"I HAVE A DREAM":

A Material Package on African American History and Culture with a Focus on Communicative Competence.

> Master's Thesis Tommi Mäkinen

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta – Faculty	Laitos – Department
Humanistinen Tiedekunta	Kielten Laitos
Tekijä – Author Tommi Mäkinen	
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Vieraan kielen opetuksessa on yleensä keskitytty suullista osaamista enemmän muihin kielen osa-alueisiin. Lukio-opetuksessa on painotettu kuullun ja luetun ymmärtämistä sekä kirjoittamista, koska niitä tarvitaan ylioppilaskirjoituksissa. Asiaa on pyritty muuttamaan luomalla erillisiä puhekursseja, joissa oppilaita rohkaistaan suullisen kielitaidon harjoittamiseen. Lukion opetussuunnitelman mukaan vieraan kielen tuntemuksen lisäksi oppilaan tulisi tietää myös kulttuurista tai kulttuureista, joissa kieltä puhutaan.

Tämä pro gradu -tutkielma keskittyy suullisen kielitaidon sekä kulttuuritietämyksen kehittämiseen. Sen sisältämät materiaalit on suunniteltu kehittämään lukiolaisten suullisen englannin kielen taitoa. Tekstien ja tehtävien teemana on afroamerikkalainen historia ja kulttuuri. Materiaalipaketti sisältää myös loppukokeen.

Teoriatausta koostuu Bachmanin kommunikatiivisen kielitaidon mallista sekä interaktiivisen kompetenssin teoriasta. Molemmat teoriat korostavat oppilaiden keskinäisen vuorovaikutuksen merkitystä suullisen kielitaidon kehityksessä. Tämä on otettu huomioon materiaalipaketin tehtäviä suunniteltaessa. Lisäksi tekstit tarjoavat oppilaille mahdollisuuden oppia uusia sanoja ja sanontoja.

Materiaalipaketin tekstit alkavat Atlantin orjakaupasta ja päättyvät 2000-luvun alkuun. Tekstit käsittelevät afroamerikkalaisten nousua orjuudesta, taistelua kansalaisoikeuksista sekä heidän kulttuurinsa kehittymistä Yhdysvalloissa. Rasismia ja epätasa-arvoa käsitellään kyseisen ryhmän perspektiivistä. Näitä teemoja tarkastellaan myös nyky-Suomen näkökulmasta.

Asiasanat – Keywords Suullinen kielitaito, communicative competence, interactive competence, African American history.

Säilytyspaikka – Depository

Muita tietoja – Additional information

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1. Introduction

In the National Core Curriculum of Upper Secondary Schools (2003), the Finnish National Board of Education establishes the goals for foreign language teaching. In essence, it intends to develop a learner's intercultural communication skills. They are defined as skills and knowledge of the language itself as well as the culture/cultures in the community where the language is spoken. The material package presented in this Master's thesis shares these goals. The means to those ends include developing learners' communicative competence as well as teaching them about African American history and culture. The latter is the theme which provides various topics for the students to discuss. The materials include different activities that require learners' to interact with each other. Through active use and practice, their communicative abilities will improve.

Many upper-secondary schools have optional courses that focus on students' oral communication skills. The literature suggests that these skills are quite commonly practiced and developed through presentations and various pair, or group activities. Although this material package includes that type of items, the difference is that a specific theme has been selected to motivate learners. The idea is to provide them with texts and exercises that are meaningful and relate to the world around them. The material package integrates communicative competence with intercultural competence.

The goal of this material package is two-fold: to teach students about African American history and culture, and develop learners' communicative competence. The former is the theme through which the latter is achieved. A meaningful, interesting and real-life topic motivates and educates learners'. For the latter goal, two models have been selected as a frame of reference in creating exercises and means of evaluating students' English language competence. They are Bachman's communicative language ability, and interactional competence theory. The former was selected because of its long history and contribution to the field of second language learning. The latter theory provides a different view into interaction and communication, which is why it is included. All of the selected models have their strengths and weaknesses, which are studied in this thesis. The content of the material package is in accordance with the National Core Curriculum of Upper Secondary Schools (2003). In addition, it adds to learners' knowledge of the United States as well as its history and culture since the texts focus on events that took place there.

Given the theme and pedagogical goal of the material package, the learners' have to have knowledge of both the English language and North-American history. That is why this package has been designed for Finnish upper secondary school students. The level of their education makes it possible to use learning tasks that give students more independence and responsibility for their learning. One important aspect of this is a learner's knowledge of his/her strengths and weaknesses, which is also one of the objectives of foreign language learning in *the National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools* (2003). It also states that students should understand that learning another language requires active practice. These two aspects have been taken into account in this material package as well.

Learners can be expected to be able to read, comprehend, and discuss long and challenging texts. In addition to the education they have received, they are mature enough to discuss the various topics featured in this material package, and review events objectively with respect to the time and place. They should also be able to find parallels with past and present events. Ideally, the various themes and tasks featured in this material package will encourage students to interact with each other and share their thoughts on what they have learned.

The structure of this MA thesis is as follows: the second chapter introduces the two central theories of the thesis: the communicative language ability, and interactive competence theory. The practical implications of communicative language teaching are then discussed in chapter three followed by a description of the role of the teacher in chapter four. Chapter five discusses the theoretical background of test designing which have influenced the exam featured in this thesis. Finally, the material package itself is introduced in chapter six. It contains information on the texts, related activities, and the exam. In addition, it takes a look at both the target group of the material package and African Americans.

2. Theoretical Background

There have been many methods and approaches to language teaching over the centuries. These ideas have been introduced, buried, and reintroduced time and time again. In fact, each generation is more than ready to congratulate itself for re-inventing the wheel. This

cycle is proof of the fact that ideas are not created in a vacuum. It is quite the opposite; ideas are influenced by other ideas (K. Johnson 2001: 162-163). This is also the case with communicative language teaching which this Master's thesis focuses on. The idea of 'communicative competence' was introduced in the 1960s by Dell Hymes. He used it to underline the fact that communication and speaking a language require more than just knowledge of grammar rules (Rickheit et. al. 2010: 15).

Communicative language teaching has been the focus of second language teaching since the 1970s. The goal is simply to communicate with other speakers of the target language. The focus has been on listening and speaking skills as well as reading "authentic" texts and writing for specific communicative purposes (Brown 1994a: 226). It is important to remind the learners that they study a foreign language for the sake of communication. Tests are merely tools for assessment, not the real goal.

The theoretical background of this thesis comprises of two theories: Bachman's Communicative Language Ability and the Interactive Competence Theory. Both contain valuable information on language competence, which help to construct this material package. Although both have their unique features, they also have similarities. For example, interaction between students is an important part of both theories. However, their views on the responsibilities of the participants differ.

When studying these models it is important to acknowledge the difference between performance and competence. According to Brown (1994a: 31), "competence refers to one's underlying knowledge of a system, event, or fact. It is the nonobservable ability to do something, to perform something." Performance, on the other hand, is the product of competence, and clearly observable; it is singing, walking, speaking. Brown (1994a: 31) adds that performance is "the actual production (speaking, writing) or the comprehension (listening, reading) of linguistic events."

The selected models are presented in chronological order starting from Bachman's Communicative Language Ability followed by the Interactive Competence Theory. At the end of this chapter there is a detailed description of how these two theories are put to practical use in the form of classroom activities and exercises.

2.1. Bachman's Communicative Language Ability

Earlier models have made clear distinctions between skills (listening, speaking, writing, and reading) and components of knowledge (grammar, vocabulary, phonology). However, they do not explain how these two are related. "It was not clear whether skills were a manifestation of the knowledge components in different modalities and channels, or whether they were qualitatively different in other ways (Bachman 1990: 82)." Bachman (1990: 82) states that reading and writing differ from each other more than in just that one involves interpretation while the other expression. Otherwise, if one were able to read T.S. Eliot, s/he could also write like him.

According to Bachman (1990: 82-83), the skills/components model has a more serious limitation: its failure to recognize the context of language use — the contexts of discourse and situation. Researchers such as Halliday and van Dijk clearly recognize the context of language in their work. Hymes, on the other hand, further recognizes the sociocultural factors in the speech situation. These ideas have created an expanded conception of language proficiency. The distinguishing characteristic is that it recognizes context as something that covers the sentence as well as the appropriate language use. "This context includes both the discourse, of which individual utterances and sentences are part, and the sociolinguistic situation which governs, to a large extent, the nature of that discourse, in both form and function (Bachman 1990: 82-83)." Bachman (1990: 82-83) adds that with this comes the recognition of the dynamic interaction between the context and discourse. It expands the view on communication to being more than the transfer of information.

Canale and Swain's communicative competence model had a major influence in the field of second language teaching and testing for over a decade (M. Johnson 2001: 156-157). However, it had some limitations. In 1990 Bachman introduced his model called *communicative language ability* (CLA) (Bachman 1990: 81-107, M. Johnson 2001: 161). It is based on Canale and Swain's model (M. Johnson 2001: 81). In his book, *Fundamental considerations in language testing* (1990: 81-82), Bachman states that CLA is only a framework instead of a complete theory of language ability. Therefore, it is bound to evolve through empirical research in language testing.

Communicative language ability consists of "both knowledge, or competence, and the capacity for implementing, or executing that competence in appropriate, contextualized communicative language use (Bachman 1990: 84)." Bachman's framework includes three components: language competence, strategic competence, and psychophysiological mechanisms. These components are illustrated in *Image* 1.

Bachman describes language competence as comprising of a set of specific knowledge components that are used in communication through language. Strategic competence refers to a person's mental capacity for using the components of language competence in language use in relation to its context. It combines an individual's knowledge structures (knowledge of the world, and sociocultural knowledge) with his/her language competence (Bachman 1990: 84). Strategic competence includes such cognitive language skills as planning, assessing, and executing (M. Johnson 2001: 162). "Psychophysiological mechanisms refer to the neurological and psychological process involved in the actual execution of language as a physical phenomenon (Bachman 1990: 84)." The next chapters discuss these three components in more detail.

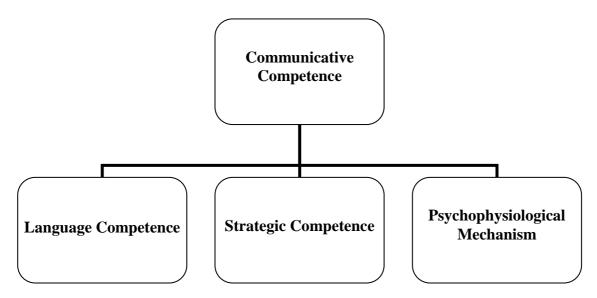


Image 1. Bachman's Communicative Language Ability (Adapted from Bachman 1990)

2.1.1. Language competence

Bachman's language competence can be classified into two types: organizational competence and pragmatic competence. They in turn consist of several categories. Organizational competence includes morphology, syntax, vocabulary, cohesion, and

organization. Pragmatic competence, on the other hand, not only consists of Bachman and Palmer's sociolinguistic competence (sensitivity to register, naturalness, and cultural reference), but also of those abilities related to the functions that are performed through the use of language. Bachman depicts the hierarchy of the components that form language competence with the following tree diagram (*Image 2*). However, he points out that this representation emphasizes one aspect at the expense of another. In this case, hierarchy receives more attention while giving the false impression that the components operate separately and independently of each other. Actually, they all interact with each other as well as with the features of the language use situation. It is this very process which characterizes language competence (Bachman 1990: 86-87). Organizational competence, pragmatic competence, and their respected components are discussed in the following chapters.

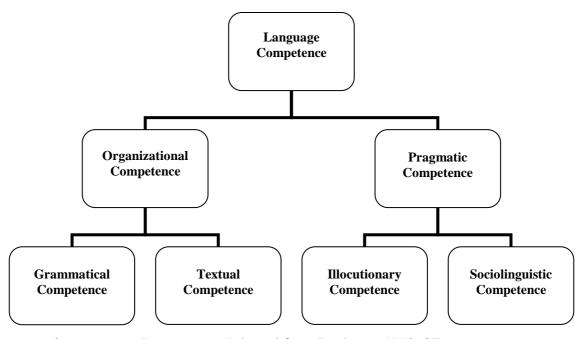


Image 2. Language Competence (Adapted from Bachman 1990: 87)

Organizational competence

Bachman (Bachman 1990: 87) describes organizational competence as "comprising of those abilities involved in controlling the formal structure of language for producing or recognizing grammatically correct sentences, comprehending their propositional content, and ordering them to form texts." These abilities fall under two groups: grammatical and textual.

Grammatical competence

The competencies that are involved in language use are included in grammatical competence. Such relatively independent competencies as knowledge of vocabulary, morphology, syntax, and phonology/graphology are part of it. They influence the choice of words to express certain meanings, their forms and positions to express propositions, and their physical realization (sounds or written symbols) (Bachman 1990: 87).

Textual competence

The second group of organizational competence is called textual competence. It contains the knowledge of the conventions of forming a text either in spoken or written form. It consists of two or more utterances or sentences that are structured obeying the rules cohesion and rhetorical organization. The former refers to ways of explicitly marking semantic relationships such as substitution, relationships, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion, as well as, the conventions that influence the ordering of old and new information (Bachman 1990: 88).

Rhetorical organization applies to the overall structure of a text, and is related to its effect on the language user. Some of its conventions include common methods of development such as narration, description, comparison, classification, and process analysis. Besides written discourse, textual competence is involved in conversational language use. Its components are represented in much of the work in discourse analysis that takes conversation as its primary starting point (Bachman 1990: 88).

Pragmatic competence

Semantic knowledge refers to a person's understanding of the relationship between a word and its referent. It is an important component of communicative language use. However, Bachman (1990: 89) stresses the equal importance of pragmatic competence. He quotes van Dijk's two aspects of pragmatics:

(1) the examination of the 'pragmatic conditions' that determine whether or not a given utterance is acceptable to other users of the language as an act, or the performance of an intended function; and (2) the characterization of the conditions that determine 'which utterances are successful in which situations' (Bachman 1990: 89).

Based on this description, Bachman concludes that pragmatics is concerned with the relationships between utterances and the acts or functions that the expresser wishes to perform by employing them. He refers to these as illocutionary forces. In addition to

these forces, pragmatics focuses on the appropriateness of utterances that is defined by the context in which language is used. Bachman's notion of pragmatic competence includes illocutionary competence and sociolinguistic competence (Bachman 1990: 89-90).

Illocutionary competence

According to Bachman, reference to the theory of speech acts can be used to introduce the notion of illocutionary competence. He employs Searle's distinction of the three types of speech acts: utterance acts, propositional acts, and illocutionary acts. An utterance act takes place whenever someone says something. A propositional act can be either a reference to something or a statement about something. An illocutionary act is the function (warning, request, etc.) of the utterance. Thus, the propositional content and intended illocutionary act describe the meaning of an utterance. Bachman adds that the effect of the utterance is dependent on the illocutionary and grammatical competencies of all those involved in the speech event. In addition, non-language competency factors, such as willingness, play an important role in it. For example, there are various direct and indirect ways to ask for help. "Help me!" represents the former while "boy, this box is heavy" is an example of the latter. After the request has been uttered it depends on the recipient's ability or willingness to comply (Bachman 1990: 90-91).

The discussion of speech acts offers a clear distinction between form and function. Since language functions relate to the expression of language (speaking, writing), and its interpretation (listening, reading), Bachman states that a broader framework is needed. A large extent of his description of language functions draws on Halliday. Bachman (1990: 92-94) introduces four macro-functions: ideational, manipulative, heuristic, and imaginative. *Ideational* is described as the most pervasive function of the four. It is used to express one's experience of the real world that includes feelings and knowledge. The *manipulative* functions, such as *instrumental*, *regulatory*, and *interactional*, are used to affect the world around us. The third function, *heuristic*, appears in situations when language is used to extend one's knowledge of the world. Such acts like teaching, learning, and problem solving represent this group. The final function, *imaginative*, is used to create or extend environments in the form of jokes, stories, or fantasies. Despite their distinctiveness, several of these functions can be fulfilled in most instances of language use (Bachman 1990: 92-94).

Sociolinguistic competence

The appropriateness of language use and how they are executed depend on the context in which they take place. Various sociocultural and discoursal features also influence it. Sociolinguistic competence enables one to perform accepted language functions in given contexts. The following abilities fall under sociolinguistic competence: sensitivity to differences in dialect or variety, register and naturalness, and the ability to interpret cultural references and figures of speech (Bachman 1990: 94-95).

Sensitivity to differences in dialect or variety is an important part of sociolinguistic competence. Geographical regions or social groups influence various dialects and varieties of a language. They have their own conventions, and the appropriateness of their use differ depending on the context (Bachman 1990: 95).

The term 'register' refers to specific language use within a dialect or variety. It also falls under sociolinguistic competence. Halliday, McIntosh, and Stevens (Bachman 1990: 95-96) identified three aspects in which register varies: field of discourse, mode of discourse, and style of discourse. The first aspect refers to the setting, or topic of discussion. For example, lectures and written essays consist mainly of the subject matter. Variations in register also depend on the mode of discourse – spoken or written. In addition, the discourse domain in which it takes place has certain requirements, for example, a job application contains more formal language than an email to a friend. The third aspect, style of discourse, depends on the relationship of the participants. For example, one might talk to his/her mother in a different manner than to a bank manager. According to Joos, there are five levels of style, or register, in language use: frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate. The ability to recognize them determines whether or not one succeeds in achieving the desired illocutionary force of his/her utterances (Bachman 1990: 96).

Another aspect of sociolinguistic competence is called sensitivity to naturalness. It refers to a person's ability to form utterances that are both grammatically correct and phrased in a nativelike way as Pawley and Syder call it (Bachman 1990: 97).

