings appear in the present research. Table 4.15
reveals that the four groups Winks speaks of were never
mentioned as a response to any of the questions on ethnic
group.

It appears that Winks is interpreting Blacks'
identity as based on distinctions white groups made
regarding these men of dark hue entering their province
at various times. Rawlyk made similar interpretations
in his paper on the Guysborough Blacks. It is possible
that some older Blacks may have accepted these distinctions
and referred to themselves as belonging to a particular
ethnic group. The younger and contemporary generation,
however, definitely do not make such distinctions. These
results suggest that the lowered Black consciousness can-
not be attributed to contemporary ethnic diviseness. If,
however, this diviseness has been operant in the past, it
may still exist on a more latent or covert level for some.

Summary and Implications for Future Research

Summary

Contrary to the image that is most generally
presented, Black people are not one monolithic group that

can be rubicated in terms of low socio-economic models.
They are an extremely complex group of people due to their
unique experiences in the varying parts of the Black
Diaspora. They share certain commonalities (oppression,
exploitation, racism) but they demonstrate sufficient
differences.

In this study we have explored the similarities
and differences of Blacks from two areas of the Diaspora--
Nova Scotia, Canada and Michigan, U.S.A. The points of
focus were Black consciousness, psychological needs, and
socialization practices. It is impossible to understand
the patterns which emerge without a retreat into the past.
Such a historical analysis of these two cultures was an
integral part of the study.

The two populations shared several experiences in
common. Blacks went to both Nova Scotia and Michigan to
start new lives as free men and women. Upon their arrival
(1773-76) in Nova Scotia (that is, the first large group)
these Loyalist Blacks found that slavery had been in
existence almost from the beginning of this provinces'
establishment in 1749. Thus, they were accepted as free
men but eventually treated as previous Blacks had been.
Somehow Black men were equated with slavery and inferiority.
Their lives in Nova Scotia was a product of these cultural
values and beliefs. This "Warden of the North" did not
turn out to be the haven for freedom. Conditions became

so bad that on three different occasions they emigrated to Africa and Trinidad. At various other times Blacks in Nova Scotia and throughout Canada escaped into the northern sections of the United States seeking freedom. Slavery was not outlawed in Canada until 1833.

The paradox is that Blacks from southern sections of the United States were making their way north to Canada or to the free states in Northern U.S.A. Michigan was one of these free states that attracted many Blacks from the south. In spite of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting it, slavery had existed in Michigan territory before it became an official part of the union in 1837. However, the massive exodus of southern Blacks between 1830 and 1850 to Michigan was supported by several anti-slavery groups. Very early in their new settlements Blacks developed some semblances of self-determination and respect. Many of these Blacks had been free men in the southern states and were the more prosperous and educated Blacks. This was particularly true of those Blacks who came from Virginia to settle in Detroit. Hartgrove (1916, p. 23) tells us that,

> The State of Virginia has been the home of dis-
> tinguished persons of both sexes of the white and
> colored races. A dissertation on the noted colored
> women of Virginia would find a small circle of
> readers but would nevertheless, contain interesting
> accounts of some of the most important achievements
> of the people of that State. The story of Maria
> Louise Moore-Richards would be a large chapter of
> such a narrative (p. 23).

Though not the earliest, Mrs. Richards was among
a group of Virginians who sold their property and moved
to Detroit. One of her daughters, Fannie Richards, was
educated in Toronto, and later received teacher training
in Detroit. She became the first Black teacher in Detroit--
from 1863 until 1916. This account is pertinent for
comparative purposes. Many of the early Blacks in
Michigan had an opportunity to be self-determining, self-
actualizing, and develop their potentials. We noted in
the first chapter, that Blacks in Cass County voted
(Katzman, 1969). In contrast, we cannot trace a group
of early Black settlers in Nova Scotia who came with this
freedom, who could receive a higher education and become
a teacher in their community, or vote on the establishment
of school systems in their community. They were brought
to Nova Scotia and promised freedom for their loyalty to
the British. The next group was brought to apply their
skills in repairing such fortifications as the Citadel--
yet a visit to the Citadel reveals the province's remission
in lauding these Black efforts.

In concluding, we may say that Blacks in Nova
Scotia and in Michigan have original heritages that are
very similar. Through the process of dispersing Blacks
their experiences differed. In a paper presented at the
annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Anthropologists
and Sociologists (May 29-31, 1970) Clairmont and Magill

captures the Black experience in these words: "Nova Scotian Blacks: Marginality In A Depressed Region." Marginality is defined as a lack of influence in societal decision-making and a low degree of participation in the mainstream of political or economic life (1970, p. 96). In spite of many similar background experiences the Blacks in Michigan have been less hampered by this marginality. To some extent this has provided a broader base for Blacks to concern themselves with a different level of need priority. It is this difference which appears to be very important in the higher valuing of Black consciousness. With the diffusion of the thrust of Black power and Black pride in Canada, it is likely that these differences will be minimized.

Future Research

The present study has implications for future research in five major identifiable areas:

1. Further factor analytic investigation of the Black Consciousness scale with larger samples.

2. Further cross-cultural studies of Blacks in order to understand the unique circumstances and experiences which contribute to differences in the prepotency of psychological needs and values.

3. Development of new models which are more applicable to Blacks and other oppressed groups,

through critical analysis and testing of
existing theories.

4. Increasing resources so that results can be
fed back faster to the institutions and people
who have participated in the research.

5. Modification of the socialization practices
in education through revision in uni-cultural
and uni-racial curricula.

In the introductory chapter we noted that the educational system is a microcosm of the larger social system. The larger social system has failed to acknowledge scientifically the needs of Blacks in a context which begins with a critical assessment of Blacks' unique historical experiences along with their psychological consequences. Education has been equally remiss. There are a number of organizations and educational areas developing which attach the Black as a prefix. This is not adequate. Extensive, scholarly, and in-depth analysis of such areas as Black psychology, Black sociology, and Black anthropology requires modification of existing theories and development of new theories. Thus, we are not advocating the discarding of all existing white theories since much would be lost through such uncritical approaches; but, we do forthrightly require a scholarly approach to realizing these theories' strengths and weaknesses, and as well as their implications in fostering a particular kind of "Black psyche."

Once such research is carried out it is imperative that results be fed back to the people and institutions who can benefit from such information. The greatest shortcoming of the present study, as far as the present researcher is concerned, was the length of time which lapsed between conducting the research and getting results back to the individuals involved in the populations sampled. To correct this a major prerequisite is financial in nature. Research of this nature to truly perform its function requires a staff of several people. It is rewarding, challenging, and applicable--but it needs the involvement of several assistants to analyze, interpret, and report the findings within a reasonable period of time. Secondly, an ethical problem arises relative to creating change without developing programs that will implement these changes. It is suggested that a follow-up visit be incorporated in the research design. At such time the researcher can share results with students, faculty, parents and other school-community personnel. Though this follow-up was lacking in the present design, written communication has continued.

Through students' correspondence I have continued confirmation of the positive impact of such a program; thus, I confidently recommend that this research be expanded with the appropriate additional resources.

I AM CONVINCED THAT THE FORCES MAKING FOR UNITY FAR OUTWEIGH
THOSE WHICH DIVIDE US. IN MEETING FELLOW AFRICANS FROM ALL
PARTS OF THE CONTINENT I AM CONSTANTLY IMPRESSED BY HOW MUCH
WE HAVE IN COMMON. IT IS NOT JUST OUR COLONIAL PAST, OR THE
FACT THAT WE HAVE AIMS IN COMMON, IT IS SOMETHING WHICH GOES
FAR DEEPER. I CAN BEST DESCRIBE IT AS A SENSE OF ONENESS IN
THAT WE ARE AFRICANS. (KWAME NKRUMAH, 1967, p. 12).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS SURVEY

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS SURVEY

On the following statement circle the number closest to
your feelings:

1 = strongly agree   2 = agree   3 = disagree   4 = strongly
                                                   disagree

1. If I was sitting at a table with some   1 2 3 4
    members of my race and some white people
    entered the room, I would be proud because
    I was sitting with members of my race.

2. Situations, involving people of my race,   1 2 3 4
    which are called "riots" would be called
    the same if involving whites.

3. Call me Black, instead of Negro.   1 2 3 4

4. White people did not like Muhammad Ali   1 2 3 4
    because they did not like the idea of a
    member of my race saying he was the greatest
    and proving it.

5. A bank owned and operated by members of my   1 2 3 4
    race would be a good place to deposit my
    savings.

6. We should organize in an effort to free   1 2 3 4
    ourselves from American Society.

7. In this country, freedom for my race can   1 2 3 4
    only be achieved through integration.

8. My race would continue to eat without the   1 2 3 4
    white man.

9. Rockey Jones was right in encouraging black   1 2 3 4
    people in Canada to support Black Power if
    they want to gain freedom and equality.

10. The Christian idea of heaven and hell has   1 2 3 4
    slowed down my race's fight for freedom.

11. For my race, equality and integration are   1 2 3 4
    not the same thing.

12. Whites try to divide our community by saying 1 2 3 4
    some of us are middle class.

13. When you are talking to white people, you   1 2 3 4
    try to avoid the race issue.

14. The people of my race who are descendents   1 2 3 4
    of British Empire Loyalists, Maroon Negroes
    of Jamaica, and West Indian Negroes, are
    better than Slave Refugee Negroes from the
    United States.

15. The "natural" hairstyle is dignified.   1 2 3 4

16. When assigned to "riot" duty in the so-called   1 2 3 4
    Negro Ghettoes, soldiers of my race should
    fight the police and other white soldiers.

17. More Civil Rights Laws will help the situa-   1 2 3 4
    tion in this country.

18. If I were an Olympic athlete, I would serve   1 2 3 4
    my country with dignity and honor by keeping
    our racial problems at home.

19. Thin lips and narrow noses look better than   1 2 3 4
    thick lips and wide noses.

20. The very light members of my race should   1 2 3 4
    identify with the race and not "pass" for
    white.

21. Tom Peters call to leave Nova Scotia and set   1 2 3 4
    up our own nation in Sierra Leone would not
    have been necessary if we had tried harder to
    be like white people.

22. Young members of my race are too impatient   1 2 3 4
    for their civil rights.

23. African civilizations in the past were   1 2 3 4
    chiefly composed of uncivilized savages,
    who only changed when Europeans conquered
    their countries and taught them civilized
    ways.

24. Colored, Black, and Negro terms have the   1 2 3 4
    same meaning.

25. Through education my race will be accepted   1 2 3 4
    into the mainstream of American society.

26. When we identify with advocates of violence,   1 2 3 4
    like Stokley Carmichael, white people
    reject us even more.

27. Pictures in Bibles and churches show God as   1 2 3 4
     a white man--it is ridiculous to believe he
     is black.

28. There is no need for my race to buy guns.   1 2 3 4

29. What each member of my race has to do is gain   1 2 3 4
     individual acceptance into American Society.

30. Many of the slaves that remained in the United   1 2 3 4
     States were enterprising, smart, and anxious
     for freedom as those who escaped to Canada.

31. My race should spread out when in public   1 2 3 4
     because gathering is like segregating
     selves.

32. The Black Panthers and the Black Muslims are   1 2 3 4
     working for different things.

33. African American slaves were afraid to fight   1 2 3 4
     for freedom and accepted their status;
     consequently, the future generations of
     African Americans inherited this fear and
     willingness to accept what is given them.

34. European Culture is better than African   1 2 3 4
     Culture.

35. Our community should have the right to run   1 2 3 4
     its schools.

36. Black militants are over-stating the degree   1 2 3 4
     of white racism.

37. In the North my race got along pretty well   1 2 3 4
     with whites until members of my race came
     from the South.

38. In the language of white America, the color   1 2 3 4
     black stands for evil and dirty things.

39. Parents should try to make their children   1 2 3 4
     unaware of their race.

40. There is a pattern being used by the police   1 2 3 4
     department to wipe out the leadership of
     the Black Panther Party.

