ABSTRACT

This dissertation explored the ways in which White, African American and Biracial American undergraduate and graduate students made meaning of race and other aspects of identity. Using a constructivist grounded methodology this study revealed a new way to conceptualize the processes by which students’ perceptions of self and other were shaped through a course on the culture and society of Southern Africa and by studying abroad on a short-term program to that region: the dynamics of integrating lenses.

In the U.S. classroom, students moved from ignorance about the continent of Africa and the region of Southern Africa to an initial understanding. Through the combined course and study abroad program, the White undergraduate students’ unexamined White privilege was surfaced and examined. At the same time, Black students’ pride in being Black and their connection to their histories was deepened. Their assumptions about race and identification with Africa were also broadened. The result of the group cohesiveness and support was that White and Black students who had never had friends of the “other” race expanded their relationships to incorporate new people who they may never have interacted with otherwise.

Through personal stories students were exposed to new perspectives and experiences, first, in the U.S. classroom, later in Southern Africa, and also in the comfort
and security of the group itself. Through personal relationships with the instructor, the
tour guides and fellow students, participants became engaged. Through learning about
Southern Africa: its history, the society, and its many cultures, students became invested
in the stories and the people who told them. As a result, they felt compelled to confront
the reality they were facing. Through reflecting on those experiences in the support of
the group, students were able to grapple with the dissonance between their earlier
assumptions, perceptions, and beliefs and the new experiences they were having. This
led to a greater complexity of thinking around issues of race, community, and
globalization, and an expansion of the lenses they used to perceive themselves and others.

The findings of this study inform the literature on study abroad, racial identity,
and experiential learning and education. The Model of the Dynamics of Integrating
Lenses is useful to researchers and practitioners who design and evaluate study abroad
and other experiential learning programs.
This work is dedicated to Marla:

My wife, partner and best friend

Thank you for your unwavering support, my Love.

We did it!
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A dissertation and more significantly, a doctoral degree, is not the accomplishment of only one person, but that of a community of people. That community has been my family and extended family, my closest friends, my peers and colleagues, and the extraordinary faculty who I have had the privilege of working with over the course of my eight-plus years of graduate school. I have learned countless things from each of those extraordinary people, and I cannot thank them enough for their support, love, and guidance. I want to especially recognize the other members of my doctoral cohort: Christina, Tammy, Kathy, Cricket, and Dwayne, whose friendship, support, and encouragement throughout this process has been invaluable. I look forward to having you forever as friends and colleagues.

Ada Demb, who has been my advisor for the past six years and who has been a mentor, teacher and guide over the course of my graduate studies, has been a phenomenal advisor. I appreciate how she provided the structure and guidance when I needed it, and then gave me the space to be creative and work out things on my own. Whenever we met I walked away excited with new approaches to take and a clearer understanding of what needed to be done. Thank you, Ada. Thank you also to my other committee members, Peter Demerath, Susan Jones (who left Ohio State during my dissertation
phase) and Michele Welkener. I appreciate how each of you has stretched my thinking and my approaches to research, writing, and working with students.

Another faculty member who has made an indelible impression on me is Dr. Professor Maqhawe, whose name is a pseudonym in order to protect the identity of the students in this study. Dr. Maqhawe first developed the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa in the mid-1990’s, and he has taught the course and guided the students on the program ever since. His extraordinary stories, personal experiences, and gift to bring those to life for students broadened my perspective and that of my peers in 2002 when I was a graduate student in the program, and again expanded the perceptions of the students who I worked with in 2005. From the very beginning, Professor Maqhawe has been supportive of my research interest and of my own personal journey. This study would never have been possible without his trust and assistance.

During the course of this dissertation I worked closely with a group of people I would not have otherwise met, the nine students who invited me into their lives and shared with me their thoughts, their feelings, their uncertainties and their hearts. I learned from them more than I could say, and I appreciate their trust in sharing their stories with me. Thank you to Sarah, Mufasa, Andrew, Joseph, Tatiana, Michelle, Sam, Suzie, and Leonard for sharing this extraordinary journey with me. Your stories and experiences have expanded my perspective as a practitioner and researcher.

As is the case in any qualitative study, there were mountains of data, including many tapes to transcribe just before my daughter Elyse was born. I want to thank Betty Christian, who willingly and eagerly (and for a very reasonable fee, I might add) transcribed those tapes for me. Thank you, Betty, for your generosity and kindness.
Life is an exciting journey and the completion of this dissertation and doctoral program marks an important milestone in mine. There have been a number of extraordinary individuals who have helped to guide me along that journey as my life has moved in the direction it has taken. Dan Golden, the director of the Filene Center for Work and Learning at Wheaton College in Norton, Massachusetts was a tremendous mentor throughout my undergraduate studies and beyond. It was Dan who exposed me to the Japan Exchange Teaching Program, which I pursued for three years after college, and it was he who recommended I check out the field of Student Affairs Administration when I decided that I wanted to take a different course from psychology for my graduate work. It was with Dan that I first became very excited about experiential learning.

Mike Miller was my supervisor, mentor and friend in Graduate, International, and Professional Admissions at The Ohio State University, and it was through Mike that I learned about Columbus State Community College, where I have worked as an administrator for the past three and a half years. Thank you also to my colleagues and friends in the international office. It was through my work with them that I learned about and became turned on to the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa, and its exciting approach.

To my wonderful children, Colin and Ellie, who have brought such joy into my life. I love being your father! And most of all, to my extraordinary wife, Marla, who has made countless sacrifices so that I could complete this doctoral degree and this dissertation while working full-time and having a family. Without her steadfast love, support, and understanding this never would have been possible. This dissertation is dedicated to her. Thank you, my Love. We did it!
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Graphical Representation: Dynamics of Integrating Lenses
REMEMBER DIMBAZA.
REMEMBER BOTSHABELO/ONVERWACHT,
SOUTH END, EAST BANK,
SOPHIATOWN, MAKULEKE, CATO MANOR.
REMEMBER DISTRICT SIX.
REMEMBER THE RACISM
WHICH TOOK AWAY OUR HOMES
AND OUR LIVELIHOOD
AND WHICH SOUGHT
TO STEAL AWAY OUR HUMANITY.
REMEMBER ALSO OUR WILL TO LIVE,
TO HOLD FAST TO THAT
WHICH MARKS US AS HUMAN BEINGS:
OUR GENEROSITY, OUR LOVE OF JUSTICE
AND OUR CARE FOR EACH OTHER.
REMEMBER TRAMWAY ROAD,
MODDERDAM, SIMONSTOWN.

IN REMEMBERING WE DO NOT WANT
TO RECREATE DISTRICT SIX
BUT TO WORK WITH ITS MEMORY:
OF HURTS INFLICTED AND RECEIVED,
OF LOSS, ACHIEVEMENTS AND OF SHAMES.
WE WISH TO REMEMBER
SO THAT WE CAN ALL,
TOGETHER AND BY OURSELVES,
REBUILD A CITY
WHICH BELONGS TO ALL OF US,
IN WHICH ALL OF US CAN LIVE,
NOT AS RACES BUT AS PEOPLE.

From a stone tablet at the District Six Museum, Cape Town, South Africa
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Today’s undergraduates are living in a world in which differences are multiplying and change is the norm, but they attend colleges that are often segregated on the basis of differences and where relationships between diverse populations are strained….It is imperative that college students learn to recognize, respect, and accept their differences. (Levine & Cureton, 1998b, p.159)

Many of today’s American college students enter higher education not having engaged in meaningful dialogue with students who identify with racial groups different from their own, often because of economic and social segregation in the United States, and because of their fears of being labeled as racist or prejudiced (Levine and Cureton, 1998). College may be the first opportunity for students to interact with someone from a different race or ethnicity (Hurtado et al., 1999). When left to their own devices, students fall into the pattern of associating with those most like themselves (Education, 2000; Tatum, 1997; Whitt, Edison, Pascarella, Terenzini, & Nora, 2001). As a result, racial and ethnic stereotypes are not questioned and students may continue to fear people unlike themselves (Tatum, 1997).

In Levine and Cureton’s (1998b) landmark study of college students in the 1990’s, they found that multiculturalism was the most unresolved issue on college campuses. Students thought of themselves in terms of their differences rather than their
commonalities. They emphasized the characteristics that made them unique or different, such as race, gender, geography, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and religion (p. 79). Race seemed to be a line down which perceptions of opportunity were drawn; for example, 67% of self-identified Black students agreed with the statement, “racial discrimination will seriously affect my chances to get a job;” whereas only 8% of White students did. While 60% of White students agreed with the statement, “we hear too much about the rights of minorities and not enough about the rights of majorities;” only 13% of the Black students agreed (p. 80). This was compounded by a trend towards feelings of victimization and unfair treatment (p. 91).

Students in Levine and Cureton’s sample were reluctant to talk about “diversity issues” for fear of being labeled as “racist,” “sexist,” or “homophobic” (p. 72). Ironically, the students expressing the greatest concern and negativity about such discussions were from four-year residential campuses, which could be the environment most conducive to sustained contact between diverse students (Levine & Cureton, 1998b). Students of color were resentful of stereotypes and the expectation that they would educate White students; while White students were confused and felt rejected and guilty (p. 72). Since most students did not feel safe to discuss these feelings and issues, they went un-addressed and unexplored.

When such issues go unaddressed and unexplored it can lead to fragmentation of student communities. Whitt and colleagues (2001) explain:

(One) response to campus tensions regarding diversity and difference is an increasing fragmentation of student communities into increasingly smaller groups, many of which are founded on commonalities of race, culture, sexual orientation and gender (Astin, 1993; Levine & Cureton, 1998b). Both Students of color and White students seek people with whom to feel safe, with whom they can speak.
freely and, perhaps, avoid challenges to their beliefs and values, including those about diversity. In turn, however, fragmentation of students on the basis of similarities can heighten tensions about difference. (Whitt et al., 2001, p. 174)

**ILLUMINATING RACE AND CLASS IN COLLEGE SETTINGS**

U.S. colleges and universities have sought to bridge the gap between people of different racial groups through diversity initiatives on their campuses. These range from awareness workshops to “diversity related” courses as part of General Education Requirements (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999). Issues of class and its interconnectedness with race have been illuminated and confronted through service-learning courses that engage students in community service and reflection, and expose them to a broader perspective where communities in need are viewed and understood in their larger context.

As a community-based approach to teaching, service-learning courses most characteristically place students in contact with people and communities very different from their own (e.g. racial-ethnic groups; religion; sexual orientation; social class). These opportunities tend to promote self-reflection, personal awareness, and scrutiny of certain aspects of identity previously taken for granted." (Jones & Abes, 2004, p. 149).

Service-learning has been a powerful educational strategy to heighten the awareness of college students about their own class and race privileges and has expanded their understanding of the broader world.

Through engaging “diverse groups of students…in discussion of issues related to their diversity, broadly conceptualized,…on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, or religion,” (Clark, 2002, p. 30), another innovative strategy called Intergroup Dialogue, which grew out of work at The University of Michigan, has illuminated race and other aspects of identity that have been divisive for students who
identify in different ways. As was explained above, college students tend to stick to their own and may avoid meaningful dialogue with students from identity groups other than their own for fear of being misunderstood or sounding foolish (Levine & Cureton, 1998b). Intergroup dialogue, which is a structured program facilitated by a trained leader, has been highly effective in increasing dialogue and understanding between students who through the experience better understand the experiences of their peers.

Study abroad programs are a third strategy that have afforded college students unique opportunities for cross-cultural contact and dialogue through which they may come to appreciate the values and experiences of people who are different from them (Carlson, Burn, Useem, & Yachimowicz, 1990; Dolby, 2004; Drews, Meyer, & Peregrine, 1996; Kauffman & Kuh, 1984; Lindsey, 2005; McCabe, 1994; Myers, 1997; Smith-Pariola & Goke-Pariola, 2006; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Thomlinson, 1991). In study abroad programs students study, live, and learn together in a structured and safe environment that affords opportunities for prolonged and meaningful engagement in discussions around many different issues, including race. However, to date, only four studies have explored how race is engaged through study abroad. Three of the four studies explored how African American students’ racial identity as Black people was affected by studying abroad in Africa.

Day-Vines (1998) and Day-Vines, Barker & Exum (1998) found that study abroad in Africa positively affected African American students in five ways: (1) it helped students dispel myths perpetuated about Africa; (2) students had moving experiences and interactions with members of the host culture; (3) students critically and analytically compared Western cultural values and viewpoints with those of West Africa;
(4) racial identity and intercultural development were promoted; and (5) there were increases in perceived levels of academic achievement and motivation (Day-Vines, 1998, p. 149-150).

Morgan et al. (2002) was the most recent study to investigate the experiences of individuals engaging in diasporic travel, which Day-Vines and colleagues (1998) defines as people “bound to Africa by heritage and culture, returning to their ancestral culture of origin for a finite period of time” (p. 464). This study was a narrative descriptive piece that looked at the experiences of an African American professor, an African American woman student who traveled to Gambia, West Africa, and an African international woman student from Tanzania, East Africa studying in the United States. The authors concluded that “establishing a cultural connection with their African roots can be a source of strength, especially for African American women who are marginalized under the matrix of domination” (p. 349).

The fourth study also explored the experiences of an African American woman engaged in study abroad; however, Talburt and Stewart (1999) found that in the context of Spain the experiences and perceptions of that one African-American woman on the program were shaped by her race and gender, and in particular the ways in which Black women were constructed and perceived in that culture as sexual (e.g. prostitutes). Because the experiences of that student were so different from the White peers who were on the program with her, it brought the issue of race into the discussion. The challenge for this student of having to deal with racism made explicit the privilege of being White that many of the study abroad program participants had not dealt with in the past.
The researchers observed that had the class prepared the students ahead of time with discussions of race and gender, this experience might have been more meaningful. "Prior to this class, there had been little discussion of these topics, which might have enabled substantive discussion of students' experiences and informed their individual and collective understandings." (p. 10)

The authors commented that the literature on study abroad had been "silent" on "meanings of race and gender in the context of study abroad, their impact on students' access to and interactions with members of the host culture, their perceptions of the country they are visiting, and their learning experiences" (Talburt & Stewart, 1999, p. 2).

In 2002, I observed how American college students who were engaged in study abroad in Southern Africa grappled with their changing perceptions of self and of others in terms of race and class in the context of Southern Africa (Williams, 2002). In that pre-dissertation pilot study I began to glimpse the power of the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa at Mid-Western State University to provide the structure in which students of diverse backgrounds could come together in meaningful dialogue around issues of race and class in the political, social and economic contexts of Southern Africa and by extension, the United States. At the time, I noted that the structure of that program was similar in many respects to those of service-learning programs and Intergroup Dialogue. The current study expands on the initial findings from 2002 and takes up the charge of Talburt and Stewart (1999) to examine the ways college students make meaning of race through study abroad.
THE CURRENT STUDY

The current research explores how American undergraduate and graduate university students of color and White students make meaning of race through study abroad, and in particular how their perceptions of self and other are affected. The context of the study is the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa at Mid-Western State University, which combines a 10-week African American African Studies (Black Studies) course on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa” with a three-week short-term study abroad program to the region, specifically, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and South Africa. The question that grounded this research was:

How do students in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa make meaning of race and other aspects of their identity during the study abroad program?

Four specific questions were embedded within it:

1. How are the content and process of making meaning of race shaped by the course and study abroad experience?
2. How are perceptions of self and other shaped by the experience?
3. How are relationships affected by the experience?
4. What changes seem to occur for the students through the experience?

Participants in the study were nine undergraduate and graduate students who took the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa” course and engaged in the study abroad program in Spring 2005.

The course provides the foundation of the program, with an overview of the history and society of the region, and in particular, a heavy focus on the policy of apartheid that split the society into discrete parts based on arbitrary definitions of racial
classification. In the classroom, the students begin to engage the topic, but it is in the context of the society itself that they delve more deeply into the stories and life experiences of the people, especially the Black people in the townships who have been affected most by apartheid and its aftermath. Although the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa does not use community service, the program’s emphasis on the culture, the society, the personal lives of the people, the communities of need, and the heavy emphasis on reflection is similar to the approach of service-learning (which will be explored in much greater depth in Chapter Two). The study abroad program component engages students in deep discussion and reflection on their experiences and provides a structure in which students can grapple with these difficult issues in a safe environment, similar to Intergroup Dialogue.

Research Goals and Overview

Qualitative methodology is well-suited for this type of study, having been effective in exploring multiple dimensions of identity development for American college students (N. Day-Vines et al., 1998; N. L. Day-Vines, 1998; Jones, 1995), and in exploring how students make meaning of race and culture in the context of high schools in Canada (Yon, 2000) and South Africa (Dolby, 2000, 2001). Qualitative methodology provides both a strong theoretical and research foundation for conducting research on how people make meaning of race and of overall experience. Qualitative methods provide “rich description about experiences…uncover meaning…honor the complexity of phenomena, and…describe contextually the experiences of individuals (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).” (Jones, 1995, p. 14)
This study used a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2000, 2002; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), which allowed patterns to emerge from descriptions of how students made meaning of race and difference through their experiences, and through their own lenses. The constructivist and interpretivist paradigms assume that meaning and knowledge are socially negotiated. “To know is to be able to participate in a social practice” (Cobb, Yackel, & Wood, 1993), p. 27). Within this approach, research is conducted in a reflexive manner so that constructed realities of those involved, including the researcher, are reflected contextually. Research is also conducted so to honor the participants as valued others.

IMPORTANCE OF STUDY

This study is the first of its kind to explore how students of different racial identities make meaning of race and difference through study abroad, in general, and in the continent of Africa, in particular. Since this study employed grounded theory methodology, it generates new theory to explain how students make meaning of race and how that meaning translates to their self-perceptions, perceptions of others, and relationships. It also provides a model for structuring study abroad and other educational programs to expand students’ perceptions of self and other. Methodologically, the study sought to honor participants, their experiences, and their insights and interpretations of those experiences, which was very important, since the study delved deeply into the personal meaning that students derived from the course and the study abroad experience.

The course on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa” and the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa at MidWestern State University are unique, in that college
students engage in difficult and meaningful dialogue with their peers of varied racial and ethnic identities around issues of race and racism in Southern Africa and by extension, in the context of the United States. The program is similar to structured Intergroup Dialogue Programs, which have had a marked impact on college students in reversing trends towards insularity (Hurtado, 2001) and in increasing social awareness (Vasques Scalera, 1999). In addition, the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa fits all three of the criteria suggested by Allport (1954) to decrease prejudice. First, African American and White students hold equal status both in the classroom and in the study abroad program in the pursuit of learning and traveling together. Second, the program is structured by the professor who teaches the course, and the international office which administers the study abroad component. Third, the experience may be the “sort that leads to a perception of common interests and common humanity among members of the group (Allport, 1954)” (Hurtado et al., 1999, p. 34).

Study abroad, in which students of different racial identities are actively engaged in discussions about race in its social, economic, and political manifestations, is a rich context in which to explore racial identity. This is particularly intriguing when placed in the setting of South Africa, which is a complex multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, and multi-racial country that has a history of racial conflict but is in the process of racial healing. South Africa has also recently become the most popular country in the continent of Africa for study abroad (IIE, 2002). To date, study abroad in Southern Africa has not yet been studied in the literature.

The current study addresses the gaps in the literature on racial identity through study abroad by exploring the experiences of American women and men students of
different racial identities engaged in a course on, and a short-term study abroad program in, Southern Africa. The findings of this study inform the literature on study abroad, racial identity, experiential learning, and educational practice. In particular, the dynamics of integrating lenses provide both a theoretical and practical model to understand how college students’ perceptions of self and other are expanded. The process of personalizing the other, othering the self, and expanding lenses, which will be examined in depth in chapters four through seven, provides useful insight into the ways in which people learn, and into how study abroad and other educational programs can be structured so to expand American college students’ perceptions of self and other, including providing a structure that can be effective in expanding their relationships to include students of racial and ethnic groups different from themselves. Using the findings from this study, future researchers and practitioners can continue to strive to develop and improve programs that bridge the gaps that still seem to exist between American college students of diverse backgrounds and identities.
KEY TERMS

Diaspora – refers to the dispersion or outward migration of people from the continent of Africa throughout Europe, the Americas (South America, Central America, the Caribbean and North America), “yet emphasizes the dynamic interaction between continental Africans and Africans in the western hemisphere” (N. L. Day-Vines, 1998, p. 14).

Diasporic travel – travel that “involves students, bound to Africa by heritage and culture, returning to their ancestral culture of origin for a finite period of time” (Day Vines et al., 1998, p. 464).

Diversity Initiatives – activities in higher education institutions that seek to expose students to the value of difference and to perspectives other than their own.

Ethnicity/Ethnic Group – a group that shares cultural and linguistic similarities. Members of such groups often share “racial” similarities as well.

Globalization – “signals the internationalization of capitalism and flow of information, commodities, and visual images around the world” (Yon, 2000, p. 15).

Intergroup Dialogue – a diversity initiative employed on college campuses that is structured and led by a trained facilitator; and that occurs over an extended period of time in a confidential and safe space. A successful initiative in increasing meaningful communication across difference.

People of Color – refers to African Americans, Latinos/Latinas, Asian-Americans, Native-Americans, and other “minorities” who have felt oppressed by White European systems and structures. Used interchangeably with Students of Color when referring to college students.
Prejudice – “a preconceived judgment or opinion, usually based on limited information….Stereotypes, omissions, and distortions all contribute to the development of prejudice.” (Tatum, 1997, p. 5)

Race—a social construct that has been used to distinguish and categorize human beings according to physical and supposed biological differences. “Race, articulated through the codes of nation, culture, and identity, divides those who belong from those who are made other.” (Yon, 2000, p. 12)

Racial identity – refers to how individuals make meaning of race in the socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts of their lives (Helms, 1995; Smedley, 1999; Tatum, 1997).

Racial Group – a group of people who identify themselves similarly according to the construct race. Such a category can be used as a tool to oppress or to re-possess and empower (hooks, 2000).

Racism – “a system of advantage…involving cultural messages and institutional policies and practices as well as the beliefs and actions of individuals…based on race” (Tatum, 1997, p.7).

Short-term study abroad programs – study abroad programs that occur during quarter breaks or during short sojourns abroad, usually one week to six weeks long. Often accompanied by a course taken at the home institution, such as is the case at Mid-Western State University.

Study Abroad – travel and study outside of one’s home country. Either accompanied by coursework in the home country or academic work in the host
country/countries. To be distinguished from travel abroad, in that structured reflection is an essential element.

White – A highly complex category of race and culture used by those who identify themselves as of European descent, or “Caucasian”. Often an unmarked and unnamed category of privilege (McIntosh, 2001).
CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter will explore the literature that has informed this study, starting with the concept of race and racial identity theories that have described how diverse peoples make meaning of race in their everyday lives. This will be followed by an exploration of diversity initiatives on college campuses that have sought to expand the perspectives and awareness of college students. There will be a special focus on experiential learning programs that include service-learning and study abroad, as well as a discussion of intergroup dialogue programs.

RACE

The concept of race is highly complex and contradictory. There are obvious differences in physical appearance between human beings in terms of skin color, hair form, and eye shape. These differences historically existed in peoples located in different regions of the world as a result of environment and climate, with the darkest skinned people being located in the hottest climates. The concept of race has been used to give meaning to those physical differences, which has led to long-held cultural assumptions that members of certain groups have particular attributes, such as greater athletic prowess.

Since the 1940’s, anthropologists, biologists, and geneticists have found conclusively that there is no biological basis or foundation for the concept of race (Montagu, 2000; Newsreel, 2003a; Smedley, 1999). Race is not something that should be viewed "as something biologically tangible and existing in the outside world that has to be discovered, described, and defined but as a cultural creation, a product of human invention like fairies, leprechauns, banshees, ghosts, and werewolves" (Smedley, 1999, p. 6).

Race, however, does exist. It is a strong, enduring, highly entrenched socio-cultural construct that has a marked effect on how individuals are socialized and which opportunities they are allowed in American society. Audrey Smedley (1999) summarizes its potency in the following quote:

In whatever context race comes to play, it conveys the meaning of nontranscendable social difference. This sense of difference is conditioned into most individuals early in their lives and becomes bonded to emotions nurtured in childhood. In the United States, it is expressed in all kinds of situations and encounters between peoples. It is structured into the social system through residential separation; differential education, training, and income; and informal restrictions against socializing, intermarriage, and common memberships in various organizations, including, most visibly, the church. It is reflected in virtually all media representations of American society and in institutional aspects of cultures such as music, the arts, scientific research and educational institutions, politics and political forums, businesses, the theater, television, music and film industries and recreational activities. (p. 22)

To almost anyone one would ask on the street, race is not a concept or a construct but an unquestioned reality which divides people based on physical and cultural characteristics that have resulted from the isolation of one people from another.
In the United States the concept of race and the reality of racism has divided diverse peoples into discrete racial categories, which have directly affected their opportunities for education, employment, and participation in American society (Newsreel, 2003b; Tatum, 1997; West, 1994). Children do not at first think of themselves as alike or different from others; however, they are conditioned over time to hold certain beliefs, assumptions, and stereotypes about both the so-called racial group of which they are a member and those who are different from them (Tatum, 1997).

RACIAL IDENTITY

Over the course of nearly 60 years, social scientists have studied how individuals make meaning of race in the socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts of their lives. Racial identity has been the construct used to explain this process. "Emerging from these contextualized experiences in race is a pattern of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that form the basis of racial identity, that is, how people view themselves and the world through racialized lenses" (Thompson & Carter, 1997, p. xv). At this juncture in history, racial identity can be studied and used in order to provide a greater understanding of the objective and subjective experiences of those who live in a globalized, racialized, and increasingly interconnected world.

There are different theoretical approaches to the exploration of racial identity. Stage theory, which grows out of the Cognitive-Structural literature, posits that people develop to increasingly complex ways of thinking through a balance of challenge and support. Racial identity through this lens progresses from a simplistic nature to a complex and integrated one. Poststructural theories, which have emerged from the work
of anthropologists and cultural studies theorists and practitioners, trouble the notion of overarching stage theory (and any other “meta-theories”), portraying instead the messy, often contradictory process of negotiating a place in race. Through this lens individuals are not necessarily viewed as members of a racial group per se; instead they are individuals constructing a racial identity through “practical activity: language, gesture, bodily significations, desires” (Gilroy, 1993, p. 102) “including the activities and impacts of racism” (Frow & Morris, 2000, p. 318).

Racism is "a system of advantage based on race....(which) involv(es) cultural messages and institutional policies and practices as well as the beliefs and actions of individuals. In the United States, this system clearly operates to the advantage of Whites and to the disadvantage of people of color." (Tatum, 1997, p. 7) “Every social indicator from salary to life expectancy, reveals the advantages of being White.” (p. 8) One of these advantages is that White people do not have to think about race. In fact, in most White people’s schooling "Whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal." (McIntosh, 2001, p. 97) As a result, many White people in the U.S. are not even conscious of what it means to be White, and the privileges they enjoy in the U.S. culture because of it. "There is a tendency for Whites to fail to see 'whiteness' as a source of identity. Of consequence, whiteness becomes a universal, invisible, and uncontestable barometer for situating blackness and other racial identities as marginal." (Rhoads, 1997, p. 122)

In contrast, people of color have had to endure racism and the negative effects of prejudice, ignorance and the idealization of White culture. As a result, they are often very conscious of how others perceive them as Black. In their schooling, most African
American children in the U.S. learn very little about the role of Africa in the development of the Modern World and Western Civilization or about the role of African Americans in American history and culture (Cross, 1995a).

In addition, many Black people in the U.S. also have had to contend with the challenges and hardships of living in impoverished communities where there are low wages, few jobs, and few opportunities for advancement and improvement of conditions (Wilson, 2000). “When one is targeted by multiple isms – racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, ableism, anti-Semitism, ageism – in whatever combination, the effect is intensified. The particular combination of racism and classism in many communities of color is life-threatening.” (Tatum, 1997, p. 13) These issues and problems are not simply solved or a matter of “pulling yourself up by the bootstraps,” which is a popular phrase in U.S. society. They are instead highly complex social, economic and political issues that challenge our communities and society at large.

RACIAL IDENTITY THEORIES

In a race-conscious society, the development of a positive sense of racial/ethnic identity not based on assumed superiority or inferiority is an important task for both white people and people of color. The development of this positive identity is a lifelong process that often requires unlearning the misinformation and stereotypes we have internalized not only about others, but also about ourselves. (Tatum, 2001, p. 53)

Racial Identity and Developmentalism

Cross’(1971; 1978; 1991; 1995a; 1995b; 2001) and Helms’ (1984; 1992; 1993a; 1993b; 1995; 1993c) theories account for the changes that occur in people’s racial identity through the lens of developmentalism. One of the basic tenets of this body of
literature is that development is different from change or growth. Development is defined as "the organization of increasing complexity" (Sanford, 1967, p. 47), as opposed to change, "which refers only to an altered condition that may be positive or negative, progressive or regressive, and from growth, which refers to expansion but may be either favorable or unfavorable to overall functioning" (Evans et al., 1998, p. 4).

The notion of development implies that students “progress” from a “lower” level to a “higher” level of means of making meaning. Stage theory grows primarily out of the psychology literature that is based on the work of Erik Erikson (1959) and Jean Piaget (1954), in which individuals “progress through a sequence of hierarchical stages or positions, each characterized by greater complexity and qualitatively different assumptions about how the world functions with respect to a particular domain” (Strange, 1999, p. 574).

In Cross’ theory (1971; 1978; 1991; 1995a; 1995b; 2001), individuals develop an increasingly complex and inclusive African American identity. At first, the individual identifies with the dominant White culture of the United States while rejecting a positive Black identity, which would embrace being Black or African American as something desirable and good. Then, through encounters with racism and/or later encounters with positive African American individuals and groups, the person embraces a positive Black identity. Throughout this process, one identifies increasingly with the Black community and eventually with other oppressed peoples. Self-actualization in Cross’ model occurs through advocacy in the African American community, and in advocacy for other oppressed groups. In this process, “the individual replaces an ‘I’ or egocentric perspective with a ‘we’ or group perspective” (Evans et al., 1998, p. 76). Race is only
part of the issue, "more important (is) a Black person's consciousness of Black culture" (Cross, 2001, p. 35). This is consistent with Hord and Lee (1995), who assert that across the Black diaspora there is a fundamental philosophical preoccupation with the meaning of individual life in community.

In his discussion of Black identity development, Cross used a concept called psychological Nigrescence, which he defined as a “resocializing experience” (Cross, 1995, p. 97) that led to the individual’s identity progressing from one of non-Afrocentrism (and a denial of “Blackness”) to Afrocentrism to multiculturalism (Evans et al., 1998). According to this model, individuals progress through five stages: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment (see Table 1 for an in-depth explanation of Cross’ theory).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage One: Pre-encounter</td>
<td>Race is viewed as unimportant; the person prefers to be accepted as a human being. Thoughts and actions are “pro-White” and “anti-Black” (Evans et al., 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage Two: Encounter</td>
<td>Person “encounters” the reality of race through negative experiences, such as a racist incident, or through positive experiences, such as learning new socio-historical aspects of Black History. Guilt, rage and anxiety drive the person into a search for Black identity (Cross, 1995a, p. 62-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage Three: Immersion-Emersion</td>
<td>Person “immerses” the self in Black history and culture. Pride begins to emerge. Pseudo-Black identity exists, in that identity is based on hatred of White people and their oppression of Black people. The end of this stage brings recognition of further growth and development (p. 67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage Four: Internalization</td>
<td>Shift from anxiety to pride and self-love; shift from “uncontrolled rage toward White people, to controlled anger at oppressive systems and racist institutions.” (p. 68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage Five: Internalization-Commitment</td>
<td>The level of interest and commitment to advocacy in the Black community deepens. Stages of Nigrescence may “recycle” later on in life (Parham, 1989).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: Cross’ Model of Psychological Nigrescence
In the Afrocentric Identity Development Model, progress toward greater complexity is achieved through the painful process of having current ways of making meaning become inadequate to cope with the environmental stresses or stimuli that occur. For example, one is forced out of pre-encounter into encounter by an experience of racism that shakes his or her idealized view of White culture in the United States. The idealized view can not explain the experience; therefore, a new lens is created in order to make sense of the individuals’ new experiences. This drives the person to learn more about his or her “Blackness,” which leads to an immersion into Black culture and the Black community, both local and global.

Interestingly, Cross’s model of psychological Nigrescence is not only a stage theory to explain development, it is also a model of advocacy and a political tool that reacts against the "miseducation" of People of Color, since it is difficult for any Black American to progress through the public schools without being miseducated about the role of Africa in the origin of Western civilization and world culture, and the role of Blacks in the evolution of American culture and history in particular. (Cross, 1995a, p. 55)

Janet Helms (1984; 1992; 1993a; 1995; 1993c) presents a similar stage model to explain the “mis-education” of White people, who she argues are socialized in the United States to hold a racist stance towards people of color, and to thereby propagate oppressive institutions and systems. Helms (1992) argues “for racism to disappear in the United States White people must take the responsibility for ending it” (p. i). Helms posits a model of White racial identity that progresses from an abandonment of racism to defining a nonracist White identity. This two-phase process progresses through six statuses:
contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independence, immersion/emersion, and autonomy (see Table 2.2 for a detailed explanation of Helms’ theory).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status One: Contact</td>
<td>The person does not think of self as “White.” Claims the only race is the human race. Minimal knowledge of other groups and cultures. Believes White perspective should apply to all people. Person “discovers” other racial groups and the differential treatment of them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Two: Disintegration</td>
<td>Feelings of no way to resolve inner turmoil; characterized by feelings of guilt, confusion and lack of racial membership (Helms, 1992). Person believes that negative consequences come to those who do not accept racial inequality in American society (Helms, 1993c). Comes to believe that Whites are advantaged because they deserve to be. (Helms, 1992, p. 47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Three: Reintegration</td>
<td>Whites and White culture idealized. People of Color believed to be responsible for their own negative treatment. Characterized by negative stereotypes of People of Color and exaggerated positive stereotypes of Whites; fear of People of Color. Existence of racism denied. Belief that Whites are no more racist than other groups (p. 53).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2: Helms’ Model of White Identity Development (continued)
Table 2.2 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase Two: Evolution of a Nonracist White Identity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Four: Pseudo-independent</td>
<td>Person no longer comfortable with a racist identity; searches for ways to redefine being “White”. Intellectual acceptance and curiosity about Black people; still expects People of Color to conform to “White” values such as competitiveness and material accumulation (Helms, 1993c). Works with People of Color to improve their situation; not yet ready to change White people’s attitudes and behaviors (p. 62).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Five: Immersion/Emersion</td>
<td>Quest for a better definition of “Whiteness”. Shift to trying to change White people, starting with oneself. New feelings of guilt, anger, and anxiety. Focus on understanding, recognizing, and accepting White culture; distinguishes White culture from racism. Leads to action.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Helms (1995) explains that her model of White racial identity evolves out of the tradition of treating race as a sociopolitical and, to a lesser extent, a cultural construction…. [R]acial classifications are assumed to be not biological realities, but rather sociopolitical and economic conveniences, membership in which is determined by socially defined inclusion criteria (e.g. skin color) that are commonly considered to be “racial” in nature…. [This] does not suppose that racial groups in the United States are biologically distinct, but rather…that they have endured different conditions of domination and oppression.” (Helms, 1995, p. 181)

According to Helms (1992; 1993a), an individual with a healthy White identity is dedicated to dismantling racist systems and to seeking more equitable ways to live and work in a multicultural community.