The final aspect of sociolinguistic competence is the ability to interpret cultural references and figures of speech. Bachman admits that many of these will be incorporated into the lexicon of any language, therefore making them part of lexical, or

vocabulary competence. However, he stresses the importance of knowledge of the extended meanings which are given by a specific culture. By extended meaning, he refers to particular events, places, and people that are relevant to a cultural reference. In addition, the ability to understand figures of speech is an important part of this aspect (Bachman 1990: 97-98).

2.1.2. Strategic competence

According to Bachman (1990: 98), many frameworks of communicative competence have recognized language use as a dynamic process. It involves the assessment of relevant information in the context, and a negotiation of meaning by the language user. This view has been reflected in the literature on interlanguage communication strategies as well. Two approaches have been made to define communication strategies: the 'interactional' definition and the 'psycholinguistic' definition.

Bachman (1990: 98-99) employs Tarone's definition to describe the interactional definition as a communication strategy in which two participants with different meaning structures try to achieve a shared meaning. Tarone's notion of meaning structure includes linguistic and sociolinguistic rule structures, and separates communication strategies from it. Færch and Kasper state that an interactional view is too narrow since it only pertains in situations where the interlocutors negotiate meaning. It fails to take into account such acts as writing and reading which in some instances do not produce feedback. Tarone offers the production strategy as a solution to this issue. These strategies do not share the interactional focus on the negotiation of meaning. Tarone (Bachman 1990: 99) describes it as "an attempt to use one's linguistic system efficiently and clearly, with a minimum of effort."

According to Bachman (1990: 99), the interactional definition has been accepted by many frameworks of communicative competence. For example, Canale and Swain's model contains strategic competence as a separate component. It includes both verbal and non-verbal communication strategies which are used when breakdowns in communication occur. Canale extended his definition to include production strategies. Bachman (ibid) points out that while both provide some indication of the function of strategic competence; they do not explain the mechanism behind it.

Færch and Kasper's (Bachman 1990: 100) provide a more general description of strategies of communication with their psycholinguistic model. It features a planning phase and an execution phase. The former comprises of communicative goals and a planning process which result in a plan. Communicative goals are formed by three components: 1) an actional element, associated with speech acts; 2) a modal element associated with the interlocutors' role relationship; and 3) a propositional element related to the content. The planning process itself is an interaction of three components: the communicative goal, the individual's communicative resources, and the assessment of the communicative situation. The final phase, or executive phase, consists of 'neurological and physiological processes'. In this phase the plan is implemented and the result is language use.

Bachman's view on strategic competence differs from that of Færch and Kasper's (1990: 100). He sees it not as a compensating factor for deficient language abilities but as an important part of all communicative language use. Therefore, he extends their model by including three components: assessment, planning, and execution.

The assessment component (Bachman 1990: 100) enables one to establish the following aspects of a communicative situation: 1) the necessary information (dialect, or variety) for achieving a particular communicative goal; 2) the available language competencies to help one achieve his/her communicative goals; 3) the abilities and knowledge shared by the interlocutors; and 4) the effect of one's communicative attempt in achieving set goals.

The planning component (Bachman 1990: 101-102) searches the language competence for relevant items to be used in achieving the communicative goals. Depending on the situation and one's abilities, this information can be retrieved from the native language, the user's interlanguage rule system, or the second or foreign language. However, Bachman (1990: 102) states that communication is more than just interpreting a text. Instead, it is a process in which discourse and context interact.

The final component is called the execution component. Bachman (1990: 103) describes its functions as "... draws on the relevant psychophysiological mechanisms to implement the plan in the modality and channel appropriate to the communicative goal and the context."

2.1.3. Psychophysiological mechanisms

The final component of Bachman's communicative competence model is called 'psychophysiological mechanisms' (1990: 107). It refers to the neurological and physiological processes, which Færch and Kasper relate to the execution phase of language use. Basically, they make a separation between the productive and the receptive mode. The former includes neuromuscular skills (articulatory, digital) while the latter includes auditory and visual skills.

Bachman's communicative language ability has been a major influence in the field of second language learning and teaching for years. Given this long history, it has received both praise and criticism. For instance, Marysia Johnson (2001, 2004) criticizes various communicative models, including Bachman's. She states that the problem with most of them is that they have a cognitive view on interaction meaning that an individual is responsible for it. Moreover, Bachman has a static view of the process. The other problems are that language component and its subgroups make language use seem technical and abstract, and that there is no empirical data on Bachman's model. The next chapter discusses the second theory of this thesis: interactional competence theory.

2.2 Interactional Competence Theory

Marysia Johnson introduces the interactive competence theory as a solution to the problems of communicative models. Such researchers as Hall, Young, and Kramsch proposed it as an alternative theoretical framework. Young defined it as: "a theory of the knowledge that participants bring to and realize in interaction and includes an account of how this knowledge is acquired (Young 1999: 118, M. Johnson 2001: 175-176)." According to Marysia Johnson, the theory is relevant to the discussion of the nature of speaking since the domain in which it takes place is face-to-face interaction (2001: 175).

Both Young and M. Johnson define the notion of co-construction to be the fundamental principle behind the theory. It is defined by Jacoby and Ochs as: "The joint creation of a form, interpretations, stance, action, activity, identity, skill, ideology, emotion, or culturally meaningful reality (Young 1999: 118, M. Johnson 2001: 176)." The interactional competence theory views knowledge of language as jointly created by all

participants. Bachman, on the other hand, views it as an individual's cognitive property. Another fundamental principle of interactive competence theory relates to general language competence. According to the theory, it does not exist; instead, there is local to specific contexts competence. These contexts are called "oral interactive practices". Hall defines them as: "socioculturally conventionalized configurations of face-to-face interaction by which and within which group members communicate (M. Johnson quoting Hall 2004: 97)" Johnson, thus, concludes that interactional competence is both jointly created and locally situated in interactive practices (2001: 177).

Many researchers suggest that interactional competence is acquired in three steps. The first one is the discovery of interactive patters in practices in which one engages others. It is guided by the person himself and the other. The second includes the observation and reflection of the other's participatory moves and the responses to these moves. The final step is constructed of one's own responses to these patterns (Young 1999, M. Johnson 2001).

During the three processes, one acquires such resources as vocabulary, syntax, turn taking, topic management, and knowledge of rhetorical skills and scripts. These resources can then be generalized to similar interactional practices (M. Johnson 2001: 177). Both Hall (1995) and Young (1999) emphasize the importance of experience in the learning process. Learners need to observe and engage more experienced speakers in order to develop their interactional competence.

The interactional competence theory receives some criticism from Marysia Johnson. She states that although the theory provides important insights to second language learning, and speaking in particular, it still fails to recognize its roots. They are essential to the understanding and appreciation of the complex ideas behind it. Johnson highlights the work of such researchers like Vygotsky, Bakhtin, and Bourdieu, who have laid the foundation (M. Johnson 2001: 178).

3. Communicative Language Teaching

The previous chapters have established the theoretical background on which this material package is based. However, theory must be transformed into practice in order for it to be useful. This chapter combines Bachman's communicative language ability

with the interactive competency theory and transforms them into practice. Brown (1994a: 245) defines communicative language teaching using four characteristics:

- 1) Attention is paid to all of the components of communicative competence instead of focusing on just one or two.
- 2) "Language techniques are designed to engage learners in the pragmatic, authentic, functional use of language for meaningful purposes. Organizational language forms are not the central focus but rather aspects of language that *enable* the learner to accomplish those purposes."
- 3) "Fluency and accuracy are seen as complementary principles underlying communicative techniques." In some instances, the focus has to be on fluency to ensure that learners are meaningfully engaged in the use of the target language.
- 4) Students have to use the target language, both productively and receptively in unrehearsed contexts.

Brown's (1994a: 245) definition provides the teacher with important information on communicative language teaching. It contains the central ideas of both main theories of this thesis. So far, all of the data presented here has described interaction as an important factor. Therefore, all of the activities need to provide learners with opportunities to use the target language in a way that they find meaningful and useful. Brown (1994b: 78) presents Nunan's five characteristics of communicative language teaching. They complement Brown's (1994a: 245) previously introduced definition of CLT:

- 1) An emphasis on learning to communicate through interaction in the target language.
- 2) The introduction of authentic texts into the learning situation.
- 3) The provision of opportunities for learners to focus, not only on language but also on the learning process itself.
- 4) An enhancement of the learner's own personal experiences as important contributing elements to classroom learning.
- 5) An attempt to link classroom language learning with language activation outside the classroom.

This thesis shares the sentiments of the first feature since student interaction is one the main goals. It is reflected in the different type of tasks and exercises featured at the end of each chapter. Some encourage learners to discuss and compare their opinions on given topics while others require them to seek information and present them to each other. Moreover, the material package offers learners to focus on language as well as African American history and culture. They can use English as a means to share their knowledge and ideas with their peers. The language can also be used to gather information in class and outside it.

The second feature of CLT, which deals with authenticity, has been taken into account in this thesis. The texts presented in the material package talk about real world events. In addition, it features extracts from speeches made by such individuals as Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The purpose of the activities and exercises is to facilitate unrehearsed and authentic interaction between learners. The texts only serve as a source of information, and as such do not limit communication.

The material package includes activities that provide students with opportunities to share their knowledge and experiences with their peers. For example, human rights and equality are central topics in every text. This gives students a chance to compare past events with current ones and share their opinions on them. Interactions will include expressions of both agreement and disagreement. This will develop learners' pragmatic competence (Bachman 1990: 89-90). Moreover, through this type of interaction, they can get a wider perspective on the changes that have or have not happened.

The texts and exercises attempt to encourage and inspire learners to use English outside the classroom. Some exercises require them to search for information and share it with their peers. The texts might also inspire students to learn more about African American history and culture.

Communicative language teaching requires the cultivation of both listening and speaking skills. Learners need to focus on the input that is provided by the teacher and other students in order to produce appropriate output. Brown (1994b: 81) defines an interactive class as supportive of interaction. Learners are free to negotiate meaning when producing or receiving it. Such classes provide opportunities for genuine

interaction. Brown (1994b: 81) presents a list of activities that can be found in interactive classes:

- pair and group work.
- authentic input that takes in real-world context.
- "producing language for genuine, meaningful communication."
- preparing the learners for real-world language use.
- "practicing oral communication through the give and take and spontaneity of actual conversations."

Pair and group work is emphasized in the designed activities. Most learners might feel more comfortable exchanging ideas and knowledge in English with a peer or in small groups. Moreover, they learn from each other by listening and participating. Although the material focuses on specific topics, the texts provide the students with something to discuss. It is also real since the competence to convey information is essential to any language use.

4. The Teacher

This chapter studies two different yet similar styles of teaching: the social communicative style and the information communicative style, respectively. Although there are various other styles of teaching, these two are relevant to this thesis since they focus on oral communication. The material package itself features activities that employ the selected styles. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader a sense of the goals and the teacher's role in achieving them. The social communicative style is introduced first followed by a description of the information communicative style.

4.1. The Social Communicative Style

At the beginning of the 1970s, communication started to be emphasized in language teaching. The ability to use language appropriately became more important than grammar. Language use was seen as a process of achieving one's communicative goals. According to Cook (1996: 185), two teaching styles emerged which she calls the 'social communicative' and 'information communicative.'

The social communicative style defines language as communication between two people with a social purpose. It is used to build relationships and interrelate with others. Rules or structures are not as important as the ability to converse with people. The teaching goal focuses more on a learner's ability to communicate fluently than grammatical flawlessness (Cook 1996: 186-187).

In practice this means that the teacher does not dominate the classroom by controlling and guiding. Instead, s/he has to step back and let the students build their conversations through which they learn the language. They are not required to produce errorless speech instead they apply their own strategies in problem solving. Of course the teacher gives some feedback but it does not have such a central role among his/her duties (Cook 1996: 187).

4.2. The Information Communicative Style

Cook (1996: 190) describes the social communicative and information communicative styles as 'two sides of the same coin.' A conversation requires more than just someone to talk to, it needs something to talk about. Besides relationships, communication can be seen as an exchange of information. The learner is supposed to use the language first by comprehending and then producing.

The information communicative style requires the teacher to dominate the classroom. According to Cook (1996: 192), s/he provides the language input personally or through materials. This style is not limited by group sizes like the social communicative style. The listening-based communicative style on the other hand does not have that limitation. As a skill, listening is not separated from speaking. As a matter of fact, Cook (ibid) states that it lays the foundation for speaking.

The style that this thesis supports is a combination of the social communicative style and the information communicative style. Although the materials provide the students with a direction, the teacher has to provide support and guidance. Errorless speech is not the goal but understandability that entails the negotiation of meaning.

5. Assessment

Every language test is an assessment of a language user's level of proficiency. The teacher has to decide what type of assessment to use. There are a number of different types, for example *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* contains information on many of them. Considering the goals of this MA thesis, the best type of assessment in the list is *performance assessment* (2002) which is discussed in this chapter.

Competences cannot be measured directly; instead one has to assess an individual's performance. In order to accomplish that, the test has to contain activities that require more than just filling the gaps. The language user has to produce output that can be assessed. In addition, the teacher has to decide whether to assess one's performance in a test situation or throughout the course (The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, testing, assessment 2002). The National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools, for example, recommends that teachers continuously observe the skills and knowledge of their students (2003). The material package contains elements that facilitate continuous observation and assessment of language skills by activating learners to interact with one another.

Assessments provide the learner with a grade or a description of his/her performance. Performance or proficiency scales are used to determine an individual's level. For example, the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, testing, assessment*, contains scales that concentrate on specific aspects of language skills such as grammar, and pronunciation (2002). Whatever criteria a teacher uses, it is important to remember that the assessment should not just reflect one's skills and knowledge, but also encourage learning (The National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools 2003).

Test designing and its important aspects are discussed in this chapter. The goal is to provide the reader with an understanding of the process itself and introduce the factors that have influenced the design of the exam featured in this material package.

5.1. Designing a Test

Setting goals and establishing the proper means to achieve them are important elements in designing a language course. However, in order to determine the degree in which the goals have been reached, one has to create a test or a series of tests. Usually, courses have a final exam; however, some might have a midterm exam that provides the teacher with an idea of the students' skills. There are several aspects that need to be considered when designing effective evaluation tools. Weir (1990: 22) names three important concepts: validity, reliability, and efficiency. These three concepts and their importance to test designing are discussed in this chapter. In addition, different test items are discussed at the end to provide the reader with an idea of the range of tasks which can be employed. The exam for this material package is included at the back.

5.1.1. Validity

When designing a test, one has to have a certain aspect of language that s/he wants to measure. However, it is one thing to define the object which to measure than it is to create the proper tools for the job. Validity in test design focuses on the properties of the latter. The core question is: does the test measure what it is supposed to (Weir 1990: 22)? According to Weir (1990), there are different perspectives to validity: construct, content, face, washback, and criterion-related.

Construct Validity

According to Weir and Anastasi (Weir 1990: 22), construct validity contains all other forms of validity. Anastasi further defines it as "the extent to which the test may be said to measure a theoretical construct or trait (Weir 1990: 22)." However, this can only be established after the test, not beforehand. Weir (1990: 23) accounts this for the lack of adequate theoretical framework for the construction of communicative tests.

Content Validity

Weir (1990: 24) states that attempts at determining the construct validity of a test involve matters that are related to content validity. The questions test designers need to ask is: do the activities of a particular test represent the target domain? Content validity is considered important in determining a learner's proficiency level.

Face Validity

Face validity refers to what the test appears to be measuring superficially. Without it students may not accept it, which might reflect on the results. Teachers and institutions might also find it unacceptable (Weir 1990: 26).

Washback Validity

Weir (1990: 27) underlines the importance of determining what needs to be measured to test designing. Teachers operating in a communicative framework normally try to provide their students with skills that are relevant to present or future needs. In addition, tests usually aim to reflect this. Therefore, the relationship between teaching and the test determines the construct validity of a test - the closer the relationship the higher the validity.

Criterion-related Validity

Weir (1990: 27) describes this final perspective of validity as "a predominantly quantitative and a posteriori, concerned with the extent to which test scores correlate with a suitable external criterion of performance." There are two different types of criterion-related validity: concurrent validity and predictive validity. In the former, test scores are compared to another measure of performance. In the latter, scores are compared to a future measure of performance.

5.1.2. Reliability

Reliability refers to the ability of a test to produce a relevant representation of a learner's language proficiency. There are three aspects to reliability that need to be taken into account. First, the degree of consistency in scoring has to be determined. Inter-marker reliability is established by correlating the scores of two graders. The consistency of an individual grader (intra-marker reliability) is determined by getting him/her to score the same sample on two occasions. Second, relevant sub-tests have to be internally consistent. This means that all activities are judged to be measuring the same attribute. Third, two alternative versions of a test need to be produced and administered to the same group. The correlation of the results determines the reliability of the versions. Weir (1990: 32) calls this parallel-forms reliability.

5.1.3. Test Efficiency

A test can be both reliable and valid but it is useless if it is not efficient. Efficiency in test design means that it has to be practical, economic, easy to administer, and that results can be easily scored and interpreted. Time is an important factor as well since duration affects a participant's performance (Weir 1990: 34).

5.1.4. Test Items

According to Weir (1990: 73), when testing a learner's speaking ability, the tasks should be interesting, motivating, and have a purpose. They should encourage the participants to interact as realistically as possible. Nation and Newton (2009: 171) identify two main aspects of procedures for testing speaking:

"(1) the way in which the person being tested is encouraged to speak (this can include being interviewed, having to describe something for someone to draw, being involved in a discussion etc.); and (2) the way in which the speaker's performance is assessed (this can include rating scales, communicative result, and assigning marks for the parts of an outcome)."