41. White people are smarter than people of my   1 2 3 4
     race.

42. If a black Nova Scotian had won the Victoria   1 2 3 4
    Cross for courage in 1856 his name would be
    included in all Canadian history books.

43. I have been the object of either racial   1 2 3 4
    discrimination or white racism in some form
    or fashion.

44. I have less in common with members of the   1 2 3 4
    white race than with members of my race.

45. If we have jobs and behave ourselves, white   1 2 3 4
    people will consider us good citizens and
    give us our rights.

46. Capitalism, as an economic system, is an   1 2 3 4
    enemy of my race.

47. The police are the white man's tool for   1 2 3 4
    keeping my race down.

48. We should fight for freedom by any means   1 2 3 4
    necessary.

49. A dark-skinned person should marry someone   1 2 3 4
    lighter than himself (herself) so their
    children will be lighter.

50. I would rather be called Negro than black.   1 2 3 4

51. Although this society stresses individual   1 2 3 4
    competition, members of my race should try
    to help each other.

52. Wearing a "natural" hairstyle is shameful.   1 2 3 4

53. We should recognize the fact that Negroes   1 2 3 4
    whose descendents are Loyalists, Maroons,
    West Indian, and Refugee Negroes from the
    United States are all brothers and sisters
    whose homeland is Africa, and neither group
    is better than the other.

54. Whites do not use the term Negro Middle   1 2 3 4
    Class to divide our communities.

55. I would not like to live in a state where   1 2 3 4
    only members of my race lived.

56. A member of my race, who says he is the   1 2 3 4
    greatest and proves it, like Muhammad Ali,
    is not liked by white people.

57. Thick lips and wide noses look better than thin lips and narrow noses. 1 2 3 4

58. Members of my race should date whites. 1 2 3 4

59. If told we can gain our freedom and equality by influencing human relations groups and government to change laws, we should not follow Rockey Jones call for Black Power. 1 2 3 4

60. Only the more enterprising and smarter slaves from the United States escaped into Canada. 1 2 3 4

61. I wish I was white. 1 2 3 4

62. With an education, my race still won't be accepted into the mainstream of American society. 1 2 3 4

63. Members of my race need to buy weapons. 1 2 3 4

64. I put this country before my race. 1 2 3 4

65. Schools in our community should be controlled by the school board. 1 2 3 4

66. If whites rebelled like members of my race, it would not be called a "riot." 1 2 3 4

67. White people do not reject Stokely Carmichael because they really believe he advocates violence, but because he has taught black to love themselves, not look at white as superior, and to be self-determined. 1 2 3 4

68. You do not try to avoid racial issues when talking to whites. 1 2 3 4

69. The terms, Black, Colored, and Negro have different meanings. 1 2 3 4

70. Black churches should have pictures of God showing him as a black man. 1 2 3 4

71. In the United States freedom for my race can only be achieved through separation. 1 2 3 4

72. My race's fight for freedom has been helped by the Christian idea of heaven and hell. 1 2 3 4

73. Dark skin color has nothing to do with   1 2 3 4
    meanness.

74. It can be proven through historical documents   1 2 3 4
    that early African civilization was superior
    to early European civilization.

75. As an Olympic athlete, I would not serve my   1 2 3 4
    country with dignity and honor by keeping
    our racial problems at home.

76. Capitalism is not an enemy of my race.   1 2 3 4

77. Tom Peters (a black man from Nova Scotia)   1 2 3 4
    was correct in going to London to petition
    the king to help our people leave and set
    up their own nation in Sierra Leone, Africa,
    due to the poor treatment and discrimination
    they received.

78. The police department is not trying to   1 2 3 4
    eliminate the leadership of the Black
    Panther Party.

79. We should limit the methods we use to get   1 2 3 4
    our freedom.

80. White racism is as widespread as black   1 2 3 4
    militants claim it is.

81. White people will not give members of my   1 2 3 4
    race their rights because they (members of
    my race) do their jobs, work hard, and
    behave themselves.

82. I have more in common with members of the   1 2 3 4
    white race than with members of my race.

83. Slaves in the Americas (North, Central, and   1 2 3 4
    South) often revolted against their masters,
    had much determination to get their freedom
    and we see this same strength, courage, and
    aggressiveness today in black men.

84. When I am talking about racial problems   1 2 3 4
    with members of my race and a white person
    comes near, I do not change the subject.

85. The Black Muslims and the Black Panthers   1 2 3 4
    are working for the same things.

86. People of my race are as smart as white people.   1 2 3 4

87. William Hall, born in 1872, a black man from Nova Scotia, who was the first black man to win the Victoria Cross for bravery should be honored in all Canada history books.   1 2 3 4

88. The color black stands for good and pure things in the language of white America.   1 2 3 4

89. In this country we do not need any more Civil Rights laws.   1 2 3 4

90. Integration for my race means equality.   1 2 3 4

91. I would like to hear more about Black Power.   1 2 3 4

92. My race should try to gain group acceptance into American society.   1 2 3 4

93. My race would starve without the white man.   1 2 3 4

94. My race is not kept down by the police.   1 2 3 4

95. Soldiers of my race should help the white soldiers keep law and order when called to "riot" duty in so-called Negro ghettoes.   1 2 3 4

96. Parents should make their children aware of their race.   1 2 3 4

APPENDIX B-1

SENTENCE COMPLETION

SENTENCE COMPLETION

Below are incomplete sentences. Please complete the
following sentences with the thought that first comes
to your mind. There are <u>no</u> "right" or "wrong" answers.

1. The people in my community _____

2. I feel happy when _____

3. If I could change _____

4. What I like best about myself is _____

5. My greatest worry is _____

6. I am proud of _____

7. I get angry when _____

8. Sometimes I feel like _____

9. Compared to members of other racial groups _____

   _____

10. I try _____

11. I must _____

12. At home we _____

13. My friends and I _____

14. My teachers _____

15. The white people in my city _____

16. I would like to be _____

17. I am sure _____

18. One gets involved when _____

19. My race is _____

20. _____ impresses me most because

   _____

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21. I can't forget _____

22. If I could change anything, I _____

23. I need _____

24. No one can repair the damage caused by _____

25. I am determined _____

26. _____determine(s) _____

27. _____ is important to white people and

_____ is important to my race.

28. The students _____

29. _____has power _____

30. Blacks _____

31. _____chance to go to college _____

32. I should like to _____

33. Most important _____

34. My appearance _____

35. When I am not treated right, I _____

36. If I could only _____

37. My head _____

38. The people who work for me _____

39. The main driving force in my life is _____

40. Other people are _____

41. If I could change anything, I _____

42. For sure _____

43. _____ last _____

44. The more involved one gets _____

45. For me, the best _____

46. As a child, I _____

47. I will fight when _____

48. _____ care _____

49. _____ valuable possession _____

50. A stranger _____

51. No one can repair the damage caused by _____

52. If I were in charge _____

53. Being _____

54. I don't like _____

55. What bothers me most _____

56. _____ continually _____

57. To me, people _____

58. If I am put under pressure _____

59. I want _____

60. The people I like best _____

APPENDIX B-2

SEXTON HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT DEMANDS

SEXTON HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT DEMANDS

BOARD OF EDUCATION

LISTENS TO DEMANDS

The black students' demands were initially presented to school officials Feb. 10 when a group of Sexton youths staged a sit-in at the school office. That demonstration ultimately resulted in the arrest of 54 persons and the suspension of 73 Sexton and Everett high school students who participated in it.

During Thursday night's session, board president Clarence H. Rosa issued the following responses to the student requests:

-REPRESENTATION ON PERSONNEL COMMITTEES: Rosa reiterated his statement of last month that a black adminis- trator would be placed on the five-member personnel com- mittee which reviews candidates for certain administrative positions. The composition of this group is dictated by the contract agreement between the school board and teachers' union, he explained, and calls for three school adminis- trators and two teachers to serve on it.

-NO GUNS ON SCHOOL PREMISES: The board president denied student allegations that Sexton assistant principal F. Cassius Shaft has a gun in his desk drawer. Whether law enforcement officials should be permitted to enter school buildings with weapons is a matter yet to be dis- cussed between the school board and local police officials, Rosa said.

-MORE BLACK COUNSELORS: Rosa said the board hoped to hire more minority counselors, as well as teachers, next year. The district's total counseling staff was reduced this year, he pointed out, as part of the present austerity

program. The students' request for additional office space for those black counselors now at Sexton is being investigated, Rosa added.

-REINSTATEMENT OF SUSPENDED STUDENTS: Rosa said every attempt was being made to readmit those Sexton students suspended this year, including those who were suspended for their participation in the recent demonstration there. Many of these students have already been reinstated, he continued, and the remaining ones will be allowed to return to classes once they have discussed their suspensions with their parents and school authorities.

Those student requests to which the board did not respond Thursday night included the following--establishment of a Black History Week assembly on Feb. 19 every year; more office space at Sexton for all student organizations; more courses relating to black history and culture; and formation of a student-parent-administrative committee to review discipline policies and practices.

Another student grievance to which the board did not respond Thursday night concerned the hiring of a black person for the district's central administrative staff. This request originated with the Black Coordinating Committee and was denied by the school board last month. Board members explained at that time that another central office administrator would not be hired until a new superintendent is chosen to replace the retiring Stephen A. Partington.

Reaffirm Intent

Board members did, however, reaffirm last month their intent to hire more minority teachers and administrators in the near future to reflect the percentage of minority students enrolled in the district.

Prior to Rosa's comments, a delegation of black students presented a brief statement which charged the

Lansing School District with "perpetuating white supremacy
to the determent of students of color."

The statement further said the school system
"perpetuates Anglo Values, culture, norms and attitudes.
Lansing schools systematically exclude minorities from
the interpretation of history, music, English, etc."

The State Journal
Fri., Feb. 19, 1971

APPENDIX B-3

SCORING CRITERIA FOR NEED PREPOTENCY

SCORING CRITERIA FOR NEED PREPOTENCY

Level I--Safety

A. Physical Assault; Mental Assault
B. Unorganized, Unpredictable, Unmanageable aspects in life
C. Powerlessness
D. Protection
E. Security
F. Religion
*G. Deprivation of Receiving Good From Others; Rather, except Bad; Hostility

Level II--Love and Belongingness

A. Absence of Friends, Sweetheart, Family
B. Hunger for Affectionate Relations and Happiness
C. Sexuality
*D. Companions and Relations in Activities

Level III--Self-Esteem

A. Strength, Achievement, Adequacy, Masters, Competence; Confidence in Face of World; Achievement in Black Culture; Independence and Freedom
B. Reputation; Prestige, Respect or Esteem from other; Status; Dominance; Recognition; Attention; Importance
*C. Aspiration--Interest (May have feelings of inferiority, weakness; helplessness)

Level IV--Self-Actualization

A. Acceptance (Self, Others, Nature)
B. Problem Centering
C. Autonomy (Independence of Culture & Environment)
D. Democratic Character Structure
E. Resistance to Enculturation
F. More We Oriented, Yet Appreciation of I (individual self)
G. Humanistic Trends; Help or Succorance to Others
H. Freedom and Independence

---

*For a more detailed description of these characteristics see Appendices B-4 through B-9. Appendices B-4 through B-9 are taken from Maslow's book, Motivation and Personality, pp. 87-99.

APPENDIX B-4

PRECONDITIONS FOR THE BASIC

NEED SATISFACTIONS

PRECONDITIONS FOR THE BASIC NEED SATISFACTIONS

Prerequisites for Satisfaction of Basic Needs

Freedom to speak

Freedom to do what one wants as long as no harm is done to others

Freedom to express oneself

Freedom to investigate and seek for information

Freedom to defend oneself

Justice, fairness, honesty, and orderliness in the group.

Remember Cognitive Capacities (Perceptual, intellectual, learning) set of adjustive tools

Have as one function--that of satisfaction of our basic needs, thus

Any dangers of them, any deprivation or blocking of their free use, must also be indirectly threatening to basic needs themselves.

