Cultural psychology

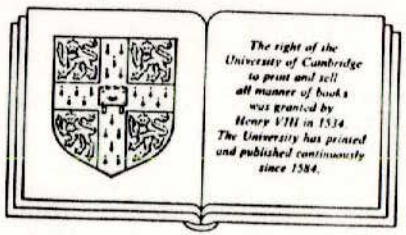
ESSAYS ON COMPARATIVE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

EDITED BY

James W. Stigler
Committee on Human Development
University of Chicago

Richard A. Shweder
Committee on Human Development
University of Chicago

Gilbert Herdt
Committee on Human Development
University of Chicago



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This book raises the idea of a new discipline of cultural psychology, the study of the ways that psyche and culture, subject and object, and person and world make up each other. *Cultural Psychology* is a collection of essays from leading scholars in anthropology, psychology, and linguistics who examine these relationships with special reference to core areas of human development: cognition, learning, self, personality dynamics, and gender. The chapters critically examine such questions as: Is there an intrinsic psychic unity to humankind? Can cultural traditions transform the human psyche, resulting less in psychic unity than in ethnic divergences in mind, self, and emotion? Are psychological processes local or specific to the sociocultural environments in which they are embedded?

The volume is an outgrowth of the internationally known Chicago Symposia on Culture and Human Development. It will appeal to an interdisciplinary audience of anthropologists, psychologists, linguists, historians, philosophers, and hermeneutists interested in the prospects for a new discipline of cultural psychology.

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The children of Trackton's children

SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE IN SOCIAL CHANGE

Shirley Brice Heath

The brief finale of *Middlemarch*, the celebrated tale of families in a Victorian community, opens with these lines:

> Every limit is a beginning as well as an ending. Who can quit young lives after being long in company with them, and not desire to know what befell them in their after-years? For the fragment of a life, however typical, is not the sample of an even web.

George Eliot then capsules in a few pages the lives of Middlemarch's young families as they lived them out beyond the period of time covered in the novel's preceding chapters. Eliot's reminder that any novel is reduction and selection pertains, of course, as well to ethnography. We feel the fragmentary nature of such accounts most especially perhaps when they have focused on children, and after we have closed the pages of such works, we cannot easily quit these young lives, knowing that the ethnographic present never remains as it is described, and we wonder what followed in the after-years.

Such curiosity applies especially to the young of groups known to be in the midst of rapid social change when the anthropologist chooses to write a description of their lives. This chapter looks in on such a community – southern black working-class families described initially during the turbulent years of the 1960s and 1970s. *Ways with Words: Language, Life, and Work in Communities and Classrooms* (1983) gives ethnographic accounts of how the children of two working-class communities in the southeastern United States learned to use language at home and school between 1969 and 1977. One community was Roadville, a group of white families steeped for four generations in the life of the textile mills, but set by the end of the 1970s on a path toward suburban living and careers in small businesses, education, and service industries. The other community was Trackton, a collection of black families traditionally bound to farming but seemingly inextricably tied to life in the textile mills by the end of the 1970s. Within five years after and end of the fieldwork in these two communities, neither existed any longer as a geographical entity. Roadville's families had moved into

I wish to acknowledge the helpful comments of Peggy Miller, of the Department of Education, University of Chicago, on this chapter.

either the largest towns of the region or to the suburbs of cities of the South, and the children of focus in the ethnography were either continuing their education or settling into their first jobs, planning ahead for homes and the beginning of their families. Trackton's families had become scattered, dispersed by the radical upheaval of the economic recession of the early 1980s, with its concomitant severe reduction in the number of textile mills in the Piedmont region of the Southeast. The children of two of the Trackton children introduced in the 1983 ethnography are the subject of this study. We look in on their lives, in one instance, in a high-rise low-income housing unit in Atlanta, and, in the other, in temporary housing in what is currently called "a black slum area" across town from the former neighborhood of Trackton.

The epilogue of *Ways with Words* reminded readers that the dramatic and widely varying social changes taking place for blacks in different geographic regions and economic settings following the War on Poverty and Black-Is-Beautiful movements of the 1960s and 1970s made it especially necessary to recognize that research on black cultures would increasingly be a study in diversity. There is no single black experience. In the geographic region of Trackton, the 1970s proved a time of apparent economic advancement for those blacks who worked in the textile mills. Both males and females had begun to work in the mills before finishing high school, because the mill offered "good pay." Their parents, often combining work on one shift at the mill with part-time domestic work or local construction jobs, sought to rent better housing, buy a place of their own or purchase their first car. But the recession of the early 1980s, accompanied by the dissolution of many of the small local textile mills and the closings or consolidations of the mills of several national textile corporations in response to foreign competition, wiped out the mills as the source of a secure economic future. The erosion by inflation of Trackton families' low wages even during periods of employment made saving impossible. The work opportunities available in the early 1970s through community-based employment provisions of the model cities program, and later the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), were short-lived, and after 1981 essentially no new public job programs for the young black poor existed. Those who turned to the aid for families with dependent children program (AFDC) found benefits much lower in real terms than they had been a decade earlier; increased stringency rulings forced fathers to remain "absent" members of what had become single-parent households and proscribed help to mothers from their older children living out of the household. In the 1960s and 1970s, Trackton families had chosen to remain independent of "the projects" of public housing and to rent instead small frame two-family units from absentee black landlords. By 1984, all of the "old-time" Trackton residents had given up hope of independence: Those with grown children moved about, taking turns staying with each child for short periods; families with young

children moved to cheaper temporary housing in the older part of town and put their names on the waiting list for public housing. Women who had in earlier days worked as domestics for some white families found when they inquired about such jobs in the mid-1980s that these families had engaged professional cleaning services and put their preschoolers in cooperative play groups or nursery schools. Men who had previously always been able to "pick up" local seasonal agricultural work found the farms and orchards of past years either closed or dependent on machinery for most harvesting tasks. Trackton's proud independent families, intent on "gettin' on" and full of the ideology of "changin' times" in the 1960s and 1970s, met daily in the mid-1980s poverty and dependency that allowed neither time nor inclination for considering the meaning of black movements, Martin Luther King's dream, or the promises of bygone interracial human relations councils.