In addition, the teacher has to take into account that s/he has to record the test event on tape or video. The problem is that it can affect some learners' performance.

Although this material package has two goals, the main focus is on testing the communicative competence of Finnish high school students. Therefore, the activities included in this test version are designed to measure that. The learners are required to show some knowledge of African American history and culture but they will not be evaluated on it. The task formats are introduced in this chapter. Some of them can also be used in regular classroom sessions, which contributes to a positive washback effect since learners are familiar with them.

Presentation

Presentations can be used in a test situation or in class. They have a specific purpose which is the conveyance of information. A student's performance is solely his/her own, which makes the assessment process easier for the teacher. In addition, the presenter's peers can be asked to give feedback. The fact that the topic has been given beforehand gives the student time to prepare. Weir (1990: 75) adds that by connecting the presentation with previously introduced materials makes it seem more authentic.

Interview

With adequate planning interviews can provide the teacher with knowledge of a student's performance level and his/her opinion of the course content. According to Weir (1990: 76), this particular test item is reciprocal, purposeful, contextualized and interactive, and therefore, it represents the act of communication. However, his concept includes only the teacher and the assessed student. The interview model described in this thesis is more of a blending of interviews and interactive tasks (information gap student-student) discussed by Weir (1990: 76, 78). This entails that the students are interviewed in pairs to alleviate possible stress caused by the exam situation.

Discussion

As an activity, discussions can be used both in class and in exams. They can be useful tools in evaluating a student's interactive competence. In addition, the evaluation process would not take so long since two or even three learners could be tested at the same time. They would be given a related topic or they could choose one to discuss. Since they would have prior experience of such activities, the exam would have a positive washback effect.

6. The Material Package

The previous chapters have laid down the theoretical basis for the material package. Now it is time to introduce the materials themselves. This chapter describes and discusses the featured texts and various types of activities and exercises. Most of them can be executed in many different ways. The aim of this chapter is not to restrict creativity but to provide an idea of how to implement them into language teaching. In addition, the exam for this material package is introduced.

Besides discussing factors that relate to teaching itself, it is also important to talk about why African Americans are featured in this thesis, and introduce the target group of the material package. This chapter begins with an introduction of the reasons behind the topic of the material package. Then the target group is introduced and discussed. The chapter then progresses to describe the texts and activities, and their functions. Finally, the exam is presented and studied.

6.1. African Americans

African Americans are a prominent group in the United States. According to the US Census 2000, there are over 36 million people in North-America who identify themselves as 'Black or African American alone or in combination with one or more other races.' That is 12.9 per cent of the total population. In addition, the census notes that the Black population increased faster than the total population between 1990 and 2000 (McKinnon 2001).

Despite their history, diverse culture and sheer size of their population, courses on US history and English language in Finland rarely touch on the subject of African Americans or their history in much detail. The most common topics are slavery and the Civil Rights Movement. Understandably, time is an important factor since all courses have set goals that have to be achieved in the time provided. A material package that focuses only on African American history and culture is in a position to broaden students' knowledge of the history of the United States of America. It adds to what they have already studied in history class.

The Black American population has been referred to by different terms some of which have been racist and demeaning. This thesis intends to provide examples of the proper terms that refer to Black people. Probably the most common term is African American. It is used to refer to people with Sub-Saharan ancestry. Other terms include *Afro-American*, and *black people*.

6.2. Target Group

The texts, activities, and the exam have all been designed for Finnish high school students. One of the reasons for choosing this particular group is the level of their education. They have studied the history of the United States in history class so they have knowledge of the different eras. Besides history, students at that level have studied English for years. This setting makes it possible to put more emphasis on developing their oral skills through a theme.

Another reason for choosing high school students as a target audience is their age. People usually start high school at the age of 16 or 17 the latest. Therefore, the target audience consists of 16 to 19 year-olds who are in or close to their early adulthood. Many of the chapters in the material package deal with racism, hate, violence, and injustice. They are issues that need to be discussed with respect and maturely.

6.3. Texts and Exercises

The material package begins with the Atlantic slave trade, and progresses from there to the end of the twentieth century. There are exercises and activities at the end of each chapter, with the exception of *The Northern States*, *The Southern States*, and *Southern Free Blacks; and World War I* and *World War II*. The first three share the same exercises and activities as do the two latter ones. The reason behind this decision is that students can better compare and contrast the information given in the texts. The material package features a total of sixteen chapters. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* by Franklin and Higginbotham serves as the main source of information on African American history and culture. Other sources include lecture notes from E. Petterson, and G. Price; and *African American History vol. 1-3* by C.L. Bankston, just to name a few.

All of the activities and exercises are done in pairs or in small groups. They get to practice both production and reception. Studies show that group work encourages shyer learners to participate more openly, gives them responsibility and autonomy (Brown 1994b: 173-174). It also offers valuable opportunities to learn from one another. Active participation develops learner's different competencies, such as language and strategic competencies. However, too large a group does not support collaboration and self-initiated language (ibid). That is why the presented tasks are designed for groups of two to four people. Every member gets to participate and contribute to the exchange.

The activities consist of questions on the important points of each chapter. They require the learner to give a broader answer than just a simple 'yes' or 'no'. Although the answers are found in the text, the student has to understand the contents in order to answer the questions or discuss the topic. Instead of just reading straight from the text, learners are encouraged to convey the information in their own words. Possible misunderstandings present opportunities to try another approach, thus developing one's strategic competence, language competence and interactional competence.

Besides regular activities, the material package includes additional ones as well. They have been designed to connect the topic of a chapter to contemporary Finland. Inequality and injustice are issues that are discussed in Finnish society today. They are also present in every chapter of this material package. This gives the students an opportunity to compare and contrast the political and social atmosphere of the United States in different eras and modern-day Finland with the intention of expanding their intercultural competence.

The chapters contain little information on specific individuals. Instead, they include a list of important people in the activities section. The intention is that each student gets to introduce at least one of these important figures to their peers. This way everyone gets a chance to improve their presentation and language skills. Instead of presentations, all learners can also search for information on specific individuals and compare their findings in pairs or groups.

This material package also includes exercises in which learners are required to work in so-called specialist groups. It means that each group selects a person or organization that they specialize in. They collect information on their topic and prepare to present it to representatives of other groups. When each has finished their presentation, new groups are formed so that they have specialists of each topic. Each topic is then presented in turn and discussed. This so-called specialist group method promotes student-to-student interaction on two accounts: first, in their respective home groups, and finally, in the mixed topic groups. In both accounts, the members of each group contribute to the interaction.

Although some of the words in the texts might be new to students, vocabulary lists have not been included. This way, learners have to look up, infer or discuss the meanings of unfamiliar terms, which will help the learning process. The focus is on grammatical competence which includes vocabulary, morphology, syntax, and phonology (Bachman 1990: 87). Through active use, they can learn how words can change their meaning by using different suffixes, and how a particular message can be conveyed in various ways. Moreover, students can teach each other how to pronounce a word in different accents. From the teacher's perspective these situations are a chance to teach such skills as inferring a meaning or circumvention of a difficult/unfamiliar term. Learning how to go around a problem develops a student's strategic competence.

In essence, the chapters and their respective activities are designed to accommodate various competencies. Especially Bachman's language and strategic competencies, and the interactional competence theory are all the centers of attention. For example, vocabulary exercises are effective in improving a learner's language competence as well as their strategic competence. The fact that students have to constantly produce and receive not only has a positive effect on their interactive competence but on Bachman's competencies as well. Language and culture are both present in every text and activity, which in turn improves learners' intercultural communication skills.

6.4. The Exam

The material package includes an exam that has been designed to test learners' language skills as well as their knowledge of the course content. This chapter discusses the selected activities as well as their merits and contributions. They have been designed to meet such exam criteria as positive washback effect, validity, and reliability (Weir 1990). This thesis proposes that teachers prepare several smaller tests in addition to a final exam. This way the development of one's communicative competence can be better determined.

The exam can be found at the end of the material package. It comprises of two sections: individual interview and pair discussion. The overall time taken by the test session is fifteen to twenty minutes. Time has been allocated so that the first part, individual interview, takes about five minutes, and the second part, pair discussion, lasts from ten to fifteen minutes. The literature featured in this thesis has emphasized interaction, which is the reason behind this decision concerning the allocation of time. In practice, this arrangement should be easy to implement.

The individual interview provides the teacher with information on a learner's language skills. Although the interviewer will participate in the exchange, the student is required to produce most of the output. It will give the teacher an idea of a learner's language and strategic competence. The test taker's knowledge of grammar, vocabulary, morphology, pronunciation and the ability to circumvent possible breakups in communication will be partially reflected in the produced output. After all, test situations are at best isolated and artificial. That is why it is important to gather

information on learners' language skills during the course. The interview activity is mostly based on Bachman's communicative language ability (Bachman 1990).

The test taker will have four questions to choose from. S/he can discuss just one or all of them if s/he so chooses. The questions are about the course content and students' opinion of it. They cannot be answered by a simple 'yes' or 'no'. Instead, the learner has to form a coherent answer. The teacher can come up with follow-up questions if they suit the situation.

After the individual interviews comes the pair discussion part of the exam. In this part, pairs have three questions to choose from. Like in the first part, they can choose to discuss just one or all of them. The questions are the same as in the individual interview with one exception. It requires the pairs to compare and contrast two eras of their choice. The decision to repeat the majority of questions adds to the reliability of the exam. The teacher compares a learner's output in two different situations. It is likely that students will affect one another's responses, which will give an idea of their interactive competencies since they now have two opinions and proficiencies. Situations where the two test takers agree or disagree provide the evaluator with information on their pragmatic competence and strategic competence.

All of the tasks in the test have also been featured in the activities section of each chapter. This supports the learning process and alleviates possible stress caused by the exam process. Moreover, this decision has a positive washback effect on what students have previously learned. The exam might even teach them something new or refresh their memory.

The exam is intended to test learners' communicative and interactive competencies. The activities contribute to the face-validity of it since they require test takers to produce output, receive input, and then produce appropriate output. However, the construct-validity of the exam can only be determined afterwards (Weir 1990).

Besides testing language skills, the featured exam also provides the teacher with feedback on the course and its content. The success and shortcomings are reflected in students' output. This feedback can be then used to modify the course to accommodate

the needs of future students. After all, reflection on one's work and achievements is an important part of any profession.

7. Conclusion

This Master's thesis has presented a material package on African American history and culture that has been designed using two models of communicative competence: Bachman's model of communicative language ability, and interactional competence theory. Both models have been introduced and discussed in this thesis. In addition, communicative language teaching, the role of the teacher, and test designing have been featured. Hopefully, they will provide the reader with the tools to encourage interaction between students.

In addition to developing language skills, this material package aims at teaching students about African American history and culture. Texts and various exercises have been designed to accomplish this. Hopefully, this material package will provide new and interesting information as well as inspire learners' to expand their knowledge of the history and society of the United States of America. After all, language and culture are inseparable.

This particular material package focuses on developing learners' speaking skills, which also includes listening. The texts function as a basis for conversation. However, it is possible to change the focus to reading and writing by altering the activities and exercises. Bachman's model of communicative language ability and the interactional competence theory can also be applied to other forms of communication besides speaking.

Many so-called minority groups like the African Americans still experience hardships that stem from a history of oppression and prejudice. It is important to give voice to that history and listen. Current and future generations cannot afford to turn a blind eye or ignore the past because it might repeat itself. In addition to talking about history, the intention of this material package is to break stereotypes, attack prejudice and racism, and celebrate the uniqueness of both groups and individuals.

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"I Have a Dream":

A Material Package on African American History and Culture.

My interest in African American history and culture began at the age of twelve through rap and hip-hop music. Ever since, I have been striving to learn more. The African American studies courses I attended only increased my interest. I wanted my MA thesis to somehow relate to what I had learned. Finally, the idea of a material package came to me. "I Have a Dream" is a product of my long personal interest in African American history and culture. Indeed, this material package has been my dream. I hope it will inspire and offer an interesting and meaningful learning experience to both students and teachers.

-Tommi Mäkinen

1. The Atlantic Slave Trade

The Atlantic slave trade was created during the European Commercial Revolution in the late fifteenth century. Portugal had the maritime know-how, which made it possible for Portuguese navigators to withstand the currents and winds along the African coast. They traveled farther south along the western coast than before. Earlier the winds made it possible to travel south but not return home. The Portuguese also sailed the waters of the Gulf of Guinea and created trade networks with African merchants on the mainland.

The established commercial relationships increased the flow of European wares to Africa. In turn, Africans would supply the Portuguese with such items as fruit, gold, slaves, olive oil, and ivory. Eventually, as an African export, human cargo would become more important and valuable than gold. In the late fifteenth century, as the slave trade became an acceptable and lucrative part of European commerce, Spanish vessels headed west in search of riches of the uncharted "West" Indies. After Christopher Columbus reached the Caribbean islands (West India back then) in 1492, Spain, and later other nations, dreamed of empires with colonies and slaves. African slaves would be used to help in the exploration, conquest, and settlement of the New World. In the larger transatlantic migration, the number of slaves increased immensely, rising from one-fourth of the total between 1492 and 1580 to more than three-fourths of the total between 1700 and 1780.

European countries were interested in exploiting the natural resources of the New World. It required workers that were as cheap as possible. Since most of the key plantation crops, such as coffee and sugar, were not indigenous, they were transported from the Old World along with African slaves. Some of the slaves were familiar with the cultivation of these crops.

Large and small European countries, such as France, Sweden, Denmark-Norway, all wanted to benefit from the Atlantic slave trade. It took years for the European slave traders to improve their techniques of slave trafficking. Slaves were mostly acquired through negotiations but also at times through raids. Wars between African empires were also a source of slaves. The number of captured Africans increased due to new levels of restlessness and violence caused by European gun trade. However, there were instances where affiliations between two African nations prevented them from selling

members of the other to slavers. Africans were not just victims of slave trade but also perpetrators.

Europeans did not show attitudes of racial superiority or disrespect as they negotiated with African rulers and traders. They followed a strict protocol that involved gifts, and courtesy visits to ensure permission to trade. Once the African ruler was persuaded, he assigned assistants to the trader. The *caboceer* was the one who was responsible for collecting the slaves who were then sold at the agreed price. The trader usually inspected the slaves; some even consulted physicians to ensure that the slaves were in good conditions. Although prices were negotiable, accounts show that £20 sterling was a typical price for a healthy young man at Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast (current Ivory Coast).

The practice of slave trade was not without its difficulties. Through trial and error, Europeans learned which goods interested African dealers. In cases where the dealer was not interested in what the trader was offering, the latter had to return home with the unwanted goods, and without slaves. Sometimes the dealers had not been able to gather enough slaves at one port. Then the trader would either have to wait possibly for weeks or sail to another port.

Enslaved Africans usually resisted capture, sale, and transport across the Atlantic. Even wars broke out between tribes when members of one tribe sought to capture and sell members of the other tribe to slavers. Docked slave ships were also attacked with the intention of freeing the slaves. Some would rather jump ship at port or in mid-voyage. *Caboneers* and slave captains learned early on to shackle their captives. However, usually men were chained but not the women. This made it possible for them to help the men that led the revolts. It was expensive to prevent slave revolts, for example, ships with human cargo had to have a large crew, weapons, and netting around the ship to prevent people from jumping overboard.

"The middle passage" refers to the voyage to the Americas. It was a living nightmare. The ships were often overcrowded with no room to move about, or exercise. The British Parliament set regulations regarding ship size and the number of slaves. However, these regulations proved to be ineffective since they were not enforced. The filthy conditions caused illness; smallpox epidemics broke out on many ships killing slaves and crew

alike. Moreover, chains and shackles caused severe physical damage to many slaves. An extensive digital database concludes that approximately 12.5 million slaves were transported to the New World.

Activities:

- 1) Work with your partner and make a list of words that you weren't familiar with, were hard to pronounce or understand.
- 2) Answer the following questions in pairs:
 - 1. Did you learn something new from the chapter? What was new?
 - 2. How has African slavery been discussed in history courses?
 - 3. What was a caponeer?
 - 4. Why did many European countries want to take part in slave trade?
 - 5. What did slave traders have to take into account in their trade?
 - 6. How many people were transported across the Atlantic?
- 3) Come up with five questions on the chapter and exchange them with another pair. Answer the new questions.

Additional Exercises:

- 1) In your opinion, does slavery still exist in some form or another?
- 2) What factors contribute to slavery?
- 3) Has the Finnish government or the EU taken any steps to prevent slavery?

Source:

2. North American Slavery

Some who survived the middle passage were transported to North America. It was a land where European countries had formed colonies, and were looking to increase their territorial power. New territories were conquered through negotiation or war with one another and native populations. The economic and social system of racial slavery had not been established in the New World. It was hard to establish a difference between African slaves and white indentured laborers because the land was too vast and its wilderness too great. Consequently, blacks and whites often worked together farming, cutting trees, and performing a variety of servant roles.

Throughout much of the sixteenth and into the eighteenth century, slavery in North America evolved unevenly based on time, region and European colonizer. For African people, it was a new but hardly a shared experience. They built houses, cultivated land and hunted. Some worked in homes while others worked at the docks. Many adapted their religious beliefs to Catholicism and different forms of Christianity, or converted. Forced by their masters, slaves gave up their African names and replaced them with European ones. Slaves spoke a variety of languages such as English, Dutch, Spanish, and French. In addition, they spoke a number of pidgin languages.