APPENDIX B-5

MASLOW'S SAFETY NEEDS

Safety Needs

Safety seeking organism or mechanism. <u>Receptors</u>, <u>Effectors</u>, <u>Intellect</u>, and other capacities providing "safety-seeking" tools.

Physical assault

Powerless

Protection

Unorganized, unmanageable, and unpredictable aspects constants in this world

Satisfied in Safety Needs

Peaceful, smooth running, good society ordinarily makes its members <u>feel safe from</u>

Wild animals

Extremes of temperature

Criminal assault

Murder

Tyranny

Can see these needs in "<u>economic and social underdogs</u>" otherwise see in normal
1. preformance for job with tenure and protection
2. desire for savings account
3. insurance of various kinds (medical, dental, unemployment, etc.)

Relates to <u>stability</u> in milieu (known vs unknown)

Tendency to have some <u>Religion</u> organizing men in some coherent, meaningful whole "partially" motivated by Safety.

Otherwise <u>safety</u> only in emergencies, e.g. <u>war</u>, <u>disease</u>, <u>natural catastrophies</u>, <u>crime waves</u>, "<u>societal disorganization</u>", neurosis, brain injury

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Neurotic adults--need for safety

Reaction to:

1. Unknown, behaves as if catastrophe almost always impending

2. psychological dangers in world perceived as hostile, overwhelming, or threatening

Retains childhood attitudes

Behave as if afraid of spanking

Or mother's disapprove

Or being abandoned by parents

Or having food taken away.

APPENDIX B-6

MASLOW'S BELONGINGNESS, LOVE AND

AFFILIATIVE NEEDS

Feel keenly <u>absence</u> of friends, sweetheart, or
  wife and children.

<u>Hunger</u> for <u>affectionate relations</u> and people in
  general, for a "place in his group," and strove
  with great intensity to achieve this goal.

Expression in sexuality--one aspect only--sex is
  not synonymous with love.

Have needs which involve both giving and receiving love.

APPENDIX B-7

MASLOW'S SELF-ESTEEM NEEDS

SELF-ESTEEM NEEDS

Desire for firmly based

Usually "high evaluation of themselves"

Self-respect or self-esteem and

For esteem of others

Two Subsidiary Sets

A. Desire for <u>strength</u>, <u>achievement</u>, <u>adequacy</u>, <u>mastery</u>
and competence, <u>confidence in face of world</u>.

B. Desire for <u>reputation</u> or <u>prestige</u> (respect or esteem
from others) <u>status</u>, <u>dominance</u>, <u>resignation</u>,
<u>attention</u>, <u>importance</u>, <u>appreciation</u>.
Whether or not this particular desire is universal
we do not know. The critical question is will
men who are enslaved and dominated inevitably
feel dissatisfied and rebellious? Assume on basis
of commonly known clinical data that a <u>man who</u>
<u>has known true freedom</u> (not paid for by giving
up safety and security but rather built on the
basis of adequate safety and security) will not
willingly or easily allow his freedom to be taken
away from him, <u>but we do not know that this is</u>
<u>true for the person born into slavery</u>.

These needs relatively stressed by Adler
Thwarting of these needs produces feelings of
  a. <u>inferiority</u>
  b. <u>weakness</u>
  c. <u>helplessness</u>

These feelings in terms give rise to either <u>basic</u>
<u>discouragement</u> or <u>compensatory</u> neurotic trends.

1. From theologians discussion of pride and "hubris,"

2. From the <u>Frommian</u> theories about the <u>self-perception of untruth of one's own nature</u>

3. From <u>Rogerian</u> work with <u>self</u>, we have been learning more and more of the <u>dangers of basing self-esteem on the opinions of others</u> rather than on <u>real capacity</u>, <u>competence</u>, and <u>adequacy to the task</u>.

Most stable and therefore most healthy self-esteem is based on <u>deserved</u> respect from others rather than external fame or celebrity and unwarranted adulation.

APPENDIX B-8

SELF-ACTUALIZATION NEEDS

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SELF-ACTUALIZING PEOPLE

Self-Actualization--difficult syndrome to describe.

Loosely described:
1. Full use and exploitation of talents,capabilities, potentialities, etc.
2. Such people seem to be fulfilling themselves and doing best they are capable of doing.
3. Not too individualistic in flavor.
4. Implies also either gratification, past or present, of basic emotional needs for safety, belongingness, love, respect, and self-respect, and of the cognitive needs for knowledge and for understanding, or in a few cases conquest of these needs.

Characteristics of Self-Actualizing:
1. More efficient perception of reality.
2. Acceptance (self, others, nature).
3. Spontaneity, different psychology of motivation for self-actualized.
   These people no longer strive but develop.
   Attempt to grow to perfection and develop more and more fully in their own style.
   Motivation in just character growth, character expression, motivation, and development.
4. Problem Centering (less Ego Centered)
   Generally not problems for self.
   Customarily have some mission in life, some task to fulfill, some problems outside self which enlists more of their energies.
   May not be a task they would prefer or choose for self; rather, task they feel is their

responsibility, duty, or obligation (why we
use phrase "a task that they must do" rather
than phrase "a task they want to do.)"
In general tasks are impersonal or unselfish,
concerned rather with the good of mankind in
general, or of a nation in general . . .
In general, concerned with basic issues and
eternal questions of type we've learned to call
philosophical or ethical.
Work within a framework of values that are broad
and not petty, universal and not local, and
in terms of a century rather than a movement.

5. Detachment: Need for Privacy.
6. Autonomy: Independence of Culture and Environment.
Since propelled by growth motivation rather than
by deficiency motivation, self-actualizing
people are not dependent for their main satis-
factions on the real world, or other people or
culture or means to ends or, in general, on
extrinsic satisfaction.
Determinants of satisfaction and of good life
for them are now "inner-indiv." and not "social."
Strong enough to be independent of the good opinion
and other people, or even of their affection.
The honors, the status, the reasons, the prestige,
and the love they can bestow must have become
less important than self-development and inner
growth.

7. Continued Freshness of Appreciation.
Devine ecstasy, inspiration, and strength from
the basic experiences of life.
8. Mystic Experience: Oceanic Feeling.
9. Gemeinschaftsgefühl
Have for human beings in general a deep feeling
of identification, sympathy, and affection in

spite of the occasional anger, impatience, or disgust described below.

Because of this have a genuine desire to help the human race.

One's feelings toward his <u>brothers</u> would be on the whole affectionate, even if these brothers were foolish, weak, or even if they were sometimes nasty.

10. Interpersonal Relations.

Deeper and more profound interpersonal relations than any other adults.

Especially deep ties with relatively few individuals

Their hostile reaction to others are

   1. Deserved and

   2. For the good of the person attacked or for someone else's good. i.e.,

   3. To say, with Fromm , their hostility is not character based, but is reactive or situational.

11. Democratic Character Structure.

They can be and are friendly with anyone of suitable character regardless of class, education, political belief, race, or color.

Find it possible to learn from anybody who has something to teach them.

12. Discrimination between Means and Ends.

In general, fixed on ends rather than on means, and means are quite definitely subordinated to these ends.

Often regarding as ends in themselves many experiences and activities that are for other people, only means to ends.

13. Philosophical, Unhostile Sense of Humor.

14. Creativeness.

Shows a special kind of creativeness or originality or inventiveness that has certain peculiar characteristics.

15. Resistance to Enculturation.

In a certain profound and meaningful sense they resist enculturation and maintain a certain inner detachment from the culture in which they're immersed.

Show no active impatience or moment-to-moment, chronic long-time discontent with the culture or preoccupation with changing it quickly, although they often enough show bursts of indignation with injustice.

Although they are not a radical group of people in ordinary sense, I think they easily could be.

. . . In a more drastic situation it seems very likely they would be willing to drop their work in favor of radical social action, e.g., the anti-Nazi underground in Germany or in France.

Most of them have had their episodes of fighting, impatience, and eagerness in youth, and in most cases have learned their optimism about quick change was unwarranted.

Frequently able to stand off from American culture as if they did not quite belong to it.

To some extent ruled by laws of their own character than by rules of society.

Those individuals who are more detached from their own culture should not only have less national character but also should be more like each other in certain respects than they are like the less developed members of their own society.

APPENDIX B-9

DEGREE OF FIXITY OF HIERARCHY OF BASIC NEEDS

DEGREE OF FIXITY OF HIERARCHY OF BASIC NEEDS

1. These are innately creative people in whom the
   drive to creativeness seems more important than
   any other counterdenominant.
   Their creativeness might appear not as <u>self-</u>
   <u>actualization</u> <u>released</u> <u>by</u> <u>basic</u> <u>satisfaction</u>,
   but in spite of lack of <u>basic</u> <u>satisfaction</u>.

2. In certain people the level of asperation may be
   permanently developed or lowered. . . . the less
   prepotent goals may simply be lost, and may
   disappear forever, so that the person who has
   experienced life at a very low level, i.e., chronic
   unemployment, may continue to be satisfied for the
   rest of his life if only he can get enough food.

3. Another cause of reversal of hierarchy is when a
   need has been satisfied for a long time this need
   may be underevaluated.
   . . . If they are dominated by a higher need,
        this higher need will seem to be the most important
        of all.
   . . . They may, for the sake of the higher need,
        put themselves into position of being deprived
        of basic needs. We expect after a long time
        deprivation of the more basic needs there will
        be a tendency to re-evaluate both needs so that
        the more prepotent need will actually become
        consciously prepotent for the individual who
        may have given it up lightly. Thus a man who
        has given up his job rather than lose his self-
        respect, and who then starves for 6 months or
        so, may be willing to take his job back even
        at the price of losing his self-respect.

4. Perhaps most important in reversals--one's that
   involve ideals, high social standards, high values,
   and the like. With such values people become
   martyrs; they will give up everything for the
   sake of a particular ideal, or value.
   These people may be understood, at least in part,
      by reference to one basic concept (or hypothesis),
      which may be called increased frustration—
      tolerance though easily gratification.
   People who have seen satisfied in their basic
      needs throughout their lives, particularly in
      their earlier years, seem to develop exceptional
      power to withstand present or future thwarting
      of those needs simply because they have strong,
      healthy character structure as a result of basic
      satisfaction. They are the strong people who-
         Can easily weather disagreement or opposition.
         Who can swim against the stream of public
            opinion, and
         Who can stand up for the truth at great
            personal cost.
   It is just the ones who have loved and have been
      well loved, and who have had many deep friend-
      ships who can hold out against hatred, rejection,
      or prosecution.

APPENDIX B-10

SCORING SHEET FOR NEEDS

SCORING SHEET FOR NEEDS

NUMBER _____   GROUP _____   JUDGE _____ _____

1.	26.	51.	**Safety**
2.	27.	52.	A_____ E_____
3.	28.	53.	B_____ F_____
4.	29.	54.	C_____ G_____
5.	30.	55.	D_____ H_____
6.	31.	56.	
7.	32.	57.	**Aff. Love**
8.	33.	58.	A_____ C_____
9.	34.	59.	B_____ D_____
10.	35.	60.	
11.	36.		**Self-Esteem**
12.	37.		A_____ C_____
13.	38.		B_____ D_____
14.	39.		
15.	40.		**Self-Actual.**
16.	41.		A_____ E_____
17.	42.		B_____ F_____
18.	43.		C_____ G_____
19.	44.		D_____ H_____
20.	45.		
21.	46.		TOTALS:
22.	47.		Safety _____
23.	48.		Aff._____
24.	49.		Self-Est._____
25.	50.		Self-Act._____

APPENDIX C

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIALIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIALIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

The survey being conducted is anonymous (i.e., you will not be identified by name); therefore, DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON ANY OF THE PAGES. The information being asked will be used to categorize by numbers or percentages. For example, we may say that 10% of students 17 years old hold the same opinions.

There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. Answers are only 'right' to the degree that they express your true feelings and experiences.

In most cases you will have a choice of several answers, circle the one you prefer. For example, in number 1, if you are female, circle 2.

Please answer all questions--give answers closest to your opinion. Do not spend a lot of time, give the response that is your first impression. If you need more space, use the back side of paper.