It is customarily not the anthropologist, but the policy analyst or sociologist, who speaks of the effects of national policy shifts and global economic directions on the lives of members of sociocultural groups set apart in American society by ethnic, racial, geographic, or class boundaries. In 1987, several public figures who were also social scientists published reports of the resulting failed education, family dissolution, and increased percentage of children in poverty (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Edelman, 1987; Lefkowitz, 1987; Moynihan, 1987). The central focus of most of these studies was the dysfunctional nature of families and the impoverishing effects of changed social policies, tax laws, and the inadequacy of minimum-wage employment to sustain even very small families (e.g. in 1987 a full-time minimum-wage job provided 75% of the amount specified as poverty level for a family of three). These reports and the prediction from many that the major issue of the next presidential term would be social problems – especially the poverty of children – led me to turn again to the work of anthropologists who studied minority cultures in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. If we look, for example, at the studies of black communities, most reports, including my own (published in 1983 but based on fieldwork carried out between 1969 and 1981), described intact sociocultural groupings whose cultures were not "deficient," but variant and certainly equivalent in their way to the mainstream pattern. Legacies of African norms and social organizational adaptations to slavery had given black communities not only identifiable value systems and socialization processes, but also cultural ideologies they believed to be of their own creation and definition and of sufficient strength to enable them to push ahead. Key individuals – both nationally and locally – reinforced the significance (as well as the mystification) of these ideologies by linking them to a continued faith in education, the future of their youth, the centrality of religious conviction, and the power of the bonds of brotherhood and sisterhood among blacks.

But by the late 1980s the image both within and beyond many black communities had become largely one of poverty, dissolution, and strife

Nearly half of all black children lived in poverty, most of these in households headed by a mother under 25 years of age who had neither the education nor self-image to look for or to secure and sustain employment. Nearly 30% of the children entering school in inner cities in the fall of 1987 were born to school dropouts who were themselves still of school age. Moreover, the social scientist/public policy reporters of 1987 argued that although most of the publicity pointed to minority cultures, especially blacks, the trends for blacks foreshadowed those for whites: Between 1969 and 1984 the white child poverty rate went up two-thirds, while the black rate increased only one-sixth (Edelman, 1987:23–33). Relatively few anthropologists have studied closely the everyday-life meanings of these figures and trends among either minority or white communities in the United States. Yet long-term fieldwork in a single region or community builds the basis for continuing ties, and a close look at Trackton families – and especially the young unwed mothers of the late 1980s who were among the children of Trackton in the 1970s – offered me an opportunity to look behind the statistics currently put forward by policy makers to support the agendas for social change of the 21st century (Foster et al., 1979).

This chapter takes up three issues. The first is the question of the extent to which the meanings of cultural membership, played out in numerous texts by Trackton adults for and with their children during my earlier fieldwork, were retained and understood by the young sufficiently to be carried into their socialization practices with their own children. The collective shared and public symbols of Trackton seemed in the 1970s to be elaborated and highly interdependent; through nearly a decade of life with community members, I had seen them persevere in their ideas and values and enforce the sharing of ties to the collective indentity of their own community and black membership. Their everyday narratives and – of special interest to me – their verbal and nonverbal patterns of language socialization with their young, had seemed to fix and stabilize the identity of individuals as members of their own group and as outsiders to others' cultural groups. From their church services and joking rituals to their habits of jointly reading newspapers and retelling stories, they both performed and commented upon their performances of criss-crossing and redundant themes, as they alternately insulated themselves against the otherness of communities beyond them and yet admitted sometimes the need to build bridges to outside institutions that could secure predictable connections when they needed public services, commercial exchanges, and education. But in a totally different spatial setting, without family members or national media to replay either public or intimate symbols of community membership and black pride, would the cultural symbols and texts of their childhood be sufficiently sustained for adaptation in the socialization of a new generation?

This query leads to a second: What are the resources for adaptation within different symbols or cultural texts? and what difference does

the degree of time spent with local community-created and sustained symbols, as opposed to mass-produced ones, make to the vitality of one's identification as a member of any sociocultural body? Much has been written about the nature of adaptation, and radically different types of evidence have been used to determine whether aspects of human behavior can be interpreted as strategies of individuals to promote their fitness in specific social and cultural contexts (Mulder, 1987). During the 1960s and 1970s, social historians and anthropologists of Afro-America agreed that numerous patterns of language use, male–female relations, and parent–child bonding evolved during the decades of slavery and promoted the preservation of blacks under slavery in the New World (Levine, 1977; Whitten & Szwed, 1970). Considerable disagreement has followed, however, on the extent to which the particular habits that made positive contributions under slavery, and within a society rigidly divided along occupational and educational lines, now serve negative ends. Currently, America's postindustrial society, so highly dependent on literate-based communication, holds to the ideal of the nuclear family and the value of multiplex linkages to institutions beyond the family. In a climate of these values, black oral traditions, extended real and fictive kin linkages, and primary ties beyond the family centering in religious affiliations may well confer disadvantages (Black Family Summit, 1984; Blau, 1981; Ogbu, 1981).

My third concern relates specifically to the comparative differences between the socialization of Trackton's children in the 1970s and the children of those children in the late 1980s. Language socialization is a lifelong process in which individuals learn to communicate competently across contexts and experiences. The rate of change and conditions of change are crucial here. This concern derives from both the current debates over the relative places of orality and literacy and my own efforts to consider the cross-cultural contexts of a dependence on written artifacts for oral performances, often taken to be the fundamental forms of cultural knowledge. Perhaps, naively, the epilogue of *Ways with Words* suggested that language socialization patterns lay deeply embedded within certain cultural frames, such as family loyalties, space and time orderings, problem-solving techniques, and preferred patterns of recreation – all resistant to externally imposed social changes. Hence, habits of language socialization were likely to change only very slowly and in concert with shifts in these broader activities, values, and organizations.

Language socialization in Trackton

Any study of language socialization carries the goal of understanding both how language is used to socialize the young to become competent members of their cultures and how youngsters learn to use language as part of the totality of social understandings they must gain. "Language socialization research looks for world view–language connections as

expressed through forms and functions of language use. It looks for cultural information not only in the content of discourse but in the organization of discourse as well" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Talk, as well as talk about talk, nonverbal reinforcements of spoken and written language, written artifacts, and the activities and role regulations that frame all of these become the texts that those who study language socialization attempt to study.