Harsh conditions, such as labor, disease, violence and malnutrition, made it difficult or even impossible to have children. However, new slaves were transported to increase their numbers and replace those who could not endure during this formative period of slavery. The ability to reproduce naturally opposed to importation did not occur until the eighteenth century.

Since the 1520s, people of African descent played an important role in Spain's plans to gain a foothold in North America. The participation of black people in American colonies resulted from Spain's dominant role in the slave trade. Parties of Spanish explorers, conquistadors and settlers also included individual slaves as well as free blacks, which laid claim to "La Florida". In 1565, after much hardship, the Spanish established St. Augustine that is the oldest of the successful European settlements in North America. Blacks formed a part of St. Augustine's population and provided much of the workforce needed to build the outpost.

In the early days of settlement, most slaves brought to the North American colonies did not arrive on slave ships straight from Africa. Instead, they were transported from the Caribbean islands or the larger Atlantic rim, where they were broken into slavery. These slaves had Spanish and Portuguese names, and it was common for some to be multilingual. North American slavery took different forms based on the founding circumstances and laws of the different European metropoles. Differences in colonial jurisdiction also played a role during the era of New World conquest. All colonies wrote laws and statutes that defined blacks as inferior. However, there were differences in the flexibility and character of service for much of the seventeenth century, and especially before the consolidation of plantation agriculture.

The English founded the Virginia colony at Jamestown in 1607. During its first century, Virginia did not have strict criteria for distinguishing slaves from servants. In fact, slaves entering Jamestown were not initially recognized as slaves in the legal sense of being in perpetual, hereditary bondage. Moreover, English or Virginia laws did not defy them as chattel at that time. In the census counts of 1623 and 1624, blacks were listed as servants. They lived in a society in which many whites were not free either. Historians estimate that between 70 and 85 percent of the white colonists who arrived in Virginia and Maryland (the Chesapeake colonies) were in indentured servitude. This meant that they paid their passage to America in several years of servitude after which they would be given freedom and a piece of land. Indentured servants worked alongside African slaves and often received the same harsh treatment. Many did not live long enough to earn their freedom.

Social distinctions in everyday practices and institutional form differentiated persons of African descent from white servants. For instance, in Maryland and Virginia the census record did not list surnames for blacks. In addition, judicial punishments tend to be harsher on blacks. By the 1640s the racial distinctions were beginning to be codified. Virginia's first statute to call for racial differentiation was a tax law in 1643; it made a clear distinction between English and African women. At this time the slave status of Africans and American-born blacks had not been fully elaborated, however, with each passing decade the legal climate grew more severe.

Slavery developed in different social and cultural milieus, which, for instance, had an effect on the accessibility of freedom. In 1626 the Dutch West India Company

introduced slaves into its trading port, New Amsterdam (New York City), due to the lack of white indentured servants for agricultural and other labor. In the Dutch settlement of New Netherland, racial slavery did not have a permanently fixed status in Dutch legal codes. However, in practice increasing numbers of blacks were in lifetime servitude.

Blacks participated broadly in colonial society throughout Dutch rule. They spoke Dutch, worshipped and baptized their children in the Dutch Reformed Church, and served in the militia. Slave marriage was legally sanctioned in the colony, unlike in English Virginia. The father of the newly baptized children was typically named rather than the slave owner, which suggests the strength of family ties.

It was not uncommon for a slave to be granted freedom for a long or outstanding service. However, it came with painful qualifications. "Half-freedom" meant that the recently freed had to pay annual dues to the Dutch West India Company, and free status was denied from his/her children. As the agricultural production increased in the Hudson River valley, manumissions decreased and slave conditions worsened. At the same time, a free black community of farmers, merchants and artisans took root in New Amsterdam. When the English seized the colony, about 20 percent of New Amsterdam was black. According to historian Ira Berlin, by 1664, at the time of the English conquest, about one fifth of blacks had gained their freedom in New Amsterdam. This proportion has never been equaled throughout the history of slavery in the American South.

Under English rule, the name of the colony was changed to New York in honor of the Duke of York, the younger brother of Charles II. The status of slaves and free blacks would be significantly changed, but not immediately. Most blacks continued to speak Dutch and had Dutch surnames as late as 1680. They also continued to have certain legal rights as free men, indentured servants, slaves, or partners with Dutch men or women in the system of "half-freedom." In the 1680s, the English would begin to restrict blacks' rights. At that time, slave owners were discouraged from freeing their slaves by heavy fines, which decreased the number of manumissions.

In the Massachusetts Bay Colony, blacks encountered a very different English culture compared to that of Virginia. Massachusetts Bay was founded in 1630, and was settled

by Puritans who intended their "City upon a Hill" to serve as an example of godliness in an ungodly world. With a Protestant ethic of piety and strong commercial interests, the colony was ready to claim the dominant mercantile role from the Dutch throughout the Atlantic waters.

The first slaves arrived in the colony in 1638. In fact, The Puritan colony in Massachusetts Bay was the first of the English colonies to legally sanction slavery. A 1641 law recognized that human bondage was permissible for those who were willingly sold or sold themselves and "lawful captives taken in just warres." The statute was not ethnically or racially specific, as Massachusetts Bay had already sentenced white men and Native Americans to slavery.

The Puritans who crossed the Atlantic came in family groups. They brought with them an understanding of domestic relations and servitude. The Puritan social structure included servants, who were incorporated into the family as dependents. Their status was comparable to that of wives, children and apprentices, who were also considered dependents of the male head of the household. The master of the house taught his servants how to read and understand the Bible. After 1638 dependent servants also included blacks who were expected to adapt to the New England way which gave them certain rights.

Activities:

- 1) Were there difficult or unfamiliar words in the text? Discuss them in pairs. Can you come up with synonyms for them?
- 2) Talk with your partner about what you felt were the main points of this chapter. Were you surprised by something? Why? Did this chapter change your view on the settlement of North America?
- 3) Work in pairs or groups and answer the following questions in English:
 - 1. What does indentured servitude mean?
 - 2. What kind of conditions did slaves have to work in?
 - 3. Was there just one type of slavery or where there differences? What accounted for these differences?

- 4. What about religion? Could slaves keep and practice their own religions?
- 5. What languages did slaves speak?
- 4) Come up with five questions related to the chapter and then exchange them with another pair. Answer the new questions with your partner.

Source:

3. The Legalization of Slavery

Slave codes and other racial restrictions hardened as colonial leaders began to design legal structures to irrevocably trap blacks into chattel slavery in the beginning of the 1660s. England's growing power on the North American continent had also influenced this development. Even more comprehensive laws forbade mobility, manumission, and interracial mixing throughout the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth.

The racial basis for slavery was justified by the codification of slave laws. This removed the initial religious reasons that had allowed the enslavement of heathens and infidels. Due to the blacks' increasing conversion to Christianity, the laws protected the slave masters' interests. They also declared that slave status followed the status of the mother. The trend was steadily moving towards a hereditary position for blacks and free status for all whites. Colonial laws set the foundations for these clearly dissimilar social positions. However, the English colonies differed in the ways and degree to which the two races were dissimilar. Slave laws in the English, French and Spanish colonies had both commonalities as well as differences.

In Virginia, landowners needed workers to clear forests, and cultivate better and larger tobacco crops. The growing labor shortage was starting to show everywhere due to falling English birthrates in the 1660s, a high death rate caused by disease before 1640, and increasing numbers of whites unwilling to indenture themselves as servants. The legalization was seen as a solution to this problem. The enslavement and an inferior position of all people of African descent were sanctioned by the new legal code of Virginia.

According to a Virginia law in 1662, the free or slave status of a child depended on the status of the mother. In 1667 a law removed the opportunity of gaining freedom on religious grounds, therefore, baptism did not change one's status in society. In Maryland a slave law was established which imposed slavery on every black person regardless of the status of their mothers in 1663. A year later marriage between a slave and freeborn English women was outlawed. In 1681 Maryland finally fell in line with other English colonies and declared that black children born of white women, and free black women would be free.

In 1676 there was a rebellion in Virginia called Bacon's Rebellion. A young English planter, Nathaniel Bacon, who had recently arrived in Virginia, organized and led the uprising. He accused colonial officials of failing to protect settlers from Indian raids. Bacon was joined by a group of black slaves, white indentured servants, and small farmers in rebelling against a treaty between Virginia's royal governor, Sir William Berkley, and various native groups (mainly the Doeg and the Susquehanocks). The rebels' desire for land sparked their initial hostile acts toward the native groups. To Virginia's ruling authorities, Bacon's Rebellion was a sign of a troubling alliance between blacks, and poor whites. Therefore, the colonial government outlawed interracial contacts of all sorts.

Virginia reinforced slavery and the inferiority of blacks with harsher statutes. Punishments were designed to break even the most rebellious blacks. Insolence, or association with whites and free blacks were reasons for whipping, branding, or maiming. The law required sheriffs, the courts and even nonslaveholding whites to police the slave population.

The new laws coincided with the growth of the slave population in Virginia. The growth was unprecedented and exceeded that of whites. Between 1650 and 1690 the black population grew from 1,700 to 11,500. In 1679 slaves started to be transported directly from Africa in ever growing numbers. This was an important cultural shift among the slave population. In 1710, 73 percent of the total number of slaves was African-born. Although Virginia benefited from the slave labor, they soon become worried about large numbers of blacks living among whites. There were rumors of rebellious conspiracies.

In 1680 Virginia passed a law which forbade blacks the freedom of assembly, the right to carry weapons, and freedom of movement without a certificate from their master. A 1682 law stated that a plantation owner should not allow a slave owned by someone else to remain on his property more than four hours. It also required churchwardens to read both laws twice a year in church during worship on pain of receiving a fine of 600 pounds of tobacco. Later other laws were passed which reinforced the inferiority of blacks as a group, for example, in 1691 a statute prohibited interracial marriage, or sexual relationships.

Black slaves in New England had more rights than slaves in other English colonies. They had the right to sue, testify in court, and even petition for their freedom. They were also allowed to associate more freely with white servants, Indians, and one another. The houses of some free blacks became meeting places where people danced, and told stories. In addition to these rights, black slaves could get married in civil and religious ceremony after the late seventeenth century. However, in many cases husbands and wives were owned by different masters. Separate ownership had a negative impact on slave families and birthrates. Economic reasons, and the refusal of masters forced some slave families to give away their children.

In French Louisiana, the large number of imported slaves from Africa forced the French to implement slave codes. Louisiana's *Code Noir* (Black Code) of 1724 was created to reduce slave manumissions and interracial marriages. However, the number of French women was small; therefore, common-law marriage between white men and slave women was frequent. The code denied property rights to slaves that had made it possible for a slave to purchase his/her freedom. According to the *Code Noir*, a master had to provide his/her slaves with religious instruction as well as food and clothing. In addition, a slave had the right to complain about mistreatment to the colonial authorities.

During the French and Indian War (1756-1763), France gave the financially troubled Louisiana to the Spanish in hopes of gaining an ally against England. The royal Black Code of 1777 gave the slaves some rights they had not enjoyed before. For instance, they were provided with greater access to freedom than under French rule, which increased the free black population. However, Spanish law did not promote racial equality like the French. Free blacks had to carry freedom papers, gun permits and horse registries, and unskilled free blacks were banned from New Orleans. Spanish law did not protect slave marriages from being broken-up and it allowed the sale of children under fourteen.

Activities:

1) Did you understand all of the words in the text? What words did you find difficult? Work with your partner and find the meanings of those words.

- 2) Answer the following questions with your partner.
 - 1. What were slave codes?
 - 2. What factors influenced the shift from religious based slavery to racially based slavery?
 - 3. How did the three colonial powers (England, France, and Spain) differ from each other in terms of slavery, and slave laws?
 - 4. What does hereditary slavery mean?
 - 5. Why was New England different from the other English colonies?
- 3) What were the most important points in the text? Discuss them with your partner.
- 4) Come up with five questions related to the chapter and then exchange them with another pair. Answer the new questions with your partner.

Source:

4. Slave Societies in the Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth century, distinct slave societies were formed in five regions in North America: New England, The Mid-Atlantic, the Chesapeake, and two Lower South regions - the Eastern Seaboard and the Lower Mississippi Valley. The differences in and between the regions ensured that there was no single black slavery experience. Instead, there were different African American experiences and cultures which were shaped by their local conditions, such as, a colony's demographic, and the nationality of the colonizer. In addition, the Atlantic world market in slaves affected the overall quantity, sex ratio and geographical source of black slaves. Although the majority of slaves came from Africa, "seasoned" slaves were being transported from the Caribbean.

The slave population of the eighteenth century was reshaped by two crucial demographic trends. First, the African slaves were predominately men, and from various different ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Second, the number of black slaves was growing through natural increase. Slaves who were born in America were called Creole. Many of them had multiracial backgrounds, representing a mixture of African, European, and Indian ancestry.

The consolidation of African cultures with those in North America was different in nature and in pace depending on the region. For example, in the plantation district of the South, slaves had little contact with whites. This made it possible for them to keep more of their African values and practices. However, blacks in the North became more assimilated into the dominant culture due to frequent interaction with whites.

New England

New England had the smallest black population than any other region in North America although slavery was important to its commercial life in the eighteenth century. In 1713, after Great Britain had secured the monopoly on the slave trade to the New World, New England traders began to thrive. While being profitable to the economy, it also boosted the growth of the slave population between 1720 and 1750.

In Boston, slaves worked as carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, bakers, and shipwrights, just to name a few. In the eighteenth century more and more black men were used as "body servants." Their duties included shaving and dressing their masters, waiting

tables, and driving carriages. Slave women were primarily domestic servants, which tied them to the household. Slave men had more opportunities to move about in town. This made it easier for black and white servants to socialize in taverns and other public places.

Every year, slaves in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island celebrated Negro Election Day. It was the public election of black "kings" and "governors", which was an adaptation of the region's white electoral celebration. The masters provided their slaves with costumes and other public support. By doing so, they secured the loyalty and obedience of their slaves. The celebration made slaves feel like being part of the community.

The Mid-Atlantic Colonies

Unlike in New England, slaves came in contact with diverse European groups, such as Swedish, Dutch, German, and English settlers. The influence of all these various cultural groups could be seen in the black festival tradition called Pinkster that was celebrated in New York and New Jersey.

Besides coming from different countries, they also represented a variety of religions like the Quakers, Baptists, and Anglicans. In Pennsylvania, Quakers started to question and debate the morality of slavery. In the mid-eighteenth century this attitude led to an early movement for manumission. Quakers also started schools to educate black children.

In the Mid-Atlantic colonies, slaves worked in cities and the countryside; many had experience in both. In cities,, black slaves were used as servants, tanners, blacksmiths, and handymen. Grain was being produced for export, which relied heavily on slave labor in the region. Hands were needed for planting crops, clearing fields, chopping wood and other work. Overall, life was harsh in the Middle Colonies. In Philadelphia, death rates for the black population were 50 percent higher than for whites. Inadequate housing, malnutrition, and disease accounted for this high percentage.

The Chesapeake Region

The African-born population increased dramatically in Virginia during the first four decades of the eighteenth century. Two specific ethnic groups formed the majority of human traffic: Igbo from 1712 through the 1720s, and Angolans in the 1730s.

Adjustment to their new environment was hard because they did not speak English, and could not communicate with the native Creole population. One-quarter of African-born slaves died within the first year in the New World. Some tried to escape plantation slavery in a number of ways. Creole slaves usually ran away on their own, while Africans ran away in groups.

In the 1690s Virginia tobacco plantation owners preferred male slaves to female. The uneven sex ratio along with long and hard workdays did not support stable family life and the natural increase of the slave population. However, attempts to correct the situation by importing more women in the 1720s managed to spark a natural increase in the population. After 1740, the sex ratio became more balanced; there was less ethnic difference among slaves, and health and longevity increased. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the offspring of Africans had become a new generation of African Americans as well as the first black population to grow by natural increase.

The Lower South, Eastern Seaboard

The introduction of rice cultivation had a transforming effect on black life in South Carolina Lowcountry. Swampland was changed into profitable rice fields using Africans' knowledge of the crop. The rising significance of rice as an export increased the number imported slaves. Before 1710, it was rare that annual slave imports exceeded 300 but by the 1730s the annual figure was more than two thousand. The black population grew and it soon outnumbered the whites – 61 percent by 1750. However, natural reproduction was achieved in the 1760s some four decades after the Chesapeake. The size of plantations grew alongside with the black population.

In South Carolina slaves lived on large plantations with few whites. Slaveholders left the swampy, malaria-ridden rice areas for part of each year and went to a healthier environment, Charleston. With even the white overseers in short supply, it was not uncommon for a trusted slave to be given the role of overseer. This limited interaction between whites and blacks gave slaves greater cultural autonomy compared to their northern counterparts. In addition, the task system was based on a worker's output per day, which did not require much supervision. After completing their tasks, slaves were allowed to spend time on their gardens, and even sell the produce.

Urban slaves lived close to their white owners in small slaveholdings and shared residences. The way they dressed and spoke were clear signs of being more Anglo-assimilated than rural slaves. Urban slaves enjoyed greater mobility and more independent social lives. In Charleston, there were both skilled and unskilled male slaves. The former group included carpenters, coopers, and shoemakers. The latter group consisted of servants, porters, and day workers. Female slaves were more common in urban areas. They worked in their masters' homes and were also hired out as cooks and seamstresses.

Persons of mixed African and European descent, both free and enslaved, comprised a visible group with greater privileges and higher status than most blacks in Charleston. Unlike other British colonies, South Caroline did not prohibit interracial sexual contact. A white man and a mulatto woman could establish a domestic relationship, or a white father could legally become the guardian of a mulatto slave child or free him.