Helms (1992) warns that “development of a healthy White identity does not make one a perfect human being. It merely helps free one to potentially enjoy oneself and the society of a variety of human beings who will appear in many colors.” (p. 88)

Development of a positive White identity means

the White person can look in the mirror and see a White person without also seeing guilt, anger, and confusion; the White person can know that s/he obtained privileges and benefits from society because s/he ‘was qualified’ rather than because she or he is the ‘best’ color; the White person can approach the world from a mentally healthy perspective rather than having to deny, distort, or avoid the realities of the world; the White person can learn to pity those who can only love themselves by hating others; the White person can be a person who does not survive via hatred; and the White person will be a more complete human being. (p. 95-6)

This body of literature is grounded within the positivist paradigm, which “assumes that there is an objective reality that is time and context-free and can be stated in the form of cause-and-effect laws” (Evans et al., 1998, p. 12). Racial identity has also been explored extensively through the lens of constructivism, which emerges from the post-positivist paradigm.
Racial Identity and Constructivism

The 'postmodern' condition is a “critical reflection of the character, foundations and limits of modernity” (Rattansi & Westwood, 1994, p. 17) Postmodernism embraces heterogeneity, difference, fragmentation, and indeterminacy (p. 120). The postmodern world is characterized by destabilizing and uprooting social forces of modern life, which problematize social and individual identities. According to the postmodern perspective, all identity is situated within a context as something partial, positioned and contingent. The task in this new world is “to place oneself amidst a pluralism of incommensurable beliefs and behaviors, maintain that placement, and have it recognized by others” (Davis, 2000, p. 2).

Within this new text are identity issues and concerns about “migrations, diaspora, globalization and transnationalism; the shifting contours of race, culture and identity; debates about culture, cultural hybridity and creolization; about roots, ‘routes’ and questions of representation” (Yon, 2000, p. xiii). As a result, concepts of the self have also shifted. “Discursive” or “discourse” theory has provoked a new concept of self as socially-constructed where “the ‘subject’ of the self is always open to the power of the discourses and practices that describe it” (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998, p. 27). In addition, it is always embedded in social practice, and is itself a kind of practice (p. 28). As a result, the self is “neither bounded, stable, perduring, nor impermeable” (p. 29).

Methodologically, within this new framework are multiple intertwining, intermingling, oftentimes contradictory forms of meaning-making that may change based on
social, economic, and political contexts for both the researcher and the researched. The subjectivity of the individual becomes far more important than the objectivity claimed by the researcher. This world is one marked by rapid change due to new technologies, and the blending of geographic, metaphysical and virtual spaces. No longer are the only narratives those from Western conceptions of knowledge and reality, including “modern” concepts of identity. New discourses are presented that differ significantly from the dominant U.S. texts (Holland et al., 1998).

In the postmodern world the “geography of race” is becoming globalized (Winant, 1994, p. 116). This is true for both people of color, who have historically been oppressed, and Whites, who have historically been the dominant group. Variations in racial identity are seen for the first time “as a flexible set of context specific repertoires” (Ibid.) rather than as deviations from some average norm.

Racial classifications may differ between contexts. For example, a person who identifies herself as African American might be classified as “Coloured” in the context of Southern Africa because she has a light complexion and European ancestry. Racial formation can be seen as a “process” rather than as a category of identity “precisely because the inherently capricious and erratic nature of racial categories forces their constant re-articulation and reformulation--their social construction--in respect to the changing historical contexts in which they are invoked” (Winant, 1994, p. 115).

Race is constructed in the context of schools and communities throughout the world. Similar trends have been identified in the ways in which youth construct race in two multiracial, multicultural, and multi-linguistic high schools: one in urban Durban, South Africa (Dolby, 2001; 2000) and the other in urban Toronto, Canada (Yon, 2000).
In both contexts young people accept and at the same time fight off the essentialist discourse, i.e. that people of the same race are alike. Being “Black” or “White” can mean very different things to different students in different contexts. According to these authors, to claim a Black identity as something that can be captured and understood is to miss the point that identity is constantly shifting and changing based on context and experience.

Students in a diverse urban high school in Toronto, Canada talked about race, ethnicity, and culture in contradictory, transgressive, and ambivalent ways (Yon, 2000, p. 75). Particular discourses were at one time utilized and at another made problematic with the same student; therefore, perceptions of group-membership and objectification of others constantly shifted. Students were “continually contesting and displacing… stereotypes and metaphors” (p. 76).

An important question that Yon asked was the extent to which the shifts in identity were experienced by those in socially-privileged positions. Power in determining the normative discourse, and the definition of “normal”, is often held by people of European-descent—Whites (McIntosh, 2001). White students in Yon’s study had the privilege of being able to claim an ethnic identity that “has culture,” such as “Italian,” while at the same time “converging with the dominant category White to become normal Canadian [sic]” (p. 77). Students of color, or those who were often labeled as “immigrants” on the other hand, were forced to both live and fight against stereotypes and stigmatization of their cultures. Ambivalence plays a key role in negotiating an identity because of the inadequacies of identity categories in relation to lived experience;
however, part of the ambivalence also resides in the fact that identity may not always be a matter of choice (p. 58).

In Yon’s study a new racism that is not as overt and violent as the old, but that is just as effective in creating discourses of distrust and isolation, is identified. In this new racism, one balances insults about the “Other” by also speaking positively of the group; i.e. that they “keep together,” have a “good culture”, and “don’t cause any trouble” (p. 79). In this way, the person maintains an image of not being racist, while maintaining their privileged position. Whites who claim to be “normal Canadians” often generalize about whole, diverse communities from isolated incidents with individual students. Yon believes that had those students encountered similar behaviors from students “like themselves” their reactions would have been different.

In Yon’s ethnography, students who identified themselves as “Black” did not always agree on what that meant; however, most often it was defined by location, social relations and popular culture, which included talk of fashion, dress, and tastes in music and dance (p. 103). Being Black may involve particular styles of dress and music, which can be attributed to a person of European descent who is defined by society as White. Blackness then becomes something along a continuum rather than a particular box into which certain people fit.

The negotiation of racial identity in Yon’s ethnography is replete with tensions and contradictions. Race is often fixed in people’s perceptions and discourses; however, it is lived as fluid and shifting (p. 83). Culture in its racialized forms is often contradictory in the “discourses of culture as inheritable attributes and group property and the more elusive ways by which youth are continually making and remaking culture and
their identities” (Ibid.). Yon’s manuscript is fittingly named *Elusive Culture*, since students in their negotiation of culture and race are caught in the middle of shifting local, global, and translocal claims in a heterogeneous community in which they are trying to negotiate a place. His context parallels South Africa where the local and the global are changing as a multi-ethnic, multi-racial, and multi-linguistic nation tries to heal from years of oppression, while at the same time re-defining itself.

Dolby’s (2000; 2001) ethnography explores the “making of race” in the context of a racially-integrated high school in Durban, South Africa at the dawn of a new social and political age for that country. In this constantly shifting landscape, race is not an essential trait, but one that “constitutes an array of available meanings and identities into which one places oneself, at the same time internalizing those meanings in an attempt to stabilize both oneself and the surrounding world” (Dolby, 2001, p. 9). “Part of the ‘work of identity’, therefore, is to make sense of the meaning of race in a period in which the category is legally unhinged and subject to multiple discursive formations.”(p. 10)

Most interesting in this study is the way in which Dolby employs the concept of taste from Bourdieu (1984) to explore how race is constructed. Dolby uses “taste” in order to get away from territorialized notions of identity that are bounded, stable, and separate entities, although she recognizes that race is never entirely divorced from geographic space. Taste practices do not imply that one group has particular practices inherently tied to it; rather, “these practices serve to actually create and re-create race” (Dolby, 2001, p. 106). In this context, definitions of “Coloured,” “White,” and “African” are not constant like those used in the era of apartheid; instead, these identities shift as students of diverse identities co-create and co-negotiate their social worlds. Apartheid,
which was a state policy from 1948 to 1990, was a policy of “separateness” to keep 
indigenous Black Africans, people of Indian descent, others who had immigrated to 
South Africa from the Middle East, Indonesia, and other parts of Asia, apart from each 
other, and especially apart from the Whites of European descent who had colonized the 
region. In today’s South Africa, popular culture, especially through clothes, music, and 
clubs, is the practice that both defines and problematizes the students’ racial identities. 
As a result, “global popular culture becomes the way that students actively engage race” 
(p. 17).

The notion of experience rather than place is also a useful way to look at what 
binds youth in a multicultural and multiracial context:

Globalization, diaspora, and difference act in ways that these subjects can be seen to 
transcend the idea of an absolutist national identity and culture in favor of a set of 
experiences that connect them. In this way they forge communities and a sense of 
belonging through differences rather than conformity. (Yon, 2000, p. 135)

Dolby (2000) concludes that

the challenge for educational research, and pedagogical practice, is to think about 
how to both analyze and engage with students to remake difference, so that 
difference is positioned not as an absolute state of being, but as a contingent 
variable that in its continual mutations holds the possibility of enriching, not 
diminishing, our lives. (p. 909)

DIVERSITY INITIATIVES ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

Colleges and universities around North America have developed a large variety of 
diversity-related initiatives to engage students of diverse identities in terms of race, 
ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation, in order to encourage relationship building, 
greater understanding and empathy, and openness to diversity. These range from 
residence hall programs to service-learning initiatives to study abroad in a foreign
country. Those programs that make the greatest impact tie theory to practice and the conceptual to the experiential (Smith-Pariola & Goke-Pariola, 2006).

Experiential Learning and Education

We do not always learn from the experiences that we have. To have an experience alone, it would seem, is not enough. We have to engage in certain thought processes in order to learn effectively from these experiences. Sometimes we do this naturally, other times we do not and miss the opportunity of learning from an experience that may be of importance to our development. (Blacker, 2001, p. 86)

John Dewey (1916; 1938) argued that student experience, which should be at the center of education, is both a process (of interacting with a learning environment) and an outcome (the results from these interactions) (Carver, 1997). Lewin (1936) expressed this same process in the following formula: Behavior (B) is a function of the person (P) and his or her interaction with the environment (E) \[ B = f (P \times E) \]. Learning can be substituted for behavior so that the formula expresses that learning is a function of the person and his or her interaction with the environment. Experiential Educators and other instructional designers influence the environment that facilitates that learning by way of both the content they present and the processes they use to present them.

Experiential learning theorists argue that no single way of learning is superior to another; therefore, all aspects of learning should be engaged and facilitated by an instructor or educational designer (Kolb, 1984). Kolb’s experiential learning theory (ELT), which drew on the work of John Dewey (1916; 1938), is based on the epistemology of radical empiricism—“a knowledge theory that affords equal status to multiple ways of knowing” (Rainey & Kolb, 1995, p. 131). According to ELT, “learning
proceeds as a cycle and results from the integration of four learning modes—concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation” (Kolb, 1984). Learners must be able to fully and openly engage in new experiences (concrete experience); reflect on, observe, and consider these experiences from various perspectives (reflective observation); create concepts that assimilate these experiences into sound theories that “transform” knowledge and meaning as a result of that reflection (Burnard, 1996) (abstract conceptualization); and appropriately apply those theories to life situations (active experimentation) (Rainey & Kolb, 1995).

This process is an on-going one in which the individual progresses from concrete experience through active experimentation, and back to a new concrete experience. The new concrete experience is confronted with new tools that are developed as a result of reflection, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation. With each cycle the individual develops in his or her learning and acquires new tools and ways of making meaning in relating to the environment. A person can enter the learning cycle at any of the four points in the process but must complete the entire cycle in order for “effective learning” to occur (McEwen, 1996).

**Experiential Learning Programs: Service-Learning**

Experiential Learning Programs take students through the experiential learning cycle. Service-Learning Programs, in particular, ground this process in the curriculum but expand students’ knowledge and learning outside the classroom. Service-learning is both a philosophy of learning and a pedagogical method.
Community Service at its most basic level is volunteering in the community. This can include something as simple as spending an afternoon picking up trash along a highway, or as complex or involved as helping to build a house or teaching a community class over the course of a semester or year. Many U.S. students in junior- and senior-high school, as well as college, have engaged in this type of work (concrete experience). Community service alone, however, does not structure students’ learning through the entire cycle of experiential learning.

Although students engage in concrete experience in community service, they are not necessarily encouraged or expected to reflect on that experience and try new behaviors. According to Rhoads (1997), “we can have no true action without reflection. And reflection without action has no sustenance” (p. 184) (reflection). Service-learning is a different approach that incorporates into community service an emphasis on reciprocity with the community. Service-learning is defined as

a collaborative effort whereby students apply their classroom learning to inform and understand an individual or community being served: In turn, students are informed by the individual or community about their needs, concerns, history, and culture. Reciprocal learning results when the server (the student) is educated and develops a deeper sense of civic responsibility and the served (individual or community) is empowered. (Delve, Mintz, & Stewart, 1990, p. 3)

The basic assumption is that “service” and “learning” are enhanced when combined (Giles & Eyler, 1994).

Students reflect not only on their experiences working in the community, but on the written materials with which they are engaged in the classroom. These materials expand students’ knowledge of the community and the larger local, regional, national, and international context in which it is located. As a result, students develop a more
complex understanding of poverty and social, economic, and political disadvantage. Through their reflections students are compelled to make sense of their lives and the lives of those with whom they are engaged through new lenses and expanded perspectives.

Service-learning courses facilitate this reflective process through individual journaling, reflective paper-writing, and group discussions (Lewis & Niesenbaum, 2005; Rhoads, 1997) and group presentations (Lindsey, 2005). In a group discussion, the facilitator does not ascribe meaning to the experience nor does she or he offer explanations; rather, the students are allowed to do this for themselves (Rhoads, 1997, p. 17).

After engaging in reflection students are faced with the challenge of reconciling new discoveries with old concepts of reality. This process is often a painful one in which old ways of making meaning are abandoned for new ways (abstract conceptualization). This will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter; however, it should be noted that in order for development to occur, adequate support must be offered to the student as she or he makes sense of new lessons and experiences (Sanford, 1966, 1967). For group discussions and other group processes to be effective, students must feel safe to explore new ideas, and express their ignorance, if they have not been exposed to the harsh realities of poverty, racism, domestic violence, and other challenges within poor and working poor communities (Wilson, 2000).

In service-learning courses students are expected to experiment with new behaviors and to engage in “responsible and challenging actions for the common good” (Mintz & Hesser, 1996, p. 41) (active experimentation). This emphasis on reflective-action is similar to Freire’s (1973) concept of “praxis,” which is “the combination of
reflection-and-action-on-the-world: a transforming process that is one of man’s distinguishing features and one that enables him to change his view of the world and ultimately, to change the world itself”(Burnard, 1996, p. 12). Service-learning pedagogy is unique, in that there is an emphasis on reciprocity and empowerment to those in the community, which is also consistent with Freire’s philosophy.

*Experiential Learning Programs: Study Abroad*

Although Service-Learning has been used to illustrate the elements of effective Experiential Educational Programs, other programs such as Study Abroad also support students through the learning cycle.

When students go abroad, they inevitably find themselves looking inward as well as outward, reconciling their views of themselves and their cultural assumptions with the new cultural context. Such self- and other examination forms an entirely different sense of experiential learning of the most intimate sort, and often leads to dramatic self-development. This intense reflection is a special feature of experiential learning for study abroad. (Hopkins, 1999, p.36).

Traditional study abroad programs were focused on enhancing language skills through immersion in a foreign country for a semester to a year (Lambert, 1989). Researchers over the course of the last two decades have found, however, that study abroad makes an impact on students far beyond just language acquisition.

Those who have studied abroad have shown an increased interest in the welfare of others (greater sensitivity and emotionality), increased self-confidence and sense of well-being (Kauffman & Kuh, 1984); personal growth, international awareness, open-mindedness (Thomlinson, 1991); more personalized and less stereotyped views of national groups (Drews et al., 1996); more empathy and the ability to “see through the
eyes of others” (Carlson et al., 1990; Myers, 1997); increased commitment to peace and international cooperation, greater interest in transnational affairs, greater emphasis on international understanding (Carlson et al., 1990; Dolby, 2004); more sophisticated understanding of other cultures as well as one’s own, and a more “global-centric” view (Lindsey, 2005; McCabe, 1994). Study abroad that uses service-learning pedagogy has also been effective in helping American college students to make personal connections and engage with people while learning about their personal context (Lindsey, 2005; Smith-Pariola & Goke-Pariola, 2006).

Impact on Racial Identity

The racial and ethnic identities of both students of color and those of European descent, who have participated in study abroad, have been significantly affected by the experience. The literature is limited in exploring the construction of racial identity for students of European descent; however, there is a great deal of anecdotal evidence that such experiences help students to feel more connected to their heritage and to be affirmed in that identity. More recently there has been some concentrated study of how study abroad affects the racial identity of students of color. The two most crucial studies were conducted by Day-Vines (N. Day-Vines et al., 1998; N. L. Day-Vines, 1998), in which African American students from large Southeastern universities who had spent six weeks and two weeks respectively on a short-term study abroad educational tour in Ghana, West Africa, showed positive changes in ethnic identity development and cognitive complexity.
The original study (Day-Vines, 1998) employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative measurements. The quantitative component contained a quasi-experimental, non-equivalent control group design that explored Black Racial Identity as measured by the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS), African Self-Consciousness as measured by the African Self-Consciousness Scale (ASC), Black psychological functioning as measured by the Black Psychological Functioning Behavior Checklist, and intercultural sensitivity and awareness as measured by the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI). The study’s participants were African American students engaged in diasporic travel, which the author defined as involving "sojourners, bound to Africa by heritage and culture, returning to their ancestral culture of origin for a finite period of time" (p. 4). This was coupled with a naturalistic-ethnographic qualitative analysis that consisted of content analysis of the journals of the 12 students who studied abroad as well as tape recorded focus group sessions.

Day-Vines’ (1998) quantitative analysis found no significant gains between pre-test and post-test measures in the areas of racial identity, intercultural behaviors, and intercultural development. The measures she employed "may not have the sensitivity or psychometric properties to detect the transitions that likely occur during an African diasporic experience" (p. 144). In addition, she believed that the full impact of the program may not have been realized until after the participants returned to the U.S. and had sufficient time to process and reflect on their experience (p. 145).

Day-Vines’ study, however, reported significant qualitative changes in African American students due to diasporic travel. First, diasporic travel "permitted students to dispel negative myths perpetuated about Africa" (p. 144). Second, students reported
significant and “liberating experiences,” related to interactions in a new culture and with Ghanaian people. Third, students critically and analytically compared Western cultural values and viewpoints with West African values and viewpoints. Fourth, the experience promoted racial identity development and intercultural development in ways undetected by the quantitative measures. According to the author, "African diasporic travel permitted students to explore racial identity issues in more depth, and stimulated an understanding and orientation towards cultural difference or intercultural development" (Ibid.). Day-Vines (1998) concluded:

In general, it seems that African diasporic travel brought students in contact with their culture and heritage of origin and subsequently enabled most students to validate and affirm who they were as racial beings. More importantly, the literature propounds a theoretical and empirical relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being. (p. 150)

In a follow-up project that built on this conclusion, Day-Vines and colleagues (1998) studied the impact of a two-week study abroad tour in Ghana on 18 African American students. This study employed Phinney’s (1993) model of adolescent ethnic identity development, which is similar to Cross’ model (Day-Vines et al., 1998) (see Table 2.3 for an explanation of Phinney’s Model and some of its similarities to Cross’ theory).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHINNEY STAGE AND CHARACTERISTICS</th>
<th>CROSS STAGE SIMILARITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage One: Unexamined Ethnic Identity:</td>
<td>Stage One: Pre-encounter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual has not yet engaged in explorations of identity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage Two: Ethnic Identity Search/ Moratorium:</td>
<td>Stage Two: Encounter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual actively seeks the meaning of his/her identity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage Three: Achieved Ethnic Identity:</td>
<td>Stage Five: Internalization/ Commitment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual is clear and confident about his/her identity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 2.3: Phinney’s Model of Ethnic Identity Development as Compared to Cross’ Model of Black Identity Development

Day-Vines et al. (1998) differed from Day-Vines (1998), in that it employed only qualitative methods to assess the impact of diasporic travel on African American college students. The data collection consisted of content analysis (Patton, 1990) to assess the essays and journals of 18 African American students, 15 of whom were women, three focus groups with seven students each, and observations of student behavior during the study tour.

Five major themes arose from the analysis of the essays: (1) dispelling myths; (2) liberating and inspirational experiences; (3) contrasting values; (4) psychosocial development; and (5) achievement and motivation (p. 466). Most significantly, students
reported that the experience of studying abroad had helped them to “solidify their ethnic identity” (p. 468). Many students were inspired to further their knowledge of African history, culture, and heritage. As a result, many students reported remarkable academic achievement due to new motivation and inspiration from the program. In addition, when they returned to the U.S., many students participated in community outreach and community service in order to share their experience. Their behavior appears to show evidence of development like Cross’s stage five, in which one makes a commitment to an Afrocentric identity through advocacy in the Black community. Through the study abroad experience "participants deconstruct hegemonous stereotypes, myths, and distortions by replacing them with their own observations of Ghanaian life and culture" (Ibid.).

These two studies demonstrate the positive, self-affirming experience of studying abroad in Western Africa for African American students, a significant experience for many students who have had to endure racism for much if not all of their lives in the United States. Perceptions of gender and race in particular cultural contexts, however, may foster negative perceptions of that culture and the study abroad experience for students of color. In a study of a five-week study abroad program to Spain, Talburt and Stewart (1999) found that the one African American student, a woman, experienced racism in the form of degrading sexual comments (called “piropos”) and stares and other looks. The majority of Black women in that context were prostitutes, and therefore "sexualized". Because the one African American student's experiences were so different from the others, it brought the issue of race into the discussion. This caused some White
students to be confronted with their own privileged status both in the U.S. and abroad (Talburt & Stewart, 1999).

Many Whites are not aware of their own Whiteness and the privilege that goes with that label in a racist society (Helms, 1992; McIntosh, 2001). The challenge for this student of having to deal with racism made explicit the privilege of Whiteness that many of the study abroad program participants had not dealt with in the past. The authors concluded that “a curriculum that overtly engages race and gender through their experiential meanings and through historical and contemporary study would benefit all students--not only those who are ostensibly affected by their marked positioning” (Talburt & Stewart, 1999, p. 13).

The key impact of these types of experiences is in the surfacing of students’ assumptions and beliefs, which had hitherto gone unquestioned as absolute truths. Dolby (2004) noted a similar pattern in American college students who “encountered” an American identity in the context of studying abroad in Australia. By and large, American students were surprised to find that many of the Australians that they met were critical of the United States and its foreign policies; they were also surprised to find that many of the same people knew more about the United States and its policies than they did. As a result, many students took a very defensive stance towards their Australian counterparts, naively defending the U.S and its policies. Through increasing encounters with Australians U.S. students were compelled to look at their own assumptions, which led them to take a broader, more complex perspective towards the United States and their perceptions of being an "American."
In Dolby's example, the students were at first unable to separate themselves from being Americans. As their assumptions were questioned their ways of making meaning became inadequate to cope with their experiences. As a result, the students gave up their old assumptions for new more complex ways of looking at themselves. In the process, their identity as an American became an object that could be viewed, questioned, and even criticized (Kegan & Lahey, 2001). These students seemed to be able to be in relationship with that identity as an American, or in the case of the upper stages of Cross' and Helms' theories, as a Black person or a White person, rather than being defined exclusively by it. In this sense, one is able to define for oneself what it means to be an American, or a Black or White person. In order to reach this point of complexity in one’s national or racial identity, one must be able to explore his or her assumptions and beliefs in a safe place as they surface.

Intergroup Dialogue

Although college and university administrators think that increases in structural diversity (or increases in numbers of “minority” students) will lead to intergroup interaction, the opposite is true, usually "cross-cultural conflict, misunderstandings, and intergroup tension are the…outcome(s) of groups that are in proximity to each other" (Trevino, 2001, p. 88). When discussion does occur between the multiple groups living and studying in close proximity to each other, it often appears to be polite and about safe topics, not about meaningful issues such as affirmative action or stereotypes (p.89). Issues of race appear to be divisive on college campuses (Levine & Cureton, 1998b). Students are often reluctant to talk about diversity and multiculturalism, because of the
perceptions that “diversity has been shoved down their throats” (Levine & Cureton, 1998a) “by high-school teachers, parents, and society in general, as well as students’ perception that they are not free to express themselves openly and honestly about race, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation” (Whitt et al, 2001, p. 173).

Trevino posits that intergroup interaction is not going to happen naturally and must therefore be deliberately structured "in such a way that will be meaningful and address the difficult issues related to diversity" (p. 89). Intergroup Dialogue (IGD) has been an effective means of accomplishing this goal. According to Trevino (2001), these dialogues are structured, purposeful, take place in small groups, and are guided by trained facilitators. The groups take place within a context of safe space (i.e., students are not attacked or blamed for expressing themselves or asking questions), allowing participants to dialogue through difficult intergroup issues. Through the dialogue process, participants learn about and get to know each other by exchanging information and creating greater intergroup understanding.” (p. 89-90)

Intergroup Dialogue involves 12-18 participants of different individual and group identities engaging in regular and sustained dialogue in an atmosphere of confidentiality (Schoem, Hurtado, Sevig, Chesler, & Sumida, 2001). This process requires a commitment on the part of participants to “listen, challenge, reflect, and continue to talk with one another” (p. 6). The dialogue is about relationship building and thoughtful engagement about difficult issues. The purpose of dialogue, as opposed to debate, is "to engender deeper and broader understandings and insights, oftentimes leading to action, among all participants" (p. 7). Issues of power and privilege are central to discussions. Dialogues often may focus on race, but they also address multiple issues of social identity that extend beyond race. Participants are likely to bring into any discussion issues of race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and religion, since there are so many forces that
constitute one’s individual identity and self (Jones, 1995; Jones & McEwen, 2000; Schoem et al., 2001).

Intergroup Dialogue was an effective educational intervention in reversing the trend in college students toward insularity (Hurtado, 2001). White and African American students who experienced regular Intergroup Dialogue programs reported seeing the world differently, including a greater social awareness (Vasques Scalera, 1999). In addition, their racial identities seemed to be in the higher stages of racial identity, according to Cross’ theory (Cross, 1971, 1995a). Students came to see themselves and others not as guilty perpetrators and angry victims but as individuals capable of change, and as agents of change. They learned to better recognize their own roles in systems of oppression, to better acknowledge individuals' and groups' experiences, and to better understand the structural factors which mediate those roles. In short, students learned the very difficult task of balancing individual and group identity necessary for diverse democratic community building. (Vasques Scalera, 1999, p. 282-3)

Dialogue, which focuses on both intergroup conflict and community building, is essential to bringing people together who have lived in separate worlds (Whitt et al., 2001). “When people come together in dialogue, they first have to overcome this history of keeping apart from others, and they quickly confront the barriers that divide them, including their lack of awareness, skills, and knowledge.” (Schoem et al., 2001, p. 11) As a result, participants begin to critically examine their assumptions and beliefs about members of their own group(s) and those of others.

SUMMARY

Study Abroad has been demonstrated as an effective means of encouraging the racial identity development of African American students in the context of Africa (N.
Day-Vines et al., 1998; N. L. Day-Vines, 1998); however, to date there has not been a study of how such travel affects the ways in which White students and students of color, in dialogue with one another, make meaning of race and other aspects of their identities, perceptions, beliefs and assumptions. This is an important question, since American college students do not typically engage in discussions around race with students who identify differently from them for fear of being labeled as ignorant or racist (Levine & Cureton, 1998b). Talburt and Stewart (1999) is the first study to suggest that race, gender, and/or other aspects of identity should be actively engaged for students of diverse identities in the experience of studying abroad. Their suggestion grew out of the unexpected negative experience of an African American woman who experienced racism in her study abroad program.

This study significantly expands the scope of the literature on study abroad in several ways. First, it explores in depth how students of different racial identities make meaning of race and other aspects of identity through study abroad. This is the first in-depth study to engage this topic and to look in particular at racial identity for White students. Second, it investigates this process in the context of Southern Africa, which has become the most popular region of Africa for study abroad (IIE, 2002). To date, there is no notable research on the impact of study abroad in that region on American college students. Third, the qualitative methodology, which was grounded in educational and anthropological research, allowed for an in-depth exploration into the dynamics of how students’ perceptions of self and other are expanded through study abroad. The implications of this study reach outside of study abroad into the broader educational realm in providing insight into the ways college students learn and develop through
experiential education. The findings of this study contribute to the literature on study abroad, racial identity, experiential learning and education, and they have direct practical uses for practitioners and administrators who design, develop and run study abroad and other experiential educational programs.
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the methodology used to research how college students made meaning of race and other aspects of identity through studying abroad in Southern Africa, and how their perceptions of self and other were affected by the experience. The methods employed were informed by a constructivist grounded theory methodology, which was grounded in epistemological assumptions based in constructivism, critical theory and action research. In this chapter, the epistemological assumptions and theoretical perspectives that grounded the research methodology will be explained, followed by the methods used to collect and analyze the data for this research.

THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research question that guided this inquiry was: How do students in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa make meaning of race and other aspects of their identity during the study abroad program? Contained within this question were four others:

1. How are the content and process of making meaning of race shaped by the course and study abroad experience?

2. How are perceptions of self and other shaped by the experience?
3. How are relationships affected by the experience?

4. What changes seem to occur for the students through the experience?

These questions and the ways in which they were explored were informed by Interpretivism, Constructivism, and Critical Theory.

FRAMING EPISTEMOLOGY:

“THE CONSTRUCTED SELF”

Much of traditional educational research was founded on positivist assumptions that the world is knowable, that experience of the world is shared and common, and that interpretations made through systematic methods are valid, reliable, and objective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In this worldview, there was a belief that people who shared membership in groups based on race, ethnicity, religion, age, ability, and sexual orientation, to name a few, were alike and biologically similar (in the case of race) (Bernasconi & Lott, 2000). In anthropology, there was the belief that distinct cultures had a particular “way of life” that could be observed and documented (Mathews, 2000). More recently, however, researchers and theorists from postmodern, poststructural, and critical paradigms have demonstrated that there is not necessarily a shared reality; instead, reality is constructed by the individual in his or her particular context (Dolby, 2000, 2001; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000; Lather, 1986a, 1986b, 1993, 1994; Lather & Smithies, 1997; Yon, 2000). In this case, individuals construct and live many “ways of life”.

The critical paradigm, which was pioneered in part by Michel Foucault asserts that individuals are produced as subjects differentially within a variety of discursive
practices and multiple discourses (Freed, 1995; Hall, 1999). Schwandt (1997) defines discursive practice as acknowledging “that the language of the practice is in part constitutive of its meaning and that the meaning and significance of the practice is reflective of the intentions of its practitioners as well as socially, historically, and politically constructed” (p. 31).

Discourse or discursive theory has therefore stimulated a new concept of the self as socially constructed (Holland et al., 1998). Social constructivists emphasize that “our communications with one another not only convey messages but also always make claims about who we are relative to one another and the nature of our relationships” (p. 26). The researcher no longer has the illusion of objectivity; instead, one acknowledges that the subject under observation is the way it is because of it being observed and because of the interpretation given by the observer—a phenomenon called the “paradox of observation” (Urban, 2001).

In this case, there is a distinction made between “etic” and “emic,” which are derived from phonemic and phonetic in linguistics. The “etic” is culture as objectively described by an outsider. Since objectivity is not possible, one uses the “emic,” which is culture as construed by insiders within a given culture:

Since emic perspectives intervene between the individual and the world, the best hope of grasping the world, insofar as a human is able to [sic], is by studying and comparing the different emic systems through which the world is rendered understandable by people (p. 36).

In this re-conceptualization the notion of distinct groups also dissolves.
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES:
CONSTRUCTIVISM AND ACTION RESEARCH

I use the notion of identity construction in part out of a critical recognition that identity is racialized, gendered, classed, and politicized in the world of the early 21st Century (Dolby, 2001; hooks, 2000; Lincoln & Denzin, 2000). As such, we cannot assume a unified African American, White, or Latino/a subject (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Torres & Baxter Magolda, 2004). Hall (1999) sums this up when she says:

Identity-based theories of positional knowledge and ways of knowing, whether gay, feminist, ethnic, or racially oriented, all run the risk of assuming that individuals presumed to 'belong' to a social group will share the same relationship to, and consciousness of, that identity and thereby will possess a common perspective. This is obviously not the case. For while oppression may work in part through the imposition of unifying categories—'black,' 'Asian,' 'gay,' 'female'—this does not mean that ascribed categories reflect the existence of unified groups. Nor do people so defined all identify, or identify in the same way, with a group label. (p. 140)

In order to understand how identity and race are lived in the context of study abroad in Southern Africa, the ways in which individuals make meaning of their experiences must be considered. Qualitative inquiry presents both a theoretical foundation and a well-supported toolbox of methodologies to understand the nature of constructed realities. The research endeavor through this lens is both a process for the researcher and the researched.

Situated Research and Situated Identities

In the “sixth moment,” which according to Lincoln and Denzin (2000) is the stage of qualitative inquiry exemplified by post-experimental inquiry, knowledge is seen as “situated.” “‘Truth’ [is] located within particular communities at particular times and [is]
used indexically to represent their condition” (Gergen & Gergen, 2000, p. 1032). The
constructionist position is that knowledge is constantly constructed through the dialogue
between researcher and researched and through the interpretation of the researcher
through the medium of text.

In this reformulation of the researcher and the researched, both knowledge and
identity is situated. According to Agrosino and Mays de Perez (2000),

interaction is always a tentative process that involves the continuous testing by all
participants of the conceptions they have of the roles of others…[researchers] and
their collaborators do not step into fixed and fully defined positions; rather, their
behaviors and expectations of each other are part of a dynamic process that
continues to grow throughout the course of…research projects. (p. 683)

In approaching the study with these assumptions, I did not seek to remain
objective and outside the lives and experiences of the student participants. Rather, I
recognized my own positionality as researcher, as well as that of those whose lives I
sought to portray in this study. I realized throughout the study that my relationship with
the participants would evolve and the information they shared and the way I interpreted it
would be affected by the lenses that I used to view the world. I recognized that meaning
would arise from the experiences of the participants during their interaction with me, as
the researcher (Torres & Baxter Magolda, 2004).

Action Research

The research was undertaken with the goal of both social inquiry and social
action, in that it “aim(ed) to generate knowledge and action in support of liberating social
change” (Greenwood & Levin, 2000, p. 94). As was explained above, issues of race are
divisive on college campuses, yet in order for people to live in a highly diverse and
increasingly globalized world, they must learn not only to tolerate their differences but to embrace them. This requires a deeper understanding of the experiences of others and a critical examination of personal assumptions, beliefs, and stereotypes. This calls for an action-oriented research that has as its goal “transformational learning” (Kegan, 1994).