In the years of fieldwork in Trackton, adults of the community talked of their children "comin' up." On the porches of their small two-family units and on the plaza that fronted them, they surrounded their youngsters with the talk and activities of children and adults in the midst of everyday activities. They valued children's early nonverbal displays that indicated they had been watching and learning from life around them. They encouraged independent – sometimes even physically dangerous – ventures by young children. In contrast to the assertions of the bulk of studies of parents interacting with young children acquiring language, they did not simplify their talk to children or even feel the need to address them directly. They did not have special routines of question-and-answer displays or baby-talk games, and they did not offer the labels for items of the environment to their children. Instead, they expected that children would learn to talk "when they need to," and to judge when and to whom to give information and to be "wise" and cautious about answering "foolish" questions. Their philosophy of "what's done is done" seemed to keep them from asking children to recount verbally what they had done or were currently doing, unless adults believed children had information adults needed. The display of knowledge through talking about what was done could invite ridicule or punishment, unless offered as a poetic, clever, entertaining, and quasi-fictional narrative that could be jointly constructed by initiator and audience. (For some indication of the sharp contrast between these views and those held by mainstream families, see Heath, in press-a, and Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984.)

As soon as they could toddle, boys became public objects of verbal teasing, and successful verbal retorts could command attention from spectators on several porches. They learned a string of alternative ways of expressing similar meanings as well as alternative ways of performing the same utterance – always a well-formed short sentence with a variety of semantic values and contexts for interpretation. Adults and older children played different roles at different times with toddlers, who were expected to adapt, coperform, and learn that roles did not rest in a single individual, but in widely distributed types of performances across the community. Of children, especially boys, adults said: "Gotta watch hisself by watchin' other folks."

Girl babies entered the same general world as boys of swirling multiparty talk, shifting roles, and widely distributed functions of child caring. As toddlers they did not enter the public stage for the same kind of teasing as boys, although they watched their male peers undergo such

public immersions. Carried about on the hips of older girls, they entered their games and banter, talked to themselves replaying conversations about them, and acted out fussin' routines with their dolls, and, throughout the preschool years, with younger children. All infants and young children accompanied adults to church services, and as they grew older, the girls took part in junior choirs and summer choir trades arranged among black churches during summer revival meeting times.

As they began to attend school, Trackton boys and girls spent some after-school time outside the community, but the neighborhood worried considerably about the whereabouts of young girls. Although accepted as inevitable, early pregnancies were the reason given for trying to keep young girls close under the watchful eye of adults. Yet the community valued children as children, not as the offspring of a combination of particular individuals; thus, although the pregnancy was protested, the child was not, and, from 1969 through 1986, no girl in Trackton completed the teenage years without having at least one baby. The particular father or mother mattered little in the 1970s; the neighborhood seemed glad to have a child. Almost invariably, the baby became part of the family under the fulltime care of the mother of the teenager, who returned to high school and the usual social life of other teenage girls.

Two of these teenage mothers provide the cases for discussion here. The first is Zinnia Mae, the middle daughter of a blind diabetic mother. A large girl who was a favorite target of the taunts of peers in the neighborhood and at school, she had her first child at age 14. Trackton judged her situation as especially unfortunate, because her mother was not able to keep her baby, and the boy's father's family never took any interest in the baby. The child went to the oldest sister who lived across town and took the baby into her household to raise and to become her own. Zinnia Mae returned to school, but at 16, the legal age for "quitting" school, she and a girlfriend unknown within Trackton ran away to Atlanta, where Zinnia Mae had three more children, a girl and twin boys, within the next two years.

The second case is that of Sissy, the next to the oldest child in a family of five children. Within Trackton, her household, headed by a strong-minded mother held in high respect by the community, served as a collecting place for other children of the neighborhood during the 1970s. Her mother, Lillie Mae, worked intermittently in several textile mills, and her father supplemented his work on a construction crew with second-shift work at one of the mills. In 1981, after failing in repeated attempts to get steady mill work, he left the family, and Lillie Mae had to move to temporary housing and put her name on the waiting list for public housing. The oldest child in the family, Tony, finished four years at a small college within the state, and after two years of living at home and helping his mother with contributions from the local part-time work he could find, he took a computer training course, found a job within state government, and left home. Between 1982 and 1987, Lillie Mae

and the four children at home lived on her welfare check, occasional small checks coerced from the children's father when authorities could find him, and, since Tony left home, the few secret supplements he could send from time to time. Local public housing officials explained the delay in her obtaining public housing by telling her that her family was "too big" for their available units. Sissy became pregnant during her junior year in high school, dropped out of school briefly to have the baby, gave over care of the baby boy, Denny, to her mother, returned to graduate from high school, and continued to live at home while attending a local technical school part-time. For a while, she worked part-time at a local fast-food restaurant, but her wages threatened the larger welfare check her mother received, and she was forced to quit. The baby's father and his family took care of the baby on one weekend every 6 weeks or so, and they bought him presents and some supplies on these visits.

The move to urban life

The high-rise public housing apartment unit in which Zinnia Mae and her three children live looks like any of thousands of others built in American inner cities in the 1960s. The six-story concrete unit in which she lives is only one of eight, each of which covers a city block, in a downtown section of Atlanta. The units surround an internal dirt plot on which parts of swings, see-saws, and tire mazes spring from clusters of dry wiry grass and weeds. Two broken wooden benches that once bordered one side of the plot now stand on one end facing each other and forming a narrow miniature prison that mocks the taller versions that surround it in the form of the apartment units.

Soon after she turned 16, Zinnia Mae and Gloria Sue, a girlfriend who was 17, caught a ride to Atlanta with some young men they met at a local disco. Once in Atlanta, both girls stayed for a while with Gloria Sue's grandmother, but within a few months, she threw Zinnia Mae out for "sassin'" her. Zinnia Mae telephoned her older sister, who had become the virtual mother of the boy Zinnia Mae had when she was 14, asked for bus fare home, and was told there was no money to send. For nearly three years, no one in Trackton heard from Zinnia Mae, and those missing months remain a mystery. Her sister heard from her again in early 1985, when she telephoned to say she wanted to see her boy, she was living in Atlanta, had a little girl who was a year old, and she was expecting twins.

