August, 2011

Kentucky Journal of Anthropology and Sociology
KJAS Volume 1, Issue 2
The official journal of anthropologists and sociologists of Kentucky

HTTP://ASKCONFERENCE.NKU.EDU/

Editor-in-Chief
Daniel W. Phillips, III, Ph.D
The Kentucky Journal of Anthropology and Sociology (KJAS) is the official journal of the Anthropologists and Sociologists of Kentucky. The KJAS is a multidisciplinary journal focusing on innovative research, pedagogy, media reviews, and invited editorials. While Anthropology and Sociology are the primary subject areas, original submissions from related areas (e.g., criminal justice and social work) are also welcome. KJAS encourages both historical and contemporary pieces as well as diverse uses of methodological and substantive tools, as such; quantitative and qualitative methodologies are acceptable. International submissions are welcome. The journal is made available exclusively on the internet at the Kentucky Journal of Anthropology and Sociology website (http://askconference.nku.edu/). Please direct any inquiry to the editor listed below:

---

**Editor**
Daniel W. Phillips, III, Ph.D.
kjas.editor@gmail.com

**Managing Editor**
Thomas J. Mowen
kjas.assistant@gmail.com

**Assistant to the Managing Editor**
Brittany Pike
kjas.brittany@gmail.com

&
Dylan Sinan Taylor
kjas.dylan@gmail.com

---

**Associate Editors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Email</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrea Abrams</td>
<td>Centre College</td>
<td><a href="mailto:andrea.abrams@centre.edu">andrea.abrams@centre.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lillian Daughaday</td>
<td>Murray State University</td>
<td><a href="mailto:lillian.daughaday@murraystate.edu">lillian.daughaday@murraystate.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas William Hume</td>
<td>Northern Kentucky</td>
<td><a href="mailto:humed1@nku.edu">humed1@nku.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryan Schroeder</td>
<td>University of Louisville</td>
<td><a href="mailto:rdschr01@louisville.edu">rdschr01@louisville.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demetrius Semien</td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:demetirusssemien@yahoo.com">demetirusssemien@yahoo.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan Shope</td>
<td>Murray State University</td>
<td><a href="mailto:dan.shope@murraystate.edu">dan.shope@murraystate.edu</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Editorial Review Board**

Emmanuel Alvarado, Coastal Bend College
Daniel Bradley, Somerset Community College
Cherie Dawson-Edwards, Kentucky State University
Eric Carter, Georgetown College
EDITORIAL NOTES

The second issue of the Kentucky Journal of Anthropology and Sociology has a new look, additional staff, and more articles. We have decided to put a unique picture on the cover of each issue while keeping the border areas constant. In doing so KJAS will maintain its brand while presenting a photo/design that reflects current issues or specific themes in a particular issue. KJAS has new staff members: Brittany Pike and Dylan Taylor. These individuals assist the Editor and Managing Editor by proofreading and communicating with authors. Each does an outstanding job and are valuable to KJAS.

This issue contains four articles and a book review. The first article entitled “Black Church Culture: How Clergy Frame Social Problems and Solutions” by Sandra Barnes interviews thirty-five clergy and their sentiments toward social problems and solutions to those problems.

Mowen and Talley in “Colonialism, Slave Populations, and the Racial Structure in Brazil and the United States,” compare and contrast slavery in Brazil and the United States from 1530 to 1850. In each country male slaves were imported in higher numbers than female slaves. In the United States, in contrast to Brazil, there was a relatively large natural growth of slaves. In fact, by 1850 Brazil had imported eleven times as many slaves as the United States had but had a slave population equal to roughly half that of the United States. The disadvantage experienced by slave descendants in both countries is discussed as well.


Finally, Puffer uses social network analysis to look at the social ties in Gaborone. Botswana. Despite the problems of Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., poverty, war, disease) Puffer in “Social Capital Theory and a Peaceful African Capital: Gaborone, Botswana” their social ties and tribal identity is correlated with peaceful living despite potential social problems.

Daniel W. Phillips III, Ph.D.
Editor-in-Chief
July 29, 2011
CONTENTS

Articles

Black Church Culture: How Clergy Frame Social Problems and Solutions..........................5
Sandra L. Barnes

Colonialism, Slave Populations, and the Racial Structure in Brazil and the United States.........24
Thomas J. Mowen and Clarence R. Talley

Commuting and Theft: The Effect of Journey to Work Patterns on Crime Rates....................39
Emily R. Berthelot, Troy C. Blanchard, and Timothy C. Brown

Social Capital Theory and a Peaceful African City: Gaborone, Botswana..........................55
Phyllis Puffer

Book Review

A Re-Enchanted World: The Quest For a New Kinship With Nature, Authored by: James
William Gibson .........................................................................................................................68
Daniel Shope

About the Authors..................................................................................................................72
Black Church Culture: How Clergy Frame Social Problems and Solutions

Sandra L. Barnes
Vanderbilt University

Abstract: The contemporary Black Church continues to respond to historic social problems in the Black community as well as newer ones. Black Church culture characterized by scripture, rituals, stories, prayer, self-help, and songs has fostered activism. Yet few recent studies examine whether and how Black Church culture is appropriated by clergy to understand social problems. This study examines the sentiments of thirty-five Black clergy. Of particular interest is how clergy make sense of social problems and solutions as well as whether framing of the discourse is influenced by Black Church culture. Most clergy understand social problems in the Black community based on an economic-focused frame. Moreover, discussions are informed by a master frame associated with a static model of the historic Black Church as well as iconic symbols, prophetic scripture, and a self-help tradition.

Keywords: Black church culture, clergy, social problems

1 Direct all correspondence to Sandra L. Barnes, Department of Human and Organizational Development and the Divinity School, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37203-5721; e-mail: sandra.l.barnes@vanderbilt.edu. This research is funded by a 2005 Louisville Institute Grant.
Black Church Culture: How Clergy Frame Social Problems and Solutions

Few scholars would contest the indelible role of the historic Black Church in responding to social problems in the Black community (DuBois, 1903[2003]; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Mays & Nicholson, 1933). Previous studies suggest that Black Church culture, characterized by beliefs, stories, songs, symbols, sacred scripture, and rituals, often provided the impetus for community involvement (Cone, 1995; Hill, 1997; Morris, 1984). The Black community continues to face historic challenges associated with poverty and newer concerns such as the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Recent quantitative research illustrates the importance of Black Church culture to provide meaning and motivation for community outreach efforts (Barnes, 2005a, 2006). However, fewer qualitative studies have examined whether and how Black Church culture affects clergy’s understanding of social problems and possible responses. This topic is important because research shows that Black Church clergy often have greater influence over their churches than their White counterparts (Billingsley, 1999; McRoberts, 2003; Wilmore, 1994). Thus their attitudes and beliefs would be expected to have a greater impact on church-based community action.

How do Black clergy make sense of the chronic social challenges that plague the Black community? This study considers the thought processes of thirty-five Black clergy. Central to the analysis is also whether and how Black Church culture informs and influences the discourse. Focus group results and frame analysis are used to explore two research questions; (1) how do clergy identify and frame (i.e., purposely arrange, produce, and present) social problems?; and (2) do their views and solutions include Black Church cultural components such as sacred scripture, rituals, symbols, and a self-help tradition? To my knowledge, few studies consider the socio-psychological features of Black Church clergy decision-making as well as the important academic and applied dimensions of such queries.

BLACK CHURCH CULTURAL REPERTOIRE: FRAMING THE DISCOURSE ABOUT SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

There are over 75,000 Black churches in the United States (U.S.) that are denominationally and theologically diverse (Billingsley, 1992). Yet literature suggests certain overarching symbols and beliefs that emerge in the collective called The Black Church that reflect a common religious tradition. Thus although heterogeneity exists, studies support the existence of Black Church culture (Barnes, 2005a; Carter, 1976; Cavendish, 2001; Cone, 1995; Hill, 1997). Based on Cultural Theory, Swidler (1986) defines culture as “symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms, and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories, and rituals of daily life” (p. 273). A cultural “tool kit” provides meaning and motivation to mobilize resources by enabling people to determine problems, understand them, and develop solutions. This study seeks to consider Black Church cultural tools that may influence how church leaders understand social problems and the rationale for their views.

Central to this research is how Black Church culture is potentially framed to influence views and solutions (Goffman, 1974; Snow et al., 1986). Benford (1993) contends that framing and the resulting actions can provide shared group identity
and consensus - which can influence terminology and definitions that undergird decisions. How Black Church leaders frame the discourse about contemporary social problems would be expected to influence whether and how they respond. However, conflict about how a problem should be best framed can undermine group identity formation, consensus, and remedies. Cultural components can also cause routinization that heightens awareness of concerns and support for redress. Yet routinization may make it difficult to alter long-held views and strategies such that recurring problems may become more entrenched or seem insurmountable (Swidler, 1995).

The Black Church cultural repertoire includes beliefs, biblical redaction, stories, rituals, music, prayer, call-and-response, and symbols characteristic of the Black experience (Barnes, 2005a; Cone, 1995; Costen, 1993; Morris, 1984; Pattillo-McCoy, 1998). Other studies conclude that a self-help tradition that promotes community outreach and group allegiance is also indicative of Black Church culture (Drake and Cayton, 1940). Furthermore, biblical text and a self-help tradition inform Blacks about: appropriate spiritual and secular pursuits; whether and how God plans to intervene; and, whether and how they should bring about change (Cavendish, 2001; Harris, 1987). These cultural components help people make sense of the world, respond to group and individual concerns, experience validation, and espouse a collective vision (Johnston and Klandermans, 1995; Marx, 1971; Wilmore, 1995). According to Swidler (1986, 1995), culture provides the elements from which strategies of action are constructed. She suggests that outcomes from cultural tools resonate with supporters and inform the actions they take. Her description can be appropriated to Black Church dynamics. For example, Wilmore (1995) contends that cultural tools such as music, preaching, prayer and worship are used by clergy to transform adherents into change agents. Moreover, Hill (1997) describes how this same culture is used by church leaders to foster specific outcomes; “using the inherited verbal artistry and eloquence of the griots, they crafted sermons, prayers, narratives, hymns, poems, essays, and songs to educate, uplift, and stir the African American spirit toward social action” (26).

When considering biblical redaction, Wilmore (1994) suggests that the bible has been appropriated to engender optimism and to meet spiritual and temporal needs. In addition, scripture has been used to motivate community service endeavors (Barnes, 2005a; Wilmore, 1995). Cavendish (2001) describes the self-help tradition and biblical usage in order to; “examine the strategies clergy…use to generate and sustain their parishioners’ participation in social action programs...making the scriptures relevant to the circumstances in his urban community” (p. 203-206). Additionally, McRoberts (2003) notes clergy “rely on the Holy Spirit and Biblical insight…as ‘fuel’ for liberatory struggle and community development work” (p.109). These scholars conclude that Black Church cultural components can be used to shape, frame, and promote action and reflect: belief and confidence in a just, impartial God who cares for followers unconditionally; individuals who act as they anticipate deliverance; scriptural themes and other symbolic scenarios of victory over seemingly insurmountable odds; and, evidence of the inherent value of people of African descent and their right to equality. These cultural tools have been used to: organize, develop, and promote slave revolts; stymie fear of beatings, job-termination, lynching and death; and, encourage direct and indirect resistance, sit-ins, freedom rides, voting drives, and
economic programs (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Morris, 1984; Wilmore, 1995). Black Church culture reflects potential frame contents or components (i.e., “the what”) rather than the actual framing process (i.e., “the how”). Thus culture influences the process by which strategies of action are developed, but does not necessarily dictate their ends (Swidler, 1986) – hence the existence of social problems in the Black community despite Black Church efforts.

**FRAME ANALYSIS AND CULTURAL TOOLS**

Frame analysis is a commonly used methodology in linguistics, social psychology, and political science that is particularly germane here. Bolman and Deal (1991) posit that frames are socially-influenced images that serve as rubrics to explain, evaluate, and change society. For them, varied framing approaches enable groups to adapt to changing needs. They contend that framing based on cultural tools is more effective at invoking meaning and motivation in institutions than actual rules, regulations, and managerial authority. Thus what an issue, problem, or event means to group members is as important as the problem, issue or event itself. However, conflicting meanings can undermine the ability to address problems and develop appropriate solutions. According to Bolman and Deal, culture can empower groups that experience paradoxes, uncertainty, and difficult situations. Thus for clergy, cultural symbols may provide meaning for historic and contemporary social problems and subsequent solutions.

For Goffman (1974, 1981), frames reflect systematic cognitive methods of organizing symbols, events, and contexts to facilitate daily experiences. Moreover, he is credited with explaining seemingly ritualistic ways in which people understand and organize their social worlds. Similarly, Snow and Benford (1988) suggest that a frame is an “interpretative schema that simplifies and condenses the ‘world out there’ by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of action” (p. 137). By mentally organizing experiences and actions, frames imbue them with meaning (Benford & Snow, 2000; Oliver & Johnston, 2005). Scholarship on frames and social movements suggests that framing functions to call attention to pressing social problems, persuade people that injustices have occurred, and convince them to take action (Gitlin, 1980; Johnston and Noakes, 2005; Ryan, 1991). Such collective action frames help analyze events and identify responsible parties in ways that resonate with potential supporters. The process entails creating interpretive packages to narrowly explain existing problems using cultural markers that make sense to possible participants. The nature of framing means that certain issues are elevated in importance and others minimized or ignored. However, certain “keys” evoke the framing recollection process and enable people to think and behave appropriately (Goffman, 1974, 1981). Several other authors provide foundation concepts to detail the framing process.

Snow and Benford (1988) posit three basic tasks of frames. They are: diagnostic (i.e., inform people about what is wrong and why), prognostic (i.e., present a solution that emerges from the diagnosis), and motivational (i.e., encourage collective action). Furthermore, in order to promote frames, they must be articulated or amplified. Use of cultural tools (Swidler, 1986) that resonate with current and potential participants constitutes articulation (Snow & Benford, 1988). Similarly, frame amplification refers to the strategic selection and use of words, symbols, images, historical examples, or beliefs from a
broader frame. Snow et al’s (1986) concepts of frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation describe strategies to: link complementary frames; develop slogans and catch phrases that encapsulate a frame; enable existing frames to be used in new arenas; and, generate new frame content from an existing frame, respectively. This terminology describes strategies and steps used by framers to convincingly convey their stance. It is also crucial to consider the credibility of frame promoters, competing frames, and the existence of master frames (Gamson, 1992; Johnston & Noakes, 2005). In order to examine framing in the Black Church tradition, it is important to assess views that can foster or undermine actions, as well as broader socio-psychological and systemic forces that can affect clergy perspectives.

STUDYING BLACK CLERGY VIEWS: PROCESS AND CONTEXT

The focus groups took place at a southern seminary that is a consortium of six denominational seminaries located in a metropolitan city with a population of more than 2 million persons. It was founded in the mid-20th century to educate graduate students for ministry and service. Persons are trained for the pastorate and church work; they are also encouraged to become public theologians and forge alliances between congregations and secular institutions. The seminars’ theological objective reflects a bible-centered, social action-oriented focus on the study of Black religion, including churches of Africa and the Caribbean. As of fall 2006, the school had an enrollment of over 450 students; more than fifteen denominations are represented. Students affiliate with the seminary that reflects their respective denominations or attend “at large”. Most students are part of one of the following traditions; African Methodist Episcopal (AME), African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ), Baptist, Church of God in Christ (COGIC), Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME), Presbyterian Church USA, and United Methodist (UM). Although White, Asian, and international students are represented, over 90 percent of students are Black. Fifty-four percent are male. The seminary offers various Masters degrees as well as Divinity, Doctor of Ministry, and Doctor of Theology degrees.

A total of three focus groups were completed with thirty-five (35) Black Church clergy seminarians (15, 12, and 8 members were included in Groups 1, 2, and 3, respectively). Focus groups are appropriate here because the study objectives are to garner information about views and experiences about a specific issue; gather insight on varied views about the topic; and, potentially identify shared experiences. Because the objective is specificity rather than generalizations, focus groups are a viable data gathering method. Focus groups can also help create a safe, non-threatening atmosphere to discuss potentially challenging subjects (Morgan & Krueger, 1993; Zeller, 1993). Such groups make it possible to assess beliefs, feelings, and reactions in ways that are not feasible using traditional survey approaches. Lastly, this method can serve as a forum for change because findings are often more accessible to lay communities than statistical analyses—an important applied objective here (Marczak & Sewell, 2006). As posited by Morgan and Kreuger (1993), focus groups are useful when interested in assessing the use of group language and culture—which is also a central goal in the current endeavor.