The kind of learning that would help us to see that the actual differences we experience are differences of attribution -- differences we create by viewing the other according to the rightness of our own preferences -- … what Gregory Bateson called 'deuterolearning," learning that reflects on itself. This kind of learning cannot be accomplished through informational training, the acquisition of skills, but only through transformational education, a 'leading out' from an established habit of mind. (p. 232)

This study was grounded in part in action research, which is “inquiry in which participants and researchers co-generate knowledge through collaborative communicative processes in which all participants' contributions are taken seriously. The meanings constructed in the inquiry process lead to social action, or these reflections on action lead to the construction of new meanings.” (Greenwood & Levin, 2000, p. 96) Through participation in the research, the students in this study were given a structured opportunity to further reflect on their experiences and on the ways in which the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa had affected their perceptions of self and other, and in particular, their views, assumptions and beliefs about race. As a result, the research itself may have helped students to come to understand their social and educational practices as located in particular material, social and historical circumstances that produced (and reproduce) them - - and in which it may (have) be(en) possible to transform them. Focusing on practices in a concrete and specific way ma(de) those practices accessible for reflection, discussion, and reconstruction as products of past circumstances that are capable of being modified in and for present and future circumstances. (Kemmis &McTaggert, 2000, p. 596).
As a result, the research itself may have been both emancipatory and recursive. It may have been emancipatory, in that it

“help(ed) people recover, and release themselves, from the constraints of irrational, unproductive, unjust, and unsatisfying social structures that limit(ed) their self-development and self-determination. It (wa)s a process in which people explore(d) the ways in which their practices (we)re shaped and constrained by wider social (cultural, economic, and political) structures and consider(ed) whether they c(ould) intervene to release themselves from these constraints -- or if they c(ouldn’t), how best to work within and around them to minimize the extent to which they contribute(d) to irrationality, lack of productivity (inefficiency), injustice, and dissatisfactions (alienation) among people whose work and lives contribute(d) to the structuring of a shared social life. (Kemmis &McTaggert, 2000, p. 597-8)

By asking questions about race and racial identity it helped to facilitate students to critically examine their assumptions and beliefs and to reflect throughout the experience on how the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa was affecting those perceptions. As a result, the study was both recursive and reflexive, in that it aimed to help the students to “investigate reality in order to change it" (p. 598).

The nature of the study was very personal to the students, in that it explored how they made meaning of race and other aspects of their identities. As a result, I had the responsibility to support and guide the participants through emotionally difficult topics. I had to be very sensitive to how my questions were being interpreted by the students and the emotions it brought up for them. In one particular interview I stopped probing because I could see it was getting upsetting to the student. For this study I employed some of the listening strategies that I have used in my professional career as an advisor and youth counselor.

I think that the rapport and relationship that I built with the students throughout the research process was important in giving them the support to work through their
thoughts and feelings, and to come to a place of deeper understanding. In my final conversations with the participants I asked if there was anything that I could have done differently as the researcher. None of the participants commented that the questions had been inappropriate or upsetting.

CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY

In order to ground the methodology of this study in the epistemological and theoretical foundation explained above, a Constructivist Grounded Theory approach was taken to the data collection and data analysis process (Charmaz, 2000, 2002; Jones & Abes, 2004). "The constructivist approach places priority on the phenomena of study and sees both data and analysis as created from the shared experiences of researcher and participants and the researcher's relationships with participants." (Charmaz, 2002, p. 677) In this approach, the following assumptions are made: "(a) multiple realities exist, (b) data reflect the researcher's and the research participants' mutual constructions, and (c) the researcher, however incompletely, enters and is affected by participants' worlds." (p. 678) The goal of the research is to “learn participants’ implicit meanings of their experiences (so) to build a conceptual analysis of them” (p. 678).

Constructivist grounded theory includes the following strategies, which are particular variants of all grounded theory approaches that build on the work of Glaser and Strauss’ (1967). These include:

(a) simultaneous data collection and analysis; (b) pursuit of emergent themes through early data analysis; (c) discovery of basic social processes within the data; (d) inductive construction of abstract categories that explain and synthesize these processes; (e) sampling to refine the categories through comparative processes; and (f) integration of categories into a theoretical framework that

In this approach, which has its foundation in the Constant Comparative Method of Glaser and Strauss (1967), as a category is identified every new datum that is added creates a more complex picture in which patterns emerge. This can occur across categories, as well as within a given category. These patterns then help to generate theoretical properties of the categories (Williams, 2000). “The analyst starts thinking in terms of the full range of types or continua of the category, its dimensions, the conditions under which it is pronounced or minimized, its major consequences, its relation to other categories and its properties” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 106). Preliminary theory is constructed from the data, hence this method is also named “grounded theory.”

Charmaz’ (2000, 2002) approach, which is uniquely constructivist and well suited to this study, is aptly called “Constructivist Grounded Theory.” As is the case for constructivists, this approach locates the data in context, including the context of the interview, the individual participant’s life, and the study “within the setting, society, and historical moment” (Charmaz, 2002, p. 678-9).

METHOD

Context

The context for this study is the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa, which is offered through the African American and African Studies department at Mid-Western State University (MWSU). Mid-Western State University is a large public Research I land-grant institution located in a medium-sized city. When this study was conducted the
total enrollment of the university was more than 45,000 students, with more than 30,000 undergraduates, many of whom were residential. Approximately 7,500 of the total number of students identified as racial minority (approximately 15% of enrollment), with slightly more than half of those students African American (approximately 7% of enrollment). There were more than 3,000 international students and 1,000 visiting international scholars. That year, approximately 1,500 students studied abroad in 150 programs in 40 separate countries.

The Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa is a short-term study abroad program that utilizes similar techniques to Intergroup Dialogue to engage students of different racial identities in dialogue and discussion around issues of race in the context of Southern Africa and its turbulent history and present. The Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa, which includes a 10-week undergraduate/graduate course on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa” for five credit hours followed by a three-week study abroad program in Southern Africa (Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa) for an additional three credit hours, is unique in a number of different ways. First, it was the first of its kind at Mid-Western State University to provide a full-term class as a prerequisite for the three-week short-term study abroad experience. Second, 50-60% of the students attracted to the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa have been students of color, most of whom have identified as Black or African American. This has been the highest percentage of non-White students of any of the study abroad programs at the university (Program Coordinator, Email personal communication, February 7, 2005). This is significant, in that historically, study abroad programs have reached few students of color (Washington, 1998). “Blacks’ absence in study abroad is a
problem because it limits their exposure to diversity and impacts their ability to understand other cultures and experience enriched educational opportunities outside the classroom through experiential learning.” (Morgan et al., 2002, p. 339)

Although the program has not been labeled as an intergroup dialogue program or initiative, it utilizes similar approaches in engaging students of different racial identities in discussion of, and reflection on, race, racism, colonialism and its effects on the people of Southern Africa, and its relationship to life in the United States (Williams, 2002). These discussions are both structured and unstructured, in that they begin with dialogues in the U.S. classroom and are further enhanced by informal conversations and structured group discussions, which are facilitated by the professor, Dr. Maqhawe\textsuperscript{iv}, in Southern Africa.

In a pre-dissertation study on the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa conducted in spring and summer of 2002, students reported having been profoundly affected by the experience (Williams, 2002). One White student who was interviewed commented on how much it upset her to see the racism that was experienced by her African American peers and the Black Africans she met on the program. Like Talburt and Stewart (1998), this student was compelled through the experience to look at her own racial positionality and the privilege of being White in both Southern Africa and the United States. Students of color on the program reported on the profound effect of being in Africa and of hearing the stories of the African people. Black students had not expected to experience racism in Africa, which they had perceived as the “Motherland”; however, especially in all-European contexts, racism was palpable. The experience of the study abroad program offered an invaluable opportunity for students of various racial
and ethnic identities to engage in meaningful discussions about race and identity in both
the context of Southern Africa and of home. Such discussions are typically difficult to
have since students may be afraid of being labeled as racist or bigoted (Levine &
Cureton, 1998), or have difficulty in confronting their own prejudices (Helms, 1992) or
feelings of oppression (Cross, 1995).

In Southern Africa race has historically been used to divide the myriad people of
the region into distinct groups who were sanctioned by the government for particular
work, education, residences, communities, and rights (Omer-Cooper, 1994). In that
context, race was produced and reproduced daily through the system of “apartheid”
(separateness), which dominated the region from the 1940’s into the 1990’s. Apartheid
advanced White interests and “White privilege,' through 'Black’ exclusion and economic
exploitation” (Emery & Taylor, 2000, p.55). In the last 15-16 years, the policy of
apartheid has been dismantled; yet, there is still economic and social separation of people
based on the categories used under apartheid: White (of European descent),
African/Black/Bantu (of one of the many indigenous Black African peoples in the
region), Indian (of Indian descent), or Coloured (of “mixed” race or of Middle Eastern or
Asian descent) (Dolby, 2001). It is in this context that the people of South Africa are
constructing an identity (Dolby, 2000, 2001), and it is within this context that the
American students from MWSU looked at their own assumptions and beliefs about race
and other aspects of theirs and others’ identities.
Negotiating Entry

In order to study how students construct and negotiate a racial identity through study abroad, the researcher must first gain access to those students. Gaining access is a process, which refers to the “acquisition of consent to go where you want, observe what you want, talk to whomever you want, obtain and read whatever documents you require, and do all of this for whatever period of time you need to satisfy your research purposes” (Glesne, 1999, p. 39). Access to the students in the course was originally given by the professor of the course in the spring and summer quarters of 2002 (Williams, 2002). At the time, I was also a graduate student taking the class and studying abroad on the program. Through that experience I developed a personal relationship with the professor. Because of that relationship and his understanding of my intentions and goals behind conducting this study, I was granted access to the students in the spring 2005 class.

Selection of Participants

The participants for this study were invited from the students who planned to study abroad on the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa in June 2005. In early April 2005, I visited the approximately 30 members of the course on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa” so to explain the purpose of my study and to solicit participation in it. All students were given a simple summary of the study, which was both a “verbal and a written presentation of the research that explain(ed) who I (was), what I (was) doing, and what role I (wanted) them to play in my research” (Glesne, 1999, p.35). Students were told that I was conducting research in order to understand how students’ views of themselves and others were shaped by the course and the study abroad
program. They were told that my main interest was to see how through the experience students’ thinking about race was affected. Students who were taking the course and who planned to study abroad in Southern Africa were asked to participate in three in-depth in-person interviews, with follow-up member checks, and document analysis of their journals and final written papers. (See Appendixes A, B, and C for copies of materials used to solicit participation)

Nine of the 15 students who participated in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa in June 2005 volunteered to participate in the research study. A diverse group of students volunteered: The three African American students in the program, five students who identified as White, and one student who identified as Biracial, who was of Asian and European descent. The participants were also diverse in age, gender, and degree level: five of the students were undergraduates, ranging from age 19-21, and four were graduate students, ranging from age 24 to 41. Of those students, there were five women and four men.

Those who agreed to participate were allowed to discontinue their participation at any time without any penalty. The choice of participating in the study in no way affected students’ academic standing in the course, nor were they expected to change their minds if they decided not to participate. All participants signed informed consent forms, and were assured of confidentiality and privacy throughout the research. Participants were asked to choose their own pseudonym for themselves in the data presentation, as was the case in Torres and Baxter Magolda (2004). All participants were given a $25 gift certificate to the university bookstore at the start of the first interview. One student,
Tatiana, was unable to be reached for the third and final interview. Data from her first and second interviews were still utilized in the research.

All data was coded using these pseudonyms, and identification of participants, including name, social security number, email and mailing address, was destroyed after the research was completed. Before the research was conducted its methodology was approved by the university’s Institutional Review Board (IRB).

Data Collection

*In-Depth Interviews*

Participants were interviewed three times for 60-90 minutes each using a standardized open-ended interview format (Patton, 1990). Interview questions were consistent in wording and order for all interviews in each grouping; however, later interview questions were revised as data was analyzed from earlier interviews. All three interviews were tape recorded and transcribed, and participants’ identities were kept confidential by using pseudonyms in the data presentation. The first set of interviews was transcribed by the researcher and the second and third sets by an outside source. All transcripts were checked by the researcher before analysis.

*Interview One*

The first interview was conducted in mid- to late-April 2005, at the beginning of the course on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa” in spring quarter. The first interview was a historical narrative of students’ experiences of race and other important aspects of their identity. It was also an opportunity to learn about students’ motivation in
taking the course and studying abroad program (see Table 3.1 for Interview One Questions).

INTERVIEW ONE: Historical Narrative

Questions:
1. What defines you as a person? (What do you think has influenced that definition?)
2. How would you describe your racial and cultural background? (What do you think has influenced that definition?)
3. Please describe what race and ethnicity mean to you? (How did you learn about race and ethnicity)?
4. How has your race or ethnicity influenced your life? Please think of concrete examples.
5. What other aspects of your identity are important to you?
6. How have those aspects of your identity influenced your life? Please think of concrete examples.
7. What motivated you to take the course on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa” and to study abroad in Southern Africa?
8. What have you learned thus far in the course? Any surprises? What do you think you will learn in the study abroad program?
9. Is there anything else that you would like to add?
10. Thank you for your time. I will send the interview transcript as an attachment for your review and we can schedule a follow-up phone conversation.

If you have not already identified a pseudonym does one come to mind now? What is that? I’ll look forward to our next conversation.

Table 3.1: Interview One: Historical Narrative
Interview Two

The second interview occurred during late-May, early-June 2005, shortly before students engaged in the study abroad program. The second interview was an opportunity for students to reflect on what they had learned through the course. As befits an emergent qualitative design, the second interview protocol questions were drawn in part from the data analysis from the first interview. The questions revisited the same themes as the first questions in looking at racial identity and how students made meaning of race, but they also explored what students had learned from the course and their expectations of the study abroad program (See Table 3.2 for Interview Two Questions).
INTERVIEW TWO: Reflection on the Course

Questions:
  1) Please describe what race and ethnicity mean to you?
  2) How have your views of race and ethnicity been affected by taking the course on the Culture and Society of Southern Africa? Please think of concrete examples.
     Probing questions:
     a) How has the course affected your perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes? Think of concrete examples.
     b) How has the course affected your perception of yourself?
     c) How has it affected your perception of others?
     d) How has the course affected your relationships?
  3) What has been the impact of the course on the Culture and Society of Southern Africa on you?
  4) What surprised you most about what you learned from the course?
  5) What are your expectations of the study abroad program?
  6) What do you think you will learn in studying abroad in Southern Africa?
  7) If you could describe what you have learned in the past quarter to a good friend, what would you say? How would you sum it up for him or her?
  8) What haven't I asked you that you think I should understand?

I want to wish you the very best in the study abroad program. When you get back I will send you an email in order to set up your third and final interview. In that email I will also include the interview transcript from today. At the final interview I will ask for you to bring your journal from the study abroad program along with a copy of your final paper (which you can email to me beforehand, if you would prefer). I will then copy those documents and will send back the originals to you by the end of summer quarter. Please let me know what address you would like to have it returned to. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. Thank you. I’ll look forward to talking with you when you return! Enjoy Southern Africa!

Table 3.2: Interview Two: Reflections on the Course
Interview Three

The third and final in-depth interview took place within six weeks of the students’ return to the United States after the study abroad program (in early- to mid-August). One student was unable to be interviewed until mid-September, since she lived out of town. The third interview, which was the most telling, asked students to reflect on the study abroad experience and the overall experience of the course and study abroad program (see Table 3.3 for Interview Three Questions). The third interview focused on students’ perceptions of how their views and experiences as related to race had changed through the study abroad experience. The questions asked for students to reflect on what had occurred and changed for them over the course of participating in the study abroad program. The questions also asked for students to reflect on how the experience had shaped their views of self, their views of others, and their relationships.
INTERVIEW THREE: Reflection on the Combined Study Abroad Program & Course

Questions:
1. How have your views of race, ethnicity and culture been affected by studying abroad in Southern Africa? What has been the impact on those views? Please think of concrete examples.
   Probing questions (if needed):
   a. How have your perceptions of your own racial identity been affected by the study abroad program?
   b. What events in the experience might have been the catalyst? Why did they make such an impact on your views of race, ethnicity, and/or culture?
2. How would you describe the impact of the study abroad experience on you? What has changed for you as a result of the experience?
   Probing questions (if needed):
   What do you think were the key events that occurred for you during the course and the study abroad program? Why would you describe them as “key” events?
3. How have your perceptions of, and interactions with, others been affected by taking the course and studying abroad? Please think of concrete examples.
4. What surprised you most about what you learned from the experience?
5. If you could describe to a good friend what you have learned since you began the course back in late March, what would you say? How would you sum it up?
6. What would you say to someone who was thinking about participating in the course and study abroad program in the future?
   Probing question: What advice would you give that person?
7. What haven't I asked you that you think I should understand?

This concludes our third and final interview together. I would like to again thank you for the time and energy you have put into your participation in this study. Within the next three to four weeks I will send the final transcript for you to review. I would then like to set up a brief phone conversation to reflect on that final interview and to ask you some last questions on the experience of participating in the study.

At this point I would like to ask you for your Journal and your final paper. I will copy them and will send them back to you within the next couple of weeks. What address should I return them to? Thank you again for sharing your experience with me. I’ll look forward to our final conversation in the next few weeks. Best of luck in finishing up your summer.

Table 3.3: Interview Three: Reflection on the Combined Study Abroad Program and Course

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Tables 3.4 and 3.5 summarize the purpose of each interview and the dates in which they occurred in relation to the course and the study abroad program.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Purpose</th>
<th>April</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>June</th>
<th>July</th>
<th>August</th>
<th>September</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interview 1: Historical narrative of students’ experiences with race and other important aspects of identity</td>
<td>(4/19-5/7)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Interview 2: Reflection on the course and expectations of the study abroad program</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interview 3: Reflection on the overall Study Abroad Program and Course, with a special focus on what students perceived as having changed as a result of the overall experience</td>
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Table 3.4: Summary of Purposes of Interviews

Table 3.5: Timeline of Interviews in Relation to Course and Study Abroad Program
**Member Checks:**

Member checks were sought throughout the data collection process. Participants were sent a copy of their individual interview transcripts for review and comment. At the start of the next interview, and by phone after the final interview, each participant was asked to reflect on the transcript itself. This was an opportunity to add comments or additions to what was originally shared (see Table 3.6). During the reflection on the first interview participants were also asked to clarify their age and major, and to finalize their pseudonym. During the phone call where participants commented on the accuracy of the third interview transcript, they were also asked to reflect on the interview process itself (see Table 3.7). One student never completed his final discussion over the phone because of technical difficulties.

The member checks served as a means of assuring that the transcriptions used in data analysis were accurate (Funk, 2000). Data from both the initial transcription and the comments from respondents were utilized in the data analysis, as were my own reflections, which were kept in a field journal, during the interview process, data analysis and writing phases of the dissertation study.
Questions:
1. In reflecting on your interview is there anything that you would like to comment on, clarify, or expand upon? Feel free to share with me any and all comments that you may have made when reading through the transcript.
2. Is there anything that I should know about the interview or the transcript that you received?
3. How do you feel about the interview? What, if anything, struck you about it when you read it before our meeting?
4. Is there anything else that you would like to add before we continue on to the next interview?

Table 3.6: Questions for Member Checks

Questions:
1. How has participating in this study been for you?
2. What did you like about participating in the study? (Optional)
3. What, if anything, did you dislike about participating in this research?
4. How do you think participation in this study has affected your experience in the course and study abroad program, if at all?
5. What could I as the interviewer have done differently to make the experience of participating in this research more positive and beneficial?
6. Is there anything else you would like to share about the overall experience of participating in this research?

This concludes my questions and our work together in this study. Thank you again for your time and for sharing this journey with me. I will let you know when the dissertation is completed and accepted so that you can feel free to look it over if you wish. I wish you the very best in your studies and in your future.

Table 3.7: Final Reflection on the Overall Experience of Participating in the Study
**Document Analysis:**

During the study abroad program students were expected to keep journals on their experiences in Southern Africa. These journals were graded by the professor at the end of the program. Study participants were then asked to write a final reflection paper that was submitted within two weeks of returning from Southern Africa. Participants were asked for access to both their journals and their final papers after they had been graded and had been returned to the students. These written documents were used to add greater depth and context to the experiences shared by participants. Although journals and papers were graded by the professor, participation in the document analysis in no way affected the grade given to students.

**Data Analysis**

The data collected in this study were “free-flowing texts”, including narratives, responses to open-ended questions, and journal entries (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). I also used the final papers written by the students; however, they yielded very little additional themes or new information. This data was reduced by using coding techniques that identified themes, the relationships between themes, and patterns between relationships, which were used to build theory. According to Ryan and Bernard (2000), "coding is the heart and soul of whole-text analysis” (emphasis added in the original) (p. 780). The fundamental tasks associated with coding were identifying themes, building codebooks, constructing models (i.e. mapping relationships among codes), and testing these models against empirical data (Glesne, 1999).
Whereas in many traditional approaches data is analyzed after all data is collected, in this study data was analyzed throughout the process of data collection and afterwards. Themes that emerged early on were explored through later questions and member checks with the participants. The research design was emergent, which meant that it underwent changes as the stories of participants were articulated and explored at length. In much of constructivist qualitative research, the realm of meaning is emergent from the material and organic strata rather than a product of them (Tedlock, 2000).

**Identifying Themes**

Qualitative research produces vast amounts of data. In order to organize this data, themes, defined as “abstract (often fuzzy) constructs” (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, p. 780), were identified line by line and in sections on each transcript. Those themes were then coded using action words or phrases that described the regularities and patterns within the data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). As befits a grounded theory methodology, I (a) studied the data before consulting the scholarly literature, (b) engaged in line-by-line coding, (c) used active action terms to define what was happening in the data, and (d) followed leads in the initial coding through further data gathering (Charmaz, 2002, p. 684). The codes were written manually on each transcript and then organized through the software program, N6 NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching Theorizing).
Strategies for Code Maintenance

The many codes identified in the data were maintained and organized through building codebooks, memo writing, and creating analytic files. Codebooks are “detailed descriptions of each code, inclusion and exclusion criteria, and exemplars of real text for each theme” (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, p. 781). At first, the codes were categorized in N6 as “Free Nodes,” which meant there was no specific relationship between codes; however, as more data were analyzed those free nodes were organized into “Tree Nodes” that were shifted throughout the analysis process as the main themes of the study emerged. By the end of the data analysis process there were 201 tree nodes and 10 remaining free nodes. Some nodes that were created earlier in the process were consolidated or combined as the data analysis progressed.

For each node I wrote memos, which kept a reflective field log of thoughts, hunches, and emerging patterns within the data (Glesne, 1999). N6 made it very simple to keep a dated journal of my notes on the characteristics of the nodes. In these memos I "define(d) the properties of each category; specifie(d) conditions under which each category develop(ed), (wa)s maintained, and change(d); and note(d) the consequences of each category and its relationships with other categories.(Charmaz, 2002, p. 687) I later used those notes to write the findings explored in chapters four through six.

In order not to be overwhelmed by the volume of raw data, which equaled over 800 single-spaced pages, I kept two large notebooks with printouts of the nodes and memos taken in each transcript for each interview. One notebook was organized by individual, so that I could explore how each individual was affected throughout the
course and the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa. I found having each individual’s story helped to identify the main themes of the study. The second notebook was organized by interview, so that I could see which themes emerged in each interview. Both hard copy notebooks were invaluable when it came time to write about the findings.

Building Conceptual Models and Theory

Throughout the writing of chapters four through six I continuously poured over those notebooks and made notes that helped to boil down the data to its essential core. This helped to build the theoretical models that explained the patterns within the experiences of the students. This required thinking with the data, reflecting upon what I had learned, making new connections and gaining new insights, and imaging how the final write-up would appear (Glesne, 1999, p. 137).

Field Journal

Since March 9, 2004, one year before data collection commenced, I have kept a detailed daily field journal that served many purposes. It was a field log of my notes on different articles and approaches to the study; it was a log of my daily tasks and accomplishments and a reminder of the tasks that needed to be tackled the next day; and it was a journal in which I reflected on the data, my assumptions, thoughts, and concerns. This journal, which equals over 115 single-spaced pages, was an essential component of the researcher reflexivity that I maintained throughout the study (which will be further explored shortly).
In traditional, positivist research the researcher seeks to maintain distance from the subjects under study. By carefully controlling the environment in which the research is conducted and by using intricate statistical methods, it is believed that “biases” can be minimized. In post-positivist qualitative research, such as this one, my role as researcher changed drastically from one who sought to maintain distance and “objectivity,” to one who also situated my identity in a narrative that critiqued and discussed how race, class, gender, and other aspects of identity affected the researcher’s perceptions and interpretations of people’s meaning-making (Comstock, 1982). This “positionality,” as Holland and colleagues (1998) call it, is “inextricably linked to power, status, and rank” (p. 271). I, as the researcher, openly admit how my interpretation of multiple texts speaks only “partial truths” (Yon, 2000). Power and knowledge become a point for critical reflection, as introduced by poststructuralist theorists such as Foucault, who “depicted social and psychological sciences as constructing, rather than objectively studying, their subjects” (Holland et al., 1998, p. 23).

In this research I intentionally emphasized my role as a graduate student and de-emphasized (or under-emphasized) my role as an administrator at a different institution so as not to create the perception of power over the students. I was careful when sending any messages to students not to include my job title but to always use my personal contact information and status as a graduate student. It also helped that I did not appear to be much older than many of the graduate students. As far as I could tell, and based on the comments of the students throughout the interview process, the participants did in fact perceive me as a fellow student rather than someone who might assert authority over them.
Trustworthiness and Validity Criteria

Qualitative inquiry has its own means of ensuring trustworthiness and validity of the study conducted (Glesne, 1999; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The trustworthiness criteria, which are “intended to parallel the rigor criteria that have been used within the conventional paradigm” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 233), are: (1) credibility criteria, which include member checks, prolonged engagement, negative case analysis, progressive subjectivity and researcher reflexivity; (2) transferability criteria, which include thick description and triangulation; and (3) authenticity criteria, which include fairness, ontological, educative, catalytic, and tactical authenticity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). These are further supported by four criteria for validity in qualitative research: triangulation of methods, data sources, and theories; construct validity; face validity; and catalytic validity (Lather, 1986a). Triangulation for Lather (1986a) and Guba & Lincoln (1989) can be combined into one criterion for this discussion. Triangulation will be addressed under transferability. It should be noted that researcher reflexivity was not included in Guba & Lincoln’s (1989) criteria, although this criterion has had a very strong impact on post-positivist research (Lather, 1986a, 1986b, 1993, 1994; Lather & Smithies, 1997).

Credibility Criteria

Credibility criteria in qualitative inquiry parallels internal validity in positivist research, which is the extent to which research findings "establish how things really are
and really work" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). In qualitative research, credibility addresses:

isomorphism between constructed realities of respondents and the reconstructions attributed to them. The focus has moved to establishing the match between the constructed realities of respondents (or stakeholders) and those realities as represented by the evaluator and attributed to various stakeholders (p. 237).

The single most crucial technique for establishing credibility is member checks (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Member checks are “the process of testing hypotheses, data, preliminary categories, and interpretations with members of the stakeholding groups from whom the original constructions were collected” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 238-9). This serves the following functions: (1) it allows for the evaluator to assess the intent of a given action; (2) it gives the respondent the chance to correct errors of fact or interpretation; (3) it provides the respondent the opportunity to offer additional information, which may further illuminate a given construction; (4) it puts the respondent “on record” for having said certain things and as having agreed that the interviewer “got it right;” (5) it allows for the inquirer to summarize; and (6) it gives the respondent a chance to judge overall adequacy of the interview itself (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 314). It is important to recognize that “the researched” is capable of critiquing the research itself (Duncan, 2002).

The member checks in this study were a very positive experience for the students, who had never read their own words in an interview format before. The member checks gave the students time to reflect, they prepared the students for the next interview, and they helped to build rapport with me. The students appreciated having the opportunity to review the transcripts that were used to represent them and the changes in their thinking...
and meaning making throughout the course of the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa.

Negative case analysis parallels statistical testing in quantitative research, in that the researcher goes through "the process of revising working hypotheses in the light of hindsight [sic], with an eye toward developing and refining a given hypothesis (or set of them) until it accounts for all known cases" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 237-8). If the working hypothesis is not supported by the majority of data, then it should be revised. Guba and Lincoln (1989) reminds us that just as no one achieves statistical significance at the .000 level, qualitative researchers will not have all cases fitting neatly into categories. “But when some reasonable number do, then negative case analysis provides confidence that the evaluator has tried and rejected all rival hypotheses save the appropriate one.” (p. 238)

In this study, there were a number of instances when particular reactions or interpretations of experience were unique to individuals rather than the group as a whole, and in those instances it is explained explicitly in chapters four through six. Although the patterns may not have been the same for all of the students, those smaller subsets also revealed important themes within the data. Negative case analysis was particularly useful in forcing me to constantly rethink what the data was telling me, and not to get too attached to any one explanation.

Negative case analysis helped to ensure progressive subjectivity, which is the process of monitoring the evaluator's own developing construction so to provide a check on the degree of privilege given to the original conception or construction (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). There are explicit instructions on what to do to ensure progressive
subjectivity: “the inquirer records his or her a priori construction--what he or she expects to find once the study is under way--and archives that record....throughout the study the inquirer again records his or her developing construction” (emphasis added by the author in the original text) (p. 238). If the researcher finds only what she or he expected to find, initially, or seems to become stuck or frozen on some intermediate construction, then credibility suffers (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Progressive subjectivity is similar to what Lather calls construct validity, which can also be called reflexive subjectivity, in that the researcher documents how his or her assumptions based on theory are affected by the logic of the data under study (p. 78). These reflections were captured in the field journal that I kept throughout data collection and analysis, and writing.

Solving ethical dilemmas and wrestling with the moral dimensions of research are essential components of reflexive research that is directed towards praxis, a democratized process of inquiry characterized by negotiation, reciprocity, and empowerment (Lather, 1986b). Reflexivity entails the researcher constantly examining his or her motives, his or her biases, his or her emerging identities, his or her level of power and influence, and the extent to which those elements might be affecting the relationships under study. This reflexivity recognizes that research is not value-free; rather, it is openly ideological and openly political (Lather, 1986a). In my own research, for example, I had to recognize how my multiple roles and statuses, and the identity they formed, affected how others perceived me and how those perceptions affected our relationships. Carspecken (2001) warns,

providing support of each type of validity claim made by the researcher must include a high awareness of power dynamics as they enter into the researcher-researched relationship, into ideologies and discourses used by the researcher to
produce descriptions and analyzes, and into the social conditions and lived cultures of the people studied. (p. 9)

This was especially important since my study examined in-depth how race is constructed in a racist society. Hooks (1990) warns of “two ideas that are quite fresh in the racist imagination: the notion of the White male as writer/authority…and the idea of the passive brown/Black man who is doing nothing, merely looking on” (p. 127). (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 2).

As a White man, my interpretation of how students made meaning of race could easily have been influenced by my own lack of understanding of the complex dynamics of living as a Black man or woman, or other person of color, in the United States or Southern Africa. It could also have been influenced by my own prejudices and stereotypes that needed to be checked and explored in my own self-reflections throughout the course of the study.

Critical race theory helped me to be mindful of the complexities and potential problems that such an endeavor posed. Critical race theory "advances a strategy to foreground and account for the role of race and racism in education and works toward the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of opposing or eliminating other forms of subordination based on gender, class, sexual orientation, language, and national origin" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 25). The majority of discourses concerning people of color in educational contexts are from a majoritarian stance that privileges White, middle- to upper-middle class heterosexual men and women (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). By normalizing a particular “social location” (Dolby, 2001), other equally valid, social locations are made deviant. Since the majoritarian story also reinforces the privileges of
those in the power position, it naturally marginalizes and makes deficient the experiences of people of color.

I intentionally investigated and used literature that was written by African American, African, Latino, and other writers and researchers from historically under-represented groups, so as to include many voices in examining, interpreting, and relating the meaning of the experiences of the students in the study. I was also careful to explore patterns within those experiences that might be unique to the students who identified with the same racial identities: African American, White, and Biracial. Chapters four through seven will explore these patterns and their nuances in great detail.

Transferability Criteria

Whereas the credibility criteria discussed above are parallel to internal validity, transferability criteria are parallel to external validity and generalizability in positivist research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Transferability is “concerned with the inquirer's responsibility for providing readers with sufficient information on the case studied…such that readers could establish the degree of similarity between the case studied and the case to which findings might be transferred” (Schwandt, 1997, p. 164).

The major technique for transferability is thick description. Thick description is the means by which qualitative researchers provide readers with an understanding of the context from which data emerges. The goal of thick description is not generalizability to a larger population of people, as is the case with positivist research; rather, the constructivist or naturalistic inquirer “provide(s) as complete a data base as humanly possible in order to facilitate transferability judgments on the part of others who may
wish to apply the study to their own situations (or situations in which they have an interest” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 242). According to Schwandt (1997),

thick description is not simply a matter of amassing relevant detail. Rather, to thickly describe social action is actually to begin to interpret it by recording the circumstances, meanings, intentions, strategies, motivations, and so on that characterize a particular episode. (p. 161)

Thick description is also the means by which theory is generated in interpretivist research (Glesne, 1999). In my study, thick description was achieved by means of a detailed treatment of the institutional and program context (above), and by offering multiple sources of text from participants, including their own comments on my transcriptions (member checks).

In order to have thick description, one must have triangulation of data from multiple data sources, by means of multiple methods and theoretical schemes (Denzin, 1978; Lather, 1986a). In this way, the research design seeks “counterpatterns as well as convergences if data are to be credible” (Lather, 1986a, p. 67). In this study, data was collected through in-depth interviews, document analysis, member checks, and through reflexive journaling (on my part).

*Authenticity and Validity Criteria*

Guba and Lincoln (1989) present additional criteria that are unique to qualitative research. These authenticity criteria are not parallel to the positivist criteria; rather, they emerge out of the post-positivist paradigms. Fairness is "the extent to which different constructions and their underlying value structures are solicited and honored within the evaluation process" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 245-6). The role of the evaluator or
researcher is to “seek out, and communicate all such constructions and to explicate the ways in which such constructions--and their underlying value systems--are in conflict” (p. 246). Fairness requires the constant use of the member-check process, not only for the purpose of commenting on whether the constructions have “been received 'as sent' but for the purpose of commenting on the fairness process [itself]” (adapted, Lincoln & Guba, 1986a, p. 247). Similarly, construct validity, which can also be called “reflexive subjectivity,” is achieved by the researcher documenting how his or her assumptions based on theory are affected by the logic of the data under study (p. 78). Face validity is also gained through “member checks,” or taking preliminary findings to the people who are sharing their life histories so to check for “accuracy” of individual and group portrayals (discussed above).