Although her sister had neither money nor inclination to send the boy to Zinnia Mae, she asked me to take pictures of the child to her if I was ever in Atlanta. A series of phone calls to Zinnia Mae opened the way for me to visit her in mid-1985 when her girl, Donna, was 16 months old, and her twin boys were only 2 months old. When I telephoned, she asked to meet me at a local fast-food restaurant and she took me to her apartment from there. Although a hundred pounds heavier than she had

been as a teenager, Zinnia Mae still walked the skipping walk she had years earlier, and she smiled as timidly as she had in response to the neighborhood teases. We walked up the six flights of stairs ("the elevator don't work yet"), and in the living room of her apartment, we found a 12-year-old neighbor's child "mindin' the babies" who left when Zinnia Mae handed her a dollar bill. Zinnia Mae asked about my children, and we settled into talk of old acquaintances. When she asked about her son, I handed her the envelope of photographs. She held each one up to the light, looked at it silently, and gave them back, saying, "He's sure cute, ain't he?" She asked what I had been doing, and when I told her I was still trying to figure out how kids learned to talk, she said she wondered if her little girl would ever learn. While we had been talking, the child had been lying quietly sucking on a pacifier on the mattress on the floor where her child caregiver had left her. I assured Zinnia Mae that she would surely learn, she was young yet, and asked how Zinnia Mae spent her days with her children. She answered "Well, I ain't havin' no more, that's for sure. I have my tubes tied when the twins came. I've done all I'm doin' for menfolks who just pick up and leave when the music's gone." She paused, looked out the window, and then picked up my earlier question. "My days, you know, I just do what I can, can't get away much, watch some TV, try to keep 'em clean, get some groceries now and then." She volunteered that she had tried to get some work back before the twins came, but she could only find part-time dishwashing work at $4.25 an hour, and her welfare check gave her more than that. The babies' father sometimes used to bring formula and diapers and gave her cash for food and makeup.

Before I left that first visit, she mentioned again about wondering if her girl would learn to talk. Trying to reassure her, I bet her that the child had already begun to talk some, but Zinnia Mae just might not notice since there weren't any older children around for her little girl to play with. She laughed and said: "You bet there ain't. I can't haul her up and down those six flights of steps to get her out with them other kids, and the place in here is too cramped as it is; I sure can't have nobody else's babies in here, so me and Donna, we pretty much stay in here with the babies by ourselves 'cept when I get the neighbor girl to come in so I can go get some food for us to eat, 'n my girlfriends, they come by sometimes, but they don't like to climb them steps either." I suggested that she might hear Donna talk if she tape-recorded some of the hours during the day while she was bathing, dressing, and feeding her. Zinnia Mae agreed this might be a fun idea. I left and returned that afternoon with two tape recorders, several boxes of tapes, and a notebook and pencil. Zinnia Mae agreed to turn the tape recorder on for several hours on several days each week and to write down what she and Donna had been doing while the tape was being made. (For a discussion of this participatory data collection technique used with another dropout mother, see Heath & Branscombe, 1985; Heath & Branscombe, 1986.)

Between mid-1985 and mid-1987, Zinnia Mae taped over four hundred hours and wrote approximately 1,000 lines of notes about her activities. The two of us met together about every 6 months, listened to certain tapes together, and talked about what was happening on the tapes and in her notes. During these years, she remained on welfare, stayed in the same apartment, and remained unsuccessful in either obtaining work or getting Donna into a day-care center. She had two hospitalizations, both as a result of falls, and one of the twins had to be hospitalized once for a bronchial infection.

Analysis of Zinnia Mae's data through superimposing portions of the notes and tapes on those collected at similar ages for Trackton's children revealed four primary resources for organizing language socialization: spatial and time allotments, access to coparticipants and audience, availability of props (animate and inanimate), and the affective tone or mood of interactions.

The everyday life of Donna and her younger brothers was played out in the living room, bedroom, and bathroom of Zinnia Mae's apartment. Since the small kitchen opened off the living room, and a table sat at its entry, there was no available space for them in the kitchen. In the bedroom, Donna slept in her mother's bed and the twins on a pallet on the floor; in the living room, all three children played on both the floor – on a small mattress in the corner – and the sofa set before the television set. The six flights of stairs and the lack of either available outdoor space for sitting or easy transportation with three small children were the reasons Zinnia Mae gave for not taking the children out. After Donna could walk well and climb the steps on her own, Zinnia Mae took her to the grocery store with her once or twice a week. They walked the two-and-a-half blocks to the store, Donna sat in the cart, and they walked back – Donna carrying small packages and walking alone, while her mother usually held packages in both arms. The twins remained in the apartment with the teenage neighbor girl. Once every 2 or 3 weeks, she took sheets and towels to the nearby laundromat, and Donna went with her and waited, sitting on the high orange plastic chair in the waiting area.

As preschoolers, Zinnia Mae and her peers had lived primarily on the porches of Trackton's houses and in the dirt plaza out front. They rarely went into the homes of others, and unless the weather was exceptionally bad, they spent very few of their daylight hours inside their own family's house. Because there were few cars in Trackton, a trip to the supermarket occurred rarely, and the available shared space in any car making the trip went to adults. A small neighborhood grocery was within walking distance, and adults sent the community's neighborhood children there to buy what was needed. On any of these trips, older children would ask permission to carry toddlers astride their hips, often using some of the money they received for doing the errand to buy candy for the youngster. Infants and toddlers went to church with their families whenever car space was available. Those children whose fathers

did not live within Trackton often went to spend weekends with their father's mother or other relatives.

Time allotments for preschool children in Trackton and Zinnia Mae's household seemed on the surface very similar. For the majority of time, the children's mothers did not work outside the home, and when Trackton mothers did, they depended on older children or made reciprocal arrangements with neighbor friends to take care of the youngest ones. Beneath the surface evidence, however, patterns of time usage differed greatly. Trackton mothers seemed "busy." Inside the house they cleaned and washed or got a big washing together to take to the nearby laundromat; each morning they prepared food that sat on the stove available for stand-up meals throughout the day. Once a day, at least, clocks in both the bedroom and the living room roused sleepers to get off to their shiftwork, and alerted family members who had moved out onto the front porch to their duty of making sure no one overslept. On the porch, women took whatever work they could bring outside: beans to string, mending to do, magazines to look through, newspapers to read, potatoes to peel, or the cigarette for relaxation. There, even without tasks to keep their hands busy, they always found neighbors who either joined them or walked by, and there were always children in the plaza to watch, tease, and scold. Gossip, quarrels, retold stories, chewed-over newspaper or mail items, and interactions with children on the plaza filled the air with sounds of busy-ness.

