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UNDERGRADUATE AFRICAN AND AFRICAN AMERICAN
STUDENTS AT ONE HISTORICALLY BLACK UNIVERSITY**

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Gwendoline Ibamiwi Ayuninjam

The Graduate School

University of Kentucky

2008

INTERACTION AS A MANIFESTATION OF IDENTITY: UNDERGRADUATE AFRICAN AND
AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS AT ONE HISTORICALLY BLACK UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Education
at the University of Kentucky

By

Gwendoline Ibamiwi Ayuninjam

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Beth Goldstein, Professor of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation

Lexington, Kentucky

2008

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

INTERACTION AS A MANIFESTATION OF IDENTITY: UNDERGRADUATE AFRICAN AND AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS AT ONE HISTORICALLY BLACK UNIVERSITY

This dissertation examines factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students enrolled at one Historically Black University (HBCU). It explores beliefs, cultural and contextual factors that shed light on interactions across the two categories of students. The research 1) identifies factors that explain inter-group interaction; 2) analyzes identified factors; and 3) examines their impact on overall attitudes, behaviors, interactions, and relations across the two groups. Identity theory and social identity theory are applied to explain interaction patterns. Both theoretical frameworks acknowledge the importance of the individual's goals and purposes and apply conceptions of the self in exploring identity formation. While identity theory focuses on social structural arrangements and the link between persons, social identity theory focuses on characteristics of situations in which the identity may be activated. These theories show how interpersonal and intergroup interactions merge into identities, generate and change social limitations, and build social relationships.

Data were collected using surveys and through in-depth individual and focus-group interviews. Thirty-one (31) participants were interviewed individually, and three focus-group interviews were conducted with 14, 16 and 17 participants respectively. Two more large-group sessions of 33 and 51 participants also contributed information for the study. Participants were observed in their university setting. Web documents and course syllabi were analyzed for applicable information.

The study finds that cultural differences, perceptions and misconceptions about the out-group, and lack of balanced knowledge about the out-group, contribute to minimal inter-group interaction. In addition, increased intercultural knowledge and exposure lead to enhanced inter-group identification and interaction, and ultimately functioned to minimize misconceptions and advance inter-group understanding. Understanding cultural and other differences between Africans and African Americans

as an integral part of inter-group relationships enables people to be more accepting and accommodating of difference and of one another. Also, engaging members of both groups in discussions about inter-group interactions raised awareness and developed in them a critical stance toward their own responsiveness to others they may consider different.

Five key words/phrases: *African Diaspora; Stereotypes; Minority Relations; Intercultural Interaction and Communication; International Education*

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Director of Dissertation

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To my husband (Funwi) and our children (Diane and Allen)

“You are the wind beneath my wings!”

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While this dissertation is the result of personal effort, it benefited from the wisdom and guidance of several individuals and entities. My Dissertation Committee Chair, Dr. Beth Goldstein, exemplifies the qualities of scholarship and integrity to which I aspire. Dr. Goldstein provided timely and instructive comments and evaluation at every stage of the dissertation process and also guided and supported me in seeking support funding, making it possible for this project to be completed in a timely manner. In addition, other members of my dissertation committee, Drs. Jeff Bieber, Dwight Billings (despite being on sabbatical), and Jane Jensen supported me throughout by providing periodic input and encouragement. Furthermore, my outside examiner, Dr. Michael Arrington, promptly joined my committee to guide and support me. On a broader note, all faculty members of the Department of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation (EPE) at the University of Kentucky provided insights that guided and challenged my thinking as I took classes along the way; their insights culminated in a substantive dissertation. I thank all these individuals for their contributions to my successes.

This dissertation also benefited from three entities: the University of Kentucky Graduate School, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the site of this study. The University of Kentucky Graduate School awarded me dissertation enhancement support funding that mitigated the financial cost of conducting this study out of state. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill generously permitted me to use one of its computer labs. More specifically, Dr. Paul Mihás gave and allowed me to attend (free of charge) workshops on QSR NVivo 7.0 to facilitate data collection,

storage, and analysis. In addition the site of this study, including all 162 study participants, was vital to the conduct of this research. The study site and participants remain anonymous for confidentiality purposes. I received critical assistance from the research compliance officer and my faculty sponsor in facilitating participant recruitment. A faculty member of the psychology department welcomed me into his classes to recruit volunteers. Comments and insights from the research participants were informative and created opportunities for future studies. I express deep appreciation to them all!

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

a) Background

My early experiences as a Cameroonian sojourner in the United States exemplified amicable interactions and relations with people of various races and ethnicities, including Americans of African descent. Shortly after my wedding, I returned to the United States with my husband who was a graduate student at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. We were quickly befriended by an African American family, a couple with three young children. The husband was an attorney, and the wife, also an attorney, was a stay-at-home mom who was very heavily involved in their children's educational progress and volunteered extensively at the children's school. One of their daughters happened to be a pupil in my husband's second-grade French class at a private school in Washington, D.C. This family treated us like one of their own. As a twenty-three-year-old, first-time mother away from home, I found support in this family who would occasionally insist on keeping our baby so that my husband and I could take a break and watch a movie or engage in any other form of entertainment or relaxation. Our daughter was treated as the fourth child in the family, receiving handed-down outfits from the couple's two older daughters when they could no longer wear them. Subsequently our son came to enjoy similar advantages in relation to their son.

Another favorable relationship that my husband and I developed shortly after I arrived in the U.S. was with a neighbor. My husband, daughter, and I lived in an apartment in Arlington, Virginia, across the street from the home of an African American family—an elderly couple, their daughter and grand-daughter, and an absentee son who was in jail. This family was very friendly towards us, and upon invitation, we spent our first Thanksgiving with them. The family constantly expressed their love of and the desire to return to Africa, and their lifestyle epitomized typical African values: respect for self, respect for elders, embrace of family, and treatment of neighbors like family.

The grand-daughter, about seven years old at the time, spent a lot of time playing with our daughter.

Topping my list of favorable experiences was the support and encouragement I received from my first African American supervisor to begin my doctoral program. Upon my husband's graduation from Georgetown University, my family moved south of the United States, where I secured employment as a faculty member in a historically black university. My supervisor lent me all the support and encouragement needed by anyone in my situation, by accommodating my class schedule semester after semester and permitting me to leave work early on my scheduled class days.

Some of my early experiences depict interactions and relations with Americans of African descent based on a shared culture, history, and identity. Commonalities in the experiences of Blacks are well documented, from domination and resistance, to slavery and emancipation, to the pursuit of freedom, and the struggle against racism (T. C. Holt, 2001; Magubane, 1987; McCleod, 2001; Morris, 2003; Ochillo & Lincoln, 1990; C. A. Palmer, 2000). In addition to these universal aspects, understanding the black experience from a cross-national perspective is crucial to studying the experiences of people of African descent, and to capturing the diversity of their experiences (T. C. Holt, 2001). While commonalities invoke a shared black or African identity, it is worth paying heed to Sen's caution that identity is a complicated matter, for it presumes that people can be uniquely categorized according to some "*singular and overarching*" (italics in original text) system of partitioning, thereby ignoring all the other ways in which people see themselves (Sen, 2006). Sen argues for recognition of the plurality of an individual's identities and their diverse implications, and for the need to see the role of *choice* in determining the cogency and relevance of particular identities (Sen, 2006, p. 4).

Despite multiple iterations of the universal Black experience captured by Pan-Africanism and Afrocentricity (Warren, 1990), some have documented negative experiences between the two groups (Ayuninjam, 2000; Omotosho, 2005) as I eventually was to encounter. At the same historically black university where I was

employed shortly after moving south, many of my African American colleagues were openly hostile toward Africans, some of them calling us “the new niggers,” even within earshot. This hostility was also communicated to the general student body, who in turn made life difficult for some African faculty members and African students alike. This group of colleagues made no secret of their dislike of Africans, stating that African presence in the United States deprived African Americans of deserving opportunities, including jobs.

My worst experience in this context happened when my immediate supervisor died and was replaced by another African American who joined the “Africa/n haters” camp. Shortly after he was hired, my new supervisor revised, renamed, and re-advertised my position. I applied for the “new” position, but was not offered the job despite a history of excellent and usually close-to-perfect if not perfect job evaluations. The external candidate who was eventually hired to replace me was a close friend of this supervisor from his previous place of employment. I had suspected the chair’s plot to replace me in that position, so as soon as the position was advertised and before any interviews occurred, I sought an appointment with the then provost and vice president for academic affairs and revealed my fears to her and provided her substantiating documents. She assured me that based on my qualifications and record at that university, I would be offered the job; however, she did nothing when the position was offered to the only other person who was interviewed for it, and I was left jobless.

Diametrically opposing experiences developed and nurtured questions in my mind regarding how African Americans and Africans interact with one another and the motivations that form the basis for these interactions. Assumptions of positive interactions between the two groups premised on a shared heritage are sometimes contradicted by existing research findings, albeit scant, that despite a common historical legacy, there exists limited positive interaction between African Americans and Africans in general (Ayuninjam, 2000; Becker, 1973; Morris, 2003; Omotosho, 2005). Becker (1973) went further by exploring the manifestations and causes of strained relations

between the two groups on the UCLA campus. The causes of this strain on UCLA's predominantly white campus centered on higher status and tangible benefits accorded Africans in preference to Black Americans, socio-cultural differences between the two groups, and perceived rejection of Black Africans by Black Americans. One question that emerges from Becker's research is what the nature of relationships between Africans and African Americans would be on Historically Black College or University campuses. This dissertation project uses a qualitative approach to explore the topic of interactions between undergraduate African and African American students at one HBCU.

Increasing immigration of Africans to the United States in recent years has resulted in a growing number of first generation African Americans who view themselves as such, highlighting the relevance of investigating interactions between Africans and African Americans in general. Having two American-born children brings this home for me. Recognizing differences within both groups against the backdrop of a shared heritage will be potentially enriching for both groups in particular, and for all races in general. As Sen notes, "...history and background are not the only way of seeing ourselves and the groups to which we belong. There are a great variety of categories to which we simultaneously belong" (Sen, 2006, p. 19).

b) Statement of Research Purpose

American culture places a high value on racial characteristics as an important differentiating and stratifying factor (Becker, 1973; Morris, 2003). Conventional racial/ethnic categorization of peoples of African descent as Black assumes a common or shared identity among constituent members. Consequently, one might assume the existence of a natural affinity for African Americans and African sojourners in the United States to interact and easily bond with one another. Historical trends delineating the struggles of African Americans to gain freedom and claim their heritage embody linkages between the two groups and also portray the ambivalence, both at the individual and communal levels, inherent in losing one's identity (Asante, 1998; Cobb,

1997; Culture, 1962; Esedebe, 1982). Pan-Africanism, for example, championed by W.E.B. DuBois, argued for the intellectual understanding and cooperation among all groups of African descent focused on bringing about the emancipation of Black peoples (Warren, 1990). Afrocentricity, on the other hand, is described as “placing African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture” and emphasizing the notion of African people as subjects rather than objects (Asante, 1998, pp. 2, 42). Both the Pan-Africanist and Afrocentric perspectives depict elements of what might be described as “the universal Black experience” (Ochillo & Lincoln, 1990), leading to an expectation of positive interactions among Africans and African Americans in general.

Yet some have reported a lack of widespread interaction between the two groups (Ayuninjam, 2000; Becker, 1973; Morris, 2003; Omotosho, 2005) despite increased opportunities resulting from the rise in the number of African sojourners in the United States. For example, Becker (1973) explored the manifestations and causes of strained relations between the two groups on the UCLA campus. The causes of this strain on UCLA’s predominantly white campus centered on higher status and tangible benefits accorded Africans in preference to Black Americans, socio-cultural differences between the two groups, and perceived rejection of Black Africans by Black Americans. One question that emerges from this research is what the nature of interactions/relationships between Africans and African Americans would be on Historically Black College or University campuses. My dissertation project uses a qualitative design to address this question.

The purpose of this qualitative study is to examine how undergraduate African and African American students enrolled at Historically Black Colleges and Universities interact with one another. Specifically, this research investigates factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students enrolled at one HBCU, including mutual expectations, cultural differences, and perceptions of and misconceptions about one another. It explores beliefs and other cultural and contextual factors that may shed light on interactions across the two categories of students. The

research identifies factors that explain inter-group interaction; analyzes identified factors; and examines their impact on overall attitudes, behaviors, interactions, and relations across the two groups.

The study applies identity theory and social identity theory to explain interaction patterns. Both theoretical frameworks acknowledge the importance of the individual's goals and purposes and apply conceptions of the self in exploring identity formation. While identity theory focuses on social structural arrangements and the link between persons, social identity theory focuses on characteristics of situations in which the identity may be activated. The two theories are interconnected and show how interpersonal and intergroup interactions merge into identities, generate and change social limitations, and build social relationships. The emphasis in identity theory is on the self and its multiple identities, while social identity theory emphasizes group membership for positive self-evaluation and uncertainty reduction. This study focuses more on social identity and on social situations, than on personal identity per se. Personal identity is explored as a way to highlight the importance of individual cognitive development which may bring understanding to the social choices an individual makes. As Stets and Burke (2000) argue, it is only a matter of time before these two theories merge into one.

International education and internationalization have increased significantly over the past several decades (Ben-David, 1992; Brown, 1950; de Wit, 2002; Epstein, 1994; Hoffa & Pearson, 1997; Knight, 1997; Kolasa, 1962). Student/academic mobility, one of the components of internationalization (Altbach, Arnove, & Kelly, 1982; de Wit, 2002; Epstein, 1994; Paulston, 1994), embodies foreign/international study. Research on the experiences of international students from Africa has generally been subsumed under the discussion of international students. Significant economic (Institute of International Education's *Open Doors*¹) and other benefits to the U.S. have been reported as a result

¹ *Open Doors* is a resource that contains comprehensive information on international students in the United States and on U.S. students who study abroad as part of their academic experience. Captured data about international students include their economic impact on the host state and national economies.

of the presence of international students: these students add cultural diversity to colleges and universities, they enrich the educational experiences of domestic students, their presence creates opportunities for cross-cultural interactions (though it has been determined that this interaction is not automatic and must be orchestrated by careful institutional planning), and interaction with international students enhances the cross-cultural sensitivity and competence of domestic students (Ayers, 1996; Barger, 2004; Cunningham, 1991; de Wit, 2002; Kallen, 1991; NAFSA, 2003; P. Scott, 1998). Internationalization is based on the principle that contact with other cultures will enhance cultural sensitivity and understanding between and among national groups (de Wit, 2002; Hoffa & Pearson, 1997; Knight & de Wit, 1995; Spencer-Rodgers, 2001; , *Lincoln Study Abroad Briefing Book*, 2004).

HBCUs were established in the 1800s during the era of legalized racial discrimination against African Americans for the purpose of educating black students for service and leadership roles in black communities, as well as for adjustment and success in the wider community (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Today, despite the growing entrenchment of internationalization and multiculturalism in colleges and universities, particularly on predominantly white campuses, there are still reports of negative experiences by black students on white campuses due to racial discrimination. Racial barriers and impediments are still commonplace and involve the erecting of physical, legal, and social barriers to make certain places, situations, and positions inaccessible to, or difficult for members of racial out-groups (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996). One can infer that HBCUs are a more responsive environment and provide better support for Black and international (minority) students based on their expressed mission and on their success rates in matriculating black students. Perhaps conducting this study on an HBCU campus would significantly minimize the impact of racial discrimination for both groups under study in their immediate academic and socialization context.

Factors that explain inter-group interactions highlighted by the study revolve around cultural differences, perceptions of and misconceptions about the out-group, and lack of balanced knowledge about the out-group. Cultural differences were manifested in traditions, customs, norms and values of the immediate socialization context. Study data revealed perceptions and misconceptions as heavily rooted in prevailing stereotypes about each group. Prevailing stereotypes about both groups were generally not sufficiently counterbalanced by unbiased information, and this scenario seemed to reinforce stereotypes. Exposure to other cultures via international/intercultural coursework in general and active engagement in multicultural student organizations and community service projects in particular seemed to increase inter-group interaction and understanding. Furthermore, this study finds that biases against African Americans were also perpetuated by some African parents of school-/college-age children, as some American-born participants who self-identified as African raised the subject of their (African) parents' overt expressions of biases against African Americans and/or Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Study findings point to the need for carefully orchestrated institutional planning to more fully realize the benefits of internationalization and cross-cultural education.

c) Design and Significance of Study

This is a qualitative study of factors that explain interactions between African and African American undergraduate students at one HBCU. A total of 162 undergraduate African and African American students at one HBCU participated in the study. In-depth individual interviews were conducted with a sample of 31 male and female participants (eighteen African Americans and thirteen Africans) across all four undergraduate years, majoring in a variety of fields (See Appendix I: Fields of Study of Individual Interview Participants). To broadly capture the views of all 162 participants, three focus-group interviews were conducted with volunteer participants: two of African Americans, and one of Africans and African Americans. In addition, two large-

group sessions were conducted mainly as a follow-up on information gathered in the individual interviews. Individual interview participants made numerous references to stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes about Africans and African Americans but were reluctant to identify them. To respect their privacy, this information was collected anonymously as part of the focus-group interviews, and also in the additional large-group sessions that were conducted specifically for that purpose.

Even though participants in this study were a representative group of African and African American undergraduate students, their expressed opinions and experiences are specific to them and do not broadly represent the opinions and experiences of other Africans and African Americans either at the campus under study, or at large. The concepts that emerge from this research can be used to help broaden understanding about factors that explain interactions between these two groups, but should not be perceived as applicable to all Africans and African Americans in all other contexts. In addition, findings of this study may be applicable to the HBCU under study, but should not be generalized to all HBCUs, even though the methodology and results may be used to inform similar studies at other sites and about other cross-cultural groups.

In-depth individual and group interviews were the main sources of data for this study. All interviews utilized the free-response approach. Spencer-Rodgers reports disadvantages of this approach, including possible omission of group characteristics that do not readily come to mind; incomplete responding which may lead to a less comprehensive profile of opinions, expectations, perceptions and misconceptions; and coding, data synthesis, and interpretation difficulties associated with open-ended data (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001, p. 643). Notwithstanding, methodological advantages abound: participants were permitted to report simultaneously their opinions and experiences as well as specific expectations, perceptions and misconceptions held; responses may detect expectations, perceptions and misconceptions that are most salient and accessible in memory and most strongly associated with a group; and data may also be

more sensitive and accurate indicators of prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviors (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001, pp. 642-643).

The current global climate encapsulates the socioeconomic advantages of cross-cultural and cross-national communication, collaboration and understanding (Altbach, Berdahl, & Gumport, 2005; , *Lincoln Study Abroad Briefing Book*, 2004), providing impetus for harmonious coexistence. It has, therefore, become necessary for individuals and groups of people to find ways to live and work together. One way in which the emphasis on cross-cultural and cross-national collaboration manifests itself on college campuses is through the burgeoning international education environment. Factors that explain interactions between African and African American students may provide foundational knowledge applicable in promoting cross-cultural understanding.

There are other potential benefits as well. This study may lead to a better understanding of the motivations and ideologies that generate expectations between Africans and African Americans of one another; it may lead to a better understanding of the inherent diversity of the African diaspora; and it may contribute toward a better coexistence between both groups. In summary, this study expands the body of knowledge on diasporic relations as the African diaspora seeks to redefine itself and to respect its diversity.

Furthermore, this research is an exploratory study of factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students on an HBCU campus. The ultimate goal to develop or identify a theory that accounts for interactions between the two groups of students was accomplished. In addition, relatively rich representations that describe in detail these students' experiences, perceptions, attitudes, behaviors and interactions/relations in themselves constitute a significant contribution to the literature. Like other qualitative studies (Ayuninjam, 2000; Casmir, 1983; Clark & Pearson, 1982; Spencer-Rodgers, 2001), this study extends knowledge about facilitating intercultural or international communication and interaction beyond empathy, to the improvement of human coexistence.

d) Presentation

Chapter 2 (Literature Review) presents a historical perspective about peoples of African descent in the U.S., reviews related studies, and identifies a conceptual framework for understanding interactions between undergraduate African and African American students on U.S. campuses. Historically, the Pan-African and Afrocentric movements explain ancestral links between the two groups, culminating in what has been described as the universal Black experience (Ochillo & Lincoln, 1990). A review of literature about the African diaspora is provided to capture the changing dynamics of people of African descent in all its complexities. Identity theory and social identity theory are introduced as the conceptual approach that frames and facilitates understanding of emergent themes related to interactions between undergraduate African and African American students.

Chapter 3 (Methodology) details the conduct of this study. The aim of the study and the research questions are outlined. The research site is introduced, including a brief description of HBCUs, a presentation of the institutional demographics and context, and a review of available institutional opportunities for learning about or interacting with other cultures. The research methodology is also explained, encompassing the pilot study leading up to the research project, the recruitment process, as well as the research participants, the research design, and the research instruments. The chapter concludes with an explanation of how issues of ethics and confidentiality were addressed in the study.

Chapter 4 (Results) is an organized compilation and classification of data gathered for this study. The study site and participants are examined in congruence with emergent themes. Inter-group expectations between Africans and African Americans are discussed. Perceptions and misconceptions between both groups are further explored, along with their origins. Also included is a discussion of deterrents to inter-group interaction and, on the flip side, uniting influences. The chapter ends with an analysis of stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes gathered about each group.

Chapter 5 (Discussion) presents further analyses of study data. Factors that explain interaction between undergraduate African and African American students at the study site are organized under three broad themes: cultural differences, perceptions of and misconceptions about the out-group, and lack of balanced knowledge about the out-group. This chapter discusses participant self-designations, and then goes on to include an application of identity theory and social identity theory in discussing and explaining interaction patterns between undergraduate African and African American students at the HBCU site of this study.

Chapter 6 (Conclusion) recapitulates the study and brings together the findings of the research. Contributions of the study are also summarized, and policy implications are outlined. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

a) Historical Perspective

An extensive historical legacy captures linkages between Africans and African Americans. One devastating impact of slavery was the separation of African Americans from their African kin resulting in associated movements, including Pan-Africanism and Afrocentricity, both movements depicting elements of what has variously been described as the universal black experience (Adi & Sherwood, 2003; Asante, 2003; Blakely, 2001; K. D. Butler, 2001; Lewis, 2001; Williams, 2001). The term “diaspora” has come to be applied to Africans living outside of the continent of Africa (Adi & Sherwood, 2003; Asante, 2003; Hine & McCleod, 2001). In the context of the United States, the term encompasses all persons linked to Africa by heritage and living in the United States. An understanding of Pan-Africanism, Afrocentricity, universal black experiences, and the African diaspora relates this study to the larger ongoing dialogue about Africans and African Americans. Moreover, a review of literature on interactions between Africans and African Americans as well as research about other related inter-group phenomena presents a helpful structure for establishing the importance of this study. Furthermore, because identity theory and social identity theory seek to understand identity development in terms of the individual’s self-concept relative to social group memberships, these theories provide a framework for analyzing and making meaning of interactions between these two groups.

Identity has remained a focal point in discussions about the African diaspora (Asante, 2003; Blakely, 2001; Gilroy, 1993; Lewis, 2001; Williams, 2001). The assertion that peoples of black African descent constitute a distinctive racial group, along with much of the accompanying racial vocabulary, was first advanced by Europeans and not by African peoples themselves (Blakely, 2001, p. 87). Blakely (2001) illuminates the development of the definition of black racial identity by commenting on the origins of

black racial vocabulary, the stigmatization of blackness, and the promotion of racism as a science. The term “black” as an identifier, along with its negative connotations, was applied to dark-skinned Africans as early as the medieval period as evident in oral and written traditions of the era that equated blackness with everything wild, ugly and unclean. By the nineteenth century, these ideas about blackness came to be articulated in dictionaries and encyclopedia under the label of “civilization,” and it was against this backdrop that the subsequent stigmatized image of blacks emerged (Blakely, 2001, p. 89). From the eighteenth century and beyond, some dictionaries, philosophical speculation, and scientific theories included comprehensive discussions of how racial differences developed and provided explanations of the relationships between Blacks and Whites in human history (Blakely, 2001, pp. 93-100). Despite evidence to the contrary, the dominant thought was premised on the following reasoning: that the first man was white; that black people have no feelings that rise above the trifling; and that black people have significantly diminished scientific intelligence and artistry. The concept of racial hierarchy persists to date, but Blakely points out that this European legacy is really not essentially about color and race, but about culture.

Understanding the African diaspora necessitates moving beyond the notion of a black racial identity. As an ideological concept, identity establishes a premise for thinking more broadly about how a set of socially constructed ideas can come to bear on a specific historical context as illustrated by Williams (2001) in his essay, “Rethinking the African Diaspora: A comparative Look at Race and Identity in a Transatlantic Community, 1878-1921.” Williams maps out the social construction of identity within the Cape Verdean communities in the United States and West Africa in the period 1878-1921. He explains how both communities of Cape Verdeans were caught between a Portuguese colonial identity and an American racial identity, but fashioned a collective identity that transcended competing local, national, and transnational constructions of race, identity, and community. The self is constructed in space and time, and to understand multipositionality, it is important to understand how “spatial and temporal

factors lead historical actors to foreground or background constitutive aspects of themselves” (Lewis, 2001, p. 19). The study of identity, therefore, includes but is not limited to race, class, and gender. Lewis’ (2001) conception of the construction of self and of race and membership as implicated in an individual’s understanding of community or communities (social groups) informs this study of interaction between African and African American students at one HBCU. The conceptualization aligns with identity theory and social identity theory in providing a conceptual framework for this study.

i) Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism, which frequently materialized as armed resistance to slavery and colonialism in Africa, has been described as a cultural and intellectual movement for African American liberation developed by Africans living outside of Africa (Adi & Sherwood, 2003; T. C. Holt, 2001; Warren, 1990; Williams, 2001). The idea of Pan-Africanism was originated by a West Indian lawyer, H. Sylvester Williams, who practiced in England and associated with Africans and African Americans there (Adi & Sherwood, 2003; Warren, 1990). In 1900, Williams called a meeting in Europe of a distinguished group of Blacks from the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean to discuss the problems of colonialism and racial discrimination. After Williams’ death in 1911, Du Bois introduced the term “Pan-Africanism” and is often credited as being the father of Pan-Africanism, defined as “the intellectual understanding and cooperation among all groups of African descent in order to bring about the emancipation of black peoples” (Warren, 1990, p. 16).

Pan-Africanism was both intellectual and political and included two divergent approaches: one that sought expatriation of Blacks to Africa promoted by Marcus Garvey, and another that did not support expatriation to Africa advanced by W.E.B. Du Bois (Adi & Sherwood, 2003; Warren, 1990). Warren (1990) outlines how the intellectual movement evolves into cultural and literary movements expressing the continuing quest

for African American liberation. He discusses Martin R. Delaney's 1859 novel *Blake, or the Huts of America* which depicts the black experience from an African perspective, creatively viewing African Americans as Africans torn from their homeland and suffering on alien soil. Delaney's stance is both cultural and political, and, like Marcus Garvey, he seeks emigration for blacks. According to Delaney, "No people...can ever attain to greatness who lose their identity. We shall ever cherish our identity of origin and race, as preferable in our estimation, to any other people" (In Warren, 1990, p. 17).

Warren (1990) also takes up Du Bois' more widespread integrationist tradition in African American literature in his citation of several works including, William Wells Brown's *Clotel: Or the President's Daughter* (1953), J. McHenry Jones' *Hearts of Gold* (1898), Paul Lawrence Dunbar's *The Uncalled* (1901), and the poetry of Phyllis Wheatley (1753-1784) among others. The integrationists embraced and promoted a spiritual and an intellectual Pan-Africanist position, but did not support expatriation of black people to Africa. According to Du Bois, "Among Negroes of my generation there was little inherited knowledge about Africa...but much distaste;" he explains his position as follows:

Let us realize that we are Americans, that we were brought here with the earliest settlers, and that the very sort of civilization from which we came made the complete adoption of western modes and customs imperative if we were to survive. There is nothing so indigenous, so completely 'made in America' as we. It is absurd to talk of a return to Africa, merely because that was our home 300 years ago, as it would be to expect members of the Caucasian race to return to the fastness of the Caucasus Mountains from which, it is reputed, they sprang.

(In Warren, 1990, p. 19)

Warren (1990) blames such distaste for Africa on the portrayal of Africans as savage, grotesque, subhuman creatures incapable of language, art or culture and goes on to cite characteristic “scholarship” on Africa in Hegel’s introduction to *Philosophy of History*:

Africa proper, as far as history goes back, has remained for all purposes of connection with the rest of the world, shut up. It is the gold land compressed within itself, the land of childhood which lying beyond the days of self-conscious history is undeveloped in the dark mantel of night. The Negro...exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thought of reverence and morality, all that we call feeling, if we would comprehend him. We leave Africa never to mention it again for it has no historical part of the world. It has no movement or development to exhibit. Historical movement in it, that is in its Northern part, belongs to the Asiatic or European world. The history of the world travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of history, Asia the beginning.

(In Warren, 1990, p. 17)

The growth of Black consciousness and racial pride as a result of the Harlem Renaissance created a similar Pan-African literary movement in France championed by Leopold Sedar Senghor, Leon Damas, and Aimé Césaire—Négritude, defined as the essence of black culture (Posnock, 1998; Warren, 1990). Négritude writing criticizes the cultural displacement of transplanted Africans and endorses divestment of assimilation in favor of assertion of one’s being. Warren (1990) comments about Négritude’s apparent love-hate relationship with white culture and asserts that “Exposure to Western culture produces glaring inconsistencies between rhetoric and reality” (Warren, 1990, p. 20). To introduce a level of consistency to the term, Warren points out that “Pan-Africanism is an ideology that recognizes the brotherhood and sisterhood of black people in Africa and the diaspora. Pan-Africanism is internationalist, socialist and anti-imperialist. Pan-Africanism embraces the common cultural heritage of black people” (Warren, 1990, p. 20).

This Pan-Africanist historical legacy of “brotherhood/sisterhood, understanding and cooperation” among all groups of African descent assumes a shared identity and provides a premise for assumptions and expectations among reference groups. This premise can be applied in explaining or trying to understand why a black diplomat at the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya expressed dismay at the fact that she had never been invited to a Kenyan home. This diplomat’s experience is reported to have been so awful that she felt being black in Africa was an “absolute disadvantage” and she would rather be black in South Africa under Apartheid than go through what she went through in Kenya (In Ayuninjam, 2000, p. 135). By the same token, similar experiences of non-acceptance by African Americans seem to be encountered by diasporic Africans. One of the students interviewed by Omotosho in his study of graduate African college student experiences remarks: “African Americans also sometimes stereotype and discriminate against Africans. They say we behave as if we are cleverer than them and some of them feel we have come to deprive them of their economic opportunities” (Omotosho, 2005, p. 39).

ii) Afrocentricity

Linkages between Africans and African Americans have also been credited for giving rise to Afrocentricity in the 20th century (Adi & Sherwood, 2003; Asante, 1998; Warren, 1990; Winbush, 1998). The ideology of Afrocentricity was formulated by Molefi Kete Asante in his initial 1980 publication of *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change*, revised and expanded in 2003 (Asante, 2003). He defines Afrocentricity as follows:

...a mode of thought and action in which the centrality of African interests, values, and perspectives predominate. In regards to theory, it is the placing of African people in the center of any analysis of African phenomena. Thus, it is possible for any one to master the discipline of seeking the location of Africans in a given phenomenon. In terms of action and behavior, it is a devotion to the idea that what is in the interest of African consciousness is at the heart of ethical behavior. Finally, Afrocentricity seeks to enshrine the idea that blackness itself is a trope of ethics. Thus, to be black is to be against all forms of oppression, racism, classism, homophobia, patriarchy, child abuse, pedophilia, and white racial domination (Italics in original text)

(Asante, 2003, p. 2)

Asante's professed aim is "to advance the study and enhance the appreciation of the complexity and historicity of African culture" (Asante, 1998, p. xv). He acknowledges the influence of Pan-Africanism on his world view and gives credit to "intellectual ancestors" like W.E.B. Du Bois, Cheikh Anta Diop, and others. For Asante, "Afrocentricity offers hope for actualizing the masses of Americans around the idea of African people as subjects rather than as objects," thus giving a marginalized people the agency they deserve as a culture in their own right (Asante, 1998, p. 42). Asante argues that language, music and communication in general by African Americans lose much of their meaning when judged by Western standards, for Western standards, he argues, do not capture the essence of the African culture and miss altogether the Africanisms present in African American oratory. Again, Afrocentricity presupposes an entrenched, collective identity among peoples of African descent.

Unlike many Euro-Americans, Asante (1998) characterizes the African as seeking

the totality of an experience, concept, or system. Traditional African society looked for unity of the whole rather than specifics of the whole; such a concentration, which also emphasized synthesis rather than analysis, contributed to community stability because considerations in the whole were more productive than considerations in details.

(Asante, 1998, p. 90)

In his attempt to portray the shared cultural heritage between Africans and African Americans, Asante (1998) points out numerous Africanisms in African American life that link the two groups as kin: the use of proverbs and myths in speech, the encouragement/expectation of audience participation in many activities, music and dance that can be traced back to Africa, and the use of African or Africanized names. He goes on to describe Afrocentricity as

the most complete philosophical totalization of the African being-at-the-center of his or her existence...it is above all the total use of method to effect psychological, political, social, cultural, and economic change. The Afrocentric idea reaches beyond decolonizing the mind.

(Asante, 1998, p. 137)

iii) The Universal Black Experience

Although Jacqueline McLeod points out that there can be no essentializing of “blackness” or of “the black experience,” she maintains that people of African descent share a universal set of experiences—“domination and resistance, slavery and emancipation, the pursuit of freedom, and struggle against racism” (McCleod, 2001, p. xix). Outside of (yet linked to) Pan-Africanism, these commonalities in the experiences of black people have been widely documented (Holt, 2000; Lewis, 2001; Magubane, 1987; Morris, 2003; Ochillo & Lincoln, 1990; C. A. Palmer, 2000).

Hegemonic paradigms that devalue Africa and African peoples have also been documented by several researchers. Skinner summarizes and frames these paradigms around issues of race, religion, culture, and civilization, and then points out that they not only attempt to explain the course of human events, but also provide the framework for relations between Europeans and Africans on the continent and in the diasporas (Skinner, 2001). Evidence of these paradigms date back from the enslavement and colonization of African peoples to their continuing struggles for identity, for

freedom, and against racism. Once Africa became colonized by the Europeans, its people started to lose the pride that normally prevented people from readily accepting the notion that they and their cultures were inferior. Generations of Africans would experience the onus of seeing themselves through the eyes of their detractors who saw them as candidates for a civilizing mission (Skinner, 2001, p. 48). Current negative portrayals of Africa as well as contemptuous views of Africa by the West create opportunities for some African Americans to dissociate themselves from Africa (Hine & McCleod, 2001).

iv) The African Diaspora

Butler sums up the inevitability of an African diaspora in the ensuing statement:

Despite the efforts of the enslavers to foment discord, cohesive forces were at work within the African-descended population from as early as the Middle Passage. Relationships established on slave ships or in communal living quarters, and shared cultural elements such as colonial languages, set in motion the creation of African diasporan cultures.

(K. D. Butler, 2001, p. 124)

According to Dwayne Williams, the term “African Diaspora” first gained wide usage in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Williams, 2001, pp. 107-110). Williams traces the evolution of the term’s meaning. Initially scholars centered the concept on the twin axes of slavery and migration and the resulting consequences of these historical processes on the lives of African people. The focus at this point was on where African people were dispersed and where the descendants of these populations now live. Using this established frame as a premise, subsequent scholars emphasized intellectual linkages between the African diaspora and the philosophy of Pan-Africanism. These scholars point out that the consciousness of being black continues to be reinforced by the presence and interaction of African people across the globe. More recent scholars have further expanded the concept of African diaspora, arguing that social processes like

forced, induced, or voluntary migrations not only divide people of African descent, but can and do serve as a (re)unifying force for these people. Williams captures Joseph Harris's concept of the African diaspora as follows:

The African diaspora concept subsumes the following: the global dispersion (voluntary and involuntary) of Africans throughout history; the emergence of a cultural identity abroad based on origin and social condition; the psychological or physical return to the homeland, Africa. Thus viewed, the African diaspora assumes the character of a dynamic, continuous, and complex phenomenon stretching across time, geography, class, and gender.