Human Subjects

Before any data was collected the research design, interview structures, and other considerations were submitted for human subjects review, and approved as protocol # 2005B0047. This ensured that the study fit the requirements of the university. In addition, researcher reflexivity, member checks and other means discussed above, provided the basis for an ethical and fair study. As was the case in the pre-dissertation study in summer 2002 (Williams, 2002), and as suits a qualitative design, throughout the process of conducting the research, aspects of the research design itself, underwent changes as the stories of the participants and their collective experiences were articulated. One such example was conducting the member checks with the students just prior to the start of the second and third interviews. The original design included a member check by
phone; however, after the first phone interview it was determined that in person interviews were far more effective. The choice of having the member checks as part of the interviews themselves helped to reestablish rapport and helped to warm students up to the topic again.
CHAPTER 4:
THE PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR PERSONAL HISTORIES

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH FINDINGS:

The research findings are based on three separate rounds of interviews, including
member checks after each interview, the journals kept by the students during the study
abroad program, and their final papers (in those cases when those papers were written
and submitted). Based on these data three overarching themes emerged and connected
theoretically: personalizing the other, othering the self, and expansion of lenses. These
three major themes spanned the nine participants in the study, and the diversity of racial
identities in the group. That being said, students who identified as Black or African
American, White, and Biracial, processed and felt the impact of the overall experience
differently. The three major themes and the impact of the overall experience on the
students will be examined in depth in the following three chapters. The organization of
these three chapters is thematic rather than chronological; therefore, each chapter draws
from more than one interview.

The purpose of the first interview, which was conducted shortly after the course
on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa” began, was to understand the personal
histories of the students as it related to race and ethnicity. It was also an opportunity for
students to reflect on their motivation for having chosen to study abroad, and to reflect on
what they had learned thus far in the course. An important component of the first interview was establishing rapport and exposing the students to my style and to the types of questions I would be asking. Students who identified as Black or African American, White, and Biracial (or “mixed”) all had had very different experiences in dealing with and coping with race, racial classification, and racial identity. These themes will be examined in the section on “Students’ Initial Perception of Race.”

In the first interview the students began to talk about some of their disbelief at what they were learning in class about, for example, the brutality and recentness of apartheid. That disbelief was even more pronounced when I spoke with the students again shortly before they left on the study abroad program. The second interview was conducted with each of the nine participants within the last two weeks before they left for the study abroad program (in late-May/early June 2005). The focus of the second interview was on the overall impact of the course on the students. Participants were asked to again define the meaning of race and ethnicity, and to reflect on how the course had influenced their views on race. Students were also asked to share their expectations and to summarize the overall impact of the experience on them.

The themes that emerged out of the second interviews were rich and exciting. The experience of the course alone profoundly affected all the students, in large part due to the fact that the great majority of them had known very little about the history and culture of Southern Africa, and in particular, the impact of the policies of apartheid that affected the entire region from the late 1940’s into the early-1990’s, and arguably to today.
The overall effect of the course was an opening of the students’ minds, including a challenge to their assumptions about history, about race, about media, and about education. The course appeared to have moved the students from “Ignorance to an Initial Understanding”, and in the process many of their previous perceptions, assumptions, and beliefs were questioned and replaced by more complex ways of looking at theirs and others’ contexts.

It’s very interesting that the course had this level of meaning and impact on the students, since they had not even studied abroad yet. Those findings demonstrated the significance of the course content and structure. The study abroad experience brought all of this to a new level of understanding through personal encounters with people in that setting; through direct experience in confronting the difficult realities of a previously racist society; and in the process, the students developed a deeper personal understanding and empathy for the people, and they began to look at themselves, their relationships, and much of the world, differently.

OVERVIEW OF THE NINE STUDY PARTICIPANTS:
(In chronological order by age. All names are pseudonyms.)

Sarah

Sarah was a White 19-year old female first-year Anthropology major whose first overseas experience was this one. Sarah grew up in a small predominately White town in a rural community. Sarah was motivated to study abroad by an interest in Africa and, in
particular, the Masai people of East Africa. This interest, which started when she wrote a report in elementary school, inspired her desire to pursue Anthropology as a major.

Mufasa

Mufasa was a Black (African American) 19-year old male first-year Political Science major. Mufasa was the only out-of-state student, hailing from a large Mid-Western city and neighborhood where he grew up in a predominately Black community and went to all-Black schools. Mufasa studied abroad for the first time his first quarter – to London, England. Mufasa was motivated to study abroad in Southern Africa by his travels to London. While there he was exposed to the treasures of the country and learned about its history of colonization. He was interested to see the perspective from that of the “colonized,” and especially in the context of the continent of Africa, which he was interested in because of its importance to his family heritage and background.

Andrew

Andrew was a White male 21-year old junior Political Science major, Military Science and African Studies double-minor. Andrew was from a small rural community, and he identified strongly with being from a small town. Andrew had had extensive travel abroad experience since coming to college: having been to London, on Semester-at-Sea (where he visited Tanzania and South Africa), and having gone game hunting with his father in South Africa. Andrew was motivated to study abroad in Southern Africa because of his academic and personal interest in Africa, and in particular, its southern region. He had learned about the program from Youssef, the coordinator of the
Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa in the international office at Mid-Western State University. Andrew was the most knowledgeable of all the students when it came to the continent of Africa.

Joseph

Joseph was a White male 21-year old senior Accounting major from a small rural community. At Mid-Western State University he was very involved in student leadership and was a member of a prestigious service-oriented organization. Through that organization he met the coordinator of the study abroad program, who recommended that he go to Southern Africa. Joseph knew very little about Africa before taking the course. He began his final quarter during the study abroad program, completing some work on the plane to Southern Africa, and he graduated in August (just two months after returning from the program)

Tatiana

Tatiana was a Black female 21-year old Journalism major with a minor in African American Studies. Tatiana was the only African American woman on the study abroad program. She grew up in the inner city of the same city as the university. Tatiana had studied abroad in Italy the year before, and she had planned to graduate the quarter after the program. Tatiana was motivated to participate in the program because of her interest in Africa and its importance to her heritage and her strong identity as a Black woman. Unfortunately, Tatiana did not elect to complete the study. She only participated in the first two interviews, then was unable to be reached.
Suzie

Suzie was a 23-year old Biracial (or what she called “mixed”) first year Masters student in Counseling. She identified both with her Polish-American heritage (mom) and with her Japanese-American heritage (dad), although she did not know Japanese and knew little about Japanese culture. Suzie had studied abroad in Egypt the previous year (as an undergraduate student), and had learned about the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa from Youssef.

Sam

Sam was a 25-year old White female Masters student in Education. Sam graduated right before going on the study abroad program and she began her first job in international education just after returning. Sam grew up in a predominately White upper-middle class suburban neighborhood outside of another major city in the state. Sam was very interested in study abroad and international education in general, having studied abroad as an undergraduate (to Asia), and having been to England and Egypt as a Masters student. Sam and Michelle (below) were very unique, in that they had already undergone extensive reflection regarding their cognitive, psychosocial, moral, and racial identity development. This meant that they were both very sophisticated in their understanding of many of the issues addressed in the course and study abroad program.
Michelle

Michelle was a 25-year old White female Masters student in Education. Like Sam, she graduated right before going on the study abroad program and she began her first job in international education shortly after returning. Like Sam, Michelle was very interested in international education and working with international students, and she too had studied abroad – first in high school to Australia and New Zealand, and then as a graduate student to England and Egypt. Michelle first encountered a course on race as an undergraduate student, and she was very sophisticated in her understanding and reflective in her comments. Like Sam, she learned about this program through Youssef.

Leonard

Leonard was a 42-year old Black male Masters student in Education. He was a first-generation college and graduate student who graduated the quarter after returning from the study abroad program. Leonard was the only student who was married and the only parent. Leonard was motivated to study abroad in Southern Africa because of the significance of Africa to his heritage and his history, and his identity as a Black man. Leonard had never been abroad before. An important part of his experience was video recording the study abroad program and producing an edited DVD that he had planned to share with other students of color at the institution.
Table 4.1: Characteristics of Study Participants (college level, gender, racial identity, age)

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<td>Black Identity</td>
<td>Tatiana (21)</td>
<td>Mufasa (19)</td>
<td>Leonard (42)</td>
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<td>White Identity</td>
<td>Sarah (19)</td>
<td>Andrew (21)</td>
<td>Michelle (25)</td>
<td>Sam (25)</td>
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<td>Joseph (21)</td>
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STUDENTS’ INITIAL PERCEPTION OF RACE

The purpose of the first interview was to construct a historical narrative of each student’s experience as it related to salient aspects of identity and how each student made meaning of race. In the interview each individual reflected on the following questions:

- What defines you as a person? (What do you think has influenced that definition?)
- How would you describe your racial and cultural background? (What do you think has influenced that definition?)
- Please describe what race and ethnicity mean to you. (How did you learn about race and ethnicity)?
- How has your race or ethnicity influenced your life? Please think of concrete examples.
- What other aspects of your identity are important to you?
- How have those aspects of your identity influenced your life? Please think of concrete examples.

The students reflected on the meaning of race to them and how race had influenced their lives. There were marked differences in the themes that emerged for students based on their racial identity categories. Those students who identified as African American or
Black had very different experiences relating to race from those who identified as White or European American. The one student who identified as Biracial or “mixed” had experiences more similar to the Black students, but her experiences were unique in many ways – different from both other groups. The themes that emerged for each set of students will now be explored.

**Being Black**

*Being Black Is About How You Feel, How You Act, and Where You Come From*

For the three African American students on the program, Mufasa, Tatiana, and Leonard, race, in general, and being Black, in particular was a very salient aspect of their identity and was an essential part of how they saw themselves. There were a number of themes that resonated for all three students. “Being Black” was based on how the students felt, how they acted, and where they came from. For Tatiana, the one African American woman on the program, being Black was about living the experience of most Black people in the United States – poor, living in a predominately Black neighborhood, having Black friends, and being loyal and connected to the Black community. To Tatiana “being Black” was also about practicing important cultural and family traditions, especially as it pertained to food, e.g. eating barbecue and fried chicken. It was not idealizing or identifying with Whites.

Interestingly, for Tatiana, Black people who did not share these experiences or traditions were “not really” Black. For example, Tatiana described her grandmother, who was affluent, Black and lived in a predominately White neighborhood in California, as “Black but not really” (Tatiana Interview One). To her grandmother, being Black did not
“really seem to mean too much to her” (Tatiana Interview One). In addition, she did not have Black friends and did not relate to the cultural traditions of Black people, as Tatiana defined it. Tatiana did not see her grandmother as loyal to the Black community, in part because of her friendships with White people: “And she says things like, well, some of the nicest people I’ve met have been White. Or some of the, you know, best people that I know are White….It just seems like she doesn’t understand the unity that is supposed to be with the community. She doesn’t have that loyalty.” (Tatiana Interview One)

To Tatiana, being Black was tied to socio-economic status and relationship to the majority of Black people in the United States, who live in poverty or in lower socio-economic status. Tatiana equated wealthier Black people as “more White than Black,” coming “from a different culture where, you know, they turn 15 and they get a car. Whereas everybody I know, I mean, half the adults don’t have cars.” (Tatiana Interview One) Tatiana had a clear picture that Black people identified with the larger Black community and they supported that community through their relationships and activities.

Mufasa, the one undergraduate Black man on the program, also grew up in a predominately Black neighborhood, and attended predominately Black schools in an urban Mid-Western city. He similarly equated being Black to identification with particular values and seeing oneself as part of a culture. He had interpreted others who were not Black, but who ”acted Black,” as imposters. One example was Eminem, the White Hip Hop star, who he said he used to think was “trying to be Black” (Mufasa Interview One). Mufasa saw, however, that “although he may not have…he may not be Black in terms of skin, he may identify with a lot of the issues that most Black people face. And then in that sense it makes him….I don’t want to say it, but…it makes him
closer, in terms of culture, closer to a Black person.” (Mufasa Interview One) This comment demonstrated how Mufasa was willing to open up his definition of being Black or liking Hip Hop music to be more inclusive. Tatiana, on the other hand, had a much clearer, arguably more rigid, picture of what it meant to be Black.

Being Black Is Not Something Others Can Easily Understand

Mufasa described today’s world as less about race and more about socioeconomic status and class. He recognized that in the past the lines were drawn much more clearly across racial lines. Although Mufasa saw this shift, he and his three peers all had had to endure racism and prejudice in the United States. The experience of racism, discrimination, and prejudice was something that White students had not experienced as a group; however, Sam in interview one talked about her own struggles in fitting in and being accepted by her boyfriend’s family, who was from Asia and had not wanted him to be with a White woman.\(^{ix}\) Tatiana told me in reflecting on the first interview that “it’s difficult to explain to someone who is not Black what being Black means” (Reflections on Interview One). Leonard reiterated this in saying “I don’t know if there, you know – there would never be a way that you could be a Black Man but that you could, you know, experience, you know, have a real experience.” (Leonard Interview Two – Reflections on Interview One).

To illustrate the experience of Black people in the U.S., especially in their historical context, Leonard used a very powerful image of an episode from the television series “Touched by an Angel.” In the episode he described the “White angel” as coming
back as a Black woman being chased by White men with guns in the South some time in
the late-19th/early 20th century:

Yeah, and she went through this experience of being chased by White men
with guns, and even as an angel she even got to the point where it was so
horrifying that she was like, I don't want to be Black no more, I don't
want to be Black no more. (Leonard Interview Two – Reflections on Interview
One)

That image and scene was something that Leonard could not escape and it was a reality
that he felt only Black people had lived. This story and many of the comments made by
Tatiana in her first interview illustrated one of the key concepts within what it is to be
Black for the students in the study: that being Black is about struggle.

Being Black Is About Struggle

Tatiana talked about how the history of Black people in the U.S. was about
struggle, yet they had overcome those struggles, thus making her feel proud to be Black.
Leonard talked about his family’s and community’s struggles:

I talk to you, I'm cordial and we're having a good time; and I come from a urban
area; I've seen my mother struggle; I've seen my family struggle; I've seen a lot of
our people struggle; and there's a hostility that I know that's inside of me. And it's
like, how do you - God helps me channel it in the right direction of saying, how
can I help my people get out of this? And not in a way to destroy White men, or
the White race, or anything of that nature, but to at least level the playing field
where we can see each other as men and say let's try to do what we can to make
this world better while we're here. (Leonard Interview One)

This was a powerful quote, in that Leonard acknowledged an anger and hostility that
Tatiana also talked about. He actively sought ways to help his "people" out of their
struggle - a personal investment manifest in his work as a tutor and mentor to Black
youth, especially Black men.
To me I think it's really important, you know, one I project myself as an African American man, because, I mean not only because I'm just, you know, Black, but the way society, media has positioned African American men, there needs to be some type of representation of good African American men. Um, and so to me it's really important that I…I am conscientious of what I do, what I say, how I walk, um, be a man of my word, 'cause that's all I really have, you know.”

(Leonard Interview One)

In this quote, Leonard explained the importance of acting as a positive role model amidst negative images of Black men as portrayed in the media and other forms of entertainment and news. Both African American men in the study, Leonard and Mufasa, spoke about how stereotypes and prejudices that people and the society in general held on to without questioning could be damaging and hurtful.

*Experiencing and Enduring Prejudice*

Mufasa told a story about a White peer in his residence hall who stereotyped Black people in terms of the types of food they liked. Mufasa corrected him and told him that was not the way it really was. The other student’s response was not what Mufasa had expected:

He’s like, ‘Oh, see…I’m sorry , that’s what you’re here for.’ Like, Ok as a Black guy that’s what I’m here for, to help you out in your journey as a, you know…how can I say it?....It’s just the way that he said it was like, you know, I was here to help him out, not to help myself out. (Mufasa Interview One)

Mufasa was upset because the student had attributed Mufasa’s presence at the university to helping the White student to be more aware and culturally competent. This seemed to make Mufasa feel used and unappreciated. In this case, Mufasa did not become angry with the student; instead he accepted it because he knew that his peer had not grown up
around many Black people and his assumptions were based on the media and how Black people were treated within the media:

Well, what made that experience not a bad experience was that fact that I knew him and I knew he didn’t have…you know he wasn’t trying to be mean, or trying to be racist or a bigot or anything like that. I just knew that, ’cause he told me beforehand that he grew up in a small town, and you know, that he didn’t grow up around a lot of Black people. You know, most of what he thought about Black people came from what he saw on TV. And you know that’s not representative of all Black people -- just one side of a big picture that the person that produced the picture, or the form of media that you’re watching, just what they wanted you to see. (Mufasa Interview One)

Africa as Important to Black Identity

Another important theme, tightly related to the location of the study abroad program, was the importance of Africa to Black people and to Black Identity. Leonard described Africa as “the Motherland” several times throughout his interviews, in that it provided the connection to the history and culture of the Black students’ ancestors. For that reason this whole course, the study abroad experience, and the experience in general was very profound and meaningful for the Black students. Leonard summed this up when he said:

This information is so profound to who we are as African Americans that you have to go through this. We have to go through this together, so we'd know who we are and our identity. You know, and…and…and…and knowing, you know, what our ancestors and where…what heritage that we have. Where do we come from?...You gotta know where you come from before you know where you’re going. (Leonard Interview One)

Tatiana argued that White people in the U.S. have a sense of history and a “foundation” (Tatiana Interview One) in the European history taught in the American classroom, but African Americans often do not: “We lost our culture, so we had to just build another one” (Tatiana, Interview One). The Black students seemed to feel lucky if
they learned about African American history, let alone African history. It was, therefore, important for the Black students to have the experience of the course and the study abroad program.

Pride in Being Black

Tatiana felt proud of being Black, in that Black people had “overcome” and “advanced” amidst hardships. She was proud of who she was as a Black woman:

I love my color. I love the accomplishments of Black people, of African Americans. And I didn’t really know about Africans, or Africa in general, besides the basics and everything, um, until….Because I’m a Black Studies minor, but my focus has been on African Americans. And so, uh, this class is my first real experience with Africa, South Africa in particular. So, I’m getting to learn about that. (Tatiana Interview One)

Tatiana admired the solidarity that had been shared by Black people in the Protest Movements in both the U.S. and South Africa. To her, empowerment of “the community” of Black people was very important. She thought that were the Black community more unified, things would be better for Black people in the U.S.. However, she explained, it was “fragmented;” “we don’t stick together” (Tatiana, Interview One).

Being a Positive Role Model and Example

Leonard, who was the oldest student on the program, regularly reached out to Black youth, especially African American young men, to mentor, teach and guide them as a role model and example. For the study abroad program he chose to create a video-journal that became the basis for a DVD that he planned to share with students at the Multicultural Center and in the international office. Leonard wished to be a positive
example to Black youth, which he said was important because of “the way society, media has positioned African American men, there needs to be some type of representation of good African American men” (Leonard Interview One).

Being White

The White students did not experience race or view themselves through the lens of race in the same way as the Black students. For the three undergraduate White students, Sarah, Andrew and Joseph, race in general and their racial identity in particular, were not important to who they were as people. All three students had not really reflected very much on their racial identity or on the meaning of being White in the United States. Andrew summed up his experience of being White in the first interview:

I have a very wide background in terms of my racial background. I am a variety of Western European, uh, English, French, German. Um, I know there's some American Indian in there but I'm not really sure where. To me, it really hasn't been a major impacting part of who I am. Uh, I consider myself to be an American. Um, I….Race really wasn't even something I really thought of, because it wasn't really an issue for me, where I was from. Um, in terms of my culture and background, I just…it really hasn't been a major defining part of who I am, uh, for whatever reason. Uh, it's something I would like to learn about but it's not something that I really feel like, uh, I know who or what exactly I am. So, it…it just really doesn't impact me all that much. (Andrew Interview One)

Whereas the experience of being Black revolved around identity with the Black community and the way that Black people have been treated, and continue to be treated, in the United States, the experience of being White was nearly invisible. The students did not even recognize their Whiteness until they encountered what it was like for people who were not White.
Not Having a Race or Ethnicity

One of the privileges of being White was not having to think about one’s own race or ethnicity. It was considered the norm and was often the culture portrayed in the media and in frequent images. Therefore, one’s identity as a member of the majority was taken for granted. Sarah, who was the one White undergraduate woman, embraced a nonracial identity: “I’m the kind of person who checks ‘nothing’ on the back (of a survey or questionnaire) ‘cause I…I feel like that something that shouldn’t be important” (Sarah, Interview One).

Race may not have been important to Sarah because it had never been an issue. However, she told the story of a Mexican-American friend in school who “stuck out” because of having been different.

I'd say race has influenced my life more than ethnicity, 'cause I come from a town where it's like the whole majority is really, really White. I have like one friend who is Mexican and she stuck out so much in our school. Like it was such a big deal that she was from Mexican heritage, 'cause that's just not something that you see. And I think that, I don't know, that has a lot to do with how like I grew up, and the environment I grew up in. I think for me, it made me more open-minded, because I was really curious about other cultures and other races. But for some people it does the exact opposite. So, I'm not sure if it is a good thing or a bad thing. For me, I think it was a good thing. (Sarah Interview One)

Race had not been of personal importance to Sarah because it has not been an issue or barrier for her. This was in sharp contrast to Tatiana, who grew up fully aware of her race and how Black people were being treated, and historically had been treated. Tatiana could not escape her own racial positioning; whereas, Sarah could make the choice as to whether or not race was important to her.
Joseph, the other White undergraduate student, was from a small rural Mid-Western town. He defined himself as White of various European-descent. He shared that most of the people in his hometown had similar ideas. When asked about his ethnicity Joseph said that he did not really have one. Because he did not engage in traditional activities or practices, and he did not eat “ethnic” foods, he did not feel that he had an ethnicity. He defined himself as wearing Abercrombie and being part of the melting pot. Joseph did not recognize or realize that mainstream American culture was still a culture. Not having ethnicity was another privilege of being White.

_Awareness of White Privilege_

The two White graduate students, Sam and Michelle, were very aware of their own racial identities and their statuses in the United States. Their graduate programs had emphasized racial identity and social justice, so they had read extensively and reflected on their own racial privilege before. As a result, their sense of self through the context of race was already well-defined. Michelle had also taken a course on social justice in college, so she had been exposed even sooner.

I guess that…that first class that I took…(in college), I really realized how fortunate I am that my grandparents grew up in an environment where they were accepted and they were allowed to really live their lives as they wanted to. Um, like we….In that class, we talked about, you know, housing agreements and neighborhoods not even letting Jewish families in, you know, and things like that. And I was like, wow, you know, no one had ever sat me down and said, you know, this was happening. This was happening recently in our country. You know, this has an impact on what you're able to have today. Um, my….I think both of my grandparents were able to, you know, to fulfill the ideal that if you work hard in America, you will make it and you will do it. And being White, that's a heck of a lot easier to do, whether that myth exists or not. But, I think being White is a huge benefit and it makes it a lot more, I don't know, attainable to some respect.
You know, you're not as limited by what the society limits you to do, I guess. Um, so I guess I've realized how fortunate I am that my parents were able to, you know, learn from, you know, their family. And, we've been able to live in…wherever we wanted to, and, you know, my…my…my parents were able to move up in their jobs and things like that. Um, and I guess realizing that was like, wow (laughter). You know, and I did for awhile get that whole guilt. You know, that guilt of my family has been so privileged and so many other people's families have not been privileged. What do I do with that? You know, how do I live with the fact that they had these opportunities that so many other families did not have, and may still not have. (Michelle, Interview One)

In this telling quote, Michelle identified how her grandparents had been given opportunities for jobs and for housing that made it easier for her parents to have resources and to do the same. Those who were denied those resources, such as African Americans, may not necessarily have had that same opportunity for more of a legacy.

_Becoming Aware of White Privilege and Societal Practices_

The White students, both on the program and in reflections on past experiences, became aware of race when they encountered societal practices that privileged Whites over people of color. Joseph talked about how he used to be against affirmative action until through the Business School he found out that White men earned more than Black men and women, in general. Michelle above talked about how she had not realized that her grandfather by virtue of being White, had likely been given more opportunities than the grandfathers of most Black students. The fact that a large proportion of White people had enjoyed greater access to wealth and opportunity had a lasting effect on that generation and the generations that followed. Sam realized that in U.S. legislation the true integration of children was stymied and slowed down, even after Brown v. Board of Education in the mid-1950’s (Interview One).
Interestingly, those students most aware of their race and for the White students, the privilege of that race in the U.S., were those who had read about and reflected on the experiences of others who had been subjugated and who had recognized their own positions in U.S. society. Learning about the experiences of others appeared to have helped the students to understand their positionality within a larger context. The element of reflection was important since it led to an application of the new learning to oneself and one’s own life. Sam illustrated this in her first interview:

I mean, I, it’s still hard for me, because, you know, most of my life I’ve grown up as, you know, in the majority culture. But recently I’ve definitely…I’ve, you know, through the grad…through our graduate coursework, and through studying abroad, and just kind of being more aware, I’ve tried to think more in terms of, OK, you know, I have my White Upper Middle Class perspective that I’m kind of…have, you know, viewed the world with my whole life. But then through some of the readings in other things, like, in the coursework, it’s like, you know, it’s so different. I mean, I kind of try to…to think about it from someone else’s perspective, but when I’ve read some of these stories, um, particularly from the diversity class, you know. You can see it from that person who’s writing, you know, whatever short story or essay, from their point of view. And it really puts a different, totally different spin on the world and a totally different, you know, it’s the same, you know, states and country, whatever. But it’s almost totally different when you’re viewing it maybe from someone else’s eyes, of a different race or ethnic background, or something like that. (Sam Interview One)

Being Biracial

Suzie was the one student in the study who identified first as Biracial, in that her mother was White (of Eastern European descent) and her father was Asian American. Although she identified most strongly with the Eastern European cultural traditions, including different types of foods, holidays, and festivals, because of her appearance, others first saw Suzie as Asian. This first became apparent to her when she was five or six years old.
I didn't think I looked different from my mom when I was little, but some kid made fun of my eyes when I was in school. And, so I went home, and I was really confused, and so I asked my mom, ‘Like, why is he making fun of my eyes?’ And so she kind of had to explain to me that, uh….I was probably, I'd say, five, five or six, and, um, she had to explain to me that I was mixed and, uh, not a lot of people see people like me, and, uh, with a White mother. And a lot of times, kids can get confused and, um, but growing up, I had no…it didn't make any difference to me that…like, one side was completely, like, 100% Japanese, and the then the other side, is…not (laughter)….is a combination of everything else. And, uh, it didn't occur to me until that incident that I was perceived differently. (Suzie Interview One)

Experiencing Prejudice and Stereotypes

Similarly to the Black students, Suzie had experienced prejudice and stereotypes a number of times in her life. One story she shared was from fourth grade when a fellow student made comments about Pearl Harbor, which Suzie had not yet learned about.

Um, it was…it was a change for me. Uh, in fourth grade, 'cause that was when I had changed schools, but I didn't know what Pearl Harbor was at that point. I hadn't learned about it, and my parents hadn't told me about it. And, uh, that was the first time I had gotten a comment, like, ‘Look what your people did’ or whatever-fourth grade, from another student. And, uh, it was a big change, 'cause I didn't understand….um, and one of the teachers asked me if I was Ok with it, like, she talked to him and, like, he got in trouble—a detention—and she talked to me to make sure I was Ok, but I still didn't understand what it was. (Suzie Interview One)

Interestingly, Suzie had grown up primarily with Black friends and she had lived in a close-knit community. When she moved it was to a primarily White middle class neighborhood where she did not fit in and did not feel as comfortable with the people.

But, um, it was…it was a big transition, uh, going from…'cause the neighborhood that I lived in growing up, I was friends with all the neighbors and my best friends were Black, and, uh, when we moved it wasn't so much a community, it was just like everybody stays in their house in Suburbia, with their nice cars in the garages. And so it was…it was an adjustment, because I could no longer see my old friends. But, I didn't have new friends to go to, and things like that, so…. (Suzie Interview One)
As an adult, Suzie has also encountered stereotypes, especially from older people. She told a story about a man in her boyfriend’s rural home town who approached her and asked about her country of origin:

He's like ‘What country are you from?’ And I was like, huh? ‘I'm from here.’ Like, and I have no idea. Like, at…like I rarely ever think that I'm different from people. He's like, ‘No, I mean like where are you from?’ I'm like, ‘I'm from (a well-known small city in the state)….I moved to (the city where the university is). I go to (Mid-Western State University).’ And then eventually like I finally grasped the concept that he wanted to know, obviously, what I looked like, where I was from, from that. And so we ended up going to that. And he like, was like, ‘Ah, Ok.’ Then that was it. And it's…there's no point to that, but you still have it. It's everywhere. (Suzie Interview One)

For Suzie, looking Asian had led to a perception that she was something that she was not. She was from a small well-known city, grew up with a strong White European-American cultural foundation, yet people perceived her as something different, and treated her as such. It appeared that only the White students escaped such prejudices, save for Sam, who had felt somewhat rejected by her boyfriend’s parents because of being a different race/ethnicity from her boyfriend. 
CHAPTER 5:

THE IMPACT OF THE COURSE AND STUDY ABROAD PROGRAM:

PERSONALIZING THE OTHER; OTHERING THE SELF

Although the students had different perceptions of their own race and identity as a member of that race, ethnicity or culture, when they began the course on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa,” they all knew very little about the region, its history and the cultures within it. Through the course of the class the students in the study were compelled to confront their ignorance and the brutality of colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa. This process evolved through five steps. First, there was a “realization of knowing so little.” This was an admission of the students’ own ignorance and lack of understanding of what was happening in Africa and Southern Africa, in particular. Second, was a perception that the “history taught in the U.S. classroom was incomplete,” brought about by the fact that most of the students had not learned about apartheid in school. This recognition then led to two effects: one, a “curiosity and desire to learn more,” and the second, a “distrust and cynicism towards the media and also towards the U.S. education system.” The overall result was a movement towards an “initial understanding,” which led to a desire to share their newfound knowledge about Southern Africa and the rest of the world with others. Some students even developed a new desire and motivation to take action on behalf of the people of that region.
PERSONAL STORIES AND THE IMPACT OF PROFESSOR MAQHAWE

The reason given by the students for the impact of the course was not necessarily the content of the class, although it was important. It was, instead, the ways in which the professor of the class, Dr. Professor Maqhawe, made the subject matter come alive through his personal stories and personal history in Southern Africa.

Professor Maqhawe’s presence was identified by a number of the students as either the biggest impact or biggest surprise of the course. Professor Maqhawe made the course content come alive through personal stories, through his remarkable story and life, and through his personal charisma. The fact that he was from Southern Africa, that he had been an activist for the African National Congress, and that he was himself Zulu, made the subject matter and the humanity of those people whose history was told through the course come alive. His personal experiences and style of telling stories made the history, the culture, and the society more concrete, accessible, and real for the students, regardless of the students’ racial identities.

Through Professor Maqhawe the students’ views of Black Africans were demystified and became accessible, their admiration and respect for the people and their resolve was heightened, and their appreciation for the culture and society grew. Through his tutelage and guidance the students came to experience first-hand the culture and society they were studying in the U.S.

The students reacted so passionately to Professor Maqhawe because he made the history, the culture and the society come alive through his stories and his own personal history. Unlike many of the other classes students had experienced in their college and
graduate studies, Professor Maqhawe did not learn about the history and society through the classroom and through textbooks, but through his own family, his own community and his own history. This seemed to legitimate his stories and the content of the class, since he had experienced it and was a product of that culture.

Professor Maqhawe’s teaching style was to illustrate different elements of the culture through personal stories, e.g. stories of growing up in a rural community and going out for his first hunt; telling stories about the systematic killing of people during the darkest days of apartheid; explaining the African National Congress from his own experience as a member and active advocate. He cleverly used story telling and the important African cultural tool of oral history.

The personal stories made the content of the course more accessible and therefore more real and genuine. As a result, students took in a great deal of the emotion of the course and they were compelled to confront and grapple with the newfound reality that they were learning about.

FROM IGNORANCE TO INITIAL UNDERSTANDING

Realization of Knowing So Little

And, I mean, we were all on the same level-it didn't matter what anybody was, we-none of us had a clue. And, uh, it was really interesting to find that out, especially when we were in groups. And we had to say, like, what we knew and what we didn't know before we came in, and it was, um, I mean, none of us knew anything. And everybody said the same thing-that they were embarrassed that they didn't know this, and that was such a big thing, like, how do we not, and it's really interesting to see that. (Suzie Interview Two)
Suzie summarized what all of the students said in one way or another, that one of the biggest surprises of the course was how little they had known about past and recent history in Africa, in general, and in Southern Africa, in particular. It did not matter if the students were Black or White, or what their ages were. Everyone commented about how little they knew prior to the course and how the course content opened their eyes, especially to the significance of colonialism in Africa and the impact of apartheid on the South African people and the entire region.

The first known ancestors of modern humans in Southern Africa date back to 1.5 million years ago and have been named Australopithecus (Omer-Cooper, 1994). More recently, however, during the Stone Age and the Bronze Age many different cultures were developed in the region. The San, also known by a more derogatory name “Bushmen,” used hunting and gathering, and later, pastoralism. The Nguni were a people who settled near the coasts. Of these people, there were the Xhosa and other “Bantu-speakers,” who settled around the Eastern part of the Cape. Prior to the 15th Century, a great civilization existed in what is today, Zimbabwe, with the Great Zimbabwe Nation-State at its head. In addition, Thulamela, which is South and East of Zimbabwe, in the modern-day Kruger National Park, shows evidence of extensive trading with other societies in East Africa, as well as artifacts from as far away as China.

**Perceptions of Africa Prior to the Course**

All of the students except for Leonard were between the ages of 19 and 25; therefore, they did not have many if any personal memories of the freeing of Nelson Mandela and the ending of apartheid in the early 1990’s. Many of the students had very stereotypical perceptions of Africa, and few knew much about the region of Southern Africa. Sarah, who as an Anthropology major had been interested in Africa ever since she first learned about the Masai people of Kenya as a child, was surprised when she
learned that the continent of Africa had a long past, and a similar colonial history to the United States (in many ways).

Like before the class I didn’t think that Africa had such a long history. I thought like it was relatively recent that – I didn’t know there would be anything like significant enough to write in a history book or something like that. (Sarah Interview Two)

Sarah’s picture of Africa was of primitive civilizations and cultures living subsistence lifestyles with few resources. She really knew nothing about the diversity of Africa and how the modern continent looked.

Joseph had been attracted to the course and the program because of being able to go on safari and see Victoria Falls. He knew very little about the region of Southern Africa, its culture or its history. When he started the class he did not know more than the pictures he had seen from previous programs that had traveled to Southern Africa, and what he had heard from the coordinator of the program: “I was pretty much shot in the dark. I didn't…I didn't know anything.” (Joseph Interview One) To Joseph, he was attracted by the allure of Africa’s natural beauty.

Tatiana explained that among her friends, who were primarily Black, “they still think Africans swing from trees (laughter), or, that’s a war-torn country, or that everybody has AIDS, or things like that.” (Tatiana Interview One) This made her friends wonder why Tatiana wanted to go on the program “’cause, you know, nothing’s in Africa but animals and AIDS” (Tatiana Interview One). Among her friends and many people in her community, Africa was perceived as a “backwards” place filled with famine and disease.
Similarly, Mufasa, who was also Black, shared that his grandmother had not wanted him to go for fear that “they might put AIDS in your food or something” (Mufasa Interview One). He understood that was not true or even possible since one would not get the virus from ingesting it. However, these perceptions were common from both of their explanations.