The Lower Mississippi Valley

French-controlled lower Louisiana was a vast multi-ethnic region in the eighteenth century. It was home to Africans, Native Americans, and Europeans of various nationalities. The first slaves arrived straight from Africa in 1719. During the next twelve years, a small group of white men, comprising of the military and governing elite, owned large groups of African slaves. These slaves often shared the same ethnic and linguistic background. Under French rule they had similar cultural autonomy like in South Carolina. This autonomy made it possible for slaves to practice their religious beliefs. Between 1720 and 1731 more than five thousand slaves arrived in Louisiana, however, disease, revolts, and difficult conditions brought the trade to a halt.

The slaves that came to Louisiana also had knowledge of rice cultivation. Although it did not become the major export like in South Carolina, it was still an important foodstuff in the colony. Africans also possessed knowledge of indigo cultivation and processing (a blue dye used on cloth). This knowhow was particularly useful since it grew wild in and around New Orleans. Both tobacco and indigo were cultivated for export. Besides agricultural work, the slaves build fortifications, chopped wood, and drained swampland by digging ditches and building levees. Some worked in skilled trades like carpentry and nursing. Military service was also an option with freedom as reward. Some fought on the French side while others against them.

Freedom was not always earned but stolen. There were those who decided to escape and form Maroon societies. They built huts, hunted, gathered berries, and grew vegetables for their own use. The Creole Maroons traded their handiwork and vegetables in New Orleans. In 1763 Spanish acquired most of Louisiana from France. The Maroon societies continued despite this change in colonial power. However, between 1782 and 1784, the governor of the colony aimed to capture and destroy the Maroon villages. In 1784 he succeeded in capturing 103 Maroons along with the most noted Maroon leader Juan Maló and his wife Cecilia Canuet. They were sentenced to death by hanging.

Activities:

- 1) Form groups of four people and select a region. Discuss the main features of your region in groups. Prepare a presentation that each member will give to the members of his/her new group. When the presentations are done, form new groups so that each will have a representative from a region. Take turns in presenting. After the presentations, discuss the differences of the five regions.
- 2) Select a partner and answer the following questions:
 - 1. Were you familiar with the regional differences in slave societies?
 - 2. Were you surprised to learn about these differences? What was surprising?
 - *3.* What were the five regions?
 - 4. Did this chapter change your view on the nature of slavery? How?
 - 5. Why did the five regions differ from each other?
- 3) Come up with five questions related to the chapter and then exchange them with another pair. Answer the new questions with your partner.

Source:

5. The Revolutionary War

"Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, almighty God. I know not what others may wish, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

-Patrick Henry

The war against France and its Native American allies had been an expensive one for Great Britain. There was a massive wartime debt to be paid, and a huge standing army to maintain in North America in order to hold and govern its new province, former French Canada. Therefore, King George III and Parliament wanted the colonists to share some of the expenses of protecting and defending the colonies. Americans did not agree with this decision, and resented such acts as the Sugar Act of 1764, and the Stamp Act of 1765. In addition, they disapproved of the deployment of British troops in Boston in 1768 to keep the peace and enforce taxation.

Such slaveholders as Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry warned that Americans would become slaves to Britain if they gave up their political liberty. For many in Great Britain, and even North America, the use of slavery as a metaphor seemed inconsistent given its status in society. Both blacks and whites started to question its righteousness. Some northern blacks collected money so they could take their freedom suits to court through which many were granted their freedom. At that time, there were also street demonstrations which blacks participated.

In 1775, the War of Independence broke out. The Patriots were continuously faced with the question of arming blacks. There had never been one general policy in the colonies. Some allowed blacks in the military while others did not. Either way, blacks were frequently asked to fight against other European countries and Native peoples. This had created a tradition of African American military service, which was alive when the War of Independence began. Many black people distinguished themselves in battle against the British. Despite their heroism in the first battles they had not earned the right to fight as soldiers. A month after the Continental Army was formed, a council of war decided not to enlist blacks. This decision, however, did not affect those already in service. In the fall of 1775 another council addressed the same question and agreed not to enlist slaves and blacks.

The British made a surprise move on November 7, 1775, when Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, promised freedom to any slave or indentured servant who was willing and able to join His Majesty's army. Slave rebellions intensified in the southern colonies, and many answered the call of the British military. During December 1775, Washington grew more worried that the British would become more powerful by enlisting blacks in their army. Finally, on December 31st he permitted the enlistment of free blacks. However, on January 16, 1776, Washington allowed the reenlistment of blacks that had previously served at Cambridge out of fear that they would join the British army out of dissatisfaction with being discarded; no one else was to be enlisted. However, most states started enlisting blacks both slave and free by changing their earlier policies or through legislation.

South Carolina and Georgia were the only two states that did not accept blacks in the military. Most other states offered freedom for those who fought and compensation for their masters. A similar arrangement was suggested to South Carolina and Georgia but neither state allowed the enlistment of black soldiers.

Many slaves escaped during the revolutionary struggle. According to the 1779 declaration by British General Sir Henry Clinton, runaway slaves were to be protected and those who served the Patriots were to be sold if captured. The proclamation was just a military strategy instead of a program of general emancipation. Both sides stole, sold, and used fugitive slaves for their own purposes.

There were more than 200,000 soldiers who fought for the Patriots. Approximately 5,000 of those soldiers were African American. Though the South had the largest population of black people, most black soldiers came from the North. They served throughout the war and under every possible condition. African Americans contributed to the independence of the United States. The War ended in 1783.

Activities:

Important African Americans of this period in American history: Crispus Attucks,

Phillis Wheatley, Peter Salem, Salem Poor, and Barzillai Lew. Students can make small presentations on these historical figures.

- 1) With your partner, find up to ten unfamiliar words in the text and discuss them with another pair.
- 2) With your partner, answer the following questions:
 - 1. What was so ironic about Patrick Henry's speech?
 - 2. What does "no taxation without representation" mean?
 - 3. What was the status of blacks in the Continental Army?
 - 4. What changed their position on blacks in the army?
 - *5.* What happened to fugitive slaves?
 - 6. Why did some African Americans fight in the Continental Army while others fought with the Patriots?
- 3) Come up with five questions related to the chapter and then exchange them with another pair. Answer the new questions with your partner.
- 4) What were the main points in this text? Why? Discuss them with your partner.

Sources:

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6. The Revolutionary Spirit

The fight for freedom influenced the founding of the first abolitionist society, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. Moreover, the Revolution's ideas of liberty and freedom inspired other similar groups to be formed in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. After the war, manumission and antislavery societies increased. The Revolutionary philosophy was so powerful that almost every state that had enlisted black slaves either granted them freedom on service or at the end of their service.

In the 1780s and 1790s, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia changed their legislature to make it easier for individual masters to free their slaves. In 1787, a stipulation added to the Northwest Ordinance stated that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in the territory that would eventually form Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. However, in the Upper South, slaves only received freedom if their masters decided to grant it. This situation would lead up to a post-Revolutionary period in which the US would be divided into a free North and a slave South.

The Constitution

In the summer of 1787 the Constitutional Convention was held in Philadelphia. The Founding Fathers attended it in order to strengthen and stabilize the national government. At the Convention, slavery raised crucial questions that related to taxation and representation. Most of the northern delegates saw slaves as merely property and as such would not need representation. However, delegates from Georgia and South Carolina demanded that slaves be counted equally with whites when it came to apportioning congressional seats and electoral votes. In these two states, the majority of people were slaves while free whites were a minority. The delegate from Pennsylvania stated that the people of his state would protest against being placed on the same level with slaves. A compromise was written on the Constitution stating that the total population would comprise of all free persons and three-fifths of the slave population.

Several states had taken steps to prohibit the Atlantic slave trade within their jurisdictions. When the issue was brought up in the Convention an argument began. Charles Pinckney, the delegate from South Carolina, said that his state would never accept a constitution that banned the Atlantic slave trade. During the Revolutionary

War, plantation owners in South Carolina and Georgia had suffered great losses of their human property. Their intention was to begin transporting slaves in even greater numbers in order to rebuild their slave holdings. Finally, fearing that the issues would severe relations, the states of North and of the Upper South agreed to a compromise. The Lower South was allowed to continue the Atlantic slave trade for at least twenty years. After three months of political discussion and debates, the delegates to the Constitutional Congress returned home in September 1787. The United States Constitution was ratified in 1788.

Activities:

People of interest: Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, James Otis, Benjamin Rush, Henry Laurens, John Laurens.

- 1) Did you understand all of the words in the text? Discuss unfamiliar words with your partner.
- 2) Answer the following questions with your partner.
 - 1. How did the Revolutionary War affect slavery?
 - 2. What does abolition mean?
 - *3.* Why was the purpose of the Constitutional Convention?
 - 4. What was the central issue at the Constitutional Convention?
 - 5. Why was it important?
 - 6. Why did people disagree?
 - 7. How did they solve the problem?
 - 8. Did the Atlantic slave trade end?
 - 9. Why did some want to continue transporting slaves from Africa?
 - 10. What was decided?
 - 11. Were you surprised by the outcome?
 - 12. Did the Constitutional Congress achieve its goals?
- 3) Come up with five questions related to the chapter and then exchange them with another pair. Answer the new questions with your partner.

Source:

7. The Northern States

The northern states began to take steps to get rid of slavery completely through legislative and other constitutional procedures. However, in some cases this did not mean immediate abolition but gradual emancipation. For example, in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania there were continually more than 3000 slaves till as late as 1830 due to gradual abolition statutes.

In urban areas, blacks both free and slave were working hard to build strong communities. In rural areas the same work was being done but by free blacks. They were building their own schools, churches, and mutual-aid societies. Although they believed in self-help and self-determination, blacks worked with white leaders whenever possible.

The social status of all black people was that of a second-class citizen. They experienced economic discrimination, and social ostracism. Despite these adversities, they were able to get jobs, and even start businesses of their own. They worked as barbers, shop-employees, seamen and coachmen just to name a few.

The Southern States

The cotton gin, invented by Eli Whitney, revolutionized and improved the process of separating raw cotton from its seed. His invention also helped to expand slave labor in the United States in the early 19th century. The demand for cotton and sugarcane raised prices and profits, which in turn caused a rapid population increase in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. All three states produced more than 50 percent of the nation's cotton by 1834. The percentage increased to 79 in 1859 with the help of Georgia. Migration from the eastern seaboard increased when people heard of the growing prosperity. As the population grew so did the demand for slave labor.

In 1808, it became illegal for the United States to be involved in Atlantic slave trade. This increased the value of slaves, and made interstate slave trade even more profitable. Earlier the antislavery sentiment had been strong in Maryland, and Virginia but this new development destroyed much of it. The domestic slave trade developed rapidly; many firms that specialized in farming supplies and equipment also had slaves for sale. These

companies posted advertisements on newspapers in order to attract customers. Slave traders could be found everywhere, in taverns, and at county fairs. Pens, jails, and necessary equipment for handling human traffic could be found virtually in every southern city.

Even after 1808, merchants shipped slaves to the United States from Africa. The profits and the certainty of markets were just too tempting. The fact that the southern coast was unguarded further facilitated matters. An estimated fifteen thousand slaves were annually taken to Texas. In 1854, the slave traders advocated the official reopening of the Atlantic slave trade. At the Montgomery convention of 1858, only the states of the Upper South were against reopening the African trade. This was because they benefited from the interstate trade. Truth was that repeal was not necessary because the federal law of 1808 was weak, and insufficiently enforced.

As slavery expanded into the Lower South, and the Gulf Coast states, more strict laws were set in the late eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. They were called slave codes. Although they varied from state to state, the idea behind them was the same: slaves were defined as property instead of people; laws protected masters from danger and their ownership rights. In practice this meant that a slave could not hit a white person even in self-defense, while killing a slave rarely constituted murder. Slaves could only testify against another slave or a free black. They could not make any type of contracts. Relationships with whites or free blacks were to be kept at a minimum. In Mississippi, slaves were not allowed to beat drums or blow horns because masters feared that they could be used to send out coded messages.

A system for enforcing and executing the slave codes was set up. For breaking the law, a slave was either tried in court or judged by a tribunal. Punishments included whipping, branding, imprisonment and death. However, imprisonment and execution both meant financial loss for the owner and, thus, were only given after careful consideration.

Patrols were set up to maintain the institution of slavery. They consisted of free white men who were expected to serve for one, three, or six months. Each patrol was signed a specific area, or a "beat". Their duty was to capture runaways, and watch out for any signs of uprisings or conspiracies. During emergencies, vigilance committees operated

as a part of the patrol system. Despite all the statutes and enforcement systems, masters preferred to enforce their own rules and forms of punishment on their plantations.

The majority of slaves worked in agriculture. In 1850, 2.8 million worked on plantations and farms where as only 400,000 slaves worked in towns and cities. This did not mean that the majority of southern whites owned slaves. In 1860, the white population was 8 million strong with only 384,884 slave owners. This meant that more than 50 percent of slaves lived on plantations with a population of over twenty slaves and 25 percent on plantations with a slave population of over fifty. Staple crops were usually grown on large plantations. These wealthy slave owners had political and economic clout in the South.

On large plantations there were two distinguishable groups of slaves: house servants, and field hands. Those who took care of the house, the yards and gardens, cooked, drove carriages, and performed other duties were called house servants. Being favored by the master had its benefits, for example, better clothing, education, and food. They also accompanied their masters on travels. On smaller plantations slaves had to do both field and housework. In some cases, the master had to work alongside his slaves due to economic reasons.

Certain work assignments were clearly divided between men and women. For example, cooking, cleaning, various household chores, textile work, and childcare were done by female slaves. They were also chambermaids, wet nurses, and midwives. Not all women worked indoors, many labored alongside men on the fields or swamps.

Overseers were in charge of making sure that the slaves worked hard. They usually did not own land or slaves, and therefore, had no personal interest in the slaves' condition. Some felt that slaves were the cause of their financial problems. Consequently, they whipped slaves mercilessly as punishment.

Although many plantations had slaves who worked as masons, carpenters, and mechanics, they were more common in urban areas. Having a skill increased the value of a slave. Besides working for their masters', slaves were hired out to urban and rural areas. For example, a farmer could hire extra hands to help out during harvest.

Even though slaves worked long hours under surveillance with little free time, they still managed to cultivate their social and cultural lives. They found time for worship, relationships, family, and cultural creativity. By doing so they proved that they were more than just property. Their spirituals, work songs, folk tales, and songs of worship were examples of the richness of their culture.

During holidays and various festivities, the rules became more relaxed on plantations. Usually slaves got together to sing, dance and enjoy each other's company. The summer lay-by and Christmas were two important periods for slaves. After the cultivation period there was less work on plantations, which meant that slaves had more time for themselves. The Christmas holiday meant that there was no work besides the bare essentials.

Slaves were often allowed to practice religion in some form or another. On larger plantations and towns masters supervised worship services. Usually white ministers preached to slave congregations but in some cases free blacks and slaves openly led. After hearing rumors of slave conspiracies and when the abolitionist movement grew stronger in the North, slaveholders started to keep a more watchful eye on their slaves' religious activities. In increasing numbers slaves were required to attend church where whites preached about slavery being part of God's design. Despite all efforts, the most pious Christian slaves recognized the difference between the biblical message of equality and proslavery preaching. In fact, the slaves combined Christianity and their folk beliefs to form their own religion.

Southern Free Blacks

For African Americans, freedom did not mean equal citizenship. They were confronted with racial discrimination and injustice on a daily basis. For instance, they were not allowed to vote, or seek employment in certain professions. They were harassed in public, and their neighborhoods were attacked by mobs. In fact, proslavery southerners claimed that slavery was a better option for African Americans than freedom. Despite all the hardship, they were strengthened by their shared values of community self-determination.

During the antebellum era, the notions of racial difference started to appear in science and entertainment. Poems, lyrics and novels published throughout the 1810s and 1820s

demeaned blacks by exaggerating their speech patterns, and deemed them unworthy of freedom and equality. Cartoon images gave the impression that they were animalistic and disfigured. The minstrel show was a popular form of entertainment in which whites painted their faces black and satirized black people in a demeaning fashion. They sang, danced and did comedy sketches. Two stereotypical characters were featured in these shows; "Jim Crow" – the lazy and simple southern slave – and "Zip Coon" – the northern free black.

In science, ethnology promoted racial difference and white superiority. It started to gain credibility in the 1830s and 1840s with theories of racial traits being innate and unchangeable. Craniology was an important part of ethnology. It studied the connection between skull size and intellect. Craniologists claimed that Caucasians had bigger skulls and, therefore, their dominance and the enslavement of blacks were justified.

Activities:

- 1) Did you understand all of the words in the text? Talk about the unfamiliar words with your partner.
- 2) Discuss the following points in pairs or small groups.
 - 1. What kind of effect did the ratification of the Constitution have on northern and southern states?
 - 2. Were you aware of the differences between the North and the South before you read the chapters?
 - 3. What factors helped slave trade expand in the South?
 - 4. How many different types of slaves were there? How did they differ from each other?
 - *5. What increased the value of slaves after 1808?*
 - 6. Were slaves still being transported across the Atlantic after 1808?
 - 7. If so, why did people still continue it although it was illegal?
 - 8. How did the expansion of slavery affect the lives of slaves?
 - 9. Did all slaves work in the fields? Did they have other jobs?
 - 10. Did slaves have any free time or occasions when they did not have to work as hard?