(In Williams, 2001, p. 108)

Other researchers have expounded on the theme of the centrality of the Africans' experience in fashioning the New World (T. C. Holt, 2001; Lewis, 2001). Holt emphasizes that "understanding the black experience from a cross-national perspective is crucial to studying the history of the modern world more generally—including that of Europe as well as Africa and America" (T. C. Holt, 2001, p. 34). In *Slavery and Freedom in the Atlantic World: Reflections on the Diasporan Framework*, Holt (2001) argues that the black diaspora makes evident a global connectedness as well as difference and separation, and that it must realize its links with other diasporas within those connections. Holt analyzes the notion of diaspora as a concept for thinking about the black experience in the modern world, and brings into play both a political and a methodological problematic. He explains that politically the term diaspora carries with it the obvious knowledge of separation as well as a presumption of a kind of unity, even though temporarily fractured and dispersed. For him this term also presumes a kind of peoplehood, even though deprived of the conventional factors or parameters that generally define nationality. Thus the concept of the African diaspora implies an eventual reuniting, which echoes the Jewish, Chinese, and Indian diasporas that were also in part created by forced relocation of people for imperial labor forces. Holt's invocation of a diaspora presupposes that there is something to be learned from a

comparative analysis of the experiences of different black peoples in different places. “Diasporic movements are looking back to whence one supposedly came and/or forward toward a redemptive future” (T. C. Holt, 2001, p. 36).

Research on Africans in the diaspora broadly captures the historical and cultural links between African Americans and Africans that connect the two groups as kin. One attempt at defining the modern African diaspora identifies five major African diasporic streams that have occurred at different times and for different reasons throughout history (C. A. Palmer, 2000). For Palmer, African diaspora refers to the peoples of African descent who live outside of their ancestral continent. The first stream he describes occurred about 100,000 years ago as a consequence of the great population movement within and outside of Africa. The next diasporic stream began around 3,000 B.C.E. with the movement of Bantu-speaking peoples from West Africa to other parts of the continent and to the Indian Ocean. The third stream began about fifth century B.C.E. and involved the movement of merchants, slaves, soldiers and others to parts of Europe, the Middle East and Asia. The fourth and most widely studied African diasporic stream identified by Palmer is the Atlantic trade in African slaves beginning in the fifteenth century. The fifth stream, which began in the nineteenth century after the end of slavery and continues to date, is characterized by the industrial and post-industrial movement of peoples and their resettlement in various societies. The first three streams are described as the pre-modern diaspora, and the last two constitute the modern diaspora. According to Palmer, “racial” oppression and resistance to it are two of modern diaspora’s most salient features:

Regardless of their location, members of a diaspora share an emotional attachment to their ancestral land, are cognizant of their dispersal and, if conditions warrant, their oppression and alienation in the countries in which they reside. Members of diasporic communities also tend to possess a sense of “racial,” ethnic, or religious identity that transcends geographic boundaries, share broad cultural similarities, and sometimes articulate a desire to return to their original homeland.

(C. A. Palmer, 2000, pp. 28-29)

Some of the sentiments identified by Palmer are evident through dress and hairstyles, names, music and dance, and spiritual expressions shared by Africans and African Americans (Asante, 1998; Magubane, 1987; Warren, 1990; Worrell, 2005). Names like Kwame, Kofi, Uche, Amara, Sade, Jide, etc. are common among both peoples. African American music, beginning with Negro spirituals, have been traced back to Africa, including the use of instruments like drums, gongs, xylophones, etc. (Asante, 1998). Even Kwanzaa (“first fruits”), observed by many African Americans, has its origins in Africa, adopted and adapted from traditional African harvest festivals (Warren, 1990, pp. 24-26). Kwanzaa is a non-religious holiday celebrating aspects of African cultural values and giving attention to the ancestors. The holiday incorporates seven fundamental principles: Umoja (unity), Kujichagulia (self-determination), Ujima (collective work and responsibility), Ujamaa (cooperative economics), Nia (purpose), Kuumba (creativity), and Imani (faith). From this discussion, Africans and African Americans in general are depicted as sharing a common heritage as well as other social experiences from which kinship bonds can be assumed, along with related expectations.

The concepts of Pan-Africanism, Afrocentricity, and the African Diaspora exemplify instances of African Americans (or peoples of African descent living outside of Africa) reclaiming connection with black Africa. These concepts originated largely as a result of racial politics in the United States that established a marginalized position for people of African descent, even post-slavery. On the other hand, Africans in Africa (as well as many newly-arrived Africans in the diaspora, particularly in the United States)

express or demonstrate less affinity toward their African American kin as evident in research literature. As part of exploratory research toward her doctoral dissertation, Butler (2006) conducted an ethnographic study examining local perceptions of African Americans in Kenya, the importance of race, and experiences with racism. She watched local and satellite television to assess media portrayals of African Americans and interviewed local residents about the importance of race and their experiences with racism. She interviewed Kenyans from different socio-economic groups to examine the extent to which their level of education, media portrayals of African Americans, and hearsay affect conceptions of African Americans in the Kenyan imaginary. It quickly became evident that Kenyans receive very little formal education about African Americans, and the extent of their historical knowledge was an abstract understanding of slavery. African American experiences with entrenched racism and the ensuing struggle for civil rights remained virtually unknown.

Conversely, Butler (2006) found that Kenyans were exposed to much imagery about African Americans through the media. Continental Kenyans recognized the names of famous entertainers and athletes, listened to African American music, watched music videos and movies, copied African American styles of dress, and looked up to some African American celebrities as cultural icons. America was generally portrayed and perceived as a glamorous land of opportunity, and views of African Americans covered the gamut, from wealthy Americans who had attained the same social status as whites to criminals and lazy welfare dependents. Butler also found that

[i]n contrast to African Americans, race was not a salient dimension of identity for Kenyans. Rather it was overshadowed by ethnic politics and blackness was taken for granted as an obvious physical attribute. When Black Americans were associated with various images of poverty like welfare dependency, elevated high school drop-out rates, public housing and crime, these problems were attributed to their inherent laziness rather than structural barriers in American society.

(M. T. Butler, 2006, p. 5)

Similar views of African Americans by Africans are common across sub-Saharan African countries and have been documented by others. In recounting his views of the American society, Owolabi (1996) opens with a reference to the United States as “God’s own land,” a fond reference common in Nigeria, his country of origin. He notes that the fundamental reason Africans come to America is to take advantage of opportunities to better their lives through advanced education and subsequently employment. He goes on to surmise that problems encountered by Black Africans are mostly a reflection of the overall attitude of the American society toward people of color in general, and toward black people in particular. He adds that problems encountered by black Africans are compounded by the fact that they are also “resented... by the typical Black American,” perhaps because of envy resulting from the success of the Black African, or possibly from fear of displacement by the Black African (Owolabi, 1996, pp. 14-15). Owolabi differentiates between the treatment of Black Africans by Black Americans with a college-level education or better, and those without a college education. He contends that Black Americans with a college education treat Black Africans with empathy and understanding, perhaps because of exposure to Black Africans on college campuses.

In describing Black America as he sees it, Owolabi places blame for the present-day plight of African Americans on African Americans themselves. He acknowledges that slavery created the mentality of inferiority and inadequacy in the minds of Black Americans, which many Black Americans have overcome through hard work and perseverance. Because he perceived and experienced America as a land of opportunity where hard work is rewarded with success, he maintains that the breakdown of the black family is at the root of the problems of Black America. He links lack of parental discipline, elevated crime rates, high school drop-out rates, excessive drug use, and high teen pregnancies directly to the breakdown of the black family and notes that these all feed into existing stereotypes and prejudices (Owolabi, 1996, pp. 45-49).

The posture of many Africans and African Americans toward one another has great bearing on inter-group interactions. Chapter 4 examines further details about inter-group expectations, perceptions and misconceptions as well as widely held stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes. The most basic law of human behavior, according to the field of intercultural communication, is that people act or react on the basis of the way in which they perceive the external world (Singer, 1998). Singer argues that every identity group has a unique culture, that every individual belongs to several different identity groups simultaneously, and that one learns and becomes a part of all of the cultures with which one identifies. Each group has a culture, that is, “learned perceptions (including verbal and nonverbal codes), attitudes, values, and belief systems, plus accepted and expected codes of behavior”(Singer, 1998, p. 11). Singer suggests that many of the perceptions, attitudes, values, and identities people hold may be contradictory; nevertheless, people somehow manage to hold them all and to apply different ones to their behavior in different situations. He points out that there are times when people’s behavior can alter those very perceptions, attitudes, values, identities, and beliefs they hold. Recognizing one’s biases or incorrect attributions about others enables people to fight those feelings. As Singer suggests, the reason people don’t like others is frequently that they have not taken the time to know the people they dislike. He illustrates his point by referencing studies that have shown that when white Americans get to know well and like just one African American, their attitude toward other African Americans tends to become more positive. The same logic can be applied to any interpersonal or inter-group scenarios. As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, Africans and African Americans who have increased knowledge about and exposure to the other group through course work or other avenues tend to have more positive views about one another and also tend to interact more with one another.

b) Studies of Africa – Diaspora Interactions

In recent decades, higher education at the undergraduate level has intensified its international dimension through expanded course offerings and education abroad opportunities catapulted by the launch of federally funded programs like the Fulbright Program (1946), the National Security Education Program (1991), the Benjamin A. Gilman International Scholarship Program (2000), and more recently the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program (2007). These programs all support international education as a peace-keeping mechanism through building cross-cultural knowledge and understanding, and they all use higher educational institutions as the vehicle for implementation. Foreign students enrolled at institutions of higher education provide a less expensive means for institutions to anchor cross-cultural knowledge. Very few studies target undergraduate students of African descent, particularly at the undergraduate level, perhaps because of their significantly small numbers compared to other foreign students.

In my review of the literature, I have found little quantitative, qualitative or context-specific research on factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students in general or on HBCU campuses in particular. In his qualitative doctoral dissertation turned book, Omotosho explores what it is like for Africans to be students in the U.S. and what it is like for them to detach from their heritage and home places to become students in the U.S., specifically on a majority white college campus (Omotosho, 2005). He defines the experience of being an African student as a phenomenon and uses the personal stories of twelve graduate African students (including himself) to explore this phenomenon. Omotosho finds that these students sometimes interpreted their experiences differently depending on their personal situations: whether they had lived in the U.S. prior to entering college, whether they spoke English in their home countries, whether they lived with family in the U.S., etc. The main objective of the study was to capture common and shared meanings as a

window into the world of African students. Based on knowledge about experiences of racial discrimination faced by black students on white campuses (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996), widespread racial discrimination may have been a factor for these students.

One of the graduate students interviewed by Omotosho remarks: “African Americans also sometimes stereotype and discriminate against Africans. They say we behave as if we are cleverer than them and some of them feel we have come to deprive them of their economic opportunities” (Omotosho, 2005, p. 39). From this quotation, one can sense some level of disillusionment and an unspoken expectation of acceptance that does not seem to exist, at least not consistently. As discussed later in this chapter and in subsequent chapters, this study applies identity theory and social identity theory to investigate and understand factors that explain interactions between these two groups.

Another research study focused on mutual stereotyping between Africans and African Americans in general. In his article, Ayuninjam (2000) investigates this phenomenon between Africans (both from the mainland and in the diaspora) and African Americans (students, faculty and staff) by taking a look at various forms of stereotyping mirrored in issues of identity and language use. He attempts to determine the overall effects of mutual stereotyping and suggests coping mechanisms that might facilitate looking beyond stereotypes. He applies both document analysis and the use of surveys for his study of Africans and African Americans. Stereotypes are classed as positive or negative, and findings indicate that both types affect expectations and interaction between members of both groups. An African or African American instructor who claims that African students are hardworking may unintentionally have unduly high expectations of them. On the other hand, the same instructor who may have low expectations of African American students deprives them of achieving to their full potential. On a practical level, such stereotypes may cause faculty to turn their syllabi into legal documents and binding contracts with their students by including every detail

pertaining to the conduct of individual courses. Beyond the classroom, stereotypes serve to stifle relationships between Africans and African Americans. Friendship ties are often causal, short-lived, and limited to formal (school and work) and not informal (outside of school and work) encounters (Ayuninjam, 2000, p. 30).

Ayuninjam concludes that engaging Africans and African Americans in an open intellectual “conversation” may contribute (in however small a manner) toward a better coexistence among all involved (Ayuninjam, 2000, pp. 136-137). Ayuninjam’s work does not examine what actually occurs when these two groups of students engage in conversation with each other about identity issues. My study advances his hope and directly engages undergraduate African and African American students in an “open intellectual ‘conversation’” and also takes advantage of a learning environment and a critical period of growth to get students thinking about how they interact with one another and with others they may consider to be different.

Another study about stereotyping on college campuses was done by Clark and Pearson (Clark & Pearson, 1982). In this instance, the study was a quantitative one that focused on black and white stereotyping. They surveyed 51 black and 66 white college students to identify common stereotypes used to describe first themselves, second black Americans, and third white Americans and concurred on the determination that stereotypes change over time both in content and uniformity as a result of apparent linkages to political and social awareness. Students were administered the Katz and Braly Checklist of 1933 in a group session by a researcher from the same race and instructed to read through the list of 84 adjectives and select five that best described first themselves, second black Americans, and third white Americans. Subsequently they were asked to read through the list of 84 adjectives and rate each on its degree of favorability as normally used to describe people. A Likert scale of 5 to 1 was used, with 5 indicating favorable, 1 unfavorable, and 3 neutral. Even though inter-group interaction was not addressed by this study, stereotypic content was analyzed by calculating the

frequency of adjectives checked. Data from this study were compared to three similar studies done in 1933, 1941, and 1972 (Clark & Pearson, 1982).

Clark and Pearson (1982) provide an analyses of the three previous studies. The 1933 study showed that whites generally described their own race as intelligent, materialistic, industrious, and ambitious and blacks as lazy, superstitious, musical, happy-go-lucky, and ignorant. The 1941 study and another done in 1943 were identical to the 1933 one in that blacks held similar stereotypes and described their own race as superstitious, musical, very religious, and loud and whites as intelligent, industrious, scientifically-minded, and progressive; however, the races differed slightly in their stereotypes of whites with black students describing whites as conceited. The 1972 study showed significant changes in racial stereotypes both in content and uniformity, the greatest of which was in the stereotypes held of black Americans. A very small number of white students described blacks as ignorant and lazy and substituted musical, pleasure-loving, ostentatious, and happy-go-lucky. Clark and Pearson's (1982) study highlights the point that change in stereotypes is linked to political and social awareness, and that political and social awareness matter in the formation of ideas about self and others. My study explores factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students and finds that mutual stereotyping is one of those factors.

Also, Clark and Pearson's (1982) study is quantitative; its survey methodology is quite prescriptive as participants are confined to choosing descriptors from a defined list. An important limitation of this approach is that the adjectives chosen by participants may not necessarily be those that they themselves would generate spontaneously and, therefore, may not accurately describe their perceptions or impressions. In addition, participants may agree with a particular adjective when in reality they have not associated it with that particular group. By using a qualitative approach (primarily in-depth individual and group interviews) that grounds theory

building in applicable data, my study more accurately describes the participants, their perceptions, and the context(s) under investigation.

Gerardo Marín's (1984) quantitative study of stereotyping in relation to Hispanics presents yet another perspective on the study of this phenomenon (Marín, 1984). From the outset, Marín criticizes the Katz and Braly Scale for being too prescriptive in favor of using an open-ended questionnaire as he does in his study of 100 Anglo-American university students about stereotypes held of Hispanics. Participants were asked to freely generate the contents of stereotypes they hold rather than choose from a list. This study took into consideration the notion of semantic differential evaluative responses whereby different labels for the same attitudinal object are said to produce different attitudinal responses. For example, different reactions will be produced for the label "black" as opposed to the label "negro." Participants in Marín's study seemed to have produced more positive stereotypes for the label "Mexican American" than for the label "Chicano."

The fact that one label would generate more positive stereotypes over another one speaks to the cognitive dimension of social identity theory, discussed later in this chapter. Labeling amounts to categorization of individuals into out-group members, resulting in perceptions of them as prototypes of the groups to which they belong. This perceptual transformation essentially depersonalizes them. Depersonalization of out-group members is commonly referred to as stereotyping, a social group phenomenon. Marín's use of freely produced responses seemed to resolve the problem of inadvertently forcing participants to think in categories they normally do not use. It also resolves the problem of respondents perhaps agreeing with a particular characteristic when in reality they have never associated it with a given group. Marín's study points to design issues that must be considered in order to improve the quality of a study. Like his, my study incorporates open-ended questions (See Appendix C and Appendix D) that generate relevant/applicable data about both groups within the context under study.

The dynamic nature of stereotyping is also reflected in Bar-Tal's study about the formation and change of ethnic and national stereotypes (Bar-Tal, 1997). Bar-Tal's model focuses on the following three categories of variables that determine stereotypic content and their intensity and extensity: background variables, transmitting variables, and personal mediating variables. Background variables include the history of inter-group relations, political-social climate, economic conditions, behavior of other groups, characteristics of the out-group, and nature of inter-group relations. Transmitting variables consist of political-social-cultural-educational mechanisms, family channels, and direct contact. Personal mediating variables comprise a person's values, attitudes, personality, motivations, and cognitive styles. Bar-Tal applies a number of theoretical explanations for the phenomenon of stereotyping, including realistic-group-conflict theory, ethnocentric model, scape-goat theory, social dominance theory, social learning theory (From Bandura), theory of belief congruence (proposed by Rokeach, Smith, and Evans in 1960), illusory correlation phenomenon, social identity theory (proposed by Tajfel and his associates), and categorization theory (Oakes, Haslam, and Turner – 1994). My study includes an investigation of the origin of perceptions and misconceptions between undergraduate African American and African students at one HBCU. Some of these perceptions and misconceptions translate into stereotyping, an outcome of categorization which is linked to identity and social identity processes. A combination of variables (background, transmitting, and personal mediating variables) can also be applied to explain mutual stereotyping between these two groups as well as misconceptions held.

Becker's (1973) study of black Africans and black Americans from the African perspective on the UCLA campus was closely related this dissertation research. The study explores manifestations and causes of strained relations between Africans and African Americans on that campus. The study examines the experience of black African students as far as their orientation to and perception of black and white communities in

the United States, their interpersonal relations with members of both communities, and their self perceptions as foreign students. The study operates on three premises. First of all, based on the notion that racial characteristics are an important differentiating and stratifying factor in the United States, it assumes that a spontaneous sense of kinship and mutual trust would exist between black Americans and black foreigners visiting the United States. Secondly, the study puts forth that this racially-based sense of kinship may be neutralized if inter-group association is perceived by members of either group as having unfavorable consequences. Thirdly, the association between Africans and black Americans may be experienced as superimposed because relationships between both groups are determined to a significant degree by the perception of the white majority. Consequently, Becker contends that if members of both groups view themselves as having different characteristics and competing interests along with racial similarity, the probability increases that inter-group relations will be marked by strain and ambivalence.

Becker's study was conducted in the 1967/1968 academic year with a random sample of 57 black African students in the first interview and 33 in the second. In terms of interpersonal relations with white Americans, Africans (like other foreign students) might be expected to seek approval and acceptance from the racial group with the capacity to confer prestige; i.e., whites. The potential attraction of black Africans to black Americans simply based on racial similarity would be counterbalanced by the proclivity of Africans to perceive themselves as a separate and distinct social entity from black Americans. Such an inclination may rest on historical, geographical, and cultural factors separating Africans from black Americans as well as on tangible advantages (higher prestige and practical benefits like jobs and housing) associated with maintaining a separate African identity in a white community (Becker, 1973, p. 170).

Regarding interpersonal relations between Africans and black Americans, Becker (1973) holds that mutual attraction based on racial similarity between both groups is offset by the desire of Africans to stress their separate social identity. This desire for a separate identity is fueled by the historical and cultural gap separating both groups and also by the perceived benefits embedded in such separate identity. Becker further argues that, in contrast to white foreign students who might be expected to take a neutral position, Africans are perhaps inclined to view black Americans as a negative reference group for two reasons. For one thing, physical similarity with black Americans renders Africans' separate identity forever precarious, and so reaffirming that identity burdens African students with the need to stress their differences from black Americans. Also, in focusing their attention on black Americans, Africans become conscious of being relatively well off, an "ego-boosting" perception that neutralizes the impact of unpleasant experiences they are certain to encounter as a result of their race (Becker, 1973, p. 172).

Becker's (1973) findings on the topics of communication as well as friendship and dating patterns of African students support the above analysis. The overwhelming majority of African study participants reported having an easier time communicating with whites than with black Americans. Many of them expressed some level of psychological discomfort, perhaps because of contradictions between pre-arrival expectations and post-arrival experiences with whites and with black Americans. Study data also revealed a tendency for Africans to befriend and associate with whites rather than with blacks. With regard to dating, African male participants showed a preference for whites rather than black Americans, probably because of comparative ease of communication with whites (mentioned earlier) and because of the desire to maintain a measure of detachment and avoid deep involvement. Female African participants did not date.

Becker's (1973) study raises issues of identity, perceptions, and expectations from the perspective of African students located in a predominantly white institution. He finds that the causes of strained relations between Africans and African Americans may stem not only from historical, geographical, and cultural factors, but also from tangible benefits accorded Africans in a white community. This study investigates factors that explain interactions between African and African American students from both perspectives. Identity theory and social identity theory are applied to address recurring issues of identity. Conducting this study on an HBCU campus establishes location as significant, particularly if experiences between the two groups do not mirror, but differ from, those reported by Becker (1973) in his study of both groups on a majority white campus.

Jackson and Cothran's study of relations among specific groups in the African diaspora was also closely related to this research (Jackson & Cothran, 2003). Their study examined relationships among continental African, African American, and African Caribbean persons in terms of interaction, contact, friendship, travel to countries of the diaspora, and cross-cultural communication; thoughts and stereotypes that may have been shaped by historical, social, cultural, and psychological forces; and the role of education. Their study found that, in general, all three groups did not relate well, and that despite experiencing similar interracial struggles which create some semblance of common bonds, they failed to appreciate their common heritage. These authors attribute the lack of inter-group understanding to inadequacies in participants' respective educational systems that presented minimal, flawed, or inconsistent information about peoples of African descent. The authors point to the need for more Afrocentric education from elementary school to college "as a means of reeducating people to have a better perspective of the African diaspora and to dispel myths and negative stereotypes about African people" (Jackson & Cothran, 2003, p. 576).

Like Jackson and Cothran's study, my study falls under the emerging category of research that not only recognizes common bonds among people of African descent, but also underscores "differences in the historical trajectory of the diverse peoples of the modern African diaspora" (C. Palmer, 2000, p. 58). African participants in my study came from seven countries: Cameroon, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Togo. African participants in the Jackson and Cothran study came from Ghana and Nigeria. Participants (427) in the Jackson and Cothran study were mostly a convenience sample at a conference and some students, faculty, and staff from four universities located in a metropolitan area. Participation in my study was limited to undergraduate students at one HBCU, a site that positions both groups in an exclusive context that presupposes better opportunities for inter-group interaction.

Although related research investigating inter-group interactions within minority groups is scanty, a few dissertations in recent years have focused on different aspects of such interactions. One such study (Coates, 2004) explores the nature of minority-minority stereotyping among African American and West Indian/Afro-Caribbean blacks. Specifically, Coates sets out to identify inter-group stereotypes and determine the similarities and differences between out-group stereotyping. The study examines the degree to which both positive and negative stereotyping reflects prejudice. To accomplish this, Coates attempts to determine whether social contact with the out-group reduces the magnitude of negative stereotyping by the source group. She also uncovers the effects of stereotyping on social interactions between both groups. She applies Ogbu's minority classification framework to test whether it adequately explains minority group differences, and also as an aid to understanding the nature of inter-group relations in the face of mutual stereotyping. Finally, Coates examines similarities between stereotypes held by African Americans and West Indians about each other, and those held by the dominant group (white) about subordinate groups (black).

Some of the findings of Coates' (2004) mixed method study were contradictory. Coates discredits Ogbu's minority classification framework. Operating on the premise that survey data would indicate greater hostility between African Americans and West Indians/Afro-Caribbeans in educational settings if Ogbu's minority classification schema were accurate, she determines that this was not the case (Coates, 2004, p. 157). On the other hand, focus-group data indicated that prejudice and responses to out-group stereotyping do in fact exist, concluding that there were more positive than negative stereotypes. Stereotyping, in my study, features only as one of the factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students at an HBCU. I apply identity theory and social identity theory to understand how stereotyping originates and to shed light on interactions between both groups.

Another dissertation by Butler (2006) examines relations between two African diasporic communities. Her interest is in how mutual perceptions connect African Americans and Kenyans and affect cultural boundary construction. Her dissertation, *Globally Connected yet Culturally Bound: Constructions of Cultural Alterity among African Americans and Kenyan Immigrants*, is a comparative study of African Americans and Kenyan immigrants in Chicago. She examines how Kenyans who bring a different cultural experience and level of race consciousness confront being placed in the racial category 'black' with African Americans, and how their perceptions of African Americans are affected by the same racial discourse that affects the negative construction of Africa in the American imaginary (M. T. Butler, 2006, p. 7).

Butler (2006) conceptualizes the relationship between race and ethnicity as separate processes at work in the boundary construction of African Americans and Kenyan immigrants. She explores Afrocentricity as a scholarly and popular form of resistance to racism. She points out that an imagined Africa is at the core of Afrocentric discourse and examines the differences in race perceptions by continental Africans (Kenyans) and African Americans, and how these different perspectives affect relations

between the two groups. Butler also explores the role that race plays in the identity formation of these two groups.

Butler (2006) traces the development of race consciousness in Africa. In the pre-colonial period, race was largely secondary to cultural and religious differences and gained significance during the colonial period which marked the expansion of western capitalism and European slave trade. During this period, slaves were mainly identified with manual labor and dark skin. Race consciousness became more apparent as slavery expanded, bringing with it European conceptions of race that portrayed black Africans as inferior and established a hierarchical scheme of racial classification. The colonial period also saw an increase in ethnic consciousness, for the local power structure established by clan was dismantled in favor of European-style administrative units headed by official chiefs. Increasing ethnic consciousness and other tensions led to resistance against colonialism. Tribal identities heightened during colonialism played a major role in the politics of the colonial state and would structure the social milieu for decades to come.

The end of colonialism saw a conversion to African rule which was plagued with power struggles among different ethnic groups. Even though Europeans had been responsible for the colonial system and benefited most from exploiting the continent's resources and labor, there was minimal hostility toward former colonists. Whites still occupy a high status in society and are well respected. Butler points out that despite this privilege, the relationship between blacks and whites is not as contentious in Kenya (and other African countries) as it is in the U.S., perhaps because Africans occupy elite positions in society as well, and whites are seen as just another "tribe." Furthermore, in the history of contact between peoples on the East African coast, race as a political ideology did not fully develop (though observations of physical variety and ethnocentrism certainly occurred). Bondage had little or nothing to do with skin color, for slaves in ancient Greco-Roman society were often physically similar to their masters.

Unlike in the African context, where race plays a marginal role in the everyday lives of people and is overshadowed by ethnic loyalties, race continues to be an overriding issue in the U.S. America's history of cultural contact, like that of Africa, is also connected with western global expansion and capitalism, which included slavery and colonialism. Yet racism has persisted as a powerful force rather than a relatively subtle manifestation (M. T. Butler, 2006, p. 47). Butler maintains that blacks have progressively lost many gains accomplished by the Civil Rights movement, for "the conservative movement to quell the social advancement thrived by finding ways to disenfranchise blacks without violating the Fourth and Fifth Amendments" (M. T. Butler, 2006, p. 54). In spite of affirmative action programs implemented during the post-Civil Rights era, blacks are still relatively overrepresented among the low-income, unemployed and unskilled groups, and disproportionately experience attendant problems like addiction to drugs, high school drop-out rates, low employment rates, and poverty).

Butler (2006) finds that the historical and cultural context which informs the worlds of Africans and African Americans influences their outlook on life. On the continent, Kenyans (like other Africans) are exposed to the glamour of black Americans mainly through encounters with those who vacation in Africa and via the media. Confounded by the worldwide image of America as a democratic and wealthy land of opportunity, Africans, therefore, generally hold an idealized view of America and view blacks as both successful and positioned to do well for themselves. Against this backdrop, Butler states that when black Americans are associated with various images of poverty (welfare dependency, elevated high school drop-out rates, public housing and crime) Kenyans attributed these problems to their inherent laziness rather than structural barriers in the American society. This view can be said to apply to other Africans as is borne out by a Nigerian's—Owolabi (1996)—description of his views of African Americans, despite fifteen years of living and working in the U.S. (as an undergraduate and graduate student and subsequently as a professional engineer).

Black American views of Africa, on the other hand, are largely premised on experiences with racism. Because racist discourse constructs Africa as an amorphous “dark continent,” primitive and devoid of “civilization,” and blacks in America have been discriminated against because of their “African” heritage, they developed an ambivalent relationship and mixed feelings toward Africa/ns (M. T. Butler, 2006, p. 2). Butler’s introduction depicts her personal experiences with instances of the aforementioned scenario. Being called an “African,” for example, was one of the worst insults for school children when she was younger, for it conjured images of primitive, scantily clothed figures like those seen on *Tarzan*. An “African booty scratcher” was the ultimate insult as it evoked the image of Africans as “dark-skinned, ignorant savages that scratched themselves like monkeys in the jungle” (M. T. Butler, 2006, p. 149). Keim (1999) reinforces this stance through his detailed depiction of pervasive negative representations of Africa/ns in the American society, and by pointing out how these misrepresentations are strengthened through formal schooling.

Butler (2006) contends that immigrants from continental Africa bring a unique transnational experience that allows them to construct racial meaning and an ethnic identity that contrasts with that of their African American counterparts. Racism in Kenya fostered the development of ethnic loyalties rather than a cohesive racial identity, whereas in the U.S. the opposite was true as slavery suppressed the cultural identities of African slaves and forced them to adopt an exclusively racial definition of self. Kenyan (and other African) immigrants in the U.S. confront this racial ideology and demonstrate resistance by establishing their own unique identity to keep from becoming “American,” which would mean becoming “Black American” and assuming a subordinate social status (M. T. Butler, 2006, p. 74).

Africans and African Americans have long been lumped into the same racial category. As more Africans come to live in America, both groups find themselves

negotiating the tension between cultural boundaries and racial identity. Butler employs the notion of “ethnocontrasts” to examine cultural boundary formation between Kenyans and African Americans in Chicago. Ethnocontrasts are defined as “specific dimensions of perceived cultural difference arising out of complex fields of global power relations... meaning is not separate from action or material relations..., but is generated through active engagement with the material world” (M. T. Butler, 2006, p. 115). Ethnocontrasts describe the dialectical process of creating “self” versus “other” at given historical moments within the context of interaction between global cultural flows and hegemonic state discourses. In Butler’s study, Kenyans emphasized cultural difference in terms of values and attitude toward work and family, while African Americans associated Africans with being primitive, traditional, and conservative (M. T. Butler, 2006, p. 149).

Like Butler’s study, this dissertation links the unconscious collection of experiences and habits with the perception of cultural difference in everyday practices in the populations under study. Africans and African Americans recognized differences in routine practices like eating, dress, demeanor, and attitudes toward work/education. Butler’s approach is descriptive, and participants are largely African American and Kenyan professionals in Chicago. While this dissertation study is also descriptive, its participants are all undergraduate college students, including African Americans and Africans from several countries across the continent. The study goes beyond description to conceptualize the fluid/shifting nature of these boundaries as evident when increased knowledge about the out-group and consistent/deliberate interaction with members of the out-group leads to blurring of these boundaries.

Butler's study applies the concept of ethnocontrasts premised on cultural alterity. My study examines factors that affect interaction between Africans and African Americans in general. I present information about Pan-Africanism, Afrocentricity, the African diaspora, and the universal black experience as entry points for discussing these factors and for framing understanding of interactions, expectations, perceptions and misconceptions between both groups. Because identity enters into discussions about the African diaspora, identity theory and social identity theory are applied as a practical conceptual framework for analyzing interactions between both groups. Furthermore, this study presents conceptions of the self partially grounded in cultural alterity as defined by participants, and then using identity theory and social identity theory, attempts to explain how conceptions of the self play into identity formation.

c) Theoretical Framework

The convergence of identity theory (Burke, 1997; Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke & Tully, 1977; Stets, 2006) and social identity theory (Hogg, 2006; Hogg & Abrams, 1988) provides a useful theoretical framework for investigating interactions between undergraduate African and African American students at one HBCU. Both theoretical frameworks acknowledge the importance of the individual's goals and purposes and apply conceptions of the self in exploring identity formation. They describe the self as reflexive in that "it can take itself as an object and can categorize, classify, or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 224). While identity theory focuses on social structural arrangements and the link between persons, social identity theory focuses on characteristics of situations in which the identity may be activated.

There is a general consensus among student development theorists around the notion that the adolescent and late-adolescent/college years are critical for the development of identity (Rollins & Riccio, 2005; Torres, Howard-Hamilton, & Cooper, 2003). As Rollins and Riccio observe:

Identity combines one's sense of self as an individual as well as one's perception of the various groups to which one belongs. Identity is important in that it guides the way the individual processes information about one's self and the environments in which one functions.

(Rollins & Riccio, 2005, p. 555)

In spite of the aforementioned, they, and others like Butler (2001) and Williams (2001), have articulated the fluidity and malleability of identity by noting that multiple identities are possible and subject to change depending on the socio-historical context (K. D. Butler, 2001, p. 123; Williams, 2001, p. 106). Butler (2001) goes on to point out that some identities are largely a matter of choice within contextual constraints, while others, particularly those tied to racial ideologies, are socially constructed and, therefore, imposed. Torres, Howard-Hamilton, and Cooper (2003) raise the issue of the absence of research on identity development among black and other minority students. They point to Erikson's 1968 finding that the late adolescent years are a time of conflict between identity and identity diffusion, and then sum up that it is the resolution of these conflicts that influences how identity develops (Torres, Howard-Hamilton, & Cooper, 2003, p. 3).

Butler's (2001) distinction between racial and, say, ethnic identities and Torres, Howard-Hamilton, and Cooper's (2003) positioning of identity development within the context of conflict resolution connect with Williams' call to rethink identity within the African diaspora. Williams' (2001) discussion of identity highlights the fact that black identity has been imposed from without and shaped from within the (black) community. The U.S. Census designation of people of African descent as "Black" captures this outside imposition, and the continuing question about what identification(s) this group

of people should collectively use—“Negro,” “Black,” “Afro-American,” or “African American”—represents the internal debate. For an individual, the choice of identification is a highly personal decision, made within particular contextual constraints. This internal debate continues to be sustained by real barriers which point to the linkage between identity, race, and the African diaspora. This linkage, according to Williams, has been the focus of a much larger debate about identity. He contemplates whether the definition of identity should be understood in the context of the “nation,” in terms of “race,” or in terms of ethnicity or class, and points to the need for a more nuanced approach to the matter which avoids distorting the cultural “given” of identity. He then reiterates the multidimensional nature of identity and notes that “identities are conceived in a particular historical moment and are continually re-forged over time” (Williams, 2001, p. 106), thus moving the debate about identity into the arena of the African diaspora.

Scholars of the African diaspora, Afrocentricity, and universal black experiences in general depict linkages with pan-Africanism, and all underscore Black/African consciousness. Widespread recognition of the usefulness of the African diaspora concept as an analytical framework for interpreting the historical experiences of people of African descent is without question. Among advocates of the notion are those who propose shifting the concept from an overemphasis on blackness/“Africa/n” to include difference (Gilroy, 1993; Williams, 2001). Williams (2001) believes the prevailing interpretations of the African diaspora to be problematic, for they rely too heavily on Africa as a symbol to legitimize a “Black” or “African” identity, leaving the impression that a central component of the African diaspora phenomenon is some notion of racial essence. He argues that there is no one idea of “blackness” or “African” which could or should control how the experiences of people of African descent are studied, and he also notes that the histories of African people are too varied and complex to be fully captured by any one definition of Black/African identity (Williams, 2001, pp. 108-109). In the tradition of Paul Gilroy (1993), Williams proposes a new approach to the African

diaspora concept that takes the Atlantic as a unit of analysis in discussions of the modern world, thereby producing an explicitly inclusive transnational history.

Identity theory and social identity theory present broad and useful frameworks that extend the scope of analysis for this study beyond association with simply being African or black. Both are general and widely accepted mainstream social psychological theories that help explain the self and the relationship between self and group. As Torres, Howard-Hamilton, and Cooper note, “A college student’s identity is a complex and individual process based on choices that bring congruence between old and new learned beliefs. ...theories help frame and explain aspects of the process” (Torres, Howard-Hamilton, & Cooper, 2003, p. 7). Identity theory and social identity theory, therefore, provide a broad analytical framework for understanding and explaining factors that affect interactions between undergraduate African and African American students at one HBCU. By applying both theories, my analysis of related data for this study attempts to capture and explain elements of participant background that may transcend their “African” or “black” identity, and incorporate other elements and experiences that impact their identity development and their interpersonal/inter-group interactions.

i) Identity Theory

Stets (2006) provides a contemporary articulation of identity theory that traces its evolution since inception. Identity theory originated from Stryker’s structural approach to symbolic interaction in 1968. Structural symbolic interaction views society as stable and durable, and this view is evident in the different levels of patterned behavior within and between individuals. At one level, patterns of behavior of an individual over time can provide information about (or understanding of) that individual. Knowledge drawn from several such patterns across similar individuals can be combined

to understand individuals of a certain type. On another level, patterns of behavior across individuals can be examined to see how they fit with the patterns of others to establish larger patterns of behavior. These larger, inter-individual patterns represent social structure. As individuals create social structure, they simultaneously receive feedback from the structures they and others construct to change themselves and the way they function. Therefore, individuals are always embedded in the social structure.