Each session, about two hours in length, was video- and audio-taped on campus during the summer of 2003. A purposive sample of seminarians was selected because studies show that such people are more likely to take part in
community outreach, can be more theologically open, and are often more receptive to non-traditional approaches to meet church and community needs (Billingsley, 1999; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). Pastors, preachers, evangelists, ministers of music, and Christian educators were included here. Five clergy were pastors of predominately Black churches. The sample included 12 United Methodist, 9 Baptist, 5 African Methodist Episcopal, 5 At-Large, and 4 Presbyterian students; thus the former two groups were disproportionately represented. Pentecostals were not represented in the sample. Moreover, clergy were asked to only identify their specific denomination rather than other descriptions such as evangelical. Thus, comments by clergy specifically identified as Pentecostal or evangelical are not included here. The groups consisted of 21 males and 14 females. Heterogeneity existed in terms of vocation, denomination, and sex. A seminary administrator served as key informant and helped gain access to potential group members. Participants were provided a $5.00 stipend for their involvement. This researcher served as moderator.

Five broad questions were posed: (1) What is the most pressing problem facing the Black community/Black Church? (2) How is the Black Church you attend meeting the needs of the Black community? (3) Talk about gender inclusivity and the Black Church - what are your views? (4) Talk about sexual orientation and the Black Church - what are your views? And, (5) How has the Black Church responded to these issues in questions 3 and 4? The groups were not organized to specifically discuss one subject, but rather to consider various topics germane to the contemporary Black Church. Moreover, although clergy provided responses to the above questions about gender and inclusivity, their views during the broader discussions chronicled below did not center these two issues (refer to Barnes 2009 for clergy comments on these topics). Data transcription was performed by a research associate. Video data were analyzed by this researcher to augment verbiage and detail group dynamics, facial expressions, gestures, and the mood of the discussions. Content analysis was used to uncover emergent, representative patterns, themes, and meanings in the data (Krippendorf, 1980; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1998). Scriptural interpretations were performed by this researcher. Unless specifically identified by vocation (i.e., pastor, Christian Educator, evangelist), responses in the findings section were provided by persons who self-identified as clergy, minister, or preacher. For the sake of consistency, the term “clergy” is used as a general category to represent the latter three groups. Other descriptive information has been omitted to insure clergy anonymity.

FRAMING SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Frame analysis helps uncover the thought processes and beliefs of the sample Black clergy. Because frames reflect a strategic synthesis of beliefs that summarize a subject, these results do not do justice to the focus group discussions. However, the four frames that emerge provide valuable insight into clergy sentiments about social problems and possible solutions in the Black community. Subsequent sections include frame summaries and representative quotes.

An Economic-Focused Frame: “The Poor are Always with Us”

In order to understand cleric thought processes, it is initially necessary to determine what they consider the most pressing social problems. Regardless of denomination, gender, or clergy position, the
majority of sample clergy understand the current problems in the Black community to be directly or indirectly related to socioeconomic issues (Hays, 2003; Wilson, 1987). As suggested by the following group discussion, most problems are believed to be systemic in nature and related to economic inequities as evidenced by unemployment, crime, poverty, single-parent households, and incarceration:

Jonathan: High unemployment. Crime. Not having enough opportunities to find suitable jobs that are able to take care of families. They have minimum wage jobs out there, but you can't really support a family on that. (AME clergy)

Catherine: Single parent homes, absence of the fathers. (Baptist Evangelist)

Stephen: I would say violence. There’s a lot of peer pressure that would lead people to do stuff like gangs, drug-selling. Prostitution is very rampant, use of addictive substances like crack cocaine. Poverty is another major thing. (AME clergy)

Although the aforementioned problems are tangible, clergy’s use of an economic-focused frame also incorporates socio-psychological features. They argue that more intangible problems such as nihilism, angst, and low self-esteem are challenges correlated with tangible ones (West, 1993). And several clergy suggest that tangible problems result in socio-psychological challenges. Gender differences are evident in the type of problems noted; male clergy tend to describe more tangible or external problems (i.e., unemployment, drugs), while female clergy are more likely to point to the prevalence of intangible or socio-psychological problems:

Monica: I think, Cornell West said, you call it nihilism - and it's just something that’s keeping us from being able to move beyond a certain area from where we are. So it causes us to feel not as good about ourselves as we should; so therefore we end up having a lot of things like we have homelessness and people looking to other things like drugs and alcohol to handle these particular issues. (Baptist Christian Educator)

Tom: I see some of the problems that are plaguing the Black community directly related to social issues. They are numerous. However, I feel that these social issues have contributed to an attitude…a sense of hopelessness. I think that's one of the things that tremendously plagues our community. (UM pastor)

According to this frame, a disproportionate percentage of Blacks are socio-economically and spiritually impoverished. Clergy responses parallel studies on continued Black Church efforts to combat socioeconomic challenges (Billingsley, 1999; Lincoln &Mamiya, 1990). Yet such continued problems also remind us that, although culture can shape and influence group processes, it cannot guarantee that problems are solved (Swidler, 1986). In addition to summarizing social problems, clergy detail the effects of economic disenfranchisement on the aggrieved community (Johnston and Noakes, 2005) that include both a diagnosis and prognosis (Snow and Benford, 1988). As suggested below, sentiments reflect the desire to provide a convincing argument regarding the pervasiveness of socioeconomic challenges among Blacks:

Catherine: The problems are different...The upper class Black’s main problem might not be where to sleep or how much I’m going to make or what I’m going to eat. Whereas the lower income person may be more concerned about how I’m going to pay rent next month or how will I pay my child support or just nursery school or how I’m going to make ends meet just living from one paycheck to another. (Baptist Evangelist)

Tamara: Now in terms of the self-esteem issue, I think that’s the same regardless of the community. But it’s camouflaged in the middle class and in the upper class communities. They have the education, they have the positions, so it appears that self-esteem is high, but it really isn’t. If you were to get beneath the degrees you will see that. (Baptist clergy)
In addition to class-based distinctions, explanations include descriptions of the relationship between socio-psychological factors and outcomes. According to the views described above, although material poverty is problematic, the implications of being “poor in spirit” are more far-reaching and mean that, even economically stable Blacks live lives that are compromised.

Scripture influences clergy understandings about why social problems that are partially spiritual, but cyclic in nature, persist across classes. Historically, prophetic scriptural interpretations strengthened Black Church adherents and instilled racial pride despite disparaging experiences in White society (Cone, 1995; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Wilmore, 1995). Leaders conclude that the absence of this cultural component helps explain chronic social ills:

Tom: Well I think another reason for low self-esteem is a personal void - once we’ve reached a point of accomplishment, when we’ve done all of the things that society tells us that we’re supposed to do. So you may already have the 2.5 kids and the house and the picket fence…except you still have a personal void, and that creates an esteem problem, because now I’ve checked off all of the things on my little list that I was supposed to do and yet there’s still a place that I’m not fulfilled. (UM pastor)

Catherine: So we don’t know—we don’t know who we are and who we were created to be [paraphrasing Genesis 1:27]. So we end up trying to match up to what society says you ought to be. When we can’t meet that based on other issues like injustices and stuff then we start to say, well…obviously there’s something wrong with me. Because America says, if you work hard, you ought to be able to accomplish. (Baptist Evangelist)

Jeff: Or I did measure up to all that society says I was supposed to be and there is still a void because I’m not within myself really happy with who I am and not really operating under the knowledge of whose I am [paraphrasing Colossians 1:16]. (Baptist clergy)

The above described frame illustrates belief in the continued existence and negative effects of economic-related problems. Regardless of class standing, effects are considered pervasive and potentially debilitating to one’s life chances, positive identity, and healthy sense of self. References to widely used societal symbols of success (i.e., 2.5 kids, house, and White picket fence) and the Protestant Ethic as well as symbols of societal constraints common in the Black social movement tradition (i.e., sitting in the back of the bus) are used to illustrate that material success does not necessarily guarantee Blacks equality, psychological stability, equal treatment, or respect from less-supportive Whites. Additionally, inclusion of these universalistic symbols or “keys” (Goffman, 1974) found in everyday experiences provide a context to bolster the explanatory ability of the frame, increase the credibility of frame promoters, and illustrate that the economic-focused frame is applicable to many Blacks (Snow & Benford, 1992).

Lastly, scriptural interpretation is also used to illustrate that Blacks who experience socio-psychological distress in the larger society often do so because they seek validation from others rather than from God.

**The Historic Black Church Frame: “We are Family”**

Master frames are considered overarching belief systems that guide other frames and operate to encourage cycles of protest. They include powerful cultural symbols that are often shared across varied groups and overlap with other movements across time. Examples include “rights frames” and “liberation frames” (Kubal, 1998; Snow & Benford, 1992). I contend that this second frame reflects a master frame based on its use of Black Church cultural tools, a counter-narrative informed by Black history, as well as inclusion of elements from pre-
existing civil rights and social action frames (Johnston & Noakes, 2005; Kubal, 1998; Oliver & Johnson, 2005). When discussing the persistence of certain social problems and the required reform, regardless of denomination, clergy role, or gender, the majority of clergy rely heavily on common images and symbols associated with the historic Black Church as the model by which they measure effectiveness today. Common traits to describe the historic Black Church include; self-sufficient, united, social justice-oriented, autonomous, and racially proud. The “linked-fate” nature of their understanding of the historic Black Church is also shown by consistent use of pronouns such as “we”, “us” and “our” to illustrate connectedness based on both race and religion - and tacitly identify members of the aggrieved group (Tilly, 1997). Shared group goals are also suggested. A time dimension is central to the development of this frame as clergy recollect earlier periods (using phrases such as “back in history”, “back then” and past tense) when they believed the Black Church was empowered as a change agent (Goffman, 1974). Black Church involvement in the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) is also used as an historic benchmark to assess contemporary progress. Thus, as an historical event, the CRM represents a central reference for the vast majority of clergy:

Paula: If I look back in history, back to the times right before civil rights when we seemed to have pride…we had a lot of ownership in things and I think that helped us…Economically we were dependent upon ourselves as opposed to being dependent up on someone else. We were able to take pride in what we had…in our teachers and your jobs meant something. We looked out for each other. (At-large student, Chr. Educator)

Joseph: There was more unity back then. I would attribute that to the fact that we all had a common cause. We were striving to fight for independence or social justice or civil rights back in the late fifties, early sixties. So, when everybody’s in the same boat, we come together. But since that time, some of us have arrived as one would think. But you cannot arrive if you still have some that are left behind. (UM clergy)

As illustrated by the next two comments, references are made to a static, prophetic church of the past that addressed a plethora of political, economic, and social issues as part of its’ mission (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). However, this frame suggests that time has also eroded the nature and focus of the institution:

Candace: I think back in that time, the Church was looked more so as an institute for social justice or for change. That's where issues came from - in the Black Church. Today, because of the type of society that we live in, and we’re so spread out, and we’re not as unified as we were at that particular time, we’re looking mainly as the Church as being our religious base… [rather than] a base for anything else. (UM Christian Educator)

This frame’s content is also tied to the credibility and charismatic authority of historic Black Church leaders as frame developers and promoters; for clergy, such leaders embodied the frame’s tenets:

Michael: I can remember as a child of the 60s when we would boycott going to school. The whole community wouldn’t go to school, you’d go to church…and the Sunday school teachers would actually teach the classes. (Baptist clergy)

Overall, responses tend to consist of anecdotes and, in some, instances, romanticized descriptions that belie CRM limitations and the varied involvement by the overall Black community in that movement (Morris, 1984). However, despite disparate profiles, clergy tend to speak in terms of the collective. Leaders understand themselves to be part of this group called the Black Church – and thus uniquely qualified to critique it. They also reference periods when they believe the Black Church led the larger Black community to combat a common social problem – economic,
political, and social inequity due to racism and discrimination. Leaders also periodically conflate the Black Church and Black community or generally consider the former to merely be the spiritual extension of the latter (Cone, 1992). Central to the discourse is the tendency to elevate a static, somewhat romanticized image of the historic Black Church as the frame of reference by which today’s Black Church should be compared. And the frame should be empirically credible because past success by the Black Church during the CRM provides evidence for future actions (Snow & Benford, 1992). As a master frame, the **Historic Black Church Frame** includes elements of both “liberation” and “rights” frames. However, it departs from these frames by centering the historic Black Church as a model for liberation and civil rights. The institution is believed to inculcate features of these earlier frames. Use of this frame is potentially influential because it: taps into Christian symbolism that resonates with Black believers; references a period of collective success despite odds; assumes legitimacy by association with earlier frames; and, includes common cultural tools that may unite diverse groups (Kubal, 1998; McAdams, 1994; Morris, 1984; Tarrow, 1998; Tilly, 1997).

**Counter-Commentary on the Historic Black Church Frame**

By virtue of the development of the second frame, a counter-narrative emerges to describe and critique the contemporary Black Church that focuses on divisive features such as denominationalism, classism, and secularism. Clergy that espouse these views contend that historic cultural tools that once united Black Christians have been co-opted by competition with other Black churches, White congregations, and para-religious organizations in the secular “religious market.” Preoccupation with power is suggested as church leaders jockey for worldly recognition and status at the expense of community concerns. Female sample clergy are more vocal during this phase of the discourse:

Loretta: I agree with him about the churches being competitive, instead of working together. Because I can even see that in the small community I'm in. Denominations are actually dividing us - we come together in church and on Sunday we sing and we pray together. But then when it comes to addressing some of the community problems, it's a power play…a control thing. I want it to be noticed for my church or for my group. Somehow we're going to have to deal with that competitive spirit. (Baptist Evangelist)

According to such leaders, an emphasis on status and economic attainment has resulted in a focus on “Prosperity Gospel” that emphasizes wealth accumulation and health (Harrison, 2005):

Benjamin: Because churches [are concerned with] having the biggest church -the biggest building. Yet, when you start talking about outreach, our concept of outreach hasn’t reached outside the four walls of the church--enough…it's just talking more about prosperity, it's talking about being a Christian, but it's not putting anything into practice. (UM pastor)

This stance accuses Black clergy in the “devolution” of the institution when they acquiesce to church members rather than follow godly dictates:

Margaret: When you come to leadership, a lot of it comes out of the grass roots because they have less to lose, and they have more to gain by getting out there and fighting. Those that are in the upper echelon of the church, across denominations, whether it's Baptist, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, they have a tendency to have more to lose in becoming involved to fight. It's not that they don't see these issues, it's not that they don't know they're there, it's not that they don't know that they could come together and do something. But they have been socialized into the economic situation so…they're gonna appease people. (UM clergy)
As posited by the above quotes, rather than foster collective action needed to counter current social problems, contemporary frame promoters are more committed to personal gain. Thus personality and charismatic authority typically used by clergy (i.e., movement entrepreneurs) to encourage social action (Johnston & Noakes, 2005) are being used to placate Blacks for clergy gains. Thus this new Black Church is problematic because it has deviated from the dictates, objectives, and stance of its historic predecessor. Critical clergy consider it: more social than sacred; more individualistic than community-minded; priestlier than activist oriented; and, more selfish than selfless.

**Black Consciousness and Iconic Symbols**

Frame 2 reflects clergy beliefs that are organized using symbols, events, scripture, and institutions from a common understanding of Black Church history. The third frame departs from the two earlier schemas by focusing more on socio-psychological markers and iconic figures. Some clergy understand the collective Black Church to be a repository of Black identity and consciousness (DuBois, 1903[2003]; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990) and refer to the image and ideology of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as a point of departure. The use of Black consciousness positions the Black Church as a medium to disseminate important elements of Black culture (Cone, 1995; Morris, 1984). Additionally, referencing Dr. King, who for many Blacks personified collective Black Church efforts, illustrates the use of commonly held ideas, beliefs, and symbols to frame social problems (Johnston & Noakes, 2005; McAdam, 1996). Unlike Frame 2, this schema includes more emphasis on present tense descriptions illustrating belief in the continued, albeit attenuated, existence of certain Black Church cultural tools. The following two quotes focus on church and Black consciousness and their intangible benefits:

Marcus: I think the church has definitely been the pillar of our social consciousness for a number of years. I think a lot of our self-esteem and self-worth has been bought from the church. The Black Church is the place where we can go and feel like we are somebody. Feel like we have power. We feel that we have strength. So I would come to the church’s defense and say that we have been doing something, but I think there’s more we can do. But we need to get back in touch with our Black consciousness - that will bring us to the point of being more aware of who we are and it will give us power to go out and do the things that need to be done. (UM clergy)

Lester: The church has been from reconstruction and even during slavery, the institution where average Blacks have always met and rallied and responded to the issues of the community. So the church has moved away, has lost focus. However, what I see as going on in the church is what Dr. King always stated. Dr. King stated that it was the strategy of the slave master to prevent the slaves from coming together and to always keep them arguing and bickering among themselves. If there's no unity there, then there will not be any unity. So, I see that same mentality is in the church. (Baptist pastor)

The above clergy believe that Black Church involvement shapes the political consciousness and personal experiences of adherents such that Blacks are able to, not only make sense out of the volatile, social world that existed historically and today, but forge an individual and collective identity that is empowering and action-oriented (Gamson, 1992). Intangible features of this frame promote socio-psychological wherewithal that should manifest in tangible ways. This framing component also parallels Lincoln and Mamiya’s (1990) description of the relationship between faith and a prophetic stance that requires tangible outcomes as evidence of one’s Christian lifestyle. Furthermore, the iconic figure of Dr. King, as a model of Black consciousness, power, pride, self-awareness, and race-awareness is positioned in stark
contrast to that of a slave – the latter physically as well as socio-emotionally fettered and unable to aid himself or her people.