- 3) Form groups of 3-4 people. Talk about things you have learned so far; what you have found interesting, or shocking? Has the information been new to you so far? Have other subjects addressed similar or same issues? Answer the questions in greater detail than just 'yes' and 'no'!
- 4) Every group selects a minstrel character which they will present to the class. The presentation should take about five minutes.
 - 1. Uncle Tom
 - 2. Mammy
 - 3. Sambo
 - 4. Savage brute/brown sugar
 - 5. Dandy Jim
 - 6. Old Dan Tucker
 - 7. Pickaninny
- 5) After the presentations, the class could talk about the minstrel characters and the thoughts they raised. Do similar stereotypes still exist? Can stereotypes have a positive impact?
- 6) Come up with five questions related to the chapter and then exchange them with another pair. Answer the new questions with your partner.

Additional Exercises:

- 1) What is your opinion on stereotypes?
- 2) Are they always demeaning and even racist?
- 3) What kind of stereotypes have you encountered in Finnish or other cultures?
- *4) What is their function?*

Sources:

Franklin, J.H. and E.B. Higginbotham, 2011. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans, Ninth Edition. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

Price, G. 2007. Lecture. African American Identity. Autumn term 2007.

8. Abolitionism

Abolitionists were people who wanted to permanently end slavery. They included men and women, both white and black. They published texts, lectured, petitioned, freed slaves by buying their freedom, planned and executed rescue missions, hid fugitives and instigated slave revolts. The movement was strongly connected with religious revivalism and movements for women's rights, temperance and peace. They argued that slavery was against the basic ideologies of the American way of life. They often quoted the Declaration of Independence when they compared freedom and slavery.

Although abolitionists were against slavery, not all white members believed in racial equality. They were accused of being paternalistic and openly discriminatory by denying free blacks their civil rights in northern communities. For black abolitionists it was difficult to understand why people who supported abolition could turn a blind eye to northern injustice. Whites in turn were not happy with the separate black convention movement. Despite these issues, blacks and whites continued to together for a common goal.

Proslavery southerners attacked abolitionist arguments with their own. They claimed that the institution of slavery was beneficial to all Americans. Proslavery scientists and physicians argued that blacks were inferior to whites both physically and mentally. Physical punishment, harsh working conditions and long hours were acceptable due to these differences. Blacks were seen as savages who deserved their place. These views were also supported by the Bible and church. Slavery itself was seen as a necessity for the growth of the civilization and economy in the South.

Southern leaders did not want ideas of antislavery spreading into their communities. Abolitionists were persecuted and met with violence in the South. Many were banished from towns for speaking against public opinion. Publications that were against slavery were burned and finally they were censored.

The Underground Railroad

The Underground Railroad was an example of the determination of the abolitionists. It was a network of people and "stations" dedicated to aid fugitive slaves in their escape.

The Underground Railroad was in strict violation of federal fugitive slave laws and, therefore, was defiant act against slaveholders.

The name was probably coined when the first steam railroads were built in the United States around 1831. The system was not operated just by black and white northerners but southerners as well. Helping slaves to freedom involved disguises, closed carriages and coded messages. The early fugitives were mostly men who had to move on foot. However, as the number of escapees increased, vehicles and escorts were used to help transport slaves.

Activities:

People of interest: Harriet Tubman, William Lloyd Garrison, James McCune, Frederick Douglas, Henry Highland Garnet, Josiah Henson.

- 1) Discuss any unfamiliar words with your partner.
- 2) Answer the following questions in pairs or small groups:
 - 1. Were you familiar with the Underground Railroad? If so, where did you hear from it?
 - 2. Who were the abolitionists and what was their goal?
 - 3. How did they try to reach that goal?
 - 4. How did they justify their cause?
 - 5. Who opposed them?
 - 6. What was their view on slavery?
 - 7. What were some of the issues abolitionists disagreed on amongst themselves?
 - 8. What was the Underground Railroad?
 - 9. How did southerners react to abolitionists?
 - 10. How did the Underground Railroad operate?
- 3) Come up with five questions related to the chapter and then exchange them with another pair. Answer the new questions with your partner.

Source:

9. The Civil War

The northern and southern states disagreed on the issue of slavery, which inevitably lead to the Civil War of the United States. Abraham Lincoln became the sixteenth president of the US on March 4, 1861. While running for office, he had campaigned against extending slavery to the northern territories. His victory was not well-received in the South. Before his inauguration, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas left the Union and formed a new government, the Confederate States of America. In order to preserve the Union, Lincoln stated in his inaugural speech that the institution of slavery would remain untouched in those states where it existed. However, his attempt failed and the Confederate army attacked a federal garrison at Fort Sumter in April 1861. As Lincoln took steps to defend the fort and enforce authority in the South, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas joined the Confederates. The Civil War began.

The Union did not give any clear answers to questions on the status of runaway slaves, black enlistment, and other related questions during the first year of the war. For African Americans, slavery was the central issue, and the Civil War was crucial to the abolishment of slavery. Therefore, they wanted to ensure that the Union was victorious. At first Lincoln did not support black enlistment but as the death toll increased he had to change his policy. However, despite their contribution, African Americans faced injustice and inequality in the service. For example, they received less pay.

Lincoln's policies did not gain the support of everyone. Most people supported the war as a means to support the Union but not as a crusade to end slavery. In fact, most northern Democrats were against black freedom. Many feared that former slaves would start moving to northern cities, which would make it harder for people to find work. As a result, people began rioting in Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio, just to name a few.

There was not a single policy concerning slaves that escaped to Union lines. Union generals used their own discretion in these situations. Some took them in as fugitives while others returned them to their masters. In 1861, when slaves fled to Fort Monroe in Virginia, General Benjamin Butler declared that all slaves were "contraband of war" and should not be returned to their owners. He knew that the Confederate army would

use those slaves to help their war effort. Instead, General Butler put the fugitives to work.

Congress tried to address the issue with the first Confiscation Act of 1861 and the second Confiscation Act of 1862. They allowed Union armies to seize any rebel property including slaves. They would then become free. However, Lincoln did not support this and ordered the policy to contain far more restrictions to freedom. His plan was to offer gradual emancipation and support the colonization of black Americans in South America, the Caribbean, and Africa.

There were rumors that the President would give a preliminary emancipation proclamation sometime in August 1862. However, Lincoln told one antislavery delegation that it would not be supported by the rebels. He changed his mind after the Union victory at Antietam in September 17. He issued his preliminary proclamation five days later. In the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln ordered that all slaves in the United States would be free on January 1, 1863. Many whites felt that saving the Union was not the main purpose any more. Some soldiers refused to fight for the purpose of freeing slaves. For abolitionist, Lincoln's proclamation was certainly better than nothing but at the same time too little compared to the sacrifices they had made for over a generation. In addition, they wondered what would happen to the slaves if the war ended before January. They were relieved when on January 1, 1863 the final Emancipation Proclamation freed three-fourths of the American slaves. However, more than 800,000 blacks remained in slavery in four loyal slave states.

In the South, slaves were used to build fortifications and help with the war effort. However, blacks were not armed or enlisted because whites feared uprisings. For the same reason they tried to prevent slaves from hearing about the Emancipation Proclamation. The war had already caused enough trouble for slaveholders. Many slaves escaped while those who stayed refused to work or submit to punishment. Some blacks even helped Union forces by providing information and assistance. In 1865, a bill was passed in the Confederate Senate which allowed the enlistment of blacks. This decision was a sign of the coming defeat. The Confederate army surrendered the same year.

Activities:

- 1) Did the text contain any difficult or unfamiliar words? Make a list of them and discuss them with your partner. How would you translate them? What about pronunciation?
- 2) Discuss the main points of the chapter with your partner. Did you learn anything new about the Civil War?
- *3) Answer the following questions in pairs:*
 - 1. What issue led to the war? What was the problem?
 - 2. How did Lincoln try to preserve the Union?
 - 3. How did African Americans contribute to the war effort in the North?
 - 4. How did their situation change during the war?
 - 5. Were there any black soldiers in the Confederate army?
 - 6. What happened to runaway slaves that were captured by either army?
 - 7. What were Lincoln's initial thoughts on freeing the slaves?
 - 8. What changed his mind?
 - 9. How did northerners feel about the Civil War?
 - 10. Why did blacks fight for the Union?

Source:

10. The Reconstruction

After the Northern victory the fate of the largely Democratic South was in the hands of the Republican Party. The South had to accept the national standard of free labor. The Thirteenth Amendment had freed the slaves but it also nullified the Three-fifths Compromise giving the South even greater congressional representation than before. Republicans were determined not to let former Confederates seize power over the southern states. They were worried that slaveholders would re-enslave blacks if given the chance.

While Republicans and Democrats fought over control of the southern states, Lincoln struggled with Congress over the authority to define the conditions of its readmission. The President felt that it was his duty to outline the postwar agenda and to take the necessary steps to reorganize the rebel states. He gave general amnesty to former Confederate citizens excluding high-ranking civil and military officials. Lincoln also devised the Ten Percent Plan according to which a state would be readmitted to the Union if one-tenth of its eligible voters in 1860 swore an oath of loyalty to the United States and accepted the abolition of slavery.

After the assassination of President Lincoln, Andrew Johnson began his presidency. He had earlier expressed dislike of the plantation elite but once in office it seemed like he felt differently. Temporary governors were appointed in the southern states. State legislatures, which comprised of white voters, were to modify their constitutions to be in accordance with that of the United States. New laws were passed that were designed to limit the freedom of black people. These laws were called Black Codes and they resembled the Slave Codes of the antebellum era.

The Black Codes allowed blacks to make contracts but they were designed to lock in, control, and force them to work under oppressive conditions. This in turn reinforced their subordinate position. Those who quit their jobs could be arrested and imprisoned for breaking their contract. Unemployed black men, women and even children were given heavy penalties. Black orphans or children with parents that were unfit according to the state were bound by judges to "apprenticeship" to white employers. They were not required to pay the children or their parents any type of compensation. In Maryland

and North Carolina, the courts did not require the parents' permission to apprentice their children.

Blacks could only testify against members of their own race in court. They could not rent or purchase properties in certain areas. Fines were given for talks that were considered to be threatening to whites, insulting gestures, violation of curfew and possession of firearms. Blacks were unable to change the laws because they were not allowed to vote.

In 1866, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act which protected blacks against the Black Codes and violence. It gave them the right to testify in court and the same rights as whites. By the end of the year, the Freedmen's Bureau had the right to observe legal proceedings that involved freedpeople and make sure their fundamental rights were respected. "Freedmen's" courts and boards which had civil and criminal jurisdiction over minor cases were also organized by the bureau.

Black suffrage started to gain support from various northern interest groups. They felt that it would ensure the gains made during the war. Black and white abolitionist' supported black men's right to vote based on their military service during the war. Industrialists, on the other hand, were interested in the markets and cheap labor in the South. They did not want the powerful agrarian interests to regain its prewar era status. All these groups limited President Johnson's ability to control the fate of Reconstruction.

President Johnson's vetoes, his racial remarks, his opposition of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment, and his verbal attacks on various northern leaders, caused a fight between Congress and the President for control of Reconstruction. As it turned into a public spectacle, the voters abandoned Johnson at the polls.

African Americans also opposed the policies of the presidential Reconstruction. The presence of black troops among the Union forces stationed in the South inspired many. The soldiers themselves did more than that. They helped build schools and other institutions, arrested lawless whites, offered assistance with contracts and voiced their opinions. In 1865 and early 1866, black conventions were held throughout the South. They represented a strong political mobilization against the presidential reconstruction.

Black conventions demanded the abolishment of the Black Codes, equal rights and privileges concerning education, jury duty, and voting just to name a few.

Congress had gained control of Reconstruction by 1867. At the beginning of congressional Reconstruction (aka Radical Reconstruction) each state was to hold a new constitutional convention based on universal male suffrage. In addition, in order to be admitted, they had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, which guaranteed citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States and equal protection of the law. Congress also imposed the "ironclad" oath which disqualified many ex-Confederates.

The Fourteenth Amendment did not give women the right to vote, which divided opinions among suffragists and old abolitionists. Some felt that male suffrage would give men power over women. As a result, the Americans Equal Rights Association was formed. In 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified which gave black men the right to vote throughout the nation. This had the greatest effect in the old Confederacy where they held elected offices at national, state, and local levels.

While fighting had stopped with the end of the Civil War, other problems occurred. There were abandoned lands, lack of food and clothing, displaced people, and burned down buildings. Civil authority was nowhere to be found in the Carolinas, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas. There was suffering and starvation everywhere. At that time, former slaves started to search for their families that had been separated by their former masters. The Freedmen's Bureau was responsible for aiding the emancipated by reuniting families, providing medical care, food, shelter, legalizing slave marriages and building schools. Help was also given to white refugees. The Bureau was the first large-scale federal welfare program in the United States.

Both the Freedmen's Bureau and freedpeople believed that education was an important factor in the successful transition from slavery to freedom. Blacks had established educational systems in churches, homes, and basements. They raised money to build schoolhouses, buy land, and pay teachers' salaries. However, more money was required. The Freedmen's Bureau did not have enough funds to establish schools so they mostly concentrated on coordinating and cooperating with northern religious societies, philanthropic, organizations and other groups devoted to the same cause.

In 1869, the voting rights of the former Confederates of Tennessee were restored. Within a few months large numbers of whites in other southern states regained their citizenship. In 1871, the "ironclad" oath was repealed and the following year all but about six hundred former Confederate officials regained their voting rights. These contributed to the rise of the Democratic Party in many states in the South. By 1876 South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana were the only Republican states. The goal was to restore white rule and overpower the Republicans in the South.

White supremacists took various steps to deny political equality from blacks. Secret societies grew and expanded as southerners began to realize that Radical Reconstruction aimed at breaking their control. Many organizations such as the Knights of the White Camelia, the Constitutional Union Guards, and the Knights of the Klu Klux Klan thrived throughout the South for ten years after 1867. They used illegal means to exercise absolute control over blacks, drive them from the ballot box and elective office, and establish white rule.

The two most powerful societies were the Camelias and the Klan. They carried guns, swords and other weapons as they patrolled parts of the South day and night. The members were sworn to secrecy, concealed their identity, and enjoyed the respect and support of the white community, which made it difficult for scattered Union troops to stop them. They resorted to violence, bribery, arson, and murder to accomplish their goals. They ran blacks out of communities and those who refused were whipped, maimed, and hanged. States passed various laws to stop the Klan. For example, wearing a mask in public, destroying property and physical attacks on people were punishable by heavy fines or imprisonment. However, these laws proved ineffective, and the violence continued.

The end of Reconstruction was contributed by many factors. For instance, Republican governments were accused of bribery, embezzlement, and other corrupt practices by the Democrats. This further strengthened the support of the Democratic Party. In addition, the old antislavery leaders had passed away and new leaders had taken their place. This new leadership did not feel the same way about blacks as the old one. As the era of Reconstruction came to an end, the South was freed from northern influence. In 1878 soldiers were not allowed to monitor elections, which decreased the number of black voters and elect members in the following decade. As the Democratic Party rose to

power, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were practically rendered meaningless making the color line more visible.

Activities:

- 1) In groups of three or four, find words that were unfamiliar to you. Discuss their meaning and pronunciation.
- 2) Answer the following questions in groups.
 - 1. What sort of problems did the Emancipation Proclamation cause?
 - 2. What was the goal of Reconstruction?
 - 3. What is the difference between presidential Reconstruction and congressional Reconstruction?
 - 4. What was the reason for congressional Reconstruction?
 - 5. What were Black Codes?
 - 6. What was the function of the Fourteenth Amendment?
 - 7. What about the Fifteenth?
 - 8. What group of people did not gain the right to vote?
 - 9. What did you learn about the Freedmen's Bureau and its duties?
 - 10. Why was the KKK able to continue breaking the law?
- 3) Come up with at least five questions based on the text. Trade questions with another group and answer the new ones.

Additional Exercises:

- 1) Are there hate groups in Finland? What are their names and motives?
- 2) In your opinion, why does a person join these organizations?
- 3) What factors contribute to racism and hate in your opinion?

Source:

Franklin, J.H. and E.B. Higginbotham, 2011. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans, Ninth Edition. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

11. The Beginning of Jim Crow

After Reconstruction, most of the white leaders in the South identified themselves and their parties as Conservative Democrats. Their economic policies favored railroads and industries more than agriculture. Their intent was to create a business-friendly climate in the "New South". Once the Democrats returned to power in the South, they started to take steps to at least reduce the political strength of black people or disenfranchise them altogether. The most effective way to keep black people from voting or participating in politics in many communities was violence. Other means were to set up polling places far from black communities, change their places without notifying blacks, poll taxes, literacy tests, etc.

These disenfranchisement practices severely decreased black participation in politics. However, African Americans were also the only thing uniting whites from different social classes. Soon the poor whites began to associate their problems with Conservative policies. In 1873, the economic depression began, which made things harder for agricultural communities. Consequently, many lost their farms and homes. This new situation made poor whites forget the threat of black political power. For example, disappointed white Democrats united with black Republicans and helped the Readjuster Party rise to power in Virginia in 1879. They had united for a common cause which was the economic and social hardship caused by the commonwealth's payment of its Civil War debt.

For African Americans, the Readjuster Party's win meant the return of black Republicans into elected and appointed office at various levels of government. The Party supported the protection of black voting rights, free public education, tax relief, mechanics law that favored workers, and railroad regulations. However, in 1883 the true nature of Readjusters was revealed as blacks demanded school integration, the legalization of mix race couples, and ran for election for seats on school boards. The white supremacist beliefs caused blacks to lose faith in the coalition.

Another example of black and white cooperation in politics was the Populist Party, also known as the Peoples' Party. They believed in political equality. Readjusters sought to win the black vote in different ways in most of the southern states. Some told poor whites and blacks that they were deliberately being kept apart and in poverty.