The self, like society, is patterned and organized. Individuals take themselves as objects and reflect back upon themselves. In interacting with others, an individual sees himself or herself from the perspective of others, and the individual's responses come to be like the responses of the others; thus, the meaning of the self becomes a shared one. "The self [, therefore,] arises in social interaction and within the larger context of a complex, organized, differentiated society" (Stets, 2006, p. 89). Because the larger context is complex, organized, and differentiated, so too is the self, thus in Stryker's words, the "self reflects society" (In Stets, 2006, p. 89).

Stets (2006) notes that to capture the whole self, the self must be depicted as having many different parts or identities, each tied to aspects of the social structure. As such, there are as many different selves as different positions that one holds in society and different groups that react to the self. An individual has an identity for each of the different positions or roles held. Each role identity, therefore, incorporates all the meanings that person attaches to himself or herself in that role. These meanings are partially derived from culture and social structure in that individuals are socialized into roles. In addition, individuals bring into the role identity their own understanding of what the identity means to them. As such, role identity meanings are both shared and idiosyncratic, and individuals negotiate their idiosyncrasies with others who may have a different understanding about the role identity meanings.

By virtue of occupying roles in society and being members of groups, individuals also have social identities. Culture also influences social identities by defining the meanings of group membership and the behavior expected from those memberships. Stets illuminates the differences between role identities and social identities documented by Stets and Burke (In Stets, 2006, p. 89). Perceptions and actions between individuals are inherently different in role-based identities. In social identities on the other hand, people categorize themselves as similar to members of the group, the in-group, and different from non-members, the out-group. There is uniformity of perception and action among group members in social or group-based identity, and groups activate a sense of belonging and self-worth.

Stets (2006) also discusses the person as a basis for identity and defines a person identity as “the set of meanings that are tied to and sustain the self as an individual rather than sustaining a group or role” (Stets, 2006, p. 90). Again, culture informs the elements that form the basis of person identities. Persons play out roles that exist within groups, and which identity is focused on will make salient some issues and not others in any given situation.

Stets’ outline of identity theory highlights three trajectories premised on Stryker’s initial structural approach to symbolic interaction: the work of George McCall and J. L. Simmons in 1978, Sheldon Stryker in 1980, and Peter J. Burke in 2000. McCall and Simmons emphasize role identities, and define role identity as one’s imaginative view of oneself as one likes to think of one’s self being and acting as an occupant of a particular social position. These role identities have a conventional dimension which includes expectations tied to social positions that individuals try to meet, and an idiosyncratic dimension which includes the individuals’ unique interpretations of their roles. McCall and Simmons perceive identities as improvised, variable, and negotiated. They maintain that individuals generally have multiple role identities which can be conceptualized as organized in a hierarchy within the self—a prominence hierarchy of

identities. Such a hierarchy reflects how individuals like to see themselves given their ideals and values. Placement of an identity in this hierarchy depends on the amount of support obtained from others for the identity, the individual's commitment and investment in the identity, and the amount of extrinsic and intrinsic rewards obtained as a result of the identity.

Because the prominence hierarchy does not necessarily determine behavior in all situations, McCall and Simmons identified the salience hierarchy of identities which reflects the situational rather than the ideal self, and it serves to make predictions as to how individuals will behave in particular situations. Placement of an identity in the salience hierarchy depends on the prominence of the identity, its need for support, the individual's need for the type and quantity of intrinsic and extrinsic reward from the identity, and the degree of opportunity for enacting the identity. McCall and Simmons note the fluidity of the salience hierarchy given that role identities become salient in different situations, as opposed to the prominence hierarchy which is more stable and enduring.

Sheldon Stryker organizes an individual's role identities in a salience hierarchy, which is heavily influenced by the degree of the individual's commitment to the identity. Such a commitment is either quantitative or qualitative. Quantitative commitment accounts for the number of persons to whom one is connected through an identity; i.e., the more persons one is connected to through an identity, the more likely it is that the identity will be activated in a given situation. Qualitative commitment deals with the relative strength or depth of ties to others; i.e., stronger or deeper ties to others will lead to related identity activation. The salience hierarchy determines how individuals will likely behave in a given situation. Stryker perceives a salient identity as one which is likely to be activated frequently across situations. The more salient the identity, the more likely it will be for the individual to perform the role identity in accordance with associated expectations, recognize situations as opportunities to activate the identity,

and seek out opportunities to activate the identity. Identity theory seeks to understand the effect of individuals' positions in the social structure on the likelihood that those individuals will activate one identity rather than another.

Peter J. Burke deviates from the hierarchical structure of identity and highlights the internal dynamics that operate for any one identity. He asserts that identity and behavior are connected through a common set of meanings. The meanings of an identity for an individual are predictive of that individual's behavior. Burke developed a quantitative measurement for self-meanings of an identity which deciphers the meanings that individuals have for their identities. These meanings will, therefore, affect how these individuals will behave. The three basis for identity—person, role, and social (group)—illustrate a direct link between identity theory and social identity theory in investigating person-to-person and group and inter-group interaction.

ii) Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory describes social identity as part of the individual's self-concept derived from knowledge of the individual's membership in a social group or groups, together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership; the theory associates these group membership ideals with the motive to achieve positive self-evaluation whereby people's desire for positive social identity provides a motivational basis for differentiation between social groups and in-group favoritism (Bar-Tal, 1997; Leyens, Yzerbyt, & Schadrin, 1994).

Hogg (2006) traces the developments in social identity theory to date and describes its meta-theoretical foundations. He sketches four lines of research related to social identity theory as defined by its originator, Tajfel: examination of how categorization causes people to perceptually accentuate similarities among stimuli within the same category and difference between stimuli from different categories; analysis of the role of cognitive processes in prejudice, particularly categorization; studies showing that being categorized, even minimally, causes people to discriminate in favor of their own group; and critiques of social comparison research contending that in inter-group contexts, people make comparisons that maximize differences between self (as in-group member) and other (as out-group member) (Hogg, 2006, p. 112).

For Tajfel, social identity is “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership” (In Hogg, 2006, p. 113). Groups, i.e., sets of people sharing the same identity, vie for importance by competing over consensual status and prestige. These competitions are fueled by people’s beliefs about the nature of inter-group relations (Hogg, 2006, p. 113). Social belief structures constitute beliefs about group status relative to other groups, beliefs about the stability of this status relationship, beliefs about the legitimacy of group status, beliefs about group permeability and the possibility of making psychological transitions between groups, and beliefs about the feasibility of establishing an alternative status quo. Hogg notes that a combination of these belief variables produces a wide range of varying inter-group behaviors (Hogg, 2006, pp. 122-123). Social identity theory, therefore, analyzes how categorization causes people to perceptually emphasize similarities within the same category and difference between different categories, and how categorization influences inter-group interactions.

The cognitive dimension of social identity came to be conceptualized as self-categorization, and it describes how categorization of self and others reinforces social identification and associated group and inter-group propensities. Self-categorization led to the incorporation of referent informational influence; i.e., “people construct group norms from appropriate in-group members and in-group behaviors and internalize and enact these norms as part of their social identity” (Hogg, 2006, p. 113). Self-enhancement then evolved as a motivational basis for social identity processes, though it was unclear how. Categorization was also linked to discriminatory practices by people in favor of their own group.

In effect, social identity theory (Hogg & Abrams, 1988) points out that individuals are born into an already structured society and derive their identities from the social categories to which they belong. Furthermore, the social categories in which individuals find or place themselves exist only in relation to other contrasting categories. The basis of identity in social identity theory is in the uniformity of perceptions and actions among group members, revealed along cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral lines. Stereotyping, for instance, is an example of a cognitive outcome. Along attitudinal lines, people uniformly make positive evaluations of a group when they become members. In terms of behavior, people behave in concert within a group with which they identify; i.e., individuals who use the group label to describe themselves are more likely to participate in the group’s culture, to distinguish themselves from the out-group, and to show attraction to the group in their behavior.

Against the aforementioned background, Hogg (2006) captures the current conceptual structure of social identity theory that describes the relationship between self-conception and group processes, delineating the link between individual cognition, social interaction, and group processes. A social group comprises more than two people who share the same social identity—“They identify and evaluate themselves in the same way and have the same definition of who they are, what attributes they have, and how

they relate to and differ from people who are not in their group or who are in specific out-groups” (Hogg, 2006, p. 115). Though not directly linked to group processes, personal identities fit in because group life influences the development of personal identities and interpersonal friendships and enmities. Individuals have as many social and personal identities as the groups they belong to or personal relationships they have. Identification is the critical factor in social identity theory, for it is the cornerstone for establishing within the group a common fate, interdependence, interaction, shared goals, and group structure.

People cognitively represent groups they belong to as a prototype, incorporating a set of attributes—perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviors (Hogg, 2006, p. 118). Categorization of individuals as group members results in perceptions of them as prototypes, complete with prototypical attributes. This perceptual transformation essentially depersonalizes the individual. Depersonalization entails assigning the attributes of a category to an individual. If the attributes are positive as is generally the case with in-group attributes, depersonalization creates favorable perceptions; if the attributes are negative or degrading as is sometimes the case with out-groups, dehumanization may result. Depersonalization occurs with both in-group and out-group members as a result of social categorization. As Hogg notes, depersonalization of out-group members is commonly referred to as stereotyping, whereby out-group members are perceived as similar to one another and all having out-group attributes; whereas categorization of in-group members is viewed as self-stereotyping, thus producing normative behavior (Hogg, 2006, p. 119). Stereotyping can then be understood as the process which allows selective accentuation of in-group differences and in-group positive evaluation. This selective accentuation of in-group differences has been linked to category formation premised on the notion that two or more things are the same in some way and also different from other things (McGarty, 2002).

Psychological salience has emerged as having a significant impact in social identity theory. Hogg (2006) cites the development of this principle by Oates in 1987. Identity salience is undergirded by the notions of accessibility and fit (Hogg, 2006, p. 119). Individuals will access, negotiate, and use different identities based on the social situation or context. The categorization with the best fit becomes psychologically salient and is accessed and used. When an identity is salient, the prototype is the basis for perception, reference, and behavior. Several motivations for social identity have been summarized: self-enhancement and positive distinctiveness, uncertainty reduction, and optimal distinctiveness (Hogg, 2006, pp. 120-121).

As a social psychological tool for analyzing the role of self-conception in group membership, group processes, and inter-group relations (Hogg, 2006, p. 111), social identity theory provides a useful model for examining interactions between undergraduate African and African American students at one HBCU. My data analysis considers ways in which identity shifts for the African participants and also for the African American participants, and how these shifts explain and/or are manifested in expectations, perceptions and interactions between both groups. My analysis also considers how existing social categories or structures influence identity and social identity formation as well as behaviors within these two groups.

As mentioned earlier, while identity theory focuses on social structural arrangements and the link between persons, social identity theory focuses on characteristics of situations in which the identity may be activated. The two theories are interconnected and show how interpersonal and intergroup interactions merge into identities, generate and change social limitations, and build social relationships. The emphasis in identity theory is on the self and its multiple identities, while social identity theory emphasizes group membership for positive self-evaluation and uncertainty reduction. This study focuses primarily on social identity and on social situations, and to a limited extent on personal/individual identity. Personal/individual identity is explored

as an area that highlights the importance of individual cognitive development which may bring understanding to the social choices an individual makes, including group memberships. Butler (2001) acknowledges that some identities are largely a matter of choice within contextual constraints. As Stets and Burke (2000) argue, the overlapping nature of identity theory and social identity theory makes it increasingly likely that both theories will eventually merge into one.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

a) Research Questions

As stated in the introduction, this qualitative study examines factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students enrolled at one HBCU. It explores beliefs, cultural and contextual factors that shed light on interactions across the two categories of students. The research 1) identifies factors that explain inter-group interaction; 2) analyzes identified factors; and 3) examines their impact on overall attitudes, behaviors, interactions, and relations across the two groups. It applies identity theory and social identity theory to explain interaction patterns. Both theoretical frameworks acknowledge the importance of the individual's goals and purposes and apply conceptions of the self in exploring identity formation. While identity theory focuses on social structural arrangements and the link between persons, social identity theory focuses on characteristics of situations in which the identity may be activated. These theories show how interpersonal and inter-group interactions merge into identities, generate and change social limitations, and build social relationships.

The research questions are:

1. What factors explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students?
2. How do expectations, perceptions, and misconceptions shape interactions between undergraduate African and African American students?
3. What impact does direct and sustained interaction between undergraduate African and African American students have on their expectations, perceptions of, and misconceptions about one another?

b) Research Site

As the title indicates, the populations under study are undergraduate African students and undergraduate African American students. Ensuring participation meant selecting a location with a high concentration of members of both groups. An HBCU campus seemed to make sense for access to both groups. In addition, the climate at an HBCU would likely minimize the impact of racial discrimination against Blacks, thus creating an opportunity to extend knowledge about ethnic/cultural/identity variation within the African diaspora, as well as inter-group interactions between undergraduate African and African American students.

While most HBCUs enroll large numbers of African Americans, one with a sizeable number of undergraduate African students would be most meaningful for this study. I retrieved a list of all 103 HBCUs from the website of the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities.² I also accessed the Institute of International Education's³ *Open Doors*⁴ for enrollment numbers of international students. All higher education institutions in the U.S. are required to report international student enrollments for publication in November each year for the previous academic year, and this information is published in *Open Doors*. I identified all HBCUs that reported international student enrollments in AY 2005/2006. I examined these data and selected eight institutions with the highest numbers (1,017; 544; 307; 259; 147; 138; 137; 136). My next step was to determine the number of African students

² The White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities is a federal program that was initiated by the White House in 1980 to overcome discrimination and strengthen and expand the capacity of HBCUs to provide excellence in education.

³ The Institute of International Education is an independent nonprofit organization founded in 1919 that offers international education and training to promote closer educational relations between the people of the United States and those of other countries through institutions of higher education.

⁴ *Open Doors* is a resource that contains comprehensive information on the more than half a million international students in the United States and on the over 200,000 U.S. students who study abroad as part of their academic experience. Captured data about international students include information on place of origin, sources of financial support, fields of study, host institutions, academic level, rates of growth of the international student population in the United States, as well as the economic impact of international students to the host state and national economies.

enrolled at each institution. By searching the websites of these eight institutions, I identified the names and contact information for the faculty/administrator in charge of international students. I then called and emailed these persons explaining my study and asking for additional specific information about African student enrollments. I received responses from three of the eight inquiries and settled on the HCBU site of this study which had the highest number of African students of the three institutions, 60⁵ (of the reported 136 international students).

I contacted the institutional review board compliance officer at the HBCU site of this study in fall 2006. Using information I supplied about my study, she identified a faculty sponsor for me according to institutional review board guidelines. With support from my faculty sponsor, who was chair of the psychology department, I applied for and received institutional review board approval for my study at the end of November 2006. I reviewed the university's general studies requirements to identify courses that were required by all degree-seeking students, and then called and emailed selected faculty in the departments of English, history, and psychology. I received no responses. My faculty sponsor followed up with a general broadcast to his department asking for faculty to welcome me into their classes so that I may recruit volunteers for my study. One faculty member in the psychology department responded to my faculty sponsor's appeal and invited me to recruit participants from his four classes (Memory and Cognition, Cross-cultural Psychology, and two sections of Elementary Psychology). None of these courses were general education requirements. I visited all four classes in January 2007, presented my research to the students, and invited them to volunteer to participate. All interviews and observations took place between February and May 2007.

⁵ Guesstimate from the institution's Office of International Programs.

i) Brief History of HBCUs

Historically Black Colleges and Universities were established in the 1800s during the era of legalized racial discrimination against African Americans, for the purpose of educating black students for service and leadership roles in black communities, as well as for adjustment and success in the wider community (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Today, despite the growing entrenchment of multiculturalism and internationalization in colleges and universities, particularly on predominantly white campuses, there are still reports of negative experiences by black students on white campuses due primarily to racial discrimination. Racial barriers and related impediments are still commonplace and involve the erecting of physical, legal, and social barriers to make certain places, situations, and positions inaccessible to, or difficult for members of racial out-groups (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996). The amended Higher Education Act of 1965 defines an HBCU as:

...any historically black college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was, and is, the education of black Americans, and that is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association determined by the Secretary [of Education] to be a reliable authority as to the quality of training offered or is, according to such an agency or association, making reasonable progress toward accreditation. HBCUs offer all students, regardless of race, an opportunity to develop their skills and talents.⁶

⁶ Quote from the website of the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

According to the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities, there are 103 HBCUs in the U.S.

HBCUs enroll 14 percent of all African American students in higher education, although they constitute only 3 percent of America's 4,084 institutions of higher education. In 1999, these institutions matriculated 24 percent of all African American students enrolled in four-year colleges, awarded masters degrees and first-professional degrees to about 1 in 6 African American men and women, and awarded 24 percent of all baccalaureate degrees earned by African Americans nationwide.⁷

One can infer that HBCUs are a more responsive environment and provide better support for black students based on HBCUs' expressed mission and on their success rates in matriculating these students. Conducting this study on an HBCU campus, therefore, would likely minimize the impact of racial discrimination on both groups under study and better present the experiences of the participants as they relate to factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students.

Established racial categories tend to follow the design determined by the U.S. Census Bureau that classifies all blacks in the same general category "Black" or "African American." Also, since African Americans and Africans share a common racial and cultural heritage (Freeman, 1998; Holt, 2000; Osei-Njame, 1999; C. A. Palmer, 2000), I conducted this study on a historically black college campus to see if results of experiences between the two groups would mirror or differ from those reported by Becker (1973) in his study of these two groups on a majority white campus. As discussed earlier, Becker's study explored the manifestations and causes of strained relations between Africans and African Americans on the UCLA campus. The causes of this strain centered on higher status and tangible benefits accorded Africans in preference to Black Americans, socio-cultural differences between the two groups, and perceived rejection of Black Africans by Black Americans.

⁷ Quote from the website of the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

ii) *Institutional Demographics*

One HBCU in the South Atlantic region⁸ of the United States was used as the site of this study. According to information posted on its website, this historically black institution is 89% Black⁹ (November 2006 data), and reported an international student enrollment of 136 in 2005/2006 (Institute of International Education's *Open Doors*), with approximately 60 students¹⁰ from several African countries. Such a high percentage of enrolled African American students makes this particular institution unusual among HBCUs; for over the years, HBCUs have registered a steady increase in the enrollment of students of other ethnicities, particularly whites. This population shift is implicit in the declaration that "HBCUs offer all students, regardless of race, an opportunity to develop their skills and talents."¹¹ Study volunteers included participants from the following African countries: Cameroon, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Togo. This institution hosts student organizations like the Association of African Students (AAS), the History Club, the African Dance Group (Syandene), and others. Membership to these organizations is open to all students of African descent. Participant membership in such organizations presents an opportunity to gather and analyze information about interactions between African and African American students from multiple perspectives.

In spring 2007, approximately 30 to 40 international students from Africa were enrolled at the University according to study volunteers from Africa. In general, international students from Africa represent a small proportion of international students. Evidence discussed later in this chapter suggests the presence of students of African descent from Caribbean countries as well, though none were available to

⁸ From "Regions of the United States: Regions Defined" (Available for access through the "Subject Index" of the United States Library of Congress)

⁹ Institutional choice of identity reference

¹⁰ Guesstimate from the institution's office of international programs. This HBCU collects data on Black and also on international student enrollments, but not on African students specifically, since reporting of information about African students is not required.

¹¹ Quote from the website of the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

participate in this study. This institution, unlike many HBCUs today, has a predominantly black student body. Its Fact Book 2005 reports the following enrollment figures:

TABLE 3.b.ii: Racial Composition of Institution

Fall Enrollment	Black	White	Indian	Asian	Hispanic	Other	Total
Total	9,950	783	32	155	99	84	11,103

iii) Institutional Context

The institutional environment captures aspects of campus climate relevant to the context of this study. One element relates to the overall tone of the campus and of student interactions. Like members of the other races or ethnicities, African as well as African American students tended to go their separate ways, unless as was expressed by one African American participant, instructors deliberately structured integrated activities as part of classroom instruction. Outside of classroom or academic contexts, Africans generally interacted with other Africans or with international students, and African Americans mainly socialized with other African Americans. Except for the freshman year when all students are required to live on campus, self-selection to isolate was compounded for African students who commonly lived off-campus and held fulltime jobs as the primary source of funding for all educational and personal needs. As noted by the president of the AAS and other African study volunteers (See Chapters 4 and 5), the university administration’s lack of promotion of AAS events further undermined campus validation of African or international students.

The institutional climate was also reflected in issues around research accessibility to African students. Because African students fall under the general category of international students, the Office of International Programs at any institution of higher education constitutes a repository for information about African students. Entry into the

site of this study was not facilitated by the campus' Office of International Programs. On December 18, 2006, I called the Director of International Students and Scholars, introduced myself and my research, and requested introductions to African students on that campus. Following her request, I sent her an electronic message that same day stating my purpose for contacting her, so that she could verify whether and how to grant me access to undergraduate African students. On January 5, 2007, she responded with a request for "a copy of the entire detailed research protocol."¹² She also indicated that she had consulted the Dean of Students, and they had discussed available methods of assistance to be provided following receipt of the research plan. I promptly sent her copies of the entire research protocol and related institutional review board approval documents for the study.

On January 17, 2007, I was copied an electronic message sent by the Director of International Students and Scholars to the president of the Association of African Students (AAS), notifying him that all approvals were in place for my study, and asking that he invite me to present my research to the association to "gauge student interest in the project."¹³ On January 23, 2007, I contacted the Director of International Students and Scholars via electronic mail to find out if she had heard back from the president of the AAS, and to request total enrollment numbers for undergraduate African and also international students registered at the institution, sorted by country, year in college, gender, major, and marital status. She wrote back to say that her assistant would send me information on African student enrollments available in her office, and then advised that I contact the president of AAS directly via electronic mail. She also referred me to the Assistant Vice Chancellor and Director of Institutional Research for enrollment figures related to the general international student body. On February 21, 2007, I notified the Director of International Students and Scholars that I still had not received a response from the president of the AAS and asked if it would "be alright for me to visit

¹² Electronic message of January 5, 2007

¹³ Electronic message of January 17, 2007

[her] office and attempt to recruit any students who stop by,”¹⁴ for I was going to be on campus the following week to meet with my faculty sponsor. She wrote back the following day, denying my request:

Unfortunately, I cannot authorize solicitation of students for your study in this manner. I am sorry that Mr. [president of the AAS] did not get back to you, but maybe you can communicate with him while you are in the area to determine whether or not he was successful in organizing interested African students.¹⁵

Also on February 22, 2007, the assistant to the Director of International Students and Scholars sent me data indicating that only eight African students (four male and four female) from seven countries were enrolled at the institution.¹⁶

Following the recommendation of the Director of International Students and Scholars, I requested disaggregated data on undergraduate African and international students from the Assistant Vice Chancellor and Director of Institutional Research on March 12, 2007. I received demographic data from him on the entire undergraduate student enrollment on April 3, 2007, along with the following explanation: “Upon checking on this data, I found we do not track country of origin at this time. Given 9/11, I suspect we will begin tracking in the near future.”¹⁷ These data were broken down by race (White, Black, Indian, Asian, Hispanic, Other), school, department, major, and classification. Though embedded in these data, information about enrolled African students could not be isolated. Consequently, I had to use guesstimates of the number of enrolled African students provided by the African students who were eventually recruited for the study.

¹⁴ Electronic message of February 21, 2007

¹⁵ Electronic message of February 22, 2007

¹⁶ Electronic message of February 22, 2007

¹⁷ Electronic message of April 3, 2007

iv) Institutional Opportunities for Learning about or Interacting with Other Cultures

Opportunities for learning about or interacting with other cultures can be understood from the standpoint of internationalization or globalization and multiculturalism or diversity. The HBCU site for this study incorporates international, multicultural, and diverse dimensions in its curricular and co-curricular implementations. As evident from curricular and co-curricular offerings at universities across the United States, internationalization has seen exponential increases since the Second World War (de Wit, 2002; Holzner & Greenwood, 1995). In this regard, the late Senator J. William Fulbright's belief has increasingly become common practice:

Education is the best means - probably the only means - by which nations can cultivate a degree of objectivity about each other's behavior and intentions... Educational exchange can turn nations into people, contributing as no other form of communication can to the humanizing of international relations.¹⁸

Experts persist in their attempts to provide a common meaning of or definition for internationalization or international education. The Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Commission, for example, uses the expression "study abroad" to mean international education, and defines it as "...an educational program for undergraduate or graduate study, work, research, or an internship that is conducted outside ... [a country] and that awards academic credit to postsecondary students" (*Lincoln Study Abroad Briefing Book*, 2004). de Wit's perception, on the other hand, is an expansion of this view. He applies the term "international dimension," which he defines as "export of higher education systems, dissemination of research, and individual mobility of students and scholars." He also identifies the following terms as related: study abroad, academic mobility, international exchange, internationalization, and international cooperation (de Wit, 2002, pp. 7, 106).

¹⁸ Fulbright program website

Harari describes international educational exchanges as programs of activity which identifiable educational organizations deliberately plan and carry out for their members (students, teachers and closely related clientele), with at least one of two major purposes in mind: to study the thought, institutions, techniques, or ways of life of other peoples and of their relationships; and also as a way to transfer educational institutions, ideas, or materials from one society to another. Harari goes on to identify three strands: the international content of the curricular, the international movement of students and scholars concerned with training and research, and the arrangements that engage a system of education cooperation programs beyond its national boundaries (In de Wit, 2002, pp. 106-107). Epstein (1994) describes international education as fostering “an international orientation in knowledge and attitudes and, among other initiatives, brings together students, teachers and scholars from different nations to learn about and from each other” while focusing “more directly on descriptive information about nations and societies and their educational systems and structures” (Epstein, 1994, p. 918). In this study, internationalization or international education is understood to describe all related aspects discussed above.

The rationales behind internationalization activities follow logically from the meaning or definition of international education. In de Wit’s words, rationales are motivations for engaging in international educational activities (de Wit, 2002, p. 84). James Platt sums up rationales for internationalization into six categories: “aid to and cooperation with developing countries,” “foreign policy,” “educational and cultural enrichment,” “prestige,” and “profit” (Platt, 1977, pp. 1530-1541). Jean Aigner, Patricia Nelson, and Joseph Stimpfl site three main reasons for internationalization of higher education: security, economic competitiveness, and international understanding (Aigner, Nelson, & Stimpfl, 1992). Robert Scott enumerates seven reasons that can be broadly grouped into economic competitiveness, labor market, national security, and mutual understanding (R. A. Scott, 1992). Jane Knight and Hans de Wit went further and developed a conceptual framework for rationales that included stakeholders as an important factor. They hold that these rationales and incentives for internationalization

are influenced and largely constructed by the role and viewpoint of the various stakeholders: international, national, and regional governments; the private sector; institutions; faculty; and students (Knight & de Wit, 1995, p. 9).

Trends show a corresponding expansion of internationalization backed by federal-level support for study abroad through programs like the Fulbright Program, 1946; the National Security Education Program, 1991; the Benjamin A. Gilman International Scholarship Program, 2000; and the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program, 2008. Reasons for this expansion are articulated around U.S. national security and leadership needs as well as the educational value of study abroad in communicating with other countries or cultures and in favorably representing the U.S. globally (Global Competence & National Needs, 2005).

What is globally conceptualized as internationalization can be said to manifest itself locally as multiculturalism or diversity. Murphy captures this interconnectedness in his view that “globalization and multicultural education are inseparable” (Murphy, 2006, p. 2). International educational experiences help to broaden students’ cultural sensitivity and improve their global awareness, and multicultural or cross-cultural (diverse) learning experiences incorporate the kinds of learning processes that engender greater awareness and understanding of different attitudes, behaviors and perspectives both for U.S. students studying abroad and for foreign-born students studying in the U.S. (Bremer, 2006, p. 42). Deardorff notes that it is important to have meaningful, immersed intercultural experiences to develop a deeper cultural understanding; and depending on how these experiences are structured, “people will begin to develop degrees of intercultural competence, that is, the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in situations based on one’s intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes” (In Bremer, 2006, p. 43). Hunter concurs and points out that to succeed globally, “a true understanding of one’s own culture and its stereotypes and traditions, as well as participation in cross-cultural experiences is required to increase awareness of the world’s broader environment.” He also notes that cross-cultural experiences do not

necessarily mean physical travel abroad, but a willingness to step outside of one's own cultural comfort zone (In Bremer, 2006, p. 43).

Knowledge about intercultural competence is relevant to this study because Africans and African Americans constitute distinct cultures; consequently, sensitivity across cultures would facilitate effective and appropriate communication and inter-group interaction. Moreover, the HBCU site of this study articulates a deliberate effort to promote appreciation of diverse cultures by internationalizing its campus through curricular, co-curricular, and extra-curricular implementations. Deardorff describes a process model of intercultural competence that incorporates requisite attitudes; knowledge, comprehension and skills; desired internal outcome; and desired external outcome (Deardorff & Hunter, 2006, p. 73). Requisite attitudes include respect (valuing other cultures), openness (withholding judgment), and curiosity and discovery (tolerating ambiguity). Knowledge and comprehension involve cultural awareness, deep cultural knowledge, and sociolinguistic awareness; outlined skills consist of listening, observing, and evaluating as well as analyzing, interpreting, and relating. "Desired internal outcome" involves an informed frame of reference shift (adaptability, flexibility, ethno-relative view, and empathy); "desired external outcome" entails effective and appropriate communication and behavior in intercultural situations.

The site of this study, like most other institutions of higher education, is plugged in to the widespread effort to internationalize and incorporate multiculturalism. As Moffat states, "internationalization of the campus is more than student mobility; it is also developing a curriculum that contains the basic elements of a global education" (In Bremer, 2006, p. 43). These elements include "teaching how the world is interconnected and how the barriers between fields of knowledge, perspectives, and cultures are artificial and somewhat arbitrary" (Bremer, 2006, p. 43). Just like at other institutions of higher education, internationalization and diversity manifest themselves in programming at the HBCU site of this study through course offerings and other programs or opportunities that advance intercultural knowledge.

(1) Available Courses

University Studies is this HBCU's interdisciplinary general education core curriculum that is binding to all degree-seeking students, as it provides the intellectual foundation for the University's degree-granting programs. According to web documents, the goal of University Studies is "to provide students with a framework for critical inquiry that serves as a foundation for continuing academic development and life-long learning. Motivated by the principle that scholarship is best demonstrated by the way it is practiced, University Studies applies discovery, inquiry, analysis, and application in the classroom to promote [among other skills] ... appreciation for diverse cultures, and commitment to ongoing civic engagement and social responsibility." Cross-cultural or international educational objectives are accomplished by the requirement that students choose fourteen (14) courses from the following five fields to complement their chosen courses of study:

1. English Composition (two courses required);
2. Science (Natural/Physical and Mathematics) (two courses required) - Mathematics, Chemistry, Biology, and Physics;
3. Foreign Languages (two courses required) - Spanish, French, German, Russian, Japanese, and Portuguese;
4. Social Science (Social and Behavioral) (four courses required) - Anthropology, Economics, Geography, History, Political Science and Sociology;
5. Humanities (four courses required) - Art, English, Humanities, Music, Philosophy and Speech.

Three of the five required areas listed above lend themselves directly to enhancing knowledge about other cultures: foreign languages, social and behavioral sciences, and humanities. Objectives for foreign languages spelled out in departmental documents posted on the web are, at minimum, to develop facility in the listening, speaking, reading and writing of the foreign languages; to develop a better knowledge

of foreign cultures and an appreciable awareness of one's own culture; and to create a spirit of international understanding that will result in respectable attitudes toward individuals and national groups. Additional objectives beyond general foreign language courses include preparing students to teach second languages in elementary through secondary schools; preparing and encouraging students to continue further study and research in the major areas (foreign language, literature, and education); and providing students with experiences to develop communicative skills and competence requisite for personal fulfillment and challenging careers in which the foreign language study will be in full use or an asset.

Three sample courses in the social and behavioral sciences provide a glimpse of the international dimension of the institution's University Studies curricula. As outlined on the syllabus, the African American Experience course takes a trans-disciplinary approach to understanding African American culture and experience. It develops in students habits of broadmindedness, civility, and ethnic responsiveness, and teaches them to work collaboratively in small and large groups. On a broader note, The Contemporary World course examines the social, economic, political, and cultural roots of today's world. It focuses on the major developments, events, and ideas that have shaped the world since the beginning of the twentieth century. Specific objectives summarized on the syllabus include exploration of multicultural relations within a global society and examination of historical and social processes in a changing world. The course expands understanding of and appreciation for the diversity and interrelationship of cultures locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally. It also explores the role of social, political, and economic institutions and processes in the development of societies, and the factors that lead to dynamic change in societies over time. Another course, Genocide in the Modern World, explores the social, economic, political, and psychological roots of genocide in the context of a historical study of twentieth century genocidal projects. The course surveys (a selection of) the Armenian genocide, Stalin's Russia, Nazi Germany, Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Darfur, to trace the nature and development of dangerous ideas about racial and cultural fitness.

In the humanities area, a sample course required of all degree-seeking students is Critical Writing, subtitled “Noir” on the syllabus. The syllabus opens with a two-paragraph explication of this theme. “‘Darkness’ as a concentration permeates all aspects of life, often as a reflection of a particular culture at a particular time.” The focus is on “darkness” as it relates to the human experience in general and the African American experience in particular. The syllabus specifies that while originally applied to literature and movies, the term “noir” is also reflective of aspects of society, behaviors and actions that affect African Americans. The overriding theme of “noir” is linked to the four modules of concentration embedded in the course: slavery, human rights, HIV/AIDS, and globalization. Through writing, viewing, listening and collaboration, the students focus on the “darkness” of these themes, and ways that that “darkness” can be critically explored. The course approaches aspects of noir, not as depressing, but as revealing and illuminating of the core of the human spirit as it struggles for survival in a harsh world with its imposing landscapes.

Beyond required courses specified as part of the University Studies general education core, this HBCU offers several other courses that incorporate an international dimension. Students may take additional courses tied to their specific majors or as electives. Sample course syllabi tied to University Studies requirements will be discussed in Chapter 5.

(2) Available Programs or Other Opportunities

In addition to traditional course offerings, this institution, through its Office of International Programs, provides study abroad or other exchange opportunities to over 50 countries. The Office of International Programs promotes study abroad as a means for students to globalize their perspectives, internationalize their attitudes, and become more culturally sensitive, flexible, and accepting. There is a 2.75 GPA requirement for participation in study abroad opportunities. Furthermore, web documents indicate that

the Multicultural Student Center (an arm of the Division of Student Affairs), in cooperation with other campus organizations,

...provides programs and services that support the academic mission of the University by enhancing the educational, personal, cultural and social development of its diverse student population, including: African, Asian and Native American; Caucasian; Hispanic/Latino; International; Veteran; Non-Traditional; Students w/Disabilities; Visiting Scholars; and Others.

Broad cultural knowledge cultivates a predisposition to sensitivity to other cultures and better intercultural relations (Deardorff & Hunter, 2006; Singer, 1998). In the introduction to his book, Singer (1998) suggests that the reason people frequently do not like or do not interact with others is simply that they have not taken the time to get to know others well. As an example, he alludes to studies that have shown that the general attitude of white Americans toward African Americans tends to become more positive when they get to know well and like just one African American. Belief in intercultural knowledge as a vehicle for improving interpersonal, intercultural, and international relations undergirds the widespread application of elements of intercultural competence models like Deardorff's (Deardorff & Hunter, 2006). As will be discussed in Chapter 5, study participants who had taken courses and/or participated in programs or activities that advanced intercultural or international contact tended to interact more readily with members of the out-group.

Available programs or other opportunities to interact with different cultures on campus or in the immediate vicinity were alluded to by several participants either during individual or group interviews. As outlined below, these fell into five (5) categories: multicultural student organizations, community service programs or organizations, professional organizations, occasional programs (arts, movies, talks, etc.), and co-curricular programs.

TABLE 3.b.iii.(2): Available Programs or Other Opportunities

Multicultural Student Organizations	Community Service Programs or Organizations	Professional Organizations	Occasional Programs	Co-curricular Programs
Multicultural Student Association	Lutheran Refugee Service	American Society of Agricultural & Biological Engineers (ASABE): Student Branch	Martial Arts	Various study abroad programs (over 50)
International Students Association	African Coalition		Programs discussing Africa	
History Club	St. Mary's International Catholic Church		Movies about different people and cultures	
Association of African Students (AAS)	African Immigrant and Refugee Foundation		Guest presentations	
African Dance Group				
Caribbean Club				

An analysis of web documents verified the International Students Association, the History Club, the Association of African Students, and the Caribbean Club as registered student organizations. Very limited additional information was available about any of these organizations through the Multicultural Student Center. The Multicultural Student Association was started two years before this study but never

really materialized because of lack of adequate participation and commitment from the student body. The Caribbean Club, once a fairly strong organization, had disintegrated as its student leadership graduated and left without committed replacements. The International Student Association had been dysfunctional in the three years prior to this study.