Several clergy extend symbolic references to connect the Black experience, African ancestry, and images of other important historic Black iconic figures. For these clergy, increased Black consciousness will result in increased efforts to identify and combat social problems:

Jacob: I think that we have not kept the Black consciousness at the forefront…stemming from our roots and who we were. We come from a line of men who were kings and women who were queens. When we trace our history back to Africa—we are a rich people. We would find out that even now in America we don’t only make it out of our communities or out of poverty by playing sports, by being an actor. You can be a Frederick Douglas, you can be a George Washington Carver, you can be an intellect. We need to know that’s what we are capable of doing. (Presbyterian clergy)

Another clergy refers to the portrait of an African village as a rubric of communal responsibility:

Rochelle: That community involvement, that cohesiveness that the Black community used to have—is not there anymore…it was like, it takes a village—well then we were a village. Now we’re just kind of all separated, you know. It’s not there anymore. (Presbyterian clergy)

The above descriptions reflect the use of cultural elements both from the broader Black community and the Black Church to frame and critique the contemporary Church. Male clergy are more vocal here. Their comments also suggest the fluidity with which most sample members understand the Black Church and community. The Black Church becomes an extension of the larger Black community; the sacred and secular are correlated (Cone, 1992; DuBois, 1903[2003]). For such clergy, the Black Church is fueled by Black identity and Black consciousness and critical for the community action that is now needed. Sample members also believe that Black clergy should be the primary leaders to articulate social problems, preach the message to current and potential believers, and develop strategies (Benford and Snow, 2000; Johnston & Noakes, 2005).

Holistic Church Strategies: Healing and Unity

The use of Black Church culture is also evident in how most respondents understand possible solutions to address both spiritual and temporal needs. This fourth frame bridges the tangible and intangible problems identified in Frame 1, presupposes the existence of an overarching collective called the Black Church, and explains the need for inter-church resource sharing. It also suggests the importance of transforming existing frames to new ones that better resonate with believers and reflect the varied Black community concerns (Snow et al., 1986). Clergy refer to scripture, common catchphrases, and anecdotes from Black culture and the broader society, but apply them to a call for transformation. The following comments promote unity rather than the tendency to focus on immediate concerns and short-term solutions that undermine reform:

Benjamin: What happens when you have everything independently? You're not on the same page. You have duplicate services. So you have a food pantry over on this corner. Then you have another food pantry, but it's not really addressing the needs. There's an old proverb, a saying, if you give a person a fish they can eat one time, you teach them how to fish they can eat for a lifetime. So we don't have that concept down. We are doing some things, but we can do more. (UM pastor)

Other group members believe that unity would be difficult to establish without a psychological transformation among churches, congregants, and in the larger Black community. By doing so, Black
Church leaders would become more accountable and community members would become more empowered. As noted in the following pastor’s quote, scripture as well as a catchphrase from the Civil Rights era (“I am somebody”) are used to explain and emphasize the frame. This respondent’s use of common biblical metaphors that correlate spiritual and vegetative growth reminds readers that transformation takes time and requires a process to be fruitful (The holy bible, 1989):

Terry: Because whether you realize it or not, these people have been kicked and talked about and done so wrong to the point that they're saying, well I'm nobody, I'm nothing. So I try to reassure them, and say, well look, in God's eyes, not the way humans look at you - this is the way God looks at you [parallels scripture such as John 3:16]. So it's trying to give them a little self-assurance in saying - I'm somebody. But, this type of ministry - it requires planting that seed and nurturing it. It's like you're gonna plant a tree...It's not gonna pop up and be full of fruit. You have to plant the seed, nurture it, take the grass out...Then, it'll come up and it'll come strong. They'll have a firm foundation [common reference to spiritual and temporal harvests in both the Old and New Testaments such as Psalms 1:2-4, Jeremiah 12:1-3, Ezekiel 17:7-9 and 34:28-30, Matthew 13:3-5 and 31-33, Matthew 21, I Corinthians 3:5-7]. (UM Christian Educator)

Furthermore, holistic strategies require action aimed at drug- and crime-ridden areas in poor urban Black neighborhoods as a pre-requisite for establishing genuine community ties and subsequently altering the spiritual perspective of Blacks in these locales:

Stephen: It's like, let's feed them and forget about them. We'll see them next week. No one takes time to see exactly what to do. It looks like people are scared of coke on the streets, scared of being robbed - but how do we even begin to show them that we love them, unless we do something about the situation… without being given the word of God and ministered to. . . . and transformation takes place. (AME clergy)

Still some suggest the sobering reality of cause competition (Barnes, 2006) characterized by difficulty on the part of the Black Church to address the many social problems facing the Black community due to limited resources:

Mary: I think the church, it's like, having too many bills and not enough money to pay. The church has an overwhelming sense of responsibility to church people and to deal with their innermost beings, their spirituality. I'm not saying the church doesn’t need to step up to the plate and take care of a lot of things in the community, people, homelessness, social issues – [but] the church has so much it can deal with. It has all these people - and more people are coming to church - 'cause you can only stretch your arm - the pastor can only stretch his arm, certain people, different ministers can only stretch to a certain extent and give so much of their time and effort. (Baptist clergy)

Regardless of denomination, clergy profile or gender, a large cadre of sample church leaders notes the need for the contemporary Black Church to embrace important elements of its predecessor and alter its stance and course to adapt to changing needs in the Black community (Bolman & Deal, 1991). Just as Black clergy were central to CRM efforts (Morris, 1984), some leaders believe clergy must be more assertive and proactive. As noted by the pastor below, part of its effectiveness entails the need to identify and acknowledge strengths and growth areas:

Benjamin: The times have changed; the church has to change in order to keep up with the times. But there are some things in changing that you do not discard. One of the greatest assets that the Black community has always had is his or her pastor - because they are not elected. The pastor is one of the most powerful personal leaders in the Black community, because they can say and attack issues that politicians cannot. So the threat of them - of not being elected is not there. (UM pastor)

Applying Cultural Theory, leaders conclude that the contemporary Black
Church should routinize those elements of its identity that have historically been most beneficial in combating social problems (i.e., a self-help tradition, clergy influence, scripture and symbols to inform and mobilize people, and a community focus) and re-frame those elements that now undermine its effectiveness (Bolman & Deal, 1991). This frame also confirms the reality that the Black Church must now contend with historic problems (i.e., poverty, discrimination) as well as complex contemporary ones (i.e., HIV/AIDS, increased incarcerated mothers) unbeknownst to their predecessors.

Although clergy recommend a holistic response to social problems, most are not involved in holistic ministries as framed above but rather programs of a piece-mill nature. Most are involved in endeavors to help meet sacred and certain secular needs reflective of the Black Church self-help tradition such as: computer literacy, gender-specific ministries, clothing and food banks, Christian Education programs, and prison ministries. Several churches also have Community Development Corporations. These solutions are attempts to combat both long-existing social problems and relatively newer concerns. Yet most clergy acknowledge the relatively limited scope of these efforts as well as the potential strength if Black churches join forces. Thus the current frame represents a potential launching point for future, comprehensive national programs based on an intra-church agenda.

DISCUSSING CLERGY VIEWS

Most sample clergy consider the Black Church adaptive and resilient at combating certain social problems – yet critique its current relevance in proactively and effectively addressing many others. Just as frames are believed to evolve over time or may become co-opted or used differently from their original intent, many clergy believe that the Black Church is not as intentional as it could be in addressing social problems. And although they acknowledge strides among Blacks, their discourse places the Black community in a continual fight for civil rights, equality, and economic empowerment. They argue that Black clergy, as the primary “social movement entrepreneurs” are also responsible for the Black Church’s current limitations and potentially reinvigorating it (Oliver & Johnston, 2005; Snow & Benford, 1986, 1988). Their understanding of social problems and solutions is broadly grounded in the belief that: 1) they are part of a collective called the Black Church; 2) this collective provides certain broad beliefs, rituals, roles, and responsibilities to its congregants and community as exemplified by its predecessor; and, 3) it is largely responsible for addressing social problems in the Black community. These findings suggest that their framing processes are deeply embedded in both an intrinsic belief in their divinely-ordained roles as change agents as well as usage of historic Black Church-lead social action as an exemplar for future decisions and programs.

Clergy understand current social problems in the Black community and solutions based on four frames. It should be noted that frames were not discussed in a linear fashion as presented here, but were often interspersed throughout group discussions. Clergy tend to: (1) organize challenges based on an Economic-focused frame; (2) idealize and critique collective Church efforts using an Historic Black Church frame; (3) describe the required socio-psychological energy needed to restore the collective using a Black Identity and Iconic Symbols frame; and, re-interpret solutions and the Church’s role in the process via an Holistic Church Strategies frame (Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow et al.,
1986). Additionally, the second frame reflects a master frame in its content, positioning by clergy, and correlation to historic frames and newer ones presented here. Non-pastors appear most vocal about the social problems faced by the Black community as well as most critical about the Black Church’s response. For several topics, differences in views vary by gender; in general, Baptists and AMEs are most vocal.

Black Church cultural tools included in the framing processes are; prophetic scripture as well as events, figures, and symbols from Black history such as the CRM, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Frederick Douglas, and “Black pride” as well as symbols from the broader Black culture such as the “village motif” (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Swidler, 1986, 1995; Tarrow, 1998). Particularly, strategic inclusion of icons that were either martyred for the sake of Black advancement or committed their entire lives to such efforts fortifies frame credibility and represents a powerful approach to stimulate commitment (McAdam, 1996). As clergy with a similar life’s purpose, they believe that they possess authority as movement leaders. As is the case in this analysis, the existence of multiple, often complementary, frames is common in social movement research to encourage broad-based participation (Bolman & Deal, 1991). However, based on the master frame here, clergy discourses are informed by issues such as inequality, unity, and collective action similar to a Civil Rights frame known to facilitate cycles of protest (Kubal, 1998; Oliver & Johnson, 2005; Snow & Benford, 1992). Interestingly, clergy tend to place much of the blame for the tide of current problems on the inability of the Black Church to proactively intervene. Clergy interactions evidence attempts to frame current conditions as a means to first re-energize existing adherents, especially Black clergy, and potentially mobilize the larger Black community (Johnston & Noakes, 2005). And to them, the Black Church has the cultural legitimacy to spearhead redress.

THE NEXT STEP FOR BLACK CHURCH EFFORTS AND THEIR CLERGY

This project focuses on how social problems and solutions are understood among a group of 35 Black Church clergy. Findings evidence a framing process influenced by Black Church cultural components – particularly iconic images, scripture, self-help ideology, and a static, often romanticized model of the historic Black Church as a benchmark to gauge contemporary church efforts. Current emphasis on youth programs, food and clothing banks, educational ministries, and evangelism parallels earlier studies (DuBois, 1903[2003]; Mays & Nicholson, 1933) and suggest routinization of long-standing Black Church cultural beliefs, rituals, and events (Swidler, 1986). Examples of prison ministries and efforts to assist families of incarcerated people reflect re-framing of historic efforts to meet more current needs (Bolman & Deal, 1991).

Yet it is important to consider the limits of routinization because just as the Historic Black Church frame can engender reform, social action can be stymied if ineffective cultural tools or inconsistent frames are used (Johnston & Noakes, 2005). As noted by Bolman and Deal (1991), varied framing approaches are needed based on varied needs. Thus future research would benefit from inquiries about: Black Church efforts to create new frames; how existing cultural tools are employed in new and creative ways (example, the emergence of gospel rap music to attract and retain youth); and, why existing frames may not resonate with segments of the Black community who are young, poor, better educated, or those attracted to White churches and mega
churches (Harrison, 2005; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). Have Black clergy views resonance does not equate to mobilization, studies should consider how Blacks may embrace Black Church frames, but choose to remain inactive or whether Black clergy framers represent elites with messages that do not resonate with masses of Blacks today (Gamson, 1992). Applied work should identify competing frames and other entrepreneurs with which they are competing for cultural supremacy (Johnston & Noakes, 2005; Noakes, 2005).

Clergy in this study place the Black Church at the helm of addressing problems and rarely expect the larger society to intervene. However this reliance on a self-help tradition may be potentially overwhelming based on existing church resources. The Black Church framing process is complex because in order to spearhead reform, it must not only assess and combat social problems such as inequality in the larger society and poverty in the Black community, but also identify, critique, prioritize, and address intra-church social problems such as competition and denominationalism. Most clergy here believe that the Black Church is actually in process - meaning that it is changing and adjusting in response to the needs of its members and the Black community. Part of this evolution is correlated with the framing and re-framing of social problems and strategies. However, changes are considered slow and generally believed to be reactive rather than proactive. Clergy identify effective dimensions of current outreach efforts; most also believe that more progress can still be made.

However, given systemic and historic inequalities, it is important to discuss whether responsibility for addressing the social problems noted in this study should rest primarily on the shoulders of the Black Church. Marginalized groups have tended to changed with the election of the U.S.’s first Black president? And because frame privatize social problems (Barnes, 2005). This tendency can indirectly serve to exonerate the larger society from its role both as a causal factor and possible change agent. Many of the social problems presented here are manifesting in unexpected ways or reflect chronic situations. Therefore new, implementing innovative frames will require collaboration. Such re-framing has broad-sweeping implications and suggest that effective solutions to certain social problems require group processes that include the contemporary Black Church working in tandem with a myriad of other organizations and institutions. However, these clergy suggest that, by creating frames that require the Black Church to be primarily responsible for empowering the Black community means that Blacks will ultimately be champions of their own destinies.

REFERENCES
Benford, R. (1993). ‘You could be the hundredth monkey’: Collective action frames and vocabularies of motive within the nuclear disarmament


Works Projects Administration District 3.


Krippendorf, K. (1980). *Content analysis:
An introduction to its methodology.


Stewart, D. & Shamdasani, P. (1998). *Focus group research: Exploration and


Colonialism, Slave Populations, and the Racial Structure in Brazil and the United States

Thomas J. Mowen, M.A.\(^1\)
Graduate Student
University of Delaware

Clarence R. Talley, Ph.D\(^2\)
Former Associate Professor
University of Louisville

Abstract: The present piece of research aims to examine the similarities and differences in the role of slavery and colonization in the United States and Brazil between roughly 1530 and 1850. The current project also explores differences in the slave populations in each country, as well as the development of the racial structure as it relates to the evolution of slavery and the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Lastly, a discussion of the historical legacy of the slave trade and impact of slavery on modernity in both countries is assessed.

Keywords: Racialization, Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, Brazil, United States, plantation economy

\(^1\) Direct all correspondence to tjmowen@udel.edu, University of Delaware, Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice, 325 Smith Hall, Newark, DE 19716. 302-831-2581 (phone)/302-831-2607 (fax)

\(^2\) Posthumous author
Colonialism, Slave Populations, and the Racial Structure in Brazil and the United States

A number of similarities and differences exist between the role and evolution of the slave trade in Brazil and the United States of America. The process of colonization, the role of slaves and slave labor, the total number of slaves imported, the duration of slavery, and the lasting effects of the slave trade on both countries share many important differences. The demand for labor, the complex relationship with (and extermination of) the indigenous population, and the slave trade itself share many similarities. These multifaceted relationships will be assessed. As will be explored in this paper, the colonization and establishment of both Brazil and the United States is a process intricately intertwined with the trans-Atlantic slave trade. To begin this historical assessment, a brief overview of the roots of the Portuguese, and the Dutch to a much lesser extent, involvement in the slave trade and colonization of Brazil will be assessed and then compared to the role of Great Britain, and also the French and Spanish to a lesser extent, and the colonization of Northern America.

COLONIZATION AND SLAVERY

Brazil

While not directly concerned with the present body of analysis, it is important to briefly note that the Portuguese have historically been a nation built on maritime activity, especially when concerned with early economic trade and naval trade routes (Dantas, 2009; Klein & Luna, 2010). By the thirteenth century, the Portuguese had established multiple commercial trade rates though the Mediterranean with Islamic peoples in the Middle East (Bergad, 2007; Klein, 1986). Due to the vast amount of trade the Portuguese were involved in between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, it comes as no surprise that the story of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil actually begins in the late fifteenth century in western African (Bergad, 2007; Davidson, 1980; Klein & Luna, 2010).

While the Portuguese did not truly penetrate the interior land of the African continent, by 1487, they had reached the Cape of Good Hope in their efforts to extend Portuguese trade routes for sugar, spice, ivory, and gold (Bergad, 2007). In the late fifteenth century, the Portuguese began aggressive campaigns to extend their trade routes from the middle and near east, westward to the "New World" across the Atlantic Ocean (though the "discovery of Brazil was not the goal of the expansion, in stark contrast, it was coincidence). During this time, the introduction of factories to the coastal areas of Africa began as a way to mediate the trade for gold, ivory and slaves (Davis, 2006). As the travel routes expanded, and ocean faring technology increased, the Portuguese continued further and further westward. This continual expansion westward often lead to the discovery, conquest, and ultimately settlement, of groups of islands and island chains in the Atlantic Ocean including Madeira, Cape Verde and Azores (Bergad, 2007).