Thank you very much for participating. It is the sincere aim of the surveyor that the results will be used first for your benefit and secondly for the goals of the survey.

1. Are you male or female?*

    male---------1

    female-------2

2. How old are you?*

    14 or younger----1

    15-16------------2

    17-18------------3

    19-20------------4

    over 20---------5

3. What do you plan to do upon graduation from high school?*

    go to college---------1   get a job----------3

    some other school   army, navy, etc.---4
    (business, skilled,
    trades, etc.)--------2   other--------------5
                               (explain)_____

4. Where were you born?_____

5. Where did you go to elementary school?_____

6. Where did you live most of your life?_____

7. Where was your father born? (a)_____

   Where was your mother born? (b)_____

8. How would you describe the neighborhood in which you live?

   All black (Negro, colored) neighborhood-----1

   Mostly black------------------------------------2

   About half black--------------------------------3

   Slightly over half white------------------------4

   Mostly white------------------------------------5

9-10. To what extent was the elementary and high school you
      attended racially mixed?

	9. <u>elementary</u>			10. <u>high school</u>
(1)_____	all black	(1)_____
(2)_____	mostly black	(2)_____
(3)_____	almost half black	(3)_____
(4)_____	slightly over half white	(4)_____
(5)_____	mostly white	(5)_____

11-12. To what extent were the faculty and administrators
       (principals, counselors) racially mixed.*

	11. <u>elementary</u>			12. <u>high school</u>
(1)_____	all black	(1)_____
(2)_____	mostly black	(2)_____
(3)_____	almost half black	(3)_____
(4)_____	slightly over half white	(4)_____
(5)_____	mostly white	(5)_____

13. How many brothers and sisters do you have?*

    a.---none   b.---two   c.---three or more How many?_____

14. What is your religion?* A._____

    What is your "father's"? B._____

    What is your "mother's"? C._____

15. To what ethnic or racial group do you belong?*-a._____

_____

To what ethnic or racial group does your father belong.*

b._____

To what ethnic or racial group does your mother belong?*

c._____

16. How strong are your feelings about your religious beliefs?*

	a. your	b. your father	c. your mother
very strong---------1a._____	1b._____	1c._____
strong--------------2a._____	2b._____	2c._____
moderate or mild----3a._____	3b._____	3c._____
have no religious beliefs-----------4a._____	4b._____	4c._____

17. How would you describe your views, your parent, and your two best friends' views on the civil rights (or black freedom and equality movement)?*

| | A. You | BC. Your Parents | | D. 2 Best |
		Mother	Father	Friends
Conservative (passive, accept 'status quo')	1a.____	1b.____	1c.____	1d.____
Moderate (somewhat passive, but does not accept 'status quo')	2a.____	2b.____	2c.____	2d.____
Liberal (believe in bringing about change through legal and approved mean)	3a.____	3b.____	3c.____	3d.____
Militant (believe in demanding those rights protest, demonstrations, etc.), which are due you, and the "inalienable "rights" of all humans	4a.____	4b.____	4c.____	4d.____
Radical (believe in bringing about changes "by any means necessary")	5a.____	5b.____	5c.____	5d.____

18. Do your parents approve or encourage you to participate in civil rights activities?*

    a. Yes, they both approve.

    b. No, only one of them approves.

    c. No, they both disapprove.

19. Does your school encourage (a) or discourage (b)

    -- activities or programs on civil rights?*

20. Are your grandparents or another ethnic, racial, or nationality group different from yours?*

    a. Yes   b. No

21. What are your parents usual occupation?*

    a. father _____

    b. mother _____

22. Does your school teach you enough history about yourself?*

    a. Yes   b. No

23. Does your school teach you as much history about the Indians as they do about the white man?

    a. Yes   b. No

24. If you were to ask yourself the question, "Who Am I"?, What would you answer? Please complete the following sentences, as if answering to yourself.

    1. I am _____

    2. I am _____

    3. I am _____

    4. I am _____

    5. I am _____

    6. I am _____

    7. I am _____

    8. I am _____

    9. I am _____

  10. I am _____

25. Of those listed above, which <u>three</u> do you consider the most important when you think of yourself?

    (1)_____

    (2)_____

    (3)_____

26. Among the ethnic and/or racial groups in your country, including your own, which do you like most?

    a. _____

    b. Why? _____

27. Among the ethnic or racial groups in your country which do you like least?*

    a. _____

    b. _____

28. What role has your ethnic or racial group played in the development of your country?

    a. Very important

    b. Important

    c. Average

    d. Little

29. Mark the classifications which you would willingly admit members of the various countries.

    (1) To close kinship by marriage

    (2) To my club as a personal chum

    (3) To my street as neighbors

    (4) To employment in my occupation

    (5) Would exclude from all of these

    (a) People from Ghana (Africa)_____
    (b) People from United States (North America) ___
    (c) People from Surinam (South America)_____
    (d) People from West Indies _____
    (e) People from Sierra Leone (Africa) _____
    (f) People from Israel (Mid East) _____
    (g) People from Tanzania (Africa) _____
    (h) People from China _____
    (i) People from Cuba _____
    (j) People from Great Britain _____
    (k) People from France (Europe) _____
    (l) People from Canada (North America) _____

(m) People from Liberia (Africa) ____
(n) People from Egypt (Africa) ____
(o) People from Kenya (Africa) ____
(p) People from Germany (Europe) ____
(q) People from U.S.S.R.-Russia(Europe-Asia) ____
(r) People from Japan (Asia) ____

30. Write briefly the reason for choice (1)_____
    Write briefly the reason for choice (2)_____
    Write briefly the reason for choice (3)_____
    Write briefly the reason for choice (4)_____
    Write briefly the reason for choice (5)_____

31. If you were to ask yourself the question, "What Do I
    Want?", what would you answer. Please complete the
    following sentences.

    1. I want _____
    2. I want _____
    3. I want _____
    4. I want _____
    5. I want _____
    6. I want _____
    7. I want _____
    8. I want _____
    9. I want _____
    10. I want _____

32. Do you feel closer to people if of your own ethnic or
    racial group, wherever they are geographically?
    (a) _____Yes   (b) _____No; or do you feel
    closer to people in your own country who are not of
    your racial or ethnic group? (c) Yes_____ (d) No _____

33. Think about your three best briends, which racial or
    ethnic group do they belong?*
    (1)_____   (2) _____   (3) _____

34. Are there other racial or ethnic groups you would prefer
    your three best friends to belong?
    (1) Yes _____   (2) No _____

35. Circle the <u>three</u> traits that you feel best describe the following groups.

(a) courageous   (b) proud   (c) dirty   (d) honest   (e) cruel

(f) lazy   (g) smart   (h) strong in character   (i) untrustworthy

(j) ignorant   (k) violent

a. Africans
   (black)   a   b   c   d   e   f   g   h   i   j   k

b. Africans Americans
   (black)   a   b   c   d   e   f   g   h   i   j   k

c. African Canadians
   (black)   a   b   c   d   e   f   g   h   i   j   k

d. European Americans
   (white)   a   b   c   d   e   f   g   h   i   j   k

e. European Canadians
   (white)   a   b   c   d   e   f   g   h   i   j   k

f. Jewish
   (white)   a   b   c   d   e   f   g   h   i   j   k

g. Indians
   (North American)   a   b   c   d   e   f   g   h   i   j   k

36. What two things could you accomplish in your life of which you would be most proud?

   1. _____

   2. _____

37. Briefly state what changes you would like to see made in your school, community, city or country that would better the conditions of your ethnic or racial group?

38. Who are the three most important leaders to you (in your country or another country--either living or dead)?*

   1. _____

   2. _____

   3. _____

39. Name two books you have read which you enjoyed most and felt had given you important information about your people.*

   1. _____

   2. _____

40. Who are your three favorite singers or singing groups?*

    1. _____

    2. _____

    3. _____

41. How is your group treated differently from other groups in your country?

42. Based on all your years of education, which groups history have you been taught most about in school?*

    (1) _____ Either white Americans, white Canadians, and/or white Europeans.

    (2) _____ Either black Americans, black Canadians, black Africans and/or black West Indians.

    (3) _____ North American Indians.

43. If you could go to either of the places listed below, where would you rather go and, at the same time express how that music makes you feel?*

| place	enjoy listening	Feel deep emotion	
a. _____	_____	_____	a. Place where I could here rock or psychedelic music & learn group dances.
b. _____	_____	_____	b. Where African dance troupe & African and African American dance groups are, and could learn or participate.
c. _____	_____	_____	c. Mixed situation where could learn and participate in both of above.

44. Which group would you most respect as giving you an honest opinion and correct information about your abilities and opportunities available to you?

    a. _____ Black teachers from another country.

    b. _____ White teachers from your own country.

45. Below is a circle with the word self written in it. Imagine this as yourself. Draw the same circle, but place it anywhere within the square drawn below.*

a. (SELF)

Teenagers of my race

Teenagers of white race

Teenagers of both races (black & white)
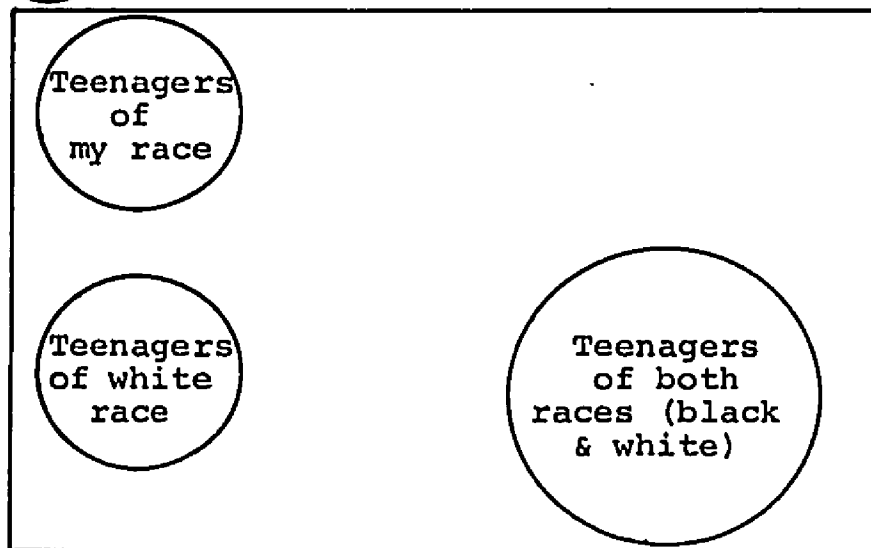
46. How many black poets have you studied in your English classes during high school?*

a. None

b. One or Two

c. Three or four

d. Five or Six

e. Six or more   How many _____

---

*Starred items were used for analysis in present study.

APPENDIX D

BEHAVIORAL ACTIVITY MEASURE

BEHAVIORAL ACTIVITY MEASURE

1. Have you been to a meeting concerning black people in the last three months ?

    a. Yes   b. No

2. So far, during this school year, have you written a paper on any topic concerning either black history in your country or problems your racial groups faces?

    a. Yes   b. No

3. Are you active in a black students group (Black Students Association, Black Student Union, or some other) in your school?

    a. Yes   b. No

4. Have you either taken a part in organizing such a group or openly supported those who tried to organize?

    a. Yes   b. No

5. Are you working within your community or neighborhood to help black people in any way.

    a. Yes   b. No

6. Are you working or participating in some other kind of activity or organization which is not related to black people?

    a. Yes   b. No

7. For your leisure reading (not assigned in school) do you choose books that teach you more about your race history and/or struggles?

    a. Yes   b. No

8. Have you done research in the public library on different black leaders in your country or other countries?

    a. Yes   b. No

9. Have you ever planned a bulletin board on black history that could be displayed in your school at all times?

    a. Yes   b. No

10. Have you ever taken part in any civil rights activities (or black freedom movement); that is, demonstrations, sit-ins, requests for changes, etc., either in your school, community, or city?

    a. No

    b. Yes, have been active but not active now.

    c. Yes, I am active now.