General descriptions of the AAS, the History Club and the African Dance Group were pieced together from information collected mainly through in-depth individual and focus-group interviews. Although still listed as separate organizations on the web, the AAS and History Club merged into one organization the year prior to this study. As posted on the web, the History Club promotes itself as “a campus-based student organization whose central focus is the mental, physical and spiritual liberation of Afrikan people everywhere from the worldwide system of white supremacy (Racism/Sexism/Classism).” The organization strives to achieve its goal of total liberation by promoting Africa/n-centered values, fostering complementary relationships between Black women and Black men, establishing programs for the enlightenment and development of Black people of all ages, and nurturing an active working relationship with the wider campus and with the local community. The AAS, a primarily social organization for African students, recently merged with the History Club as a matter of convenience. The few AAS members also belonged of the History Club. Because they identified with the focus of the History Club and to boost membership and participation, they suggested the merge and it was realized.

The African Dance Group was started by an African American student who participated in a year-abroad program in Ghana. He was also a member of the AAS & History Club and started the African Dance Group to promote African dances. Even though this group is listed as a separate organization, it really functions as a sub-group of the AAS/History Club, because all of its dancers also belong to the AAS/History Club.

Besides web references to and bulletin postings of community service opportunities through the Multicultural Student Center, no other documentation was available about any specific community service programs or organizations beyond participants' indication of having participated in them. On its website, the College of Engineering promoted ASABE membership for its students. Many of the occasional programs were cited by interview participants. Participants cited some of these opportunities as great learning experiences. For example, Ramona, an African American who volunteered as an English tutor at the African Immigrant and Refugee Foundation, described how this experience changed the way she viewed African immigrants. She and seven other students (five from the site of this study and two from a nearby university) accompanied the African refugees to a conference in Maryland at which these refugees shared their stories. Ramona was particularly touched by the story of a fourteen-year-old boy who was kidnapped by and fought for the rebel army in Sierra Leone for five years. He eventually escaped and walked back to his village only to find out that everyone in his family had been killed. He subsequently emigrated to the U.S. as a refugee. By virtue of his age, he was put in the ninth grade and eventually designated as learning disabled without regard to his plight. Because of the empathy Ramona felt for this boy, she tried to devote additional volunteer time to tutoring refugees. As Singer (1998) points out, taking the time to know someone well can result in increased interaction and in a more positive perception of the person's identity group.

Web documents indicate that, beyond course offerings, this institution has established an infrastructure to promote knowledge about and interaction with other cultures on its campus. Various university committees, departments, and organizations (including student organizations) sponsor religious, cultural, social and recreational activities. In addition, a variety of artists, lecturers and dramatic productions are brought to the campus regularly. Furthermore, the Multicultural Student Center is an integral part of the student affairs division, and provides programs and services that create an awareness of and appreciation for ethnic and cultural diversity by promoting culturally diverse activities, including community service opportunities. Similarly, the

centrally located Memorial Student Union building serves as the headquarters of the Student Government Association and its advisory board, among other campus entities. As noted on the university's web site, "the programming and recreational activities of the Student Union Advisory Board have a unique focus on the cultural and social development of the student community."

The University has taken the first steps in internationalizing its campus through curricular and co-curricular programs. To achieve this goal, the Multicultural Student Center was established in 2004, and the University Studies focus was refined in 2006. The campus internationalization/multicultural infrastructure has the potential to advance intercultural knowledge both from the curricular/co-curricular and the extra-curricular vantage points. From the course objectives and the presentations and forums, most of the campus programs seem to be largely Afrocentric in orientation.

c) Research Methodology

This research applies a qualitative approach to investigate factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students at one HBCU. A general theory of interaction is grounded in the views of participants in the study, as the study incorporates "constant comparison of data with emerging categories and theoretical sampling of different groups to maximize the similarities and the differences of information" (Creswell, 2003, p. 14). An attempt is made to build themes at the substantive level (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, pp. 8-9) that facilitate explanation of interactions between these two groups of undergraduate students at this HBCU. Social identity theory and identity theory (to a limited extent) are applied to bring understanding to interaction patterns between the two groups.

d) Pilot Study

Because interactions between undergraduate students from Africa and undergraduate African American students have not been widely investigated, a pilot study was conducted to test the study instruments and interview questions for clarity and relevance in gathering related information. The Information Sheet (Appendix A) asked for demographic information (name, year in college, major, and contact information). This instrument also asked participants to list or describe courses they had taken or activities they had engaged in that advanced inter-cultural knowledge or contact. In addition, participants indicated if they wanted to be contacted for any study-related matter. The Pre-interview Information Sheet (Appendix B), administered as part of individual interviews, requested additional demographic information (age and ethnicity). Participants were also asked to describe their weekly routines and to list up to five people they interacted with on a daily basis. Then they were asked to identify the ethnicity or country of origin of these people and to list characteristics of these people they admired and those they did not admire. Guide Questions for In-depth Individual Interviews (Appendix C) and Guide Questions for Focus-Group Interviews (Appendix D) were open-ended questions geared at eliciting information that would address the research questions.

Participants in the pilot were a convenience sample of four students from another historically black university: two African Americans (one female freshman Business major, one male sophomore Political Science major) and two Africans (one female freshman Elementary Education major, one male junior Computer Science major). Pilot participants were urged to be in a critical frame of mind so that they did not just respond to the prompts, but also reflected critically on the usability of the questions (Glesne, 1999, pp. 74-75). The result was a modification of Appendix A: Information Sheet (#6: "Name or describe courses taken that advanced inter-cultural or international contact and/or communication" and #7: "Name or describe programs or

activities (clubs, events, etc.) you have engaged in that advanced inter-cultural or international contact and/or communication)” for clarity, and the addition of #8 to establish consent to contact participants for follow-up.

e) Recruitment Process

I secured Institutional Review Board approvals from the University of Kentucky on August 24, 2006 and from the HBCU site on November 22, 2006. In December 2006 and January 2007, contact with other faculty for the purpose of recruiting participants was facilitated by my faculty sponsor at this HBCU, and the recruitment process began in February 2007. Participants were recruited primarily through project presentations to different groups. Separate presentations were made in four classes in the Department of Psychology; another presentation was made at a meeting of the AAS/History Club; and yet another at a practice session of the African Dance Group (Syandene). A small number of participants was recruited using the snowball sampling technique. All participants had to identify as African or African American and be enrolled at this HBCU at the undergraduate level. Maximum possible variation was incorporated in terms of gender, major, and year in college.

Ideally, recruitment and observations of participants should also have occurred in select University Studies courses identified earlier in this chapter as intentionally designed opportunities to promote appreciation of diverse cultures. This would have yielded important triangulation possibilities with other facets of the project and provided useful insights into interactions between the two groups under study. For example, dialogue with faculty who teach these courses, along with interviews and observations of students from these classes would have provided additional insights into the utility of undergraduate requirements related to international or cross-cultural issues. Faculty who taught those courses were unresponsive to my requests to recruit and observe in their classes.

f) Research Participants

For the purposes of this study, all participants (i.e., those who contributed ideas through their participation in in-depth individual interviews, focus-group interviews, and large-group sessions) had to identify as African or African American. An African student is a student who hails from Africa, or who self-identifies as African because he or she is a first generation American, born of African parents. One hundred and sixty-two (162) volunteers across all four undergraduate years participated in the study—129 African Americans and 33 Africans—representing a variety of majors. Thirty-one (31) participants were interviewed individually, including four freshmen, eight sophomores, ten juniors, and nine seniors majoring in 23 fields (see Appendix I for details on fields of study). One participant had not yet declared a major. Of the 31 individual interview participants, eighteen were African American, including four males and fourteen females; and thirteen were African, including nine males and four females.

TABLE 3.f.1: In-Depth Individual Interview Participants

Ethnicity	Males	Females	Total
Africans	9	4	13
African Americans	4	14	18
	13	18	31

A total of 47 volunteers participated in one of three focus-group interviews: two all-African American groups of fourteen (four males and ten females) and seventeen (three males and fourteen females) and one group of sixteen Africans and African Americans together (ten males and six females).

TABLE 3.f.2: Focus-Group Interview Participants

Group	Ethnicity	Males	Females	Total
1	African Americans	4	10	14
2	African Americans	3	14	17
3	Africans & African Americans	10	6	16
Grand Total		17	30	47

An additional 84 volunteers participated in two large-group sessions: one all-African American group of 33 (four males and 29 females) and one group of 51 Africans and African Americans together (ten males and 41 females – including two Africans). The large-group sessions were conducted simply because the opportunity was available, and the sessions were used mainly to ensure a more comprehensive collection of stereotypes of Africans and of African Americans.

TABLE 3.f.3: Large-Group Sessions Participants

Group	Ethnicity	Males	Females	Total
1	African Americans	4	29	33
2	Africans & African Americans	10	41	51
Grand Total		14	70	84

g) Research Design

The study incorporates an emergent design based primarily on in-depth individual and focus-group interviews, large-group sessions, observations, survey, and document analysis. Guide questions were used for each type of interview, and all interviews were semi-structured to accommodate changes in the sequence of questions based on the flow of the conversation, as well as to allow development of unexpected themes (Mason, 2002, pp. 62-63). Such a multi-pronged design minimized the effects of my African identity, as the researcher, on study participants, particularly in in-depth individual interview scenarios. African participants, for instance, aligned with my African identity and spoke more readily and candidly about their experiences and the stereotypes held of African Americans, assuming that I would have similar experiences and be familiar with comparable stereotypes. I had to ensure that while listening to their responses and comments I made no remarks, invited or uninvited. On the other hand, African American participants were more reluctant to volunteer any negative comments or stereotypes about Africans, which would probably not have been the case had the interviewer shared their African American identity. African American participants revealed their stereotypes within their narrative descriptions of their experiences, conscious or not of the stereotypes they held.

Upon voluntary enrollment in the study and upon signing the Informed Consent Letter (Appendix G), each participant completed the Information Sheet (Appendix A) providing his or her name, contact information, year in college, major, as well as courses taken or extra-curricular activities engaged in that advanced intercultural or international contact or communication. Participants also indicated whether or not they wished to be contacted for follow-up interviews. Based on information provided on Appendix A: Information Sheet, participants were further sampled and scheduled for individual interviews. All of the African students who volunteered (a total of 33) were invited to participate in the in-depth individual interviews, given their relatively small numbers. Because a large number of African Americans (129) volunteered, individual

interview participants were selected in such a way as to attain maximum variation in terms of year in college, major, and gender.

Focus-groups were convenience samples of three groups. The AAS/History Club of sixteen comprised one group. The faculty member who taught the four psychology classes from which I recruited participants volunteered his class sessions for the focus-group interviews and large-group sessions. Two of the classes were small enough for focused discussions (fourteen and seventeen). Because the other two classes were too big for focused discussions (33 and 51), meeting with them was largely an opportunity to anonymously collect stereotypes about Africans and about African Americans, and to ensure a more comprehensive collection of stereotypes of both groups. In all group meeting circumstances, students who did not want to participate were offered the opportunity to leave before the interviews or sessions began. All students in each of the classes opted to participate in the focus-group interviews or large-group sessions, except for one student who left from one of the large-group sessions.

i) In-depth Individual Interviews

The foci of the individual interviews were multiple. The University had put in place a set of general studies requirements as well as co-curricular programs and activities geared specifically at enhancing intercultural knowledge and understanding. One goal of the individual interviews was to get a sense of student awareness of these programs or activities for learning about other cultures or about people from other countries, and of their participation in available programs and/or activities. Another objective was to discuss any perceptions of or misconceptions about Africans and African Americans and their origins. The individual interviews also provided an opportunity to talk about expectations individuals may have of the out-group, and whether and how perceptions and misconceptions shaped their interactions with members of the out-group. In addition, factors that bring together or divide both groups

were contemplated. Guide questions that addressed these foci are reflected in Appendix C: Guide Questions for In-depth Individual Interviews.

The majority of individual interview participants were selected using theoretical or purposive sampling. The sample was built on certain criteria which helped to develop and explain themes (Mason, 2002, p. 124). As stated above, each participant had to identify as either African or African American and be enrolled as an undergraduate student at the institution under study. By virtue of their student status, participants were also assumed to be eligible to enroll in the University Studies core courses, and to participate in available co-curricular programs and activities. The snowball sampling technique also came into play, for two participants were recruited based on recommendations by others who knew that they met the research interests (Glesne, 1999, p. 29).

Individual interview participants included a sample of eighteen African American and thirteen African participants, chosen to represent an inclusive spectrum of both groups under study (male and female majoring in a variety of fields, as well as one undeclared major, from freshman to senior years). Each individual interview session lasted between 45 and 75 minutes, and began with participants completing the Pre-interview Information Sheet (Appendix B). This instrument collected information about the participant's age, ethnicity or country of origin, weekly routine, and the people he or she interacted with regularly based on the outlined routine. Participants also listed characteristics of these people that they did or did not admire. Information on this instrument was used for triangulation. In-depth individual interviews were conducted to the point of theoretical saturation, whereby no additional data were being generated and a picture of what was going on emerged, from which an appropriate explanation would be generated (Glaser & Strauss, 2006, p. 61; Mason, 2002, pp. 134-135). In-depth individual interview questions (Appendix C) elicited information that addressed the research questions. All individual interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed, and then

emailed back to individual participants for member-checking before analysis to determine the accuracy of the data collected (Creswell, 2003, p. 196).

ii) Focus-Group Interviews

The focus group interviews were designed to follow up on and further explore ideas that originated from the individual interviews or from other aspects of the study. In speaking about perceptions of Africans and African Americans, individual interview participants made numerous references to “stereotypes,” “assumptions,” or “jokes” about both groups, but expressed discomfort when asked to specify those appellations. A non-threatening method of obtaining this information was to incorporate an activity in the focus-group interviews and to conduct additional large-group sessions asking participants to list anonymously stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes they had heard about each group. This technique proved to be very productive as will be discussed in the next chapter. In addition, because participants expressed concerns about inter-group stereotyping, the focus-group interviews were also used to explore ways to minimize or dispel these stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes. It was evident from observations that there was not much spontaneous or voluntary interaction between members of both groups. Several individual interview participants talked about music and parties as points of common interest between both groups. To follow up on this point, participants in the focus-group interviews were asked to discuss their views about what brings Africans and African Americans together and what pulls them apart. Guide questions that followed up on information gathered during the course of the study are outlined in Appendix D: Guide Questions for Focus-Group Interviews.

Focus-group interviews were conducted with three separate groups: fourteen African Americans in one Elementary Psychology class, seventeen African Americans in the Memory and Cognition psychology class, and sixteen African and African American members of the AAS/History club. Each focus-group interview session began with the activity asking participants to anonymously list all stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes

they had heard about Africans (Appendix E: Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about Africans) and about African Americans (Appendix F: Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about African Americans). An inventory of each set of stereotypes was compiled from these data: Appendix K (Inventory of Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about Africans) and Appendix L (Inventory of Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about African Americans). For reasons discussed earlier in this section regarding the effects of my African identity on information gathering during individual interview sessions, these stereotypes cannot be further disaggregated to indicate the identity group of the individuals expressing them. Participants communicated the stereotypes only because they were collected completely anonymously.

All stereotypes were collected before the oral part of the focus-group interviews began. The information was also used for triangulation. All of the in-depth individual interview participants dissociated themselves from stereotypes by pointing out that they knew stereotypes exist but did not believe in them. In their responses to other questions in the course of the same interviews, some of these same individuals made references to Africans as being dark-skinned. One participant indicated that she did not realize that there were light-skinned Africans. Another participant, in discussing her participation in course work that advanced knowledge about other cultures, mentioned a project she was about to undertake. For a group assignment, her group had chosen to compare the poverty levels of two African countries. Eventually the stereotypes of Africans as dark-skinned and poor emerged from the inventory as two of the most widely known stereotypes. This recognition points to the endemic nature of stereotyping between both groups, a process that can arguably be described as having reached a subconscious level.

Guide Questions for In-depth Individual Interviews (Appendix C) and Guide Questions for Focus Group Interviews (Appendix D) consisted of mainly open-ended questions that generated information to address the research questions. These open-ended questions elicited and collected data reflecting perspectives of participants in their own words (Mason, 2002, p. 65).

iii) Large-Group Sessions

The main objective of the large-group sessions was to broaden the collection of stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes about Africans and about African Americans. Large-group sessions were conducted with two groups of 33 African Americans in the other Elementary Psychology class and 51 Africans and African Americans in the Cross-cultural Psychology class. These sessions also began with the activity asking participants to list anonymously all stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes they had heard about Africans and about African Americans (Appendixes E: Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about Africans and F: Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about African Americans). Once these were collected, volunteers then discussed their views about addressing inter-group stereotyping.

iv) Observations

Observation of participants occurred in four settings. I observed two separate meetings of the AAS/History Club, a practice session of the African Dance Group (Syandene), students in the student lounge in the new science building, and four separate psychology classes. These observations offered firsthand opportunities for observing participants in their natural settings and for triangulation of information gathered during observations with information gathered from in-depth individual and focus-group interviews, as well as with data from documents analyzed.

Observations of two separate meetings of the AAS/History Club took place on April 17 and 31, 2007. I knew, from browsing the University's website, that the Association of African Students was a legitimate student organization on campus, but somehow it was difficult to locate it. Earlier in the semester I had left both voice and electronic messages for Kasongo, the president of the Association, introducing myself and my mission, but I never received a response from him. By chance, I had met a Nigerian professor who worked at this institution at a professional workshop sometime in October 2006 where we exchanged contact information. When I visited the campus for the first time in December 2006 to meet with my faculty sponsor, I called and met with this Nigerian professor. That was her first semester at the institution, and she indicated that she was not aware of any functioning African student organization on that campus. She eventually put me in touch with Alain, an African student from Togo who agreed to participate in the study and who was later interviewed individually. Alain was aware of the existence of the Association of African Students but had no other information about the organization. He mentioned that he was paying his way through school and, therefore, did not have time outside of classes, studying and work to attend such meetings or other social gatherings. He later inquired about and communicated to me the dates and location of this Association's meetings.

I invited myself to a meeting of the AAS/History Club on April 17, 2007. I planned to make a presentation about my research and then recruit volunteers to participate in the study. The meeting was scheduled to begin at 7:00p.m. I arrived at 6:45p.m. and sat reading and waiting in the empty room in one of the science classroom buildings. At about 6:55p.m., a gentleman showed up and informed me that a meeting was scheduled to take place in that room, obviously in an attempt to have me relocate. I introduced myself and explained why I was there. To my pleasant surprise, he introduced himself as Kasongo, president of the Association of African Students. Then he apologized for not having returned my call or electronic messages, blaming it all on lack of time as a result of a heavy class schedule and the fact that he had to work full-time to pay his way through school. While waiting for more students to arrive, Kasongo

and I conversed about the organization. He picked up on the theme of interaction between Africans and African Americans by providing me with background information about the AAS and how it came to merge with the History Club. Just like at other higher education institutions in the United States, organizations like the AAS traditionally are a major support system for African students, providing a forum for socialization with others sharing a similar culture and/or similar experiences. As Kasongo mentioned, past participation in the AAS at this HBCU was worse before the merger with the History Club:

We planned gatherings... of course people would come when there is a program... big event... they will show... But we were not active on the campus. And the campus did not have to listen to us, because we did not have anything on the table. When we decided to come into a coalition, we approached the History Club and we said, 'You're African Americans, we're Africans. We must work together.' And we included the International Student Organization... Now we started promoting events that had consciousness... like when we had the Katrina disaster... the Katrina documentary that came out... We hosted that. And one of the things that many people asked us, 'Why is the Association of African Students having a documentary series about Katrina?' My answers were always the same, '... because what happened in Katrina, we can relate to a hundred percent, because it has happened to us a thousand times.' We put up panels. We had on the panel African American professors speaking of why is it important for African Americans to go back. And we would go to other schools and show our presence that we are the coalition... showing that unity already is starting at [this institution], and let's bring it to the other universities. And the programs have been successful.

Kasongo explained that the idea to merge materialized naturally since many of the students were members of both organizations and felt they were duplicating their efforts given similar organizing principles for both groups. He added that there was no written description of the organization's mission and activities and indicated that taking and disseminating meeting minutes had not been consistent. However, he noted that the association was becoming more active since merging with the History club and undertaking joint projects like sponsoring drives to support victims of the Katrina disaster.

Kasongo also noted that the organization traditionally sponsored a cultural event each fall around a specific theme. In fall 2006, the selected theme generated by members was “Bridging the Gap to Mama Africa,” based on the organization’s goal to improve and increase inter-group interaction between Africans and African Americans. Many of the in-depth individual interview participants referred to this event as the most successful event organized on that campus by African students so far. The AAS/History Club garnered the support of the Dean of Students and the Student Government Association president through the two major undertakings described above in 2006/2007, and in that way boosted its campus recognition. Membership was approximated at 25 students, and regular attendance to meetings was estimated at about half that number, far better than in previous years. Though this campus articulates an image or a vision/culture that promotes knowledge about other people and cultures, Kasongo’s comments reveal that institutional support, which is key to implementation, has been negligible. It also seemed that the merger and these two events facilitated students’ participation in my research, particularly by members of the AAS/History Club.

The April 17, 2007 meeting of the AAS/History Club was an important one, so about 22 students attended. The organization was to plan for the upcoming election of officers for the next school year (2007/2008). In addition, two representatives of the History Club were to make a presentation inviting members to sign a petition in the municipality that was of interest to students. At the start of the session, Kasongo introduced me and indicated that I would talk to the group about my dissertation research at the end of their meeting. I was welcome to sit in, so I did. It was difficult to tell the students’ identities by simply observing how they interacted. As Kasongo and I talked and waited for the students, they trickled in mostly individually, took a glance in our direction, greeted their peers and then mingled and chatted with one another while waiting for the meeting to begin. Everyone in attendance participated actively in the discussions. One of the discussions that came up was around a planned trip to another nearby university. This group had been invited to attend an African student association

event at that institution, and so members were preparing to present some African dances at that event. At the conclusion of the business part of that meeting, I presented my research to the students and invited those interested in participating to fill out Appendix A: Information Sheet, requesting demographic and contact information to be used to schedule in-depth individual interviews.

The other observation of the AAS/History Club took place on April 31, 2007 when I returned to conduct a focus-group interview. This was the last meeting of the school year at which election of officials for the next school year (2007/2008) was to occur. Sixteen members attended this session. This time, members entered the room mostly in small groups of twos or threes. Again, it was difficult to tell which students were African and which were African American simply based on observed interaction patterns, for as soon as they came in, they immediately engaged one another in discussions about the planned elections. The elections went smoothly and members of both groups were elected for different offices. Kasongo was nominated for the presidency again, but he declined and explained his reasons but pledged his continuing support for the group. In the end, an African American male member accepted the nomination and was unanimously accepted by the group. This student had participated in a year-abroad program to Ghana and learned to speak Twi as part of that experience. He was so proficient that he periodically offered Twi lessons to others on campus. An African American female student was nominated for the vice presidency but declined based on her tight schedule which included membership in the African Dance Group. The goals of the organization took precedence over members' individual identities as Africans or African Americans. Their collective identities as members of this (social identity) group drove their activities as evident from the joint projects carried out.

The African Dance Group, a sub-group of the AAS/History Club, was led by Samantha, who volunteered to participate in this study and then suggested that I also invite members of that group to volunteer for the study. This Dance group was started by the president-elect of the AAS/History Club upon his return from a year-abroad program in Ghana. On April 24, 2007, I sat in and observed a dance practice session, at the end of which I made my presentation. Ten dancers, all females, were in attendance. I recognized three (including Samantha) from the AAS/History Club meetings I had attended. At the end, six introduced themselves to me as Africans and four as African Americans. During the entire practice session, all dancers focused on their art, dancing. They were intent on eventually performing and representing themselves well as a group. All of the dances practised were African dances. It did not matter that the group leader was African except that she danced well and was willing to help the rest of the members improve their dancing skills. Once again, their social (group) identity superseded any other identities and bonded the dancers.

Another opportunity to observe students on that campus presented itself one day as I waited for two scheduled in-depth individual interviews in the student lounge on the second floor of the new science classroom building. The lounge was small and cozy with two machines for snacks and drinks. There were four round tables with chairs arranged symmetrically. In addition, three pairs of cushioned armchairs lined a glass wall, each pair separated by a round coffee table. I sat at the far end of the lounge on a cushioned chair facing the entrance. From that vantage point, I could see everyone coming in or leaving the lounge without appearing to be idle. Students used this lounge to study or hang out between classes or to work on group projects. The first interview was scheduled for 10:00a.m. and the second for 1:00p.m. The first volunteer never showed up, so I stayed in that lounge until my 1:00p.m. appointment time.

Many of the students who came into the lounge seemed to have just a few minutes of down time to spend before their classes. They came in and simply sat and listened to music on their ipods, talked on their mobile phones, or had some snacks from the machines. About thirty minutes after I sat down, a group of five students (one male and four females) came in and sat at one of the round tables. They seemed to be discussing an assigned group project. From their appearance and accents, I could tell that the male and one of the females were African. Their discussions lasted for about an hour and one half, after which three of them left. The two Africans stayed behind and continued to study. I eventually engaged them in conversation and invited them to volunteer for this study. Both agreed, though only the male, Jerry, followed through and kept an appointment for an in-depth individual interview.

A number of the African students interviewed individually expressed the opinion that many African Americans interact with Africans only when it comes to academics. In his individual interview an African American, James, indicated that he did not interact with Africans, unless he was assigned to a group including Africans by a professor:

I don't really come in contact with Africans on a regular basis...I don't have any Africans in my classes. And if I do, the only way I would really talk to them is if we're in a group...if the teacher puts us in a group, something like that. Other than that, I don't really interact with them.

My observation of the discussion group in the student lounge seemed to support this remark. Three African participants (Vanessa, Thomas, and Amos) observed that African Americans tend to associate with Africans mainly when they need academic assistance. Further investigation is necessary to provide empirical support for this observation.

Observations of four separate psychology classes also took place on February 22 and 27, 2007. I arrived at the start of each class and sat in until toward the end when the instructor had me introduce myself and present my research in an effort to recruit volunteers. On the morning of February 22, 2007, I visited two separate Elementary Psychology classes. Much of the time was spent planning for and reviewing guidelines for a big class project that was to count for a great portion of the midterm grade. No

African students were enrolled in either class, so nothing of substance was observed, except for the instructor's introduction of me. He praised the students for attending college and pointed out that one day they would be in my situation, recruiting volunteers to participate in their doctoral research projects. He then urged them to assist me by volunteering as participants, adding that "as we have discussed many times before, we help our own." This expressed view is reminiscent of a shared African identity.

On February 27, 2007, I made two afternoon visits to the Memory and Cognition class and the Cross-cultural Psychology class. Again, I sat through both classes until toward the end, when I was given the same introduction I had received when I visited the Elementary Psychology classes. No African students were enrolled in the Memory and Cognition class, but there were two Africans in the Cross-cultural Psychology class. Both class sessions were devoted to reviewing for the upcoming midterm examinations. Once more, apart from the introduction I received, nothing of significance was observed. The comments of one of the African students enrolled in the Cross-cultural Psychology class who was later interviewed individually support the relevance of cross-cultural knowledge in advancing effective intercultural communication and understanding. She remarks, as follows, in response to the question, "How do you think African Americans perceive Africans?"

The first time I came here, about three to four years ago, I could not understand the way they [African Americans] perceived...you know, the way they...what they think about us [Africans], because whenever they see us, whenever you start talking to them, they looked like they weren't interested, you know. There was not really good relationship between us. Like you come into class, they are not really interested in talking to you... But after a few...a couple of years, after I started taking some of these social and psychology classes, I came to understand that those who take these classes tend to understand us much better than those who do not take them... When I started in the Psychology Department... we started interacting... I mean, working together. I now have African American friends who understand much...my accent.

v) *Document Analysis*

Postings on this HBCU's website were also analyzed for information relevant to this study. University Studies requirements featured on the web outlined guidelines for required course work leading to all degrees conferred at the institution. As described earlier, fourteen specific University Studies courses required of all degree-seeking candidates in five areas were outlined: English Composition, Science (Natural/Physical and Mathematics), Foreign Languages, Social Science (Social and Behavioral), and Humanities. A review of course descriptions for these required courses revealed specific courses that covered content addressing internationalization or multiculturalism.

Syllabi of courses that cover international or intercultural content were further reviewed for details about instructional approaches to internationalization or multiculturalism, and for information about titles of required course textbooks. Syllabi of three courses (African American Experience, The Contemporary World, and Critical Writing—"Noir") are analyzed in the next chapter. Coverage of the theme of internationalization or multiculturalism was triangulated by individual interview participants who made references to these courses as sources of knowledge about other cultures. Other relevant web postings reviewed provided information or advertisements about special events, such as presentations and seminars, geared at advancing intercultural knowledge.

h) Research Instruments

i) *Data Collection Instruments*

Several instruments were used to collect information for this study. The Information Sheet (Appendix A) asked for demographic information (name, year in college, major, and contact information). This instrument also asked participants to list or describe courses they had taken or activities they had engaged in that advanced inter-cultural knowledge or contact. In addition, participants indicated if they wanted to be contacted for any study-related matter. The instrument was administered when the

study was presented in an initial effort to recruit participants. Information was used as follows: to get initial consent to participate in the study, to get contact information for the purpose of scheduling in-depth individual interviews, and to further sample African American volunteers for participation in in-depth individual interviews (since all African American volunteers could not be interviewed individually). The Pre-interview Information Sheet (Appendix B) requested additional demographic information (age and ethnicity). This information was important in determining how participants self-identified. Participants were also asked to describe their weekly routines and to list up to five people they interacted with on a daily basis. Then they were asked to identify the ethnicity or country of origin of these people and to list characteristics of these people they admired and those they did not admire. Such information made it clear whether and how often inter-group interaction occurred, and whether stereotyping entered into characteristics identified. Guide Questions for In-depth Individual Interviews (Appendix C) and Guide Questions for Focus-Group Interviews (Appendix D) were open-ended questions geared at eliciting information that would address the research questions.

In the course of the major study, individual participant responses to the question “How do you think Africans perceive African Americans and vice versa?” (Appendix C, #3) contained references to “stereotypes,” “assumptions,” or “jokes” about Africans and about African Americans, resulting in the creation and use of two additional instruments: Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about Africans (Appendix E) and Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about African Americans (Appendix F). The instrument Guide Questions for focus-Group Interviews (Appendix D) was modified to include an anonymous activity (#1) asking participants to list “stereotypes,” “assumptions,” or “jokes” they had heard about Africans (Appendix E) and about African Americans (Appendix F). Having participants provide this information without identification ensured their anonymity, leading to productive responses. Another modification to Appendix D was the addition of #2, asking participants what they thought could be done to dispel or minimize these stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes.

ii) Analysis of Demographic Information and Stereotypes

Information from several appendices provided additional opportunity for triangulation of data from multiple sources. In addition to requesting basic demographic information like name, contact information, year in college, and major, the Information Sheet (Appendix A) asked participants to name or describe courses taken and extra-curricular activities engaged in that advanced intercultural or international contact and/or communication. The Pre-interview Information Sheet (Appendix B) collected information about each participant's age and ethnicity or country of origin and also asked all participants to list locations on and off campus where they routinely spend time during the week and to describe their routines in a typical week. Participants were also asked to provide information about up to five people (friend, best friend, classmate, roommate, boyfriend or girlfriend, study partner, etc.) they interact with on a regular basis based on outlined routines, and then to list or explain admirable or not-so-admirable characteristics of these individuals. Stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes about Africans (Appendix E) and about African Americans (Appendix F) were also documented by participants, along with their sources or origins. An analysis of these stereotypes is presented in Chapter 4.

iii) Data Analysis Software

QSR NVivo 7.0 was used in much of the research process (QSR, 2007). NVivo 7.0 is a qualitative software program that facilitates the process of creating, editing, coding and linking records. The program integrates the processes of interpretation, discovery and focused questioning. Relationships of data and ideas can be freely searched to facilitate interpretation and theme building. Most data related to this project were transferred and stored in NVivo as separate documents, and then coded as themes emerged. For example, all individual interviews were transcribed and imported as

separate documents. In addition to interactive coding of these data, the program also made it possible to create memos and annotations that supplemented information gathered. Responses to individual questions by all participants could be conveniently searched, reviewed and revised. The model feature also provided a mechanism to visually review codes.

i) Ethics and Confidentiality

In addition to Institutional Review Board approvals from both the University of Kentucky and the HBCU site of this study, all 162 study volunteers signed the Informed Consent Letter (Appendix G), which addressed related ethical and confidentiality issues (Creswell, 2003, pp. 62-67). The purpose and procedures of the study were clearly outlined, and participation was voluntary and could be withdrawn at any time during the course of the study. Each volunteer was given a copy of the signed consent form containing both his or her signature and the signature of the researcher. Also, all interviews took place at the study site in one of the student lounges, in a study room in the main campus library, or in an empty classroom. In addition, all individual interview transcripts were emailed back to participants for member-checking prior to analyses. Furthermore, to maintain participant confidentiality, pseudonyms have been used to refer to participants in reporting the findings of the study. Moreover, an executive summary of the research project was shared with the institution, my faculty advisor at the HBCU, and all individual interview participants as soon as the study was closed.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Following is an organized compilation and classification of data gathered for this study. The study site and participants are examined consistent with emergent themes, including mutual expectations, perceptions, misconceptions, and stereotyping on both sides. Inter-group expectations between Africans and African Americans are discussed. Perceptions and misconceptions between both groups are further explored, along with their origins. Also included is a discussion of deterrents to intergroup interaction and, on the flip side, uniting influences. An analysis of stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes gathered about each group concludes this section.

a) Analysis of Study Site and Participants

As discussed in Chapter 3, University Studies at this HBCU applies discovery, inquiry, analysis, and application in the classroom to promote, among other skills, an appreciation of diverse cultures. This international orientation to knowledge is an exemplification of Moffat's view that internationalization of a campus also means developing a curriculum that contains the basic elements of a global education (In Bremer, 2006, p. 43). In addition, the University's Office of International Programs promotes study abroad as a means for students to globalize their perspectives, internationalize their attitudes, and become more culturally sensitive, flexible, and accepting. Furthermore, the Multicultural Student Center sponsors monthly forums on multicultural issues. All these initiatives are anchored in prevailing views about the importance of internationalization and multiculturalism. Because international educational experiences help to broaden students' cultural sensitivity and improve their global awareness, and multicultural or cross-cultural learning experiences incorporate the kinds of learning processes that engender greater awareness and understanding of different attitudes, behaviors and perspectives (Bremer, 2006, p. 42), aspects of each

inform identified programs or activities that advance intercultural or international contact or communication.

One hundred sixty-two (162) volunteers across all four undergraduate years participated in the study—129 African Americans and 33 Africans—representing a variety of majors. Thirty-one (31) participants were interviewed individually, including four freshmen, eight sophomores, ten juniors, and nine seniors majoring in 23 fields (See Appendix I for details on fields of study). Eighteen of the individual interviewees were African American (including four males and fourteen females) and thirteen were African (including nine males and four females). The age range of study participants was between eighteen and 34. Twenty-five (25) participants were between eighteen and 27, and one participant was 34. Five participants did not indicate their ages.

As discussed in Chapter 3, University Studies policy requires all degree-seeking students to take fourteen courses from five prescribed disciplines as a basis for building a strong interdisciplinary foundation. Through a review of course descriptions and syllabi for these fourteen courses, four were identified as directly addressing knowledge about other cultures: Critical Writing: “Noir,” The Contemporary World, African American Experience, and Genocide in the Modern World. Beyond the University Studies requirements, students could (depending on their majors or elective choices) take additional courses that advance knowledge about other cultures. Moreover, other programs or activities that promote knowledge about other cultures are available through the Office of International Programs and through the Multicultural Student Center. Opportunities to study abroad in over 50 countries, including some African countries like Ghana and South Africa, are offered through the Office of International Programs, although data on the proportion of undergraduate students who study abroad each year was unavailable. The Multicultural Student Center, in collaboration with other campus departments, sponsors monthly forums on multicultural issues and community service volunteer opportunities. Several advertised activities occurred during the spring 2007 semester when this research was conducted. Ashley Osment,

senior attorney for the Center for Civil Rights, UNC School of Law lectured on “Unequal Education: A Civil Rights Issue in North Carolina.” A Civil Rights tour of the city where this HBCU is located was also given. Then six professors at the University presented a second forum on “Rebuilding New Orleans: one Year Later.”

In volunteering for the study, participants completed Appendix A: Information Sheet, indicating their involvement in intercultural/international coursework or program/activities. Table 4.a.1 shows a compilation of that information for all 31 study participants who were interviewed individually.