In 1500, a fleet commanded by Pedro Alvares Cabral landed in Northeastern Brazil (Dantas, 2009). However, during this time Portugal made very little effort to colonize their new discovery. Instead, they continued to focus on the expansion of their current trade routes and trade economies in the Mediterranean. Bergad (2007) finds that during the initial contact with Brazil, the Portuguese were mainly concerned with the plants which could produce purple and red dyes and supply lucrative business for the
Portuguese traders with the rise of textile mills in Europe during this time period. Though the Spanish also began to explore some areas of mainland Brazil, Bergad (2007) asserts that the Spanish were less concerned with Portuguese Brazil because Brazil lacked the large civilizations found in Central Mexico which supplied ample opportunities for looting. During this time, the indigenous population of Brazil was diffused and diverse, lacking a centrally-located large population. Only the French traders had interest in Brazil similar to the Portuguese for the dyewoods. As such, the French established some small townships (like modern-day Rio de Janeiro) and outposts to aid in facilitating the trade of the natural resources of Brazil (Klein & Luna, 2010).

Furthermore, in the early sixteenth century, Portugal lacked the resources to control and colonize Brazil in any meaningful manner (Bergad, 2007; Horne, 2007). This did not, however, stop the Portuguese from exploring the Brazilian landside for precious minerals, such as gold or precious stones, or other materials which could contribute to increase trade like silver or other metals. Though, during this time period of initial contact, no gold was discovered and thus, trade focused primarily on dyewoods, sugar and other exotic spices. However, this would change in the near future.

In 1532, the Portuguese officially established the first settlement at Sao Vicente (Horne, 2007). However, this form of colony was very different than the type established by the Spanish or French. The Portuguese settled on large plots of land (called capitanias) and gave them to wealthy individuals (known as donatarios) who became the overseers and controllers of the lands and properties bequest to them by the crown of Portugal. Bergad (2007) finds that this form of colonization was rarely successful and only the settlements in modern day Sao Vicente and Pernambuco had a real impact on trade due to the trade of sugar with Europe. In order to more completely colonize Brazil, this type of settlement eventually shifted into a plantation economy, which will be discussed in detail later.

The initial slaves in Brazil were the indigenous population (Klein & Luna, 2010). African slaves played a very minor role in the early and middle part of the sixteenth century (Alden & Miller, 1987). However, due to the high rates of death suffered by the indigenous populations caused by European disease, more and more African slaves were imported to account for the increase demand in sugar and the sugar trade in Europe (Alden & Miller, 1987). By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the demand for slave labor increased drastically as the Portuguese began an effort to directly control the now emerging Brazilian colony in 1549 (Bergad, 2007). This process initiated when it became apparent the capitanias form of colonization was a failure, so in 1549, Tome de Souza was appointed governor of Brazil. Coinciding with the appointment of an official government, religious officials also moved into Brazil to aid in maintaining order and control of the now emerging colony along the Brazilian coast. During this time, the Portuguese also successfully forced the French out of Brazil in the mid 1560s.

This process of colonization has been referred to as segmented colonization (Horne, 2007). And scholars have compared this colonization process as an opposite process to the more war-like and conflicted colonization as characterized by the Spanish empire (Horne, 2007). This can be attributed to two main factors: the lack of precious metals and minerals in Brazil, and the lack of any large-scale, centrally-located
or united population of indigenous peoples. The machines of war were not needed to enslave and colonize the diffused and culturally distinct indigenous populations in sixteenth-century Brazil. This type of gradual colonization is very similar to the British colonization of North America, which will be discussed in more detail later on.

While sugar and the sugar industry/trade with the European markets became an important economic activity in Brazil, in the early seventeenth century this trade was mainly relegated to the large colonial cities around the coast of Brazil (Eltis, Lewis, & Sokoloff, 2004; Shwartz, 1985). Most of the Portuguese ancestors and slave labor lived and worked in these cities. The indigenous population (including those descendents of African and Indigenous mix) worked primarily as subsistence farmers or ranchers in smaller and geographically dispersed communities. By the start of the seventeenth century, most scholars estimate the total population of Brazil to be around 100,000 people, with 30,000 of them having European or African ancestry (Bergad, 2004).

From 1580-1640, Portugal and Spain were a united front, this allowed the Portuguese to break into the Spanish trade economy. However, during this time, the Dutch launched many successful campaigns to disrupt Portuguese/Spanish trade, of both sugar and slave trade (Bergad, 2007). In 1630, the Dutch successfully occupied the most important and successful area of the sugar economy in northern Bahia, Brazil. In order to maintain a supply of African slaves to work the newly occupied sugar lands, the Dutch also conquered some of Portugal’s slave trading posts in Luana, Angola and Benguela (Klein & Luna, 2010).

In 1654, the Portuguese reclaimed the areas lost to the Dutch and began campaigns to enter the interior of mainland Brazil in search for precious metals, gems, and ivory (Bergad, 2007). In the 1690s, gold was found in the interior mountainous regions of Brazil which incited a gold rush during this time period. As word of the discovery spread, the Portuguese now turned their colonization inward. Up to this time, the sugar export and slave trades which had dominated all of the colonial efforts made by the Portuguese now turned toward finding and exporting gold (Dantas, 2009). With this transition, came a focus on the interior of Brazil (as opposed to mainly coastal colonization for sugar and slavery). It is estimated that by 1700, roughly the start of the gold rush, there were between 200,000-300,000 people living in Brazil; a third native population a third European, and a third African. Between 1700 and 1800, it is estimated that around 1.7 million Africans were brought to Brazil as slaves (Bergad, 2004). With the finding of gold, the demand for slave labor increased dramatically, as such, the slave trade also increased.

By the mid 1700s, the gold rush had subsided as gold deposits in the mountainous regions of Brazil had quickly been depleted. Additionally, with competition from other colonies, the demand for sugar had also waned. To account for this decrease in economic productivity, more attention was given to farming and ranching; during this time, textile and manufacturing also emerged as important economic activities (Bergad, 2007). The time period between 1750 and 1840 was a time of political unrest and upheaval in Brazil. With the Napoleonic wars, Portugal lost control of Brazil and between 1780 and 1815, there was a widespread movement for Brazilian independence. Dependence was officially declared in 1822, and Dom Pedro II became Emperor of Brazil in 1840 when Brazil officially gained its independence from Portuguese control (Klein & Luna, 2010). In 1816, an informal census was conducted.
that found Brazil had a population of approximately 3.6 million people. About one third of this population was ancestors of African slaves (Bergad, 2007; Berlin, 1998). Sugar remained an important export until 1830, when coffee became a major economic crop (Luna & Klein, 2004). In the 1830s and 1840s, the slave trade in Brazil increased drastically to account for the new booming demand for coffee beans. During this time, the British empire officially outlawed slavery in Brazil, though Brazil did nothing to enforce the new theoretical law. In the 1850s, the British began a campaign with war ships to disrupt the transatlantic slave trade to Brazil, and indeed the trans-Atlantic slave trade was ultimately ended in 1855 (Bethell, 1970). To account for this change, a heavy internal north-south slave trade emerged in Brazil (Klein & Luna, 2010). This slowly gave way to a system based upon immigrant labor, and the Brazilian system of slavery was ultimately ended shortly thereafter in 1888.

**United States**
The Spanish, French, and British began exploring and establishing settlements in North America in the late 1400s and early 1500s. The first permanent British settlement was established in Jamestown in 1607 (Bergad, 2007). During this time, tobacco crops were an important export to the European markets and the need for labor was great. The first record of the import of African slaves to this region was in 1619 when Africans were imported to the Chesapeake region of the British colonies for the purpose of labor on tobacco farms in rural areas (Elitis, Lewis, & Sokoloff, 2004).

Slavery also affected the economies of larger cities along the coast of northeastern North America including New York, Philadelphia and Boston (Bergad, 2007; Davis, 2006). Large ship building companies emerged to craft the large wooded ships used to make the trans-Atlantic journey from North America to the Caribbean, Africa, and Europe. Wealthy merchants were drawn to these port cities in order to become involved in the emerging economic prosperity. It would be undue to overlook the impact slavery had not just on goods and services performed by slaves (tobacco or sugar cultivation), but also other areas which were indirectly impacted by the slave trade (like ship builders). As such, it can be observed that not only did the members and to of the institution of farming and planting benefit from slavery, but many other businesses benefitted as well (Davis, 2006).

By 1700, it is estimated that there were some 250,000 people living in the eastern British colonies in North America, and approximately 90 percent of those were free peoples from European countries (Bergad, 2004). However, over the next century, these numbers changed drastically. Scholars find that between 1700 and 1775, some 150,000 Europeans migrated to North America. During this same time period, some 275,000 Africans were brought to North America through the slave trade (Berlin, 1998; Horne, 2007). In 1770, nearly 50 percent of the population living in the Chesapeake region was of African descent. All of this was to account for the rising demand for labor coinciding with the rising demand for tobacco in the European markets. Similarly to the Chesapeake region, slave labor was needed in the south to account for rice cultivation (Bergad, 2007).

By 1790, the now independent United States had around 3.8 million people living in its territories of which around 700,000 were enslaved people of African descent. Of the 700,000 slaves, around 600,000 were in the southern states (Bergad, 2007, p. 25). By 1860, just before the Civil War, there
were around 31 million people living in the United States, of whom around 4 million were enslaved. Important to note here is that the increase in the number of enslaved peoples in the United States can be attributed to natural reproduction (Eltis et al., 2004), which will be explored in the subsequent sections.

The slave trade officially ended in 1808, but natural reproduction led to an increase in slave populations. By this time, most of the northern United States had abolished slavery, but the plantation economies of the southern United States continued to rely on an extensive market of slave labor (Bergad, 2007). Slavery became a major issue eventually culminating in the Civil War; more specifically, the issue of westward expansion and the role of slavery and slave trade became a debate between the northern states and the southern slave states. In essence, the southern elite slave owners viewed slaves as property, constitutionally protected. The northern view was that slavery was inhuman. Thus, the new land acquired after the Louisiana Purchase posed an issue to law makers; would the new land be slave states or not? This was a major catalyst which led to the Civil War (Horne, 2007).

The major themes discussed and analyzed herein contain many differences and similarities. An historical comparison will help to elucidate the major commonalities between the role and impact of slavery and colonization in the United States and Brazil.

**Similarities and Differences in Colonization and Slavery**

Both Brazil and the United States turned to African slaves because the indigenous populations in each country were not sufficient in number to support the ever growing sugar cane cultivation and exportation (Brazil) and the growing tobacco economy (United States). Moreover, the diseases brought over by the Europeans (especially, the French, Portuguese, and Spanish), caused an extremely high death rate among the native populations of both countries as they lacked the autoimmune systems to fight the spread of these diseases (Davis, 2006).

Many factors played a role in the decision of the Portuguese to turn to African slave labor. First, the Portuguese had a lot of experience with the African cost since the fifteenth century, and their trade routes with Europe, the middle east, and the near east were well established (Klein & Luna, 2010). Because of their extensive trade routes throughout Europe and the Mediterranean, the Portuguese already had a market which would pay astronomical prices for sugar cane. Therefore, at the turn of the sixteenth century, the decision to focus on large scale sugar cane cultivation and trade was made (Horne, 2007; Schwartz, 1985). With this decision came the order to capture, transport, and enslave millions of Africans. In fact, this decision led Brazil to have the biggest slave importer in the Americas between 1600 and 1850. By 1600, some 50,000 African slaves had been imported to Northeastern Brazil to account for the rising demand for sugar in the European markets (Klein, 1986).

Finley (1980) asserts that throughout this process, Brazil became the first true slavery society in the New World. Slave societies are characterized by a complete dependency on slave labor for nearly all forms of production, and the elite (slave owners) depend on the exploited profit and revenue for their livelihood. This is in contrast to societies with slaves, where slavery is a supplement to other forms of coerced labor. From this perspective, both the United States and Brazil are characterized as slave societies during this time period. There are also a number of
differences and similarities to the impact and evolution of slavery and the slave trade in the United States of America during this time. In order to explore this issue further, a brief overview of the relationship between colonization and the slave trade in the United States is explored and assessed.

Both the United States and Brazil experienced segmented colonization, or colonization that accorded in “spurts” (Bergad, 2007). The Portuguese did not, initially, aim to establish a permanent colony in Brazil; rather, they were interested in the wood dyes found in Brazil to import to the European textile mills. Similarly, the British did not look to immediately colonize Northern America. Instead, a large number of “temporary” settlements/townships were established prior to Jamestown (the very first permanent British establishment in the future United States). Similarly, both the French and the Spanish had rather extensive contact with both countries, though eventually both countries claims to large areas of geography in both Northern America and Brazil were eradicated, though certainly their influences were not eradicated completely (Davis, 2006).

Slavery began to play a very large role in Brazil coinciding with the rise in demand for sugar (Dantas, 2009; Solow, 1991; Toplin, 1981). This is also similar to the increase in the import of slaves to North America to account for tobacco and rice production. In both ways, the needs of the economy dictated the number of African slaves imported and the geographic location in which the slaves were delivered and utilized. There also occurred a similar shift in the needs of the economies in both countries. Eventually, the demand for sugar in Brazil was outpaced by the demand for coffee beans (Horne, 2007). While the crop changed, the basic need for slave labor remained, and, in the case of Brazil, actually coincided with an increase in slave trade and slave importation. This can be attributed to the internal slave trade that occurred in Brazil (i.e. slaves were traded from the northeastern area of Brazil were sugar was cultivated, to the inner areas of Brazil were coffee beans were cultivated and produced). In the United States, the focus shifted from tobacco farming in the Chesapeake area to the southern cotton-focused plantain economy (Davis, 2006). While northern states in the United States mostly outlawed slavery, the continued expansion of southern plantations meant there was a continued need for slaves and the slave trade in the emerging new country.

In both countries, the wealthy elite employed “domestic slaves,” or those slaves who worked in the house or place of business as servants in addition to the slaves who provided the physical labor for economic production (Horne, 2007). This shows that slaves not only provided an ample workforce in both countries, but were also tools for the wealthy to afford an indulgent lifestyle—slaves were found in all areas of economic and domestic servitude. Because of this, both countries are characterized as slave societies, not simply societies existing with slaves. Though this idea has been previously mentioned, this is the tenant that slavery posed as the major form of labor in at least one of the primary areas of settlement in each country. As has been previously outlined, slave labor provided the necessary means of workforce to produce sugar (Brazil) and tobacco (United States) and allowed each colony, and later country, to grow, expand and prosper economically (Finlay, 1980).

Indeed, the very settlement of Brazil and North America is similar. Private companies and wealthy individuals were given grants and charters by the government (Portugal in Brazil, and Britain in North America) in order to explore and conquer the new worlds. And perhaps the most
important similarity of both countries as it is concerned with the trans-Atlantic slave trade, is that both countries lacked a great indigenous population like the Aztecs of Incans (Bergad, 2007; Davis, 2006). Because there was no large and centrally-located population to be exploited for slave labor, both the Portuguese and Great Britain colonizers were forced to rely primarily on the African slave trade to account for the demand in labor. It is possible (and has been suggested by a number of academic scholars) that a large civilization that had an immunity to European disease may have meant the trans-Atlantic slave trade might not have been necessary because the slave labor could have been exploited from the native populations of Brazil and the native populations of the United States (Klein, 1986; Davis, 2006).

One stark difference is that the plantations took time to be established in the United States, as opposed to Brazil in which the plantation system was quickly implemented to account for the demand in sugar (Bergad, 2007; Davis, 2006). Taking this idea even further is that in North America, most rights to land were given to most free settlers. The opposite is true in Brazil were during colonization, land was given only to the elite individuals representing Portugal. This should not be overplayed however, as rights were only conferred to land-owning, white males in North America.

The established townships and settlements were isolated by both colonizers in each country. The towns established in Northeast Brazil were diffuse in a similar manner as to the towns in Northeastern North America. This is important because coupled with the fact that there was no large indigenous population, settlers in both Brazil and North America were forced to become self sufficient—that is to say that each individual township needed to find a way to sustain itself whether through trade or, more commonly, self production (Toplin, 1981), though that statement is ironic in the sense that the self sufficiency eventually became a near complete reliance on chattel slavery.

SLAVE POPULATIONS
Similarities
Beyond slavery as purely a means of labor, there are a number of similarities between Brazil and the United States concerned with population and family. Firstly, is that though there were more males imported in the slave trade, there were enough females that marriages between slaves could occur (though this was often problematic in the southern area of the United States). In both places, Bergad (2007) finds that marriages between slaves were often encouraged to create a social cohesion. Ties to other slaves via marriage and children were believed to serve to prevent slaves from trying to escape as they would have ties to family which would preclude them from leaving.

Slave families were also used as a way to quell efforts to rebel and maintain morale among slaves (Gutman, 1976). This is not to say that it made the institution slavery any better, but rather to draw a comparison between countries that similar techniques were utilized to maintain slavery. At the same time, the resiliency of the Africans and decedents of Africans should be noted here as slave marriages can also be viewed as a way in which slaves created and shaped their own identity. However, slave families were also characterized by a lack of control and power over their children and many families were often separated through the slave trade (see, for instance, Bibb, 1849; Said, 1831; Drew, 1856). Additionally, slave owners could use the threat of selling family members to stop slaves from thinking of escape.