If yes, briefly describe the activity (on back of this sheet).

APPENDIX E

BEHAVIORAL PROJECT

BEHAVIORAL PROJECT

During the next four weeks either work as individuals or in a group. Plan some activity or project that could be accomplished either during school hours or after school:

1. That is related to the kind of club, organization, or activity you would most like to be a part of (e.g. music, art, learning new dances, a foreign language, etc.); or

2. Something that will help you better understand and know your racial group's history (all the many things they have done which you can be proud of and learn what you might do); or something you can do to meet the needs of your people.

Write this up. The ideas are most important. You will in no way be graded. Spelling, grammar, and punctuation are of secondary importance. Communication is built an exchange of ideas first--not diction, grammar, or perfection in expressing oneself.

APPENDIX F

POEM BY BLACK STUDENT IN

NOVA SCOTIA

POEM BY BLACK STUDENT IN NOVA SCOTIA

Message to the People

Let us all gather at the hall
To hear the man of our choice;
This man will make us all rejoice,
Come along, to answer his call.

We shall all step out of mystery
To see this man of great strength;
Listen, while he tells of our history,
For he is a man who will not repent.

If there was ever a person to hear
It is this man of great faith in his race;
This is a man of no fear
He has only one face.

Many have travelled that long, dark road
Knowing little of their past;
Some try to remove the load
But there is no way to escape the caste.

My people have had my great heroes,
But they are not recognized in history books,
They are looked upon as zeros
Who are only thought of as fish on hooks.

Black people have always been suppressed,
They are used as fractions;
To get revenge for being oppressed
They must take action.

Brothers, get on the band wagon,
Come hear the message of a black man,
For he is not a dragon
He's got soul in his hand.

This is a message of great emotion,
Your mind and soul will start eloping
Listen, to the words of locomotion,
The day has come to stop hoping.

APPENDIX G

EXAMPLES OF MATERIALS USED FOR

EXPERIMENTAL MANIPULATIONS

BLACK ORPHEUS

by

Jean Paul Sartre

But even though oppression itself may be a mere fluke, the black man is a victim of it because he is a black man. And since he is oppressed within the confines of his race and because of it, he must first of all become conscious of his race. He must oblige those who have vainly tried throughout the centuries to reduce him to the status of a beast to recognize that he is a man. On this point, there is no means of evasion, or of trickery, no "crossing line" that he can consider; a Jew--white man among white men--can deny that he is a Jew, can declare himself a man among men. The negro cannot deny that he is a negro, nor can he claim that he is part of some abstract colorless humanity; he is black. Thus he has his back up against the wall of authenticity; having been insulted and formerly enslaved, he picks up the word "nigger" which was thrown at him like a stone, he draws himself erect and proudly proclaims himself a black man, face to face with white men. The unity which will come eventually, bringing all oppressed peoples'together in the same struggle, must be preceded by what I shall call the moment of separation or negativity; this anti-racist racism is the only road that will lead to the abolition of racial differences.

Since the selfish scorn that white men display for black men is aimed at the deepest recesses of the heart, black men must oppose it with a more exact view of black subjectivity; consequently race consciousness is based first of all on the black soul.

The herald of the black soul has gone through white schools, in accordance with a brazen law which forbids the oppressed man to possess any arms except those he himself has stolen from the oppressor; it is through having had some contact with white culture that his blackness has passed from the immediacy of existence to the meditative state. But at the same time, he has more or less ceased to live his negritude. In choosing to see what he is, he has become split, he no longer co-incides with himself. And on the other hand, it is because he was already exiled from himself that he discovered this need to reveal himself. He therefore begins by exile. It is double exile: the exile of his body offers a magnificent image of the exile of his heart.

The black contribution to the evolution of humanity
is no longer savour, taste, rhythm, authenticity, a bouquet
of primitive instincts; it is a dated enterprize, a long-
staggering construction and also a future. Previously, the
black man claimed his place in the sun in the name of ethnic
qualities; now, he establishes his right to life on his
mission and this mission comes to him from his historic
position: because, he has suffered from exploitation more
than all the others, he has acquired a sense of revolt and
a love of liberty more than all the others. And because
he is the most oppressed, he necessarily pursues the
liberation of all, whom he works for his own deliverance.

Let us greet today the historic chance that will
permit black men to shout out the great negro cry so hard
that the world's foundations will be shaken.

YEARS OF BONDAGE, TIME OF HOPE, A DREAM DEFERRED

By Helen T. Gott
(A Member of The Star's Staff)

AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?

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THE history of the Negro in America has been a history of struggle.

The Negro struggled with his captors in Africa and against the chains of the slave ship. He struggled with his emotions on the Southern auction block when separated from his wife and children.

He struggled to stay alive in a strange country with a strange language and strange customs. He struggled with the soil and the heat and the cold. He struggled with the overseers who beat him into submission, and to maintain a free spirit though his body was enslaved.

But always he dreamed of freedom—and the dream goes on.

Why the Negro is angry today can perhaps be explained through the poem, "Harlem," by Langston Hughes.

What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore—
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over—
like a syrupy sweet?
Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.
Or does it explode?

Today and at other points in history, the anger of the Negro has exploded. When examining four centuries of white exploitation of the Negro in America, one is amazed it has not exploded more often. The anger has always been there.

But sometimes it withered in the plantation sun. Or it festered in the teeming city slums in poverty and undereducation and suffering, ignored for too long by the nation.

Sometimes, as in the South, the Negro's anger was veiled in a clever system of deceptive niceties, which kept him alive and "The Man" off his back. Other times, it can only be detected by the most careful observer in the frowns and wrinkles of nameless black faces.

THE FIRST LOAD OF 20 Negroes was put ashore at Jamestown in 1619 by the captain of a Dutch frigate. This was one year before the landing of the Pilgrims. At the start, Negroes brought to the English colonies were not slaves but indentured servants who, like the white servants, were liberated after years of faithful service.

The early English religious custom allowed slaves that professed a belief in Christianity to be freed. However, in the early 1660's, legislation made it possible for Negroes to be both Christians and slaves, and thus instituted the system of permanent servitude.

Also, other economic factors, such as the demand for cheap and permanent labor for a growing plantation system, caused the importation of slaves to increase sharply in the last half of the 17th century. It is estimated that at the close of the century slaves were being brought in at the rate of 1,- per year.

Some of the African chiefs, after being properly persuaded with gifts, allowed the traders their domain and even appointed assistants. Frequently much coercion was used to secure enough slaves to meet the demands of the traders.

Often fierce wars broke out between tribes when members of one sought to capture those of another to sell to the traders.

The voyage to the Americas was described by historian John Hope Franklin as a "veritable nightmare."

"Mankind has experienced few tortures as ghoulish and uncivilized as the transportation of slaves from Africa to the New World, known as the Middle Passage. The men were chained 2-by-2, the right wrist and ankle of one to the left wrist and ankle of another," he wrote.

About half reportedly died from disease aggravated by the filth and stench of overcrowded conditions. Others went on hunger strikes, committed suicide or permanently maimed themselves by struggling against the chains.

However, it is estimated that perhaps as many as 15 million or more arrived and were sold into slavery.

BUT THE HISTORY OF THE Negro's encounter with the American continent may go back much farther than here.

Recent studies brought out in a book entitled, "From Columbus to Bolivar: the History of Indo-American Literature," contend that Negroid papuan people from New Guinea reached the American hemisphere before Columbus.

Ancient writings of aboriginal peoples of Mexico and Central America theorize that Negroes inhabited the area centuries before the New World discovery. The Aztecs even had a Negro god, named Ixliliton.

That the Negro has been instrumental in the founding and discovery of the New World is evident in the fact that Negroes traveled with Columbus (the pilot, Pedro Alonzo Nino was a black Moor), DeSoto, Balboa, Cortez, Pizarro, Coronado, De Vaca and Marquette and Joliet.

The African Estevanico led Spanish expeditions into New Mexico and Arizona. In 1779 Du Sable, a Negro fur trader, founded the city of Chicago.

Negro slavery in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies of the New World preceded that in the English colonies. Indians proved too susceptible to European diseases, ill-adapted to rigorous plantation work and could easily escape and join others of their race. Therefore, massive Negro enslavement gradually replaced Indian bondage.

Recent comparative studies of slave systems have thrown new light on the present-day racial dilemmas in this country.

It has been noted the Anglo Saxons had not associated with the Africans in large numbers prior to the discovery of America. However, African Moors invaded the Iberian peninsula in the 8th century, pushed the Christians into mountain strongholds and controlled Spain for 400 years. Hence, the Spaniards and Moors became closely related, and this carried over into relationships in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of the New World.

Historians such as Gilberto Freyre, Frank Tannenbaum and Stanley Elkins have argued that slavery was far milder in feudal Latin Catholic cultures than in capitalistic Anglo-Saxon Protestant areas because the basic humanity of the slave managed to be preserved.

They point out in Latin American countries the Negro found that upon freedom, which came without the havoc of civil wars, society did not erect obstacles to prevent him from enjoying his civil and social rights.

OTHER HISTORIANS DISAGREE that slavery was milder in Latin America.

Tannenbaum has written: "The acceptance of the idea of the spiritual equality of men made for a friendly, and elastic milieu within which social change could occur in peace."

The argument is that in a society where the Negro slave was recognized as a person however low his station, that society can also envision him as being a citizen, a free man eventually.

In North America and the British West Indies, however, slaves were reduced to a state of things, completely outside the protection of the church, the courts and law of the state.

In America, the established body of opinion, expressed in the words of Chief Justice Roger Taney in the Dred Scott decision, declared that "a Negro had no rights which a white man need respect."

The slave codes enacted in the South which covered every aspect of the life of a slave, give testimony to this opinion. A slave had no standing in the courts, he could not be a party to a suit at law, he could not offer testimony, except against another slave or free Negro, and he could make no contract.

The greater part of the slave codes involved the many restrictions placed on slaves to insure the maximum protection of the white population and to maintain discipline.

A slave could not strike a white person even in self-defense; but the killing of a slave, however malicious, was rarely regarded as murder.

Threats to the institution of slavery from attempted slave revolts or the activity of abolitionists only resulted in more stringent measures.

The traditional assumption has been that slavery was dying out in the South before Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 17— and that the cotton gin saved the Southern economy. However, some modern historians argue to the contrary.

Studies by L. C. Gray and Merrill Jensen show the Southern agriculture and the economy had strongly recovered from the devastation of the Revolutionary war and had diversified to wheat, corn and timber. Therefore the success of cotton after Whitney's invention, rather than restoring prosperity to a dying region actually redirected the South's energies to even more profitable undertakings.

Moreover, studies show that slaveowners had little intention of freeing their slaves. Prices for slaves remained high, the number of slaveowners increased, and historian Franklin has written that the closing years of the 18th century represented the peak of the slave trade.

The victory of freedom which came with the Revolutionary war was not extended to the black man. Although a few of the founding fathers were against slavery, the forces failed to put an end to the institution.

Professor Staughton Lynd of Chicago State college suggests two basic reasons for this failure. First, even the most liberal of the founding fathers were unable to imagine a society in which whites and Negroes could live together as fellow citizens.

Thomas Jefferson wrote, "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government."

Also, the founding fathers were too committed to the sanctity of private property to envision emancipation.

THUS SLAVERY WAS WRITTEN into the American Constitution in three provisions. First, in deciding the representation of each state, "those bound to serve for a term of years" (Records of the convention show members of Congress in 1783 were ashamed to use the word "slave.") were counted as three-fifths of a person.

The slave trade was extended for twenty years to the year, 1808, and states were required to give up fugitive slaves to their owners. These were the remaining constitutional provisions relating to slavery.

The South benefited greatly from the boom in the textile industry in England and France. Between 1780 and 1800, the annual importation of cotton into Great Britain increased eightfold.

Historian E. F. Frazier believes the growth of the slave population and the expansion of the slave system coincided with the rapid growth of cotton production and the plantation economy. From 1815, the production of cotton increased at a phenomenal rate.