These images of Africa had been perpetuated by the media and recent films, such as “The Interpreter” and “Hotel Rwanda,” which Andrew explained both portrayed Africa as “land of the genocide. “I mean, it’s basically….there’s some political lines there, but everybody’s killing everybody all the time. And everybody’s walking around with an AK-47 and, you know, I’ve been there a couple of times and I haven’t seen that yet.” (Andrew Interview One). Andrew was in a unique position since he had been to Africa twice and had studied about the politics and economics of Africa.

Colonization of Southern Africa and Africa as a whole:
The Cape of Good Hope became an important part of the main route to India and commerce in the East in the late 15th Century. In the early seventeenth century Dutch and English merchants began to regularly visit the Cape and in 1652 the Dutch East India Company built the first settlement there, Cape Town.

A Dawning Realization

Even Leonard, who was the oldest member of the class, talked about how little he had known prior to the course:

I was a little frustrated and I told my boss and a couple other people - it took me to become 42, to get to 42 to actually know this history. And it bothered me, you know, a couple of days - it really did. It was like wow, you know, just imagine if I had this wealth of knowledge beforehand, you know. I could have been able to even, you know, show the knowledge and be able to assist, you know, a lot of the young men and women that I would come across” (Leonard Interview Two)
The content of the course was very intriguing to the students. Suzie talked about how she enjoyed sharing with her friends what she was learning, "'Guess what, I bet you didn't know….. 'Cause I didn't know (laughter), and then whatever tid-bit I learned for the day, I like to relay." (Suzie Interview Two) The most intriguing and interesting content to the students was the extent of the colonization of Africa by Europeans, the history of apartheid in Southern Africa, and the significance of key figures, such as John Cecil Rhodes, for whom the Rhodes Scholarship was named but who was a key player in the exploitation of African people in the pursuit of both gold and diamonds in Southern Africa.

Colonization continued...

In 1805, the British defeated the French in the Napoleonic Wars and as a result the French colonies in North America and Africa passed to the British. In addition, The Cape Colony passed from the Dutch to the British.

In 1835, the Boers (farmers) of Dutch descent, who were farmers with little education and little connection to Europe or European rule, left the Cape Colony on a “Great Trek” (Voortrekker) inland. That year the Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal were born. Prior to the establishment of the republics, the Boers had established their own language, derived from the native languages of the region and Dutch. This new language was called “Afrikaans” and the people who spoke it were called “Afrikaaner.” The local indigenous people were not considered to be Africans, but to be “Kaffir” meaning “infidels” or “nonbelievers”.

Between 1867 and 1869, gold and diamonds were discovered in the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal. The British and Boers vied for power over the region in the pursuit of wealth and influence. The wealthiest of all diamond and gold mine owners was John Cecil Rhodes, who in 1888 formed the DeBeers Consolidated Mines, Ltd (Omer-Cooper, 1994).

Although the students were intrigued, they all were frustrated that they had not learned about that history sooner. Many of the students had taken for granted that the history they had learned in the U.S. classroom was comprehensive and complete. They
found instead that it was partial, incomplete, and slanted towards the dominant American view of history, centered around Europe and the United States.

History in U.S. Classroom Incomplete

Even during the first interview students felt shock and anger that they had not been taught this information and material sooner in their schooling. It was almost a sense of betrayal that they had not been told the whole truth in their earlier education. For Suzie, truth-telling was particularly important because of her own family's experience during World War II. Suzie’s father’s family, who were first generation Japanese Americans, was forced to go to an internment camp in Arizona during the Second World War. In high school, a sociology teacher of Suzie’s even denied the existence of these camps. He later minimized their significance and impact on the Japanese Americans who were forced to live in them once he learned more about their existence. To Suzie, this lack of knowledge and recognition “screamed of unfairness” (Suzie Interview One)

Suzie felt strongly that the history in Southern Africa, the history in the U.S., especially as it related to Native Americans, Japanese during the War, and other negative treatment of "minority" peoples, must be taught. This was not something that should be learned by happenstance in a course that one happened to take, and it should not be known only by those who were most affected by those events. Suzie believed that the content should be mandatory for all students to learn, and the history books that are used in the U.S. classroom should reflect that diversity of content and experience.

It’s so important that we learn this history, like what we're learning in, um, Professor Maqhawe's class. And, that we learn about the camps, and that we don't
just learn about what the Germans did to the Jews. Like, that's important too, but all of this needs to be considered for history. And, it's unjust that it's not. Um, and it's not even playing the victim, and, um, feel bad for this group, or look at what happened to them, it's...it's learning. It's, this is what happened, and this is what can happen when there's a group of people that are strong believers about something, and if you just follow, what could happen? Um, 'cause if I wouldn't have had, like, the background that I have I don't know how much of the, uh, Japanese camps I would have known about. Um, and it's…and without this class I wouldn't obviously know anything about South Africa and what had happened. And it's really unfair that all of that isn't included in books. (Suzie Interview One)

**The Berlin Conference**

In 1884, King Leopold of Belgium called together a conference in Berlin, Germany to establish and define the European “spheres of influence” throughout the African continent. Thus, England, Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium and Germany divided the continent up amongst themselves, and physically took control over those claimed areas. (Fyle, 2001)

Sarah had believed that the history of the African continent was very recent, and that the people of the continent were very simple, in large part due to the images of Africa she had been taught in school. Her lessons about the Masai people of Kenya intrigued her to pursue Anthropology as a degree program, but her view of African civilization was very basic and incomplete. The realization that the cultures and history of the continent were complex, varied, and historically rich changed her perception of the U.S. Education System and what she had taken as “truth”. She had trusted that the content of the lessons she had learned in the American classroom was representative of the ways things were. She found that to be lacking, and therefore somewhat disenchanted.

I know like the last day of the course we were talking about how it just made us realize that in the United States like we don't really know anything about Africa. Like they don't teach us that in school. Like I know one girl said like, well shame on me. And Professor Maqhawe's like, well it's not your fault, it's the system's fault. It's the system that's
teaching you that way. And like I just thought that totally like shifted my perception of, I guess, like the education system in the United States. (Sarah Interview Two)

Africa was a significant historical, cultural, and spiritual place/space for the African American students who went on the program; however, they too had a very limited view of African history, culture and civilization, and they too had learned little if anything about that history in their schooling. This seemed to perpetuate the stereotypes held by many Americans about Africa and the diverse people of the continent.

Americans, especially African Americans, are not taught about African history, or often, even about African American history. People say 'the dark continent’ because everyone is ignorant about it. (Tatiana Interview One)

As a result, Tatiana said, African Americans do not have a foundation because they do not know their ancestors’ history and they do not know about the realities of African civilization today. Tatiana advocated for more Black students to be taught about African history and for them to have opportunities to take the course on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa”, and to study abroad. She explained that White students had had a foundation because of having learned about European history; whereas African Americans did not know their history and should. (Tatiana Interview Two)

The category of “History in the U.S. classroom incomplete” spoke to the insularity of most Americans, and their lack of knowledge about the rest of the world. The students explained that many of their friends and family members knew little or nothing about Africa as well. "We learn so little about other countries and other peoples' past if we weren't directly involved. And even when we are involved, it's the American perspective on how we were involved.” (Michelle Interview Two) This same sentiment was echoed in Michelle’s comment about international students having told her that "it
seems like most Americans think that they don't need to know what's going on in the rest of the world" (Michelle Interview Two).

For Suzie, her lack of knowledge of current events and goings-on around the world had prevented her from really connecting with her father, who was a well-read and informed man. After having taken the course, Suzie commented that she was able to connect and relate more deeply with her father, and to become capable of contributing to a conversation with him rather than being the passive recipient of his information. She was also able to admit her own ignorance to him.

When I told him I was embarrassed that I didn't know a lot of this stuff, he said, ‘You should be’ And I said, it should be a class, this is wrong that we don't know anything like this. And he said, ‘Yes, it is.’ (Suzie Interview Two)

The establishment of White minority rule in South Africa:

In Southern Africa, from 1881-1910, the Boers and British fought over the lands of the region. The major conflict was the South African War that started in 1899 and ended with a peace agreement and the establishment of a Union of the Boer and British states of the region in 1910.

Under the new union, the White minority was given a virtual “monopoly of political representation” in the newly formed government (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.158). In 1912, only two years later, educated and politically-conscious Black South Africans formed the African National Congress (ANC), “the first – and still surviving – nationwide African nationalist movement in South Africa” (p.161). Only three years earlier, in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was established in the United States, and both movements were influenced by the great Black intellectuals and activists Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois.

Andrew commented that he thought that probably half the students at Mid-Western State University did not even know who Nelson Mandela was.

And you know when you think about it, when you think about what people are getting in your average every day high school education, I can see how people would have gotten to that point. I knew his name in high school but I can't say that probably 80% of my classmates would have. I
mean, if you did a poll now in the (college green) I don't know if you would get more than half the students to know who Nelson Mandela is. And you're talking about probably the most influential man in Southern Africa, whether he's in a leadership position right now or not. And I just really think towards the end of the class we realized this is not covered. Southern Africa is viewed still in 2005 not that different than it was viewed at the Berlin Conference (at the end of the 19th Century). It's a shame. (Andrew Interview Two)

**Shocked Into Realization**

Through the course students progressed from a realization of knowing so little to an understanding and recognition that the history taught in the U.S. classroom was incomplete. They felt shame, frustration and disbelief that they and others had not learned the content of the course sooner. Many of the younger students had never even heard of apartheid when they started the class in March 2005, with the notable exception of Andrew, who had taken other coursework on the politics and economics of the continent of Africa and had been to the continent twice before the course. Because they were a group primarily in their early- to mid-20’s the realities of apartheid were historical, not recent. Many students were shocked to learn that apartheid had occurred within their parents’, and even their, lifetimes. They had not realized the concurrence of the Civil Rights Movement and the movement to end apartheid. Only Leonard personally remembered apartheid being in the news and in the public conscience, and the significance of Nelson Mandela’s release and later election to the presidency in the 1990’s. None of the students had previously grasped the horrors of apartheid and the effects of its system on the society of Southern Africa. All of these realizations led to strong reactions in two different ways: one, a curiosity and desire to learn more, and second, specifically to Suzie, was a distrust and cynicism towards the media.
The creation of apartheid:
Apartheid means “separateness” or “separatethood” in Afrikaans. In the Boer Republics, prior to the unification of South Africa, Black people and those of mixed ancestry (called “coloureds”) were given very few rights and ownership was only allowed in designated areas called reserves. After the establishment of the Union of South Africa, the farmers were given wide representation and many of the laws of the Boer Republics were able to continue in the new nation.

Curiosity and Desire to Learn More

As a result of having taken the course on the Culture and Society of Southern Africa, many of the students expressed a desire to learn more. This interest ranged from a desire to learn more at the local level to a desire to learn more at the global level. Joseph commented that the course had "spawned a curiosity" (Joseph Interview Two) to learn more about the region, its history, its cultures, its languages, and the society, in general. He looked forward to going to South Africa so that he could “make his own judgment" (Joseph Interview Two) about the differences between his culture and theirs, as opposed to reading about someone’s interpretation of those differences in a textbook.

When Tatiana was first interviewed she had been interested in the course and the study abroad program simply because it was in Africa. After finishing the course, however, Tatiana was interested in visiting South Africa for its own sake, since she knew more about its history and understood the significance of many important places in that history and society. In addition, at the end of the course Tatiana had become interested in visiting other countries and places in the continent of Africa, such as Ghana, Egypt (which was the case before), Tanzania and Ethiopia, and writing about those places. The
course had expanded Tatiana’s view of the African continent and had inspired her to
learn and see more of the continent, its countries, and its cultures.

It's just opened my understanding of another country and another, well, of another
country and other people. I like to learn about other cultures (giggle), and so I
like to travel and I love history and art, things like that. So, it really, you know,
uh, hit me at home because again that's what I like to do….It's just made me want
to kind of see more places in Africa actually, because before I was like, well I
have to go to Africa. Like Africa is one place. So, you know, it is a continent
(laughter), not a country. And so it's just opened up - you know, now instead of
just wanting to go to - you know, everybody wants to go to Egypt - well, you
know, now I am thinking about going other places within the country (I think she
meant continent) and opening that door. (Tatiana Interview Two)

Two other students, Sarah and Leonard, became very interested in learning more
about the rich history and diverse cultures of the African/Black Diaspora, and both
decided after the course to pursue a minor and a doctoral cognate, respectively, in the
academic area of African American and African Studies. Prior to the course, as was
mentioned above, Sarah had had a very limited and one-sided view of the African
continent and its peoples, one reinforced by stereotypes and exotic images. After the
course, however, Sarah saw how rich, diverse and complex African societies were, and
how little she actually knew about the world around her. This realization helped Sarah to
come to a deeper understanding and awareness that she would need to pursue some of her
own opportunities to learn from other perspectives, especially African perspectives, as
opposed to European ones. Sarah shared with me that she planned to pursue a minor in
African American and African Studies along with her Anthropology major. She also
indicated that she would like to work in the Peace Corps in the African continent once
she was finished with her undergraduate studies. Sarah described the experience of the
course as a turning point for her, both academically and culturally.
And I just think that it like really opened my eyes, it like amazed me - like a lot of things. Like I know people who lived in South Africa during apartheid. And I didn't even know they lived there when that was going on. Because I assume - like you hear about it sort of, like a little bit in school. And you assume well, it's sort of like the Civil Rights, so it must have happened like in the '60's or before then. Like there's no way that went on when like I was alive. Like things like that don't happen. And I think that it just like amazed me and made me more aware of like - I don't know - I guess - what like the U.S. media doesn't show us. Or like what - not necessarily even the media, just like everyone - like the United States doesn't really want to be a part of it, because like technically we aren't a part of it and it's too much trouble. So there's no point. I just thought it like opened my eyes. (Sarah Interview Two)

“The Two Pillars of Segregation” in South Africa

The Land Act of 1913 made it illegal for Black Africans to purchase or lease land from Europeans outside of reserves, which were placed in rural areas with poor land. “The legislation marked the permanent division of South Africa into areas of exclusive white or black land ownership and the total rejection of the ideal of a common society as the final goal of social development in South Africa.” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.163) The ANC sought to protest the act both in South Africa and in England, but to no avail.

The Urban Areas Act of 1923 established that the towns and cities were “the preserve of the white man” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.169) and that Black Africans should only be permitted to live in the towns so long as they were serving the needs of the White people. This legislation “laid down the principle of residential segregation in urban areas and reinforced the doctrine that Africans had no permanent rights in the towns and no justification in being there unless needed by the whites as units of labour.” (p.169)

One of the most interesting observations that Sarah made was the fact that the horrors of apartheid happened during her own lifetime; it was not something in the past – that could be forgotten. It was something that was going on only 10 or so years earlier. This realization helped to open Sarah’s eyes to the world around her in a whole new, far more complex light.

Andrew was another student whose academic curiosity was piqued by the course; however, Andrew was in a unique position. He had taken courses on economics in
Africa, and had become very interested in the continent, having traveled there twice already. The course, however, helped Andrew to understand the importance of understanding culture when analyzing politics, social and economic trends.

You know, learning about African culture and African society, you have to understand their culture and society before you're going to be able to help, or you're going to be even…not even to help, to understand the political situation, which is complicated to say the least (chuckle). (Andrew Interview One)

Mufasa finished the course motivated to learn more and see more. He was determined to finish his French language requirements by studying abroad in France in the Fall. He expressed that he wanted to see the world and experience it, not just be a passive observer receiving its influences.

I always tell...a lot of the people that I know, the clothes on their back have been more places than they've been. And I don't want to be that kind of person...And that's why, you know, like I want to see these places that, you know, like, hey, I can buy a $2.00 shirt that was made in Taiwan. What is it like for these people? And that's what I want to get out of this trip. That like, man, I get to see, you know, what these people went through. I get to walk the streets that Nelson Mandela walked. I get to walk the streets that people were beat, you know, killed in. And, that's just good. (Mufasa Interview Two)

The rise of Afrikaaner Nationalism

After the Great Depression Afrikaaner nationalism rose and after World War Two, in 1948, The National Party of the Afrikaaner movement came into power. With its majority representation in the South African government, the new party used the doctrine of apartheid (separateness) to re-organize South African society and to institutionalize segregation of peoples based on racial classification.

Distrust and Cynicism Towards the Media

Along with the curiosity and desire to learn more, as a result of the course, Suzie, who identified as “mixed” and as an ethnic minority, felt distrust and cynicism towards
the media and what she had heard and seen on the TV and in print. The course led her to feel that she could not believe everything that she had read or seen, and could not trust that the News was necessarily representative of multiple perspectives and was actually “the truth”. She summarized this when she said,

I'm angered that this isn't something...that we were taught, uh, that we're not more aware of current events, and things that happen around the world-that information we get can be biased…. We can't assume and believe...that everything we hear is true and good and right. (Suzie Interview Two)

To illustrate this Suzie told a very powerful story about an incident that had occurred at a Lockheed plant in Mississippi earlier that year where a White employee shot and murdered six of his co-workers in a racially motivated incident. She was appalled that she had had to look up the story on the internet rather than having heard about it on the News. She happened to hear about it from two Black women that she volunteered with. "That's big news. That's huge news, and what's on the news is that the million dollar homes in Laguna Beach are falling in the mud slide." (Suzie Interview Two)

Suzie was also cynical about the media and how they had covered international stories, such as the massacres and genocide in Rwanda in the mid-1990’s, at the same time as the end of apartheid.

I mean it was, what, a 100 days and a million people for Rwanda?...Yeah, and nothing was done. It...boggles my mind now because of how the news is today. Like, I mean you see everything that they want to show you: what's going on in Iraq and (sigh) covering the Pope, I mean, the news is everywhere, so it's obviously they're choosing what they want to show us, and what they don't. (Suzie Interview Two)

As a result of the course and these realizations, Suzie made a new choice to get her news from the internet and magazines, thus concluding that "to be educated you have to do
“Apartheid”

According to apartheid doctrine, each race and nationality has its own distinct cultural identity and has been created to fulfill a unique destiny laid down by God. To fulfill its inner potential each nation must be kept pure and allowed to develop freely along its own lines. Excessive contact between races, above all racial interbreeding, would corrupt and destroy the inner potential of both races involved. (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.190)

Developing a Greater Understanding and Desire to Act

But what can I do to at least help, or do something, is something that I've certainly been thinking about and sort of struggling with- and trying to think of ways that once I'm graduated and once I have more time on my hand, you know, what can I do to help? Even if it's not going to be probably going over there and changing the world, but doing something here to hopefully make that small ripple in the water, or something like that. (Sam Interview Two)

Five of the nine participants discussed how, as a result of the course, they felt a compulsion towards action by educating others about the content of the course and what they had learned, and by doing something to improve the situations of the people they had heard about, and later met. Interestingly, those five students spanned the spectrum of racial identities and age levels in the group. Four of these five students, namely Sarah, Leonard, Suzie and Michelle, expressed a desire to “spread the word” (Sarah Interview Two) and to educate others about the history of South Africa, apartheid, and what was happening in present-day Africa.

I think it - it made me feel better that I know something I didn't know before. Like - and something that I don't think a lot of people are taught. Like, it made me feel like I need to like let people know. Like I went back and I was like telling my friends like, did you know
apartheid only ended in like 1996? Like, oh my gosh, that's so amazing. And, I think that would be like it affected my perception that I need to be more like outgoing and tell other people about I guess what I know, especially after the trip. Like I know people are interested and like I'm going to make a point to like show them all my pictures and tell them like they should go on this trip, and things like that. I mean the same thing like you're doing - like spreading the word and telling people that it's such a good thing - good experience. 'Cause I see myself more as like a teacher than someone who is learning after the class. Like I feel like I need to like let people know that they should do this. (Sarah Interview Two)

Sarah’s description of seeing herself more as a teacher than a student was very interesting, especially in that she had identified so strongly with being a student at the beginning of the study.

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 outlawed inter-racial marriage, and the Immorality Act of 1950 “was amended to make ‘illicit’ sex between white and Coloureds criminal also” (p.196).

The Population Registration Act of 1949 compartmentalized every South African into a racial classification: White, Coloured, Indian, or Black (African). From that point on, one was required by law to carry documentation specifying that racial classification. The classification of individuals was based on both physical and social terms, due in large part to the considerable overlap between Whites and Coloureds, especially in the Cape Region. “A white person was defined as one who appears to be white, is accepted as white and normally associates with whites. Heartrending anomalies were not slow to appear, even involving some members of the same family being given different racial classifications.” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.196)

Leonard had been a teacher and mentor to many Black youth throughout his professional life. Leonard was highly motivated and excited to share his experience in the course and the study abroad program with African American students in the Black Cultural Center at Mid-Western State University. Leonard took a very unique approach to journaling and documenting the experience, in that he extensively video recorded the study abroad program and later edited it for the program participants and for viewing by
students in the Black Cultural Center and elsewhere. This DVD became an avenue through which Leonard could educate others and get others excited about, and motivated to, participate in the study abroad program themselves. Leonard described the anticipation of sharing his experiences with the students as self-edifying.

Suzie felt that everyone should know what she had learned in the class. She felt strongly that the content of the course should not be learned only by happenstance from taking a course and studying abroad, but should be taught in every classroom.

I'm an emotional person to begin with, or not necessarily emotional, but I'm in tune with my feelings. And, it's…it was really hard to hear all this, and to read everything that we read, and to watch the videos we watched, and it was really difficult to do that...I feel like I've absorbed everything we've learned in class...and all I want is...for, like, this information to be known." (Suzie Interview Two)

It was not only to know about the horrors in South Africa but also to know about what happened in Rwanda in 1994, as portrayed in the film "Hotel Rwanda" (which was released shortly before the interviews). She concluded, "we're not educated on everything that goes on...and it's really important things." (Suzie Interview Two).

**Resistance to apartheid in Southern Africa:**

In 1942, shortly before the election of the National Party in South Africa, the ANC Youth League was established. This new arm of the ANC was a “politically radical pressure group within the ANC, its members mostly young African teachers and students of medicine and law” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.186). The Youth League employed more militant tactics but their main “weapon” was mass passive resistance (Ibid.). In 1949 a Program of Action was established to end racial discrimination “by mass action involving boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience and non-co-operation” (p.205). A young lawyer named Nelson Mandela was put in charge of this program.
Suzie felt that it was important for her to educate her future children about the recent history of South Africa and, in particular, apartheid, so that they would not be ignorant.

I don't want them growing up thinking that they're better or that they're different. That people are people and sometimes people do really bad things, and I just…I want my kids to know that, 'cause I think helping to educate will help prevent it from happening again." (Suzie Interview Two)

Suzie admitted that it was hard to know about what happened without classes like this one. She felt fortunate to have taken the class, and found the class of great value, even without the study abroad program. "I feel very fortunate to have taken this class. Even if I wouldn't be able to go on the trip, I would never have not taken….I would have loved to have taken this class." (Suzie Interview Two). She also commented that she was glad that I was conducting my research on the course, in that she felt it was important for people to know about the history and about the unique course and study abroad program at Mid-Western State University.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 allowed the government to classify any area of the country for a particular racial group. If an area was re-classified, those who were outside of that classification would have to move to newly designated areas. One of the most devastating examples of a community being affected was in Cape Town where District Six, a vibrant Coloured community, was completely destroyed and its people were relocated. The Group Areas Act affected all classifications of people other than Whites.

The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952 “defined more narrowly those categories of Africans which had a right to permanent residence in the towns” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.196).
Mufasa was called to action in a different way, as a result of the course. Seeing the "naked truth" affected Mufasa's perception of himself and the world. He reacted to the injustice going on in the world through a powerful repetitive image of having to live in a world with people who suffer so much. This was not meant as a criticism of them per se, but a criticism of the society that allowed them to suffer so greatly. Their suffering moved Mufasa to action – e.g. “I have to do something about this” – maybe not now but at some point.

I don't think that I should be able to share a world with people who are being blown up because they're Black. I don't think I can share a world with people who are being starved, are being malnourished, are just...just trying to be eliminated, as a...you know, trying to kill all of them....Like, Rwanda-I mean, not Rwanda-things that's going on in Sudan. I think that, you know, I have to - even though I'm not at the moment, but I have to fight for those kinds of things. (Mufasa Interview Two)

Mufasa felt that he had a "duty" to do something about the injustices of the world (Mufasa Interview Two). He said that he was in a unique position, in that he had access to the two greatest houses - the Congress and the White House.

In talking about the injustices from which others had profited, Mufasa reflected on the sacrifices that others had made so that he could be in college. This led him to ask about his obligation to those people, and to giving back, in general. This question led to a feeling of activism within the community, and a sense of obligation to give to those who had provided for him, and for him to provide to others in the future. This giving to others included the people of Africa, such as the Sudan, Rwanda and South Africa.
The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 “not only outlawed the Communist Party in South Africa but defined communism in terms so broad as to cover any call for radical change in South Africa” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.202). Offenders could be banned from political organization, ordered from their homes, and/or restricted to certain areas of the country.

Mufasa saw how simple things could be done to affect change, evidenced by Professor Maqhawe's activism and others’ during apartheid. This led him to ask questions about what he could do.

Man, what are some of the small things that I can do to affect the Sudan? What can I do that, you know, Ok, I can write a letter to my representative. I don't have a bomb to drop on a reg…regime, but in-between those two extremes, what can I do? There's something that I can do to make a change. I haven't found it, but it'll come eventually. (Mufasa Interview Two)

Mufasa expressed, "there's so much more that needs to be done in the world" (Mufasa Interview Two), after having concluded that activism and action should not have ended with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's and 1970's as many people believed. He felt that the complacency of people today needed to change, "We need to try and find our issue….There’s a lot in the world right now that needs to be reacted to." (Mufasa Interview Two) This comment seemed to come out a desire for action in terms of social justice, not only in the Black communities of the U.S. but around the world.

The Abolition of Passes and Consolidation of Documents Act of 1952 consolidated the many passes that Black Africans had been required to carry into one single “passbook,” which included a photograph and “full information of his place of origin, employment record, tax payments, and encounters with the police” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.197). This new passbook was required of women and of many Africans who had been exempt from the earlier pass laws. From that point on it was a criminal act to be unable to produce one’s passbook when asked by police. This new legislation made it much more difficult for rural African workers to move into the towns and asserted greater control and influence over those Black farm workers in the rural communities.
Concluding the Course

Even before the students had left the United States they had been deeply affected by the content and experiences of the course, which was taught at the university. The course expanded the students’ perspectives by shifting them from ignorance about the region, the continent and many parts of the world to an emerging understanding, and a desire to learn more. In addition, in some cases, namely Suzie and Sarah, there was a more cautious outlook towards U.S. media as a result. The students were blown away by the realities of apartheid and its recent impact on Southern Africa and the African continent, and through their discussions about apartheid their own views of race and ethnicity were expanded.

The students not only learned about Southern Africa, but they also learned about the United States and some of the advantages and privileges that they had taken for granted as U.S. citizens. In addition, the students developed a greater appreciation of differences in others’ beliefs and how others lived. Through it all they learned from the professor and their peers, and in the process they were able to share their experiences with those closest to them, and with me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Defiance Campaign</th>
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<td>In 1952, a Defiance Campaign was waged throughout the country, in that people systematically violated many of the laws of the apartheid government, thus accepting arrest. The campaign at first was very successful and even attracted considerable attention abroad, including in the United Nations General Assembly, which established a permanent committee on the “racial situation in South Africa” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.206). The Defiance Campaign, however, collapsed in 1953 after race riots and the re-election of the National Party to the government.</td>
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Day 1: Tuesday 14 June
Meet at Columbus airport at 4:30 AM at the DELTA Counter.

Day 2: Wednesday 15 June
Met on arrival and transferred to Zambezi Sun Hotel, Zambia accommodation confirmed for 3 nights, breakfast include; Dinner at hotel included 7:30pm

Day 3: Thursday 16 June
8:30am This morning you will be met by a Wilderness Safaris representative for your guided tour of the Victoria Falls from the Zambian side. 10am You will be visiting Chief Mkuni’s Village, Mukuni’s Village is home to the Leya people. Enjoy an afternoon game drive after your village tour around 2:00pm. Lunch on your own at pool side in the hotel. Dinner in town at the Steak House.

Day 4: Friday 17 June
Free Day. I will give you more suggestions once we arrive. Today is leisure day, you can bunji, ride elephants, go white water rafting, shop, and we will end up all together at the Sunset Cruise on the Zambezi ($25). If you walk across the bridge to Zimbabwe entrance fee is $30. I booked the elephant rides for 10:30am.

Day 5: Saturday 18 June
Transfer to Chobe Safari Lodge for 2 nights, includes one game viewing activity per day. I paid for Breakfast Lunch and Dinner since there is no place we can eat at besides the lodge. You can settle with me once we arrive there.

Day 6: Sunday 19 June
Chobe Safari Lodge, Game drive.

Day 7: Monday 20 June
Transfer to Livingstone Airport for flight to Johannesburg Flight CE 205 arrives from Livingstone @ 16h20 Meet and Greet at Johannesburg Airport by Mpho Ngwenya Transfer to the hotel for check in. Go to the Mall at Sandton. Overnight at the Park Plaza Hotel

Day 8: Tuesday 21 June
Depart after Breakfast for a full day sightseeing tour of Gold Reef City, Apartheid Museum, Visit to Constitution Hill, Voortreker Monument and Pretoria City Tour. Lunch today will be at your own account. Overnight at the Park Plaza Hotel

Table 4.2: Itinerary for Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa 2005 (continued)
Day 9: **Wednesday 22 June**
Depart after Breakfast for a full day sightseeing tour of the informal settlement of Soweto. Visit Hector Peterson Museum, and visit a school. Visit Madella’s house and lunch today will be at Wandies, an authentic African Restaurant (buffet). After lunch visit the Market Theatre and Museum District.
Overnight at the Park Plaza Hotel

Day 10: **Thursday 23 June**
Transfer from the hotel to Johannesburg Airport for flight SA 551 @ 12h10
Meet and Greet on arrival in Durban @ 13h20
Tonight we will go to see African Footprints at the Theater (tickets will be subsidized, but you will have to pay for part of them) Transfer to the hotel for check in
Afternoon at leisure, Evening Theater African Footprints.
Overnight at the Balmoral Hotel

Day 11: **Friday 24 June**
Full day tour of Durban City, Visit the Indian Market, Kwamuhly Museum, the Ghandi Settlement and Inanda Township
Overnight at the Balmoral Hotel

Day 12: **Saturday 25 June**
Full day touring to include a City tour of Durban and the Valley of 1000 Hills. Lunch will be at a Zulu village in the valley (included).
Dinner at the BAT Centre
Overnight at the Balmoral Hotel

Day 13: **Sunday 26 June**
Full Day Tour of Pietermaritzburg
Lunch included, Possible dinner at the Aquarium on your own.
Overnight at the Balmoral Hotel

Day 14: **Monday 27 June**
Day at leisure Go to the Indian market, go to the Beach, shop around the beach area

Day 15: **Tuesday 28 June**
Transfer from the hotel to Durban Airport
1.13pm Arrive in Cape Town
You will be met and transferred to The Breakwater Lodge where accommodation will be reserved for 6 nights on a bed & breakfast. En-route to the hotel, you will have a visit to Table Mountain and ascend to the top by cable car for spectacular 360 degree views of Cape Town and the Peninsula.
7.30pm “Welcome to Cape Town” dinner at the Treadmill Restaurant (included)
Breakwater Lodge

Continued
Table 4.2 continued:

**Day 16 : Wednesday, June 29**
9.00am Depart after breakfast for a full day sightseeing Cultural Tour, where you will visit the information settlements of Langa and Khayalitsha. Return to the Waterfront in the afternoon for a tour to the famous Robben Island Museum where former President Nelson Mandela was held as a political prisoner for many years. Lunch at Vicky’s B&B in Khayelitsha & dinner on your own account. **Breakwater Lodge**

**Day 17 : Thursday, June 30**
9.00am Depart after breakfast for a full day tour of the Cape Peninsula, via the beaches of Camps Bay, Clifton, Llundadno and the harbor town of Hout Bay. Continue to Cape Point via the scenic Chapmans Peak Drive, and to the Cape of Good Hope nature reserve and Cape Point, the legendary meeting place of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans (Included are tickets for the Funicular). Continue to Boulders Beach a breeding ground for penguins. A lunch stop will be provided at Simonstown (at your own account). Continue to Cape Town, via Fishhoek, Kalk Bay and Muizenberg, to the world famous Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens. The tour ends late in the afternoon and the rest of the evening will be at your leisure. Diner on your own account. **Breakwater Lodge**

**Day 18 : Friday, July 01**
9.00am Depart after breakfast on a full day sightseeing tour of the Cape Winelands, visit the small picturesque towns of Paarl, Franschoek and Stellenbosch. Enjoy wine tasting at one of the beautiful wine estates in the region, Graham Beck wines. Lunch today will be at leisure and for your own account. Spend the rest of the evening at leisure. Dinner on your own account.

**Day 19 :Saturday, July 02**
Spend the day exploring the morning vibe of Cape Town. We will do an orientation drive of the city, before we disembark at the District Six museum to reflect on one of the saddest chapters in the history of Cape Town- a story of forced racial removals. Visit the Old Slave Lodge that portrays the theme... ‘from human wrongs to human rights’. From there we walk to the Green Market square, where we will get the feeling of a Western orientated city developing a more distinct African flair. Lunch on your own account.
7.00pm **Dinner Subsidized at Africa Café (3 hours) Dress up day. **Breakwater Lodge**

**Day 20 : Sunday, July 03**
Free Day. Spend the day at leisure. Utilize the time to explore the flee market at Green Point (stadium). Lunch on your own account. Manenberg Jazz Café’ in the Waterfront is a good club for Cape Jazz fusion and a live band. **Breakwater Lodge**
Table 4.2 continued:

Day 21: Monday, July 04
9.30am Transfer to Cape Town Airport
11.30am Depart Cape Town on Flight SA 662
12.40am Arrive in Port Elizabeth
Transfer to Rhodes University where accommodation will be reserved for two nights inclusive of breakfast.

Welcome to Rhodes University lunch on campus included.

The rest of the day will be available to explore the Grahamstown Arts festival (hoping to secure a show for the first day in Grahamstown) Afternoon at your leisure. Dinner on your own.