Zinnia Mae, in contrast, never described herself as "busy" but always as "overworked" or "tired." She woke with the children, changed diapers, fixed bottles for the twins and cereal for Donna, ate some toast and smoked a cigarette, closed the bedroom door, so the children would stay in the living room, and turned on the television before she sat down on the sofa. She had no clock in the house, but told time by matching television programs to *TV Guide* listings. When any of her girlfriends were not working, and when she had money to keep a telephone, she would call them and talk, often comparing notes on a particular television game show or soap opera. The pace of her life varied not at all for Saturdays or Sundays, except through the occasional extra availability of her girlfriends on the weekends for short visits. Zinnia Mae kept movie and television star magazines her girlfriends sometmes brought, and she would often thumb through these or the free advertisements for department and grocery stores that came to all the apartment mailboxes.

Each day, after she gave the children their morning meal, Zinnia Mae put the children down in the living room "to play." Donna centered her activities around the mattress, playing sometimes with utensils or plastic dishes from the kitchen, and as the twins got older, both she and they made a game of climbling on and off the sofa, hiding under the table at the kitchen entry or under the coffee table on which the television sat. They had no set meal of the day other than their breakfast, but the children called for food whenever they felt hungry or seemed bored.

Donna fed herself and the children to break the boredom of daylight hours. Zinnia Mae planned trips to the grocery or laundromat on the basis of need and the availability and mood of the neighbor's teenager who was not always anxious to sit with the twins. She made the bed, swept the floor, and cleaned the kitchen or bathroom if she knew a girlfriend was coming by, and often on the days when she came home from the laundromat. Thus her time seemed to flow endlessly with few interruptions, but engagement with or activities carried out directly with her children came rarely. The following episode illustrates the language and social interactional aspects of daily life. The episode took place when Donna was 2;4 and the twins were 1;2.

[Donna picks up a movie magazine and begins tearing out its pages to place the separate pages around the living room floor. Zinnia Mae sits on the sofa watching a gameshow and hears the tearing pages.]

Zinnia Mae: Hey, what do you think you're doing? [sounds of pages rustling and furniture movement]
Donna: Makin' places, see, here?
Zinnia Mae: You ain't tearin' up my books; get them playtoys over there. You hear? Shhh, I cain't hear.
[sound of plastic banging on the floor]
Zinnia Mae: Now, what you doin'? I told you I cain't hear. Put that thing down, I say.
[Donna begins to cry.]

This episode characterizes the types of interactions that filled the tapes, that took place on my visits, and that Zinnia Mae wrote of in her notes:

Monday: Watched TV, Donna eat cheers [Cheerios], babies cry and I catch Donna give cheers; she make a house under the chair. [Jan 9, 1986]

In a random selection of 20 hours of the tapes made over the 2 years, approximately 14% of recording sessions included talk between Zinnia Mae and any of her children. During these encounters, she asked direct questions about the children's immediate actions, offered comment on those actions (and her response to them), and gave directions or requested certain actions, usually in exchanges of talk that lasted less than 1 minute. During those sessions that contained more than four contingent exchanges between mother and child, 92% took place when someone else was in the room. A girlfriend or the neighbor girl as audience seemed to provoke talk as performance and invitations for others to comment on the children. Following the episode in which Donna had "set places," Zinnia Mae reported this to a visiting girlfriend (partly as explanation for the torn magazine). Seemingly speaking directly to Donna, she asked: 'You think you gonna be a waitress or something?" She then explained to her girlfriend that she and Donna had stopped at Burger King on the way home from the grocery last week, and Donna had liked the place mats. She then said "You ate

them fries and drank that coke down." During these exchanges, Donna started several times to tell the girlfriend something that is unintelligible on the tape, but Zinnia Mae explained on hearing the tape several weeks later that Donna wanted to let the girlfriend know that she (Zinnia Mae) had spilled part of her coke, and it had run down off the table into Donna's lap. The intonational pattern and the length of sustained talk provide evidence that Donna was trying to offer some account of a past event – no doubt, the one her mother remembered as having made a considerable impression on Donna at the time.

The availability of coparticipants and audience, as well as access to props, was limited to girlfriends and neighbor girl, visits to the grocery and laundromat, and the usually traumatic visits to the doctor's office. In a large shoe box near the mattress, Donna had several plastic toys bought at the grocery store, pieces of a blanket, several plastic spoons and food cartoons, and a collection of fuzzy animals brought by Zinnia Mae's girlfriends. The twins inherited these toys and acquired in addition a small rubber ball, a roller skate abandoned in the apartment entryway downstairs, and several plastic cars. Zinnia Mae rarely brought anything into the living room, except diaper boxes, food items, or cigarettes. Occasionally, she left the open grocery bags on the living room floor for the children to crawl in and out of.

Zinnia Mae's most frequent words were "I'm so tired." She rarely laughed, except in response to something on television or to a jesting approach from one of her girlfriends. She met the needs her children made known for food, water, clean diapers, relief from pain, and occasional physical help (being lifted onto a sofa, into a chair, etc.). She held and hugged all the children when her mood was good and they approached her; she did not hit at them or push them away roughly. The tapes and her own talk about her notes and the tapes reveal that she waited for the children to address or approach her most of the time. In only 13 instances within the hours of taping did she initiate talk to one of the children that was not designed to give them a brief directive or query their actions or intentions. She once told Donna to come sit beside her to see the puppet on television, twice asked one of the twins to give her a bite of cookie and talked about why she liked that particular kind of cookie, and once she said to Donna that someone on television looked like one of her girlfriends. On 9 occasions, she talked to the children as a result of introducing some written artifact to them.

Often while watching television or sitting at the kitchen table smoking a cigarette, she read magazines and advertisements. She sometimes talked with her girlfriends about the magazine materials, commenting on the differences between two stories, changed events in the lives of certain television or movie stars, and certain hair styles or dress styles she liked or disliked. She read the advertisements to see pictures of hair and clothing styles and to learn about special sales at the only grocery store near enough for her to walk to. Her primary purposes for reading were thus instrumental and social interactional/recreational. She wrote

as an aid to memory and occasionally to record financial records related to medicaid, food stamps, or her welfare payments. On three occasions, she brought Donna's attention to a magazine or paper by pointing to an object foreign to the child (swimming pool, horse, and large helium-filled balloon). She then asked her to look at the picture, named it, and commented on the item ("that's like a big bathtub," "you see one of them on TV," "that'll take you right up into the air"). Four times, she gave Donna a page of advertisements and a pencil and told her to draw; she circled one of the items to demonstrate what she meant. On two other occasions, she showed the children a cartoonlike figure in an advertisement that looked like one of the Saturday morning cartoon figures, saying "You know him, you seen him on TV." (For further treatment of the influence of literacy artifacts on prompting demonstration-type talk by mothers who do not otherwise point out environmental items and name them for their children, see Heath & Thomas, 1984; Heath & Branscombe, 1984.)