When investigating slaves and slave families, one popular area of inquiry is
concerned with the demand for slaves monetarily. Here, important similarities can be observed. Both Brazil and the United States experienced value increases in slaves in the early to mid 1800s, in part due to the end of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the United States (1808), and the mounting pressure placed on Brazil and Portuguese traders by Great Britain, and later the United States. While official sale records are difficult to assess as few exist; overall, the important connection is slave traders had little trouble finding a market for their slaves in both countries (Franklin & Schwninger, 1999).

**Differences**

A key difference between the two nations has to do with slave families and natural reproduction. In the early to mid 1600s, the sugar boom in northeast Brazil meant that labor for the sugar cane fields was sorely needed (Davis, 2006). The Portuguese settlers of the sugar plantations required males for the physical labor and thus, the importation of males vastly exceeded the importation of females (Davis, 2006; Hawthorne, 2010; Klein, 1986). This directly affected slave marriages as the ratio between males and females was extremely unbalanced. Therefore, northeast Brazil (where the sugar was mostly cultivated during this time period) began a legacy of vastly disproportionate sex ratios and thus a small number of slave families. This imbalance becomes even more problematic as it has been found that during the sugar production boom in the mid seventeenth century, the death rate for slaves in northeast Brazil was exceptionally high. Therefore, the number of natural births in Brazil was minimal for a large part of the early and mid boom in sugar production, and because of this, Brazil had to continue to rely on the importation of African slaves via the trans-Atlantic triangle trade.

The United States is the only slave society where the slave population actually increased through natural reproduction (Bergad, 2007, p.96). In fact, some scholars find the rate at which the enslaved black population in the United States reproduced to be truly remarkable. Current findings suggest that the black population increased by natural means around 2 percent each year in nearly all regions (Morgan, 2004, p.302). All other societies, including Brazil, had to continue to rely on the trans-Atlantic slave trade. See Table 1 for an analysis on population changes in Brazil and the United States.

As shown in Table 1, a number of academic scholars generally estimate that some 360,000 African slaves were imported to the United States prior to the abolishment of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in 1808 (Bergad, 2007). By 1860, the slave population had risen to around four million slaves in the United States. At the risk of oversimplification, this number can be attributed to an increase in natural births coinciding with fewer deaths. Contrastingly, by the mid 1850's, around 4 million slaves had been imported to Brazil via the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Elitis et al., 2004). However, by 1872, the slave population had dwindled to around 1.5 million enslaved peoples.

---

3 This is in addition to the natural barrier the institution of slavery played in the formation of slave families.

4 These statistics do not include illegally imported or smuggled Africans. Some scholars find that thousands of Africans a year were smuggled into North America from the Caribbean, including Cuba, and South America in the first half of the 19th century after slave was made illegal in the United States (Horne, 2007: 19).
Table 1: Slave Populations: imported via slave trade vs. natural reproduction*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Slaves Imported(^1)</th>
<th>Percent of all Slaves in Americas(^1)</th>
<th>Slave Population (1860 US/1872 BR)(^2)</th>
<th>Change in Population by mid 1800s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>360,000</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3,950,000</td>
<td>+3,590,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>4,000,000</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>-2,500,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References: \(^1\)Bergad (2007); \(^2\)Curtin (1969)

*These numbers also coincide with other paramount works: Eltis (2001) and Eltis et al., (2004: 186-189)

Part of this fluctuation can be attributed to the fact that some slaves found themselves able to buy their freedom, but a more direct cause can be attributed to the lack of natural births combined with a higher rate of mortality. These numbers reflected a very stark difference in the infrastructure of the institution of slavery in the United States compared to Brazil.

Some work suggests that birthrates between Brazil and the United States may have been similar following the shift from sugar plantations to coffee plantations as the ratio between male and female slaves became similar during the time period (Eltis et al., 2004). Scholars, however, overwhelmingly conclude that the death rate for slaves was significantly higher in the tropical regions of the Caribbean and America and differentially impacted pregnant women, infants and children (Higman, 1984). This was not the case in the United States. Therefore, Brazil had to continue to rely on the Atlantic-slave trade to feed its need for slave labor, while the United States saw a rise in slaves who were born in America.

There are a number of reasons these patterns and stark differences emerged, but arguably the most important is access to quality food and a healthy diet. Studies have found that slaves in the United States generally had better diets than slaves in Brazil (Kiple and King, 1981; Bergad, 2007: 98), though slave diets in the United States were certainly not the same as the diets of free whites. Women who are in their childbearing years and have access to relatively decent diets will have a better chance of bearing healthy infants. One very interesting study concluded that African-descended slaves in the United States were generally taller in stature than African-descended slaves in Brazil which has been linked to the diet because body size has been found to correlate positively with a healthy diet (Kiple & King, 1981). In fact, it has been found that black male slaves born in the early United States had an average height of 67.2 inches, which is nearly identical to white males in the early United States whose average height was found to be 68 inches, and also two inches taller than the average height of a white male in Britain.

Closely related to the current assessment of slave populations is the United States and Brazil is that there is a wealth of research which concludes that white male, slave owners often had forced or coerced sexual relations with female slaves, though it is hard to compare how these patterns may have differed between the United States and Brazil as it was a common practice in each country (Davis, 2006; Toplin, 1981). Toplin (1981) finds that sexual relations between slave master and
Slave operated similarly in both nations insofar that they were a much more common occurrence than previously thought in each country.

Slave populations were also vastly different between Brazil and the United States due to the prevalence of diseases. While slaves in Brazil and the United States were at risk for nearly the same primary diseases (cholera, tuberculosis and typhoid, to name some of the more common ailments), due to the poorer diets of slaves in Brazil and the fact that disease generally spreads faster in tropical regions, disease had a greater impact on the death rates of slaves in Brazil than it did on slaves in the United States (Alden & Miller, 1987). Lastly, another factor which may explain the higher rates of death found in Brazil may be attributed to the explosion of the sugar economy. Due to the fact that sugar was in such high demand and the importation of slaves to Brazil was equally high in number, it may have been economically viable to the slave owner to work the slave to death and simply buy more slaves due to the high short term profits (Bergad, 2007). Because the slave trade to the United States involved a substantially fewer slaves, it seems less economically savory to literally work a slave to death. Because of this, slave owners and traders in the United States may have been more invested in keeping their slaves relatively healthy, or, at the risk of over simplification, at least relatively healthy enough to a) continue to live and b) provide exploited slave labor. In order to ensure that these criteria where met, it is important to explore the development of the racial structure as it played an extremely important role in both societies.

THE RACIAL STRUCTURE

“Race” operated in very similar form within both countries. Race was employed as a means to dehumanize, degrade, and ultimately destroy peoples of African-descent into tools for labor in the fledging plantation economies of both countries (Davis, 2006). One need only look so far as the social structure in both societies in order to view the true nature of race. As such, it can be concluded that both the United States and Brazil formed as colonies of exploitation which was justified through the process of racial differentiation (Best, 1968). While some scholars have explored why race differentiation occurred between white and nonwhite and not between the working class and the plantation owners (see Thompson, 1975), others assert that this process was intertwined with the nature of racial differentiation because plantation economies effectively established a racialized structure from the very inception of each country (Talley, 2009).

Prior research on the plantation economy and race finds that the nature of the plantation economy is entirely constrained with the need for labor (Franklin, 1947). Looking historically, it can be observed that imperial colonies like North America, the Caribbean, and South America lacked the indigenous populations to supply for this demand (Davis, 2006). This presents a troublesome contradiction for production; while the land is available, the labor source is not. The solution to this issue is to employ a large body of unskilled labor via importation, or more precisely, it involves the trans-Atlantic movement of African peoples under slavery. As the primary goal of the colonies of North America and Brazil was production, the plantation economy effectively became the preeminent institution and functioned to produce the entire social structure, and therefore society. As these societies were created on the basis of the structure of the plantation economy, the racial system utilized to supply the labor in these colonies
becomes the template for all other institutions which develop out of it (Talley, 2009). Therefore, the racial hierarchy of the plantation economy becomes the racial hierarchy of society.

Though the concept of “race” operated in similar fashion in both countries, there are a few key differences in the racial structure between the United States and Brazil to be briefly assessed. In pre-revolution, colonial America, there were a large number of free immigrants from Western Europe in the 1600s (though, there were also a large number of white indentured servants). Even the indentured servants, who certainly had a number of things in common with slaves, could at least become free after serving their time. Additionally, white males who had previously been servants had some level of access to land and some resources to begin life on their own. Because of this indentured servant system, by 1700, it is generally estimated that around 10 percent of Virginia's population was of African descent; therefore, whites vastly outnumbered blacks (Bergad, 2004). This is nearly the opposite of the trend found in Brazil, especially northeastern Brazil, during this time as a major part of the population was comprised of slaves of African descent.

By 1700, comparatively, individuals of African-descent began to outnumber those of European descent in Northeast Brazil due to the need of labor for the sugar plantations and sugar trade. Thus, slavery as a labor system was different between these two countries as slavery quickly became the most highly employed labor system in all of Brazil, as opposed to the indentured servant system utilized in the emerging United States. Brazil lacked the large population of European immigrants and made up for it utilizing the trans-Atlantic slave trade on a much larger scale than the United States.

Moreover, the political structure was also racialized differently in each country, in part, due to the differing structure of power. It would be undue to place imminent importance on this, but in the United States some level of power was given to the common (white) man insofar that land owning (white) men were able to participate in politics like town hall meetings. This is something that was not done in Brazil as the power was continually held by the elite. The commonality between these two systems is that both excluded blacks from participating in politics in any conventional way; though, of course, individuals of African descent worked to abolish the trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery via less conventional means.

It can also be observed that the racialized structure performed a function to stratify individuals based upon sex. Because the nature of a plantation economy is to produce, both Brazilian and United States elite preferred male workers. Here, it can be observed that the preferred sex, at least during the times of economic growth, was placed on men. Due to this, the racialized structure also became sexualized. Interestingly enough too, is the fact that in urban areas, female slaves were more numerous than male slaves in both Brazil and the United States. Bergad (2007) asserts that this is due to the demand for domestic servants and nannies. This may, of course, play into the stereotype of the "mammy," a large black woman who receives great happiness to care for the white family. This stereotype continues to permeate the United States in some fashion (see, for instance Beauboef-Lafontant, 2003). Overall, the emergence of this racialized plantation-based economy planted the seed for the modern racial structure.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

It is not within the scope of the current project to assess which country was "worse" for a slave. It is the entire institution of
slavery that is the problem, not the minor difference in labor or duties as a slave. Therefore, an attempt to quantify which country treated slaves worse is not an exercise that can be undertaken, nor is it an exercise that would be fruitful. However, it can be said that Brazil imported the most slaves, and slavery lasted longer in Brazil, but general statements about condition cannot be made as it depended very heavily on the individual and the location/duties of the slave.

When exploring the historical process and impact of slavery and the legacy of the racial structure, one cannot help but to draw comparisons to modernity. Individuals of African-descent (and indeed, most other minorities) lack equal access to resources like education and wealth, health care, political power, and income that whites in both Brazil and the United States do have access to (Toplin, 1981). Though autonomy and agency exists within the African-American and African-Brazilian community, one cannot help but see the historical legacy the institution of slavery has left in both countries. While many differences (and similarities) existed between each country in the amount of slaves imported (Berlin, 1998; Davis, 2006), the extent of slavery (Bergad, 2007), and the specific roles the institution played in the colonization and formation of each country (Horne, 2007), the outcome and implications for modernity are strikingly similar: those individuals of African descent are at a marked social disadvantaged.

Overall, the role and processes of the trans-Atlantic slave trade was very similar insofar that the trade in both countries coincided with a rise in the demand for labor, and only through extreme pressure did each county end the slave trade and slavery (Deyle, 2009). Perhaps the most important, and also the most devastating, aspect these two countries have in common is the continued legacy of oppression the system of slavery has left on individuals of African descent (Cowling, 2010) , and, indeed, other minority groups. But that is a conversation for another time.

REFERENCES
Dantas, M. L.R. (2009). Slavery in Brazil
Drew, B. (1856). *A north-side view of slavery. the refugee: or, the narratives of fugitive slaves in Canada. related by themselves. with an account of the history and condition of the colored population of upper Canada*. Boston: J.P. Jewett.
Talley, C. R. (2009). The ‘race’ concept and
racial structure. *Racial Structure &
Radical Politics in the African Diaspora.*
In J. Conyers (Ed.). Piscataway:
Transaction Publishers.

Thompson, E. (1975). *Plantations societies,
race relations, and the south: the
regimentation of populations.* Durham:
Duke University Press.

Toplin, R. B. (1981). *Freedom and
prejudice: the legacy of slavery in the
United States and Brazil.* Connecticut:
Greenwood Press.
Commuting and Theft: The Effect of Journey to Work Patterns on Crime Rates

Emily R. Berthelot
Department of Criminal Justice
University of Houston Downtown

Troy C. Blanchard
Department of Sociology
Louisiana State University

Timothy C. Brown
Department of Sociology
University of Houston

Abstract: Researchers have long recognized the growing mismatch in many inner-city areas whereby low skill workers are distanced out from low skill job opportunities and cities experience an increase in violent crime. Though valuable, criminologists have largely overlooked a latent consequence of spatial mismatch. As low-skill manufacturing jobs have left inner-city areas, low-skill workers have sought employment in suburban and urban fringe areas. To date, no study to our knowledge has evaluated the link between commuting and crime. In this paper, we develop two contrasting approaches regarding the mechanisms by which commuting patterns may influence crime. On one hand, large commuting flows from inner-city areas may lower robbery rates via the transfer of suburban cultural norms and expectations into inner-city areas. Alternatively, long commute times reduce stocks of social capital in a community and weaken the capacity for collective efficacy resulting in higher rates of burglary. We test these competing propositions using spatial regression analysis of robbery and burglary data for U.S. county data circa 2000.

Keywords: Crime, commuting, social capital, routine activities, spatial mismatch, robbery, burglary, spatial analysis

1 Direct all correspondence to Emily R. Berthelot (berthelote@uhd.edu), One Main Street, Suite C-330-H Commerce Building, Houston, Texas 77002. Office phone (713)221-8284.
Commuting and Theft: The Effect of Journey to Work Patterns on Crime Rates

Over the past four decades Americans have witnessed a simultaneous restructuring of the urban landscape and an overall increase in crime in inner-city communities. Metropolitan areas have become less monocentric causing Americans to commute more frequently to work over longer distances (Park, 1925; Burgess, 1967; Shaw & McKay, 1931; Ellwood, 1986; Holzer, 1991). The American Community Survey finds that in 2003 American workers spent more than 100 hours each year traveling to and from work and an average of 24.3 minutes commuting each day (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005). Suburbanization has led to rapid increases in population and employment outside of the central city and many low skill jobs are now outsourced to surrounding communities. This has forced many low skilled workers to commute to the suburbs to find job opportunities that match their skill level (Kasarda, 1985, 1989, 1993; Noyelle & Stanback, 1984).

Though commuting patterns have created important social changes in American communities, the relationship between commuting patterns and crime is not well developed. The majority of studies examining the impact of community behavior focus on economic outcomes. For example, scholars have studied the effects of commuting variables, such as travel cost, travel times, range of travel, and improved transportation on residential and job location choices (So, Orazem, & Otto, 2001; Fang & Minor, 2002; Immergluck, 1998 Cullen & Levitt, 1996; Mieszkowski & Mills, 1993).

Others use commuting variables to study job access and job availability, particularly among blacks living in the center city associated with the idea of spatial mismatch (Kain, 1968; Ellwood, 1986; Kasarda, 1989; Kasarda, 1995; O’Regan & Quigley, 1998; Taylor & Ong, 1995; Shen, 1998). Commuting variables are also used to study black/white income differentials, wages and earnings, and employment rates (Offner & Saks, 1971; Ihlanfeldt, 1988; Ihlanfeldt & Sjoquist, 1989; Hughes & Madden, 1989). Although a small number of studies have controlled for commuting patterns in analyses of crime outcomes, no researchers to our knowledge have attempted to theorize and empirically test the relationship between commuting patterns and crime rates.

Several theories may explain how commuting may affect variation in crime rates throughout the United States. On one hand, commuting may allow workers to be exposed to norms and values that they may not be exposed to due to high rates of unemployment and poverty. This assumption is based on more cultural theories, specifically spatial mismatch theories and Wilson’s ideas regarding joblessness in urban ghettos as well as the idea of cultural transfer (Kain, 1968; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Kasarda, 1972, 1989; Holzer, 1991; Ong, 1996; Wilson, 1987). On the other hand, commuters have less time to spend with their families, less time to participate in community activities, and also have less time to provide guardianship to their homes and possessions. Lower levels of family and community involvement may lower levels of guardianship and lead to higher levels of crime in areas where there are higher average travel times to work.
This idea is based on Putnam’s idea of the weakening of local or community social structures (2000) and on routine activities theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979).