Rhodes University Grahamstown

Day 22: Tuesday, July 5
9.00am Today, spend a full day at leisure at the Grahamstown National Arts Festival. A second show will be lined up as soon as the programme is published. Tickets for the shows and Lunch and dinner on your own account. Please look on the website for detailed information and performances www.nafest.co.za

Rhodes University Grahamstown

Day 23: Wednesday, July 6
9.00am Depart the hotel and transfer to the airport. Fly home
12.30pm Depart Port Elizabeth on SA 412
2.10pm Arrive in Johannesburg, plenty of time to eat at the airport and shop for last minute gifts.
7.50pm Depart Johannesburg on SA 209 to Atlanta
In Flight
8:20 am Arrive Atlanta
1:21 pm Arrive Columbus on Delta
PERSONALIZING THE OTHER

When the students traveled to Southern Africa the history, culture and society that students had learned about in the classroom became far more accessible as a result of hearing the stories of people they met there. Those stories were powerful and they made an impact on all of the students. Having the relationship with those individuals, including tour guides and people the group met in formal and informal encounters, meant that the stories stayed with the students and they resonated with the students long after the fact. Those stories illustrated different elements of the culture and what it was really like to be a member of that society. The impact of those stories seemed to be even greater because the students had experienced the context for themselves. They had memories and stories of their own to share. One of the single greatest events for the students was a two- to three-hour excursion to a primary school near Durban. Every one of the students discussed the impact of that single experience.

The primary school students had left for their winter break, so only the teachers and the principal were there. The school was very crowded and cramped, and many of the classrooms were makeshift, including a classroom that was in a former shipping freight box. The classrooms smelled of cleaning disinfectant because the supplies had to be left out; the bathrooms facilities were very limited and wholly inadequate for 1,300 students, according to American standards; the teacher to student ratio was 1:35 to 40 students; and on top of it all, 40% of the students had been orphaned or infected by HIV/AIDS. When described this way, the situation seemed bleak at best and devastating at worst. Yet, the outlook of the principal and her teachers was that of care, love, pride, strength, courage and optimism.
You have 40-50 students per class, a teacher with virtually minimal supplies, students, some of which have AIDS, a significant portion are hungry, more than half of which have no parents. How do you manage to even keep order in the classroom, let alone teach them how to do anything mathematically, anything more than basic language skills, let alone provide for any special needs students? I left that school more impressed with the 30 or so teachers we met there than any people I've ever met. Their spirit and ability to deal with what teachers in the U.S. would consider wretched conditions, and to not only do it but to support each other, to, despite the fact school was out while we were there, to come in and talk to us. They were the most resourceful, innovative, hope-inspiring people I can imagine. (Andrew Interview Three)

As illustrated in this example, the structure of the study abroad program built in many opportunities for the students to engage with the people. No longer were those people seen as “the other”; instead, they became personal. They had names, faces, stories, shared experiences. Those stories did not often coincide with the students’ own assumptions and own ways of looking at the world; therefore, as those lives and stories became more personal it compelled the students to grapple with the gap between those experiences and their own. It forced them to explore new ways of looking at reality. As a result, they re-thought and re-framed their own experiences.

### Apartheid tightens its grip

*In 1953 The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, which prohibited strike action by Africans, was established. Three years later, in 1956, the Industrial Conciliation Act excluded Black Africans from having the status of “employee” and allowed for “the complete or partial reservation of any class of work for people of a particular race and could also specify the proportion of (one’s) total employees of persons of a particular race that an employer must employ” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.199).*

*That same year, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act required members of different racial groups to use separate amenities which did not necessarily have to be equal. As a result, train coaches and other services became segregated, as well as public restrooms, water fountains, etc.*
Mufasa talked about how experiencing it for himself had compelled him to confront a new reality. The issues and what he saw became personal – no longer abstract or in a book – but real, which he attributed to the reason why his opinions and views about race and society changed:

“It’s just a lot easier to read about it, but when you’re able to put a face on a people who don’t have access to it, it forces you to rethink. And when you talk about it and when you formulate an opinion about it, it makes that opinion a lot more personal. And I feel like that’s why I changed, because it was no longer a book smart or things that I learned from a book or things that I learned in class. It was things that I actually saw, things that I actually felt, and that’s why it changed, because it became a lot more personal – what I thought about race and what I thought about society, and South African society as a – I mean, as a whole, in terms of race relations. (Mufasa Interview Three)

On the last day in Botswana, Andrew hired a fishing guide for two hours so that he could fish on the Chobe River. His ulterior motive was to be able to visit with the fisherman, which he did. The turning point for Andrew was when he caught a tilapia, which was four to five pounds, and the man asked if he could keep it to feed to his family. In that moment Andrew came to understand how different that man’s view of the river and of fishing was to Andrew’s. To that fisherman, the Chobe River was his lifeblood: his source of income, as well as his source of food. Andrew came to appreciate how the river and “the field” looked very different to such a man. “For him the outdoors is a source of food in a way that I’ve never viewed any day out on the water or in the field. I couldn’t begin to understand just how difficult such a life would be or how stressful that environment would be.” (Andrew Interview Three, p.13)

Andrew came to appreciate that the fisherman’s station and his opportunities for advancement were limited. He commented how that man would never be the manager or the owner, nor was he ever going to be able to stay at the hotel. That being said,
however, his job was one that gave him an income and in his village he was considered middle class. He and his wife had obtained high school diplomas, so they were considered well-educated for the community.

When Andrew was in South Africa previously with his father to hunt he had not recognized the racism and discrimination that had been going on right in front of him. On reflection, however, he remembered different experiences and saw how that had been the case. This is an excellent example of the changing of lenses. Andrew’s former lens was insufficient to see that dynamic when he was in the context prior to the course. Once he better understood the history and culture, through that new lens he saw whole new dynamics and a much more complex environment. Andrew himself recognized this shifting of lenses: “And just how the two of us perceived me catching that tilapia so differently, it just really hit me and I learned things from him that I probably could not have learned if I hadn’t had that opportunity.” (Andrew Interview Three)
The Freedom Charter

In 1955, a Freedom Charter was developed by the ANC and other organizations in opposition to the National Party government. Their charter called for a new vision of South Africa as belonging to all who live in it (Class Notes, 2002). This new charter called for “a non-racial democracy, the removal of all discriminatory legislation and equal opportunities in education and work for persons of all races. It also called for the nationalization of the banks, mines and heavy industry and the redistribution of land” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.207).

Andrew observed how the Chobe River meant something very different to that man that it did to him:

For this gentleman, the Chobe River was not just a line on a map somewhere, it is every opportunity, both economically and from the perspective of where am I going to get my next meal - that river answers most of the questions in his life. I found - that was one of the most valuable experiences I had on the whole trip. (Andrew Interview Three)

Through this experience Andrew came to a much deeper empathy and understanding of the dynamics of that man's life.

Discussing with Others and Reflecting on One’s Own

Not only did Mufasa and Andrew experience things for themselves, they also talked about it and reflected on it with others and on their own. This processing of the experiences was important to the great majority of students, and the strength and support they gained from the group was critical to helping them to grapple with and learn and develop through the experience. Of the eight students who were interviewed a third time, only Leonard did not comment on the importance of the group. He did, however, speak to the value of the relationships that were formed with some of the students on the program. The support of the group did not seem to be important to Leonard. He most
likely had an internal support because of his own maturity, level of experience, and his strong faith.

The other seven students interviewed a third time commented on how close-knit the group was, and how cohesive they were. The discussions over dinner, in the bus, in the hotel room at night, and in various other informal settings, were invaluable to them. Through those meaningful relationships that were formed during the study abroad program those students became more open to differing opinions and views.

Those discussions got really interesting because you'd hear things that conflicted. You would hear different things people had seen that day from different perspectives. And the group discussions to me were probably the thing about this trip abroad that made each conversation I had that much more important, because I got to see how important that conversation was within the group dynamic, because when you take my discussion with the fishing guide and I bring that to the table and you get - I'm not sure who it was, but somebody in our group had taken five minutes and talked to a couple of the maids that had cleaned their room and that sort of thing. And, you know, we talked to our safari drivers. It was interesting to me how you would take the experience of 15 American students and quickly you got between - if everybody talked to two or three - had two to five important conversations during their trip, we were able to bring back the perspectives of that many more people with us to share when we go to class here in September. (Andrew Interview Three)

Students discussed their experiences with their peers and they also reflected on those experiences through their journals and through the interview process in this study. As Andrew said above, through those discussions the experiences of the individual students became part of the collective experience of the group, and the students learned from each other. This pattern of processing with others and reflecting on one’s own, especially as it related to participation in this research study, seemed to increase the impact of the experience on the students and on their thinking.
Challenge and Support

The group acted as a support to many of the students. The majority commented about how much they had enjoyed their group, and how close the individuals were. Unlike previous groups, including my own in 2002, this group did everything together – they all did the same activity on their free day in Zimbabwe; they often ate dinner together as one large group, and several students commented how they had “bonded” through the experience of going on safari in Zambia, and most importantly, in Botswana (Michelle Interview Three, Andrew Interview Three, Joseph Interview Three, Suzie Journal). Those relationships helped the students during their most emotional and difficult times. Andrew illustrated this when he said,

Those moments when you're riding around in the trucks, taking pictures of elephants seemed less than academically necessary when you're doing it, but when you're at the Apartheid Museum and you start to get emotional and you don't think about it, well, can I do this in front of the other people? Is this Okay? That's important - to be able to be yourself and take in what you see at a Hector Peterson Museum, what you see at the Apartheid Museum. (Andrew Interview Three)

Although the members of the group may have come from very different backgrounds, their connection and the conversations they had helped to broaden the perspectives of many of the students. One illustration came from Suzie, who explained that on the last night in Chobe, she had talked with a group of students about small town America and what she called "small-town mentality" in a predominately Methodist, all White area. She had had particular experiences because of her boyfriend being from a small town. Through the conversation, however, she came to know and appreciate the other students much more, and in particular one of the students from a small town who
had "tried to explain why small towns think like that and that it doesn't make sense" (Suzie Journal). This appeared to have been a positive experience that helped Suzie to connect with the other members of the group, and possibly to come to a better understanding of the community where her boyfriend was from.

The Native Resettlement Act of 1956 allowed for existing property rights of Africans to be “extinguished” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.197), thus making way for the creation of the African townships, which were a minimum of 35 miles from the closest major cities. This new resettlement act required Africans to travel much further from their work, and to be outside of the city after their work was completed.

In 1956, the leaders of the groups who had participated in the drafting of the Freedom Charter were arrested and charged with treason. Their trials lasted until 1961 when they were all acquitted.

In 1959, the Pan-Africanist Congress was formed from members of the ANC who had been opposed to the cooperation with other racial groups that was instituted with the Freedom Charter and other planned protest activities.

OTHERING THE SELF

The support of the group and the relationships that were formed meant that students heard many different perspectives and opinions from one another. This helped them to continue to reflect on what they had learned and their own thinking surrounding that. As a result, they began to critically examine their previous assumptions, beliefs and opinions.

Sam told a powerful story in her third interview about giving a cheeseburger to a homeless man in Durban. Although brief, that simple experience seemed to resonate with her long afterwards, because it caused her to question her assumptions, and her
beliefs; it also made more transparent the unquestioned and unexamined privilege she had enjoyed as a White person in the U.S.

Sam was with a group of students and they had stopped at McDonald's to have lunch. She had gotten the two cheeseburger value meal and was trying to finish her second burger when the group started walking. When she was about half-way finished with her second sandwich, a homeless man, who was Black and in his 50's, asked her if she had any food. She offered him her cheeseburger and he took it. He was so hungry that he took her half-eaten sandwich. From that point she had food with her, and when the group finished meals and had left-overs they would give them to people who needed food.

In the situation, Sam "felt terrible, because it was like I wasn't even that hungry. I should have saved the sandwich and I wish I could have given him the whole sandwich." (Sam Interview Three) To Sam, the fact that "it was so close" made the greatest impact.

I couldn't believe - it was that close, that somebody was that hungry, couldn't eat, was looking for food. And I gave him my sandwich, and I thought about it pretty much for the rest of the trip. And I still think about it, and from that point on I tried to always have food with me, like crackers or something, like that I brought on the trip just to - or if we had left over food, if we ate at a pizza place and we didn't eat it all, we would find someone and give them our left-over food, because we knew that there was someone out there who was hungry and that would definitely want to eat it. And it was hard because again I wasn't even that - I wasn't that hungry. I didn't need to eat the whole thing but I didn't have anything else to do with it so I was trying to scarf it down. And there was this person and there were lots of other people who were hungry as well, and there's definitely a racial line as to who seems to be hungry and who doesn't seem to be hungry. It was just sad. It's hard - what do you do? (Sam Interview Three)

This story and Sam’s words illustrate how the study abroad program personalized the experience of this 50-something-year-old homeless Black South African man who was hungry on the streets of Durban. The experience brought to life for Sam the
difficulty of homelessness, hunger, and need. Through reflecting on the experience she realized her own unquestioned privilege in terms of being able to "scarf down" a cheeseburger that she didn’t even really need since she was not that hungry. In that encounter, Sam realized there were many others who were hungry. This helped to illustrate for her how homelessness, hunger and poverty seemed to have racial and ethnic lines both in the U.S. and in South Africa.

As a result of the personal nature of the experience, and through reflection, Sam examined her own life and her own assumptions, pulling those apart and looking at them objectively. She took herself, her opinions and beliefs and examined them critically. In the process, her “self” was made object, or “other” – in effect, she “othered” herself. This pattern of critically examining their assumptions, beliefs, and even prejudices, occurred for all eight students who were interviewed a third time.

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**The Sharpeville Massacre**

In 1960, the South African government received its first major blow in Western support for its policies with the Sharpeville Massacre. That March, the ANC had launched a mass anti-pass campaign and the PAC joined in waging their own campaign a little earlier. In the community of Sharpeville, Policemen shot into a crowd of unarmed protesters killing 69 people and injuring 180 more. Most of those killed were shot in the back as they ran away from the police (Omer-Cooper, 1994).

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**The birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe**

Three weeks later, on April 8, 1961, the ANC and the PAC were declared illegal organizations. Later that year, after a final failed attempt at peaceful protest, Nelson Mandela went underground and Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) was formed as a militant wing of the ANC to “undertake a campaign of sabotage of public installations in the hope of forcing the white population to recognize the need for change” (p.210). Two years later, In 1963, Nelson Mandela was arrested, and the following year he was sentenced to life imprisonment. He was held on Robben Island until 1982 when he was transferred to Polsmoor Prison near Cape Town (p. 218).
CHAPTER 6:

EXPANDING LENSES:

RACIAL IDENTITY, COMMUNITY & GLOBALIZATION

Through the “othering” of the self, or objectifying of one’s own reality, students’ views and the lenses they used to view the world were expanded. For Mufasa, in particular, it changed the way he looked at others’ opinions and beliefs and it helped him to be less judgmental towards others. In Mufasa’s case, the experiences that expanded his lenses were within the group itself with students who he had gotten to know on the program.

But it just helped me to see that people have different opinions and that people are just people, and that's the beautiful part about it. That they don't have to act a certain way, I don't have to act a certain way. I don't have to be a certain way - that at the end of the day we're both just people, we're all just people and there's no set way to act. There's no set way to talk. There's no set way to be. The only set way to be is to be who you want to be. And I don't know if that answers your question but - it just helped me to just be more accepting of other people and to look beyond what I physically see or what assumptions that I may have made about that person to just - even if - except the fact that I'll always make assumptions about people, just to not hold people to those assumptions, to allow people to be who they are...Just let them be people, and to not hold them accountable to the stereotypes that I may have…formulated towards them. Like I said, allow people to be people." (Mufasa Interview Three)

The study abroad program helped to expand Mufasa's opinion about who could be his friend and who he would spend time with, and it helped him to be more accepting of others. He saw how his own stereotypes had been a barrier in the past and he said that he
would "not hold them to my stereotypes or things that I think they should be doing"
(Mufasa Interview Three).

The experience of the course and study abroad program led to the expansion of
the lenses that students employed to look at race and their own racial identities, South
Africa and the people of the region, and American culture and its values. As a result,
students’ empathy and understanding of others’ perspectives grew and deepened, they
had a greater appreciation for the complexity of the issues they were exploring, and they
began to see themselves through the eyes of other people. As a result of these changes,
students’ perceptions, assumptions and beliefs appeared to change.

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<th>African independence and revolutionary change</th>
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<td>Throughout the 1960’s revolutionary change rippled through the continent of Africa as countries gained their independence from the European colonial powers. This same trend did not happen in South Africa, although the apartheid movement shifted to a policy of separate development that led to the expansion of the Bantustans, or tribal states, which were scattered throughout the country.</td>
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RACE AND RACIAL IDENTITY

Being White

The lenses used by the White students to view their own identities as White
people and to view the “White race,” in general, were expanded significantly through the
study abroad program. Students came to recognize their own White privilege in the
United States. They felt shame at what had been done by other White people, but also
came to a deeper understanding of how difficult it might have been for people in that
context at the end of Apartheid. Through it all they came to empathize to a much greater
degree with Black people and what they had had to face in terms of racism and
discrimination, both in Southern Africa and the United States. In addition, two students in particular, Joseph and Sarah, became more comfortable with Black people through their interactions and experiences in Southern Africa.

*Realization of White privilege*

Sam in her third interview made some insightful observations about White privilege in the U.S. as compared to White privilege in South Africa. She described it as "flipped" between the two countries, in that in the U.S. Whites were in the numerical majority and in the economic majority in terms of control of power and wealth -- "controlling most of the money in the United States, being in the upper level jobs, having access to lots of different resources" (Sam Interview Three); whereas, in South Africa, Whites were overwhelmingly in the numerical minority. Yet, they were still in the economic majority in terms of control of power and wealth.

Sam talked about how as a White person it was difficult to look at things from the "minority" perspective in terms of resources and access. Part of the privilege of growing up White and middle class in the U.S. was not having to look at things from the minority perspective, and in Sam’s case, never having had to worry about being hungry, or having a place to sleep:

I think seeing some of the things that I saw, it certainly showed me how fortunate I was and how fortunate my life has been: you know, where I grew up, the education that I got and the house, the food that I've always had on the table, that I've never been hungry or anything like that. And I know that a large part of it is just due to, you know, part of it's just luck that you're - you know, I know I would never have to want for anything. I'd always have a roof over my head and shelter and all of that. And a lot of it is sort of tied to race, and with Whites, especially in this country, it seems to be - it doesn't seem to be - but we've that, I guess, majority edge. (Sam Interview Three)
Sam recognized her own White privilege and she said that all Americans (presumably White Americans especially) should go somewhere to get out of their comfort zone so that they also recognized their own privilege.

Interestingly, Sarah for the first time experienced what it was like to be a minority when she was in South Africa. She felt that as a White person, she was not trusted by many of the Black people, including security guards, who confided in the Black students that apartheid was horrible. She felt left out as a result, and realized that she would not want to do the same to others. She also developed a deeper sense of empathy, not only for South Africans but for African Americans.

And I think that that feeling of like - I guess like we were talking about like how maybe a Black person would feel in the United States. Like we felt left out sometimes and we felt like we weren't a part of something, or we couldn't - not that we couldn't have access to something but we weren't necessarily supposed to. Like in talking to certain people and I feel like because of that - when you go through something like that and you feel so left out - you don't ever really want to let someone else feel like that. (Sarah Interview Three)

These incidents only reinforced her feeling that "everyone is the same regardless of your skin color" (Sarah Interview Three).

Like Sam, Michelle in her reflections on Interview Two revisited her comments about how her racial identity was not important to her. She explained that racial identity was part of hers and other White people's identity "but it's a part that we completely ignore" (Michelle Interview Three). She said, however, that for many other people racial identity was very important and it was not something they could ignore or something they could escape since "everyone always sees that about you" (Michelle Interview Three). Michelle explained that as a White person she would never have "to really experience or
be able to understand what that's like” (Michelle Interview Three) to have race be such an important part of one's identity and something that one cannot ignore or escape.

Similarly, Sarah said that she had never had to “really face” racism and oppression based on the color of someone’s skin (Sarah Interview Three). In stark contrast, Leonard spoke about the everyday reality of racism in the United States and the inability to escape race. For the White students, race was invisible; whereas, for the Black students it was unavoidable.

The Black Consciousness Movement

In 1969, through the inspiration of the Black Power Movement in the United States and with continued frustration at the oppressive system of apartheid and the Bantustans, which encouraged separate development, Steven Biko led a group of students to form the South African Students’ Organisation (SAS). “This in turn gave rise to a wide political movement called the Black Peoples’ Convention. The Black Consciousness Movement rejected co-operation with white organizations and sought to make African, Indian and Coloured South Africans identify themselves as black in the face of white oppression.” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.220).

Feelings of Shame

Joseph expressed on several occasions a sense of shame towards the “White race” because of the horrors of apartheid that were perpetrated upon Black people in Southern Africa. Three events in particular were the catalyst for that feeling: The Apartheid Museum, The Hector Peterson Museum, and the townships. In all three places he saw the reality and the results of apartheid in all of its ugliness and senselessness.

You go through (The Apartheid Museum)....you get the card saying whether you're White or Black and you go through the separate line. And then you just hear stories upon stories about the apartheid and how the inequality was and how people were beaten. And there's really nothing going on that was any reason at all for military or government force that was used. So that was obviously one of the
catalysts that sort of made my feelings about my own race change. (Joseph Interview Three)

For Joseph, the experience of walking through some of the realities that had to be faced by Southern Africans during apartheid made it all much more real, and as a result he was shameful towards White people for it.

Similarly, at the Hector Peterson Museum in Soweto Joseph saw how force was used against children. He reacted very emotionally to that experience, as well, feeling shameful of the actions of his so-called “race.”

Then you hear the sides say…the White saying that they were rioting and they were throwing stones. And I highly doubt that that ever happened and I'm a White individual so - that was just one of those points where I'm just like, even if they were throwing stones I don't think my parents would ever physically beat me if I threw a stone at them. I'm sure they wouldn't be happy but they wouldn't pull out a gun and shoot me, so I'm just - I don't see where they handled the situation by using force. So that was another one of the turning points that sort of affected how I felt about my race, especially in regards to other races. (Joseph Interview Three)

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<td>In 1976 in the Black township of Soweto outside of Johannesburg, schoolchildren staged a massive protest of the mandate by the South African government that Afrikaans be the mode of instruction in all schools. The South African police responded with violence, in which many children were shot and killed, including a 13 year-old boy named Hector Peterson whose image became a symbol of Black struggle against apartheid in South Africa. The “Soweto Uprising” as it has been called led to riots throughout the country as pent up anger and frustration boiled over in many townships and communities.</td>
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<td>In 1977, the organizations that made up the Black Consciousness Movement were banned, and shortly thereafter Steven Biko died in prison.</td>
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In these two instances, Joseph struggled with new-felt shame at what had been done by others of his “race.” Joseph was not yet able to separate his racial identity from those acts that were perpetuated by other people who happened to also identify as White.
Joseph was not yet at the point where he could look at his own race objectively. He identified with the things that White people had done as reflective of "his race," and his opinions about his own race changed as a result. His own sense of self as a White person was dualistic and simplistic. He did not yet possess the complexity to identify as a White person, yet reject the behavior of other people who identified similarly.

_WHITE PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA_

Although the students learned a great deal about what was done by the White government and its agents during apartheid, they had very few encounters with White people on the program. The only White person they spent much time with was Shiney Bright, who was a British woman who had traveled from England to South Africa in the mid-1970’s during the height of apartheid. Shiney was unique, in that she spoke fluent Zulu and she had a deep level of respect and love for the Black people of Southern Africa. Andrew commented, "She has invested her money, time, and energy in trying to help people regardless of race. She loves the people around her no matter who they are." (Andrew Journal)

Shiney, who was the group’s tour guide in Durban, was a unique individual in terms of her experiences and her perspective, yet she was the only White person that many of the students spent time visiting with. Andrew made a very insightful comment in his journal about Shiney's role as "vitally important as she represents the only predominant white voice we will hear from. It is in my mind hard to judge the white community based on what we've seen to this point as we've dealt so much more with
blacks." (Andrew Journal). Interestingly, when I went in 2002, our tour guide and bus
driver in Johannesburg and during our safaris in Northern South Africa, were White, so
we had some other perspectives as well. Since this course was housed in the department
of African American and African Studies, the perspectives taught in the class were
primarily centered around the experiences of Black South Africans.

That being said, the experience of the study abroad program "cemented the fact"
for Michelle that "I am an American White person, a White woman, and not a European
White woman, not a South African White woman - completely different, you know."
(Michelle Interview Three) She saw that to be White in South Africa was very different
from being White in the U.S., and that were one to have grown up under
apartheid as a White person, the transition to the new government and the governing
principles of today would have been, and might continue to be, very difficult. She asked
how would the whole switch in mindset affect those people? What would it have been
like for someone to have left apartheid and moved to the U.S.? "What kind of culture
shock was that like?" (Michelle Interview Three)

Modern South Africa was built on the assumption of superiority of White people
and the structures and policies of apartheid reinforced that assumption (Omer-Cooper,
1994). Michelle realized that it would been very hard to have gone from having made
those assumptions and having the government support them to having that whole
worldview turned on its ear -- to be told that everyone was equal and that the apartheid
system was wrong and immoral. "What do you do when somebody tells you - just
kidding (laughter), you're not actually racially superior to anyone." (Michelle Interview
Three)
Through this process, Michelle came to realize the challenges that White people had faced in South Africa in making sense of the changes since the dismantling of apartheid. She, therefore, developed a greater level of empathy and understanding of how difficult that might have been for someone. Although this would not have been a popular thing to empathize with, since most people left the experience very much focused on the experiences of Black people, it demonstrated a complexity of understanding that she attributed to the experience.

Greater Comfort with Black People

In addition, and arguably more importantly, the experience deepened for some of the White students their level of comfort with Black people both in Southern Africa and in the United States. For Joseph, talking and bartering with the Black men and women in the marketplaces in Southern Africa helped him to feel more comfortable communicating with people of a different racial group than his own. “As you interact with those people you learn more about them and the way they live and you sort of appreciate their race moreso.” (Joseph Interview Three) In the marketplace, Joseph was able to connect with Black people to an extent that had never happened in his life. He began to speak the lingo, "Hey Brother," that one heard throughout the marketplaces, and he felt accepted.

In the U.S., Joseph had expressed less comfort with Black people, in general, because of fear of not being "politically correct" or fumbling somehow. In his first interview, Joseph shared a story about how he had overcome the fear in doing a presentation and talking with an all-Black student organization at Mid-Western State University the previous year. Once he had overcome his fear of being the only White
student there, Joseph found that he really enjoyed it and ended up working more closely with some of the students in subsequent projects.

Joseph explained that the experience of being in Southern Africa was positive for him because he felt so accepted and thus, was not nervous. When he got back to the U.S., however, some of those nerves still remained, as well as his fear that he might say something stupid or insensitive.

But, I mean, there's just two completely different distinctions of race, I think, between the two countries. I feel so much more comfortable over there with the word race and just the whole idea of different skin colors and that not playing an effect at all, where over here I just think it - I don't feel as comfortable as I do over there. (Joseph Interview Three)

In this quote, Joseph recognized how the cultural norms for inter-racial communication in the context of Southern Africa differed greatly from those in the U.S. For example, in the markets of Zimbabwe and South Africa, Joseph became comfortable using the lingo, “Hey Brother” and he enjoyed joking around and using that lingo with the Black sellers when he was there. However, he recognized that such an expression in the U.S. would likely be interpreted by an African American person as being condescending, offensive, or possibly racist.

State of Emergency
On March 21, 1984, on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings, police opened fire on a large crowd of peaceful marchers who were going to a commemorative meeting. This sparked worse violence than that of 1976, with violence spreading throughout the country. Shortly thereafter, a state of emergency was called, yet violence continued. “The disturbances were openly encouraged by the ANC which...called on the people to make the townships ungovernable.” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.237)
The three Black students in the study were drawn to study abroad in Southern Africa in large part due to the significance of the continent of Africa to their cultural identity as Black people and as African Americans in the United States. Both Mufasa and Leonard called Africa the “Motherland,” where their ancestors and history came from. Part of the impact of the study abroad program on the Black students’ identity was in strengthening their pride in being Black, and in what Black people had done. Both Mufasa and Leonard (Tatiana did not participate in the third and final interview) talked about admiring the resiliency and strength of the Black African people and how they had endured and survived the horrors and discrimination of apartheid-era Southern Africa. Leonard was especially affected by the strength and courage of the teachers and the principal at the elementary school outside of Durban (as discussed above).

When asked about the biggest surprise in the experience, Leonard talked about the attitude of the Black South Africans: their pride and resilience, even in the face of the oppressive government-sanctioned policies of apartheid and its aftermath. Leonard seemed to be inspired by the energy of the principal and the teachers at the elementary school in Durban. He talked about the principal at the elementary school as "strong, focused, and passionate about her school….Also, the teachers believe in the Christian beliefs of helping each other at all costs. There were Bibles in each classroom….This visit has been the best day of the trip. It was inspiring, motivating, and enlivening (sic) to see black people enjoy their purpose to educate their students." (Leonard Journal)
Leonard was inspired by that day; he expressed an affirmation and a sense of purpose for going on the program - to be able to help that school. He and Youssef decided to "adopt" the school and to raise money so that they could build toilets for the children. To Leonard, this activism and action was derived from his Black Identity and pride in being Black, and his desire to help others who were trying to benefit others in the larger Black Diaspora.

For Leonard, who had worked with Black youth for much of his adult life, going to Africa was life-transforming. He said it was something that everyone should do:

Absolutely, unequivocally life changing to the point that you truly understand how massive the continent is (laughter). You have to go. You need to make plans somewhere in your life, save up money and go back to the Motherland. I don't care if they White, blue or purple, go back to the Motherland." (Leonard Interview Three)

Leonard in his third interview talked about how important Africa was to him and to Black people in general. In experiencing Africa, Leonard had experienced "the beauty" and "the beauty of people with pride. Experience individuals who are, in their own way…doing everything they can to survive and make their world better." (Leonard Interview Three)

Leonard said that the experience of going to Southern Africa was spiritual and incredibly important to him as a Black man. Leonard called Day 1 in his journal ("Genesis") – signifying a birth and re-birth for himself: "The reality of my dream coming true (visiting Africa - the Motherland)….As the pilot announced that we were flying over the Zambezi River, I felt blessed that God allowed me to see Africa." (Leonard Journal) Going to Africa connected Leonard to his family history and his past.
For me as an African American man I would really want you to know that it was a spiritual journey for me, to go where, you know, my ancestors came from. It lets me know who I am in this world. I don't have to worry, you know, wonder what my ancestors was like. I've been there, and that's the unadulterated truth. And to have that experience, no one can ever take that away from me. And I don't know when I stand before my maker I'll just be like, I thank you for allowing me to see that. 'Cause there's a lot of people that don't get the chance. (Leonard Interview Three)

Going to Africa was also significant to Leonard's family, and in particular, to his daughter, who was herself inspired to go on the program. Leonard’s experience had an impact on the next generation in his family, and on his daughter, in particular.

And I mean she looked deep in my eyes, you've been to Africa. And that - the whole trip and all that stuff, you know - you do it, you go through it and everything, but she was like, you've been to Africa. And that's when I - it really hit that I just did something that a whole lot of people might not get a chance to do. And it has inspired her (to do the same). (Leonard Interview Three)

Leonard loved learning some Zulu, because of his interest in Shaka Zulu and his pride of the Black people of South Africa, and the Zulus in particular, who had battled the British Army in the late 19th Century. The experience of learning how to greet people in Zulu was "awesome" and "romantic" (Leonard Interview Three; Leonard Journal). Leonard became much closer to Professor Maqhawe and decided to focus one of his doctoral cognates on African Studies, also deciding to study Zulu. Professor Maqhawe gave Leonard a Zulu name: "Mandla Kaise," which means "Inheritor of the powerful." This was a meaningful and appropriate image for Leonard, who had expressed the importance to him of better understanding his ancestors and where he came from, and in his activism and action so to improve the lives of Black people in the future.
Sanctions and Economic Depression

In 1985, as a result of the increased violence and the oppression of the people in South Africa, outside nations applied pressure on the South African government through restricted loans from European banks and sanctions from the United States. Due to increased pressure from Europe and the United States, the South African economy slowed and unemployment soared.

Black Americans as Not Necessarily African Americans

At the same time that their sense of pride in being Black was reaffirmed by the experience, the theme of expanding lenses resounded throughout the experience of the Black students, whose perspectives, views, opinions and beliefs about what it was to be African, or African American were opened up in a new ways. This opened them to allow for greater variability and new ways of looking at race, identity, and racial classification that had previously been held as truth. Mufasa talked about how through the study abroad experience he saw how the term “African American,” which had been a term of pride in his identity as a Black man, was inaccurate. This change in his perception signified an expansion of lens of what it is to be Black, and what it is to be African – a movement away from a dualistic stance to a more open and accepting one.

Through such means as the musical "African Footprints," which the group saw in Johannesburg, Mufasa saw that there were more than Black people who considered themselves to be Africans. In fact, at the end of the musical there was a song called “Children of Africa,” in which people of all racial categories, Black, White, Indian, "Coloured", sang about all being Africans. He saw how many people other than Black people considered themselves to be Africans. Their bus driver, Gordon, told Mufasa that he didn't understand why Americans classified Black people as African American when in fact they were not African. "They're just Americans. They're Black Americans."
Through these experiences Mufasa came to see that “African” is not a race, as it is perceived to be in the U.S., but a nationality, such as South African. In the U.S., he said, "African as just a race that, you know, anybody with dark skin and, you know, curly hair is African." (Mufasa Interview Three)

Although Mufasa and Leonard had identified strongly as African Americans, they realized after visiting Southern Africa that most Black people in the U.S. did not understand the issues faced by most Africans, although they identified as African Americans. Mufasa explained, "most Black people in America…don't know or they don't seek out the issues that face most Africans, the average African in be it South Africa, Zimbabwe, or any other African, Sub-Saharan African…country." (Mufasa Interview Three) Leonard reiterated this when he said,

I can truly understand when Africans, when we try to mimic or mock the African culture and things of that nature because we're ignorant and we don't have any appreciation of it, and I can understand when Africans have a mentality of - they call you African American but it's almost how sometime Blacks say, well, you know, I'm from Cleveland and I'm going to be like well, I'm from Shaker Heights and you're like, man, you 'aint from Cleveland because you 'aint dealt with what's really going on in the inner city of Cleveland. And to me, they are saying you're in America. You go through this stuff. You 'aint seen what's really going over in Africa. You have not seen what's going on." (Leonard Interview Three)

**Change in the air: The end of apartheid**

“By 1988 it was clear that while the South African authorities had succeeded in imposing a measure of order by sheer force, they could not hope to regain the loyalty of the majority of the population or defuse concerted international hostility without dismantling apartheid altogether.” (Omer-Cooper, 1994, p.241)

At the same time, the South African government began more active negotiations with the African National Congress, including meetings with the imprisoned Nelson Mandela. On February 2, 1990, the new president, F.W. de Klerk announced that Mandela was to be freed, and nine days later he emerged after 27 years in prison. During that year much of the social segregation of apartheid was dismantled and in 1991, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, as well as many others, were repealed. This historic event marked the end of apartheid.
Broadening of Racial Classifications and Relationships

The experience of taking the course and studying abroad expanded the way Mufasa looked at race. Between the first and second interviews, Mufasa’s views about race and racial identity were significantly expanded. In the first interview, Mufasa had grappled with the ways in which Eminem, a White rap artist, “acted Black” in his clothes and in his speech. This had at first bothered Mufasa but he began to understand that Eminem had had similar experiences to many Black people, thus his “acting Black” could have been based on his community and culture. This meant that White people could also enjoy Hip Hop music and culture for its own sake. It was no longer something divided by race.