TABLE 4.a.1: Intercultural/International Coursework or Program/Activities Participation

In-depth Individual Interview Participants	Intercultural or International Coursework	Intercultural or International Program or Activity	Intercultural or International Coursework <u>and</u> Program or Activity	Intercultural or International Coursework or Program or Activity Participation Rates	No Intercultural or International Coursework or Program or Activity
Africans (13)	3 (23%)	2 (15%)	8 (62%)	13 (100%)	0
African Americans (18)	5 (28%)	1 (6%)	2 (11%)	8 (45%)	10 (55%)
Africans <u>and</u> African Americans (31)	8 (26%)	3 (10%)	10 (32%)	21 (68%)	10 (32%)

According to the above data table, of the thirteen African participants, three (23%) had taken intercultural or international coursework, two (15%) had participated in intercultural or international programs or activities, and eight (62%) had both taken

coursework and participated in programs or activities that gave them some intercultural or international exposure. In effect, all thirteen African participants (100%) had some level of exposure, through campus opportunities, to intercultural or international experiences. It is noteworthy that these students gain additional intercultural and international exposure by virtue of leaving their countries of origin to study in the United States. Of the eighteen African American participants, five (28%) had taken intercultural or international coursework, one (6%) had participated in intercultural or international programs or activities, two (11%) had both taken coursework and participated in programs or activities that gave them some intercultural or international exposure. A total of eight (45%) African American participants had some level of exposure, through campus opportunities, to intercultural or international experiences. Ten (55%) African American participants had no intercultural or international exposure either through coursework or other programs or activities.

Despite institutional requirements (through University Studies) geared at promoting an appreciation of diverse cultures, ten (55%) African American participants had had no intercultural or international exposure when this study was conducted. They may not yet have enrolled in the intercultural and international courses that meet this requirement, particularly if they first had to fulfill academic remediation courses. This HBCU offers remediation to students who fall a little short of meeting college admissions requirements. Enrolled students who must successfully complete academic remediation must do so prior to and as a prerequisite for enrolling in college-level courses that can count toward a degree, including those that incorporate intercultural or international content.

A Pre-interview Information Sheet (Appendix B) was also completed by each in-depth individual interview participant. Participants described their routines during a typical week. In addition, they named five people they interact with on a regular basis, including their ethnicities or countries of origin, and then listed characteristics they admired and those they did not admire about these people. All ten participants who

were members of the AAS/History Club listed individuals from other countries among those they interacted with on a regular basis. This was also the case with all eleven participants who had taken intercultural or international coursework or participated in intercultural or international programs or activities. Characteristics listed as admirable or not-so-admirable seemed to reflect personal experiences with individuals rather than prevailing stereotypes. For example, when tardiness was used to describe someone, it was based on an established and observed pattern of behavior, not necessarily on a stereotype. Also, admirable qualities seemed to cause individuals to downplay undesirable qualities even across cultures. For instance, an African described an African American as unreliable but still labeled him as his best friend. The above analyses point to the utility of undergraduate exposure to international or cross-cultural experiences through coursework or other programs. Required courses may not necessarily be the only route to intercultural exposure, though intentionally threading such knowledge and experience through curricular and co-curricular activities is necessary to attain critical literacy.

b) Africans and African Americans: Expectations, Perceptions, and Misconceptions

The racial category “black” conceptualizes the identity of people of African descent as essentially the same, without regard to individual and cultural differences. While this group of people may share a universal set of experiences—domination and resistance, slavery and emancipation, the pursuit of freedom, and struggle against racism (Asante, 1998; McCleod, 2001; C. Palmer, 2000; C. A. Palmer, 2000)—the paths their lives have taken have led them to develop different cultures that have shaped their individual and group identities. Singer’s cultural premise obtains:

A pattern of learned, group-related perceptions—including both verbal and nonverbal language, attitudes, values, belief systems, disbelief systems, and behaviors—that is accepted and expected by an identity group is called a culture. Since by definition, each identity group has its own pattern of perceptions and behavioral norms and its own language or code (understood most clearly by members of that group), each group may be said to have its own culture. (Italics in original text)

(Singer, 1998, pp. 5-6)

These cultural attributes shape individual and group propensities (behaviors, expectations, perceptions and misconceptions). Consequently, an awareness of cultural differences has the potential to increase inter-group interaction. Culture shapes identity formation, and as later discussed in Chapter 5, identity theory and social identity theory help explain interaction patterns between Africans and African Americans. The themes developed below provide a lead-in to that discussion.

i) African American Expectations of Africans

Several African American participants expressed views about their expectations of Africans. The primary expectation was very basic, for Africans to “act the way they normally act” and to get to know African Americans for who they are (Tammy). Shelton pointed out that “Africans should not act on their biases against us but get to know us for who we are.” Along the same lines, Roberta expects Africans “to see me just as a person, not my color... and treat me like a human being.” On a related note, Tiara expects Africans to “act just like I do. I don’t expect them to act any different.”

Others expect to learn more about African culture from Africans as summed up by Sharita’s perspective:

I expect to learn more about their [African] culture. Whenever I have to pick a topic to do research, it’s Africa, because I want to learn more about it. I also want to go one day if I can. But I want to learn more about the culture, about why they [Africans] come to America and stuff like that. I know there is a lot of poverty and stuff over there, and I want to know how they come over here and get an education and go back and try to change it, and stuff like that. I want to learn.

One participant, Ramona, defined her expectations around relations, “To me, they [expectations] are about relations... and I can start it or they (Africans) can start it, and maybe connect someone else and show them that we can have positive relations with each other. Then it could spread.” Participants who expressed mutual responsibility for establishing interpersonal and intergroup relations adopted a proactive stance.

Another participant, Monica, stated that she expected Africans to be better manual workers than African Americans:

To be honest, probably it would be like... to be better workers than we are ... 'cause like over there... I guess... I'm not sure...I can only go on what I've heard...what I've seen... It's basically just like field work, so you've got to be healthy to do that... whereas over here we got jobs where we just sit ...all day... I feel like you all [Africans] will be able to do more labor.

One other participant, Samantha (first generation American of African parentage who self-identified as African), expected outright rejection, "When I approach Africans, I automatically expect them to be like... well... 'You're not African,' because we [she and her brother] were born here [in the U.S.] So... it hurts me every time, but I take it in stride."

ii) African American Perceptions of and Misconceptions about Africans

Many of the African American participants expressed views about how they believe they are perceived by Africans. Shelton, for example, believed "that they [Africans] think that we [African Americans] are very lazy people. I think they feel that we have everything handed to us and in result they feel that they have to work really hard for everything that they have, so that's what makes them feel we are lazy." Althea blurted out, "I'm just going to be blunt... Africans think of us [African Americans] as lazy, not as hardworking. They probably feel like they [African Americans] can do more than they are doing now to get where they need to go. That's basically it."

Andy indicated he had heard that “African Americans don’t care about Africans, that they only care about themselves.” Roberta remarked:

From what I’ve been told, Africans perceive African Americans as materialistic and stuck up... because being a little more American and technically free... you know... we can do whatever we want. It’s just we don’t... We haven’t been through the hardships that real Africans have been through... you know.

Monica thought that “they [African Americans] perceive Africans probably as lower. They would feel... It was like the African Americans would be the slave owners where the Africans would be the slaves, coming from that perspective... stereotypes.” Along the same lines, Roberta felt Africans thought that African Americans are

...very arrogant. I guess it is because there is a wall there...that... you know... I am from America and you’re from Africa, and I think I’m better than you... From what I’ve been told by Africans I’ve worked with, when they come over here they automatically put a guard up, because they know... well... African Americans are all about themselves... They don’t understand you. They don’t want to help you when you need help.

Sarah mentioned she had heard that Africans believed “we [African Americans] shouldn’t even have African as part of our name because we’re not African, that we were born and raised in America, so we shouldn’t even be considered as Africans but Black Americans.”

Another participant, Althea, expressed a general outlook about African American perceptions of Africans:

Some of them feel like African Americans think they are better than Africans... Basically, African Americans see Africans as ... Let me think. It’s hard because I’m always around Africans, so I know how I perceive them. But I’m trying to think... before I met my boyfriend [African], you know... how my friends would... I mean they weren’t as welcoming, and the only reason I felt they were welcoming towards my boyfriend is because he doesn’t look African. He is a little lighter, and his accent wasn’t that detectible. But I think when they hear the accent they are a little... I don’t know why they act weird, and they act like they don’t understand.

Skin tone and other phenotypic sensibilities emerged as important issues for some African Americans. Tiara's comments describe the perception:

Some might look at Africans because they are darker, but there are some dark African Americans too, so I mean... That's another thing. African Americans think all Africans are supposed to be dark-skinned, but I've seen some light-skinned Africans really, so it kind of surprised me because me myself I'm thinking you all [interviewer and other Africans] are dark-skinned, but I have a dark brother as well, and I see a lot of dark African Americans as well.

Althea explains the effect of skin tone on her African boyfriend's acceptance into the community of her fellow African American friends, "I mean, they weren't as welcoming, and the only reason I felt they were welcoming towards my boyfriend is because he doesn't look African. He is a little lighter, and his accent wasn't that detectible." Along the same lines, Tammy points out the perspective of some of her acquaintances:

I know most people who I have talked to see Africans...well, when they think of Africans, they always speak of Africans as being dark-skinned. They may see them as... You have to look at how sometimes society makes Africans look. They may see them as being dark-skinned or things of that nature, when it is totally the opposite. I mean, 'cause I have run into Africans who I didn't know they were Africans. They were my complexion or lighter, and they have the accent, but I thought may be they... it was just an accent. I didn't know that they were Africans...

Still along the lines of phenotypic and other sensibilities, Andy states, "Some people [African Americans] might fall into stereotypes, you know, that they [Africans] smell and stuff;" and Jessica elaborates:

I know when I was talking to some of the [African American] students that participated in the Association of African Students Dance Division with me, they were talking about how they didn't feel comfortable at first to eat the food from their [African] countries because of the way that it smelled, and so they said when they warmed it up everybody would say, "What is that smell? Eeeuu... What are they [Africans] cooking?" ...And all that sort of stuff... And then you know when they... like... taste it, they're like... "Okay... It's okay.

Also regarding hygiene, Andy explains, “I’ve heard rumors that some African Americans look down on Africans as being dirty.”

Roberta “personally think[s] that Africans... some of them... are very, very diligent.” Jasmine observed that many of them are very smart, like the lady in her nursing class who is “one of the smartest girls in the nursing group... She made one of the highest grades on tests so far.” Jessica remarked that Africans are “a little bit more culturally aware of their background than us [African Americans].” Shelton perceives Africans as “very hardworking. They’re close communities... like the whole community raises the child.”

Shelton believes Africans perceive African Americans as “fortunate... But they [Africans] don’t see our [African Americans’] struggles. They think that America is very easy apparently. I mean, it’s easier, but not as easy as they think.” Monica points out:

I think they [Africans] would think that African Americans are very rich. I am not sure why; I’ve never been to Africa, so I can only go with what I see. They are not showing too many good programs about Africans on TV. Most of the time all you see is the little commercials with babies needing help and stuff like that.

Many of the African American expectations of how Africans perceive African Americans reflect what Africans actually say about African Americans.

iii) Origins of Perceptions of and Misconceptions about Africans

The origins of perceptions of and misconceptions about Africans identified by study participants fell into several categories: media, stereotypes, ignorance, beliefs and other psychological factors, and miscommunication. All participants acknowledged media portrayals as having a big impact on perceptions and misconceptions of Africans. Althea’s statement captures the general sentiment, “probably the media... also movies. Every time you see Africans on National Geographic, you always see them in the rain

forest hunting, you know, so it's definitely the media." Comfort elaborates and then hints at stereotyping as another origin:

I think that perception goes with actually what's portrayed on TV. I think it's a way to kind of... I guess it's just a way for... Even when our ancestors came here to America... it's just a way to strip us from our culture, for us not to go back to our homeland and to learn more about it. So I think Europeans just use it as a way to control us and to... you know... show us all these negative images and make us to believe that our homeland is something that you don't want to be connected with at all... like you need to forget about everything.

Ignorance was also cited as a source of perceptions and misconceptions about Africans. Tiara observed:

Some [African Americans] just look at Africans as bad because of the countries they come from. They get a bad image just by looking at you, just because of ignorance, really. It's the number one reason... They don't take the time to get to know an African. They just look at them... They may hear on TV about things going on in your country, and just by seeing you they reflect what they hear about, just by looking at you.

Andy adds that miscommunication leads to assumptions about Africans, "...basically just the rumors and miscommunication really, because... you know... rumors start by people not talking to the real source... That's how rumors really get started. I think right there... you want to talk to each other."

iv) African Expectations of African Americans

African participants also articulated expectations of African Americans. One expectation was for African Americans to embrace Africans as their brothers and sisters as captured in Vanessa's comments:

I want them to feel like we are brothers and sisters, you know. Whenever I'm in need they can come help me, and whenever they are in need, I can go and help them, you know. I just do not... I wouldn't like to see that there is a difference between an African and an African American.

Amos expressed similar feelings by his desire for Africans and African Americans to

come to a better understanding... to let those individuals who can't really see the connection know that we all are connected some way, somehow. We're all the same. We just happen to come from different environments, and a lot of things influence why we do this or why we do that, but at the same time we [Africans and African Americans] are all Africans.

Wesley took the kinship expectation one step further by articulating a related expectation for African Americans not to let society define them:

American society dictates what black people are in this country. They say you're this. And then they [African Americans] hear it so much, there's a point they believe it... like 'You're not African,' and you're like... 'I can't call myself African.' Don't let society tell you who you are; you define yourself. If you feel like you're African even though you're born in America, it doesn't matter. It's like... if I was born in China, I wouldn't call myself Chinese... even though I was born there. I don't look like a Chinese person. So it really doesn't matter where you were born; it's like who you are. Your genetics make who you are; it's not where you were born. So I would say I expect African Americans not to let society dictate who they are; let [African Americans] themselves dictate who they are as a person. That's all.

Martin's (first generation American of African parentage who self-identified as African) comment about respect reflects the expectations of others as well, "I think the only expectations I have in interacting with anybody is that you're respectful." Thomas' anticipation that "...they [some African Americans] will make fun of you" provides a context for the expectation of respect from African Americans. Another aspect of this expectation is expressed by Jerry, "When you start talking to them [African Americans], they show interest initially that they want to learn something new from you. Ask them something about what you just said to them the following week; they don't remember. They forget... you see." This experience ties in with another remark by Ijeoma (mixed parentage: African father and African American mother, but self-identified as African) indicating a dual expectation of understanding from some African Americans and for them to educate themselves about Africa and Africans, "I just want them to understand and hear my argument... There is no way your ancestors are not connected to Africa and Africans."

Some Africans also expect to learn from African Americans as articulated by Nnamdi:

...as an African, I don't know too much about America, apart from what I see in the news... at times maybe about the history and other things..., so by interacting with them [African Americans], they could feed me some knowledge that I would like to know, like the history, things that have been going on, and you know, other profitable things I could know... just to get information that's useful to my life... that's useful to the environment.

v) *African Perceptions of and Misconceptions about African Americans*

On their part, African participants also articulated views about how they believe they are perceived by African Americans. Thomas maintains that “back home [on the continent], Africans look up to African Americans... Everybody wants to be an American. Everybody wants to come to U.S.A.” Then he puts everything in perspective in the context of the United States:

When you come over here, it all depends on your home foundation, because as they say, ‘charity begins at home.’ Now if you’re the type that, you know, you’ve been brought up to be serious, you know, education is described like this, you look at African Americans like... they’re cool, but at the same time, many of them are not serious. But it’s all based on the home foundation... Now if you are an educated African American, I believe educated African Americans like Africans. They believe that, you know, that that’s our roots. We should be able to stick together. There should be a lot of love. Now the ignorant ones do not like them [Africans]. They think that many of them [Africans] come here, steal their jobs... you know... many of them [Africans] are too serious.

Jerry adds his comparative perspective about perceptions between Africans and African Americans:

They [African Americans] don’t welcome us the way we welcome them. Sometimes they say things in a stereotypical way. Sometimes they say we’ve come to take over... One thing they know is that we Africans, we are very industrious. We want to study hard and we want to accelerate in life... We’re going to think everybody is black, and we think that we are brothers and sisters. But on their own part, they don’t see us like that. That is what I found out. For us, we can... For example, I’m from Nigeria. My classmates... one of them is from Botswana... the other one is from Ghana. When we interact, you would think we’ve known each other for long, but we just met not long ago. There is love there... because we Africans, we believe that all Africans in the diaspora are one. But the blacks here don’t see it that way. They just look at us as individual human beings, but they don’t know culture deep down like we do know. But the love we show them...some of them show love back. I believe it’s because of ignorance, because some of them don’t know the issue or the diaspora about Africans who are all over the place. But if they have that cultural background or that historical background they would know us.

Along the same line of thinking, Alain indicates that "...some African Americans choose not to be associated with Africans... They have preconceptions about Africans... They think they are better than Africans."

Vanessa observed that African American perceptions of Africans reflect what they see on television:

Whenever they see an African, the image they see is that poor person... you know... dirty person, begging person... things like that... It is related to what they see, what they show them on TV... In Africa, they're dying of hunger; they're dirty; they have diseases, or whatever. And whatever comes from that place, so it means he or she is like this.

According to Nnamdi:

...the ignorant ones [African Americans] just assume... Whatever they see on TV they just presume... okay... Africans don't wear shoes... Africans ride on elephants... Africans do this... Africans do that... without taking the time to research or to find out what is really going on in Africa. So they take the mentality that they are better than Africans, because of their ignorance... because of the lack of knowledge."

The view that African Americans perceive Africans as malicious was expressed by some African participants. Cletus commented that African Americans think "Africans are cruel, in the sense that it's your forefathers who sold you to the whites and all that." Wesley expanded, "A lot of them are still angry because of slavery. A lot of them don't even know what happened during slavery. They think the Africans purposely sold them. That's what I was told black people were taught in history books... that Africans sold them."

African Americans are also perceived to be disloyal and discriminatory. Wesley comments, "Africans sometimes don't understand African Americans or how they [African Americans] discriminate against them [Africans]... how they talk about them in a disloyal way." Vanessa adds that "We [Africans] think that African Americans... (I don't know how to say it), but it's like... We think they do not have good behavior." Comfort

(first generation American of African parentage who self-identified as African) sums up African perceptions of African Americans: “Lazy, violent... they all do drugs, they take things for granted, they don’t value their education as much as they [Africans] do...”

Reference was made by some Africans to being viewed by many African Americans as illegal residents. Vanessa’s comments portray these feelings:

So I came to understand that it’s probably because they do not understand much about Africans. What they show is like... we’re not... because I thought it was probably because of what they saw on TV because they feel like you are not clean, you’re coming from a poor country, you’re an illegal resident...you know, something like that. That’s all they see in us.

African Americans are perceived by some Africans as lacking in self confidence when it comes to education and work. Thomas expounds, “... for some reason... of which I don’t understand, African Americans believe that they can’t do this. They believe that they can’t do work. They don’t have no hope in themselves... I mean... many of them lack self-confidence.” Martin (first generation American of African parentage who self-identified as African) elaborates:

I think they are lazy, they fail to grasp... they have many opportunities that they fail to grasp, and usually they blame it on lack of intelligence and education, not necessarily innately ignorant, it’s just the fact that... okay... now some people see it as it being conditions, but I don’t think a lot of Africans understand why they [African Americans] can’t.... They just haven’t been able to grasp the opportunities that the United States has offered them.

Samantha (first generation American of African parentage who self-identified as African) voices her reflections on African perceptions of African Americans:

They [Africans] perceive them [African Americans] as individuals that have a lot of opportunities. And I feel a lot of Africans don't see them less of a person than they are, as well as Africans don't see them... or see their race as a better race... but it gets to a point where so many Africans go through so many things in Africa to fight for certain rights, like education or freedom of speech... We have a choice as African Americans everyday, and we don't take them. And I think it makes a lot of Africans frustrated towards the African American race... A lot of African Americans are very ignorant to the African culture and what we do and who we are as a people. And I feel that a lot of African Americans just don't understand when it comes to the African community, or may be just don't want to understand, or are scared to understand that that's their culture.

Ijeoma (mixed parentage: African father and African American mother, but self-identified as African) makes a similar remark:

A lot of Africans feel African Americans are like... you know... behind... like they are not really accomplishing as much as they could be. I feel like that too, you know... like... Africans come here and just start their own businesses, and just do so much more. Africans seem to be more determined in this country, and a lot of African Americans just sit back.

Most of the African expectations of how African Americans perceive Africans align with what African Americans actually say about Africans. The only expectations that were not expressed directly by African American participants were that Africans are illegal immigrants and that Africans are in the U.S. to deprive African Americans of opportunities for personal advancement.

vi) Origins of Perceptions of and Misconceptions about African Americans

The media, stereotypes, and misunderstanding related to cultural differences are the primary origins of perceptions and misconceptions about Africans identified by study participants. As is the case with views about Africans, the media also surfaces as a main source of assumptions about African Americans. Althea states:

Most of the movies portray African Americans as gangsters, you know, thugs. I guess when you first come over to American and you see all these movies, and then you actually see a little bit on the streets depending on where you go to, and then they [Africans] are thinking... well back at home in Africa, we're struggling, and you [African Americans] are here, you have the opportunity to make it better and you're not. So I feel like that's the origin... the media.

Comfort expands on media portrayals of African Americans as "...lazy, violent... I guess I'm naming all the stereotypes... they all do drugs, they take things for granted, they don't value their education."

Additionally, many study participants trace the origin of perceptions of and misconceptions about African Americans to stereotypes. Thomas' statement sums this up:

I believe that everything comes down to stereotypes... You know, when you have African parents that all they see in the media is African Americans shooting, girls dancing, they're going to be like... damn... I don't want my children to become like this... and they assume that all African Americans do the same thing... which is not true.

Other views of African Americans are based on personal experiences as explained by Comfort:

When they [Africans] first come to America... how African Americans treat Africans, because I've seen this myself... They [African Americans] just mistreat them [Africans]. Going back to the stereotypes... They don't treat them like... you know... that's my brother or that's my sister... let me help them out... There's so much discrimination among the two... there's a lot of discrimination...

Furthermore, cultural differences are cited as a source of assumptions about African Americans. For example, with regard to the notion of respect, Alain states, “For Africans, it is only about respect in the culture that they think they are better [than African Americans]... the way you wear your clothes, the way you talk, the way you drive, the way you walk... It’s different... so Africans think that their way is the right way to wear clothes, etc.” Alain’s thinking is in line with Wesley’s references to his own mother’s experiences. Wesley owned up:

Actually there is a lot rooted in my parents’ perceptions. I could say talking with African people... you know... actually... older people... my mom’s age, I would say... I’m not going to say all, but some people will... they... I know my mom... when she came here... most of her hardships that she experienced was from African American people. So she has kind of a bias from her personal experience... I guess that kind of plays into the perceptions of how Africans would view African Americans. But I would say people of my generation might have some of that dislike. People like me, I’m a little... There are some people that just walk alone.

Other participants, like Samantha, also discussed tensions between them and their parents because of their parents’ biases against African Americans, generally based on claims of negative experiences with African Americans.

As discussed above and from overall study data, many of the expectations, perceptions, and misconceptions on both sides originate largely from direct or indirect (through family and friends) experiences, assumptions (in cases of lack of direct experiences), or mainly from stereotypical media portrayals. African American participants made no references to influences or opinions from their family per se. The few references to coursework seemed to indicate a reinforcement of stereotypes as was the case when one participant, as part of a group assignment, chose to compare poverty levels in two African countries. On the other hand, several African participants expressed mostly negative views of African Americans propagated by their family members, particularly parents. In general, first generation American participants who self identified as Africans expressed greater understanding of African Americans and

challenged their parents' negative views of African Americans. A few Africans who developed improved relations and interaction with African Americans over time credited that improvement to psychology classes. This analysis supports the belief that realizing the full benefits of internationalization or multicultural initiatives requires going beyond setting up infrastructure to careful, orchestrated implementation (Deardorff & Hunter, 2006; Singer, 1998).

c) Deterrents to Interaction between Africans and African Americans

Numerous obstacles to interaction between African and African American students were identified by study participants. Belief in stereotypes was identified as a big obstacle as Sarah's related comment brings to light:

Just the fact that they may go off of stereotypes and never really get the chance to talk to each other one-on-one and see how it is... because even though we may come from different places, different cultures, if we never put aside the differences and actually talk, we're never going to be able to communicate and bridge that gap.

Misconceptions related to expectations are another obstacle. Camilla explains her thoughts on the subject:

I think there are misconceptions of how we [people] expect other people to act... Maybe we expect them [people] to be different, so we don't go out and talk to them... I've never really thought about that. I guess we are kind of all hooked on our own thing, and so we're comfortable in our comfort zone and with the people we're used to being around, so we don't really branch out and try to go find other people.

Furthermore, an impediment mentioned was fear. Kasongo states, “There is nothing concretely that will stop you [Africans and African Americans] from talking or coming together, but you are afraid of what the other person would think of you, or what you would think of them at the same time... It’s just that fear of going past the stereotypes.” Tiara also captures this opinion by stating that “African Americans may be afraid... so they are probably hesitant to interact. They may be intimidated by Africans.”

Socialization patterns were also noted as a barrier to interaction between the two groups. Samantha complains:

The way Africans exclude themselves from the community... It’s nice to have... you know... the Nigerian festivals; it’s nice to have the Ghanaian festivals, and the Kenyan festivals, but we need to open it and advertise it to anybody. So it’s not like... yea... I’m going to a festival, and then the next person goes... ‘I have not heard about it.’ And not only that, but the way we segregate ourselves in the continent of Africa. Nigerians are so Nigerian; Sudanese have nothing to do with Kenyans; Kenyans don’t ever mention anything about South Africans. And I think that’s a problem. I think we should open our doors to all Africans as each community should open their doors to all Africans. It shouldn’t just be... you know... Kenyans are Kenyans and Nigerians are Nigerians, because we are already segregating ourselves in the continent of Africa. We are already segregating ourselves from the African Americans. So we need to work on coming together as a continent before we can work on bringing African Americans into our community.

Martin’s observations provide further illustration of the inhibiting impact of socialization practices:

You tend to socialize with the people you relate to more often, so because of that Africans tend to... you know... stick with Africans and African Americans stick to African Americans... not much so because of... they don’t like that person... just because they’re more comfortable with that person. And I think it’s because they stay in those clicks that... you know... all these stereotypes can bubble up and aren’t questioned because there’s no African Americans with Africans and Africans with African Americans... And it’s really human mentality to socialize with people they can relate to, and because of that, we have this split.

Language surfaced as yet another obstruction to interaction, Vanessa demonstrates this in her comment, “We Africans tend to speak our language in a group that has African Americans, and that keeps them out. They may think we are talking about them even though we are not.” Tammy’s remark brings this home:

I believe not knowing how to speak their language and they [Africans] not knowing how to speak ours. I know that sometimes when Africans... I mean anybody... may just be sitting there talking about ‘the sky is blue,’ and some people may feel as if they are talking about them. As well as vice versa... All my friends may be sitting together talking about ‘the grass is green,’ and they may feel as if we’re talking about them. So not knowing each other’s language and not knowing how some people do things may get in the way.

Another aspect related to language that negatively impacts interaction is accents. Ijeoma points out that “...some African Americans feel like they can’t understand African accents... like they would have a teacher... ‘Well, I can’t understand nothing he’s saying’ or something. I guess people just feel offended if because of someone’s accent they [Africans] come off as being unknowledgeable.” By the same token, Nnamdi shows his reservations, “I try to talk to you and you say, ‘ugh...ugh... What are you saying? I can’t hear you.’ So it’s like... There are certain times they [African Americans] say I have an accent and stuff, and I’d rather just leave him alone if he says he can’t understand what I’m saying.”

Cultural differences also came up as an obstacle. Martin explains, “There’s also a different sense of morals and values on both parts. Sometimes... superficial stuff like food for instance... you know. Culturally, Africans eat some stuff that African Americans might look down upon, so because of that... that keeps them apart...” Still along cultural lines, Shelton points out, “The way we [African Americans] carry ourselves...I guess we come off as arrogant, but I’m not sure.”

Time was cited as a hindrance as well, particularly by African participants. Most of them tended to have very strict schedules because they had to work to support themselves and to finance their education for the most part. Whatever time they had outside of class was split between working and studying, with socialization happening only occasionally.

Appearance, as Martin points out below, hugely impacts interaction between the two groups:

Appearances I think definitely keep all Africans and African Americans apart. That's a big thing, just because... you know... from my experience as a student here... and especially in high school, but it still carries on into college... how someone looks like... it tends to be... you know... whether you want to socialize with that person. And Africans tend to do... tend to look different than most African Americans on this campus... not always... but you can see... sometimes I can see the... like... there are Africans that dissociate themselves from most African Americans who look a certain way, whereas the Africans that are more in tune with both the cultures look at it differently as well.

Some African participants felt that many African Americans begrudge Africans for slavery, and this prevents the two groups from interacting with each other. Wesley's comment illustrates this point, "A lot of them are still angry because of slavery... They think the Africans purposely sold them."

d) Activities or Interests That Bring Africans and African Americans Together

One of the guide questions (added after the third individual interview) asked participants to discuss occurrences that unite Africans and African Americans. The third individual interview was conducted with an African American, James. In attempting to comment about happenings that keep Africans and African Americans from interacting with one another, he could only think of Music and Reggae parties that “pull” them together. The scenario observed at the site of this study validates research findings that while racially and ethnically diverse environments enrich the educational experiences of all students, intentional programs are essential for taking full advantage of such diversity (Bremer, 2006; Marin, 2000; Maruyama & Moreno, 2000). Participants’ views, highlighted below, about happenings that unite both groups are examples of foundational information for creating intentional programs that maximize opportunities for inter-group interaction in this and other contexts.

Study participants elaborated about activities or interests that bring Africans and African Americans together. Parties and music, in particular Reggae music, were cited as common interests of both groups, and of black people in general. Kasongo muses:

Parties, music... Music is the main thing, because the songs are... Suffering is always a feeling that African Americans have in common with Africans, and as they hear the beats, they are immersed to it easily, almost like they were home. And when they hear us... I’ve taken a few friends to African parties... and when they come and see how it is... ‘WOW! We’re just alike!’ It’s nothing really superficial... So it’s that piece of the culture which I will call music... the sounds is what can bring us back together... Bob Marley is still very hip, and music will bring people together... and the sounds of Africa... That’s what’s really going to happen.

Samantha highlights the part music plays in uniting both groups:

I found at one of the Reggae parties, a lot of the Caribbean culture... stuff that they do... bring us together, because there is one thing that people of African descent have in common... Reggae music... It really does bring us together though, especially the African Association at this point has used that to bring members out... to communicate with people, because it's just... peace when everybody is together. No one cares... People might wear their shirts and they might represent where they're from, but at the end of the day everybody is together with music. So I think everybody comes together with music and dance... It really does bring people together.

Amos expands on the point:

There's been a more common interest along musical lines. There's been a lot more African audience and musicians that have taken positions in American music and specifically Black music... music originated by black people, you know. And it's become... People are taking a liking or interest to these musicians. Also, I've noticed a lot more African Americans being involved in dances and music coming from the continent of Africa.

Education was mentioned as another area that could serve to unite Africans and African Americans. Thomas states:

And the reason why I say education is that, for some reason... of which I don't understand, African Americans believe that they can't do this. They believe that they can't do work. They don't have no hope in themselves, so they think that they need foreigners... they need other Africans, because they know that Africans... you know... they know that I'm going to work for them. They need Africans, Caucasians, and other foreigners to help them out. So one thing that I am sure that brings them together is when it comes down to education... school work.

Martin elaborates on education as a uniting factor, and then incorporates an economic perspective:

I see Africans and African Americans together economically since... not necessarily just money per se, but like for instance, in college I see this a lot... because that person is African... they tend to have the stereotype of being smarter... so they [African Americans] are going to try to associate themselves with the Africans... not because they're smarter per se, but because they can help them with their homework, which will help them get a better grade, which will help them get a better job, you know. So it's about... you've got to do what you've got to do to get where you want.

Ramona's comments about blending entertainment and education as a uniting force was quite cogent:

If you can capture somebody with that... with the entertainment... the music, the dance, the food, other aspects of the culture... interact in that way and bring people together, and then move it to the educational things... stuff like the African Night organized by the African Students Association, and things like... we went to the conference in Maryland with African refugees and immigrants to hear their stories, and beginning to have an interaction and move with each other... see how we live... our daily lives... I think programs like that really help.

Other possible educational and entertainment programs or activities outlined by participants were seminars, guest speakers, plays, sporting activities, and dance.

Moreover, friendship was recognized as having a powerful unifying influence. Wesley's reflection about his personal experience in this arena clarifies how:

I would say the common interest would be relationships. A lot of people might shy away... A lot of African Americans might shy away from dating Africans... but that would bring the two groups together.

Also, I don't see many relationships with people that... with Africans that are like over 30 years... because my mom... like for example, my mom doesn't happen to meet friends that are African Americans. Most of her friends are either European Americans or they're Africans... So I will say it's all about relationships... I don't see too many relationships between Africans and African Americans. So I would say it is based on relationships in just people who are coming together.

I'm happy because most of my friends... I have maybe like five of my friends are going to Africa now because of me... I'm bringing them closer to Africa... That's my job.

Religion was also referenced as having a unifying effect on Africans and African Americans. Nnamdi almost goes into a sermon when he elaborates:

I would say religion, although there are Christians and Moslems, but as long as they're human beings, regardless of whether African or white race believes in God. The person will relate to another person that believes in God, because they have a common ground... They have something to talk about... about God... As long as you have a common ground, we are one [He sings the following line...] *We are one body, we are one body in Christ*. There is nothing in the Bible that talks about Africans or whites or African Americans. It just talks about people. 'In the beginning God created man...' you know, 'man.' The reason why I'm black and somebody in America is white or the reason we speak differently... it is because of the area we grew up in. It has nothing to do with who we are. So that's one common ground I see that people can really interact... All regulations is in the Bible. When you read the Word, you really get to understand that we're one. There is no difference between me, an African, an African American, and somebody who is white. There's no difference, so we're just going to find a common ground... you know... and just relate to one another, because there is no difference.

e) Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about Africans and about African Americans

Individuals and groups are fundamental to society. As McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears (2002a, p. 1) note, “Without individuals there could be no society, but unless individuals also perceive themselves to belong to groups, that is, to share characteristics, circumstances, values and beliefs with other people, then society would be without structure or order.” McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears proceed to define group perceptions as stereotypes, and stereotypes as aids to explanation, energy saving devices, and shared group beliefs (McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears, 2002a, pp. 2-6). Identity theory and social identity theory described in Chapter 2 and explored in Chapter 5, delve into the individual’s sense of self in relation to group memberships. Social identity theory associates group membership ideals with the motive to achieve positive self-evaluation whereby people’s desire for positive social identity provides a motivational basis for differentiation between social groups and in-group favoritism (Bar-Tal, 1997; Hogg, 2006; Leyens, Yzerbyt, & Schadron, 1994). The basis of identity in social identity theory is in the uniformity of perceptions and actions among group members, revealed along cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral lines. Stereotyping, as an example of a cognitive outcome, is therefore an unavoidable group phenomenon.

During the individual interviews, many of the participants made references to stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes about members of the out-group but were reluctant when probed to provide examples, saying that they did not personally believe in those perceptions. Despite these claims, remarks from both sides revealed what might be a subconscious belief in some of the identified stereotypes. Several African participants referred to African Americans as lazy, materialistic, and unserious about their education. Likewise, some African Americans made comments about Africans being unclean and smelly. Because of expressed reticence in providing specific biased information directly, an anonymous activity was added to the focus-group interviews and large group sessions, asking volunteers to list separately stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes they had

heard about Africans and about African Americans (See Appendices E and F). Following is an analysis of that information. Specific stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes, in participants' exact words, are catalogued in Appendices K and L. As discussed earlier, further disaggregation of this data by identity group is not possible since participants provided the information only because its collection was completely anonymous. As Singer (1998) points out, consciously recognizing the existence of biases in the inner core of people's belief systems enables them and others to fight those feelings. People may not be able to entirely erase some of those perceptions, but making them conscious can help them and others examine those beliefs more rationally and to question their basis and merit (Singer, 1998, p. 176).

i) Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about Africans

One hundred thirty-one (131) study volunteers (ten Africans and 121 African Americans) communicated specific stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes they had heard about Africans (See Appendix K for a comprehensive listing). These broadly fell into neutral/positive and negative items, and were further organized under roughly defined categories in participants' exact words.