In the current study, we seek to specify the extent to which these theories can be applied to the relationship between commuting and both violent personal theft and property theft within the populations of 3,069 counties in the United States. We examine several mechanisms by which rates of theft, both personal and impersonal, may lead to an increase of cultural transfer between the workplace and home and also may vary in cities where journey to work patterns lead to reduced community efficacy or reduced guardianship.

We test the relationship between commuting patterns and rates of theft by examining racially disaggregated county level crime data from the 1998-2002 Uniform Crime Reports along with commuting data and controls from summary tape file 3 of the 2000 decennial Census using spatial regression analysis. In counties where there are higher proportions of workers who have to commute outside of the county that they live in order to work violent theft (robbery) may be higher. Higher levels of property theft (burglary) may be seen in counties where there are higher travel times to work, which may lead to lower levels of community involvement as well as lower levels of guardianship.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To theorize the link between commuting and crime, we draw on two sociological traditions which are used explain how the level commuting may influence the social organization of a community. First, we examine the role of spatial mismatch developed in Wilson’s (1987) research on the ghetto underclass to explain how working outside of the county in which workers reside may affect levels of robbery in workers’ county of residence (Kain, 1968; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Kasarda, 1972, 1989; Holzer, 1991; Ong, 1996; Wilson, 1987). We also apply Putnam’s (2000) social capital theory and Cohen and Felson’s (1979) routine activities approach, to explain how the amount of time commuters spend in the car may affect burglary rates in the county in which the workers live.

Spatial Mismatch, Wilson’s Ghetto Underclass, and Cultural Transfer

Studies on the effects of deindustrialization and housing segregation on black joblessness started a new line of research within the field of sociology called the “spatial mismatch hypothesis” (Kain, 1968). The restructuring of cities has created a spatial mismatch between the location of employment and residents in the center city. This has caused a population deconcentration within the center city because the income gradient allows those who are wealthier to live farther from the center-city. This line of research can be traced back to the early Chicago school (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Shaw & McKay, 1931).

Most of the jobs that replaced the low skill jobs in the center city require at least some higher education which makes it complicated for low skilled center-city residents to obtain work.
there. A disproportionate number of welfare recipients live in the inner-city, isolated from the expanding employment opportunities in suburban areas (Kasarda, 1972). “These residents are "spatially mismatched" with the suburbanized jobs and "skills mismatched" with the jobs remaining in the central business districts” (Ong, 1996, p.2).

Wilson (1996) contends that the consequences of joblessness due to industrial restructuring has led to more crime, family dissolution, welfare, and low levels of social organization than the consequences of high levels of neighborhood poverty, especially among low skilled black workers in the center city. In neighborhoods where there are few job opportunities, the labor force attachment will not only be weak, but this will also increase the chances that these people will use illegal means in order to make money further distancing them from legitimate labor markets (Wilson, 1996). Lower class residents are losing their middle class network ties; therefore, minorities might suffer from lower labor market achievement since they cannot obtain the superior jobs that are accessed through bridging networks.

Research shows that in areas where there is a high rate of suburbanization, the crime rate in the center-city is higher. The rate of suburbanization is strongly related to the center-city rates of serious crime among blacks due to the high degree of spatial isolation among blacks and the decline in access to low skill jobs increases violence indirectly by first increasing economic deprivation (Shihadeh & Ousey, 1996, 1998). These areas with high levels of social isolation and high rates of crime create an environment which fosters a self-image based on violence and reinforces behaviors which further impair the ability of residents to obtain legitimate work (Shihadeh & Flynn, 1995). This research implies that low levels of community efficacy, social isolation, and economic disadvantage experienced in the center-city due to low access to low-skill jobs may increase crime rates.

This argument deals with robbery rates and the proportion of workers who commute outside of their city of residence. With the decrease in access to low skill jobs, workers living in disadvantaged areas are forced to turn to illegal means for money or to commute outside of their place of residence for work. Based on the idea of “cultural transfer”, commuting may also have an influence on theft rates in counties with high proportions of workers who commute outside of the county in which they live. Cultural transfer deals with the middle class norms and values that commuters are able to bring home with them form the workplace when they work outside of their place of residence.

We argue that the proportion of commuters who work outside of their county of residence may experience a transfer of suburban cultural norms and values that they are exposed to at their jobs outside of their county of residence. The norms and values that workers bring home, their “cultural transfer,” may affect their community in a positive way by countering the disadvantage and deprivation that is inherent in the center city based on spatial mismatch theory and Wilson’s (1987) ideas regarding the ghetto underclass. The more of these middle class norms and values that
workers bring home with them the more the members of the community can adapt those norms and values and apply them to their own lives. Thus, we hypothesize that as the proportion of workers who commute outside the county increases, violent theft (measured by robbery) will be lower (based on the cultural transfer of norms and values from the workplace to home).

**Putnam’s Social Capital and Cohen and Felson’s Routine Activities**

It is also important to examine the relationship between commuting and crime because, based on social capital literature, commuting may have an influence on the amount of community involvement and routine activities. This is particularly important considering the ability that counties with high levels of commuters that travel long distances have to obtain informal network ties which may provide guardianship to their home and property when they are away.

Putnam (2000) finds that from 1960 to 1990 the number of workers who commute across county lines more than tripled and that “between 1983 and 1995 the average commuting trip grew 37 percent longer in miles” (p. 213). He argues that every ten minutes of commuting time reduces community involvement by ten percent and that increased commuting time among residents of a community lowers average levels of civic engagement. He believes that “sprawl has been especially toxic for bridging social capital” (p. 214). This spatial fragmentation between home and workplace is bad for community life for several reasons. First, more time spent in the car leads to less time for friends, family, meetings, community projects, etc. Second, increased social segregation and social homogeneity reduces incentives for civic involvement and social networks that cut across class and racial lines (a reduction of bridging social capital). Finally, sprawl disrupts community “boundedness”, commuting time is a proxy for the growing separation between work and home, and there are no longer well defined and bounded communities, which negatively influences participation in local affairs (Putnam, 2000).

Based on Putnam’s (2000) argument, we can assume that the more time commuters spend in their car; their levels of collective efficacy will be lower thereby decreasing the level of informal social involvement which will in turn reduce their ability to obtain guardianship from others over their home and possessions at times when they are away. Involvement in informal community activities will be reduced in areas where the average travel time of workers is higher.

This idea of guardianship leads to Cohen and Felson’s (1979) routine activities theory, which basically says that criminal activity is related to the structure of the normal, routine activities in which people are engaged. In order for a predatory crime to occur, there must be a motivated offender, a suitable target (opportunity) and a lack of guardianship. The current study focuses on the idea that lack of guardianship contributes to higher levels of property crime. Where people spend time and who they are in contact with determines the level of guardianship they will have over their home and property when they are not around.
Based on Putnam’s (2000) social capital argument, areas with a high proportion of commuters spending a lot of time in transit to and from work will generally participate in community activities less frequently, thereby reducing the number of network ties, which then reduces the level of guardianship they will experience from family, neighbors and more formal social control mechanisms including neighborhood watch and perhaps even police patrols. This is the idea that we apply to the alternative argument that burglary rates will be positively affected by the travel time of commuters. Therefore, we hypothesize that as average travel time for a counties’ residents increases, property theft (measured by burglary) will be higher (based on lack of network ties and lack of guardianship).

**DATA AND METHODS**

This analysis uses spatial regression techniques provided by GeoDa spatial mapping software to analyze data on 3,069 contiguous US counties. The data come from the 2000 Census data (STF 3) and county level Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data on robbery and burglary for the years 1998-2002. Robbery and burglary rates were obtained using five year averages of robbery and burglary offenses from the UCR. Descriptive statistics appear in Table 1.

The two dependent variables for the study are the robbery rate (violent theft), which is calculated as the five year (1998-2002) average number of robbery offenses in each county divided by the total population of the county, and burglary rate (property theft), which is calculated as the five year average (1998-2002) number of burglary offenses in each county divided by the total population of the county.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Definitions and Summary Statistics for Independent Variables predicting Robbery and Burglary, 3,069 US Counties, 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of county residents working outside the county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of county residents travelling 30+ miles to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of county residents age 15-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% county residents with high school degree/GED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% county residents that moved since 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disadvantage index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of county residents that are black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of female headed households with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of county population in poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of county residents unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>population size (natural log)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In models 1 and 2, the robbery rate is the primary dependent variable and in models 3 and 4, the burglary rate is the primary dependent variable of interest. This study includes two independent variables of interest. First, average travel time to work, calculated as the percentage of workers in each county over the age of 16 that travel more than 30 minutes to work and second, the percentage of workers who travel outside of their county of residence to work. We control for natural log of population, the percent of county residents who are in the age range that is considered the curve of crime (prop. of pop. 15-24 years old), the percent of county residents who have obtained a high school education, the percent of county residents who have moved since 1995 (population turnover), the percent of county residents who are below the poverty line, the percent of the county that is black, the percent of the population that is unemployed, and the percent of families in the county that are headed by a female with children.

A principle components analysis was conducted to reduce problems with multicollinearity and to obtain the latent constructs of disadvantage. An index emerged from this analysis which included the percent in poverty, the percent unemployed, the percent of the population that is black, and the percent of female headed households. Variables for the index had an Eigen level of 2.7 indicating that the factor was a single latent construct of the variables included.

**Analytical Strategy**

It has been long recognized that crime may spread to adjacent areas through a process of diffusion (Cohen & Tita, 1999, Cork, 1999, Messner et al., 1999). As such, it is important to consider spatial autocorrelation when studying commuting patterns in particular, especially when one considers the amount of workers who cross county boundaries regularly. Failing to account for unique spatial patterns or spatial clustering of the dependent variables may produce inaccurate or biased results. In our analyses, we account for the presence of spatial dependence among neighboring counties using exploratory spatial analysis and spatial regression techniques (Baller, Anselin, Messner, Deane, & Hawkins, 2001).

To assess the degree of spatial autocorrelation, we performed an exploratory spatial data analysis. We identified high levels of spatial autocorrelation within both dependent variables that were examined, with a Moran’s I of 0.4588 for robbery and 0.5427 for burglary. These levels indicate that the data are significantly spatially autocorrelated and spatial analysis is appropriate. Figures 1-4 provide Moran’s I scatterplots and Univariate LISA cluster maps that are spatially dependent.

To account for spatial autocorrelation identified in our exploratory analysis, we report findings from both Ordinary Least Squares regressions and Maximum Likelihood Models that contain correct for spatial dependence. The robust Lagrange Multipliers provided with the OLS regression indicate that a spatial error model is appropriate for robbery and a spatial lag model is burglary (Baller et al., 2001).
Figure 1: Univariate LISA Cluster Map of 1998-2002 Avg. Robbery Rates

Figure 2: Moran’s I Scatterplot of 1998-2002 Avg. Robbery Rates
Figure 3: Univariate LISA Cluster Map of 1998-2002 Avg. Burglary Rates

Figure 4: Moran’s I Scatterplot of 1998-2002 Avg. Burglary Rates
RESULTS

Tables 2 (robbery) and 3 (burglary) provide regression coefficients from both OLS and MLE spatial regressions for comparison. The spatial effects terms in both MLE models (models 2 and 4) are significant (p<0.001) indicating that there is in fact spatial dependence among US counties. Additionally, the $R^2$ in both MLE models (models 2 and 4) are larger than the $R^2$ in the OLS models (models 1 and 3) which indicates that the spatial models provide a better fit.

Table 2 presents OLS (model 1) and MLE (model 2) results for the hypothesis predicting that as the proportion of workers who commute outside the county increases, violent theft (measured by robbery) will be lower (based on the cultural transfer of norms and values from the workplace to home). Not only does controlling for spatial autocorrelation bring the coefficient for the proportion of the population working outside of the county to significance, but the direction of the effect is also reversed. The coefficient for the percent of workers traveling outside of the county where they live is negative and significant indicating that as the proportion of workers traveling outside of their county of residence, robbery rates will decrease. This supports our idea that middle class norms and values are being culturally transferred to the center county and having an impact on the rest of the community. There is also a positive relationship between both social disadvantage and population size and the robbery rate.

A residual analysis was also conducted to gather information on whether there was any “leftover” spatial autocorrelation in the dependent variable. A Univariate LISA cluster map of residuals (not shown) along with a Moran’s I of 0.0418 indicates that there is very little spatial autocorrelation left in the robbery rate after controlling for spatial effects in the model.

Table 3 presents OLS (model 3) and MLE (model 4) results for the hypothesis predicting that as average travel time for a county’s residents increases, property theft (measured by burglary) will be higher (based on lack of network ties and lack of guardianship). The coefficient for the percent of workers traveling more than 30 minutes to work is nearly significant (p<0.10) and it is negative, indicating that as the proportion of workers traveling more than 30 minutes to work increases, the counties burglary rate decreases, which fails to support our hypothesis.

Social disadvantage and population size are also associated with an increase in the burglary rate in this model. A Univariate LISA cluster map of residuals (not shown) and a Moran’s I for residuals of 0.0534 indicate that there is very little spatial autocorrelation left in the burglary rate after controlling for spatial effects in the model.
### Table 2: OLS and Maximum Likelihood Regression Coefficients for Spatial Error Model for Robbery Rates, 3,069 US Counties, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OLS (1)</th>
<th>MLE (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of county residents working outside the county</td>
<td>0.0208</td>
<td>-0.0557 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0192)</td>
<td>(0.0186)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of county residents travelling 30+ miles to work</td>
<td>-0.0208</td>
<td>-0.0107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0190)</td>
<td>(0.0321)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of county residents age 15-24</td>
<td>-0.5543 ***</td>
<td>-0.5261 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0690)</td>
<td>(0.0646)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% county residents with high school degree/GED</td>
<td>-0.0642</td>
<td>-0.0395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0393)</td>
<td>(0.0472)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% county residents that moved since 1995</td>
<td>-0.0062</td>
<td>-0.0300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0388)</td>
<td>(0.0446)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disadvantage index</td>
<td>7.2963 ***</td>
<td>6.5522 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.2426)</td>
<td>(0.2845)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>population size (natural log)</td>
<td>4.9354 ***</td>
<td>4.3404 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.2426)</td>
<td>(0.2252)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-28.8651 ***</td>
<td>-20.348 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.5345)</td>
<td>(4.4208)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial error effects</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5571 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0210)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moran's I for residuals</td>
<td>0.3114</td>
<td>0.0418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( R^2 )</td>
<td>0.4171</td>
<td>0.5571</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, †p<0.10. Data shown are regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine commuting patterns and their effect on rates of theft in US counties. We looked at two independent hypotheses in this research. First, we hypothesized that as the proportion of workers who commute outside the county increases, violent theft (measured by robbery) will be lower (based on the cultural transfer of norms and values from the workplace to home). This argument is based on ideas regarding spatial mismatch theory, Wilson’s (1987) ideas regarding the ghetto underclass, and the idea of the cultural transfer of norms and ideas from the suburban middle class to the center city via commuting workers. Alternatively, we hypothesized that as average travel time for a county’s residents increases, property theft (measured by burglary) will be higher (based on lack of network ties and lack of guardianship). This argument is centered on Putnam’s (2000) arguments about social capital and commuting as well as Cohen and Felson’s (1979) routine activities theory.

We hypothesized that the cultural transfer of norms and values from one community to the next via workers who travel outside of their county of residence would decrease robbery rates. The findings provided support for this...
hypothesis, thus the idea that suburban cultural norms can be transferred to center city residents who commute to the suburbs for work appears to be legitimate. This finding is further supported by the control for social disadvantage. This indicates that this decrease in robbery rates is affected by the cultural transfer of norms, and not by increased wages seen in the disadvantaged areas which have residents commuting to suburbanized areas for employment.

Based on Putnam’s (2000) social capital theory and Cohen and Felson’s (1979) routine activities theory, we also predicted that the idea that community efficacy could provide some degree of guardianship for those who spend a lot of time commuting to work thereby reducing the burglary rate. This hypothesis was not supported; however, the findings from this model do provide additional support to the first hypothesis which predicted that robbery would decrease in counties with a higher proportion of workers traveling outside of the county they live in for work increases. Not only do large commuting flows from outside of the county lower robbery rates via the transfer of suburban cultural norms, these commuting flows also lower burglary rates.

These findings have important implications regarding the theories by which the hypotheses were informed. Putnam (2000) maintains that suburbanization and increases in commuting has lead to a “fragmentation between home and workplace” where “work-based ties” to have to compete with “place-based ties” (p. 214). It appears, based on our findings that a reduction in the amount of time commuting to and from work does not negatively influence the amount of informal community involvement or the amount of guardianship available to workers who commute. These results indicate that Putnam’s (2000) arguments concerning the reduction of social capital and the decline in community involvement do not necessarily lead to some of the negative consequences or “civic penalty” that he discusses regarding commuting (p. 215). Perhaps a different type of social capital exists for commuting residents and their neighbors. It may be that a version of bridging social capital exists between inner-city commuters and suburban workers, which fosters the transmission of culturally defined norms and values from the workplace to home and throughout the neighborhood.