Even after 1808, the year the external slave trade became illegal, between 250,000 and 300,000 slaves were reportedly smuggled into the country. However, the chief growth in the slave population was through natural increase, and the chief means of spreading slavery was the domestic slave trade.

Meanwhile, as early as 1816 American colonization societies were organized to promote colonization of freed slaves to Africa. Based on the example of American slavery, the free Negroes returned to Liberia and reportedly set up their own slavery system, with characteristics just as bad as those in the United States.

The treatment of slaves in America varied from plantation to plantation and greatly depended upon the kindness of the owners and the temperament of the overseers.

In "Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass," the Negro leader describes his experiences as a slave in Maryland before escaping to freedom. He was the son of a slave mother and white father. He was separated from his mother as an infant and spent his early years on a large plantation of three to four hundred slaves.

The following are excerpts from his account:

The men and women slaves received, as their monthly allowance of food, eight pounds of pork, or its equivalent in fish, and one bushel of corn meal. Their yearly clothing consisted of two coarse linen shirts, one pair of linen trousers, like the shirts, one jacket, one pair of trousers for winter, made of coarse Negro cloth, one pair of stockings and one pair of shoes . . . .

The children unable to work . . . their clothing consisted of two coarse linen shirts per year. When these failed them, they went naked until the next allowance-day. Children from seven to ten years old, of both sexes, almost naked, might be seen at all seasons of the year.

There were no beds given the slaves, unless one coarse blanket be considered such, and none but the men and women had these.

This, however, is not considered a very great privation. They find less difficulty from the want of beds, than from the want of time to sleep; for when their day's work in the field is done, the most of them having their washing, mending, and cooking to do, and having few or none of the ordinary facilities for doing either of these, very many of their sleeping hours are consumed in preparing for the field the coming day; and when this is done, old and young, male and female, married and single, drop down side by side, on one common bed, the cold, damp floor . . .

In describing one of the overseers, Mr. Severe:

He was rightly named.

He was a cruel man. I have seen him whip a woman, causing the blood to run half an hour at the time; and this, too, in the midst of her crying children, pleading for their mother's release. He seemed to take pleasure in manifesting his fiendish barbarity . . . .

From the rising till the going down of the sun, he was cursing, raving, cutting, and slashing among the slaves of the field, in the most frightful manner. His career was short. He died very soon after I went to Colonel Lloyd's; and he died as he lived, uttering with his dying groans, utter curses and horrid oaths. His death was regarded by the slaves as the result of a merciful providence.

BY

HEWLETT & BRIGHT.

SALE OF

VALUABLE SLAVES,

(On account of departure)

The Owner of the following named and valuable Slaves being on the eve of departure for Europe, will cause the same to be offered for sale, at the NEW EXCHANGE, corner of St. Louis and Chartres streets, on *Saturday,* May 16, at Twelve o'Clock, *viz.*

1. **SARAH,** a mulatress, aged 45 years, a good cook and accustomed to house work in general, is an excellent and faithful nurse for sick persons, and in every respect a first rate character.

2. **DENNIS,** her son, a mulatto, aged 24 years, a first rate cook and steward for a vessel, having been in that capacity for many years on board one of the Mobile packets; is strictly honest, temperate, and a first rate subject.

3. **CHOLE,** a mulatress, aged 36 years, she is, without exception, one of the most competent servants in the country, a first rate washer and ironer, does up lace, a good cook, and for a bachelor who wishes a housekeeper she would be invaluable; she is also a good ladies' maid, having travelled to the North in that capacity.

4. **FANNY,** her daughter, a mulatress, aged 16 years, speaks French and English, is a superior hair-dresser, (pupil of Guillac,) a good seamstress and ladies' maid, is smart, intelligent, and a first rate character.

5. **DANDRIDGE,** a mulatto, aged 26 years, a first rate dining-room servant, a good painter and rough carpenter, and has but few equals for honesty and sobriety.

6. **NANCY,** his wife, aged about 24 years, a confidential house servant, good seamstress, mantuamaker and tailoress, a good cook, washer and ironer, etc.

7. **MARY ANN,** her child, a creole, aged 7 years, speaks French and English, is smart, active and intelligent.

8. **FANNY or FRANCES,** a mulatress, aged 22 years, is a first rate washer and ironer, good cook and house servant, and has an excellent character.

9. **EMMA,** an orphan, aged 10 or 11 years, speaks French and English, has been in the country 7 years, has been accustomed to waiting on table, sewing etc., is intelligent and active.

10. **FRANK,** a mulatto, aged about 32 years, speaks French and English, is a first rate hostler and coachman, understands perfectly well the management of horses, and is in every respect a first rate character, with the exception that he will occasionally drink, though not an habitual drunkard.

All the above named Slaves are acclimated and excellent subjects; they were purchased by their present vendor many years ago, and will, therefore, be severally warranted against all vices and maladies prescribed by law, save and except FRANK, who is fully guaranteed in every other respect but the one above mentioned.

TERMS:—One-half Cash, and the other half in notes at Six months, drawn and endorsed to the satisfaction of the Vendor, with special mortgage on the Slaves until final payment. The Acts of Sale to be passed before WILLIAM BOSWELL, Notary Public, at the expense of the Purchaser.

New-Orleans, May 13, 1835.

-3-

THE PLANTATION SYSTEM became
[ba]sis of both the Southern economy and
[sta]te, its interests grew increasingly diver-
[gent from] those of the industrial Northeast.
[By 18]50 the economic interests of the two
[region]s began to assume the character of a
[rea]l struggle over slavery, which was led
[by nor]thern abolitionists.

[Abol]itionists of that time included William
[Lloy]d Garrison, editor of The Liberator; Ar-
[thur] Tappan, first president of the American
[anti-]slavery society, formed in Philadelphia
[in 18]33, and John Greenleaf Whittier, "the
[poet] of abolition."

[Hi]storian John Hope Franklin reminds his
[reade]rs, "The whites were not alone in their
[oppos]ition to slavery." He points out Ne-
[groe]s were preaching a strong abolitionist
[doctri]ne long before Garrison was born.

[Bef]ore the Revolutionary war for Indepen-
[dence], slaves in Massachusetts brought actions
[again]st their masters for the freedom which
[they] regarded as their inalienable right. Dur-
[ing and] after the Revolutionary war, Negroes
[sought] the abolition of slavery by petitioning
[the st]ate and federal governments to outlaw
[the sl]ave trade and to embark upon a pro-
[gram] of general emancipation."

[Fra]nklin said Prince Hall, Benjamin Ban-
[neke]r, Absolom Jones and Richard Allen is-
[sued s]trong denunciations of slavery before
[1830]. By 1830 there were 50 Negro abolition-
[ist gr]oups. One of the more famous spokes-
[men] was David Walker, who issued his "Ap-
[peal]," calling for militant action to throw off
[the yo]ke of slavery.

[Neg]roes were active in organizing the
[Ame]rican Anti-Slavery society and served in
[loca]l and regional anti-slavery organizations.
[One] of the more colorful figures was Sojour-
[ner] Truth, who expressed her hatred for
[slave]ry with a strange religious mysticism.

[Neg]roes and whites worked together in set-
[ting u]p the Underground Railroad, an organ-
[ized] system of helping slaves escape to the
[North].

[TH]E EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION,
[issued] January 1, 1863, had a bewildering ef-
[fect] on the vast majority of slaves.

[Histo]rian Frazier said, "Many of the
[slaves] immediately left the plantations when
[they] learned that they were free. On the oth-
[er h]and, the attitude of subordination was
[so] strong in some slaves and they were
[slow] to assert their newly acquired rights."

[Man]y Negroes stayed on the plantations as
[free] servants. Others only stayed long
[enoug]h to earn the initial payment on their
[new f]arm.

[But f]reedom and the Negro's escape from
[econo]mic dependence on whites came a
[break]down of the old social order between
[maste]r and slave.

[How]ever, soon after the war in 1865 and
[1866 the] Southern whites speedily began
[passin]g laws to curb the Negroes and to in-
[sure] they remained as a laboring force
[in the] South.

[Said] Franklin, "these laws bore a remarka-
[ble re]semblance to the ante-bellum slave
[code a]nd can hardly be described as meas-
[ures w]hich respected the rights of Negroes
[as fre]emen.

[He] said several laws limited the areas in
[which] Negroes could rent or purchase prop-
[erty. If] a Negro quit his job, he could be ar-
[rested a]nd imprisoned for breach of con-
[tract. N]egroes were not allowed to vote or to
[testify in] court except in cases involving

their race. Numerous fines were imposed for
seditious speeches, insulting gestures or
acts, absence from work, violating curfew,
and the possession of firearms. There was no
enfranchisement of Negroes and no indica-
tion that in the future they could look for-
ward to full citizenship in the South.

Reconstruction, directed from the North,
began after it was clear the South had no in-
tentions of granting full citizenship to the
Negro.

The plight of the Negro in the South was
not created by instances where the federal
government went too far during reconstruc-
tion, but rather where it did not go far
enough.

A Freedmen's bureau was created in 1865
to help handle the magnitude of problems re-
sulting from the Civil war. However, Presi-
dent Andrew Johnson vetoed a bill to make
the bureau permanent.

W. E. B. DuBois thought it was a mistake:
A Freedmen's bureau, he wrote, established
for ten, twenty or forty years, with a careful
distribution of land and capital and a system
of education for the children, might have
prevented a de facto extension of slavery.

In their own assessment of their needs,
Negroes emphasized the question of land,
which they saw as their hope for economic
independence from the whites.

Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner,
anti-slavery leaders, argued that the Ne-
groes had worked on the land for 250 years
without pay and that the workers upon em-
ancipation deserved to own part of the land.

The Freedmen's bureau received nearly
800,000 acres of land and 5,000 pieces of town
property which were leased to freedmen. But
as the result of President Andrew Johnson's
proclamation of amnesty, practically all of
this land was restored to its former owners,
and the Negro tenants were dispossessed or
became laborers. Another attempt in 1866 to
make land available, not only to the freed-
men but also to the landless whites, was de-
feated.

The sins of radical Reconstruction govern-
ments included fradulent bond issues, graft in
land sales or purchases, and in the letting of
contracts for public works and extravagance
in the use of state funds.

For a time, the legislators of South Carolina
enjoyed the services of a free restaurant and
bar, established for their private use, and
billed the state for such "legislative supplies"
as hams, ladies' bonnets, perfumes, cham-
pagne and, for one unfortunate member, a cof-
fin.

However, while Negroes had influence in
these Southern governments, they did not con-
trol any of them. Even in South Carolina where
Negroes formed 60 per cent of the population
and held a majority in the state legislature, the
whites were always in a position to block the
acts of Negro legislators.

The corruption that took place in the South
during Reconstruction undoubtedly stemmed
from some of the same forces that produced
the Tweed ring in New York and numerous
scandals in the Grant administration.

"The greatest stigma on the white South is
not that it opposed Negro suffrage and re-
sented theft and incompetence," DuBois be-
lieve, "but that when it saw the reform
movement growing and even in some cases
triumphing, and a larger and larger number
of black voters learning to vote for honesty
and ability, it still preferred a Reign of Ter-
ror to a campaign of education, and disfran-
chised the Negroes instead of punishing ras-
cals."

DuBois lists three things which Negro rule
gave to the South—democratic government,
free public schools and new social legisla-
tion.

For example, in South Carolina before Re-
construction, there was a property qualifica-
tion for office-holders, and in part, for vot-
ers. As in other parts of the South, the aris-
tocracy was in control.

However, the state constitution of 1868 was
a modern democratic document. It took up
new subjects of social legislation, declaring
navigable rivers free public highways, insti-
tuting homestead exemptions, establishing
boards of county commissioners, providing
for a new penal code, establishing universal
manhood suffrage without distinction of race
or color and, above all, setting up a com-
plete public school system.