A Radical Populist Leader, Tom Watson, realized the importance of the black vote early on. Once he was elected to the Georgia legislature in 1882, he voted in favor of issues that were important to African Americans. At first he opposed disenfranchisement but later he would betray blacks by becoming a Negrophobe and race baiter. There were also successful coalitions between Populists and old Republican organizations. For example, in North Carolina they managed to open up voting for many blacks in 1895.

Black voters and officeholders were resented in North Carolina, Georgia, and other southern states by Democrats. To them it was an insult to the color line, and an intrusion. The Conservatives were not happy about the return of black Republicanism since they were not able to control the black vote for their own benefit. Even Populists disagreed on the issue. Some felt that it would be best if blacks were disenfranchised. In addition, a belief was spreading among whites that blacks were the cause of corruption in politics. By 1896, the disenfranchisement of black voters was seen as the only logical solution to this problem.

In Mississippi, where blacks were the majority, the issue was first addressed and solved. In 1890, a state convention met to discuss the disenfranchisement of blacks. They wrote a suffrage amendment which included a poll tax of \$2, and excluded people who were convicted of arson, theft, burglary, murder, bribery, perjury, and bigamy. In addition, it required that all persons should be able to read any section of the state constitution, understand it, or give a "reasonable" interpretation of it.

By 1898 it was clear how to go about disenfranchising blacks constitutionally. In the following years, other states followed the example set by Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana. By 1910 North Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, Georgia, and Oklahoma had disenfranchised their black population. Blacks were viewed as poor, ignorant, and inferior to whites, and therefore, had no place in politics. This stereotype was impossible to prove considering the number of blacks in schools of higher education and the professions, and black ownership. However, it did not matter since customs, laws, science, and popular culture deemed otherwise. Without political clout, blacks were powerless against new laws that supported segregation.

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 was seen as an effort to get rid of discriminatory practices based on race. However, the divide between the two races was based on custom. In 1883 five cases titled *Civil Rights Cases* were brought before the Supreme Court. The five black litigants claimed that their Civil Rights had been violated in the South and across the nation. They had experienced discrimination at inns, theaters, and on the 'ladies' car of a train. Surprisingly, the majority of the Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. According to the Court, the described acts of discrimination fell under state not federal law.

In 1890 Louisiana passed a separate-car law. The black citizens of New Orleans composed a written protest to the legislature. In addition to this, they formed a test committee to test the constitutionality of the law. The plan was to find a nearly white black person who would travel in the white section of a train. Home Plessy was selected to be the test-case passenger. On June 7, 1892, he got on the train from New Orleans to Covington, Louisiana, and sat in the white section of the train. After refusing to move to the "colored section", he was removed from the train. Plessy was sentenced to jail by the lower court judge John H. Fergusson. The case was named *Plessy v. Fergusson*.

The Louisiana Supreme Court ruled against Plessy and supported the separate-car law. The reason for their decision was that the law was based on legal, customary and natural differences between blacks and whites, and its purpose was to maintain peace and order, and promote comfort by separating the two races. In 1895 the case was brought before the highest court in the United States. The majority of the Supreme Court Justices ruled the "separate but equal" as legal and declared state mandated segregation laws reasonable. This decision sanctioned existing segregation laws and influenced the creation of other such laws. By law African Americans were by law denied access to state colleges, voting booths, jury boxes, parks, libraries, and many other public places. Signs that said "for whites" and "for colored" were put up to divide the two races. However, the "separate but equal" doctrine was far from being equal. The effects of Jim Crow could be seen everywhere. Transportation, neighborhoods, facilities, and restaurants were divided by the color line.

The color line also appeared in the shape of violence which took place in the North and the South. There were over 2,500 lynchings in the last sixteen years of the nineteenth century. The majority of victims were African Americans. In 1900 100 lynchings

occurred and the number grew to 1,100 before the First World War began. Blacks were lynched for such crimes as rape, attempted rape, homicide, and insulting white people, just to name a few.

Activities:

- 1) Did you understand all of the words in the text? Talk about the unfamiliar words with your partner.
- 2) Answer the following questions in pairs or groups of three:
 - 1. How did the fact that Democrats regained power affect blacks?
 - 2. What sort of tactics did they use to stop blacks from voting?
 - 3. Did their plan work like a charm?
 - 4. What was so special about the Readjuster Party and the Populist Party?
 - 5. What kind of people were not eligible to vote in Mississippi?
 - 6. What is Plessy vs. Fergusson?
 - 7. What was the doctrine behind Jim Crow?
- 3) Read the text again and come up with five questions. Exchange questions with another group and answer their questions.

Additional Exercises:

- 1) Are there any groups that are not treated equally in modern day Finland?
- 2) If so, how do people justify this inequality?
- 3) Are people trying to change the situation? How?
- 4) Do you think their making a difference?

Source:

Franklin, J.H. and E.B. Higginbotham, 2011. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans, Ninth Edition. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

12. The Beginning of the 20th Century

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in 1909 as a means of securing political and civil equality. The organization consisted of bishops, educators, professors, judges, and social workers. During the First World War they sought racial fairness in the military. In 1910 the NAACP started publishing a magazine called The Crisis. The first issue sold over a thousand copies and by 1918 the monthly circulation was 100,000 copies. The organization was against lynching and worked to support antilynching legislature. They organized marches and handed out leaflets. The NAACP continued to attack Jim Crow laws throughout the 1920s.

In the 1912 Election the NAACP supported Woodrow Wilson for President. They hoped that he would bring about a new type of leadership. Wilson even promised African Americans that their situation would improve if he became President. However, Wilson's victory proved to be a huge disappointment. He had more important issues to support, which were not in the best interests of African Americans, for example, Wilson segregated the eating and restroom facilities of black federal employees.

Patriotism was high during the First World War. After the war it took different forms: the rise of such groups as the KKK; the Red Scare and its government-authorized raids against communists between 1918 and 1922; and increased violence against African Americans in the forms of lynching and mob violence. In 1915 the Klan had reawakened in the South. During the final months of the war their numbers grew from a few thousand to over 100,000. Their goal was to unite native-born white Christians for the preservation of white supremacy and American institutions. In five years they had become a national organization with cells in several states throughout the US. The Klan targeted African Americans, Jews, Asians, Roman Catholics, and the foreign-born in general. Members of these groups were constantly attacked by hooded Klansmen. They took the law into their hands in many towns and lured many public servants and officials into joining their organization.

The summer of 1919 was called the "Red Summer" during which there were over twenty-six urban race riots. Race relations had reached a breaking point because of the migration of African Americans which increased the competition for peacetime jobs.

Encouraged by the KKK, the lawless whites stated to terrorized blacks who decided to defend themselves. There were riots in Texas, Chicago, Knoxville, Tennessee, and Omaha, just to name a few.

The loudest form of protest against Jim Crow was the migration out of the South. African Americans moved to the North and the West in the hopes of better economic opportunities. However, it was not the only reason; blacks wanted to escape the oppressive conditions of the South. Migration had begun during the war but it escalated during the 1920s. Between 1915 and 1930, 1.5 million blacks left the South. The migrants from the South and Caribbean islands would find organizations and leaders who would rival the old ones. They represented the new black American voices of protest. More African Americans participated in politics on local, state, national levels.

The Harlem Renaissance

The Harlem Renaissance refers to the artistic and philosophical movement that took place in the 1920s and 1930s. African Americans sought to define their identity and culture, and replace the old definitions. Black arts had begun to bloom in New York even before the war and mass migration of blacks into Harlem. It intensified and expanded as the wave of migrants increased. They moved to specific parts of the city because New York had a segregated housing policy which did not allow blacks to live in white neighborhoods. African Americans began to create ways to build networks among themselves by building theaters, speakeasies, and other venues. They became meeting places for black and white artists and intellectuals. In fact, the arts started to seem like a remedy to the problems of the color line. However, this all changed in October 1929 when the stock market crashed and the Great Depression began. Although the arts did not disappear, the people did. They just did not have the money to spend.

The New Deal

The Roosevelt administration came up with the New Deal relief programs to combat the Depression. They were designed to provide financial aid to farmers and industries. Moreover, the New Deal housing program helped blacks to keep their homes and get better accommodations. These various programs benefitted many black Americans who began to shift their loyalty towards the Democratic Party.

The Roosevelt administration hired black American specialists and advisors to assist in various governmental departments. Previous presidents had sought the help of blacks as well but Roosevelt's "black cabinet" was larger in number and held positions of importance. Moreover, their appointments were considered significant by the black population. The black advisors sought to improve racial equality in politics and the economy.

Schools were also affected by the Great Depression, especially southern black schools. New school buildings were hardly built, effective teaching was nearly impossible due to staff cuts, and already low salaries were cut even further. Some schools could not even afford teachers.

Activities:

People of interest: W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Jack Johnson, Josephine Ruffin, Anna Julia Cooper, Mary Church Terrell, Nannie Burroughs, Duke Ellington, Langston Hughes, Jessie Redmon Fauset, Zora Neale Hurston.

- 1) Search the text for any unfamiliar words and try to find their meanings.
- 2) Answer the following questions in groups:
 - 1. What does the NAACP stand for?
 - 2. Have you heard of it before?
 - 3. When was it founded, and what were its goals?
 - 4. What was the 'Red Summer'?
 - 5. Explain the Harlem Renaissance to your partner.
 - 6. Explain the New Deal to your partner.
- 3) Come up with five questions on the text. Exchange questions with another pair and answer their questions.
- 4) Talk about the main points of the text with your partner.

Additional Exercises:

- 1) Why was the Harlem Renaissance important?
- 2) What was wrong with the old definitions of African American identity and culture?

Source:

Franklin, J.H. and E.B. Higginbotham, 2011. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans, Ninth Edition. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

13. World War I

The United States military made little preparations in the years leading up to its participation in the First World War. In 1917, it became clear that a stronger army was needed. Congress rejected the idea of a whites-only draft and passes the Selective Service Act the same year. On the first day of registration, over 700,000 black men signed up for Selective Service. They were eager to serve as enlisted men and as officers. A total of 2,290,525 blacks registered before the end of the wartime draft. Only 367,000 were called into service.

The drafting process varied between counties. Some wanted to draft only whites in order to avoid arming black men while others did the opposite. States had different motives for encouraging or discouraging the drafting of black people. In the end, about 31 percent of registered African Americans were drafted and only 26 percent of whites. Unlike in the Civil War, military and government officials recognized the need for manpower, which is why they did not hesitate to draft blacks.

Racism was evident in the armed forces. Even though blacks served in many Army units, including cavalry, infantry, and engineering corps, they were not accepted in the aviation corps, or the Marines. Moreover, they were not offered officer's commissions. Black soldiers even had to train in different locations than whites. They also had to work under unhealthy and difficult conditions. White southerners were not happy about blacks serving in the military. White civilians attacked black soldiers on many occasion.

World War II

In September 1939 war broke out in Europe as Germany invaded Poland. A year later President Roosevelt announced that the US would join the fight for democracy. However, African Americans were not willing to suffer the same civil rights violations as they did during World War I. They demanded justice, equality, and were against lynching. Many blacks felt that the fight for democracy at home was more important than the one abroad. In September 1940, a group of black leaders submitted a seven-point program to the President. They demanded just treatment for African Americans in the armed forces, which would include the abolishment of discrimination in the Navy and the Army Air Corps, and same training for all, among other things. However, the War Department did not fulfill these demands.

The war-related production was booming, which also increased the need for labor. Many unemployed people found jobs in industrial plants. However, the new job opportunities were not available to blacks. Employers rather hired white workers from distant regions than local black workers. They argued that African Americans did not have the necessary skills. Blacks were not even offered training programs or unskilled jobs. Those who got a job did so because their white predecessor had been promoted. The black press, various civil rights organizations, and black communities protested against these practices.

In his State of the Union address to Congress in January 1941, the President spoke of the "Four Freedoms"-freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. He said that they should be pursued by every nation. The black population added another freedom to Roosevelt's list: freedom from racial discrimination.

In order to fight discrimination, the leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids, A. Philip Randolph suggested a march on Washington. His plan received a lot of support from African American communities nationwide. As they continued planning the march, high government officials became concerned about the implications. They approached Randolph and tried to persuade him to call of the march. However, their attempts failed. As a last resort, the President suggested a compromise, which would end the discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government. Randolph accepted Roosevelt's proposal and on June 25, 1941, the President issued Executive Order 8802. In addition, a Fair Employment Practices Committee was established to receive and investigate complaints about racial discrimination.

African American soldiers encountered racism both on military bases and outside. Outside they were often attacked by white civilians, and were refused service at restaurants and railroad stations. On many military bases blacks were not provided with sufficient means of transportation, white and black blood was kept separately, and entertainment facilities were divided by race.

On the home front African Americans supported the war effort in many ways: they bought and sold war bonds, participated in various programs, and served the Red Cross as nurse's aides. The growing economic opportunities increased migration to the North and the West. During the 1940s black migration reached unprecedented proportions.

The end of World War II marked the beginning of the Cold War. The fight for racial equality was often considered subversive or even un-American.

Activities:

People of interest: Colonel Charles W. Young, the Harlem Hellfighters,

- 1) Search the text for any unfamiliar words with your partner. Find out what they mean?
- 2) With your partner, compare the two wars. Can you find any similar features? What did you find? How did they differ from each other?
- 3) Come up with ten questions on the text. Exchange them with another pair and answer their questions.
- 4) Did the text contain any new information concerning WWI and WWII? What did you learn?
- 5) Have you discussed the role of African Americans in both conflicts in other courses (history, etc.)? Where?

Additional Exercises:

- 1) What is your opinion on protest marches/demonstrations?
- 2) Are they an effective way to get one's message across in your opinion?
- 3) Have you ever participated in a march /demonstration? What was it for?
- 4) In your opinion, what is the point of a demonstration?

Source:

Franklin, J.H. and E.B. Higginbotham, 2011. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans, Ninth Edition. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

14. The Struggle for Civil Rights

In the 1940s, African Americans had become an essential part of the industrial workforce. Moreover, they were an important part of organized labor. The early civil rights struggles were fought by many working-class blacks and some whites through labor unions. Racial equality and economic justice were their shared goals. The Congress of Industrial Organizations was an important organization that cooperated with various others. Their struggles formed the basis for the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

In 1945, Vice President Harry Truman became President of the United States after the death of President Roosevelt. A year later he appointed several interracial committees to conduct a study on the condition of civil rights and of higher education. In their report, the committee demanded the ending of segregation and discrimination in public schools, employment, healthcare, housing, the military, public accommodations, and interstate transportation. News of the report spread quickly and copies of it were distributed and sold.

In 1947, Truman delivered a speech in which he stated that the Federal Government should defend the rights and equalities of all Americans. A year later he appointed a committee to study the problems behind the integration of the armed forces. A new policy replaced the old one in 1949, which opened all positions to qualified personnel with no regard to race or color. Moreover, it abolished racial quotas. Many opposed Truman's policies to end segregation, especially conservative southern Democrats.

The struggle for civil rights took place in courtrooms as well. The NAACP fought case by case for voting rights, equalizing teacher salaries, integrating higher education and interstate public transportation, employment equality, and equal access to housing in the 1930s and 1940s.

The *Brown v. Board of Education* is probably the most famous case related to segregation in public schools. Four cases were brought before the Supreme Court that held public school segregation constitutional, and one opposing position. It was won on May 17, 1954 when the Court unanimously and unequivocally declared the racially separate public education unequal. It deprived African Americans of the equal

protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Many southerners rejected the ruling. They did not want their children to go to the same school with blacks. Many began formulating plans to defy the ruling or go around it. In 1955, the Supreme Court refused to set a timetable for the desegregation process disregarding the Justice Department's recommendation. This decision (aka *Brown II*) gave many southern states the opportunity to slow down the desegregation of their public schools.

In the case of *Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the segregation on interstate bus travel illegal. They based their decision on the fact that it was an unacceptable burden on interstate commerce. However, bus companies operating in the South did not abide by the ruling since it was against local segregation rules. Civil rights activists and other black and white members of the Congress of Racial Equality felt that it was time for a more direct approach. They sent an integrated group on a two-week "journey of reconciliation" through Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Before the actual trip, the sixteen participants practiced nonviolent techniques in case of verbal and physical harassment. On April 9, half boarded a Greyhound bus and the other half a Trailways. However, most of them did not complete the journey since twelve were arrested. The incident was widely covered in the black press while white newspapers paid relatively little attention to it.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

The Montgomery bus boycott was the first successful example of mass nonviolent protest and it directly challenged segregation. It was influenced by the fact that theaters, department stores, and other public facilities were still segregated. Due to the second ruling on the *Brown* case, schools were being desegregated gradually. The southern branches of the NAACP were under attack and they were outlawed. Members were accused of being un-American. The black community in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to accept gradualism and decided to take action in December 1955. The difference between the Montgomery movement and the CORE was that the former defied rules and regulations that had not been overturned by the federal judiciary.

Community leaders selected Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to lead the boycott effort that was being coordinated by the Montgomery Improvement Association. Under his leadership the movement emphasized nonviolence which was seen as an important strategy to win the sympathy of the nation. They organization was funded by local black

communities, and later by networks of black churches nationwide. The movement comprised of blacks from all classes and ages. It endured a long period of hardship to end segregation, and promote racial harmony.

The arrest of Rosa Parks on December 1, 1955, set the Montgomery movement in motion. She was arrested for refusing to give up her seat to a white man. Although she was sitting in the colored section, Alabama law allowed a white person to take a black person's seat in a crowded bus. In addition, black men and women were often assaulted for not moving quickly enough. Rosa Parks was not the only woman to defy the racial policy of the city's bus system that year. Besides her, four other African American women had been arrested.