In summary, the language socialization resources of Trackton and Zinnia Mae's apartment contrast sharply along nearly every dimension of interaction. The spatial – and resultant social – isolation forced the great majority of interactions with her children to be dyadic rather than multiparty, as was the case in Trackton's open and shifting arena of speakers and listeners and play and work. In the absence of audience, almost no playful and teasing episodes, or requested routines or demonstration of physical feats by the children took place. The public dimensions of socialization in Trackton multiplied the number of interlocutors, events, genres, and goals of talking and listening for young and old. Without actors of her preceding generation to socialize her by direct and indirect teaching, and without the actors and props of her own socialization, Zinnia Mae did not assume a key role in enabling her children to learn to use language across a wide variety of genres, styles, and functions. Cut off from the family and community of her childhood, and walled in a transient community of people who remained strangers to her, Zinnia Mae's own language socialization had been brought to a halt. For most of her waking hours each day of the week, she was a passive spectator of television and movie or TV magazines, and a passive listener to the episodes of the worlds her girlfriends frequent. Her active engagement in spoken and written language resided primarily in instrumental exchanges. In her taped exchanges with her girlfriends, they talked nearly 80% of the time, and her contributions centered on queries about the events they told of, changes in welfare check rulings, or problems with medicaid, apartment tenants, and getting someone to stay with the twins while she shopped. Any talk of the future in her language was of the near future: how to get the papers to the welfare office, when Donna might start talking, whether day-care rulings might change, and what she would do if she could get her hands on the children's father who stopped sending money shortly after the twins were born. She did not talk of distant future events or ac-

complishments for the children or herself. The only group she talked of belonging to was "us women" – a term she used to signify females without male companions, mothers of young children without fathers, and competitors for welfare resources.

Rarely involved in manipulative activities (such as sewing) for any extended period of time, and engaging in these without talk of the activities while they were in process, Zinnia Mae could provide few occasions for guided or collaborative tasks with her children, few chances for mother and children to coconstruct tasks or talk for more than a fleeting minute or so. One exception to this relative absence of opportunities for guided interactions in task accomplishment was sweeping the floor. Once Donna was old enough to stand alone, she leaned on the broom as Zinnia Mae pushed it about, and later one of Donna's favorite activities was to try to sweep by herself. During these events, Zinnia Mae gave directives, sometimes laughed, and offered encouragement or admonishments after Donna initiated talk during the process. For Zinnia Mae, time did not flow between work – or accomplishful activities – and play or leisure. On the few occasions when she went out to interview for a job or tried a job for a few weeks (usually at the instigation of one of her girlfriends), she came back talking about those jobs (washing dishes in fast-food restaurants or waitressing) as "kids' jobs." She was convinced that employers wouldn't put anyone "as big and fat as me out there shoveling food in front of other people." Zinnia Mae expected the few people she met outside her apartment to hold the same opinions she held; their intentions, she judged by the immediate effect of their actions on her.

Staying home

The climate of despair about American inner cities that developed in the mid-1980s makes it easy to see Zinnia Mae's cultural membership as created (or obliterated) by her particular location and exacerbated by her own physical condition. Without contemporary accounts of the everyday life of other inner-city household units, the uniqueness of her situation is difficult to judge. It is, however, possible to compare the language socialization of her children with that of another young Trackton mother, Sissy, who did not leave home.

When Sissy had her first child at 16, she and her mother, Lillie Mae, and brothers and sisters had moved from Trackton to temporary housing to await placement in public housing. Located on a long street lined with shade trees, the house into which they moved had long been abandoned by the white families who used to live in this area of town. Without paint, running water, or heat, the single-family dwelling offered primarily a roof and four walls when Lillie Mae moved in. Now owned by a black man who lived "up North," the house rented on a short-term basis for $150 a month. Lillie Mae, Tony, and the older children set about clearing the weeds in the front yard, putting the

bricks back into the sidewalk, patching holes in the floor, painting, and hounding the landlord to get a gasline run into the house. Sissy's baby, Denny, arrived within a few months of the move and slept in the bed with Lillie Mae and Sissy. From the outset, Lillie Mae and Tony took charge of the baby, carrying him about wherever they sat in the living room to visit or watch television. They knew no one in the neighborhood, made up primarily of transients waiting to go elsewhere, except Lillie Mae's cousin who lived several houses down and around the corner on a street of small well-kept houses owned by black families.

The competitive spirit of the families who came and went on Lillie Mae's street kept any long-term associations from building up. Most of the households consisted of women and children waiting to get into public housing and living on welfare. Those men who maintained close connections with their families usually lived with their mothers and aunts in another part of town, staying away from their own women and children to ensure continuation of AFDC payments. Some worked in other parts of the state on construction sites and came to town only occasionally. Few of the houses had front porches and those that did were ususally filled with visiting family and friends who came by car on weekends. On these occasions, a mix across generations talked, teased, prepared to go to special church services, or planned coming weekend events.

Within Lillie Mae's house, Denny had Sissy's three brothers and younger sister to take him with them when they went to the nearby service station/grocery store or on errands to the cousin's house. When Denny was 8 months old, Lillie Mae agreed to tape-record half an hour or so several times each week when the baby was awake, and Sissy wrote several lines each week describing the baby's activities and the contexts of the tape recordings. These recordings began in December 1986 and continued through October 1987, when Denny was 18 months old. In addition, I visited about every 2 months. During most of the first 6 months of taping, Denny was a listener and spectator to multiparty interactions primarily in the living room and kitchen and at the cousin's house, where some of the taping was done. Denny's spatial world extended from this house to the corner store and three times to church services. His toys, contributed primarily by the cousin and Tony, stayed in a box in a corner of the living room and included a wooly puppy, large plastic ball, two cast-off hats from older boys, plastic eggs that came in two parts, and a toy gun holster found in the yard. He played with these or howled whenever he was not taken up as a toy himself by one or the other of the older children, who encouraged him to learn to crawl, sit up, walk, kick, and to resist their teasing. They let him play school with them from time to time when they did their homework, and from the time he was 16 months old, they kept him away from their books by giving him crayons and paper bags to draw on while they worked. Major responsibility for Denny rested with Lillie Mae, and, in days of tension over no word from the housing authority or threatened cuts in her

check, she spoke harshly to Denny and chided Sissy for "doing nutn' to help us out." Sissy spent as much time as possible out of the house at the technical school, where she was taking a "modeling course." She and her girlfriends carpooled to nearby shopping centers, where they told Lillie Mae they had to do "homework." Unlike the days before the textile mills closed, Lillie Mae and her oldest children, Tony and Sissy, found few common work experiences outside the home to talk about. The stuff of shared stories, complaints, and jokes about working in the mill was no more, and a lot of talk at home focused on frustrations, disappointments, and anger over the failure to find work, to hear from the housing authority, or to keep the landlord from raising the rent.