"So satisfactory was the constitution thus
adopted by Negro suffrage and by a conven-
tion composed of a majority of blacks that the
state lived 27 years under it without essen-
tial change, and when the Constitution was re-
vised in 1895, the revision was practically
nothing more than an amplification of the
constitution of 1868." DuBois pointed out.

Reconstruction constitutions, practically
unaltered, were also kept 17 years in Flori-
da, 32 years in Virginia and 22 years in Mis-
sissippi.

He said, "outside the curtailing of ex-
penses and stopping of extravagance, not
only did their successors make few changes
in the work which these legislatures and con-
ventions had done, but they largely carried
out their plans, followed their suggestions,
and strengthened their institutions.

"Practically the whole new growth of the
South has been accomplished under the laws
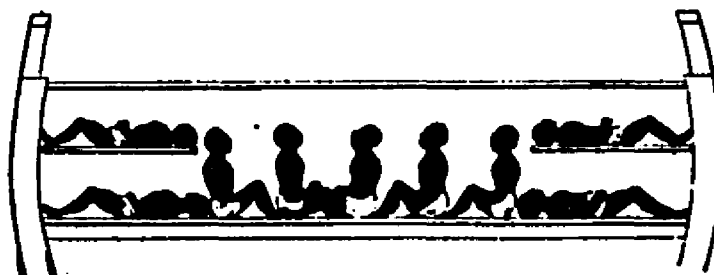
ich black men helped to frame thirty
rs ago. I know of no greater compliment
Negro suffrage."

ame of the Negro Reconstruction leaders
worth and ability were John R. Lynch,
aker of the Mississippi House of Repre-
tatives; Francis Cardozo, treasurer of
th Carolina; and Jonathan C. Gibbs, the
t state superintendent of instruction in
rida.

OTH THE NEGRO LEGISLATURES and
 Freedmen's bureau helped establish a
despread system of free public education
the South. Between June 1, 1865 and Sep-
aber 1, 1871, $5,262,511 was spent on
hools from Bureau funds, and, in 1870, 3,-
 teachers and 149,581 pupils were in day
d night schools.

Nearly all of the present Negro universi-
s and colleges, such as Howard, Fisk and
lanta, were founded or substantially aid-
 in their earliest days by the Freedmen's
reau.

Old and young alike flocked to schools set
 by white teachers from the North
roughout the South. However, the whites
mplained the teachers were communicat-
g to the Negroes ideas of social equality
th whites. Therefore, schools established
 Northern whites were often burned and the
achers driven out of town.

Although Reconstruction did not end
bruptly, the year 1877 was significant as the
ginning of a new phase in the history of
e Negro.

"The phase that began in 1877 was inaugu-
ted by the withdrawal of federal troops
om the South, the abandonment of the Ne-
ro as a ward of the nation, the giving up of
e attempt to guarantee the freedman his
vil and political equality, and the acquies-
nce of the rest of the country in the
uth's demand that the whole problem be
ft to the disposition of the dominant South-
rn white people," historian C. Vann Wood-
ard wrote in "The Strange Career of Jim
row."

To Woodward, the South's adoption of ex-
treme racism was due, not so much to a con-
version, as it was to a relaxation of the op-
position.

By the mid-1870's, Northern businessmen
and liberals, growing more concerned with
reconciliation with the South, began to re-
treat on the race issue . . . "Just as the Ne-
gro gained his emancipation and new rights
through a falling out between white men, he
now stood to lose his rights through the rec-
onciliation of white men," Woodward wrote.

Mississippi, which had taken the lead in
enacting black codes, once again took the lead
in 1890 in enacting constitutional provisions for
disfranchising the Negro. Other states fol-
lowed.

But by such constitutional provisions as poll
taxes, registration months in advance, owner-
ship of property, literacy tests, grandfather
clauses—a person might become a registered
voter if he had served in the Armies of the
United States or the Confederacy or was a de-
scendant of such a person, or had the right of
franchise before 1867—the Southern states were
able to disfranchise practically all Negroes.

DURING THE PERIOD OF Reconstruction
and after, what could not be accomplished by
law was attempted through a reign of terror
upon the Negro.

Lynchings were widespread throughout the
South. Secret societies, such as the Ku Klux
Klan and the White Camelias, armed with
guns, swords or other weapons, patrolled parts
of the South day and night and enjoyed the re-
spect and support of the white community.

"They used intimidation, force, ostracism in
business and society, to accomplish their deeds
. . . Negroes were run out of communities if
they disobeyed orders to desist from voting;
and the more resolute and therefore insubordi-
nate blacks were whipped, maimed and
hanged," Franklin concluded.

Movements in each state to disfranchise the
Negro were generally accompanied by vig-
orous white supremacy campaigns. The legend
of Reconstruction chaos was revived. Novelists
glamorized the Klan and Camelias. A sensa-
tional press played up stories of Negro crime,
charges of rape and attempted rape, and al-
leged instances of arrogance, impertinence,
surly manners.

Mounting racial tension and phobias in the
structure of segregation and discrimination
were extended by the adoption of many Jim
Crow laws.

These laws mushroomed during the first two
decades of this century, and in many cases
segregation was established without the aid of
laws. The absurd and improbable became a
way of life for the South, down to and including
the Jim Crow Bible.

Separation was achieved in theaters, rest
rooms, drinking fountains, waiting rooms and
ticket windows.

Mississippi and South Carolina required Ne-
gro nurses for Negro patients, and Alabama
prohibited white female nurses from attending
Negro male patients. Thirteen Southern and
border states required the separation of pa-
tients by races in mental hospitals, and ten
states specified segregation of inmates in penal
institutions. Segregation of the races in homes
for the aged, the indigent, orphans, the blind,
the deaf and the dumb is the subject of numer-
ous state laws.

Louisiana required separate entrances, exits
ticket windows and ticket sellers that would be
kept at least 25 feet apart. Circuses and ten
shows which could not meet these require-
ments were forced to close or move.

In Oklahoma the telephone company had to
maintain separate booths for white and black
patrons. North Carolina and Florida require
textbooks used by the public school children of
one race be kept separate from those used by
the other, and the Florida law specified separ-
ation even while the books were in storage.

In Mobile, Ala., Negroes had to be off the
streets by 10 o'clock, and a New Orleans ord-
inance segregated white and Negro prostitute
in separate districts.

Historians note the similarity between the
Jim Crow laws and the black codes. Thus the
circle had come full cycle.

The 105-year struggle to break the cycle is
the next chapter in the history of the Negro.
This story winds its way through constitutional
amendments and civil rights legislation aimed
at rectifying the wrongs of the Jim Crow and
black code laws. It is also told in the account of
the civil rights movement which begins on
page 18. The entire combination has brought
the Negro to a new plateau in a story which be-
gan more than four centuries ago and has yet
to find an ending.
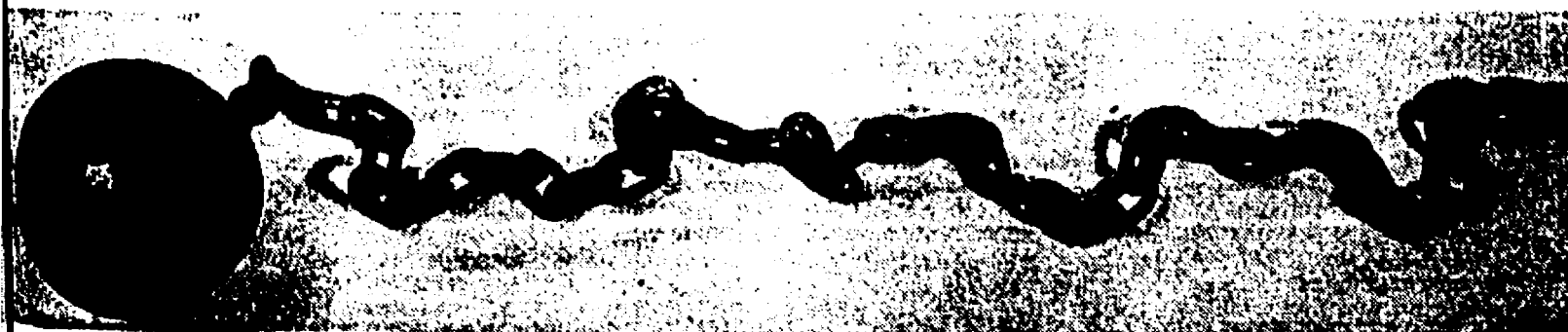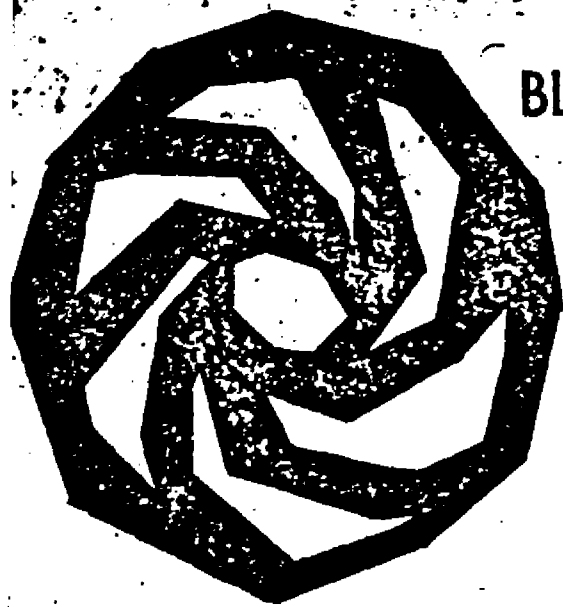
BLACK POWER:

the politics

of liberation

in America

Stokely Carmichael was an organizer and chairman of SNCC, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. He was one of the field workers who organized the black voters in Lowndes County, Alabama, in 1966. His book is based on his study of philosophy and his experience of civil rights work in the South where his friends were murdered and their murderers acquitted in courts of law, and his experience of coalition with Northern liberals and their betrayal.

Foreword:
This book presents a political framework and ideology which represents the last reasonable opportunity for this society to work out its racial problems short of prolonged destructive guerrilla warfare. That such violent warfare may be unavoidable is not herein denied. But if there is the slightest chance to avoid it, the politics of Black Power as described in this book is seen as the only viable hope.
Stokely Carmichael,
Charles V. Hamilton
August, 1967
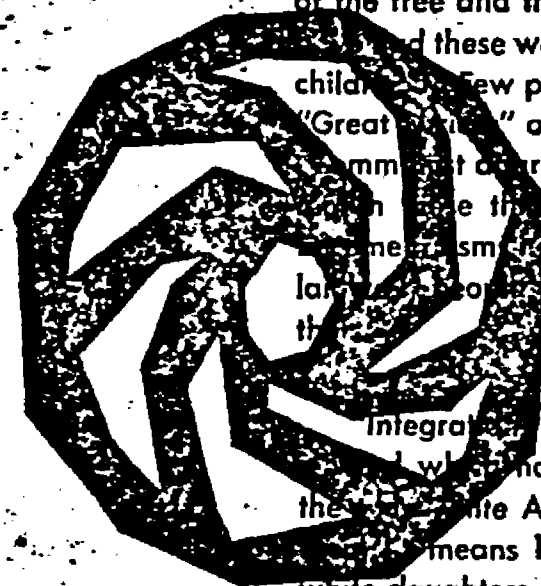
Today, the American educational system continues to reinforce the entrenched values of the society through the use of words. Few people in this country question that this is "the land of the free and the home of the brave." They ___ d these words drummed into them from child___ Few people question that this is the "Great ___" or that this country is fighting ___ ression" around the world. We ___ e th___ s over and over, and they ___ me ___ sm ___ t to be questioned. In a simi-la ___ ___ ave been saddled with epi-th ___

Integra ___ is another current example of ___ w ___ as been defined according to the ___ te Americans see it. To many of ___ means black men wanting to marry white daughters; it means "race mixing"—implying bed or dance partners. To black people, it has meant a way ___ their lives—economically and p ___ ly. ___ the ___ inant white defini ___ uck ___ the m ___ of too many pe ___

Black peo ___ ust ___ s ___ only they can ___ o tha ___ ountry, vast segments ___ f th ___ lack ___ mmun ___ s are be-ginning to re ___ th ___ eed to ___ their own definition ___ recl ___ istory, thei ___ culture, to crea ___ eir ov ___ nce ___ mun ___ and togethernes ___ There ___ growing res ___ ment of the wor ___ egro ___ xample, cause this term is the ___ es-sor; it is his image of us th ___ es. Many blacks are now calling themselves African-Americans, Afro-Americans or black people be-

that is [ ] of ourselves. When we begin to define our own image, the stereotypes — that is, lies — that our oppressor has developed will begin in the white community and end there. The black community will have a positive image of itself that it has created. This means we will no longer call ourselves lazy, apathetic, dumb, good-timers, shiftless, etc. Those are words used by white America to define us. If we accept these adjectives, as some of us have in the past, then we see ourselves only in a negative way, precisely the way white America wants us to see ourselves. Our incentive is broken and our will to fight is surrendered. From now on we shall view ourselves as African-Americans and as black people who [are] energetic, determined, intelligent, beautiful and [life]-loving.