The Montgomery Improvement Association presented three demands to city officials: 1) drivers must treat black passengers with dignity and respect; 2) the city has to hire black drivers in black neighborhoods; and 3) the city has to adopt a first-come, first-served seating system, with blacks in the back and whites in the front. However, these demands were rejected partly because most people expected the boycott to fail.

The boycott continued thanks to the careful planning of the Montgomery Improvement Association. Moreover, church meetings boosted peoples' morale and gave them strength to walk to their destinations. The MIA organized carpools and black taxi drivers had reduced rates for black customers. Due to these actions, African Americans were accused of obstructing business. Laws suits were filed against more than eight people involved in the boycott, including King. His house was also firebombed but no one was hurt.

The four other black women who were arrested – Aurelia Browder, Claudette Colvin, Mary Louise Smith, and Susie Macdonald – filed a class-action suit against the mayor of Montgomery and other city officials. The case challenged the constitutionality of city and state segregation regulations. In essence, it tested the legality of Jim Crow buses. The U.S. District Court found Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional. This decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court, which ended the 381-day boycott. The city was to immediately end segregation on buses.

The bus boycott inspired others to take action in support of civil rights. People organized sit-ins and demonstrations to end segregation in such public spaces as parks, playgrounds, and libraries. They also demanded an end to police brutality, and fair employment of blacks. Many protestors were violently assaulted by police and white mobs.

Bombingham

Past incidences had taught civil rights leaders the importance of press coverage. It would prove to be a valuable asset in the Birmingham campaign of 1963. The racial situation in Birmingham, Alabama, was very hostile in the 1960s. The city was also called "Bombingham" due to many unsolved bombings. The NAACP had little power in the city because the state had outlawed it as "communistic". The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACHR) was organized by Reverend Shuttlesworth in order to challenge the racist rule of Birmingham's white businesses, political leaders, and the local police commissioner, Eugene "Bull" Connor.

First, the organization tried opening the public accommodations open for all by taking the case to court. They won but the city decided to close its parks. The ACHR then decided to take a non-violent approach to the problem. In 1962, they worked with student activists from Miles College to organize a series of boycotts of white downtown businesses that did not serve blacks as equals. However, this still was not enough so the ACHR joined forces with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Its key leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr. considered Birmingham as crucial to the struggle against segregation in the South. So, they began to prepare "Project C".

The idea behind "Project C" was to execute a carefully planned nonviolent attack on the white economic power structure of Birmingham. In 1962, Shuttlesworth and the SCLC started to discuss options on how to increase the effectiveness of the existing boycott. They decided that the best approach would be to organize a boycott and a mass demonstration on April 3, 1963. The Easter season was usually a time when people did a lot of shopping. Therefore, it would have a significant impact on sales if blacks did not shop at white owned shops.

On April 3 the demonstration began in drugstores, department stores, and other businesses. Demonstrators were arrested peacefully since police commissioner Connor

had instructed his men not to harm the protesters. However, after the protests had continued on for days, he lost his patience, and so the protesters were attacked by the police with clubs and police dogs. Connor did not want attract the attention of the press so he only used legal means. Between four and five hundred protesters were arrested. After a week of protests, the city tried to dissolve the situation by a court order ending all activities until the right to demonstrate had been addressed in court. However, two days later black citizens disobeyed the order.

As result of their act of defiance, King and Pastor Abernathy were arrested for leading the demonstration on Aril 12. While he was in custody, King wrote his famous *Letter from Birmingham Jail* in which he defended his involvement in the movement.

The situation was too much for Connor to handle so he ordered his men to stop the protesters by force. Police violence against men, women, and children were covered by television news reporters, which gained sympathy for the local black community. Nationwide people were sending money to bail out incarcerated protesters. Due to media coverage, segregation in Birmingham ended in five weeks. The city business leaders and the SCLC reached a formal agreement on May 10, 1963. They agreed to desegregate lunch counters, rest rooms, drinking fountains, and to hire black employees. However, this did not stop the violence, and in September, the bombing of a black church resulted in the deaths of four little girls.

The North Side of the Civil Rights Movement

African Americans had gained political clout in the North due to the mass migration of blacks. Moreover, they had settled in large industrial cities and formed communities there. Unlike in the South, northern African Americans could fight for racial justice with the help of local, state, and national governments. Blacks took part in elections, and in some cases their vote was crucial to the outcome. They were elected to city councils, judgeships, and boards of education.

Despite the significant difference between northern and southern states in inequality, segregation still existed in the North (the northeastern, midwestern, and western states). The signs carried by the demonstrators reflected this in the March on Washington in 1963. People from various northern states lend their support for the civil rights struggle.

The main speaker, Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his famous "I have a dream" speech at the Lincoln Memorial.

Housing was the clearest example of inequality in the North. Since the early twentieth century, black ghettos had been part of urban America. The black migration of the World War II and the postwar years had made it appear permanent. Attempts to move to better neighborhoods were met with hostility and opposition by local white residents. Disegregation in housing was not just privately practiced; it was also a public policy. According to the Federal Housing Association, racially homogenous neighborhoods were more stable. This policy was employed whenever a housing project was given federal assistance.

After the World War II, whites began to move to the suburbs or to more attractive urban neighborhoods. African Americans, on the other hand, had to find housing on someone else's terms than their own. Mortgage companies and other groups often offered poor housing for premium prices. Many of the buildings and apartments were neglected and in very bad condition. Landlords often refused to comply with the minimum health and housing standards. Housing discrimination continued despite the fact that seventeen states and fifty-six cities had passed laws or resolutions against it by 1962. The problem was that cities did not enforce their own housing codes.

Segregated housing proved to be beneficial for such institutions as banks, brokers, and insurance companies. They gained maximum profit for minimum costs. Many banks practiced redlining which meant that they did not give loans to blacks.

Poor and unacceptable housing was not the only problem African Americans faced in northern cities. The quality of education in local neighborhood schools was inferior. In addition, blacks had few job opportunities, and encountered unequal treatment in public services.

John F. Kennedy became the President of the United States in 1960. During his campaign, he had criticized President Eisenhower for not putting an end to segregation in federally supported housing, and stated that it would be done "with the stroke of a pen". However, after he was elected, Kennedy had to move slowly because of southern Democratic congressional chairmen, who threatened to block his agenda. It took him

two years to address the housing issue, which proved to be the most unpopular and difficult problem to solve in the North and South. Even after the Fair Housing Act in 1968, it would remain the same.

The Civil Rights Acts

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was undoubtedly a first step at securing civil rights. However, it was a limited and a modest one. It made possible for a greater number of African Americans to vote, especially in southern cities. Still, it left disenfranchised many southern blacks who were eligible to vote. The Commission on Civil Rights held hearings where they were told that local white registrars regularly denied blacks the right to vote. Consequently, the Department of Justice issued suits in Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana for not registering voters based on race. However, this case-by-case approach was slow, and it showed the inadequacies of the law. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 was passed to strengthen it.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was influenced by the events in Birmingham and elsewhere in 1963. It gave the attorney general more power to protect citizens from discrimination and segregation in education, voting, and the use of public facilities. The federal Community Relations Service was established to help communities and individuals to solve their civil rights issues. In addition, the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was established, and the Commission on Civil Rights was given an extension. The U.S. Office of Education was given authority to help communities desegregate their schools.

Despite its accomplishments, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 did not offer enough protection for the voting rights of black people. Hundreds of thousands of eligible southern blacks were denied the right to vote. In order to solve the problem, the Council of Federated Organizations tried to increase voter registration among African Americans in the summer and fall of 1964. Their efforts were met with strong opposition and even violence. Consequently, President Johnson realized that an additional legislation was needed to solve the problem. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was the solution. It gave the attorney general the power to replace local registrars with federal examiners if they failed to register black voters. Moreover, it put an end to all literacy tests and other devices in states and counties that used them and where less than half of the adults had voted in 1964. By the end of 1965, over quarter of a million new

black voters had been registered. As a result, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina experienced a black political revolution in the 1960s ad 1970s. Southern blacks began to participate in political life as contenders and officeholders.

Activities:

People of interest: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Emmett Till

- 1) Discuss and translate any unfamiliar words you might have found in the text. Select five of those words and ask another pair to translate them.
- 2) In groups of three to four people, discuss the main points of the text.
- 3) Answer the following questions in pairs:
 - 1. How did President Truman address segregation?
 - 2. What different kinds of action did people take to gain their civil rights?
 - 3. What is Brown v. Board of Education? What is special about it?
 - 4. What about Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia?
 - 5. What was the Montgomery bus boycott?
 - 6. What did the Montgomery Improvement Association demand?
 - 7. Did city officials meet their demands? Why?
 - 8. What happened then?
 - 9. What was the result of the Montgomery bus boycott?
 - 10. Who were Rosa Parks, Aurelia Browder, Claudette Colvin, Mary Louise Smith, and Susie Macdonald?
 - 11. What is Bombingham? Why is it called that?
 - 12. Who was Eugene "Bull" Connor?
 - 13. How would you describe him?
 - 14. What was Project C? How did it progress?
- 2) In groups of three to four people, talk about the similarities and differences of the northern and southern states. What sort of problems did blacks face in the North? How were these problems addressed by the government or the President?

3) How would you describe the northern and southern states in terms of racial equality when you look back at the previous texts? What kinds of factors have supported this difference between them? Is one more racist than the other, in your opinion? Why?

4) Come up with ten questions on the text with your partner. Exchange questions with another pair and answer their questions.

Additional Exercises:

1) In groups of three to four people, discuss the contents of the text. Did it broaden your knowledge of the struggle for civil rights? Did you find anything surprising? How would you describe the struggle? Would a violent approach have worked better than a nonviolent one?

Sources:

Franklin, J.H. and E.B. Higginbotham, 2011. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans, Ninth Edition. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

Hamby, A. L. 2005. *Outline of U.S. History*. Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State.

Bankston III, C.L. 2006. African American History Vol. 3, Scott v. Sandford – Yarbrough, Ex parte.

15. The Black Fist

Read the following speeches by Dr Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. Who gave which speech? Do they give you an idea of their individual philosophies?

A. "The old law of an eye for an eye leaves everybody blind. It is immoral because it seeks to humiliate the opponent rather than win his understanding."

B. "It doesn't mean that I advocate violence, but at the same time, I am not against using violence in self-defense. I don't call it violence when it's self-defense, I call it intelligence."

The black power movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s was an important part of the struggle for racial equality. Many black power organizations did not follow the path of Martin Luther King Jr. and organizations like the NAACP that believed in non-violence and integration. Organizations like the Nation of Islam believed in segregation and self-defense. Although many of these groups promoted racial self-determination, black pride, and equality, they also had their own goals such as black manhood, black feminism, black studies, black capitalism, just to name a few.

Form groups of four people. Each group will select one of the given organizations/persons and study it. The goal is to teach other groups about the selected topic in your own way. You can make posters, films, PowerPoint presentations, etc. Discuss the possibilities with your teacher.

Choose one:

- 1. The Black Panther Party
- 2. *Malcolm X*
- 3. The Nation of Islam
- 4. George Jackson
- 5. Angela Davis
- 6. Muhammad Ali
- 7. The Black Art's Movement
- 8. The Third World Women's Alliance
- 9. Stokely Carmichael

When preparing your presentation, think about the following points:

- The era when the person was born or the organization was founded.
- Why is the person/organization relevant to this course?
- What were the motives and goals of the person/organization?
- *Is the person/organization still relevant?*
- Why did you choose this particular person/organization?

Sources:

Franklin, J.H. and E.B. Higginbotham, 2011. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans, Ninth Edition. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

Lee, S. 1989. Do the Right Thing.

16. The Late Twentieth Century

The urban riots that took place in Watts, Newark, and Detroit in the late 1960s had shown what racial and social exclusion cause. Unemployment had been a contributing factor as well. Well before the riots, industries had started relocating outside of city centers. Jobs were lost as a result, which especially affected black people. Employment discrimination was also seen as a cause of despair in inner-city neighborhoods.

As manufacturing jobs were relocated, more and more people were needed in new industries such as service and information. However, many black people were only high-school graduates without the necessary training that was needed in the computer age. Competition for jobs intensified, and the number of low-paid, part-time work increased rapidly. The poor and unemployed formed the inner-city black communities.

Although many African Americans experienced economic and social hardships, there were also those who had benefitted from civil rights activism. They now had more options than the generations before them. They could move out of the inner-city into previously all-white neighborhoods. In addition, blacks could educate themselves, and get better jobs. All these factors helped to create a new black middle class. Both its size and influence grew as African Americans landed better jobs as marketing experts, bankers, publishers, media producers, and so on. Some of these professionals worked for the black community while others worked in the larger white world of business and politics. Many top governmental and public service sector positions were held by African Americans.

The Million Man March

The Million Man March was held on October 16, 1994 to address such issues as black-on-black crime, drugs, and broken families. Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam organized the March. He called on black men regardless of faith to come to Washington D.C. The goal was to encourage and spark activism at the local level to stop their families and communities from breaking down. The Million Man March featured numerous speakers such as Maya Angelou and Jesse Jackson. The speakers encouraged blacks to vote, criticized cutbacks on various government-funded services and programs. In the end, however, the impact of the March was not big enough to actually change any of the problematic social trends.

The Million Man March inspired the Million Woman March that took place in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on October 25, 1997. It was organized by Philé Chionesu. The March promoted sisterhood, positive relationships with men, domestic violence, women's health, incarceration of women, and family, just to name a few.

Ebonics

The term 'Ebonics' is a blend of two words: 'ebony' (black) and phonics (sound, the study of sound). It was coined by Dr. Robert Williams in 1973 to define the language that black people spoke. Other terms include Black English, African American Vernacular English, and Black Vernacular English.

Some people consider it to be 'broken' or 'bad' English, or slang. Contrary to common belief, rappers, teenagers, and gangsters are not the only ones that talk Ebonics. It is spoken by blue-collar workers, church congregations, entrepreneurs, and people of all ages. Ebonics is not 'bad' English since it has its own grammar system and it uses European words.

There has been a lot of debate about the status of Ebonics. The issue has even been addressed in court in such case as *Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children et al v. Ann Arbor School District Board* (1979). In 1996, the Oakland School Board gave its resolution on Ebonics. It states that Ebonics is not a dialect of English. However, it was revised in January 1997. The new resolution states that Ebonics has roots in West and Nigeria-Congo language and is not merely a dialect of English.

Hip Hop

Hip Hop refers to the cultural movement that began in the Bronx, New York in the 1970s. Black and Latino urban youth could not relate to their parents' form of activism which was from the 1960s and 1970s. Hip Hop developed into a way of life and a way to address racism, violence, poverty, and police profiling. It included music, clothing, communication and aesthetics that represented the experiences and feelings of the urban youth born after 1965. Over the years, Hip Hop has spread all over the world.

Activities:

People of interest: Minister Louis Farrakhan, Jessie Jackson, Mae C. Jeminson, Clarence Thomas, Toni Morrison, Bill Cosby, Maya Angelou, Rodney King.

1) Discuss and translate any unfamiliar words you might have found in the text. Select five of those words and ask another pair to translate them.

2) Read the following text from Imani All Mine by Connie Porter with your partner. Compare the language to your own knowledge of English. What kind of differences can you find? Do you understand the text? Can you form any rules based on it?

"When I be getting up with her at night, it be my own face looking back at me. I want to be mad at her because it be two o'clock in the morning. Imani so little she don't know when it's a weekend, and I ain't got to get up and go nowhere. She don't know when it's a weekday, and I be having to get up and go to school. It's high school now. Lincoln. I got to get there a whole hour earlier than I had to get to middle school. But I don't be mad at Imani when I look her in the face and see me. I be smiling at her. Real quick I go to her, because Mama done told me she don't want to hear Imani crying. She say she going to get me if she cry too much. "—Imani All Mine, 2000

For the teacher:

Some grammar aspects of Ebonics:

- *The double negative*
- *The present tense: There is not third person –s.*
- The omission of copulas when referring to permanent conditions, except in the 1. person.
- *The habitual be is used to represent habitual action.*
- *Indication of recent past "done" + verb.*
- 3) Come up with five questions based on the text with your partner. Exchange questions with another pair and answer their questions.

4) Discuss what you felt were the main points of the chapter with your partner.

Sources:

Bankston III, C.L. 2006. *African American History Vol. 2, Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 – Science and Technology.*

Baugh, J. 2000. Beyond Ebonics: Linguistic Pride and Racial Prejudice. Oxford University Press.

Franklin, J.H. and E.B. Higginbotham, 2011. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans, Ninth Edition. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

Peterson, E. 2006. Lecture. Exploring African American language and culture. Autumn term 2006. (14.9. – 7.12.2006)

Porter, C. 2000. Imani All Mine. Boston/New York: Mariner Books.

Ramirez, J.D. 2005. The Urban Education Debate. Multilingual Matters Limited.

Exam

The exam has two parts: the individual interview and pair discussion. The former takes about 5 minutes and the latter 10-15 minutes.

Individual Interview

Take a look at the following topics. Select one or more and start discussing it/them with the examiner. Remember to use only English!

- 1. What were the main points of the course in your opinion? Why?
- 2. What sort of similarities did you find between the texts and modern-day Finland or the US?
- 3. How did the course broaden your view on the United States of America or its history?
- 4. In your opinion, who was the most important and interesting figure in African American history? What made him/her special?

Pair Discussion

Take a look at the following topics. Select one or more with your partner. Discuss the topic/s in English.

- 1. What were the main points of the course? Why?
- 2. Did you find any similarities between the texts and modern-day Finland or the US?
- 3. Compare and contrast different eras.
- 4. How did the course change your view on the United States of America or its history?
- 5. In your opinion, who was the most important and interesting figure in African American history? What made him/her special?