In the first interview, Mufasa started to see how Black people could appreciate and enjoy music that was not Hip Hop, but it wasn’t until the second interview that Mufasa made a breakthrough in stating that race and ethnicity “means whatever you want it to mean” (Mufasa Interview Two). This indicated a shift from being dualistic about his categorizations of what it is to be Black and what it is to be White, to having a more open stance that race was whatever you wanted it to mean to you; and being Black or being White could be two very different things for people who identified similarly. No longer was race universal and experienced (or supposed to be experienced) the same way.

I think that (race and ethnicity) means, um, I think now it's starting, like, seeing so many different people around campus and the way that they define themselves, and people that I used to...I used to consider to be just like me, I would say it means whatever you want it to mean. It...it doesn't have a set definition. You...you define yourself, and you define your race. You define who you are. And, I can't tell you who you want to be...who you should be or...or who should be or who you shouldn't be. And...just like I wouldn't want you to tell me the
same thing, so I think that you should define it for yourself. And, if it means
being Black and listening to Rock and Roll, then, hey, that's what it means. If it
means being White and liking Hip Hop, that's what it means. So, if it means, you
know, being Chinese and loving Soul Food, hey, I can't stop you. (Mufasa
Interview Two)

When Mufasa was in high school it was almost a requirement of being Black to
like Hip Hop music; however, in college and in the course, meeting people he liked who
enjoyed different music or different aspects of pop culture expanded Mufasa’s repertoire
of the meaning of being a member of a particular racial or ethnic group.

During the quarter of the class on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa,”
Mufasa also had an eye-opening experience through the website “Facebook”. A White
student from another college had posted an anti-rap message that had strong racial and
racist tones.

Basically he said – all Black kids are illiterate, and he said stuff like, I’m not
racist. This is just what I believe. And he goes through, uh, rap lyrics and
grammatically corrects some of what they say and the way they spell their name
and all. My point is that rap is an art form, just like the Rock and Roll that you
like. And, and, uh, you can't go through and critique something based on…you
can't go through somebody's rap lyrics and dot the "I"s and cross the "t"s because
this is the way that they want to express themselves. And, I can't…I can't go
and dismiss Beethoven's…accomplishments because he was deaf. I can't go
through and…and critique Edgar Allen Poe's writing because he was a drunk, you
know what I mean. (Mufasa Interview Two)

Whereas, in the past Mufasa may have attributed the message that was posted by the
student as being the way White people are, Mufasa saw White students agreeing with his
angry response. As a result, Mufasa questioned the way he would have responded in the
past.

Well, I can't say this is just White people because hey, this is a White person
fighting the same battle that I'm fighting in. It made me question my opinions and
the things that I used to say about people. And, the way I used to feel about
people as a whole, and it made it hard to…’cause it is real…I think that it is a lot
easier to say, well, hey, that's just White people for you, than it is say that that's just an ignorant person, and that's just the end of it. He don't speak for everybody else. It's just…it's just him, and his opinion. (Mufasa Interview Two)

Mufasa realized that it was not right to have strict standards of what it was to be Black or what it was to be White, and that people who were White did not necessarily think the same way. He commented that having such strict standards could actually hurt individuals and the community, especially the Black community. This signaled a growing empathy for others, especially those who Mufasa may not have associated with in the past.

Having such strict standards of what Black is is not helpful for Black people as a whole, because there's not a lot of Black people in this country, as it is, and…for me to define what this…person's Blackness, it only hurts my community. It doesn't help my community, because they can still be an asset to my community, and have different views on…different social views, different political views, different economic views than I do and still help out my community. (Mufasa Interview Two)

Through taking the class Mufasa came to recognize that race and racial divisions were not as important as he had made them out to be in the past. He also explained that he had become less judgmental, thus beginning to see how others might view a situation, concluding that their perceptions and views were equally valid to his own. Mufasa went to an all-Black high school, so earlier he had not had to understand or appreciate the opinions of students of other racial backgrounds; whereas, in college he had had to. In the process he became less argumentative and seemed to listen more. He also came to see that race was not the only issue.

Race is not the end all, be all that, you know, we make it seems (sic). That, you know, too many people have died based on our opinions of race and we still haven’t got it right yet. And, that’s what…that’s one of the important things that the class taught me, that, Ok, I’m Black, you’re White. Ok, let’s not kill each other over it, kind of thing. (Mufasa Interview Two)
Through the course and study abroad experience, Mufasa came to see the bigger picture of race and how race was used and manipulated throughout the world. Mufasa came to see that people had benefited from and capitalized on race through many injustices that were perpetuated over a number of years and generations. He began to see how he and many others had benefited from injustices. For example, he associated the Rhodes Scholarship, which had benefited such an American statesman as Former President Bill Clinton, with John Cecil Rhodes, who was the richest and one of the most powerful people in Southern African history. Although the Rhodes Scholarship was of great honor and prestige, the man it symbolized was a man who had treated many Black South Africans poorly and took the land from the people as he built his own empire, Rhodesia.

Mufasa asked, “What other injustice have I benefited from?” He asked, “What privileges have I enjoyed because of the sacrifices of others?” This was particularly true in the sacrifices that his family had made so that he could be in college. He came to a new level of appreciation for those sacrifices and for the opportunities he had been able to enjoy because of them. He asked, “What am I benefiting from? At what cost am I enjoying the benefits that I’m enjoying?” These benefits and advantages included going to college, studying abroad, and having all of these life transforming experiences. As Mufasa’s world opened up he also saw how he would be the one to make sacrifices for someone else some day. He commented that this realization was “humbling” for him. His comments reminded me of the ancient African expression, “I am because we are” (Hord & Lee, 1995). Mufasa recognized that he was part of a larger community,
including “the Black community” and the larger community of the world. Interestingly, the other two Black students, Tatiana and Leonard, commented that it was important to give back to that same community.

Mufasa described that the course opened up his picture of race and racial identity; it helped him to see others’ perspectives and their value; and to see himself in a larger context outside of his sphere of experience. In seeing himself in a larger context Mufasa came to recognize his place more definitely, and to realize his responsibility for that place and his responsibility towards others. This could be summarized as an opening up into a larger context of what it was to be a person of a particular identity.

This process was “hard work” for Mufasa. He commented that prior to his college studies he would have had the opinions that he was expressing in the second interview. He commented that going through the process of changing his opinions and views was the purpose of the course on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa,” and of his college education in general. Mufasa commented that through this process his picture of the world had been transformed.

Hey, I guess “The Matrix” was right when they say, uh, you can't see things that your mind can't handle, because it was true that two years ago I couldn't have saw...I couldn't see some of the things that I see today, and it was only through those experiences that I was able to see. (Mufasa Interview Two)

Mufasa’s quote demonstrated how students’ lenses were expanded through the experience, thus giving them new tools to see an increasingly complex world.

Mufasa came to appreciate the complexity of race and possibly some of the ambiguities of race, calling it gray, no longer Black and White. For the first time, as
Mufasa described it, he did not feel the need to have an opinion about race or issues of race. He saw it could be interpreted in different ways.

I just don’t see race as a concrete sign of something that’s - there’s Black and White. It’s just real gray now, and I accept it as something that’s gray and it doesn’t have to be Black and White …and a lot of it may come from just the way…things that happened and things that I thought about after the trip, but everything doesn’t - race and my opinions about race doesn’t have to be a Black and White issue any more. It can be gray and it can be something that I don’t have to understand everything about and I don’t have to have an opinion about every topic related to it. (Mufasa Interview Three)

Mufasa described how the experience of studying abroad in Southern Africa helped him to redefine his “idea of community,” e.g. what he defined as within his community and who he defined as within it. He commented that in South Africa people accepted and respected their neighbors, even if they did not have the same means and resources as them. He seemed to imply that in the U.S. people judged their neighbors if they were of lesser means or if they had fewer resources (including technology). He said that he saw in such places as Khayalitsha “a real community and not some fake community….You know, it didn’t seem like window dressing. It seemed like they were genuinely interested in each other as people.” (Mufasa Interview Three) He also experienced this same level of interest towards himself, an American college student from thousands of miles away.

This “challenged” (Mufasa Interview Three) Mufasa to see his community as larger than just his next door neighbor but as people of South Africa and the people who were affected by the Tsunami that devastated Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia in December 2004. His realization was that “I don’t have to live next door to you for you to be my neighbor.” (Mufasa Interview Three) He saw how people were hungry when
others threw away food like it was nothing. He saw how people were connected and he felt some level of responsibility within that, helping him to redefine “what’s neighborly and what’s not, and who I consider my neighbor” (Mufasa Interview Three).

For Mufasa, the study abroad program was the catalyst for developing relationships with many people who he would not have spent time with in the U.S., but whose relationships were significant to Mufasa in terms of sharing in the experiences and discussing their opinions.

I felt like I built relationships with people that I otherwise wouldn’t have built. That I got to know people that I probably wouldn’t have talked to on campus because of - for whatever reason. Maybe it’s my own ignorance or whatever. I just probably wouldn’t have talked to these people, a lot of them, maybe all of them. But that was key and just sharing, sharing my feelings with these people, who a lot of them felt the same way that I felt about certain things. Even the ones that I disagreed with, it just was cool to be able to argue with somebody by the Indian Ocean. (Mufasa Interview Three)

Although Tatiana was not interviewed a third time after she returned from Southern Africa, Sarah shared a story about how Tatiana’s views of who could be friends was affected by the study abroad experience and expressed at the end of the program. Tatiana, the only Black woman on the trip, had at first been aloof with the other women on the program. By the end of the experience, however, according to Sarah, she had "learned from this trip…that everyone is their own person regardless of the color of your skin and I can get along with anybody" (Sarah Interview Three). This realization was meaningful to Sarah, in that it accentuated the importance of the experience changing “like basically the way she (Tatiana) is going to live her life when she comes back: who she's going to talk to, who she's going to interact with.” (Sarah Interview Three) This was particularly significant for Tatiana, since she had shared in
the first interview the feeling of being very alone and left out in her previous study abroad experience to Italy, where again she was the only Black woman and in that instance, the only Black student. In both Mufasa’s and Tatiana’s cases, the study abroad experience expanded their network of relationships to incorporate White students.

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<th>A new democracy</th>
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<td>After continued tensions and violence throughout the country, in December of 1993, a new constitution was drafted, and on April 27, 1994, the first free elections were held in South Africa. Nelson Mandela, the first Black president of the country, was elected with participation of 90% of registered voters. In June 1999, five years later, Thabo Mbeki was elected as the second Black president of the country with almost a 2/3 majority vote. He was subsequently reelected in 2004.</td>
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Being Biracial (Being “Mixed”)

Through the study abroad experience, the White students on the program became more aware of their own White privilege and what they had taken for granted in their lives; the Black students had their pride affirmed but the experience also expanded the lenses they used to look at their own racial classification and how they identified with Africa. In the museums, in the course, and in their encounters between different people the emphasis was on the separation between White people and Black people in Southern Africa, a theme Suzie, the only student who identified as Biracial or “mixed,” called “a Black and White issue” (Suzie Interview Three; Suzie Journal). Although Suzie had identified strongly with her Polish American roots on her mother’s side, her physical appearance made her classified by others as Asian. That classification and the assumptions from others that went along with that classification affected Suzie and led to what she called an “identity crisis,” in that she did not feel that she fit in anywhere.
Suzie was struck, in particular, by an encounter with a British man in a hotel in Cape Town, because he completely excluded her from a conversation about the impact of the experience of being in Southern Africa. In her story, Suzie felt excluded because this British visitor asked questions about the effect of the trip on her two fellow students, one Black and one White; yet, he never asked Suzie the same questions, even though she was sitting in-between the other two students. Suzie felt invisible and ignored, and that her racial identity and the impact of what she was seeing in South Africa was not valued.

Suzie felt that she could relate to some of what she had seen, especially because of the experience of her grandmother in the internment camp during World War II. This was particularly the case when she saw District 6, which had been completely destroyed in the 1960's and all of its inhabitants had been forcibly removed from their homes and relocated. In interviews one and two, Suzie talked about how her own family had lost a great deal during the war, as was the case for those who were affected by the relocation from, and destruction of, District 6 in February of 1966.xvii

In addition, Suzie had a hard time finding a place both in the group and in South African society. Her fellow students made assumptions based on their pictures of Asian people – as privileged, therefore unable to empathize. Yet, as Suzie described in her first interview, she grew up in a primarily Black neighborhood with a White Polish American mother. The assumptions of the other students were not accurate, and her identity as an Asian American or person of mixed race was not valued in South Africa. This put her in a sense of "identity crisis," as she put it. "Whites view me as Asian; Blacks view me as Asian - but Asians know I'm not completely Asian." (Suzie Interview Three)
It was disappointing to Suzie that she knew so little about Japanese culture, and that disappointment only grew when others realized that.

A lot of people expect me to know a lot more about my culture than I do, because that's what I'm perceived to be in. I'm seen as Japanese. And I don't and it definitely is disappointing for me, but I think it becomes that much more of a disappointment when other people realize it too. (Suzie Interview Three)

Suzie seemed to be torn between her two family histories and identities. She had a strong connection to her mother and the traditions of her Polish American roots, and to her father and especially the experiences of her grandmother during WWII. Yet, she knew very little about Japanese culture.

Because of what my grandparents had to go through, or my grandma had to go through the camps that, not that we lost a lot of our culture but that it wasn't popular to still have around. My grandpa never learned Japanese because that wasn't good at the time, so they just wanted him to learn English. So I'm just four generations removed and nobody knows Japanese. And I just felt moved by District 6 because a lot of those people, they experienced the same thing. But for many, many years I can't even imagine - I mean - people are just now starting to go to the museum because they're able to deal with everything. And I can't even fathom that because I - uh - my grandmother's experience, I feel it's on a smaller scale compared to everything that happened in South Africa but it's just what I'm using to relate. (Suzie Interview Three)

Suzie really related to District 6, because of the way the community and the culture of that community was lost, much like the culture of many Japanese Americans, who chose not to teach their children Japanese when they came to the U.S. Yet, they were punished for their heritage during World War II.

Suzie discussed at length how she saw a greater sense of community in South Africa than what she had experienced in her own life. Seeing the connections of families and how people cared about one another and watched out for each other in the
community made Suzie want to learn more about her own heritage and her own family's
cultural traditions - both on the Japanese side, which was lost because of her
grandparents' desire to assimilate, and on her mother's side - the Polish American side. "I
think seeing the people there with their culture and their comfort with it, and keeping it,
makes me wish that I had that." (Suzie Interview Three)

Suzie, like the Black students, talked about how she had experienced oppression
in the U.S., and arguably, in South Africa.

I have felt on this trip, that I have a lot to offer because of my experiences in life,
my families' history and where I've grown up. However because I'm not Black
and because I'm not White I feel my experiences have been lessened. I am one
generation removed from oppression. Not one year in grade school or high school
went by when someone didn't make a nasty comment about Pearl Harbor, Japs or
Gooks. Even now I meet someone with some comment….I know what it feels
like to experience prejudice. My own grandfather wouldn't hold me because he
was a WWII vet and my mom had a Jap baby. (Suzie Journal)

The theme that seemed to resonate for Suzie and the Black students was having
experienced prejudice first-hand; whereas, the White students experienced prejudice only
second-hand -- through the course, the study abroad program, and the stories and
experiences of the people they met. The White privilege, which had surfaced for some of
the students, seemed to shield them from prejudice and oppression in the U.S.
The Truth and Reconciliation Commission
During Mandela’s presidency, under the leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the government of South Africa held the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was a “courtlike body” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Truth_and_Reconciliation_Commission) that heard testimony from people who had been victimized under the apartheid system, as well as confessions and testimonies from those who had perpetrated violence on those victims. These perpetrators could ask for amnesty and be given it so long as their testimony was accurate. This unique and powerful process revealed the stories of those who had mysteriously disappeared, allowing for families to come to closure, and it shepherded in a new democracy that sought to celebrate its diversity rather than suppressing it.

EXPANSION OF LENSES: CHANGED PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY

Happiness Even in Poverty

Six of the eight students who were interviewed a third time mentioned how they were affected by seeing profound poverty in the South African townships, with people living in makeshift shelters with corrugated steel as walls and roofs, and tires on the roofs so that the steel would not blow off and the lightning would not strike. In Chief Mkuni’s village outside of Livingstone, Zambia, the students saw people living a simpler lifestyle without many material amenities, with women having to pump water from a well that was built by an international organization. What seemed to shock the students most, and what struck me so much when I went myself in 2002, was how even amidst such poverty, people were happy; they had hope; they maintained and developed a strong sense of community and connectedness; and they seemed to live their lives to the fullest.

I mean when you see those people living with nothing; people dying of AIDS that don't even know it, or that do know it. And they're happy. I mean I've never seen so many kids run up and grab our hands and smile and want to take pictures. They were all friends there too. They'd all hung out together. It seemed like they were playing games in the streets together…You know the townships, the big
thing is people are living happily without half the stuff we have. Some of them didn't even have (electric power). (Joseph Interview Three)

In the United States, the majority of the students, White and African American, had been taught that poverty was undesirable, at best, and a stigma to avoid at all costs, at worst (especially for the White students). Joseph struggled to reconcile the fact that people were poor and lived in what he considered to be sub-standard housing, yet they were happy, their relationships were deep and fulfilling and their quality of life seemed to be good. Joseph and the others had been raised to associate material wealth with happiness, so the attitudes of the people in the townships conflicted with that view.

Joseph was not alone in expressing this feeling. Interestingly, Sarah, Joseph, Andrew, Sam, Mufasa, and Suzie described how they saw “happiness,” even under what the students considered to be significant economic hardship. For Mufasa, that observation helped him to rethink his definition of a “blessing” and it also helped identify what he had previously taken for granted.

I just learned how strong South Africans are. That, you know, most - like people who lived in tin huts and shacks and didn't have running water, they still were able to smile and they still were able to - they were still happy. And they still felt like they were being blessed. And it forced me to, you know, rethink my definition of a blessing. That I don't have to have running water. Everything is a blessing and life itself is a blessing. And that's, you know, the way that most South Africans saw it; whereas, most people that I know would have been depressed and on the verge of suicide if they had to live like a lot of the people in Soweto or Khayalitsha had to live. (Mufasa Interview Three)

Suzie talked about how the experience of visiting the school in Durban changed her perceptions: "It really makes you not want to ever complain about anything again. It makes you want to be grateful and appreciative." (Suzie Interview Three) But to the
teachers that was just the way they operated: "We're the teachers. We stick together. And they don't even think twice about it." (Suzie Interview Three)

Reprioritizing What Is Most Important

Joseph observed how people in the townships communicated and had a deeper connection with one another than he had. As a result, Joseph saw how he needed to reprioritize what was most important in his life. He came to the conclusion that the most important thing in his life was the relationships, the people – his girlfriend, his parents, his close friends. He realized that he had surrounded himself with “stuff” that in the long run would amount to very little. In the process, Joseph realized how materialistic the U.S. was and how materialistic he had become. He concluded that the technology that he had sought would be obsolete in no time, but the relationships would continue to be important to him and to those around him. The following quote nicely illustrated the process that Joseph underwent.

And actually the biggest thing throughout the whole trip that I commented on numerous times is the fact that I didn't have a cell phone in my pocket. And I didn't have that vibrating every ten minutes with a phone call that I had to take about work, about school, about a group case or something like that. And I was just like - I don't know why - I walked back and unfortunately the thing that went in my pocket second was a cell phone. And I was just like you want to know what, I don't even need it. Like why do I even need a cell phone? I get back and I have this computer and I just surround myself with all these things that I had gone 23 days without and I had survived without them. Why do I need them? It's just money. People over there are dying from AIDS and, you know, I'm sure there's a lot of starvation going on. And I'm sitting here spending money buying IPODS and all this stuff that really in the end is irrelevant. In 80 years, when I pass away, the computer is going to be shot. What's the purpose of it all? Like why do I need to e-mail someone about this? They don't have e-mail and they're happy and they're probably actually closer than we are. (Joseph Interview Three)
Joseph was a highly ambitious and bright student who had been driven to achieve but seemed to have lost sight of the importance of the relationships in his life. Interestingly, when he returned to the U.S. he talked about how he had made the conscious decision to connect with his friends and family, especially those who were going to be graduating and leaving the area, rather than concentrate entirely on his studies. Joseph came to this realization through experiencing the power of community and relationships in complex communities. On the other hand, Leonard, who had lived a great deal more life (approximately twice as long as Joseph), and who had grown up in the inner city of a large Mid-Western City, had that level of sophistication and understood the complexities of community, family, relationship, and poverty, although he too commented on the resilience and strength of the people.

Joseph and others saw how the people had a different level of commitment to their community and their jobs. As was explored above, the experience of visiting the elementary school in Durban was one of the most significant of the program for all of the students. Amazingly, each of the eight students interviewed a third time spoke to that single afternoon. Andrew called the 30 teachers, who worked at the school, "heroes," because of their resilience, their hope, and their desire and ability to overcome and do what was best for their students. This, despite the staggering statistic that 40% of the students were HIV/AIDS orphans, whose number "haunt(ed) and devastate(d)" Andrew. Despite many levels of seemingly impossible tasks, these courageous women struggle on. Their power and love for their students, their steadfast commitment to education, and their support and spirited commitment to each other gave me renewed hope for the African continent. Change requires hope, and in their faces, hearts, and minds, hope was more than abundant. In them I saw God's face. (Andrew Journal)
Effects of Globalization and Commercialization

Although many of the students idealized aspects of the lifestyles of the people in the townships, the people themselves were rapidly adapting themselves to be able to improve their situations and to take advantage of the global economy and its benefits. Many of the students observed the effects of globalization and commercialization on the local communities they visited. Sam, Andrew, Michelle, Leonard, and Suzie all talked about the changes that were occurring in the Valley of a Thousand Hills due to tourism.

The village that the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa students had been visiting since the late 1990’s was deep down in the Valley of 1,000 Hills about 45 minutes to an hour from Durban. The Mid-Western State University study abroad program was the first to bring foreign tourists/students to the village to learn about Zulu culture. Over the course of the years 1997 to 2005, when the current group traveled to the village, many other schools and groups had visited as well. The group in 2005 observed many changes from even the previous year. The changes had been disappointing to Youssef and the professor since they marked a move away from the traditional and authentic to the commercial, thus appealing to tourists. Andrew, in his final paper, called this the “clash of globalized tourism and localized culture.”

The town had built a hotel with modern facilities and as of 2005, they could house guests. When we were there in 2002 they were just building a welcome center for the tourists coming in. Since then, many more had come to see what life for Zulu villagers was like. Students observed that commodifying that life and selling it for a price automatically would change it in unknown ways; yet, the benefits to the people in the
community may, to them, outweigh the loss of the authenticity of their culture. Andrew observed this trend in his final paper:

> With so many new visitors to the African continent, groups like the Zulu villagers from the Valley of a Thousand Hills are attempting to corner their piece of the market, but the costs of such initiatives are not only economic. These attempts to garner a little bit more money have to have cultural implications when numerous tour groups enter such a village on a day to day basis. (Andrew Final Paper)

An example of this trend was in several students’ observation that the traditional healer (“medicine man”) posed for pictures for money. When I was there in 2002, I was able to take a picture of him after asking his permission, but it was in a kraal, or traditional home/ceremonial place in Zulu culture, when we gathered to learn about Zulu culture and ate the food. When the group went in 2005, the village representatives had wanted to feed the group in the new cafeteria instead of the kraal, where we and earlier groups had eaten and gotten a feel for the traditional culture. Andrew further explained,

> This man would have never done such a thing had there not been tourists visiting from which to make money. This clash of globalized tourism with localized culture will continue to create tension and disagreement, as the benefits and cost of such activities will need to be looked upon carefully to decide upon how these activities should be employed. (Andrew Final Paper)

Suzie explained that a tourist company had bought rights to the village, which meant that the village had to follow certain guidelines. The students had suggested that the 2006 group stay in the hotel in the village; however, Youssef and the professor refused because it was expensive and the money would not go to the people in the village. It seemed that, although the community was gaining many new amenities, the benefits of tourism and commercialization were not necessarily going directly to the people but to the investors and the company that had bought rights to the village.
Although the village was still a functioning community and authentic in that sense, Ushake, a place the group also visited, was a themed park about Zulu culture, which removed that culture from its context and displayed it in a commercial way. Andrew “didn’t see Zulus shopping or enjoying the benefits of the majority of the profits…their role in the center was subjugated to the profit aspirations of the large companies owning the shop(s).” (Andrew Journal).

It was ironic to Suzie how the Black Africans had been "told to hide" their culture during apartheid, but in the present they were being told to display it because of its popularity and draw. Zulu culture "can make money because people want to see it…it is being shown off." (Suzie Interview Three). Zulu culture had become a commodity; "there's a line that's being crossed" (Suzie Interview Three). That being said, the people in the Zulu Village in the Valley of a Thousand Hills needed the money that they were receiving from the tourist dollars, and it helped the community school. As Andrew explained, their culture was changing and they were compelled to go along with the tourist agency because of what it was doing for the people; however, in the process their culture, their lifestyle, and their community was becoming commodified.

Through this experience, the students had to face the realities of globalization and tourism, both positive and negative, and its impact on the community and on the larger culture. Joseph, Andrew and Suzie commented about the massive effects of the 2010 Soccer World Cup on the townships. Joseph explained how the government was building millions of permanent structures (primarily concrete block houses) for people to live in the poorest parts of the townships (the “shantytowns”), and that massive walls were being constructed to hide the townships from the major highways. The students in their small
group discussion with the professor and in individual conversations asked why it took a
major international event for the government to improve the housing situation for so
many of the Black people in the townships. Suzie commented, “this is a huge problem
and it should be fixed anyway” (Suzie Interview Three).

The future of South Africa: “Alive with possibility”
In 2010, South Africa will be the host for the Soccer World Cup, the world’s largest
sporting event. The country’s moto for the event is “South Africa Alive with Possibility.”
The World Cup preparation has led to massive development of infrastructure throughout
the country, including a new rail system and upgrades and improvements to airports,
roads and housing. It presents an opportunity to infuse into the society resources that
will help many of those who still live in wretched conditions an opportunity for
improvement. It will also place South Africa in its new manifestation on the world stage
like never before. xviii

To the students, globalization had its positive effects – e.g. development,
infrastructure, resources and amenities, and its negative effects – e.g. exploitation,
commodification and possibly loss of culture. As students became more exposed to the
people and their communities, the lenses they employed to look at globalization,
commercialization, and Americanization changed. They saw how in major cities, such as
Johannesburg, they could easily go to McDonalds or Kentucky Fried Chicken, how malls
could easily have been transplanted from anywhere in the U.S., and how this seemed to
affect the local cultures. As a result, they became more keenly aware of the effect of
American companies and American consumer culture on the rest of the world.
CONCLUSION TO FINDINGS

Maybe they'll never have the wealth of the United States, but at the same time I see so much potential and so much hope that I can't help but remain positive. I really - I know I saw some really terrible things. I saw some statistics that almost knocked me over, but at the same time I met people that I can't help but say that the South African people, whether it was the forgiveness I saw from someone that had their house knocked down in District 6, to someone who went from fighting apartheid to teaching - the forgiveness and the lessons that can be taken from South Africa are not just lessons that I saw and learned from and saw as positive for them but there were things that I saw in South Africa that I hope that I brought back here to be used in the United States. I gained some academic insight that I like to think eventually I'll be able to use to help them in terms of politics and economics, but I saw some social interactions and willingness and forgiveness by people that I like to think that I brought home with me. So it was definitely a two-way street in terms of who learned from who and who experienced culture from whom. (Andrew Interview Three)

Andrew in this powerful quote summarized well what the students expressed in their admiration for the strength and resilience of the South African people, and he illustrated the process by which the students moved to an expansion of lenses in the ways in which they viewed the world and their place in it. Through personal encounters with people in the communities they visited in Southern Africa, after having first experienced the personal stories and history of Professor Maqhawe in the U.S. classroom, the students came to a deeper understanding of the people’s lives, thus personalizing the experience of “the other.” Through discussion in the safety of the group, both in informal and formal settings, the students were able to process those experiences. Then, through reflection by virtue of the journals and in participation in this research study itself, students came to a deeper understanding of those experiences and questioned the assumptions that they had previously held on such issues as poverty, race, and who could be a friend. In the process, the lenses they used to view the world and their place in it, were broadened and expanded. xix
CHAPTER 7:
THE DYNAMICS OF INTEGRATING LENSES

But it's very hard to say which of the South Africas I saw is the real South Africa, because there's a whole lot there and it's impossible to say that the South Africa I brought back was any more or less real from the South Africa that any of the other 15 brought back. (Andrew Interview Three)

The purpose of this final chapter is to synthesize the findings described in chapters four through six in relation to the original research questions that guided this study, and in relation to the literature on experiential learning, including service-learning and study abroad, personal stories and experiences, group dynamics, cognitive development, and dimensions of identity, including the development of racial identity. In addition, there will be an exploration of the implications of this study for student affairs and classroom theory, research and practice, and in particular, structuring, organizing, and implementing short-term study abroad programs. The chapter will conclude with the strengths and limitations of this study, and suggestions for additional research which could build on the findings of this study.
The research question that guided this study was: How do students in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa make meaning of race and other aspects of their identity during the study abroad program? Embedded within that question were four more specific questions which were fleshed out in the three principle interviews: (1) How are the content and process of making meaning of race shaped by the course and study abroad experience? (2) How are perceptions of self and other shaped by the experience? (3) How are relationships affected by the experience? (4) What changes seem to occur for the students through the experience?

As described in detail in chapters four through six, the emerging theory based on the experiences of the nine diverse students in this study, explained how the lenses through which the students viewed themselves and others were transformed through the experience of taking the course and studying abroad in Southern Africa. This expansion of lenses was a product of the personalization of the other that came about through personal stories and personal relationships that were formed throughout the course and the study abroad program. The stories, which began with the personal accounts of Professor Maqhawe in the U.S. classroom, were later complemented by the stories of the tour guides and others the students met in Southern Africa. Then, they were further enriched by the discussions that followed within the group, in which students grappled with what they were seeing and its meaning to them. These personal stories and the relationships that were formed with the individuals who told them compelled the students to confront the shocking reality of apartheid and colonialism in the context of Southern Africa.
This *personalizing effect* led to a reflection on the student’s own values, beliefs and assumptions, which I have called *the othering of the self*. This reflection process was supported by the cohesive and inclusive group that was formed naturally during the 2005 study abroad program, and was further enhanced through the personal journals that students were required to keep, and the conversations they had with me for this study. The personalization of the other and othering of the self then resulted in an *expansion of lenses* in the ways in which the students made meaning of their world – both in their perceptions of themselves and in their perceptions of others. Their lenses for viewing their own and others’ racial identities were expanded, as were the lenses for viewing globalization, Americanization and American values, community, and poverty. The overall effect was a broadening and opening up of perspectives, a greater level of acceptance and understanding of difference, and a desire to learn more and do more in that context and in the larger global context.

Figure 7.1 is a diagram of this dynamic of integrating those new lenses into the students’ perceptions of self and other. The remainder of this chapter will use the diagram as a means of explaining the complex dynamics of this process and its implications in understanding how people learn, and how to structure educational programs, including study abroad, so to help facilitate this process.
Personalizing the Other

Expansion of Lenses

- From Ignorance to Initial Understanding
- Racial Identity
- Globalization, Poverty & Community
- Relationships – Who can be a friend?

Othering the Self

- Through journaling
- In the group
- Through the research itself

Support: Individual(s); Group; Structure of program and research

- Grappling with dissonance between old assumptions and new reality

Adopting more complex explanations

Abandoning old assumptions & beliefs

Broadening worldview and becoming more open to new perspectives

Learning about The context

Personal Stories

Investment

Personal relationships

Engagement

Figure 7.1: Graphical Representation: Dynamics of Integrating Lenses
Diagram 7.1 is a systems diagram (Senge, 1990) that is a graphical representation of the dynamics that were explored in the findings of this study in chapters four through six.

In systems thinking, every picture tells a story. From any element in a situation (or 'variable'), you can trace arrows ('links') that represent influence on another element. These, in turn, reveal cycles that repeat themselves, time after time, making situations better or worse….But links never exist in isolation. They always comprise a circle of causality, a feedback 'loop,' in which every element is both 'cause' and 'effect' -- influenced by some, and influencing others, so that every one of its effects, sooner or later, comes back to roost.." (Goodman, Kemeny, & Roberts, 1994, p. 113) In actuality, this process is not linear but simultaneous. (p. 114)

In the diagram there are four principle loops. The large central loop represents the three key elements of the process: personalizing the other; othering the self; and expansion of lenses. These three key elements progressed in that order in multiple ways throughout the course and study abroad program.

For each of the three principle factors there is another “reinforcing loop” that spins off of it to illustrate the dynamic within each element: "Reinforcing loops generate exponential growth and collapse, in which the growth or collapse continues at an ever-increasing rate." (Goodman, Kemeny, & Roberts, 1994, p. 114) The reinforcing loop is represented by the arrows which progress in the same direction, even in the smaller loops. As a result, the smaller loops that spin off of the center flow so that they reinforce the central pattern. In effect, the smaller loops act as a gear that drive the larger process. In these reinforcing loops “a small change builds on itself” (p. 115). This dynamic will be explored in more depth as the diagram is explained throughout this chapter.

To summarize, Loop A represents personalizing the other, which included personal stories followed by personal relationships, followed by learning about the
context. Within that process there was engagement and then investment. Loop B represents the othering of the self, which included reflection and grappling with the dissonance between old assumptions and new reality. These are followed by the support that balanced the challenge of the new experiences. That support was in the form of individuals, the group itself, and the structure of the program and research process. Finally, Loop C is the expansion of lenses, which entailed the abandoning of old assumptions and beliefs; adopting more complex explanations (congruent with new experiences); and finally, broadening one’s worldview and becoming more open to new perspectives.

As students progressed through this process they cycled back through. For example, this dynamic existed in the students’ reflections on the U.S. classroom, in the context of Southern Africa, and in the context of the larger group and the research study itself. As the students cycled back through the process their lenses for viewing the world continued to expand. This was especially true within the dynamic of the group, where the personal stories and personal relationships of group members helped to personalize the other group members who were from different racial and ethnic groups (a “personalizing of the other” that was not anticipated).

PERSONALIZING THE OTHER (LOOP A)

The Power of Personal Stories

The personal stories and relationships that developed through this study abroad experience opened the door for the students to access, confront, and contextualize the brutality and horrors of colonization and apartheid, as well as the strength of human spirit
and the dignity of the people of Southern Africa; and those stories made their history real
and personal. This process began in the U.S. classroom with the powerful stories that
Professor Maqhawe told about his own life and the lives of others in Southern Africa. It
was further enhanced by the stories of the people the students met in Southern Africa,
such as Shiney Bright, the tour guide in Durban, who brought the group to tears
describing how old women were brought in wheelbarrows from hundreds of miles away
to vote in rural stations during the 1994 presidential election. It was reinforced by the
relationships that were formed in the group itself, which acted as a support and guide to
the individuals within it.