Most of the neutral/positive items described the economic outlook/living conditions, lifestyle, appearance, educational/professional dispositions, family dispositions, and culture. Africans were conceptualized as having the ability to survive with less, and as being in touch with nature and valuing everything they own. There was even an expressed perception of Africans as rich. Some of the neutral views were simply statements indicating that they wear loin cloths; love bright colors; eat all kinds of plants, animals, insects, fruits, and vegetables; like to play soccer; some practice polygamy; the younger ones listen to hip hop; they have big families; and they speak different languages. A factual statement about many Africans being dark-skinned carries with it a negative connotation (as discussed earlier in this chapter) when examined from the standpoint of race relations between blacks and whites in the United

States and when viewed in the context of historical perspectives on Africa discussed in Chapter 2. Africans were also largely viewed as having strong educational and professional dispositions. They were perceived as hardworking, intelligent, education-driven, and successful. Many elements of Africans' cultural dispositions were portrayed in a positive light. They were seen as being family-oriented and unified. Some of the positive attributes mentioned were statements of opinion: their children are well-mannered, they are great parents, and they look out for each other.

While negative stereotypes about Africans covered virtually every aspect of life (See Appendix K for a complete list of categories), the most widely held perceptions were in the following categories: economic outlook/living conditions, appearance, educational and professional dispositions, hygiene and sanitation, health, dispositions toward African Americans, male dispositions, and propensity toward illegal and criminal activity. These stereotypes describe Africans as hungry and poor, unclothed, uncivilized, living on trees in forests or in huts in remote villages, and having no schools. In terms of their appearance, a statement of fact that many Africans are dark-skinned is also construed in a negative light for reasons discussed earlier. They are described as physically ugly with nappy and kinky hair, big noses, lips, buttocks (women), and ugly feet; and their style of dress is portrayed as odd and unattractive. Another conceptualization is that the slave collectors left the weak and stupid Africans in Africa, which (according to the individual) explains why Africa is having so many problems today.

Other stereotypes show Africans as self-centered, always late, willing to work for little or nothing, rude, uneducated, lazy, stupid, and aggressive. In terms of their personal hygiene, sanitation, and health, they are portrayed as dirty and smelly (their persons, their abodes, and their food), as "booty scratchers", as malnourished, as jaundiced, as engaging in unsafe sexual practices, and as carriers of HIV/AIDS and other diseases. There was an expressed view that having intimate relations with Africans automatically disqualifies one as a blood donor, and this could have implications for

relations between members of the two groups. Africans were also described as having a propensity toward illegal activities. They are viewed as frauds, crooks and cheats trying to out-smart the system; as illegal aliens or refugees; as sneaky and underhanded; and as sex predators. The men are perceived as high-tempered and domineering; as controlling, demanding and abusive to women; and also as unwilling to marry outside of their race (ethnic group). Regarding their dispositions toward African Americans, Africans are captured as unwilling to share beliefs about their culture, as feeling superior to and having a dislike of African Americans and not viewing them as descendants of Africans. Some stereotypes also depict Africans' perceptions that African Americans are lazy, do not take advantage of available opportunities, and are out of touch with their history and culture. Stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes about Africans listed by study volunteers largely align with prevailing stereotypes of Africans discussed by Keim (1999).

ii) Stereotypes, Assumptions, or Jokes about African Americans

As was the case with stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes about Africans, the same 131 study volunteers (ten Africans and 121 African Americans) communicated specific stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes they had heard about African Americans (See Appendix L for a comprehensive listing). Again, these broadly fell into neutral/positive and negative items, and were further organized under roughly defined categories in participants' exact words.

There were significantly fewer neutral/positive perceptions of African Americans (in comparison to those expressed of Africans). Perceptions in this category portrayed African Americans as friendly, rich, and more family-oriented than whites. There were also statements conveying that the HIV/AIDS population in America is large among African Americans. One wonders if the relatively small number of neutral/positive perceptions is an indicator that stereotypes of African Americans are so entrenched that Africans (or the wider population) may be less likely to acknowledge the positive in African Americans.

The mostly widespread negative views of African Americans were categorized as follows: educational/professional dispositions, dispositions towards Africa/ns, general dispositions, economic outlook/living conditions, female attitudes, male dispositions, and propensity toward illegal or criminal activity (See Appendix L for a complete list of categories). African Americans were conceptualized as lazy, uninterested in education, unambitious and undetermined to succeed, irresponsible, ignorant, uneducated and self-centered. Regarding their dispositions towards Africans, some of the stereotypes portray African Americans as being fearful of Africans, as having a dislike for Africa/ns, and as dissociating themselves from their African heritage. Furthermore, there is a perception that African Americans blame Africans for slavery.

Other stereotypes describe the general dispositions of African Americans. They are viewed as ungrateful, unappreciative, disrespectful, violent, and uncultured. African American females are depicted as quarrelsome, controlling, and involved in excessive procreation. The men are portrayed as lazy, unfaithful, and deadbeats. In general, African Americans were revealed as thugs, drug addicts, neglectful and abusive of their children, killers, and criminals. They were also conceptualized as hungry, poor, jobless, and welfare-dependent. Even though some of the stereotypes show African Americans as materialistic and wasteful, they were also associated with ghetto lifestyles.

Although all study volunteers on both sides claimed not to be influenced by prevailing stereotypes, their narrative descriptions indicate the contrary, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Obviously, some of these stereotypes are contradictory, for being intelligent and educationally successful as well as being poor, for example, are mutually exclusive with being uneducated and rich. It is also noteworthy that some of the same stereotypes are held by each group about the other. As evident from data analysis earlier in this chapter, increased knowledge and interaction hold the potential for questioning and dispelling or minimizing these misconceptions.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Several dynamics shaped interaction patterns between African and African American students at the site of this study. These factors are examined further against the backdrop of identity theory to a limited extent, and social identity theory to a large extent. As McGarty, Yzerbyt, and Spears (2002a) point out, individuals are central to society, and society has structure and order because individuals perceive themselves as belonging to groups, that is, as sharing characteristics, circumstances, values, and beliefs with other people. This view ties in with identity theory and social identity theory in making sense of interaction patterns between individuals and groups.

According to identity theory (2006) the individual's sense of self (the set of meanings that are tied to and sustain the self as an individual) comes from the point of view of others with whom that individual interacts. By seeing oneself from the point of view of others, the individual's responses come to reflect those of others, and the meaning of the self becomes a shared one. This analysis creates a direct link between identity theory and social identity theory as has been argued by Stets and Burke (2000). Individuals occupy roles in society and also belong to groups from which they derive a sense of belonging and self-worth; therefore, individuals have social identities. Social identity theory defines groups cognitively in terms of people's self-conception as group members (Hogg, 2006). A number of findings emerged from this study grounded in the application of identity theory and social identity theory to explain interaction patterns between undergraduate African and African American students at the site of this study.

a) Factors that Explain Interaction between Africans and African Americans

Several factors explain interaction between undergraduate African and African American students at this HBCU. These factors fall into three broad categories: cultural differences between both groups; perceptions of and misconceptions about the out-group; and lack of balanced knowledge about the out-group. According to social identity theory, “persons who are similar to the self are categorized with the self and are labeled the in-group; persons who differ from the self are categorized as the out-group” (Stets & Burke, 2000).

i) Cultural Differences

Cultural differences between Africans and African Americans account for interaction patterns between both groups. Worrell’s comprehensive synthesis of cultural connotations captures areas of differences between both groups that may provide details about inter-group interaction: traditions, customs and values; important achievements of one’s racial/ethnic group or ancestry; attitudes and beliefs; norms and values of the immediate socialization context; differences in characteristics such as language, food, dress, music, religious practices, etc.; and perceptible physical differences (Worrell, 2005, p. 139). Study data show that some of these cultural aspects emerge into identities and also clarify inter-group interaction in the context under study.

Many participants articulated instances portraying the effects of differences in several qualities: attitudes and beliefs of the immediate socialization context; characteristics such as language, food, dress, religious practices, etc.; and perceptible physical differences. Some participants used many of these differences to categorize themselves as similar to the in-group and different from the out-group, and this categorization conditioned inter-group relations and interactions. Though hailing from different countries in Africa, African students develop a new “African” social identity

upon coming to the United States. These students' perceived rejection by the host community is related to a sense of identification with other African students (Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003, p. 1). Branscombe's rejection-identification model (In Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003, pp. 1-4), conceptualizes relationships between perceptions of discrimination, minority group identification, and psychological well-being. Perceptions of discrimination among members of disadvantaged groups encourage minority group identification. Harm to psychological well-being may result from perceptions of discrimination which are likely to be subjectively experienced as rejection from the mainstream. Minority group identification acts as a buffer to enhance psychological well-being. While African students individually have their personal identities based on idiosyncrasies, country of origin, family, upbringing, culture, etc., their current socialization context brings with it perceptions of shared experiences and creates in them an African social identity group, distinct from a "black" or "African American" identity. Stereotyping, the cognitive manifestation of social identity theory (Hogg, 2006) kicks in as the group strives to achieve positive accentuation of the collective self in relation to the other social group, African Americans. These same principles in the rejection-identification model and social identity theory can be applied to African Americans whose collective social identity has been defined by society and their historical experiences with racism, including pervasive stereotyping. African Americans, as a social group, also strive to achieve positive accentuation of the collective self in relation to the other social group—Africans.

Cultural differences between both groups provide details about qualities that shape inter-group interaction. Sharita expresses possible effects of attitudes and beliefs:

I know the United States is considered a rich place or what not. We [Americans, including African Americans] might come off as being uppity or something like that. We walk with our heads held high like we're better than people. I think if they [Africans] come over here with that attitude, I think they might see that and might be scared to interact with us, because we might come off... because the society makes it...we're a different type of person than everybody.

A perception of Americans as rich and uppity—as described by Sharita—may be falsely validated if an African were to have an encounter like the one depicted by Roberta at her car rental job, “I can tell there is a little animosity when they [Africans] see me at the counter and they come up to me, and it is like... well...you know... I already automatically will get an attitude. Sometimes I do, and sometimes I don't. It depends on how long a day I've had.” Shelton wonders out loud, “The way we [African Americans] carry ourselves...I guess we come off as arrogant, but I'm not sure.”

By the same token, Samantha's observation about the insularity of Africans also illuminates possible effects of cultural or attitudinal differences on inter-group interaction:

The way Africans exclude themselves from the community. It's nice to have... you know... the Nigerian festivals, it's nice to have the Ghanaian festivals, and the Kenyan festivals, but we [Africans] need to open it and advertise it to anybody. So it's not like... yea... I'm going to a festival, and then the next person goes... 'I have not heard about it.' And not only that, but the way we [Africans] segregate ourselves in the continent of Africa. Nigerians are so Nigerian, Sudanese have nothing to do with Kenyans, Kenyans don't ever mention anything about South Africans. And I think that's a problem. I think we should open our doors to all Africans as each community should open their doors to all Africans. It shouldn't just be... you know... Kenyans are Kenyans and Nigerians are Nigerians, because we are already segregating ourselves in the continent of Africa. We are already segregating ourselves from the African Americans.

Differences also feature in social norms and probably contribute negatively to interaction between Africans and African Americans. One example is highlighted by Jerry's dating experience:

...when it comes to... like when we went to the store when I [Jerry/African (Nigerian)] started dating, she [an African American] was making me push the trolley, which I'm not used to...you know. I was like... 'No, in my country, women go to the market or the store.' Then she would say... 'Welcome to America!' That's another one there. They [African American women] want me to open the door for them, which I'm not keen in doing... not every time. I mean you can do it once or a couple of times, but every time! Open the door! No! And the women here... Oh boy! They always have the last word, you know. When you argue with any woman, they want to have the last word...You can't argue with them... You can't even hit them, because you can go to jail or ... But in Africa, women listen to their men. And again, when you tell them [African American women] that, they say, 'Women are so submissive in Africa, they are stupid, that's so ridiculous, they are not knowledgeable...'

Jerry's dating experience described above hints at issues around gender expectations which seemed to condition his reactions. Gender roles are generally highly cultural. In Nigeria, and probably many other African countries, girls are consistently assigned domestic tasks, including going to the market, while boys are often assigned physically challenging duties (Abidogun, 2007, p. 34). Juxtaposing divergent cultural norms with widely practiced social etiquette creates conditions for intercultural clashes that have the potential to stifle inter-group interaction.

Althea's description of her experience dating an African further elaborates on the clash in cultural perspectives:

Africans are very... once they get to know you... and that doesn't take very long, you're like a part of the family, as opposed to... For example, me and my [African] boyfriend... His family was quicker to accept me and to make me a part of the family than say my family. And it's not because they don't like him. It's just the culture. It's like you have to get to know the person better, you've got to spend more time with them. And the same thing is true for Africans, but they find ways to spend more time with you, ways to get to know you. And... I want to say they are more loyal. Not to say African Americans aren't, it's just they take it really, really seriously. For example... There is so much, because me and my boyfriend... we always compare the cultures. He was telling me... He said, if we were sitting at a dinner table... It was you and all of my family, and we went out to Red Lobster. And my dad said, 'I'll pay for the meal.' This is before anybody has ordered their food, and then he looks at the bill and says, 'This is a lot.' He was like... If you say, 'I'll pay for mine,' that would be considered rude. And I was like... 'I would say that!' He said, 'I know you would. That's why I'm telling you now'... because I would feel like I'm helping. He said, 'But no, that would make you look selfish.' He said, 'You can't just offer to pay your own part and not everybody else's.' He said, 'If you can't pay for everybody's, don't say anything.' He said, 'If you want to say something, just say, 'Daddy, how can I help?' Don't say, 'Well I have mine.' And... the more I keep thinking about it, the more it makes sense. But initially I thought I would be helping. And I think that's a really good example of how the cultures differ. It is not that African Americans are more rude. It's just... to them, that would have been okay, 'cause my dad would have been like... 'Okay, you got yours?' And some things that I feel would be rude, I try to distance myself out of respect... I feel like I'm being respectful... But if I go into his aunt's house and don't offer to wash the dishes or set the plates... If I don't, then they'd say, 'What's wrong with this girl?' But at my parents' house, they want you to sit down, we'll serve you, you don't really know this place... you know... we'll serve you. But I remember... I'm like... 'What? I didn't know I was supposed to help!' Okay now every time I go, it's like... 'What can I do?' I'm making sure I'm doing something and not just sitting around, 'cause if you're sitting around, that's even worse.

Contrast in the reactions of Althea and Jerry's girlfriend to elements of cultural conflict is noteworthy and can be understood from two perspectives. Firstly, individual cognitive development probably shapes individual reactions to cultural differences. It can be

argued that Althea's relationship with her Cameroonian boyfriend and her exposure to his family have resulted in her gaining expanded cross-cultural knowledge and a more developed sense of intercultural competence. These opposing reactions can also be understood from the perspective of prevailing attitudes that students have toward their African identity: indifference, resentment, hostility, acceptance, and African centeredness (Myrick, 2002, p. 378). Increased knowledge about both cultures would probably move individuals closer to acceptance and/or African centeredness.

Sometimes misunderstandings may also be grounded in perceptions of cultural differences. Notwithstanding, these perceptions are realities that penetrate many facets of interaction between Africans and African Americans. Althea's remarks expand on this point:

Definitely misunderstandings keep Africans and African Americans from interacting. Say if there was a party, Africans have a certain way of doing things, like when they do business with African Americans... as far as honesty and payment, an African would want to pay you a portion before, and then pay you the rest after. But an African American is like... 'look, I'm letting you borrow it, give me all the money now.' I don't know... It's... I think, definitely misunderstandings... bottom line. It keeps them from interacting, if anything.

Martin elaborates:

There's also a different sense of morals and values on both parts. Sometimes... like superficial stuff like... you know... food for instance... you know... Culturally... you know... Africans eat some stuff that African Americans might look down upon, so because of that... that keeps them apart... Or the fact that accents... they can't understand a lot of times... that keeps them apart. Economically sometimes... because on both sides of the fence... one party may be have more than the other party... and that keeps them apart.

Jessica gets into more detail:

I think some people don't understand. Just like I was saying... with any other culture, some people don't understand... like... Why is she doing this? Why is she doing that? Why are they dressed like that? What is she eating? I hope she never comes to me with that stuff. Sometimes when you don't understand something, you don't embrace it right off the bat.

Interaction difficulties linked to language surfaced on different fronts. One instance was the power of language difficulties to deter comprehension, and therefore interaction, as Sharita explains, "I know this one girl... I think she speaks French. It is hard for her to understand me when I'm talking to her." Anita's experience expands on this point, "Mainly because some Africans that I have interacted with, their English is not as good as many African Americans' over here. That might be a restraint to keep them [Africans and African Americans] from interacting with each other, so language is a barrier." Nnamdi's reaction further reflects this restraint, "I try to talk to you [African American] and you say, 'Ugh...ugh... What are you saying? I can't hear you.' So it is like... There are certain times they say I have an accent and stuff, and I'd rather just leave them alone if they say they can't understand what I'm saying. Why can't I just interact with people who understand what I'm saying?" Tammy also adds her voice to the dialogue:

I believe not knowing how to speak their [Africans'] language and they not knowing how to speak ours. I know that sometimes when Africans... I mean anybody... may just be sitting there talking about 'the sky is blue,' and some people may feel as if they are talking about them. As well as vice versa...All my friends may be sitting together talking about 'the grass is green,' and they [Africans] may feel as if we're talking about them.

Vanessa's sentiments follow along the same lines, "Another problem is the language. We Africans tend to speak our language in a group that has African Americans, and that keeps them out. They may think we are talking about them even though we are not."

Beyond comprehension, another effect in the area of language relates to nuances in perceived meanings of words or utterances, as Jerry's experience conveys:

There was one time I... 'cause here [in the United States] they believe if you are going out with somebody they say "friend." But in Africa, a friend is just somebody you interact with, but here friend to them can be somebody you can sleep with. One time I was talking to my home boy and he said, 'Where did you go last time?' I said, 'I went out with one of my friends, one of my girl friends.' Then the lady I was going out with came out from nowhere and hit me in the back and said, 'So you mean there is another girl besides me?' I said, 'What do you mean?' She said, 'You just told your friend you went out with one of your girl friends... She said that she is supposed to be number one. I said, 'Well, girlfriend to me... I mean to us [Africans]... it is just like a general category, like you people say... but lover is different.'

Study data also showed that phenotypic differences explain interaction between Africans and African Americans in the context under study. There is a sense that skin tone made an impression that probably affected inter-group interaction as evident from comments by some participants. Tammy states:

I know most people who I have talked to see Africans... well, when they think of Africans, they always speak of Africans as being dark-skinned. They may see them as... You have to look at how sometimes society makes Africans look. They may see them as being dark-skinned or things of that nature, when it is totally the opposite. I mean, 'cause I have run into Africans who I didn't know they were Africans. They were my complexion or lighter, and they have the accent, but I thought may be they... it was just an accent. I didn't know that they were Africans.

Along the same lines, Tiara comments:

Some [African Americans] might look at Africans... because they are darker, but there are some dark African Americans too, so I mean... That's another thing. African Americans think all Africans are supposed to be dark-skinned, but I've seen some light-skinned Africans really, so it kind of surprised me because me myself I'm thinking you all [the researcher and other Africans] are dark-skinned...

Skin tone among African Americans has been conceptualized as a form of intra-group social stigma, an attribute which renders its bearer with a “spoiled social identity” and represents a deviation from the attributes considered acceptable within a particular context (Harvey, LaBleach, Pridgen, & Gocial, 2005, pp. 238-239). Observations about skin tone by African American study participants suggest a stigmatized perception of a darker skin tone may be at play at this HBCU as it relates to interaction between Africans and African Americans. Skin tone or any other bodily appearance of African Americans did not emerge as significant for Africans, except for “overweight” and “fat” being listed as stereotypes.

Beyond skin tone, appearance factors into interaction decisions in both groups, as Martin’s remarks bring to light:

Appearances I think definitely keeps all Africans and African Americans apart. That’s a big thing, just because... you know... from my experience as a student here... like... and especially in high school, but it still carries on into college... how someone looks like... it tends to be... you know... whether you want to socialize with that person. And Africans tend to do... tend to look different than most African Americans on this campus... not always... but you can see... sometimes I can see the... like... there are Africans that dissociate themselves from most African Americans who look a certain way, whereas the Africans that are more in tune with both the cultures look at it differently as well.

Study data contained evidence that between Africans and African Americans, one group was just as guilty of the accusations it launched on the other. For example, Jerry notes:

Americans themselves, both African Americans and Caucasians, they place any standard on the American way of life. They don’t care about African standards. They base everything on American standards. That’s why you’re having this problem. If you can weigh the pros and cons in other people’s cultures with that of America side by side, then you can then criticize one and say okay, if this culture is or welcomes with open arms over there, then here it might be frowned upon, but that’s cultural differences. But just don’t blame somebody according to the American standard.

By the same token, Wesley makes judgments based on African standards:

I mean sometimes in class I'm embarrassed because, you know... in class the other day, they actually said, 'Would you pay \$1,000.00 to be able to know what actual country your ancestors came from in Africa.' Not even half the class raised their hands! I mean to me it is pondering, 'cause it's like you know, you would pay \$1,000.00 to put rims on your car, but you wouldn't pay \$1,000.00 to actually know where your ancestors came from. So there is a lot of... I mean... But I don't really get so angry because I understand that what was done during slavery plays a big part... where you cannot trace... culture was... like... beaten out of them.

ii) Perceptions of and Misconceptions about the Out-group

Study data capture an extensive compilation of perceptions and misconceptions held by Africans and African Americans about each other. Comments from in-depth individual and group interview participants on both sides reveal that these perceptions and misconceptions are heavily rooted in prevailing stereotypes about each group, and also that consciously or unconsciously, these views may have a largely negative impact on inter-group interaction. A few stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes about each group drawn from in-depth individual interview data are embedded in the more comprehensive collection gathered during focus-group interviews and large-group sessions. Studies about stereotyping reveal it as a dynamic phenomenon (Bar-Tal, 1997; McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears, 2002b) and shed light on its impact on inter-group interaction.

Bar-Tal's (Bar-Tal, 1997) study about the formation and change of ethnic and national stereotypes provides a framework for understanding perceptions and misconceptions between undergraduate African and African American students at this study site. Bar-Tal's model focuses on the following three categories of variables that determine stereotypic content and their intensity and extensity: background variables, transmitting variables, and personal mediating variables. Background variables include

the history of inter-group relations, political-social climate, economic conditions, behavior of other groups, characteristics of the out-group, and the nature of inter-group relations. Transmitting variables consist of political-social-cultural-educational mechanisms, family channels, and direct contact. Personal mediating variables comprise a person's values, attitudes, personality, motivations, and cognitive styles.

Perceptions and misconceptions between Africans and African Americans basically translate into conscious or subconscious beliefs in inter-group stereotypes made operational through background variables, transmitting variables, and personal mediating variables. The most widespread stereotypes about each group were articulated by 30% or more study participants. Prevailing stereotypes about Africans fall into five categories: economic outlook/living conditions (86%), appearance (48%), educational/professional dispositions (42%), hygiene/sanitation (35%), and health (32%). As examined in Chapter 4, Economic outlook/living conditions mainly outline images of Africans living in starvation and abject poverty in wild and primitive conditions. In terms of appearance, they are assumed to be a dark-skinned people with nappy and kinky hair. Stereotypes about their educational/professional dispositions mainly portray them as intelligent and hardworking, and there were some expressed views related to poor (English) language proficiency or accents. Related to hygiene/sanitation, a good number of stereotypes depicted Africans and African food as unsanitary and foul-smelling. Stereotypes listed also portrayed Africans as carriers of disease, mainly HIV/AIDS.

Common stereotypes about African Americans are reflected in five categories: educational/professional dispositions (100%), dispositions toward Africans (78%), general dispositions (72%), economic outlook/living conditions (44%), and female attitudes (44%). As explored in Chapter 4, stereotypes along the lines of educational/professional dispositions depict African Americans as lazy and unmotivated. Stereotypes also portray them as negatively disposed toward Africans and African culture. Regarding their general dispositions, stereotypes listed depict African

Americans as unappreciative, uncultured, and violent. In terms of their economic outlook/living conditions, stereotypes show African Americans as welfare-dependent and materialistic. Regarding African American females, outlined stereotypes portrayed their behavior as promiscuous and controlling.

Study data reveal Bar-Tal's (1997) background variables, transmitting variables, and personal mediating variables to be in operation in determining the content of stereotypes about both Africans and African Americans. Background variables include the history of inter-group relations, political-social climate, economic conditions, behavior of other groups, characteristics of the out-group, and nature of inter-group relations. In the context of this HCBU, political-social and economic climate can be said to compound stereotypes in both camps. In terms of stereotypes about Africans and Africa, news on the political front is dominated by images of Africans on the continent portrayed as dirty and ravaged by war, poverty, hunger, HIV/AIDS and other diseases. It is no surprise then that the most widespread stereotypes outlined by study participants relate to living conditions and health issues.

By the same token, media coverage of matters concerning African Americans largely portrays them as thugs, lazy, welfare-dependent and materialistic. It is not surprising that these dispositions are reflected in stereotypes of them. Study participants in both camps overwhelmingly cited the news media as their main source of information about each group. In addition, group characteristics seem not to be understood within applicable cultural contexts, leading to differences being construed in a stereotypical light. The very definition of stereotypes as aids to explanation, energy saving devices, and shared group beliefs (McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears, 2002a) suggests an inherent cognitive limitation. It has been suggested that people hold stereotypes because of their peculiar personalities, their biased learning and cognition, or their limited information processing capability (Alexander, Turner, Oakes, Reynolds, & Doosje, 2002). As products of an active, yet partly unconscious process, stereotypes build upon perceivers' a priori theoretical knowledge (Yzerbyt & Rocher, 2002). Since

stereotypes arise from lack of first hand knowledge, it can be argued that stereotypes would change or decrease if first hand knowledge occurs in a guided context. This is the same principle that is promoted in internationalization and multicultural contexts whereby increased knowledge grounded in relevant cultural realities leads to better understanding (Deardorff & Hunter, 2006; Marin, 2000; Morris, 2003; Singer, 1998).

In the context under study, there was very limited inter-group interaction. As Martin explains, this scenario intensifies stereotypes:

You tend to socialize with the people you relate to more often so because of that Africans tend to... you know... stick with Africans and African Americans stick to African Americans... not much so because of... they don't like that person... just because they're more comfortable with that person. And I think it's because they stay in those clicks that... you know... all these stereotypes can bubble up and aren't questioned because there's no African Americans with Africans and Africans with African Americans. I think just the fact that... I think it's... you know... it's really human mentality to socialize with people they can relate to, and because of that, we have this split.

On the other hand, data showed that inter-group socialization led to increased interaction between members of both groups. Jessica's comments reinforce this point:

Just like I was saying with any other culture, some people don't understand... like... Why is she doing this? Why is she doing that? Why are they dressed like that? Sometimes when you don't understand something, you don't embrace it right off the bat. If one of your best friends happens to be African... or something... you're kind of like... oh, you know... let's all hang out... bring all your little friends and everything. But if you don't really understand... you're like... 'What is she eating?' ...type thing... 'I hope she never comes to me with that stuff' ...It's kind of like if you don't understand, you're not going to welcome it with open arms.

Increased interaction, therefore, has the potential to advance the type of understanding that Jessica describes above.

Field observations undertaken as part of this research lend additional credence to the idea that inter-group interaction and exposure to other cultures foster knowledge and understanding, and perhaps vice versa. Observation of Africans and African Americans particularly at group meetings, revealed increased inter-group interaction and understanding between members of both groups who belonged to either the AAS/History Club or the African Dance Group. As described in Chapter 3, observations of two sessions of the AAS/History Club showed members of both groups interacting very freely with one another. Members walked in, greeted others who had come in before them, made small talk and just mingled until the meeting started. During the second observation of this group when voting for officers for the next school year was to occur, members nominated the best person for the job, and the president, an African American, was unanimously voted in by all present. A sense of unity and common goal was also observed in members of the African Dance Group as they prepared, under the leadership of a talented African student dancer, to present dances at a nearby university in an event organized by that university's African students association. Members of these multicultural groups also were more accommodating of one another regardless of ethnicity. Vanessa's experiences highlight this point:

I couldn't get in good relationship with African Americans like two years ago, because whenever I saw them and I was trying to approach them to get in good relationship with them, they just, you know, put me aside. They do not want to approach me. I said okay, that's not my environment. So whenever I see somebody from Africa, I feel more comfortable, you know. We form groups, you know, just for Africans. We always have study groups with Africans, because African Americans, it looks like they do not want to, you know, to work with us. But now, after... when I started in the psychology department, when I came into the psychology department, we started interacting... I mean, working together. I have African American friends who understand much...my accent... most of the time... Before, they didn't...Whenever they heard you had an accent... it's like they weren't interested in you... After I started taking some of these social classes, I came to understand that those who take these social classes tend to understand us [Africans] much better than those who do not take them... Now they understand what the accent is, and we are the same. We are brothers and sisters. Most of them now, we can really cooperate very well.

Bar-Tal's (1997) determination that transmitting variables affect the content, intensity and extensity of stereotypes was also at play in this study. Transmitting variables consist of direct contact, family channels, and political-social-cultural-educational mechanisms. Jessica's and Vanessa's experiences described above also show inter-group interaction as having the tendency to dissipate stereotypes. Family channels, and perhaps peer associations, also surfaced in this study as possibly impacting belief in stereotypes. In describing his perceptions of African Americans, Wesley states:

Actually there is a lot rooted in my parents' perceptions. I could say talking with African people... you know... actually... older people... my mom's age, I would say... I'm not going to say all, but some people will... they... I know my mom... when she came here... most of her hardships that she experienced was from African American people. So she has kind of a bias from her personal experience... you know. I can understand that coming here... you see somebody that looks like you telling you to go back to Africa... telling you your clothes... something's wrong with you. You know... somebody that looks like you. She was like, 'Why are they doing this?' I guess that kind of plays into the perceptions of how Africans would view African Americans. But I would say people of my generation might have some of that dislike.

The impact of political, social, cultural, and educational mechanisms on stereotypes was also revealed in this study. From Vanessa's experience described earlier, students who had taken courses that exposed them to other cultures, or those who participated in multicultural groups or otherwise interacted with members of both groups, were more accepting of Africans. In a conversation with Ramona while interviewing her individually, she indicated that she and some of her African American friends stayed away from Africans because of lack of understanding. She specifically mentioned the smell of some of the African foods prepared by those they came in contact with and stated that she and her friends had vowed never to go near those Africans. This all changed for her when she became acquainted with an African student through the Honor's program and was invited to and eventually joined the AAS/History

Club. She said she had the opportunity to taste African cuisine (some of which she enjoyed) through that membership. Since then, she is not bothered by some of the smells that seemed to have repelled her previously. Another student, Samantha, who had a terrible experience with her African American peers through elementary and middle schools because of her African attributes (name, appearance, etc.), developed strong bonds with African Americans during her high school and subsequent college years. Through that bond, she established a dual identity for herself as African and African American, and she expressed closeness to and understanding of African Americans despite her (African) parents' biases against African Americans, which she attributes to ignorance and overgeneralization of stereotypical depictions.

According to Bar-Tal's (1997) model, personal mediating variables comprise a person's values, attitudes, personality, motivations, and cognitive styles. These personal variables can be interpreted in the context of stereotyping as it relates to interaction between Africans and African Americans. As earlier discussions show, an individual's qualities may also impact the phenomenon of stereotyping in the sense that insulation keeps individuals from interacting with others, which in turn perpetuates beliefs in stereotypes and stifles international and multicultural education efforts.

iii) Lack of Balanced Knowledge about the Out-group

The institution under study has put in place a comprehensive infrastructure for exposing its students to other cultures. As discussed in Chapter 3, this model includes curricular and co-curricular programs, multicultural student organizations, community service programs or organizations, professional organizations, and occasional programs. Primarily the institution recently revamped its general core curriculum to reflect an interdisciplinary implementation under University Studies. University Studies provides the intellectual foundation for the University's degree-granting programs, and according to information posted on the website, "applies discovery, inquiry, analysis, and application in the classroom to promote broad-based critical-thinking skills; effective

written and oral communication of ideas; appreciation for diverse cultures, and commitment to ongoing civic engagement and social responsibility.”

As outlined in Chapter 3, students must choose fourteen (14) courses from five fields to complement their chosen courses of study. Three of the five fields lend themselves directly to enhancing knowledge about other cultures: foreign languages (two required courses), social and behavioral sciences (four required courses), and humanities (four required courses). Objectives for foreign languages spelled out in departmental documents posted on the web are, at minimum, to develop facility in the listening, speaking, reading and writing of the foreign languages; to develop a better knowledge of foreign cultures and an appreciable awareness of one’s own culture; and to create a spirit of international understanding that will result in respectable attitudes toward individuals and national groups. Three sample courses in the social and behavioral sciences exemplify the international dimension of this institution’s University Studies curricular. According to the syllabus, the African American Experience course takes a trans-disciplinary approach to understanding African American culture and experience. It develops in students habits of broadmindedness, civility, and ethnic responsiveness, and teaches them to work collaboratively in small and large groups. On a broader note, The Contemporary World course examines the social, economic, political, and cultural roots of today’s world. It focuses on the major developments, events, and ideas that have shaped the world since the beginning of the twentieth century.

Another course, Genocide in the Modern World, explores the social, economic, political, and psychological roots of genocide in the context of a historical study of twentieth century genocidal projects. The course surveys a selection of the Armenian genocide, Stalin’s Russia, Nazi Germany, Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Darfur, to trace the nature and development of dangerous ideas about racial and cultural fitness. In the humanities area, a sample course, Critical Writing, is subtitled “Noir” on the syllabus. “‘Darkness’ as a concentration permeates all aspects of life, often as a reflection of a

particular culture at a particular time.” The focus is on “darkness” as it relates to the human experience in general and the African American experience in particular. The syllabus specifies that the term “noir” is also reflective of aspects of society, behaviors and actions that affect African Americans. Through writing, viewing, listening and collaboration, students focus on the “darkness” of these themes, and ways that that “darkness” can be critically explored.

The intercultural curriculum captured within the University Studies program focuses mainly on African American heritage and Afrocentricity, even though content in the foreign languages deviate from this norm. Beyond the University Studies core requirements, this institution also offers several other courses that incorporate an international/multicultural dimension. Students may take additional courses tied to their specific majors or as electives. Four sample courses tied to University Studies requirements will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Ten individual interview participants (32%) had no intercultural or international experience through coursework or other programs/activities. Of these, eight (26%) had no awareness of the existence of courses and/or campus programs or activities geared at learning about or interacting with people from other cultures. As discussed in Chapter 3, this may be linked to admissions stipulations requiring some students to go through a remediation process as a pre-condition for full admission, at which time they would be prepared to take college level coursework. The remaining 21 participants (68%) as well as several others who participated in the focus-group interviews identified available courses and programs on campus and in the immediate vicinity. Of the 31 in-depth individual interview participants, an appreciable 68% had either taken coursework and/or participated in programs through which they learned about and/or interacted with people from other cultures. As discussed earlier in this chapter, individual interview data revealed that exposure to other cultures shaped inter-group interaction, even though a more intentional approach would better accomplish the goals of international

or multicultural education to advance intercultural knowledge, interaction, and competence (Bremer, 2006; Marin, 2000; Maruyama & Moreno, 2000).

Web documents indicate that, beyond course offerings, this institution has established an infrastructure to promote knowledge about and interaction with other cultures on its campus. One feature of relevance in conducting this study at this site is that, as is the case with other HBCUs, various university committees, departments, and organizations (including student organizations) sponsor religious, cultural, social and recreational activities. In addition, a variety of artists, lectures and dramatic productions are brought to the campus regularly. A cultural event that many of the in-depth individual interview participants referenced was the last annual African Culture Festival which took place in November 2006. At the time of this study, the event was in its second year of implementation. It is usually a four-day event organized each fall by the AAS/History Club. The theme of the November 1-4, 2006 event was "Bridging the Gap to Mama Africa." Cultural activities included a presentation on the theme for that year by two faculty members of the History department, a fashion show exhibiting African fashions, a food festival sampling African cuisine, and a gala featuring a variety of African and Caribbean music.

Participants commented about increasing participation of the wider student body and attributed this to the merge with the History Club that helped anchor African students in the campus community. The president of the association indicated that in the past, attendance was scanty, for mostly African students attended. But since the merge, support by the Student Government Association and the Dean of Students has made a big difference. In Kasongo's words, the last event saw a full hall for most of the activities, and many African and African American students and faculty were in attendance. Another event that occurred in the year of the study was the staging of *Flyin' West*, and a visit to the institution by the author, Pearl Cleage, during the staging. In *Flyin' West*, Cleage follows four brave women who try to leave the disappointment and dangers of Reconstruction behind by using the Homestead Act. They head west to

discover new lives for themselves and their families, pioneering in a difficult new world in the all-black town of Nicodemus, Kansas. In her own words, Cleage points out the purpose of her writing which often is “to express the point where racism and sexism meet.” This event was sponsored by the Theatre Art program in collaboration with the Multicultural Student Center.