Our results also indicate that even workers who commute a substantial amount of time or distance are able to maintain friendship and kinship ties with their neighbors, family, and friends. The maintenance of these ties provides commuters and their families with a degree of certainty that there will be guardianship of their homes and possessions by their family, friends, and neighbors who are nearby. That being said, the routine activities of commuting workers does not reduce guardianship and lead to higher rates of burglary. Although disadvantage has negative repercussions for a community, the necessity of working in a county other than your own or spending substantial amounts of time commuting can in fact have a positive impact on the community through the transfer of suburban cultural norms and values into disadvantaged inner-city areas.
REFERENCES


Taylor, B & Ong, P. (1995). Spatial Mismatch or Automobile Mismatch? An Examination of Race, Residence and Commuting in U.S. Metropolitan...


---

1 First order queen contiguity weights matrices were used for the data analysis.

2 Residual LISA cluster maps can be requested from Emily R. Berthelot, One Main Street, Suite C-330-H, Commerce Building, Houston, TX 77002.
Social Capital Theory and a Peaceful African Capital: Gaborone, Botswana

Phyllis Puffer, Ph.D.¹
Big Sandy Community and Technical College

Abstract: Social network analysis showed that Gaborone possesses an abundance of social ties across both social classes and communally organized groups. All efforts to find socially isolated groups failed, as would be predicted by social capital theory in a peaceful, prosperous community. Furthermore, some evidence emerged that a nascent national identity might be replacing tribal identity.

Keywords: Africa, social network analysis, social capital, tribe, Botswana

Acknowledgement: The author would like to thank Big Sandy student Adele Horne for computer and mathematical assistance.

¹ Direct all correspondence to phyllis.puffer@kctcs.edu
Social Capital Theory and a Peaceful African Capital: Gaborone, Botswana

As seen through the selective screen of the national and international news, Sub-Saharan Africa is a dramatic hotbed of war, disease, poverty, corruption, and who knows what other social ills. However, a much more pedestrian side of the region exists where people go to school, work at jobs, have farms and businesses, and raise families the same as elsewhere. It will be shown that this happy circumstance may be associated with favorable conditions for social capital theory found in the social structure of the city.

SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

It is well recognized on the popular level and confirmed in academic social science research that a person's chances of getting ahead in life are greatly improved with connections to people well placed in society. A review of the academic literature on social networks and status attainment found a universal, positive relationship between these two variables whether within or across different societies, different levels of industrialization/Westernization, or different categories of people. It also held across different measures of social capital and status (Lin, 1999, p. 481). Therefore, for the health of the society, it is important to determine whether or not the poorest groups have access to the society's resources. Resources in this case are not limited to money, jobs, and political power, but also include knowledge of all kinds, such as how to get into a school, how to relate to school officials (Horvat et al., 2003), how to succeed once there, basic knowledge of nutrition and health care, information about where jobs are and how to obtain them, how to start a business or how to get a loan, who your friends are (Clark-Ibanez & Felmlee, 2004), and much more that we take for granted in our daily lives.

Social capital theory is the formal academic statement of why social connections are important for society (Putnam, 2000).

Social Class

The most important relationships or connections for advancement are not necessarily among people who are close socially. The founding work of social network theory showed that distant, or weak, ties were more important for locating employment because new information flowed into a more cohesive group along the more distant connections (Granovetter, 1973). Family and friends would all have about the same information about opportunities and other resources. More distant and diverse relationships would give the individual new information. Being a member of an outcast group or in a very low ranking position, such as a servant, does not need to mean perpetual disadvantage if some kind of contact exists with the better off.

Two non-academic examples from the US African-American community illustrate the point. The core of today's African-American elite of wealthy and highly educated members was laid during slave days. Sometimes the unacknowledged children of plantation owners and slave women received land in their fathers' wills. The land enabled the children and their descendants to achieve prosperity and social advantage (Graham, 2000). More recently, Pullman's invention of the sleeping car on early trains proved to be another opportunity for the disadvantaged. African-American men were employed as porters where they came into contact with the white elite. One of these porters read The Wall Street Journal the wealthy travelers left behind and the owner of Phillips Petroleum talked to him for hours about business and finance. Samuel Coleman, now 81 years old, put that
informal education to work. He formed an investment club with a neighbor and eventually enjoyed financial success (Newcott, 2009, p.56).

The distribution of resources in society is related to the much larger subject of peace and war. In ethnically organized societies, the incidence of violent conflict is highly associated with an excluded population, both in states having many different groups and those having just a few. If a group is excluded from national life, the potential for conflict along ethnic lines is high (Wimmer et al., 2009). This analysis will try to identify a tribe or other nationally significant social unit which does not share fully in national life, i.e. a group not well connected to other social units. Consistent with the theory of weak ties, the connection will be through acquaintances rather than family or friends. Additionally, it seems reasonable to focus specifically on the wealthy and the poor, and thus social class becomes an important variable. If the very wealthy are isolated and keep all resources to themselves, we can expect protest sooner or later from the poor. What is more likely, according to Brinton (1965), is protest from those at upper and middle social levels who are concerned about the poor. Thus a society with either an isolated wealthy group or an isolated poor group, or both, would be potentially unstable and the society might expect conflict (Midlarsky, 1982; Besancon, 2005; Burton & Highley, 1987).

Communal Groups
Socio-economic class is not the only internal social structure related to the distribution of resources critical for peace or conflict. Another is the society's communal organization and the degree of separation among communal groups. All the societies which come to mind contain communal units of some kind, as well as socio-economic classes. Here in the US, our best known communal social unit is the African American community, but other well known ones are the Native American as well as Latin American/Hispanic, Chinese, and even white, Southern, poor, mountain communities. There are many, many others. Conflict across communal lines is common, including here in the US, most recently against Muslims and very importantly in our history, between whites and African Americans. Well known world examples of countries with past and present extremely serious communal conflict are Lebanon, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Ireland, Somalia, and Sri Lanka. These examples show the need in many societies to unify communal groups to achieve and maintain peace. In the Middle Eastern conflicts, tribally organized social units are of paramount importance, as is the case in the African societies.

A tribally organized social unit is defined genealogically (Anthromophemics, 2009). That is, the members of that social unit consider themselves biologically related. They also share a history, customs, and language. Contrary to some other African societies, the people of Botswana openly identify their tribal membership when introducing themselves, discuss tribal concerns in the newspaper, are proud of their heritage, and work for the political recognition and rights of their tribes. Tribal membership is so normal there that a taxi driver once asked me, an obvious foreigner, what tribe I was from.

Since the tribe is such an important social structure in Botswana, this work will consider it along with social class. Questions will be whether social relationships exist across tribal lines as well as social class lines. In view of social capital theory, a search will be made for isolated tribes, both the wealthy and the poor, and whether one or more live outside the main body of the population, either cut
off from obtaining resources or from sharing them.

**National Identity**
In addition to the structures of social class and tribe, the social structure of the nation will be addressed briefly. The data unexpectedly showed that a national identity rather than a tribal identity characterized a tiny minority of the city.

**The Setting**
Botswana is one example of a peaceful African society. It has been called the Switzerland of Africa and the "Bots" are proud of never having had a revolution or a coup. Though in the 19th century, Botswana asked England for protection from an expanding Boer state, it was never formally a colony. Botswana is just over the northern border of the Republic of South Africa and is flat, desert country, resembling the US southwest. It is nearly a functioning democracy with regular changes of officials by election. The economy is based on diamonds and is prosperous enough for it to be placed nearly in the category of a second world nation. Transparency International (2010) rates it as relatively low in corruption with a score of 5.8 on a scale of 0 to 10. Sweden has the highest score of 9.2. Botswana suffers from the AIDS epidemic but the government took action immediately at the outbreak, never denied the disease, and provides medical care. The capital Gaborone, or Gabs, like Washington D.C., was built on new land expressly chosen to be the capital. Gaborone has modern, low density housing for all social classes. Lowest income areas have few city services and relatively poor housing, as would be expected, but I was all over the city and never saw anything that would be called a ghetto or a slum.

Several large, upscale malls are located on the outskirts. Buildings in the government section of the city are modern and would fit into any Western cityscape.

**SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS**
A review of the US sociological and the English-language African literature has thus far revealed one US study similar to this one, and none at all in the African literature. The US study used the index of qualitative variation rather than social network analysis, though social network analysis also would have been appropriate. Respondents reported the voluntary organizations they belonged to and whether the organizations were located inside or outside their own neighborhoods. The question was whether or not voluntary organizations promoted cross-race contacts (Glanville, 2004).

Two long standing traditions in the sociological literature are related to this study. One is the question of a national elite in the US. Just one example in a large collection of such studies is by Moore (1979). Elite respondents reported their discussion partners on national issues. The second closely related, similarly long standing and productive research tradition is of interlocking directorships of corporations. A large proportion of a board of directors who are also members of another board indicates a close relationship (Koenig, 1981, Pfeffer, 1981) among the corporations. Furthermore, Burris (2005) found that these social relationships are more important even than economic interests in building social cohesion.

**METHODOLOGY**
The data were drawn from a random sample survey N=296 of the city of Gaborone during June and July of 2006. Gathering data by survey questionnaire is a primary research tool in network analysis (Marsden, 1990). The four interviewers were advanced sociology students at the
University of Botswana who had extensive interviewing experience. Mindful of numerous tales of interviewer fraud in other African surveys, I accompanied the four every day, seven days a week, rotating my presence in the interviews. Interviews were held in both Tswana and English, as appropriate. At the end of the summer, the interviews were packaged, mailed to the US, and entered in SPSS. The data were analyzed by the social network analysis program, Ucinet (Borgatti, 1999).

The questionnaire focused on tribal membership with the questions heavily influenced by the instrument used for the major survey of African countries called Afrobarometer from Michigan State University. The checklist of tribes in my questionnaire was from the Afrobarometer questionnaire. Names of other tribes were added as they appeared in the interviews. Questions asked for the respondent's tribe, tribe of relatives, parents, friends, acquaintances and spouses. Respondents answered these questions easily. A couple of the older respondents even slowed down the interview considerably by insisting on giving historical details of their own tribes. Only two or three respondents had difficulty with any of the questions, and those were about the socio-economic status of the respondent. These respondents insisted they were of equal status with everyone else and that no one was higher or lower than anyone else.

The unit of analysis for social networks was the tie between two respondents. The result was not a diagram of each respondent and all the connections the respondent had with other people and they with each other. Rather, the tie was characterized as being between respondents from the same tribe or between respondents from two different tribes. This analysis focused on cross tribal relationships so the number of ties between all the individuals of tribe A and tribe B was the measure of the connection between these two tribes. In the network diagrams, thick lines indicate close relationships and thin lines more distant relationships.

In this analysis, whether or not a tie is reciprocal is largely irrelevant, although certain ties assuredly are reciprocal. If L reports that he is a brother to M, M most likely will report that he is a brother to L, even if they never have any contact. Friends usually report they are friends to each other, though sometimes only one will report the relationship. More often, acquaintances will not agree on a relationship. The important point for this analysis is that a cross-tribal contact exists, even if only in one direction.

FINDINGS

Socio-Economic Status
Consideration of social class in the city begins with the occupational structure as presented in the demographic data collected in the survey. Table 1 gives the results.

At first it appeared that professionals were greatly over represented in the data (32%) and the sample might be skewed. The Botswana census data were not available but comparison with another capital city, Washington DC, was useful. Table 1 shows that professionals comprise 31% of Washington DC’s population, which is essentially the same as Gaborone’s. The much larger proportion of the Gaborone occupational structure devoted to management, business, and finance (49%) might be explained by the unusually active construction in the growing city, and possibly coding differences. Table 1 portrays Gaborone as having a high status population, and other characteristics of the sample are consistent with that finding.
Table 1: Comparison of Occupational Structure of Gaborone and Selected US Cities 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Gaborone</th>
<th>Washington DC</th>
<th>US High</th>
<th>US Low</th>
<th>US Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management, business, finance</td>
<td>(117) 49%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>(75) 32%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service-cleaners, drivers, guards, domestics</td>
<td>(45) 19%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, Gaborone</td>
<td>(237) 100%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The unemployed have been excluded from the Gaborone data, including students and homemakers. Data for the US are from the US Census, American Factfinder, GCT 2401, 2402, 2403, 2006.

Over 40 percent of the respondents reported having attended either a technical school or college after high school. That educational level compares favorably with the US figure of 50 percent. At the same time nearly five percent, or 14 respondents, had not attended school at all.

SES of Tribes
As might be expected, the tribes differ both in overall and internal SES composition. Table 2 includes all the respondents interviewed for which SES data were collected. It will be seen that non-Botswanans were in the sample, which should not be surprising in a large metropolis. For example, one of the Kenyans was an officer in the Embassy of Kenya. The non-Botswanans were coded only for nationality and not tribal membership. For example, Zambian respondents were analyzed only as Zambians and not as Luo. The Muslims and Hindus in the sample were Botswanans, but are not organized tribally. It can be seen that tribal representation in the sample varies in size from one Nanjwa to 44 Kalanga respondents. Tribes vary in social standing from a score of 1 to 5 on a 6 point scale. The Muslims and Tswana lead in the scale and the Tswapong and Herero are on the bottom of the scale.

Nationality and tribal internal social stratification are presented in Table 3. The tribes vary in the proportion of their members who are in the highest socio-economic category.

Residence
All the sections of the city are officially designated as high SES, medium, low, or very low. Roughly one third of the sections are designated high or medium SES, one third low, and a few more of them (37%) are very low. In fact, on the ground, all the sections we visited, except perhaps one of the highest SES sections, had some housing from all the SES categories in them, though one category predominated. House lots are large, even in poor sections, and a large, expensive house often has a much smaller house behind it. Officially these are servants’ quarters but at least as frequently, they are rental property. At the same time, a city section categorized as poor will have some houses that are expensive, ranch-style, upper middle class homes. At least from the standpoint of residence, the population is in contact across SES lines.
Table 2  Mean SES Score for all Groups, professional = 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>SES Score</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian-Muslim</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawana</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlokwa</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian-Hindu</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birwa</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngwaketse</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurutse</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgalagadi</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lete</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>2.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgatla</td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>2.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngwato</td>
<td>(41)</td>
<td>3.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalanga</td>
<td>(44)</td>
<td>3.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAMPLE MEAN</td>
<td>(295)</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurutshe</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>3.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolong</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>3.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talaote</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>3.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanjwa</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwena</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batswana only</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>4.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuru</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswapong</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>4.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotho</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herero</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=295, 30 groups
ANOVA=.004, significant

1=professional/managerial
2=supervisor of skilled and unskilled, office, foreman
3=office worker, secretary, sales clerk, high school
4=skilled manual, carpenter electrician, cook, sewing
5=low level business, vendor, tuck shop, herbalist
6=unskilled manual, soldier, child care
### Table 3: The Proportion of each Tribe who are Professionals/Managers, in Descending Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>% of the tribe in the highest SES level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>(3) 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babirwa</td>
<td>(4) 80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>(4) 80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>(3) 75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>(5) 71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batawana</td>
<td>(2) 67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batlokwa</td>
<td>(2) 67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>(4) 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>(2) 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>(1) 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakhurutshe</td>
<td>(2) 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balete</td>
<td>(7) 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangwaketse</td>
<td>(7) 47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakgalagadi</td>
<td>(2) 40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakgatla</td>
<td>(13) 38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>(3) 38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangwato</td>
<td>(14) 34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batalaote</td>
<td>(1) 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakalanga</td>
<td>(14) 32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahurutshe</td>
<td>(4) 29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barolong</td>
<td>(2) 15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batswana only</td>
<td>(1) 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batswapong</td>
<td>(2) 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakwena</td>
<td>(2) 9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=104, 35 percent of the sample.  
Taken from a table with Chi square significant at the .022

Tribes with no members in the sample in the highest occupational category, though it is highly likely that such people exist:  
Baherero  
Banajwa  
Basarwa  
Zezeru  
Chinese  
Sotho
Residential Integration

The tables above indicate that geographic socio-economic integration exists in the neighborhoods. When the social structures of SES and tribe are analyzed together in the city districts, high integration appears again. Both tribes and social classes are coming into contact with each other to some degree or other in the neighborhoods.

The sample contained respondents from 33 districts in the city. Eight of the 33 districts were so mixed tribally that no one tribe predominated numerically and four districts had two tribes which were co-dominant numerically. In the remaining 20 remaining districts, one tribe was more numerous than the others but it was not always the same one. The Kalanga were the most numerous in seven districts, but these districts were classified at all SES levels, not just the wealthy, middle class or poor. The Ngwato were most numerous in five districts. The Kwenas predominated in two districts and the others in one each. The importance of the Kalanga and the Ngwato would be expected as they are the most numerous in the population. Even so, the Kalanga make up only 15 percent of the city population and the Ngwato 14 percent of the city. It is clear that this is a city of much tribal diversity. The tribal residential integration in Gaborone is greater than racial residential integration in the US where census blocks can rise to nearly 100 percent African-American or white.

Cross Tribal Relationships

It is time now to turn to relationships only across tribal lines, leaving aside the question of relationships across SES lines. The data on the tribal membership of acquaintances were subjected to social network analysis. Relationships with acquaintances were selected as the variable rather than relationships with family or friends since, as explained above, distant and more dispersed relationships on the whole have been shown to be the more important for advancement.