Lillie Mae pored over the papers that came in the mail from various authorities and asked Tony to interpret them and write some kind of answer. Each day she read the local paper as well as the advertising brochures that came in the mail. While doing so, she often held Denny on her lap. She sometimes walked to her cousin's house with the paper, where they read and talked about local events. Her instrumental uses of reading and writing related primarily to keeping track of applications for housing, welfare, and medicaid, and occasionally writing a letter to relatives up North. She gave up going to church except on rare occasions when an out-of-town relative with a car came to take her. Tony went regularly, read church materials at home, and kept his college books around to read from time to time. Once he started computer training, he was rarely at home, and when he got a full-time job, he took his books and moved out on his own. On his visits, he sometimes helped the younger children with their homework, and Denny was always party to these occasions.

When they had tasks to do in the house or errands to run, he went along as well, and as soon as he could stand, he was sent on errands within the household and told to pick up things from the floor. By 13 months, he echoed end bits and pieces of the talk of those around him, usually with no acknowledgment that he was talking by the adults or older children present. When they initiated talk to him, they asked him to name family members or stop doing something they objected to. At 18 months, his vocabulary consisted of names of family members and two fixed phrases that he varied in two moods – happy and angry: "get it," and "open it." He called Lillie Mae "Ma" and all other family members by their given or nicknames. This pattern of language development matches that of Trackton's children, which moved through three stages: (1) a repetition stage, in which they picked up and repeated chunks of phrasal and clausal utterances of speakers around them; (2) a repetition with variation stage in which they manipulated pieces of the conversations they picked up from the discourse around them; (3) participation, usually reached around 2 years of age, during which they attempt to bring their own talk into that of adult conversation, making themselves part of the ongoing discourse (Heath, 1983: chap. 3).

Interaction time with Sissy differed little in flavor from time with all other members of the family (including the neighbor cousin) except Lillie Mae, who always kept watch over his whereabouts and inclusion in others' activities. On his monthly visits to the home of his father's parents (who called him their "gran"), he went with them to church, choir practices, shopping centers, and the grocery store. The 40 hours of tape and 10 pages of notes collected over 10 months indicate that during approximately 40% of the taped time at least three people were engaged in conversations that surrounded both work and leisure time (visiting, watching television, washing dishes, preparing to go somewhere). Talk consisting of more than a vocative or term of endearment directed specifically to Denny occurred on only 12 occasions, 10 of them bunched in the first few tapings and, no doubt, artificial performances for the benefit of the tape recorder. The two exceptions were teasing exchanges in the seventh and eighth months of taping. On both these occasions, Tony tried to get Denny to wear his hat and Denny kept throwing it on the floor. Tony repeatedly asked Denny who he thought he was, how he was going to the store without a hat, and where his hat was. Denny and Tony played this game on each occasion for more than five minutes, Denny interjecting "get it," each time he threw the hat on the floor.

Symbols in adaptation

Let's return to the question of the extent that Zinnia Mae and Sissy – as young mothers – now demonstrate that they sufficiently understood and retained the narratives, rituals, and everyday rhythm of their socialization as cultural members in Trackton, to adapt them in current circumstances. Although Trackton residents during the 1960s and 1970s saw their time there as temporary and hoped to "move on," they cohered as a group in their waiting. Although respectables separated themselves from the "real" transients and the "no-counts," the community's connections across residents of all ages met in their attempts to get and keep jobs, to enjoy weekends, to keep up on the news, and to keep from being "pulled down" by hard circumstances. The Black-Is-Beautiful spirit of the public media and the prominence given to black concerns through model city, CETA, head start, and human relations councils only added vocabulary and slogans for their performances and sometimes instrumental access to goods and services within their power. The intense publicity surrounding the first few years of desegregation, amidst frequent school shifts and openings and closings, gave them a sense of being players in a larger drama than that of their own small neighborhood. They read the local paper, shared news of events and people, and sustained a sense of connection as members to the outside world. Their young heard and felt much from these societal shifts in school, but only Tony, 8 years old when he moved to Trackton, could remember what came before in the slum dwellings

across the tracks on the outskirts of town. He intensified his sense of otherness by going to a predominately white Southern college.

Those just behind him, such as Zinnia Mae and Sissy, remembered nothing before Trackton, and as children they listened to tales of cotton fields, dimestore counter sit-ins, and race riots with less involvement than to tales of last weekend's dance. Today, for Zinnia Mae and Sissy alike, the struggles are of the individual, not of the group, and the enemies are shifting, faceless, and largely unseeable – rulings, paperwork, neighbors downstairs or down the street who breed cockroaches or report to the welfare worker that Tony brought extra money home to Lillie Mae last week. In earlier days, the black church preached and sang of group struggles and the strength to be gained in comradeship, faith, and perseverance. Neither Zinnia Mae nor Sissy is connected to a black church or any other institution of voluntary membership.

These case studies suggest the power of groupings and allegiances beyond the immediate family to give a sustaining ideology of cultural membership. The sense of belonging was punctuated for Trackton's members by the black church (and its affiliated organizations, such as choirs), constant access to several generations and their tales of history, as well as the availability of commentators on the current scene (played by Trackton members who read their newspapers in porch groupings, listened to Trackton's self-appointed "mayor" talk about the human relations council, etc.). Moreover, recent sociological research underscores the importance of such contacts for the academic and mental health of young minorities – especially blacks. In a comparative study of black dropouts and high school graduates in Chicago, those who graduated found support in a system of school and community associations, as well as church attendance; 72% of the graduates reported regular church attendance, whereas only 14% of the dropouts did (Williams, 1987). In a Boston study, positive effects on the academic success of children came with the association of their mothers with organizational ties beyond the family (and with friends who had such ties also), nondenominational religious affiliations, and stability in the labor force over a number of years (Blau, 1981). Acceptance and assimilation within institutions beyond the home for both parent and child provide positive carryovers for mental health, academic retention, and job stability. Alienation from family and community – and subsequently school – appear to play a more critical role in determining whether or not a student finishes high school than the socioeconomic markers of family income, education level, and so on (Williams, 1987). For Sissy and Zinnia Mae, in the absence of such associations of sustenance and reinforcement of cultural membership, the intimate symbols of connectedness, pride, and perseverance have left them seemingly unable to adapt their own socialization for that of the next generation or to recreate new foundations of togetherness.