The Multicultural Student Center, an integral part of the Student Affairs division, also provides programs and services that create an awareness of and appreciation for ethnic and cultural diversity, including community service opportunities. At the beginning of each fall semester, the Center sponsors an open house for the entire student body. Those attending the event sample ethnic cuisine and have an opportunity to enter the “How are you Multicultural?” contest. They also learn more about multicultural opportunities available through the center, like the Multicultural Student Association, study abroad programs, Japanese courses, monthly forums on multicultural issues, multicultural book club, and community service volunteer opportunities. These open houses are well-attended, and success in terms of attendance has been registered for the monthly forums on multicultural issues and community service opportunities. Participation in study abroad programs is also fairly good according to the director, though no further information was made available about study abroad statistics. There is a minimum 2.75 GPA requirement for participation in study abroad. During the semester of this study, the Multicultural Student Center sponsored a forum entitled “Rebuilding New Orleans: One Year Later.” Panelists consisting of six faculty members evaluated the rebuilding efforts after Katrina and the helpless populations still adjusting to the transitions. Another sponsored event was a lecture by Cornel West. He lectured on his books *Democracy Matters* and *Race Matters*. He discussed his analysis of the arrested development of democracy in America and in the Middle East in *Democracy Matters*. He argued that if America is to become a better steward of democratization around the world, it must first wake up to the long history of imperialist corruption that has plagued its own democracy. In addition, West also discussed his presentation of the scars of racism in American democracy in *Race Matters*.

Similarly, the centrally located Memorial Student Union building serves as the headquarters for the Student Government Association and its advisory board, among other campus entities. As noted on the university's web site, "the programming and recreational activities of the Student Union Advisory Board have a unique focus on the cultural and social development of the student community." Even though this statement broadly articulates a focus on social and cultural development, the above review of activities for 2006-2007 indicates an Afrocentric slant from the perspective of African American identity and heritage.

Information-disseminating mechanisms, whether political, social, cultural, or educational, have the power to propagate stereotypes on both sides, as has been widely documented (Bar-Tal, 1997; Keim, 1999; McGarty, 2002). Keim (1999) mentions that American high school textbooks are filled with myths about Africa/ns, but also notes that the most glaring of these have disappeared since the 1960s as a result of the independence of African countries and the American Civil Rights movement. He references a 1978 study of the portrayal of Africa in social studies textbooks in the United States that detailed the extent to which public schools were perpetuating myths and inaccuracies about Africa. These textbook authors "tended to make Africans look like the African they imagined rather than the one that existed" (Keim, 1999, p. 13). Keim notes that presentation of Africa in current textbooks is much improved, even though he maintains that by the time students get to college most still have outdated ideas about Africa and Africans.

As discussed earlier in this section, outside of the foreign languages requirements under University Studies, four other courses directly address content geared toward enhancing knowledge about other cultures: Critical Writing, "Noir"; The African American Experience; The Contemporary World; and Genocide in the Modern World. Syllabi for these four courses were reviewed for indications of critical literacy teaching which would give students a balanced approach to multicultural content. The notion of critical literacy developed over the years to address issues of knowledge

deficit in curricula or textbooks. Critical literacy is defined as “the understanding of the historical roots and consequences of one’s values and beliefs and the values and beliefs of others” (Myrick, 2002, p. 375). Myrick (2002) discovered five prevailing attitudes or perspectives that students of African descent have toward their African identity: indifference, resentfulness, hostility, acceptance, and African centeredness. She also finds that growth toward acceptance and African centeredness is cyclical, and she emphasizes the importance of critical literacy teaching in this process where dissemination of balanced information which fills in gaps in understandings about people’s values and beliefs and the values and beliefs of others is paramount.

As outlined on the syllabus, Critical Writing: “Noir” is a theme-based interdisciplinary writing course that focuses on “darkness” as it specifically relates to the African American experience. The theme of darkness is tackled through four modules: slavery, human rights, HIV/AIDS, and globalization. Aspects of darkness are shown to reveal the core of the human spirit as it struggles for survival in a harsh world with its imposing landscapes. The required text for this course is *Critical Thinking: Reading and Writing* by Sylvan Barnet and Hugo Bedau. The text contains reprints of articles (including excerpts from Thomas More’s *Utopia* and Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” speech) used to guide readers through the fundamentals of critical thought and common fallacies. Supplemental course materials include internet articles, poems, and essays selected and disseminated during the course of the semester. Even though the syllabus seems to indicate a heavy emphasis on the African American experience, the four modules provide great flexibility on the part of the course instructor to draw on critical literacy and incorporate an international/multicultural dimension.

A description of The African American Experience course underscores its main purpose which is to introduce students to the sociological, political, legal, scientific, artistic, and historical aspects of the African and African American experience in the Americas. Specific course objectives listed on the syllabus revolve around five themes: cultural literacy, critical reading, communication, collegiality, and collaboration. The

course targets broadening understanding of the African American culture and experience; building critical reading and effective communication skills; developing habits of broadmindedness, civility, and ethnic responsiveness; and encouraging collaboration. The primary course text is *Africana Legacy: Diasporic Studies in the Americas* by Cecily Barker McDaniel and Tekla Ali Johnson. The text examines the economic and intellectual foundations of slavery in America, the global economy that prospered from it, the presence of African people, and how their struggle for freedom transformed America. From the critical literacy standpoint, the text incorporates the experiences, values, and beliefs of various people of African descent, and course objectives reflect this broad view.

The Contemporary World course examines the social, economic, political, and cultural roots of today's world, with a focus on major developments, events, and ideas that have shaped the world since the beginning of the twentieth century. The course specifically deals with multicultural relations within a global society and historical and social processes in a changing world. The text, *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Global Issues* by James E. Harf and Mark Owen Lombardi, incorporates issues that nurture understanding and appreciation of diversity and the interrelationship of cultures locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally. The text also lends itself to an examination of social, political, and economic institutions and processes in the development of societies, as well as the factors that lead to dynamic change in societies over time.

Genocide in the Modern World looks at the notions of genocide, mass murder, human nature, social Darwinism, dehumanization, the politics of memory, and the politics of identity. It explores the social, economic, political, and psychological roots of genocide through an examination of twentieth century genocidal projects and traces the development of dangerous ideas about racial and cultural fitness. The course texts (*Darfur: A Short History of a Long War* by Julie Flint & Alex Waal, *A Century of Genocide* by Eric D. Weitz, and *Night* by Elie Wiesel) provide a premise for these explorations. Students are transported to everyday realities beyond their own and come to

understand and appreciate the experiences of people in other cultures. University Studies syllabi and course texts for the above four courses seem to incorporate an evenhanded approach to other cultures, even though the course instructor's personal approach would drive the extent to which critical literacy is achieved.

Regarding the importance of critical literacy in the educational process, Keim (1999) also points to a study of pre-service social studies teachers done in the mid-1990s which found that even college graduates may not have corrected their misconceptions about Africa. These pre-service teachers expressed very stereotypical views about Africa and extensively used words like primitive, cannibals, and savages to describe Africa and Africans (Keim, 1999, p. 13). As a result, Keim suggests that schools may have only a modest influence on how Africa is viewed. This point is significant in that the content as well as the kinds of activities that are incorporated in teaching/learning contexts may perpetuate stereotypes rather than objectively present information about a group. Sharita's description of a learning task that exposed her and her peers to other cultures explains this point:

We had to come up with a topic... my group... We chose two countries, and we're doing Zimbabwe and Sudan. And we're going to compare the poverty levels in both countries...compare and contrast to see... I think they are on the same level, but we're going to see if there is a difference...

Sharita's description of this task reveals her own deeply embedded stereotypes about poverty in Africa, and also presents an example of teachable moments that can be exploited by course instructors to advance intercultural knowledge and competence, and in the process achieve critical literacy.

Keim points out that students are more likely to pick up their attitudes from teachers than from textbooks, and that "both students and teachers are bombarded with mistaken images of Africa in our everyday culture" (Keim, 1999, pp. 13-14). He goes into detail about how the American public learns through television culture, the print media, National Geographic, Amusement Parks, and other sources like movies,

children's books, mission trips to Africa, museums and corporate advertising. He outlines how these learning channels build on long-held stereotypes about Africa and, thus, keep these stereotypes alive. Even though several study participants acknowledged having taken courses that exposed them to other cultures, no specific details were provided about how Africa is presented. Several required University Studies courses described above illustrate that all degree-seeking students will get exposure to other cultures, including Africa.

Pervasive media stereotyping holds true for images of African Americans as well. Stereotypes abound in the media portraying African Americans as criminals, welfare-dependent, lazy, drug addicts, and violent (Perkins, 1996; Richeson & Pollydore, 2002; Silk & Silk, 1990). Some of these stereotypes mimic those of Africans and can be traced back to the days of slavery, particularly those related to skin color that promote the idea of blackness as representing all that is ugly. Study participants overwhelmingly point to the media as the primary sources of stereotypes about African Americans, as exemplified by Althea's observation:

The origins of... may be the Africans' perceptions of African Americans is probably TV, movies... Most of the movies portray African Americans as gangsters, you know, thugs. I guess when you first come over to American and you are seeing all these movies, and then you actually see a little bit on the streets depending on where you go to...

In the current global climate, institutions of higher education are promoting themselves as the bedrock of education and training in internationalization and multiculturalism. As discussed in Chapter 3, internationalization or globalization and multiculturalism or diversity go hand in hand (Murphy, 2006, p. 2). While international educational experiences help to broaden students' cultural sensitivity and improve their global awareness, multicultural or cross-cultural learning experiences incorporate the kinds of learning processes that engender greater awareness and understanding of different attitudes, behaviors and perspectives (Bremer, 2006, p. 42). University Studies

at the institution under study is its interdisciplinary implementation of a general education core curriculum that is binding to all degree-seeking students, and purports to, among other skills, build “an appreciation for diverse cultures and commitment to ongoing civic engagement and social responsibility.”¹⁹ Execution of this commitment is evident in the implementation of the University Studies core program of study as well as other co-curricular and occasional programs and multicultural and professional student organizations. The challenge remains to achieve enhanced levels of critical literacy by publicizing and integrating these into student mindsets and activities. Some students may not take advantage of such opportunities unless they are compelled to, as made clear by James’ comments about interacting with Africans:

I don’t really come in contact with Africans on a regular basis... like... I don’t have any Africans in my classes. And if I do, the only way I would really talk to them is if we’re in a group... if the teacher puts us in a group, something like that. Other than that, I don’t really interact with them.

b) Conceptual Framework Undergirding Inter-group Interaction

i) *Participant Self-designations*

The designations one assumes and/or applies to oneself are important components of a person’s identity. Black self-designations have gone through transformations over time. Although the first West Africans who were brought to the United States through the Atlantic slave trade represented different countries, nations, and tribes, slavery obliterated their individual ethnic identities, and the slaves began to refer to themselves as Africans to indicate their common point of origin (Worrell, 2005, p. 138). Since then, designations applied to people of African descent have gone through several transformations: “Negro”, “Afro-American”, “Colored”, “Black”, and

¹⁹ Web posting

“African American.” Increasing migration of Africans to the United States in recent decades has only served to complicate this issue. Worrell reports that, based on recent surveys of African American college students and professionals, “Black” and “African American” seem to be the current preferred identifiers (presuming that both the individual and the individual’s parents were born in the United States). He makes a contrast with foreign-born blacks and African Americans whose parents are foreign-born (coming primarily from sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean), noting that members of this group continue to refer to themselves in terms of their specific countries of origin, or the countries of origin of their parents (Worrell, 2005, p. 139). Martin’s observations reflect the confusion faced by recent African immigrants:

Most of the time... from what I’ve experienced for the most part... Africans don’t associate themselves with being black, but with being African, whether it’s a certain tribe or ethnic group. But the situation changes when you are in a social environment and you guys are the minority... whereas again you have... you find humans associating themselves with people who look the same as them, so now... I mean... if we’re in an all-white school and there’s two blacks and two Africans and then twenty-five whites... They’re going to end up... you know... ‘Okay we’re both black in essence...’ whereas you don’t see that in an HBCU where everyone is black, because now they associate themselves... they socialize into the culture. So I think that it only depends on what kind of environment they’re in... and if they are in the correct environment... it’s the color of their skin that Africans and African Americans... most of the time... would associate themselves with... being black... I think it’s really confusing, because as a diaspora, I think everyone... okay... can come from the African continent. I think it is the labels as African American and African... which isn’t even something that you hear when you go to Africa. It’s not until you leave Africa that you’re now put as an African. So I think it’s the labels that confuse the whole situation, whereas if you now talk to an African American and say, ‘You’re African.’ They’ll say, ‘What? No, I’m not. I’m African American.’ They [Africans and African Americans] automatically divide themselves because of categories that have been put in place. So I think that... if anything... it’s the labels that have been put on races.

Worrell's (2005) proposition is borne out in this study of factors that shape interactions between undergraduate African and African American students at one HBCU. All 31 participants in the in-depth individual interviews were asked to indicate their ethnicity or country of origin (Appendix B: Pre-interview Information Sheet). Their self-designations reflect this historic and continuing question about identification(s) collectively used by African Americans and Africans. Of the eighteen African American participants, ten self-identified as African American and eight as black. Of the remaining thirteen participants from Africa, six were born in America of African parentage (including one with an African father and an African American mother). Of these six, four self-identified as first Nigerian, and then African American; one identified himself first as African, second Nigerian, and then indicated the U.S. as his place of birth; and one self-identified based on her parents' country of origin. The remaining seven African participants self-identified along the lines of their countries of origin.

Collins (C. Palmer, 2000, p. 57) reinforces the point about the identity of continental Africans:

...until very recent times those people who resided on the African continent defined themselves solely in accordance with their ethnic group... The appellation, "African" was never employed, and white slave traders and purchasers alike were sensitive to this fact. It is we [scholars of the African diaspora] who homogenize these people by characterizing them as Africans. The appellation "African," to be sure, has a greater salience for the twentieth century.

While designations applied to people of African descent and/or self-designations by this group are a part of their identity/identities, there is reason to believe that interpersonal and inter-group interactions merge into identities, generate and change social limitations, and have the potential to build sustainable social relationships. Identity theory and social identity theory, therefore, present a useful framework for analyzing this process in the context of undergraduate African and African American students at one HBCU.

ii) Identity Theory and Inter-group Interaction

As discussed in Chapter 2, Stets (2006) underscores the focus of identity theory on social structural arrangements and the link between persons. She identifies three bases for identity: person (individual/self), role, and group (social). Patterns of behavior across similar individuals over time create social structure. As individuals create social structure, they simultaneously receive feedback from the structures they and others construct to change themselves and the way they function. Therefore, social structure in turn creates individuals. The self, like society, is patterned and organized. In interacting with others, individuals see themselves from the perspective of others, and the individuals' responses come to be like the responses of others, thus the self becomes a shared one. The self arises in social interaction within the context of an organized, differentiated society. Because the larger context is organized and differentiated so too is the self. The self, therefore, must be depicted as having many different parts or identities, each tied to aspects of the social structure. Consequently, there are many different selves/identities as different positions one holds in society and different groups that react to the self.

An individual has an identity for the different positions or roles held. Each role identity incorporates all the meanings that person attaches to him- or herself in that role. These meanings are partially derived from culture and social structure in that individuals are socialized into roles. S. Sue and Sue define culture as "a set of people who have shared values, customs, habits, social rules of behavior, interpersonal relationships, and art" (In Frisby & Reynolds, 2005, p. 558). Rollins and Riccio identify cultural components as kinship patterns, religion, language, tribal affiliation, nationality, values, social customs, perceptions, behavioral roles, and rules of social interaction (In Frisby & Reynolds, 2005, p. 558). Individuals bring into the role identity their own understanding of what the identity means to them. As such, role identity meanings are both shared and idiosyncratic. Individuals negotiate their idiosyncrasies with others who may have a different understanding about the role identity meanings.

All participants in this study were of African descent, and had assumed different identities based partially on culture and social structure. The title of this study itself identifies all participants as either “African” or “African American” following prevailing societal distinctions. As described earlier, each participant provided a self-identification on the Pre-Interview Information Sheet (Appendix B). African American participants self-identified as either “Black” or “African American,” also along the lines of current racial identifiers. On the other hand, African participants generally self-identified based on their or their parents’ countries of origin, depending on whether they were born in those countries or whether their parents were born there. All Africans agreed to participate in this study based on their acknowledgement of an “African” identity, even though one participant observed that the appellation, “African,” is a purely American phenomenon, not having encountered it back on the continent of Africa. Acknowledgement of an African identity can be assumed to be along cultural lines. All specified identities (African American, Black, or African) can be understood against the backdrop of a differentiated social structure as conceptualized by identity theory. Membership in either group establishes the individual as a/n Black/African American or African prototype.

Because an individual has an identity for each different position or role held, individuals negotiate their understandings of the meanings they attach to their roles with those of others who may have a different understanding about the role identity meanings. Within the context of this study, both African and African American participants incorporated identities beyond their ethnic identities. One shared identity among all participants was that of being an undergraduate student at that University. In-depth individual interview participants included thirteen Africans (nine males and four females) and eighteen African Americans (four males and fourteen females). Given that individuals are socialized into roles, gender roles complicated interaction between individuals across both groups in dating scenarios. Jerry had difficulty with social/dating etiquette in the American culture as he resisted the idea of always opening doors for his

African American girlfriend, or pushing the cart when they went shopping. He insisted based on his cultural role socialization that going to the market was a woman's job.

On the other hand, Althea who dated a Cameroonian, was more flexible in negotiating cultural meanings by simply noting and abiding by expectations of her boyfriend's family to blend in and perform duties around the house when she visited, or to maintain a Cameroonian version of decorum when she dined out with them. These examples underscore the role of individual/personal cognitive development in cross-cultural interactions and relations. They also show how interactions merge into identities and generate and change social limitations. Negotiating these identities has the potential to build sustainable social relationships, as was the case with Althea and her boyfriend. In identity theory, therefore, the self is categorized as occupying roles along with role meanings and associated expectations, and these meanings and expectations constitute standards that guide behavior.

Identity theories are organized around the principles of positionality which focus on social identity and on individual cognitive development. As noted in the examples above, the concept of positionality situates identity construction and enactment in an individual's understanding of self as intersection with dimensions of the social structure. Lewis' idea of multipositionality (2001) captures the multiple dimensions of the social structure, including the individual's understanding of self, racial/ethnic categories, social groups, and individual roles within aspects of the social structure. These dimensions of the social structure can be conceptualized as constituting a mechanism for knowledge acquisition. The cognitive process described by Osgood (1990a) encompasses knowledge construction as the individual interacts with different dimensions of the social structure. As the individual interacts with the social structure, s/he acquires new knowledge, makes judgments, constructs beliefs, and possibly modifies old beliefs based on new knowledge.

Cognitive development of identity focuses on the process of knowledge acquisition by an individual, i.e., the individual's reasoning, intuition, and perception, in the construction of personal beliefs. Osgood adds that the traits people infer about others are generated from their beliefs. In addition, many of the predictions people make about others and the expectations they have of others are based on inferences. Notwithstanding, Osgood also acknowledges that cognitive inconsistencies exist, and that individual cognitive development may uncover these cognitive inconsistencies, which in turn may generate psychological stress that may bring about cognitive modification (Osgood, 1990a, p. 290). Because cognitive development addresses the process of knowledge acquisition, it is relevant to this study of interaction between undergraduate African and African American students. The study focused on cross-cultural knowledge as well as interpersonal, inter-group, and social interactions between members of both groups, and on how these shape interpersonal and inter-group orientation and social (group) identity. Major findings point to cultural differences, perceptions of and misconceptions about the out-group, and lack of balanced knowledge about the out-group as contributing factors to minimal inter-group interaction between undergraduate African and African American students at the study site. Consequently, an investigation that focuses on cognitive development would shed more light on interaction patterns between both groups.

Intercultural or international experiences may shape individual cognitive development and beliefs and also result in attainment of critical literacy and a broadened framework for making inferences and for resolving cognitive conflicts. A more in-depth application of identity theory in understanding interactions between Africans and African Americans would incorporate individual cognitive development and may provide information about the usefulness of intentional programs. Such an application would also further explore individual beliefs, how individual beliefs inform acquisition of new knowledge and formation of new beliefs, and how these influence acceptance or rejection of stereotypes and subsequently shape the actions of

individuals. Limited application of identity theory to this study as a means to establish a framework for applying social identity theory recognizes the link between identity theory and social identity theory argued by Stets and Burke (2000).

iii) Social Identity Theory and Inter-group Interaction

By virtue of occupying roles in society and being members of groups, individuals also have social identities. Osgood presumes that

...the [traits] which apply to the interactions, stresses, and resolutions among the cognitive processes of individuals can be directly transferred to interactions within groups of people—where persons are the elements rather than cognitions... The bridge between the two levels presumably lies in the fact that the structuring of a group depends upon the cognitive ‘maps’ individual members have of it.

(Osgood, 1990a, pp. 291-292)

Social identity theory, discussed in detail in Chapter 2, deals with inter-group relations and “how people come to see themselves as members of one group/category (the in-group) in comparison with another (the out-group), and the consequences of this categorization” (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 226). Culture also influences social identities by defining the meanings of group memberships and the behavior expected from these memberships. In social identity theory, part of an individual’s self-concept is derived from knowledge of the individual’s membership in a social group, together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. People’s desire for positive social identity provides a motivational basis for differentiation between social groups and in-group favoritism.

Social identity theory conceptualizes how categorization causes people to perceptually accentuate similarities among stimuli within the same category and difference between stimuli from different categories; it also theorizes the role of cognitive processes in prejudice, particularly categorization (Hogg, 2006). Groups, i.e.,

sets of people sharing the same identity, vie for importance by competing over consensual status and prestige. These competitions are fueled by people's beliefs about the nature of inter-group relations (Hogg, 2006, p. 113). Hogg notes that a combination of these belief variables produces a wide range of varying inter-group behaviors (Hogg, 2006, pp. 122-123). Social identity theory, therefore, analyzes how categorization causes people to perceptually emphasize similarities within the same category and difference between different categories, and how categorization influences inter-group interactions.

In effect, social identity theory (Hogg & Abrams, 1988) points out that individuals are born into an already structured society and derive their identities from the social categories to which they belong. By implication, "African" and "African American" or "Black" are established categories within the social structure, and Africans and African Americans derive part of their identities from those categories. Self-categorization, therefore, describes how categorization of self and others reinforces social identification and associated group and inter-group propensities. Self-categorization leads to the incorporation of referent informational influence, i.e., "people construct group norms from appropriate in-group members and in-group behaviors and internalize and enact these norms as part of their social identity" (Hogg, 2006, p. 113). Cultural connotations constitute areas of differences between both groups that affect inter-group interaction—traditions, customs and values; attitudes and beliefs; differences in characteristics such as language, food, dress, music; and perceptible physical or other phenotypic differences as discussed earlier in this chapter.

The basis of identity in social identity theory is in the uniformity of perceptions and actions among group members, revealed along cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral lines. “The central cognitive process in social identity theory is *depersonalization*, or seeing the self as an embodiment of the in-group prototype...rather than as a unique individual” (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 231). Stereotyping has been linked to depersonalization, and is aimed at enhancing the evaluation of the in-group relative to the out-group, thereby enhancing self-evaluation of individuals as members of a group (Hogg, 2006; McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears, 2002b; Stets & Burke, 2000). Mutual stereotyping between Africans and African Americans, can be explained by this concept. Hogg summarizes several motivations for social identity that are applicable in discussing interactions between undergraduate African and African American students at the site of this study: self-enhancement and positive distinctiveness, uncertainty reduction, and optimal distinctiveness (Hogg, 2006, pp. 120-121).

At the HBCU site of this study, available cultural and interest group membership opportunities provided undergraduate African and African American students occasions for interpersonal and inter-group interactions beyond classroom or other casual encounters. Two student organizations, the AAS/History Club and the African Dance Group, participated in a focus group interview. As discussed in Chapter 3, membership in these two organizations is open to both Africans and African Americans. Of the 31 individual interview participants, ten were members of either or both group(s): eight Africans (six males and two females) and two African Americans (females). All four females were members of both the Association of African Students/History Club and the African Dance Group.

The AAS/History Club used to be two separate organizations that merged barely two years before the initiation of this study. No organizational documents were available for any of these organizations except for a web articulation of the mission and focus of the History Club. Historically, the AAS was primarily utilized as a social and entertainment forum for African students as is the case in many institutions of higher education in the United States. Study data revealed that AAS membership at this institution was fleeting, primarily because African students were not prominent on campus partially due to lack of administrative support and also because many of these students went to school and worked fulltime to pay their way through school and so did not have the time to devote to time-consuming side activities. This may explain why such a student-run organization could not take hold for lack of stability in the student leadership and a clear focus, which probably partially explains why there was minimal administrative support.

On the other hand, the History Club was a better organized association with a defined focus, and had longevity and campus recognition. It was the case that a critical mass of African students belonged to the History Club at a given point in time. This group identified with the focus of the History Club, “the mental, physical and spiritual liberation of Afrikan people everywhere from the worldwide system of white supremacy (Racism/Sexism/Classism,” and its goal to “establish programs for the enlightenment and development of Black people of all ages.”²⁰ A merger proposal by this group materialized into the AAS/History Club association. A new name was yet to be defined for the group. Furthermore, the African Dance Group emerged as a subgroup of the AAS/History Club. It was initiated by an African American student who participated in a year-abroad program to Ghana where he learned to speak Twi and developed an affinity for African dances. The African Dance Group’s main focus was entertainment, through which aspects of African culture was displayed. Performances were so good that the group was invited to perform around campus and at other universities for a small fee to support the art.

²⁰ Web posting

The formation of the AAS/History Club and the African Dance Group is a cogent exemplification of social identity theory at work. Membership in each of the three groups presupposes a separate group identity (even though the boundaries between groups became permeable as a result of increased inter-group interaction and socialization). It is a valid premise to make that members of the History Club were favorably disposed to the proposal to merge with the AAS because of their interaction and firsthand knowledge of the critical mass of African students who put forth the proposal. The African students' shared social group identity with the African American History Club members as promoters of the liberation of African peoples also facilitated making this proposal, for they knew it would be given due consideration. The African American student's experiences in Ghana which led him to start the African Dance Group upon his return portray his acceptance of an African identity. His African American identity and his renown within the African American student community perhaps spread his favorable disposition towards Africa/ns to other African Americans who became members of the AAS/History Club and the African Dance Group and actively participated in the activities of these groups.

Other activities of the AAS/History Club also anchored the sense of a shared purpose and enhanced group/inter-group solidarity. One in-depth individual interview participant's comments captured this enhanced sense of a shared group identity. Ramona described her experience tutoring a fourteen-year-old boy from Sierra Leone who had been recruited by the rebel army and separated from his family. He eventually returned to his village to find that his entire family had been killed. Subsequently he was rescued and brought to the U.S. as a refugee. Despite five years of no formal schooling, he was put in a ninth grade class and eventually labeled a learning disabled child. This increased knowledge about war and its costs to children built in Ramona a sense of empathy and increased her interaction with disadvantaged Africans as she made additional time to volunteer as a tutor. Subsequently Ramona and a few other members of the AAS/History Club traveled with refugees to a conference in Maryland to hear the stories of other African refugees.

The first big venture undertaken by the AAS/History Club, the African Culture Fest of fall 2006, was a resounding success. The theme “Bridging the Gap to Mama Africa” capitalized on historical links between Africans and African Americans. Two faculty members lectured on that theme. Individual interview participants who were members of this organization all mentioned that event and discussed the idea that differences made in social issues would be even more significant if Africans and African Americans unite. Focus-group and in-depth individual interview data related to the AAS/History Club and the African Dance Group reveal that members, regardless of their ethnicity, were more knowledgeable about both cultures and developed friendships across cultural lines. One African American member developed a close friendship with an African, and this led to her tasting African food and downplaying the stereotype that African food is smelly. Inter-group interaction also increased as she and her African American friends began to socialize with the African student and her friends. Such interactions and friendships demonstrate how interactions can merge into identities, generate and change social limitations, expand cultural knowledge, dispel myths, and potentially result in sustainable social relationships.

c) Findings of Study

Several abstractions emerged from this study to explain interaction patterns between undergraduate African and African American students at the HBCU site of this study. One major finding revolved around cultural differences. Many participants articulated instances portraying the effects of differences in attitudes and beliefs of the immediate socialization context; in characteristics such as language, food, dress, religious practices, etc.; and in perceptible physical differences. Some participants used many of these differences to categorize themselves as similar to the in-group and different from the out-group, and this categorization conditioned inter-group relations and interactions.

Another major finding pointed to the power of limited knowledge, misconceptions and prevailing stereotypes about the out-group, in shaping inter-group interactions. Study data captured an extensive compilation of perceptions and misconceptions held by Africans and African Americans about each other. Comments from in-depth individual and group interview participants on both sides reveal that these perceptions and misconceptions are heavily rooted in prevailing stereotypes about each group, and also that consciously or unconsciously, these views may have a largely negative impact on inter-group interaction.

On the curricular front, engagement in coursework or extracurricular programs or activities geared at advancing intercultural knowledge was found to enhance inter-group sensitivity and interaction as was the case with participants who had taken courses and/or who belonged to the AAS/History Club (as discussed in the preceding section). Such engagements also present opportunities for more deliberate course or program design geared at meeting stated objectives. For instance, activities tied to a course that exposes students to other cultures could offer experiences that go beyond simply comparing poverty levels of given countries or cultures, to including broader contextual considerations as well as presentations of balanced information. Also of significance was the contribution of face-to-face interactions in increasing intercultural knowledge and subsequently enhancing interaction between both groups. Study data showed that participants who had had exposure to other cultures (through coursework or participation in intercultural programs or activities) were more open to and actually had increased interaction with members of the out-group or other cultural groups.

A further discovery revealed biases against African Americans perpetuated by African parents of school-/college-age children. Some participants who self-identified as African raised the subject of their (African) parents' overtly expressed biases against African Americans and/or African American institutions. For example, Samantha's mother was vehemently opposed to her and her brother attending an HBCU, claiming she herself had a hard time landing a job after graduation as a result of having graduated from an HBCU. Samantha gives details:

But just as soon as I decided to come to [name of institution]... Boom... an HBCU! My brother was actually the first one, and my mom was like... "What?" Now... you know... my mom had a chance to come here [to the U.S.] and actually go to [a majority white institution], but because she did not have enough money, she had to leave [the majority white institution] and go to ... another HBCU... And then she was... you know... racism wasn't a big deal. She knew about it, but she never experienced it. And so now she graduates from [name of that HBCU], and the people that were just as qualified as her are... you know... getting the jobs over her, because she felt she went to a Historically Black College. And now her son was graduating in the top 10% of his class, and he wants to be an engineer and he gets accepted to [a majority white institution], which is one of the best engineering programs on the east coast, and he decides not to go there and comes to [this HBCU]. It crushes my mom... like... it extremely crushes my mom. But then she realizes that... my brother was getting more money. But she still kind of fought it even though he was getting money. She was like, "But it's [name of majority white institution where brother was accepted]." And so my mom actually started saying, "Well, [my brother] is opening up. [He] is actually doing well... you know... Maybe this might be a good opportunity for him." And so it was less stressful for my mom to allow me to come here, because I actually had a fight between [this state's] biggest school and here [name of HBCU].

Another participant, Wesley, explains preconceptions against African Americans expressed by his mother:

Actually there is a lot rooted in my parents' perceptions. I could say talking with African people... you know... actually... older people... my mom's age, I would say... I'm not going to say all, but some people will... they... I know my mom... when she came here... most of her hardships that she experienced was from African American people. So she has kind of a bias from her personal experience. You know I can understand that coming here, you see somebody that looks like you telling you to go back to Africa... telling you your clothes... something's wrong with you. You know... somebody that looks like you. She was like, "Why are they doing this?" I guess that kind of plays into the perceptions of how Africans would view African Americans. But I would say people of my generation might have some of that dislike.

Furthermore, this study brought to light pressures experienced by first generation American children of African parentage as reflected by Samantha:

I think that first generation Americans with African parents... we have a lot on our shoulders... that a lot of... I would say a lot of African parents are denying, but we ... Our parents whisper in our ears everyday... in some kind of way, about how... 'We have family struggling... We have this... and these people are depending on you. You don't understand how much we've gone through to come here. You don't understand how much... you know... my mother... my father did to get me here. Now you're here and you have the opportunity...' And I think because of the pressure... I think because of the constant bickering in our ears... it does cause a lot of... It does... even though we have that expectation to excel... 'You have no option but to get the best grade. You have no option but to make good money and support me, and your grandmother, and your grandfather, and their sheep and goats back home.' We do have that pressure, so I just want to acknowledge all the kids that do have African parents that are here. And at the same time, they fight with all the problems that African American kids go through today. A lot of us weren't raised... When our parents came from Africa... a lot of us weren't raised in a nice home. We were struggling in the same middle class and low class families as these African American kids. And these are our friends... This is what we know... This is what we were brought up with. But then we're growing up with the same struggles of our parents in our ears everyday. And it's us trying to balance our parents' wishes and our wishes... And it gets to be a lot of pressure.

Samantha's struggles are further detailed below:

It all started when I was little, and I never really was accepted into the African American community, just because of my last name, how I looked, some of my morals and my values. And then again in the African community, I wasn't accepted because of the way I talked, and I didn't speak fluent Swahili, and some of my morals and my values. So I've always been considered an outcast in both communities. My perception is that I was always raised as... you know... family first, and all my family pretty much came in except myself... so I've always drifted toward that side more... and... but again... It gets to that point in middle... elementary school when I didn't want anything to do with that culture. I was so anti-Kenya... I really didn't care... I was just trying to fit in... And I think it was just me trying to survive in the community that I'm in, and I don't want to be picked on everyday, I don't want to be bothered, I didn't want any of that... just me trying to blend in with the community. And until I got into high school and now into college is when I realized... well... you know... this is who I am, there's no way I can run from it (sigh from participant)...

So it would be nice for African community to realize that there is a lot of pressure that first generation Americans are going through, and that we still feel that we are part of the community. Don't exile us, and a lot of them do exile us.

As Samantha explains, these pressures come, not only from the African parents, but from other groups within the African community:

But I just really hope that Africans can realize what we, as first generation Americans are going through. You know, even the youth... a lot of them... so many of them... even our peers our age who were born in other countries...and then now they're here... they're like, 'Whatever... You have so much stuff handed to you.' You're like... 'Wait... We still have pressure... you know. Sorry we didn't go through your boarding school and being poor. But we still have pressure.

Another finding captured an unwillingness on the part of some African Americans to revisit their African lineage. Andy steps back from his African American roots, and puts forth his belief on the subject:

I don't think many African Americans are willing to go into African culture... are willing to embrace it... are willing to investigate on it... because Africans are really big on their own culture, and they like to let you know. I think African Americans are big into American culture; they don't like to go into African culture.

The above findings underscore the value of deliberate institutional planning in creating opportunities that enhance inter-group interaction, including coursework, co-curricular and extracurricular opportunities, and occasional programs (lectures, plays, debates, etc.).

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

a) Summary of Study

The population of peoples of African descent in the United States is inherently heterogeneous with respect to ethnicity, cultural norms and customs, and linguistic background. Pan-Africanist and diaspora studies, including Afrocentric studies, have treated this group largely as a fairly homogeneous group (Asante, 1998; Esedebe, 1982; C. A. Palmer, 2000; Warren, 1990). Homogenization has surfaced in discussions or explorations of universal black experiences shared by this group of people surrounding issues of domination and resistance, slavery and emancipation, the pursuit of freedom, and struggle against racism (Holt, 2000; Lewis, 2001; Magubane, 1987; Morris, 2003; Ochillo & Lincoln, 1990; C. A. Palmer, 2000). The significance of said homogenization is evident in the force or movement that led to the liberation of people of African descent both on the continent and in the diaspora, from the emancipation of American Blacks to the independence of African countries (Posnock, 1998; Rucker, 2001; Skinner, 2001).

Pan-Africanism, Afrocentricity, and other diasporic studies certainly trace historical and cultural linkages among people of African descent. The importance of this identification continues to emerge in attempts to understand the self (Morris, 2003; Slaughter, 2005). These linkages, therefore, can be understood to constitute a part of the identity of people of African descent. As Holt points out, “invoking the framework of a ‘diaspora’ presupposes that through a comparative analysis there is something to be learned from experiences that unfolded for *different* black peoples in *different* places and times” (Italics in original text) (T. C. Holt, 2001, p. 36).

In an effort to broaden the knowledge base about people of African descent and render it more inclusive, recent research seeks to move beyond homogenization and commonalities to accommodate difference (Gilroy, 1993; T. C. Holt, 2001; Williams, 2001). This study of factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students at one HBCU situates itself in the emerging category of research that incorporates difference among peoples of African descent. The study examines interactions between undergraduate African and African American students and finds that cultural differences, perceptions and misconceptions about the out-group, and lack of balanced knowledge about the out-group all contribute to minimal inter-group interaction. The study also finds that increased intercultural and inter-group knowledge or contact leads to enhanced identification and interaction across groups, and ultimately functioned to minimize misconceptions and advance inter-group understanding and competence.