It is immediately apparent in Figure 1 that the tribes in Gaborone are well connected to each other in a tangled spaghetti of relationships. It is further apparent that some tribes are more connected to each other than to certain others and form distinct clusters within the highly connected population.

Thickness of lines in Figure 1 roughly indicates the number of connections among the tribes. Thicker lines indicate that the two or more tribes have many connections with each other. Thin lines indicate only one tie. Those with the most connections with each other are placed roughly in the center of the figure. Those with fewer connections with each other are placed progressively farther out.

The Ngwato, Gatla, and Kalanga form a tightly intertwined cluster at the center of the figure. The Kwenas and Ngwaketse are almost as strongly connected to the inner three as well as to each other and are located just a little farther out. Even farther out are Galagade, Botswana-only, Zimbabwe, Tlokwa, and Tswapong. The farthest away from the center have only one tie to one tribe in the central cluster: Nanjwa, South African, and Kenyan.

It stands to reason that anyone who is in the inner cluster of dense intertribal relationships would have more information and other resource-sharing opportunities than those farther out in the circle. But even the individual way out on the fringe would be able to share the benefits of society. Even one connection to the inner circle would simultaneously be a connection to all.
Figure 1. Social Network Analysis of the Kalanga, Ngwato, Gatla and Their Acquaintances

**Socio-Tribal Isolation**

Connectedness can be further explored by returning to SES and a closer look at two special groups. Since it is important whether or not the poor and the wealthy are connected to each other, we can look at the San and the town of Phakalange.

One of the groups is the tribally-organized San. They are popularly called “Bushmen,” but in Botswana their politically active members reject the name as pejorative. They prefer the name San or Sarwa. All sides acknowledge that the San are the poorest tribe in the country and suffer from discrimination. Phakalange is a town, rather than a tribe, about half an hour’s drive from Gaborone, built expressly for the wealthy. Phakalange possesses a golf course with an impressive, modern-style club house. The houses on an expanse of land around the golf course are large and architect-designed, set in tasteful landscaping. Many Westerners and foreign Africans live there.

Only seven Phakalange interviews were obtained. Interviewing in that community was done only as a test and only 14 interviews were attempted. However, Botswana researchers predicted that we would get no interviews at all because of the exclusiveness of the community.

Figure 2 diagrams the connections Phakalange respondents report having with their acquaintances.
This wealthy community is shown to have important ties with a wide range of others, but no San appear among them. Since only seven Phakalange respondents were interviewed, the last word has yet to be spoken, but Figure 1 showed previously that the San have good direct and indirect connections with tribes which are themselves in direct connection with the wealthy community. The Ngwato, Gatla, and especially the Kalanga have good, direct connections with Phakalange, and the San are connected directly to the Kalanga and the Gatla and indirectly to the Ngwato through the Gatla and Ngwaketse. The San are at a disadvantage in their access to this source of wealth but not isolated from it. Furthermore, it is more than likely that a larger sample will reveal direct connections. Neither the wealthy nor the poor in this city live in isolated communities.

**National Identity**

It is not possible to be around African studies very long before encountering the incendiary topic of whether or not tribes exist and what to call them. One of the choices a respondent could make on the questionnaire when identifying tribal membership was “Botswana only.” That is, a respondent was allowed not to belong to a tribe at all but to hold a national identity as a
citizen of Botswana. Three percent of the sample, or eight people, made this choice. In itself, three percent is a derisory figure, but when taken as a proportion of the population of 186,000 (Botswana Census, 2001) it is a respectable community of 5,580 people. These data cannot explain the decision to adopt a national rather than a tribal identity, but they can form a preliminary portrait of this person.

In view of the emotionality of the subject in US academia, it must be emphasized that the Botswana-only respondents did not have the slightest trouble identifying the tribes their family, friends, and acquaintances belonged to. One even reported which tribe he came from. At no time did these respondents deny tribe or give any indication they knew about the controversy. None of the interviewers knew about the controversy and, when it was explained to them, they did not understand it. Thus, they could not have influenced the respondents.

All eight Botswana-only were from mixed parents, that is, their mother and their father belonged to different tribes. Half the Botswana-only were men and half were women. They were born outside Gaborone but at the same time had lived in Gaborone longer, 18 years, than the sample average, 15 years. Reasonably, they were also a little older, their mean year of birth being 1963, compared with the rest of the sample of 1968. All but one spoke Tswana as the home language, while around 20 percent of the others spoke a second language at home, usually English or Kalanga. Seventy-five percent of them were either never married or not living with a partner, compared with 35 percent of the others. (Chi square was not significant at .177). The Botswana-only had a mean of only seven years of school compared with 12 years for the rest. (Anova is statistically significant.) The low education level is surprising because the “no tribe” position is a very elite one held by American and European professors. Consistent with the lower level of education is a mean SES of 4.4 (1.0 is the highest score) compared with a higher level of 3.1 for the others. (Anova is not statistically significant). The Botswana-only might live in a more homogenous community. Their friends come from a mean of two tribes, compared with four, and their acquaintances from three tribes, compared with five. (Anova is statistically significant).

The findings on national identity can give the tribe debate new direction. Instead of yelling, “They’re not out there,” or “Yes they are,” we can see where they are and are not and how they grow or do not.

CONCLUSION
These data support social capital theory. A peaceful, prosperous capital city has been shown to possess social connections among the social structures of socio-economic status and tribe. The people of Gaborone themselves say, “We are all tangled up.” Survey data show this to be objectively true. The ultimate “tangled up” nature of tribes would mean the disappearance of tribe as a social structure and its replacement by the nation, i.e., the individual’s identity as a citizen of a nation rather than as a member of a tribe. The minute evidence of the development of national identity in Gaborone should enlighten the academic debate over tribe.

REFERENCES
Afrobarometer.
The Anthromophemics Online Glossary of Anthropological Terms.
Borgatti, S.P., M.G. Everett, & Freeman,
Book Review


Dan Shope, PhD
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Murray State University

It is seldom that an author can offer to readers a book that can be used to gain a sociological understanding of grass roots social reform, and at the same time create a reference tool that chronicles the history of such social movements. However, this is exactly what James Gibson has done with his book *A Re-Enchanted World*. Utilizing Max Weber’s notion of “disenchantment” Gibson’s book chronicles the history of modernization with all its inherent discontents leading to a re-enchantment with nature. In a historicist fashion, the book analyzes the many attempts to rectify environmental abuses associated with modernization that have plagued the U.S., a society that prides often boasts of its natural beauty. Each era of environmental reform is examined by Gibson and is placed in historically significant social contexts, which forces the reader to consider from a sociological perspective the environmental struggles of past generations.

Gibson opens his book by telling the story of a tree sitter, who in 2002 believed that saving one 200 year old Oak tree from a housing developer’s bulldozer in Santa Clarita, California could activate public outrage with modernization’s environmental failures. The oak tree eventually became known as “Old Glory,” which proved to be quite troublesome for the developer, especially in light of the recent attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City. However, Gibson quickly pointed out that this type of story was not unique. To illustrate this point he unraveled the vast tapestry of American Environmentalism demonstrating that the idea of economic and technological...
innovations promising a new and better life for the American citizenry did not go without protests from past generations. Waves of modernization were followed by protests of those who became disenchanted with modernization and its attendant environmental problems, which lead to an era of re-enchantment with nature, its beauty, and elegant simplicity.

Gibson’s book examines the world of animals and how if one listens closely they speak to us warning of their own, and ultimately humanity’s demise if precautions to protect the environment are not heeded. Gibson reminds readers of Darwin’s insistence of the kinship and similarity between animals and people, even in terms of emotive response to stimuli and types of thinking. Although twentieth-century biologists accepted Darwin’s evolutionary theory, his arguments about animal intelligence and emotions were primarily rejected due to what could be reasoned as anthropomorphisms. Gibson’s stories of contact between wild animals and humans have little in the way of happy endings. This section is truly not for the faint of heart. Gibson unveiled what appears an almost murderous spirit as so-called American settlers tamed the great wilderness in what was to later become U.S. territory.

In the chapter entitled “Holy Lands” Gibson argues that until the ascent of monotheistic thought, nature provided the place for what Mircea Eliade called “primary religious experience.” All the majesty of natural spaces could be regarded as a sacred site created for humans to enjoy, live, and prosper. However, these holy lands seldom have a voice of their own to cry out for protection from human abuses, and need people to aid them in the call for peace. When what many American Indian groups considered sacred lands were in the way of U.S. expansion and development, individuals had to come forth and proclaim the wonders and holiness of natural spaces. These re-enchantments with nature took root in many forms. Gibson pointed out that artists, photographers, hikers, campers, and poets would all play a part in movements that wished to protect the natural environment from the destructiveness of the modern world.

Gibson’s chapter on space exploration, Gaia, and the Greening of Religion poses a difficult question for those who literally believe in supernatural creation myths prominent in the Judeo-Christian tradition, Muslim teachings, and Hindu beliefs. Gibson questions the authorship of sacred documents and their intent. This section would especially difficult for Judeo-Christian and Muslim adherents’ belief concerning creation of life on Earth and how one should interact within it. Gibson tells the reader how the various authorships of the creation stories in Genesis are important in the development of a philosophy of how humans should interact with nature. Religious scholars and theologians suggest that the two different writers of the creation stories in Genesis, the “Priestly Writer” and the “Yahwist,” differ in their approaches as to how nature was to be regarded. The Priestly Writer, who lived sometime in the sixth century BCE, dealt with a social world controlled by Judaism, which was undoubtedly controlled by the upper class. Israel was occupied in this period, and Jews were forced into exile. Gibson argued that these realities highlighted the importance
of violence and domination over nature to religious leaders, and that these historical circumstances resulted in a view of the importance of environmental domination by the Priestly Writer.

Gibson continued his argument that contrary to its name and placement in Genesis, the Second Story of creation is thought to have preceded the Priestly Writer’s narrative, which was written between 1,000 and 800 BCE. According to Gibson, the Yahwist is called such due to partiality to the term “Yahweh” when referring to God. Gibson continued his argument of how important historical and social circumstances can alter social perception. He finalized this point by arguing that the Priestly Writer and his associates placed the Yahwist’s far older story of creation in a second and somewhat inferior place when the Old Testament was codified.

At the time of the Yahwist writing, the Jews living in Canaan practiced a pastoral lifestyle tying them to the land and their animals. Their stories of creation depended on oral traditions handed down from generation to generation. Being tied to land in such a way offered a different cosmology of creation than that told by The Priestly Writer. The Yahwist urged a personal relationship with land and animals while The Priestly Writer’s version stressed dominance over land and animals. Ultimately, religious beliefs developed from a trajectory of anthropocentrism, or bluntly that humans are above nature. Much of humanity was set on a trajectory that would suggest that humans were created to be in control of the Earth and decide its inhabitants’ futures.

Gibson continued with chapters on eco-warriors, loving the environment to death, and imitation wilderness areas. Each chapter examined the continuation of modern technology and economic development followed by movements of disenchantment culminating in re-enchantment with nature and the wilderness. Gibson utilized various sources that included sociologists, anthropologists, environmentalists, critical studies, and historians. In the chapter entitled “Loving the Environment to Death” Gibson demonstrated that loving a place, such as a mountain range, too much could be as harmful as having little regard for the environment. The case of Yosemite National Park is quite prominent. So many people now wish to visit the park, and do so by automobile that the air quality is often poorer than Los Angeles on the day of a Smog Alert. Gibson also explores the historic rise of American Indian reservations and their interest in providing economic resources by building modern gambling casinos. He demonstrates that this development is not the panacea of environmentalism envisioned by many environmentalist activists and traditional American Indians. Gibson also pointed out in this section of the book that Donald Trump and two other partners have invested 5 million dollars to try to get casinos developed on Indian land by financing would-be tribes; an interesting and somewhat shocking tidbit given Trump’s recent popularity among many neoconservative politicians and voters.

Gibson closed his list of historical disenchantments with modern tech and economic development movements followed once again by re-enchantment with nature movements with a chapter entitled “The Right-Wing War on the Land.” According to Gibson the re-enchantment movement came under a
deliberate, organized attack from the Christian Right, the Bush administration, and much of the business establishment. The Christian Right critique of environmentalism painted the environmental movement as possessing animistic tendencies, which Christian Right leaders argued were related to paganism. They likened it to the sins of idol worship. The Bush administration gathered these quasi-religious political troops wielding an anti-environmental covenant, which like a sword held aloft by the arm of the Lord cut environmental legislation back to the pre-civil rights era. These religious right-wing voters who viewed environmentalism as sinful became associated with a corporate elite who wished to dismantle years of environmental protection. This created a voting block that gave the Bush administration the authority to destroy years of environmental protection laws. It worked with great political success.

This now rabid right-wing Christian voting block began forcing their religious interpretations of the Bible via politics onto an unprotected and often disinterested populace. Their views were clearly associated with the Priestly Writer’s perspective. These religiously motivated voters would rally behind conservative politicians that agreed with their points of view. It is at this juncture where Gibson cleverly connected the history of the debate between The Priestly Writer and the Yahwist. By doing so, he clearly demonstrated the historic trajectory of what would later develop into a formerly unannounced Bush administration political platform as he and his administration sought re-election in 2004. Ultimately, the right-wing attack on the environment began to fail as U.S. citizens became disenchanted with the Bush economic package or lack thereof, which resulted in the worst economic meltdown in U.S. history since the Great Depression.

Gibson closed his book with two chapters entitled “Fighting Back” and “The Journey Ahead.” Bush era policies and their failures to yield promised financial success led the way for a new era of re-enchantment with nature. The journey ahead will prove difficult for many as the nation and many underserved groups within it once again grapple with development at the cost of our natural environs. Future politicians should take note that as many more people join the re-enchantment with nature movement, so will their voting behavior be affected in such a way as to reflect their preferences. Knowing this, Gibson ended his book with this observation, “The re-enchantment of nature-if coupled with political courage to act-offers a chance to remake the world.”
ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Sandra L. Barnes is a joint appointed Professor in the Dept. of Human and Organizational Development and the School of Divinity at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, TN. Her research and teaching areas include: Sociology of Religion, urban sociology, inequality, and African American studies. Some of her books include; *The Costs of Being Poor: A Comparative Study of Life in Poor Urban Neighborhoods in Gary, Indiana* (SUNY Press), *Subverting the Power of Prejudice: Resources for Individual and Social Change* (InterVarsity Press), and the edited volume with Juan Battle, *Black Sexualities: Probing Passions, Problems, and Policies*. Her articles have also been published in *SOCIAL FORCES, The Journal of African American Studies, Social Problems*, and *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*.

Emily R. Berthelot is an Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice at the University of Houston Downtown. Her research interests include violent offending and victimization, homicide studies, quantitative methodology, race/ethnicity and crime, and inequality and crime.

Troy Blanchard is Associate Professor of Sociology at Louisiana State University. His research interests include social inequality, demography, and applied sociology.

Timothy C. Brown is an Adjunct Professor of Sociology at the University of Houston. His research interests include deviance, criminology, community studies, social capital/social networks, and qualitative methods.

Thomas J. Mowen recently completed his MA in sociology at the University of Louisville, and is now pursuing a PhD at the University of Delaware. Currently, he serves as Managing Editor for the *International Review of Comparative Sociology*. His research interests include criminology, deviance and juvenile delinquency, and racial theory.

Phyllis Puffer is associate professor of sociology at Big Sandy Community and Technical College in Prestonsburg. After nearly 18 years in federal service, both uniformed and civilian, she returned to Michigan State University for a Ph.D. in sociology, with an interest in African government. She has traveled in 30 countries, mainly in the Third World, and recently made her fourth trip to Sub-Saharan Africa. She has published travel stories in the popular press as well as articles in academic journals.

Dan Shope is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Murray State University. His research interests include Environmental Sociology, Race, Class, and Gender, Medical Sociology, Political Economy, Population, Urban Sociology, Sociology of Sport, Popular Culture, Sociology of Music, and Appalachian Studies. He is currently working on *Shattered Class and Broken Dreams: Utilizing the Works of Michael De Certeau to Analyze the Lives of Deindustrialized Glass Workers in Huntington, West Virginia* for The Edwin Mellen Press. He recently published an article in *The Journal of Kentucky Studies* that explored methods of teaching Race Formation Theory to Introduction to Sociology students. He has also taught sociology courses at Bowling Green State University, Marshall University, and Morehead State University.
Clarence Talley received his PhD in sociology from the University of Maryland in 1989. His primary research area was social stratification and inequality in the United States with a focus on race, ethnicity, gender and social class. He was employed as an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Louisville where he taught a variety of courses including the one that he created as his department's milestone "Race in the US." Dr. Clarence Talley supervised numerous MA theses and mentored many of his young students to pursue a PhD program. In recent times, Dr. Clarence Talley expanded his research portfolio to include the African continent and the Caribbean and Latin America Regions. Unfortunately Dr. Clarence Talley passed away on January 28th, 2011 before this article was published. As he rests in peace, his ideas and spirit refuse to rest but live in and through his students and their good work.