But what of the resources for adaptation that might lie within the

symbols of the culture of their childhood? Were the porch tales, teasings, newspaper readings, church services, fussings, and other public performances sufficiently identified as theirs for their significance to be maintained? These texts of Trackton carried much of the same significance and ideological weight as similar performances detailed for other black communities (e.g., Baugh, 1983; Folb, 1980; Smitherman, 1977). Persistence, assertive problem solving, and adaptability – especially in human relations – emerge as primary individual and group survival characteristics from these texts. In addition, authoritative – firm but supportive – human bondings stand out as those most desirable (Spencer, Brookins, & Allen, 1985; Moses, 1985; Stack, 1974). However, in all studies reporting the celebration, performance, adaptation, and fitness of these characteristics, the contexts have been relatively free from external influences that cut at the heart of the extended and fictive kin family and the centrality of children to a group's sense of self-perpetuation. Currently, AFDC rulings that encourage fathers to remain outside the household of the mother and children, as well as public housing regulations limiting the number of occupants per unit of space, have cut away the traditional supportive contexts for key performances. Zinnia Mae's children have no entry into the contexts in which they might witness or participate in repetitive collaborative celebrations of persistence or assertive problem solving. Those available to Sissy's son are severely diminished from those of her own childhood, since Lillie Mae and she both find their struggles against individuals in the bureaucracies they encounter unsuitable for translation into verbal performance. Moreover, an absence of shared work and leisure experiences set mother and daughter apart in the shared background fundamental to leisure talk, and Sissy's continued socialization from womanhood and motherhod comes less and less from her own mother, but from other young women as adrift as she from either a past or a future.

Language socialization research currently gives primary attention to the role of social interactions in enabling children to become competent communicators in their sociocultural group. "Mutual tuning-in" (Schutz, 1951) and eventual linguistic and metalinguisitc awareness are said to rest in the fast-paced coconstructions of reality that adults and children create in everyday life (Rogoff & Wertsch, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978). In addition, however, linguists increasingly emphasize the subjective and alternative interpretations that children create as a result of their opportunities to constantly conform and inform through verbal and nonverbal means (Rice & Schiefelbusch, 1989a). Children call on numerous perceptual levels – seeing, hearing, touching, tasting – in their creation of representational systems for gaining, storing, and displaying information. The contexts of language socialization for the children of the children of Trackton in the cases offered here hold few opportunities for solidarity, social construction of reality, and guided learning through verbal direction, observation, or apprenticeship. The language

socialization of these children holds little promise that they will enter school with the wide range of language uses, varieties of performances, types of genres, and perspectives on self-as-performer that Trackton's children had. Their association with written materials rests primarily in the instrumental and not in the confirmational, social interaction/recreational, or news-related reading of their mother's childhood. (For discussions of the relevance of these ranges of uses of written language in academic achievement and school-defined "critical thinking," see Heath, 1983 and in press.) It is too early to predict the extent to which the pattern of language socialization for Sissy's son and her future children may come to match that of Zinnia Mae's. It is likely that Lillie Mae will be unable to secure public housing as long as Sissy and her son remain with her. If they have to leave Lillie Mae to strike out on their own, Sissy may be forced into the atomization and separation that small-apartment living of public housing imposes.[1]

Recent critiques within anthropology have suggested that those who have written ethnographies may well have made many mistakes of analysis and interpretation. They have been characterized as victims of alienated nostalgia (Clifford, 1983; Clifford & Marcus, 1986), prone to read too much into other people's ways of talking about their experiences and motives (Keesing, 1987), too willing to reveal the private ways of minority groups (Scheper-Hughes, 1987), too ready to focus on solidarity and sharedness (Fernandez, 1986), and unable to avoid championing the underdog (Foster, 1979). The current spirit of confessions and probings of methods of analysis and interpretation by ethnographers will contribute much to the sociology of knowledge and our understanding of the fact that just as those we describe have historically established contexts that define and sustain them, so do our descriptions. The reinterpretations and new considerations they bring can only improve our own understandings of what we do, have done, and can do (e.g., Keesing, 1982).

The task of describing American minorities, especially black Americans, is fraught not only with all the problems these critics have noted, but also with numerous others. It is essential that we see relationships of knowledge and power that both connect those within communities and disconnect them. In an era in which national and state policies strike at the core of intimate family relations – male to female, and grandparent to parent, and parent to child – tracing these connections depends on searching out some sense of covariance for role relations, everyday narratives and metaphors, problem-solving strategies, and a sense of future. We perhaps further our understanding of social change best when we can understand the relative extent of control that individuals both have and believe they have over the actual texts that enter their leisure and work time. We must be able to specify the nature of continuity between situations and the degree to which actors know they are making choices as they live under the rubric of change. Detailed studies will allow us to consider how collectively

sustained are social structures, value systems, and other glosses "on the will to power" (Barth, 1981:83).

We must run the risk of demonstrating that fewer and fewer individuals in some minority groups define themselves in terms of webs of significance they themselves spin, and many may be caught without understanding, interpreting, or transmitting anything like the cultural patterns into which they themselves were socialized. In addition, interpreting in our own society, we cannot forget that what we have viewed as "normal" or stable contexts for children's socialization into a definable group may be ruled out for many under external policy impositions. The novelist George Eliot has warned that no fragment of a life can be "the sample of an even web." Today's social changes for American minority groups reinforce her message and remind us of both the fragility and the unevenness of the web.

Notes

1 In the spring of 1988, less than 6 months after this chapter was written, Sissy and Denny, as well as Lillie Mae and Sissy's younger brothers and sisters, moved together into a three-bedroom two-story public housing apartment. Tapes and notes made in the first 3 months following this move illustrate the power of mulitparty talk from extended family members on the language socialization of Denny. The full range of challenging language that surrounded toddlers on the plaza of Trackton in Sissy's childhood reappeared for Denny in a housing situation that kept the extended family together and provided numerous spaces for out-of-doors play under the watchful eye of family and neighbors. Language data and analysis that provide an update on the language socialization of Denny appear in Heath (1989b).

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