The convergence of identity theory (Stets, 2006) and social identity theory (Hogg, 2006) serve to explain interaction between Africans and African Americans. Both theoretical frameworks acknowledge the importance of the individual's goals and purposes and apply conceptions of the self in exploring identity formation. They describe the self as reflexive in that "it can take itself as an object and can categorize, classify, or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 224). While identity theory focuses on social structural arrangements and the link between persons, social identity theory focuses on characteristics of situations in which the identity may be activated. Though identity theory underlies this study in highlighting the significance of individual cognitive development and structural arrangements in (social) group interactions, the focus is on social identity theory as a framework for understanding social interactions across groups.

b) Summary of Findings

As discussed in Chapter 5, cultural differences, perceptions and misconceptions about the out-group, and lack of balanced knowledge about the out-group all contributed to minimal inter-group interaction between Africans and African Americans. Increased intercultural and inter-group knowledge or contact seemed to address these three broad areas and ultimately functioned to minimize misconceptions and advance inter-group understanding and interaction. This study found that expressed biases by some African parents against African Americans created conflicts in their school/college age children. Consequently, children of African parents were torn between two cultural loyalties—that of their parents and that of the American culture. In addition, children of African parents portrayed themselves as more amenable to interacting with African Americans than their parents. Furthermore, participation in coursework and/or extracurricular activities geared at advancing intercultural knowledge enhanced inter-group sensitivity and interaction. Moreover, there was an unwillingness on the part of some African Americans to revisit their African lineage. Critical literacy can be employed to address issues raised by these findings, for it has the potential to fill knowledge gaps by improving intercultural knowledge and understanding, hence promoting intergroup interaction.

Becker's (1973) study, "Black Africans and Black Americans on an American Campus: The African View," was part of the literature reviewed for this study. In this study, Becker explores manifestations and causes of strained relations between Africans and African Americans on the UCLA campus from the African perspective. The study examines the experiences of black²¹ African students as far as their orientation to and perception of black and white communities in the United States, their interpersonal relations with members of both communities, and their self perceptions as foreign students. The study operates on three premises. First of all, it assumes that a

²¹ Use of black (as opposed to African American) in this section reflects terminology applied by Becker

spontaneous sense of kinship and mutual trust would exist between black Americans and black foreigners visiting the United States. Secondly, the study puts forth that this racially-based sense of kinship may be neutralized if inter-group association is perceived by members of either group as having unfavorable consequences. Thirdly, the study purports that association between Africans and black Americans may be experienced as superimposed because relationships between both groups are determined to a significant degree by the perception of the white majority. Consequently, Becker contends that if members of both groups view themselves as having different characteristics and competing interests along with racial similarity, the probability increases that inter-group relations will be marked by strain and ambivalence.

This study, on the other hand, set out to explore factors that explain interactions between African and African American undergraduate students on an HBCU campus from the perspectives of both sides, so research participants included both Africans and African Americans to give as balanced a picture as possible. The focus is on cross-cultural knowledge as well as interpersonal, inter-group, and social interactions between members of both groups, and on how these shape interpersonal and inter-group orientation and social (group) identity. Although to some degree this study also assumes ease of inter-group interaction based on a shared heritage and a superimposed racial identity, it situates itself within emerging research that recognizes difference among constituent groups within the African diaspora. This body of research acknowledges a shared heritage, but treats the Atlantic as a unit of analysis to capture cultural differences within the African diaspora.

In terms of interaction between African and African American students, a racially-based sense of kinship was neutralized not because inter-group association was perceived by members of either group as having unfavorable consequences (as in the Becker study), but because of unwillingness on both sides to tolerate ambiguity. For instance, some African participants self-selected to isolate rather than repeat

themselves when their accents interfered with their being understood by African Americans. By the same token, some African Americans chose to stay away from Africans rather than be compelled to cope with their difficult-to-understand accents or taste their “smelly” foods. There was evidence to suggest that inter-group interaction was minimal as a result of cultural differences as discussed in Chapter 5, not as a result of perceptions of competing interests between both groups. In fact, study data suggest that inter-cultural knowledge and exposure led to increased inter-group interaction.

Regarding interpersonal relations between Africans and black Americans, Becker (1973) holds that mutual attraction based on racial similarity between both groups is offset by the desire of Africans to stress their separate social identity. According to Becker, this desire for a separate identity is fueled by the historical and cultural gap separating both groups and also by the perceived benefits embedded in such separate identity. Becker further argues that, in contrast to white foreign students who might be expected to take a neutral position, Africans are perhaps inclined to view black Americans as a negative reference group for two reasons. For one thing, physical similarity with black Americans renders Africans’ separate identity forever precarious, and so reaffirming that identity burdens African students with the need to stress their differences from black Americans. Also, in focusing their attention on black Americans, Africans become conscious of being relatively well off, an “ego-boosting” perception that neutralizes the impact of unpleasant experiences they are certain to encounter as a result of their race (Becker, 1973, p. 172).

Becker’s (1973) argument that mutual attraction based on racial similarity between both groups is offset by the desire of Africans to stress their separate social identity does not hold true in this study. Furthermore, his assertion that Africans are perhaps inclined to view black Americans as a negative reference group is also not borne out in this study. While a separate identity/culture is made obvious by the historical and cultural gap separating both groups, several African participants

articulated disappointment at the limited interaction levels with African Americans whom they referred to as their brothers and sisters, the same references that were also applied to them by some African Americans. Actually, physical similarity between Africans and African Americans and a shared heritage were central to the push to merge the Association of African Students and the History Club into one robust organization. The merge with the majority African American History Club was what boosted the AAS into campus recognition. A separate African identity (just like a separate African American identity, a separate white identity, or any other separate identity) is recognized simply as serving an “ego-boosting” purpose in terms of positive self-evaluation and uncertainty reduction as conceptualized by social identity theory.

c) Contributions of Study

Much of the research about minorities has been on attitudes toward other groups, prejudice, and discrimination, and less is known about minorities and their psychological relationships with their own groups (Asante, 2003; Magubane, 1987; Rollins & Riccio, 2005). This study contributes to the body of knowledge about minorities in general. Specifically it adds to the literature dealing with social-psychological relationships between Africans and African Americans. Relatively rich representations that describe in detail the experiences, perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, and interactions/relations in themselves constitute a significant contribution to the literature. Understanding cultural and other differences as an integral part of inter-group interactions and relationships enables people to be more accepting and accommodating of difference and of one another. Expanded intercultural knowledge and inter-group interaction also have the potential to alter perceptions and reduce misconceptions, all of which are a normal part of (social) group phenomena. Also, engaging members of both groups in discussions about inter-group interactions serves to raise awareness and develop in members a critical stance toward their own responsiveness to others they may consider different.

Another contribution of this study is in the general area of African diasporic discourse. This study of factors that explain interactions between undergraduate African and African American students at one HBCU situates itself in the emerging category of research that incorporates difference among peoples of African descent (Gilroy, 1993; T. C. Holt, 2001; Williams, 2001). In that tradition, this study broadens knowledge about people of African descent beyond commonalities to include difference. Following Worrell's comprehensive synthesis of cultural connotations, the study captures areas of differences between Africans and African Americans that may affect inter-group interaction: traditions, customs and values; attitudes and beliefs; norms and values of the immediate socialization context; differences in characteristics such as language, food, dress, music, religious practices, etc.; and other perceptible physical differences (Worrell, 2005, p. 139). Understanding these differences may result in improved global awareness.

In the current climate of globalization, this study also has merit. Globalization is based on the principle that contact with other cultures will enhance cultural sensitivity and understanding between and among national/cultural groups (de Wit, 2002; Hoffa & Pearson, 1997; Knight & de Wit, 1995; Spencer-Rodgers, 2001; , *Lincoln Study Abroad Briefing Book*, 2004). While institutions and organizations seek to promote globalization by sending students abroad, this study highlights on-campus opportunities for incorporating global perspectives that would integrate well with education abroad and other opportunities targeting cross-cultural knowledge and understanding. Common interests between African and African American students and deterrents to inter-group interaction discussed in Chapter 4 are examples of important information that can be used to inform intentional institutional programming. "Attitudes about differences are influenced by how students make meaning of their own race and ethnicity" (Torres, Howard-Hamilton, & Cooper, 2003, p. iv). It is my hope that this study will have a positive impact on how people perceive and interpret differences, not only between Africans and Africans Americans, but among all racial and ethnic groups.

d) Policy Implications

The site of this study actually has, in the past two years, strengthened its infrastructure for promoting knowledge about and interaction with other cultures on its campus. University Studies was revamped to broaden its interdisciplinary implementation of a general education core curriculum that is binding to all degree-seeking students. University Studies “applies discovery, inquiry, analysis, and application in the classroom to promote broad-based critical-thinking skills; effective written and oral communication of ideas; appreciation for diverse cultures, and commitment to ongoing civic engagement and social responsibility.” Beyond course offerings, this institution has also expanded other avenues that promote knowledge about and interaction with other cultures on its campus. Various university committees, departments, and organizations (including student organizations) sponsor religious, cultural, social and recreational activities. In addition, a variety of artists, lecturers and dramatic productions are brought to the campus regularly. Furthermore, the Multicultural Student Center, an integral part of the student affairs division, provides programs and services that create an awareness of and appreciation for ethnic and cultural diversity by promoting culturally diverse activities, including community service opportunities. As noted on the university’s web site, “the programming and recreational activities of the Student Union Advisory Board have a unique focus on the cultural and social development of the student community.” Realizing related goals implies following up with policies and other institutional support to facilitate their implementation.

Student organizations, particularly those that are small, relatively new, and managed by minority campus groups, require more administrative support to function at full capacity. The AAS/History club experienced recognition difficulties as Samantha's comments explain:

Here at [name of HBCU], Africans... we do have a voice, but we are never acknowledged. And as for the school itself, it doesn't do a good enough job to acknowledge our community and what we do on this campus and what we've done on this campus. Just for the fact though... I would like a lot of the body... the student body to learn more and know more about our organization. And if they [the campus] can open up doors to acknowledge us as an organization... as a people, then a lot of African Americans will start knowing about us. And of course they [African Americans] won't be afraid to ask questions... Of course they won't be afraid to say, "Okay, so what's next? What are you guys doing?" And so I think that will help bring us together as Africans and African Americans.

Giving this group a voice is definitely a vital step. But building on this step requires additional administrative support to ensure integration into the campus community to strengthen the institution's stated focus on the cultural and social development of the student community. Support through an active faculty advisor to this club would establish a direct line of communication between this group and the administration and campus community.

Student groups themselves have a responsibility to find ways to make their voices heard. Having the opportunity to form on a campus implies that such groups must demonstrate their relevance. Once relevance is recognized, the tendency multiplies for groups to be catapulted into recognition by campus entities. This scenario played out at the site of this study, as explained by Kasongo, president of the Association of African Students:

And the campus did not have to listen to us [Association of African Students], because we did not have anything on the table. When we decided to come into a coalition, we approached the History Club and we said, "You're African Americans, we're Africans. We must work together." And we included the International Student Organization and the Caribbean Club. Now we started promoting events that had consciousness... like when we had the Katrina disaster... the Katrina documentary that came out... We hosted that. And one of the things that many people asked us, "Why is the Association of African Students having a documentary series about Katrina?" My answers were always the same, "... because what happened in Katrina, we can relate to a hundred percent, because it has happened to us a thousand times." We put up panels. We had on the panel African American professors speaking of why is it important for African Americans to go back. And we would go to other schools and show our presence that we are the coalition... showing that unity already is starting at [name of HBCU], and let's bring it to the other universities. And the programs have been successful. The one I will always remember is "The Miseducation of the Negro"... the title was "The Miseducation of the Negro. Who Am I? Negro, African American, or Black," and we did not put African on the flyer. But that was the answer... that all three are wrong and we are all Africans. And they [the campus community] came out. The SGA president was there. We had two African professors on the panel and four African American professors. And they all spoke on the same level... that we must come together. And as the students saw it... I know it started something... I mean... We may not see it, but we come to the table now. We even meet... We did not have a voice as African students on this campus. Now we can talk to the Dean of Students... She has come to our events and said this is what we need and tried to get something for us. But before, they did not even consider that there were Africans, but coming with a coalition and bringing African Americans and us together and doing events together... They see that change.

The scenario described above also has implications for administrative and faculty support in encouraging and sponsoring independent student organizations, and for promoting collaboration between and among different student groups.

e) Recommendations for Future Research

This study exposed possible areas for future research. One such topic points to biases against African Americans perpetuated by African parents of school-/college-age children. Research that addresses the effects of parental biases on their children's inter-group interactions and friendship patterns in the American context would provide useful insights into diasporic relations. On the flip side, another study could investigate the impact these children who are born and raised in the U.S may have on their parents' perceptions and misconceptions about African Americans.

On the curricular front, comparative explorations of study-abroad and on-campus programs geared at advancing intercultural sensitivity and understanding would highlight ways to better connect student experiences and related knowledge. Such explorations would also present opportunities for more deliberate course or program design and implementation geared at meeting stated objectives. For instance, activities tied to a course that exposes students to other cultures could offer experiences that go beyond simply comparing poverty levels of given countries or cultures, to including broader contextual considerations as well as presentations of balanced information. Study data show a potential for increased inter-group interaction based on exposure to intercultural coursework and cross-cultural experiences, pointing to the relevance of carefully orchestrated and intentional institutional programming in achieving critical literacy and potentially advancing cross-cultural interactions.

On a related note, identity theory, which was in the background of this study, conceptualizes the self as having multiple identities, each tied to aspects of a structured society. The self, like society, is patterned, organized, and differentiated, and identity theory incorporates individual positionality and cognitive development. This study did not delve into personal development but contains evidence that suggests the viability of future research to address cognitive development tied to personal experiences as well as curricular, co-curricular, and other programming. Such a study is particularly relevant

in light of Osgood's discussion of the relationship between cognitions and overt behavior, as he notes, "*Cognitive modification results from the psychological stress produced by cognitive inconsistencies*" (Italics in original text) (Osgood, 1990a, p. 290). In effect, knowledge and exposure to other cultures may lead to developmental changes, reinforcing the notion of critical literacy as a vehicle for improving cross-cultural understanding and interactions.

Another research project might examine the experiences of another group that emerged from this study as a third category of participants—first generation Americans born of African parents and raised in the United States. Though this group self-identified as African based on their "home" culture, it was evident that they had unique experiences that warranted a separate investigation. An exploration of pressures faced by this group as a result of tensions with their "home" culture would provide practical information applicable in intercultural contexts.

An additional topic of research that emerged from this study is one that explores interactions between mixed African and African American couples. Information related to how these couples handle cultural differences as well as between-group misconceptions and stereotyping, and how they interact with and relate to their "extended" families would be invaluable in advancing intercultural understanding.

APPENDIX A: INFORMATION SHEET

Date: _____

1. Name: _____

2. College or University: _____

3. Year in College: _____

4. Major: _____

5. Contact Information:
Street Address: _____ City _____ Zip _____

Phone Numbers: a. _____ b. _____

Email: _____

6. Name or describe courses taken that advanced inter-cultural or international contact and/or communication:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

d. _____

e. _____

7. Name or describe programs or activities (clubs, events, etc.) you have engaged in that advanced inter-cultural or international contact and/or communication:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

d. _____

e. _____

8. You may contact me for follow-up or to clarify information I have provided (Check One): Yes No

APPENDIX B: PRE-INTERVIEW INFORMATION SHEET

First Name Only: _____ Date: _____

Age: _____ Ethnicity or Country of Origin: _____

- A. List (or map) the places on **and** off campus where you routinely spend some of your time during any given week (Monday through Sunday):

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

- B. Describe your routine in a typical week (Monday through Sunday); you may use the back of this page if you need more space.

C. Fill out the following information about five people you interact with on a regular basis from the routines outlined above:

1. First Name Only _____

Ethnicity or Country of Origin _____

List or explain five characteristics you admire:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

d. _____ e. _____

List or explain three characteristics you do not admire:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

2. First Name Only _____

Ethnicity or Country of Origin _____

List or explain five characteristics you admire:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

d. _____ e. _____

List or explain three characteristics you do not admire:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

3. First Name Only _____

Ethnicity or Country of Origin _____

List or explain five characteristics you admire:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

d. _____ e. _____

List or explain three characteristics you do not admire:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

4. First Name Only _____

Ethnicity or Country of Origin _____

List or explain five characteristics you admire:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

d. _____ e. _____

List or explain three characteristics you do not admire:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

5. First Name Only _____

Ethnicity or Country of Origin _____

List or explain five characteristics you admire:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

d. _____ e. _____

List or explain three characteristics you do not admire:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

D. Classify the people listed above (friend, best friend, classmate, roommate, boyfriend/girlfriend, study partner, etc.):

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

APPENDIX C: GUIDE QUESTIONS FOR IN-DEPTH INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

1. What programs or activities are available for learning about other cultures or about people from other countries?
2.
 - a. Describe opportunities (academic, extracurricular; formal, informal) available for African Americans and Africans to interact with one another.
 - b. Discuss any of these with which you have personal experience.
3. How do you think Africans perceive African Americans (and vice versa)?
4. What do you think are the origins of these perceptions?
5. How has your awareness of these perceptions affected your interactions and relations with Africans (or African Americans)?
6. Describe any changes in your perceptions of Africans (or African Americans) as a result of your interactions.
7. What expectations do you have in your interactions with Africans (or African Americans)?
8. Describe any circumstances that keep African Americans and Africans from interacting with one another.
9. Elaborate on any activities or interests that pull African Americans and Africans together.
10. What do you think could be done to create more opportunities for interaction between Africans and African Americans?
11. Provide any additional observations you would like to share about interactions and relations between Africans and African Americans.

APPENDIX D: GUIDE QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS-GROUP INTERVIEWS

1. List stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes you have heard about Africans or African Americans (Response sheet provided – Appendices E & F).
2. What do you think could be done to dispel or minimize these stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes?
3. Describe or elaborate on any activities, events, or circumstances that keep African Americans and Africans from interacting with one another.
4. Describe or elaborate on any activities, events, or circumstances that pull African Americans and Africans together.
5. What do you think could be done to create opportunities for increased interaction between Africans and African Americans?
6. Provide any additional observations or information you would like to share about interactions and relations between Africans and African Americans.

APPENDIX E: STEREOTYPES, ASSUMPTIONS, OR JOKES ABOUT AFRICANS

List stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes you have heard about Africans, and circle all sources as applicable.

	Stereotype, Assumption, Joke	I found out about it from...				
1		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
2		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
3		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
4		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
5		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
6		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
7		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
8		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
9		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
10		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine

* If TV is marked, please number and name source show or program on back of sheet.

APPENDIX F: STEREOTYPES, ASSUMPTIONS, OR JOKES ABOUT AFRICAN AMERICANS

List stereotypes, assumptions, or jokes you have heard about African Americans, and circle all sources as applicable.

	Stereotype, Assumption, Joke	I found out about it from...				
1		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
2		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
3		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
4		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
5		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
6		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
7		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
8		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
9		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine
10		*TV	Another Student	A Teacher	A Family Member	A Book or Magazine

* If TV is marked, please number and name source show or program on back of sheet.

APPENDIX G: INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Dear Student,

I am a doctoral candidate in the [Insert name of department] at the [Insert name and location of home institution]. As part of my graduate program, I will be conducting research for my dissertation under the supervision of [Insert name and contact information of major professor/dissertation committee chair at home institution] and my faculty sponsor at [Insert name of off-campus research site], [Insert name and contact information of faculty sponsor at research site]. The purpose of my study will be to find out how expectations of one another affect the attitudes and behaviors of undergraduate African American and African students enrolled at Historically Black Colleges and Universities. I will be using [insert name of off-campus research site] as a case study. A few studies have investigated interactions between African Americans and Africans in general, but not much has been written about relations, interactions, and expectations of members of these two groups at the undergraduate level. I hope that this knowledge will lead to improved understanding and increased positive relations/interactions between the two groups.

I am asking for your assistance in investigating the expectations of these two groups of students for one another and how they interact and then establish and maintain relations among themselves. By signing below, you are consenting to participate in this study.

Participating in this study does not pose any known risk to you, and you will not get any personal benefit from taking part in this study. Your participation is strictly voluntary, and you may choose to withdraw at any time without any repercussions. If you volunteer to take part in this study, you will be one of about 60 undergraduate student participants at [Insert name of off-campus research site] who will be interviewed. You will be asked to meet twice during the course of the study, each time for about 1 hour. The total amount of time you will be asked to volunteer is 2 hours over the next 9 months. The first session will be an individual meeting during which you will fill out an information sheet providing basic information about yourself (name, age, year in college, etc.). In addition, you will also fill out a pre-interview information sheet providing basic information about your expectations, interactions, and relations with Africans (if you are African American) or African Americans (if you are African). Furthermore, you will be interviewed about your expectations, interactions, and relations. The second meeting will be a follow up individual or group interview to clarify or expand on information gathered from the initial interview.

All research records that identify you will be kept private to the extent allowed by law. In the interest of confidentiality, you will identify yourself only by your first name on the pre-interview information sheet. Your information will be combined with information from other students taking part in the study. All four of my dissertation committee members at [Insert name of home institution], as well as my [Insert name of off-campus research site] faculty

sponsor—[insert name of faculty sponsor at off-campus research site], may see information collected for the study. When I write about the study to share it with other researchers, I will write about the combined information I have gathered. I may publish the results of this study. Please note that you will NOT be identified in these written materials. I will keep your name and other identifying information in a locked box for five years, after which all study data will be destroyed.

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you may contact the principal investigator, [Insert name and contact information of principal investigator]. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact the staff in the research office at [Insert name and contact information of research office at home institution]. You may also contact [Insert contact information for research compliance office at off-campus research site]. I will give you a signed copy of this consent form to take with you.

Signature of person agreeing to take part in the study

Date

Printed name of person agreeing to take part in the study

Using language that is understandable and appropriate, I have discussed this project and all expectations for participation with the student and/or authorized representatives.

Insert Name of Principal Investigator (PI)

Date

APPENDIX H: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS BY CLASS, YEAR IN COLLEGE,
MAJOR, AND GENDER

Name (Alias)	Year in College	Gender	Ethnicity	Major	Intercultural or International Courses	Intercultural or International Activities or Clubs
Cletus	1	M	African	Mechanical Engineering	African American Experience	
Camilla	1	F	African American	Psychology	Diversity Psychology Sociology	
Shelton	1	M	African American	Undecided	Contemporary World Critical Writing General Psychology	
Wesley	1	M	African	Mechanical Engineering	Contemporary World African American Experience	Association of African Students
Alain	2	M	African	Biological Engineering	World Civilization African American Experience	American Society of Agricultural and Biological Engineers (ASABE) Student Branch

Andy	2	M	African American	Psychology	Programs about Africa African Club Movies showing different people	Martial Arts
Tammy	2	F	African American	Nursing		
Jessica	2	F	African American	Mechanical Engineering	Dance	AAS
Roberta	2	F	African American	Political Science		
Monica	2	F	African American	Nursing		
Doris	2	F	African American	Psychology	Cross Cultural Psychology	
James	2	M	African American	Business Mgt.		
Amos	3	M	African	Animal Science	World History	Association of African Students (AAS) History Club
Sarah	3	F	African American	Elementary Ed.		
Anita	3	F	African American	Electronic Media (JOMC)		
Comfort	3	F	African	Psychology	African American Studies World	History Club Association of African Students

					Civilizations I World Civilizations II SCH-250 Sociology 100	
Sharita	3	F	African American	Social Work	Elementary Psychology African American History African American Literature	
Nnamdi	3	M	African	Chemistry		Association of African Students
Kasongo	3	M	African	Civil Engineering	English as a Second Language	Association of African Students History Club International Students Association
Samantha	3	F	African	Business Management & Business Finance	International Business Management International Business Finance	Association of African Students Multi-Cultural Club International Students Association

Ijeoma	3	F	African	Political Science	International Relations History Club African Immigrant & Refugee Foundation Conference	
Arlene	3	F	African American	Nursing Psychology		
Althea	4	F	African American	Journalism Mass Comm.	Cultural Psychology Minorities in Mass Media African American History	
Tiara	5	F	African American	Liberal Studies		
Ramona	4	F	African American	Marketing		Association of African Students African Refugees & Immigrants Foundation Multicultural Students Association
Jasmine	4	F	African American	Nursing		
Vanessa	4	F	African	Psychology	Culture and	Lutheran

					Psychology Social Psychology Theories of Personality	Refugee Serv. African Coalition St. Mary Int'l Cath. Chur.
Jerry	4	M	African	Psychology	SPCH 250, NURS 200 PSYC 320	
Martin	4	M	African	International Studies		
Clive	4	M	African American	Criminal Justice	Spanish, German African American History	
Thomas	4	M	African	Electrical Engineering	History	

APPENDIX I: FIELDS OF STUDY OF IN-DEPTH INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Animal Science	Liberal Studies
Biological Engineering	Marketing
Business Finance	Mass Communication
Business Management	Mechanical Engineering
Chemistry	Nursing
Civil Engineering	Political Science
Criminal Justice	Psychology
Electrical Engineering	Public Relations
Electronic Media	Secondary Education
Elementary Education	Social Work
International Studies	Sports Science
Journalism	

**APPENDIX J: AVAILABLE COURSES IDENTIFIED BY PARTICIPANTS AS OPPORTUNITIES FOR
LEARNING ABOUT OR INTERACTING WITH OTHER CULTURES**

Area	Courses	Description
History	African American History	History of African Americans in the United States from the African background through the Civil War; emphasis on American slavery, the abolition movement, the free African-American community, Civil War, Emancipation, and Reconstruction; part 2 emphasizes African-American leadership organizations, achievement, and the struggle of African-Americans for equality in the United States
	African American Experience	Introduction to important contributions made and challenges faced by people of African descent in America and the global community
	Contemporary World	Examination of the social, economic, political, and cultural roots of the contemporary world; focus on major developments, events, and ideas that have shaped world societies since the beginning of the twentieth century; framework for understanding the contemporary global experience
	World History/Civilizations	A variety of courses on the social, political, economic, religious, and cultural developments in world civilizations

	International Relations	Exploration of structure, policies and politics of nations and limits of international relations in the emerging era of globalism; investigation of imperialism, colonialism, balance of power, international morality, treaties, sovereignty, diplomacy, etc.
Sociology	Principles of Sociology	Basic concepts and principles in sociology as they are used to examine patterned and recurrent forms of social behavior
Psychology	General Psychology	Exploration of maturation and development-motivation, emotion, and personality; mental health, intelligence and aptitude; perception and attention; learning, forgetting, language, and thinking; social influence, attitudes, and beliefs, and vocational adjustment
	Cross-cultural Psychology	Examination of the impact of European-based psychological principles on various ethnic groups in America; differences in culture, background, perceptions, and history in America; challenge of scientific assumptions of various psychological concepts in terms of the cultures to which they appear to apply, and comparison with ethnic-based alternatives
	Elementary Psychology	Consideration of maturation and development, nervous system and internal environment; physiological basis of behavior; motivation, emotion, and personality; and psychological testing

Dance	A 24 semester hour concentration in the University Studies program	The University Studies program is designed to prepare students for employment, civic participation, and life-long learning in a complex global environment
Foreign Languages	English as a Second Language (ESL)	Various language and cultural experiences
	Spanish	
	German	
	Russian	
Nursing	Interactive Nursing Processes	Intrapersonal, interpersonal interactions between the self and others and between professional nursing and the present health care arena; designed to increase understanding of self, interplay of the self and others, and processes basic to all groups; examination of the role of the nurse and personal power to influence colleagues, families, work groups, organizations, and formal and informal and diverse groups
	Nursing Seminar	Special topics in nursing, including nurse patient relationships and issues of diversity
African American Literature	African American Literature and Survey of – (various course offerings)	Examination of cultural and literary traditions of American authors of African ancestry in relation to the cultural and literary traditions of today
Business	International Business Management	Current topics and/or concerns in international business; utilization of case and area studies to make the course more practical than theoretical; emphasis on major

		issues in international business
	International Business Finance	Survey of fundamental issues in managing the financial operations of an international business unit, including working capital management, capital budgeting, financial markets and instruments, and capital structure decisions; discussions within a framework that examines enhanced risks associated with currency fluctuations, political and regulatory differences, economic structure variations, and cultural differences
Speech	Fundamentals of Speech	Introduction to the rhetorical, psychological, physiological, linguistic, and communication bases of oral disclosure; preparation and practice in intrapersonal, interpersonal and public communication, and critical listening
	Minorities in the Media	Overview of past and present minority contributions in film, radio, television, newspapers and magazines; examination of minority roles in contemporary media with emphasis on career opportunities for minorities
Writing	Critical Writing	Introduction to reading comprehension and the writing process; reading and evaluation of selected texts and application of critical thinking through writing and speaking

APPENDIX K: INVENTORY OF STEREOTYPES, ASSUMPTIONS, OR JOKES ABOUT AFRICANS

Below are data collected from 131 study volunteers (10 Africans and 121 American Africans) organized in rough categories, including specific items under each category in participants' exact words.

Neutral/Positive:

1. Economic Outlook/Living Conditions

- Can survive with less
- Africans are very in touch with nature
- Africans live out of the land
- They eat all kinds of animals, plants and insects
- They hunt a lot
- They value everything that they own
- They are rich

2. Appearance

- Dark-skin complexion
- The men have piercings
- There are no light-skinned people in Africa
- They wear loin cloths
- Love bright colors
- Africans are a fine example of pure beauty

3. Educational/Professional Dispositions

- Smart, very intelligent, smarter than African Americans
- Work all the time, hard working, never lazy
- Love school/do everything to succeed
- They are well-educated
- Are education-driven

- Do well in school or higher learning
 - Learn to speak good English
 - Africans will fight for what they want
 - Africans are articulate and smarter than African Americans
 - Africans are the original creators of instrumental music
 - Africans try to understand and adapt to American culture
 - Africans are resourceful and able to adapt to any environment
 - The majority of African teachers and professors are very aggressive
 - Nurses
 - The younger ones listen to hip hop
 - They are just like us African Americans
 - Too nice
4. Hygiene/Sanitation
- They like cologne
5. Health
- Africans only eat fruits and vegetables
6. Lifestyle
- They practice polygamy
 - Africans tend to stick together
 - Africans look out for each other
 - Will do anything for the good of others
7. Female Dispositions
- The women make sure that they take care of their men
 - All African females know how to braid hair, work in a hair-braiding shop
8. Athletics
- They love to play soccer
9. Spirituality
- Are serious about their spirituality

10. Family Dispositions

- They are all about family, are family-oriented
- They have a lot of babies, children
- Have big families
- Children are well-mannered
- They have children really young
- Great parents

11. Culture

- The concept of African hair-braiding came from Africans
- Speak a different language
- Dancing and other rituals are a part of their culture
- Naming is an important part of African culture
- Unified in their culture

12. Food

- They always eat fufu

Negative:

1. Economic Outlook/Living Conditions

- Hungry & poor
- Africans walk around without clothes/shoes or with very little clothing
- Uncivilized, primitive
- Live in the forest
- No buildings/high rises
- They live in tribes
- Don't have houses, live outside
- They live in huts, on the street
- Live in large groups

- There are no cities
- There are no schools
- They all live in poor remote villages
- All are dumb years behind society
- Drink goat's blood
- Wild animals for pets
- They all have spears and arrows
- Savage
- Africans fight animals
- They wear face paint
- Kill/catch their own food
- Africans eat bugs
- Eat weird food such as elephant ears and other types
- Always wear sandals
- Africans all want to live in America

2. Appearance

- Light-skinned people wouldn't be treated as dark-skinned people in Africa
- Their hair is nappy and kinky, bad hair
- Ugly
- Skinny
- Africans have big noses
- Africans have big lips
- They have ugly feet
- The women have big butts
- They don't have good clothes/shoes
- They have a lot of piercings
- Funny style of dress

3. Educational/Professional Dispositions

- All things Americans like to eat most Africans don't & vice versa
- Africans are all about self
- Underachievement
- Always late
- They work for little or nothing
- They are all illiterates
- Make funny noises when they talk, talk funny
- African people yell out random things
- Can't speak clear English
- Africans are hard to understand
- Their accent
- Not intelligent
- Rude
- Africans are lazy
- Uneducated, less educated
- Stupid
- African men don't marry outside their race
- Refugees
- Are trying to be American
- Africans are ignorant of American culture
- All Africans will try to sell you anything
- Africans can be annoying sometimes
- African hair-braiders do not share their techniques with others
- Africans don't want their children moving with non-Africans
- All Africans and other black people need to get back on the boat

4. Hygiene/Sanitation

- Smell bad, stink, inhygenic, unsanitary, don't bathe, don't wear deodorant, have bad breathe
- Their food smells bad, is terrible
- Their houses smell funny
- They always have flies around them
- Their eyes are yellow
- Booty scratchers
- Have sex with monkeys

5. Health

- Carriers of aids/disease, Africans are the reason aids came about
- Don't wear condoms
- Africans cut off a girl's clitoris
- Malnouritoned
- If you have intercourse with an African, you can't give blood

6. Dispositions toward African Americans

- Do not like or care for African Americans
- Think they are better than everybody, than African Americans
- Do not view African Americans as any kind of African at all/don't consider African Americans are African or descendants of Africans
- All Africans feel African Americans are lazy and don't take advantage of opportunities
- Africans believe that African Americans are not in touch with their history and culture
- They do not like to share their beliefs about their culture

7. Lifestyle

- Dance-a-holics, can dance
- Very aggressive attitudes
- All Africans are violent
- They are mean individuals

8. Athletics

- The only thing they can really do is run fast b/c they are always running, good athletes
- All Africans play soccer
- Jump high

9. Spirituality

- Practice voodoo, witchcraft
- They put spells on people
- Worship trees
- They believe in many gods
- Suspicious in their views

10. Male Dispositions

- The men are mean/dominating/abusive and controlling over women
- African males are controlling and demanding
- Treat women without respect
- Africans are violent towards women
- Men are more aggressive towards women
- They have high tempers (abuse women)
- Possessive

11. Family Dispositions

- Have bad kids

12. Propensity toward Illegal or Criminal Activity

- Try to out-smart the system, are crooks
- Come to America illegally
- They cheat
- Africans are sexual predators
- They are sneaky and underhanded
- You can't trust an African
- Africans (Nigerians) are criminals/fraudulent

13. Culture

- Don't have a language

14. Other

- The men have large penises, prostate area is larger than average male
- Sex is punishment instead of pleasure
- Bad drivers
- They sell bootlegs
- Think white people are God

APPENDIX L: INVENTORY OF STEREOTYPES, ASSUMPTIONS, OR JOKES ABOUT AFRICAN AMERICANS

Below are data collected from 131 study volunteers (10 Africans and 121 African Americans) organized in rough categories, including specific items under each category in participants' exact words.

Neutral/Positive:

1. Dispositions toward Africa/ns
 - Very friendly
2. General Dispositions
 - African Americans tend to care for family compared to whites
3. Economic Outlook
 - They are all rich
4. Health
 - Aids population in America is large among African Americans

Negative:

1. Educational/Professional Dispositions
 - Lazy
 - Dunce (can't learn), slow to learn
 - Don't like/do well in education
 - Undetermined to succeed/unambitious
 - Self-centered (knowing nothing about the world)
 - If you want something done, don't put them in charge
 - Ignorant
 - Stupid
 - Uneducated
 - Dumb

- High school dropouts
- Do not go to school
- Can't read
- African Americans are not smart

5. Dispositions toward Africa/ns

- They hate/do not like African people
- See being called "African" as an insult
- Say they are not Africans
- They blame Africans for slavery
- They know nothing about Africa
- Do not care to know about their heritage
- The slave collectors left all of the weak stupid Africans in Africa
- Because the stupid people were left in Africa is why Africa is having so many problems
- African Americans are scared of Africans

6. General Dispositions

- Ungrateful, unappreciative
- Uncultured, lack culture
- Are a bad influence, trouble makers
- When there is a large gathering of African Americans, something bad is going to happen
- Don't respect elders
- Not respectful, disrespectful
- Are violent, like to fight
- Whiners/complainers
- African Americans are loud
- Crazy
- Greedy
- Selfish

7. Economic Outlook/Living Conditions

- Hungry & Poor, on welfare
- Materialistic
- Spend all their money on clothes/name brand clothes
- Not smart (economics, spending)
- No jobs
- Wasteful
- Ghetto

8. Female Attitudes

- African American women have attitude most of the time
- African American women are controlling
- Have a lot of baby fathers
- Women have too many children
- All African American women are bitches

9. Propensity toward Illegal or Criminal Activity

- Do drugs
- Blacks are likely to neglect or abuse their children because of drugs
- Criminals
- They kill you
- Thugs
- Most criminals are African American

10. Male Dispositions

- African American men cheat on their partners
- African American men are lazy
- All African American men are criminals
- African American dads are deadbeat
- African American boys take drugs

11. Health

- Overweight, fat
- Eat fried food
- Eat too much
- They exchange STDs as often as colds

12. Appearance

- All African American males wear their pants sagging
- The women hate their natural hair
- Ugly

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