[   ] is a [termino]logy [   ] peculiar to the black community [in] which black people [are] begin[ning] [to be] ashamed. Black c[ommunit]ies [are] the [la]rge s[eg]ments c[of] the society [whe]re peo[ple] [re]fer to [ea]ch other as [m]other [   ]so[   ] soul-s[   ] [so]me people [m]ay [   ] [it] [   ], or make-believe [b]ut [it is] n[ot] [th]at. [   ] real. [   ] is a growing se[nse of] comm[unit]y. It is [a gr]owing realization [that b]lack Am[ericans h]ave a common bond not on[ly] [among them]selves, but with their African brothers . . . More and more black Americans are developing this feeling. They are becoming aware that they have a history which predates their forced introduction to this country. African-American history means a long history beginning on the continent of Africa, a history not taught in the standard textbooks

of this country. It is absolutely essential that black people know this history, that they know their roots, that they develop an awareness of their cultural heritage. Too long have they been kept in submission by bei[ng told they] had no culture, no manif[est] [herita]ge, [before they] landed on the slave [au]ction [block] in thi[s coun]try. If black p[eople] are to kn[ow themselves] as a vibrant, [   ] [they must know] their roots. A[nd that will] [accou]nt for all the Hollywood im[age] of [man-]eating [canni]bal[s] waiting for, [and] wai[ting for] the Great White Hunter is a lie [   ].

With redef[inition will] come [a clear notion] of the role black A[merican]s can play in the world. This role w[ill] emerge [cle]arly out of [the] unique, common expe[rien]ces of [the Africans].

Only when black pe[ople] [can de]velop this sense of community of themselves, can they begin to deal effectively with the problems of racism in this country. This is what we mean by a new consciousness; this is the vital first step.

The next step is what we shall call the process of political modernization — a process which must take place if the society is to be rid of [   ]. "Political modernization" includes [ma]ny thi[ngs, but] we mean by it three major [poin]ts: (1) [question]ing old values and institu[tions of] [t]he [soci]et[y]; (2) searching for new and [legi]t[imate form]s of p[oli]tical structure to solve [our] [ec]onomi[c pro]blems; and (3) broad[enin]g the [base] of [politica]l participation to in[clud]e mor[e] [pe]op[le] [in the] decision-making pro[cess]. [   ] values of th[is] [soc]iety support a racist [system, an]d it i[s] [fat]uous to ask black peo[ple] [t]o adop[t and supp]ort most of those values.

IDEAS FOR TEACHING ABOUT BLACK AMERICANS

At the 1970 conference in San Francisco, the National Education Association passed a Continuing Resolution (18) to the effect that January 15 should be designated "Human Relations Day," in memory of Martin Luther King. The resolution called upon the President of the United States to proclaim that date a national holiday, and it urged all school systems to plan appropriate observances.

Many teachers experience difficulty in initiating appropriate classroom activities on black culture and recognition of other minority-group contributions to our society. They ask, What can we do that isn't stereotyped or trite? What will catch the interest of the students and be meaningful to them?

In answer to these questions, the NEA Center for Human Relations has prepared a list of activities dealing with black culture that should be relevant to all students. *Many of the ideas can also be used for appropriately timed emphasis on the culture of other American minority groups: Orientals, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Indians, and others.*

Students must be helped to have understanding of and respect for other cultures, rather than a condescending tolerance or lofty acceptance. They must be helped to realize that every group has something to offer. The following suggestions may enhance your classroom efforts in multicultural appreciation.

• Prepare a display on Martin Luther

The NEA Center for Human Relations has prepared a bibliography of materials that can be used in celebrating Human Relations Day and Negro History Week. Free single copies are available from Dept. M, Today's Education, 1201 Sixteenth Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (Please enclose a stamped self-addressed envelope with your request.)

King—his life and work—complete with books, pictures, and records. Encourage students to do extra research. Invite an outside speaker if needed. (Grades 7-12)

• Reenact the scene in which Dr. King received the Nobel Peace Prize. Ask the class to research the origin of the Nobel prizes and to find what other ethnic groups are represented among the winners. (8-12)

• Read "I Have a Dream" to the class, and/or other speeches by Dr. King. (5-12)

• Discuss "freedom fighters" of all races. What qualities must a freedom fighter have? Debate. (10-12)

• Discuss outstanding black people in history and at the present time. Include local as well as nationally known figures. (2-12)

• Put up posters of black heroes both past and present. Combine this with photos and articles from current newspapers and magazines. (K-12)

• Have each student read a book about a black person. If the student is black, ask him to choose someone whose life he is unfamiliar with. (5-12)

• Hold a round table or panel debate on American history: Do most texts present it fairly? Do they adequately present the roles of blacks, Chinese, Mexicans, and Indians? If not, what can be done to remedy the situation? (10-12)

• Take the class to see places connected with Negro history if any are near (the Frederick Douglass House in Washington, D.C., for example). (3-8)

• Show a movie or filmstrip dealing with Negro history or race relations in general. (7-12)

• Discuss folk heroes like John Henry, the steel-driving man. Discuss the difference between larger-than-life heroes, such as John Henry and Paul Bunyan, and real-life heroes, such as Charles Drew, an outstanding black physician. (6-12)

• Discuss what makes a hero. Does it take something special to be a black hero? (9-12)

• Ask students to write an essay on "The Black Hero(ine) I Most Admire," giving reasons for their choices. (9-12)

• Ask black people well-known locally to speak to the class about Negro history. (2-12)

• Assign a team to research and report on the black history of your area. (6-12)

• Let each student write an essay on the relevance black history has for him. Discuss. (9-12)

• Divide the class into teams. Ask each to make a collage on black history or black people in general. Display. (4-8)

• Encourage students to dramatize a scene from black history after they have read about it. (5-12)

• Assign student teams to research and discuss achievements of blacks in sports, entertainment, medicine, invention, fashion (for the new black models),

---

education, and business. The local library, local citizens, newspapers, *Ebony* magazine, and other printed sources will be helpful. (7-12)

• Let the class sing spirituals and discuss their origins. Invite a black music teacher in your area to help if needed. (6-12) Ask a local singer to come to class and sing a spiritual or other song associated with black culture. (K-6)

• Discuss how African music has affected music in our country. Again, invite a black music teacher to assist if needed. (6-12)

• Invite a dance teacher to speak on African and Afro-American dance. Pay special attention to the role played by drums. (3-12)

• Contact the local "soul" radio station for copies of Profiles in Black or other history-type spots, or have a group of students do this. Let the class research how a "soul" show is put together. Is there a difference between this and other programming? Discuss and debate. (7-12)

• Play the "Negro National Anthem." Discuss the composer (James Weldon Johnson), and the origins of this anthem. (4-8)

• Ask students to read poetry and prose by outstanding black writers and discuss what these authors are trying to say. (6-10)

• Get copies of periodicals like *Ebony, Black World,* and *The Negro History Bulletin* for your reading table. Ask the class to read and react to these periodicals. (7-12)

• Let the class dramatize part of *A Raisin In the Sun.* Discuss whether this is strictly a black play or whether its scope is universal. (9-12)

• Read your class stories of black children, such as *Tobe* (by Stella G. Sharpe, University of North Carolina Press). Combine this with a picture display of black notables. (K-5)

• Read Uncle Remus stories to the children, and Philip Sherlock's *Anansi, The Spider Man* or his *West Indian Folk-Tales.* Discuss the black oral tradition or ask a knowledgeable person to talk with the class about it. (K-7)

• Take the class to see exhibitions or artwork by black artists; visit a museum or shop where African artifacts and Afro-American displays are featured. (1-12) Ask local black artists or sculptors to talk to the class about their work and careers. (3-12)

• Let the class use clay to make African baskets, drums, masks, and other artifacts. Make an Afro display featuring the finished work. (K-6)

• Help the class build a small-scale African or Afro-American display: an African village, slave quarters, or black history scene. Use wood or metals. (Industrial and manual arts classes, wood or metal shop, 10-12)

• Ask the class to collect "soul food" recipes and if possible have a "taste

corner." Get an expert to discuss the origin of this cooking. (Home economics, chef's classes, 10-12)

• Ask students to write a short essay on "How I Learned About Prejudice." Discuss. (5-12)

• Discuss the facts about the differences in skin color between races (the pigments melanin and carotene are factors). Invite an expert to visit the class and assist in the discussion. (6-10)

• Role play "black" situations. Take a scene from a book or article and let students dramatize it and then discuss their reactions. (7-12)

• Discuss TV programs featuring black performers, and ask for student reactions. (9-12)

• Assign student teams to research the civil rights movement from 1954 to the present. Arrange photos for a bulletin board display. (8-12)

• Ask students to make a list for the bulletin board of TV shows or movies about blacks that they might watch or attend with their families. (7-12)

• Assign groups of students to photograph, draw, or collect pictures dealing with "The Black Experience." Discuss this in terms of black history, past and present. Encourage students to make a film on this topic, if possible. (8-12)

• Ask students to pretend they are characters in black history. Have them make up a story about how they would feel and justify their feelings. (5-12)

• Hold a class symposium on racism, after students have researched the topic. Invite outside persons, especially blacks, for their reactions and questions. (10-12)

• Invite local black veterans to talk with the class about black men in military service—World War II, Korea, Vietnam. What were their reactions and feelings? How did they deal with racism? What is the history of the black soldier? (10-12)

• Devise a "prejudice exercise" involving discrimination based on eye color, hair color, short vs. tall students, children from small vs. large families, and so on. Set this up for one day of discrimination toward the "out group" and use a second day for discussion. For special emphasis, let the groups reverse so that the former in group becomes the out group. (3-12)

• Read "Unfinished Story" on page 71 of this issue of *Today's Education.* Let the class discuss the incident. (4-6)

These are only some of the activities that can grow out of celebration of Human Relations Day (on January 15, Martin Luther King's birthday) and/or Negro History Week. You and your students will want to make additions, adding a unique dimension to the projects you select.

---NEA Center for Human Relations.

poems

AFRICA

Africa, land of our Fathers,
Known in times that are old,
Africa, home of our Mothers,
A great story yet untold!

Mysteriously weird in land and clime,
Different because of its color,
But the same in body and mind,
For then, white can call black "Brother"!

JOMO KENYATTA

Jomo Kenyatta, an African king,
He fought, for freedom called,
Against invaders of his land,
This act forced his people to
Take their stand.

Kenya is his home base,
His total life is here,
Their independence they obtained
And their land, they control
and maintain.

A REPLY

Dear Capt. Leon J. Carter III

It's not your skin that tortures me,
Although my skin is white.
It's that a mind like yours, you see
Is hidden in the night.

I think the message that you give,
To every thinking man,
Must forever live
In faces white or tan.

For my friend you have the knack,
Of saying what is true,
And I wish that I were Black,
If I could be like you.

Frank Levine

This poem was written in answer to one that was published in the October *Negro History Bulletin,* entitled Continuum (Sun-To-Mother) authored by Captain Carter .