According to the students in this study, Professor Maqhawe made the culture,
society and history of Southern Africa “come alive” (Michelle Interview One) through
his own stories and the stories of others in the classroom. He used his life experience, as
well as others’, to illustrate different aspects of the culture. Michelle explained,

We didn't just read the laws and move on. He gave us examples and said, well, if
this happened, you know. ‘If I was in a room talking to White people and my
pass did not say on Wednesday mornings at 9:30 Professor Maqhawe is allowed
to speak to White people,’ he's like, ‘I would be thrown in jail.’ And we're like,
wow (laughter). You know? And, you know, when a professor is able to give
those examples, I think it makes it a lot more interesting and a lot more personal,
and a lot more, um, real to the students. So, I think…and a lot of the students
have been asking really interesting questions, so you can tell that they're thinking
about it and processing it. (Michelle Interview One)

The process by which the history and culture of Southern Africa became real for
the students, even before the students left the United States, paralleled Watts (2004), who
found that there was a change in the attitudes of a group of young adults in the United
Kingdom towards asylum seekers because of a workshop in which the personal story of a
Chilean asylee was shared. This man, Gerardo, had been tortured by the government of
the Chilean dictator, Pinochet. "It was not simply that these students were told of human rights abuses in Chile (the message) because previously received messages about human rights abuses around the world had largely passed them by. It was that they were told of them by Gerardo (the medium), who gave them the opportunity to see the world as he had experienced it and so provided them with the 'insight into things we normally ignore.'" (Watts, 2004, p. 322)

As was the case with Professor Maqhawe, and later with the people the students encountered in Southern Africa, the students could not ignore the reality they were learning about because of the personal account of the person who had lived it; whereas, in the context of the media or even past classes, students could choose to tune out or ignore content because it did not relate to their lives and did not strike them personally. “When these students watched the news they saw haphazard violence rather than the abuse of human rights; and they did not see themselves belonging to this particular part of the world's 'broader community'. However, listening to [the story teller] allowed them to glimpse that community and put the abuse of human rights into a context they could relate to -- the personal context." (Watts, 2004, p. 324) This same dynamic happened for many students on the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa. Many students commented about how shocked they were at the atrocities of apartheid, and the senseless and unjustified (in their minds) violence that took place.

The images that students in my study had viewed of Africa and Southern Africa prior to the course on “The Culture and Society of Southern Africa” were from the media. Media coverage could often be de-contextualized (devoid of context and personal connection – just out there somewhere), as Suzie, Andrew and others commented on in
their reflections on the lack of response by the U.S. media and the U.S. government during the genocide crisis in Rwanda in 1994, and more recently (in fact, during the study itself), in Darfur, Sudan in 2005. In those two cases of genocide, the viewers, including many of the students, had not been able to relate to, or connect with, the stories of the people they saw on TV or on the internet; therefore, those stories had not struck the students personally and they had not felt that they had had any personal stake in the outcome of the conflict.

In both Watts (2004) and this study, however, the students could not escape the brutal reality that they had to confront. The harsh reality of the society, and the personal story of the person who lived in that setting, reframed the experience as something accessible and real; therefore, the individual was confronted with reconciling the contradictions with their current way of making meaning. The “telling of stories is one way to make visible the lives of…people. When we hear about their lives and the problems they face, they become more real to us. A connection forms between the self and the other.” (Rhoads, 1997, p. 118)

Watts (2004) attributed the process by which the story connects to the individual as due to two simultaneous processes: (1) understanding the broader context and in particular, the context of the person who was telling the story; and (2) understanding the story told by the individual. The current study, however, expanded on this explanation by filling in some very important gaps in the process of making that story real and therefore something worth making sense of. I have called the process *personalizing the other*, since it makes real and accessible the stories and experiences of those who were earlier perceived as different from self and outside of self.
Professor Maqhawe’s stories sunk in for the students because they were invested in the topic and the individual experiences of the individual. They became invested through an important process that was revealed by the students in their discussions of the course and the study abroad program. It began with the personal story, which exposed the students to a reality they had not known or recognized. They became engaged in that story because of the personal relationship the students had with the storyteller, in this case Professor Maqhawe, but later with the tour guides and others. Their engagement deepened through learning about the larger context of the story (similar to Watts, 2004), which for the students began in the U.S. classroom and was later expanded through the study abroad program. This process led to an investment in the context of the stories such that the students were compelled to face a newfound reality and reconcile it with their earlier beliefs, assumptions, and perceptions.

Engaging with the “Other”

As was discussed above, the personal stories, themselves, were a window into the world of Professor Maqhawe and the others the students encountered in the study abroad program. The stories themselves made an impact on the students’ thinking; however, the relationships that the students had with Professor Maqhawe, the tour guides, the other people they met, and the other members of the group, acted as an important springboard into understanding at a deeper level the lived experiences of the “other.”

The structure of the study abroad program built in many opportunities for the students to engage with the people. No longer were those people seen as “the other”; instead, they became personal. They had names, faces, stories, shared experiences.
Those stories did not often coincide with the students’ own assumptions and own ways of looking at the world; therefore, as those lives and stories became more personal it compelled the students to grapple with the gap between those experiences and their own. It forced them to explore new ways of looking at reality. As a result, they re-thought and re-framed their own experiences (Kolb, 1984; Rhoads, 1997).

The importance of relationship building and engagement has been emphasized in service-learning programs (Rhoads, 1997), especially in Jones and Abes (2004), who found that two key features of service-learning design that affected the “nature” and “intensity” of cognitive, interpersonal and intrapersonal development were interaction with new people in different environments and the use of reflection (which will be addressed shortly). (Jones & Abes, 2004, p.164) Both of these features were clearly present in the design of the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa, as well as in the design of two study abroad programs, which incorporated service-learning pedagogy (Lindsey, 2005; Smith-Pariola & Goke-Pariola, 2006).

Lindsey (2005) examined a study abroad program for U.S. Social Work students to Scotland whose structure and activities led to an “opening” of the mind, similar to the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa. The program in Lindsey’s study began with a course in the U.S. to frame the context and the content of the experience; the participants in the program were a cohesive group, which was an important support to the individuals within it; and most pertinent to the discussion here, the students engaged with people in their personal experiences and found the greatest meaning in those experiences. Smith-Pariola and Goke-Pariola (2006) examined a study abroad service-learning program to Jamaica which incorporated ethnographic study into the two-week short-term program.
Through that ethnographic research while the students were conducting their service, they
too were able to make personal connection and engage with the people while learning
more about those people’s personal contexts.

Learning About the Context and Becoming Invested

The condition that was common in this study, as well as the two study abroad
programs highlighted above, was the fact that students had learned about the broader
context of the setting through the U.S. classroom prior to studying abroad. Learning
about the larger context of the setting, including its history, its culture, and how the
personal stories of others fit into that context, was an essential component of making
those stories real.

In the U.S. classroom, the students in this study learned about the history, the
culture and the society of Southern Africa. They learned why Professor Maqhawe had
had to carry a pass and they understood the impact of the laws and policies of apartheid
on others. This meant that the stories that they were hearing were not in a vacuum but in
a larger context that the students were compelled to face. Learning about the larger
context after first becoming engaged through personal relationship and personal stories
led to an investment in the story.

When students meaningfully engaged with others after learning about the broader
context they were compelled to reflect on the lives of those whom they encountered in
“The development of relationships with individuals and the development of in-depth
understanding of those individuals’ life circumstances and the larger societal forces at
work….are the experiences that create the cognitive dissonance that facilitates new thinking and meaning making in the interpersonal, identity, and cognitive domains.” (p.164) Those relationships with people different from oneself, or “encounters with the other” (Daloz, Keen, Keen, & Daloz Parks, 1996), are important in challenging earlier boundaries and opening “the way to a larger sense of self and the world (p.65-6).

OTHERING THE SELF (LOOP B)

Students critically examined their perceptions, assumptions, and beliefs as a result of the dissonance they experienced between the reality that they were learning about through the personal stories and relationships that were formed and their previous beliefs and values as formed through their upbringing. As a result, students were compelled to re-think, re-frame, and to learn new ways of looking at many different aspects of their lives and others. This process occurred through reflection on the students’ experiences, and through being able to share those thoughts, feelings, and perceptions with members of the group, who supported them as they grappled with the gap between their earlier perceptions and the realities they were encountering. In addition, students learned from one another how others experienced the same issues differently based on the unique lenses they employed to view the world. This process led to an objectification of the students’ own reality and a critical examination of personal assumptions, beliefs and values (in effect, an “othering” of the self). Through the support of the group and the structure of the program, the students were able to expand their worldviews to incorporate many new ways of looking at theirs and others’ lives.
Some students entered this phase having already experienced this process in other settings. The students of color, for example, were keenly aware of how their racial and ethnic classification might be interpreted by others. From earlier racial encounters the students of color had already experienced some level of insight. This was the case for Mufasa who commented about a key encounter with a dormmate the previous year. Some of the White students may have encountered prejudice or stereotypes because of their background or religion, or they may have been compelled to think of themselves in different terms because of others’ comments. Those students who had already studied abroad had likely reflected on their own perceptions, but possibly not to the depth they experienced throughout this course and the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa.

Importance of Reflection

The process of reflection is an essential part of the experiential learning cycle, and it is the component that seemed to have led to the greatest depth of learning and understanding in this study. Many students in my study reflected on what they had learned and they confronted head-on the harsh realities of the world, deconstructing their earlier assumptions and beliefs (Jones & Abes, 2004; Watts, 2004). Once the students began to reassess their earlier images of the region and their assumptions about the world, including Europe, barriers were dismantled between the realities of the lives of the students and the lives of those whose stories they were being told. “The barriers between communities cannot (sic) so effectively filter the perceptions of those wider communities; and this is unsettling to the safety of the local community because it is likely to expose them to the realities of others -- including those subject to torture. What was once
haphazard violence on the television can become the systematic suppression of human rights…The world, in short, can no longer be seen as a safe place." (Watts, 2004, p. 327)

Both the structure of the process and the outcome itself was reflected in Watts (2004), who found that students who had listened to and reflected on personal stories came to a greater level of understanding, acceptance, and tolerance. This was also the case in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa course but it was magnified by the much greater length of time that the students were exposed to the stories and experiences of Professor Maqhawe, both in the U.S. classroom and in Southern Africa, and the stories of others. Through Professor Maqhawe’s guidance, spaces for understanding and acceptance were opened. “To keep that space open, the students needed guidance to see beyond the barriers that had previously filtered out what they did not want to, or could not, comprehend in the wider communities beyond their own.” (Watts, 2004, p. 328)

The unique and exciting aspect of this study was that the personal stories that made an impact on the students were also told by many individuals that the students met during their three weeks in Southern Africa. Through those stories the lives of many others were made open to the students, and they seemed more receptive to those lives because of the readings, their lectures, and class discussions experienced on campus in the U.S. Andrew described how in group discussions, both informal and formal, students brought to the table the interactions they had had with different people during their day. As a result, the larger group had the benefit of the collective experience of stories, ranging from Andrew’s encounter with the Namibian fisherman in their first week (recounted in detail in chapter six) to the stories of the tour guides the students spent their days with. Through the collective body of those stories and the personal relationships
that were formed the students absorbed more of the realities of those people and they were compelled to make sense of it all and to integrate their learning into their own realities.

This reflective process can happen naturally, but it is most effective when it is structured into the design of the experiential learning program (Gurin & Nagda, 2006; Jones & Abes, 2004; Milner, 2003; Mintz & Hesser, 1996; Rhoads, 1997), as was the case in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa. Reflection was built in throughout the experience in the classroom, through structured group meetings, through journal writing and the journals students were expected to keep as part of their grade for the study abroad program, and through informal meetings of the group and individuals within it. Reflection was also further facilitated through the three primary interviews that I carried out with each of the students in my study. Through these experiences, the students learned not only about people in the context of Southern Africa, but also about themselves (Jones & Abes, 2004; Jones & Hill, 2001; Rhoads, 1997). The relationships that were built further expanded the students’ understanding of the lives of the people, and helped the participants to think differently and to be more open-minded and less judgmental (Rhoads, 1997). Because of the importance of those relationships to the students, the stories that the students heard stayed with them and resonated with them long after the fact.

A unique component of the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa was its emphasis on race and how students were compelled to reflect on race throughout the experience in both formal and informal settings. Although it was not necessarily labeled as such, the practices of the program mirrored “race reflection,” which Milner (2003)
described as concerning “conscious, effortful thinking that invites [people] to continually and persistently (re)reflect on themselves with their racial identities at the center in order to better understand and attend to others' racial identities, issues, and experiences.” (p. 196)

According to the students in this study, it was through the discussions with other individuals or small groups that the students were able to process their experiences. Rhoads (1997) explained, action and reflection in combination are important because "through activities such as small reflection groups, students have the opportunity to teach and learn from one another. Ultimately, it may be peer influence that serves to engender increased student concern for the lives of others." (Rhoads, 1997, p. 202) It was through the group that the students were supported as they grappled with the dissonance between their previous perceptions, beliefs, and assumptions and the reality they were compelled to face.

Impact of the Group and Its Support

According to many of the students in this study, the structure of the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa and the dynamics that may have been unique to this particular group facilitated the creation of a cohesive and highly supportive group, which in turn provided sufficient support for the students within it to grapple with the challenges they faced in re-examining their ways of looking at themselves and others. Through informal and formal conversations in small groups and in larger groups the students were able to discuss their experiences in a safe environment in which they felt supported, valued, and accepted. The result was that the students were able to learn from those encounters without feeling judged. The learning that occurred was an expansion of
understanding about the larger context of Southern Africa and the people there, and a broadening of understanding of peers in the student group. This second effect was one that neither I nor the participants had anticipated. Much of the learning of the experience overall was facilitated by listening to and valuing the opinions and experiences of each other. As a result, the students’ understanding of the South African context was expanded, as was their understanding of the U.S. context, especially as it related to race.

The process the students underwent can be understood in part by Cognitive-Structural theory, which describes the developmental process. As the students faced particular tasks or challenges to their current ways of doing things or making meaning, they developed more complex tools to cope with subsequent experiences. This process was often painful, in that the students were forced to change current coping strategies because of their inadequacy in explaining the complexity of the emerging challenge (Kegan, 1994). In the process, the group of 14 other students provided adequate support to balance the challenge in that environment (Sanford, 1966). If the challenge had been too great, the students might have polarized against the more complex structures; whereas, too little challenge might not have created sufficient dissonance to lead to progressive change (Sanford, 1966).

Similar effects from meaningful engagement between students who identify differently have been found and explored through the innovative and exciting “diversity initiative” called Intergroup Dialogue (IGD) (Clark, 2002; Gurin & Nagda, 2006; Hurtado, 2001; Schoem et al., 2001; Trevino, 2001; Vasques Scalera, 1999). IGD brings students “from pairs of identity groups (e.g. African American and White) (to) explore their own and other group’s identities, analyze how power and inequality affect their
Dialogue is a process that requires participants to “listen, challenge, reflect, and continue to talk with one another” (Schoem et al., 2001, p.6) as they build relationships and engage in discussion of difficult issues. As a result of intergroup dialogue, students “typically think and see the world differently, increase personal and social awareness of different group experiences and forms of oppression in society, and build confidence in working through differences with others” (Hurtado, 2001, p.22). These very outcomes and others were also seen in this study. The effects on racial identity, acceptance of difference and broadening of the understanding of a particular context, along with the personal growth that was experienced by the students, was similar in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa.

EXPANSION OF LENSES (LOOP C)

Through the dynamic of the group, and the support it provided the students in grappling with the gap between their earlier assumptions and the challenges to their thinking, the majority of the students conveyed how their views of themselves and of others were changed and the lenses the students employed to view their racial and national identities were expanded. Leonard was the only student who did not comment on the power of the group in shifting his thinking. This could have been due to his greater maturity. This expansion of lenses in the students’ perceptions and thinking was the ultimate result of the personalization of the other and othering of the self that was described above and represented in loops A and B in the diagram.
How the Course Expanded the Students’ Lenses:

From Ignorance to Initial Understanding

The expansion of lenses occurred both in the U.S. classroom and during the study abroad component of the program. The design of this research study provided insight into how the course alone affected the students’ thinking by the timing of the second interview, which occurred just prior to the students leaving for Africa. Analysis of the second interview provided a very clear indication that the course alone made a significant impact, in that the students moved from ignorance to an initial understanding. This process was the beginning of the opening of the students’ lenses for viewing themselves and others in a broader context.

As was discussed at great length in Chapter Four, prior to the course the students had held very limited knowledge of Africa, in general and Southern Africa, in particular. They also had assumed that the history that they had learned in the U.S. classroom was comprehensive and complete. Through the course, they learned a great deal about the continent of Africa, and in particular, the effect of European colonization on the continent and in particular, on the region of Southern Africa. In the process, they saw the parallels of that colonial history to North America, and in particular The United States, and they encountered and were shocked by the horrors and pain of apartheid, whose policies systematically stripped Black and other South African people of color of their rights throughout the course of the 20th Century.

This process progressed from a realization of knowing so little through a frustration that the History in the U.S. classroom is incomplete. In fact, many of the
students had taken for granted that the history they had learned in the U.S. classroom was comprehensive and complete. They found instead that it was partial, incomplete, and slanted towards the dominant American view of history, centered around Europe and the United States.

The students in the study may or may not have been exposed to the realities of apartheid in their schooling; however, from their testimonials they did not absorb or “take in” that reality until this course. That reality may have been avoidable in the past because of the distance the students felt from it. They may not have been invested earlier because they did not experience a personal connection to the setting. However, as was explained above, through the personal stories of Professor Maqhawe and the relationship the students had with him, the students became engaged and invested in the context of those stories such that they were compelled to confront that history and to let it completely sink in (Watts, 2004). No longer could they maintain the distance and disconnection of the media; the reality was facing them and the stories being shared were undeniable and wholly true.

“Truth-telling” was a very important process, especially for Suzie, whose grandmother had been kept in a Japanese American Internment Camp during World War II. Suzie, in particular, felt a sense of betrayal from the media and developed a new cynicism and distrust towards it. All of the students felt as a result of all that they had learned a curiosity and desire to learn more. This included, especially for Sarah and Suzie, a feeling that they would need to take it upon themselves to research and find out more about what was happening in Africa and the rest of the world. The desire to learn
more ranged from the local level to the global level as the students *developed an initial understanding* and a desire to tell others what they had learned.

Five of the nine participants discussed how, as a result of the course, they felt a compulsion towards action by educating others about the content of the course, and what they had learned, and by doing something to improve the situations of the people they had heard about, and later met. Four of these five students, namely Sarah, Leonard, Suzie and Michelle, expressed a desire to “spread the word” (Sarah Interview Two) and to educate others about the history of South Africa, apartheid, and what was happening in present-day Africa. Leonard focused much of his energy during the program on videotaping and capturing the experience so that it could be shared with others, especially African American youth, who he felt would benefit a great deal from the expansion of knowledge about Africa, and whose lives would be transformed were they also able to go on the program.

Although the course was not considered to be a service-learning program, since there was no service component, the impact of the course was similar to observations made in service-learning programs. Students, as a result of the course, were more open to new experiences, and to new ideas they had not previously considered; and they were more open-minded about people different from themselves (Jones & Abes, 2004). The relationships that were built helped students to understand the lives of the people and helped the participants to "think differently and better understand that 'you can't judge a book by its cover.'" (p. 158) It also helped them to be more open-minded "as a result of developing relationships with people whom they might not have otherwise interacted." (p. 159)
The course, itself, therefore, was of great value. As Suzie expressed at the end of the second interview, “I feel very fortunate to have taken this class. Even if I wouldn't be able to go on the trip, I would never have not taken….I would have loved to have taken this class.” The impact of the course on the students demonstrated how the course alone could change students’ perceptions by exposing them to new perspectives in a new context through personal stories and personal connection.

Through the course in the U.S., many of the students completed the first cycle of the dynamic of integrating lenses in moving from personalizing the other, to othering the self, to expansion of lenses (graphically represented in Figure 7.1). Through the study abroad program they cycled back through that process in their encounters with new people in the context of Southern Africa and in the dynamic of the group itself. In the process students were further compelled to explore their own realities and the realities of the lives of the people they encountered.

The Impact of the Study Abroad Program on Expanding Lenses

Be prepared to be shocked and to be angered and outraged and sad and every emotion you can think of. To be excited and happy. Because you experience all of it. Things that you thought were real - you’re going to be confronted with a lot of things and you have to reflect on yourself and reevaluate sometimes. If you are going to be able to do that, then go on the trip. (Suzie Interview Three)

The expansion of lenses for the students continued to broaden throughout the study abroad program. The process that had begun with the movement from ignorance to initial understanding in the U.S. classroom was further enhanced by the personal experiences of the students in Southern Africa. As a result of new personal connections in that context, students became further invested in the personal stories and histories of
the people there, thus again “personalizing the other.” The students then grappled with the meaning of those experiences and the content of what they had learned in the safety and strength of the group that supported them. In the process, they were able to “other” the self and look closely at their own assumptions and beliefs. In the dynamic of the group itself, students shared their own personal stories as they made meaning of their experiences in Southern Africa. This created an intriguing dynamic in integrating lenses, in that those lenses were expanded not only due to their encounters with people from Southern Africa, but also from their encounters with one another. As a result of grappling with the dissonance between their earlier assumptions and the new realities they were facing, the students’ perceptions changed in terms of their own racial identities and how they perceived others through the lens of race. The overall effect was striking.

Racial Identity

Through participating in The Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa, students’ perceptions of race, their racial identities, and their perceptions of others outside of their so-called racial group, were significantly broadened. There were definite patterns based on the students’ racial identities, first manifest in the initial discussions of the students’ perceptions of race during the first interview, and later observed as changes throughout the three months of the course and study abroad program. The overall experience led to an expansion in the students’ views of race, and a movement away from stereotypes and assumptions. Instead of treating each racial group separately, this section is organized around the themes that emerged for students with different racial identities.
Themes of Difference from the Initial Racial History Narratives.

The salience of racial identity. The degree to which race and racial identity was salient to students was strikingly different between the three “racial groups” that were represented in this study: Black, Biracial, and White. The salience followed a continuum from a strong sense of awareness and pride on the part of the Black students, to a lack of awareness and identification with racial classification, in the case of the White students.

The most outstanding characteristic of Black racial identity for the African American students was that “being Black” was a very salient part of their identity. They were proud of their race, and they knew what it meant to them to be African American. According to the three African American students, at the beginning of the course being Black was about identifying with the same issues that the majority of African American people identify, e.g. social justice, fighting poverty and joblessness, and fair treatment in the workplace and in society. All three students spoke about “struggle” as an important part of Black identity, e.g. seeing one’s family and community struggle.

Being Black was also about identifying with cultural traditions surrounding food, and Mufasa originally equated being Black to liking Hip Hop music and being a part of that culture. This association of race with pop culture, especially in Mufasa’s recounting of the way he used to feel prior to the course, was similar to Yon’s (2000) findings in Canada and Dolby’s (2001) in South Africa.

Although Suzie, the one Biracial student, identified strongly with her Polish American heritage because of her mom, she could not escape her identity as an Asian American since that was the way that others perceived and judged her. This was an area
of some ambivalence for Suzie, since she knew very little about her Asian heritage and much more about her European heritage, which was invisible to most people.

When asked to define how they identified, the White students used terms to denote relationships, hobbies, and activities, such as “dancer” or “student;” whereas, the Black students had on the top of their list being “Black.” The White students commented that “being White” was not an important part of how they identified. In fact, all of the White undergraduate students commented that being White was not important to them. Michelle and Sam, the two White graduate students, were more aware of their “Whiteness” as a result of earlier exposure to courses that had compelled them to examine their own racial identities; otherwise, their perceptions would have been similar to the undergraduates (as they explained in their interviews). Michelle and Sam had come to understand their positionality within a larger context through learning about the experiences of others in courses that focused on social justice, service-learning, and diversity. They both had realized prior to the study that others’ experiences and perceptions could be very different from their own. As Sam explained, “But it’s almost totally different when you’re viewing it maybe from someone else’s eyes, of a different race or ethnic background, or something like that.” (Sam Interview One)

Experiences with racism and prejudice. All of the Black students and Suzie, who identified as Biracial or what she called “mixed,” had experienced racism and prejudice towards themselves and towards others they cared about. Mufasa told the story about his residence hall mate, who had stereotyped Black people and then attributed Mufasa’s re-education of that student as the reason why Mufasa was at the university; and Suzie experienced people’s assumptions about her wealth, privilege, and connection to her
heritage that came from their stereotypes of what it is to be Asian or Asian American.

Both Tatiana and Suzie shared how they had become aware of their race when they were very young because of their mothers having to explain someone else’s comments.

In stark contrast, the White students, save for Sam, whose boyfriend’s Asian parents had not accepted her because of her being White, had never experienced racism or prejudice because of the color of their skin or their heritage. They could choose to examine or confront the realities of prejudice and racism in the United States if they wanted to, but most had not thought much about it. The Black students, because of their direct exposure to racism towards them and others they cared about, could not avoid it and had to confront it often.

_White privilege._ The lack of salience of racial identity and the lack of exposure to prejudice or racism were indicative of the White students’ unquestioned privilege in being White in the United States (McIntosh, 2001). They could choose to deal with race or not. The Black students, on the other hand, had no choice, as was so vividly described by Leonard in his example of the episode of the television series, “Touched by an Angel.” In effect, the White students’ racial identities were invisible since they were the cultural “norm.” Joseph commented that he did not have an ethnicity. He was “American,” wearing Abercrombie. Joseph did not have to recognize that his “American” ethnicity was actually dominant White culture in the United States.

The White students never commented about having to represent their racial group; whereas, Leonard explained at length the importance of being a positive role model for Black youth, and how he needed to represent “good African American men….I am conscientious of what I do, what I say, how I walk…be a man of my word, ‘cause that’s...
all I really have, you know.” (Leonard Interview One). Leonard carried the burden of having to be a positive role model for Black men because he knew that people, and White people in particular, would generalize to all Black people based on their interactions with him. Similarly, Mufasa had to take on the role of educating his White peer, who had not known any Black people before going to college. Being the “minority” in a predominately White environment, such as Mid-Western State University, placed an additional responsibility on the Black students of representing their racial group to others; whereas, the White students did not carry that same burden. The White students knew that in most cases they would be judged as an individual rather than as a representative or member of a particular group.

**Impact of the Study Abroad Program on Racial Identity: White Identity**

In Southern Africa, the students experienced race and inter-race and intra-race relations differently. Participation in the study abroad component of the program affected the students’ racial identities significantly. The findings for students differed significantly according to their racial identities: White, Black, and Biracial. The most significant impact of the overall program on racial identity was the effect it had on the White students.

*Surfacing White privilege.* The greatest impact of the overall experience on White racial identity was in the surfacing of White privilege. This was especially true for the White undergraduate students, who had never thought much about their race or critically examined the unquestioned advantages of being White in the United States. For the White students, race had been invisible, unquestioned, and taken for granted.
(McIntosh, 2001; Tatum, 1997). Confronting how race had been used in Southern Africa and how it had affected their peers of color on the program opened the students’ views, contradicted their assumptions, and compelled them to look at what it was to be White in the United States and elsewhere in the world.

Talburt and Stewart (1999) observed a similar pattern of surfacing White privilege in a group of White American college students who were compelled to confront their own White privilege in a study abroad program in Spain, in which a Black peer had experienced overt racism and sexual comments. In that context, the White students confronted their privilege because of the negative experiences of someone who was close to them. Similarly, in this study, the White students were forced to confront their own privilege because of the negative experiences of Professor Maqhawe or others in the context of Southern Africa, and their peers of color on the program with them.

Based on the data from this study, it appeared that the White undergraduate students, Sarah, Joseph and Andrew (although Andrew had been exposed to international travel several times) were at the “contact” stage according to Helms’ theory of White Racial Identity (1984; 1992; 1993a; 1993b; 1995; 1993c). The students knew they were White but didn’t necessarily identify according to their racial classification. When asked about their racial group in the first interview, they responded they were White but focused on their particular ethnicity (Polish-American, Czech-American, etc.). In addition, two of the three students, Joseph and Sarah, fit Helms’ (1992) description of people at the contact stage as having interactions with others characterized by naïvete and timidity, and the claim of “color blindness” (p. 38). Joseph described his timidity in going to the all-Black student organization at Mid-Western State University the previous
year; and Sarah claimed to be color blind, thus choosing to mark “other” on the survey box because race was not important to her (Sarah Interview One).

The course and study abroad program acted as the catalyst for educating students about the experiences of members of other racial groups, especially Black South Africans and African Americans in the United States. Unlike Helms’ theory, this did not necessarily lead for all of the students to “disintegration,” a stage characterized “by feelings of guilt, confusion, lack of racial membership, and no way to resolve one's internal turmoil. A stage fraught with ethical dilemmas that must be resolved immorally in order to be White.” (Helms, 1992, p. 46) According to Helms, White people in this stage are torn between the realization that racism and prejudice exist and their feelings of guilt and shame at what has been done by those with whom they identify. Only Joseph mentioned the feeling of guilt and shame at his “own race,” not understanding how White people could have perpetuated the violence and hatred they had in Southern Africa. The students in this study did not internalize the “distortion” at the end of this stage, as Helms (1992) suggested, that White people are advantaged because they deserve to be; whereas people of color do not have more because they have not worked hard enough to get it.

Instead, the White students developed a deeper level of empathy and understanding of the lives of “the other,” which is more akin to observations from service-learning programs. They did not necessarily turn away from the challenge of having to reconcile their early misconceptions of race with their newfound realities, as indicated in the third stage of Helms’ theory, “reintegration.” They were instead able to confront those contradictions, talk through them, and learn from one another. This seemed to have been facilitated by the safety and cohesiveness of the group itself.
Similar to service-learning, the experiences led to reflection on the students’ values, beliefs, and attitudes in a way very few other activities had encouraged. This led to a deeper understanding of the students’ selves (Jones & Hill, 2001). Part of that understanding came from realizing what they had taken for granted due to the privilege of being White and growing up in a homogeneous environment (Jones & Abes, 2004; Jones & Hill, 2001).

**Never having experienced minority status.** One of the privileges identified by the White students was never having experienced “minority” status in their lives. As Sam observed in her third interview, even though Whites were the overwhelming numeric minority in Southern Africa, they were still the most powerful group in terms of money and resources. In the United States, the students had enjoyed a majoritarian status due to both numeric and resource advantage. As Sam recognized in her description of “the majority edge,” she had never had to worry about being hungry or having a place to sleep, and her race had contributed (Sam Interview Three).xxi

**Realization that race is very important to others.** Although race was not necessarily important to the White students, they came to a deeper understanding of why and how race was important to others. Michelle summarized this when she said that White racial identity was something that most White people ignored (Michelle Interview Three). She realized, however, that for many other people racial identity was very important and it was not something they could ignore or something they could escape since "everyone always sees that about you" (Michelle Interview Three). As Yon (2000) observed, identity may not always be a matter of choice. Michelle recognized that as a
White person she would never have "to really experience or be able to understand what that's like" (Michelle Interview Three).

Michelle, in particular, also recognized how being White could differ based on the context, such as the United States, Great Britain and South Africa. She realized that she was a “White American,” and as such her perspective was different from others in other contexts. This helped Michelle to see the bigger picture, and it helped her to develop a deeper sense of empathy for the White people in Southern Africa whose lives were turned on their heads when apartheid was dismantled and the country shifted to a policy of inclusion and reconciliation rather than exclusion, destruction, and divisiveness.

Greater comfort with Black people. Another impact of the experience on the White students was in how the interactions with the Black people in the marketplaces in Southern Africa affected Joseph’s level of comfort with Black people in general. He became more comfortable joking with Black people and using the “lingo,” as he called it. He realized, however, that such cultural norms for communication and interracial communication would most likely be different in the United States.

Impact of the Study Abroad Program on Black Identity

Pride in being Black. Whereas the greatest impact of the study abroad program on White students was a surfacing of their unquestioned and unexamined privilege in being White, the study abroad program affirmed the Black identity of the African American students on the program. Participation strengthened their pride in being Black, and their awareness of the accomplishments of Black people in other contexts. Day-Vines (1998) similarly observed that study abroad to Africa validated and affirmed who
the African American students were as “racial beings” (p. 150) and “solidified their identities” (N. Day-Vines et al., 1998, p. 468).

Both Mufasa and Leonard (Tatiana did not participate in the third and final interview) talked about admiring the resiliency and strength of the Black African people and how they had endured and survived the horrors and discrimination of apartheid-era Southern Africa. Leonard was especially affected by the strength and courage of the teachers and the principal at the elementary school outside of Durban. Leonard was inspired by the elementary school in Durban, and he expressed an affirmation and a sense of purpose for going on the program - to be able to help that school. He and Youssef decided to "adopt" the school and to raise money so that they could build toilets for the children. To Leonard, this activism and action was derived from his Black Identity and pride in being Black, and his desire to help others who were trying to benefit others in the larger Black community.

Leonard appeared to be in the final stages of Cross’ model of Afrocentric Identity Development (Cross, 1971, 1978, 1991, 1995a, 1995b, 2001), in that he exhibited pride and self-love, as well as the shift from “uncontrolled rage toward White people, to controlled anger at oppressive systems and racist institutions” (Cross, 1995a., p. 68). Leonard explained how he channeled his rage through his faith and his desire to level the playing field.

I sit here, I talk to you, I'm cordial and we're having a good time; and I come from urban area; I've seen my mother struggle; I've seen my family struggle; I've seen a lot of our people struggle; and there's a hostility that I know that's inside of me. And it's like, how do you - God helps me channel it in the right direction of saying, how can I help my people get out of this? And not in a way to destroy White men, or the White race, or anything of that nature, but to at least level the playing field where we can see each other as men and say let's try to do what we
can to make this world better while we're here, you know. (Leonard Interview Two)

This quote and others from Leonard in all three interviews indicated that Leonard was at least at an internalization stage, if not internalization-commitment, as demonstrated by his commitment to advocacy in the Black community, both in the U.S. and abroad.\textsuperscript{xxii}

Mufasa also appeared to be in an internalization stage and Tatiana at an emmersion/immersion stage, in that she had “immersed” herself in Black history and culture. She held a great deal of pride for Black people and their struggles, but also was resentful of White people in her community and her circle of friends and family. This was evidenced by her frustration with her grandmother, who had many White friends and “acted White,” as Tatiana explained in her first interview. Cross called the Immersion stage pseudo-Black identity, in that the identity was based on hatred of White people and their oppression of Black people. Tatiana may have moved through the end of this stage into internalization through the relationships she developed with White peers; however, I was never able to talk with her after her return from the program. Therefore, the only information I had was from another student who happened to comment about Tatiana’s experiences.

Going to Africa was life-transforming and spiritual because of the importance of the continent to Black identity, to Black people, and to the individual students. Leonard recognized how he had experienced something that very few people would. Traveling to Africa also helped to expand students’ understanding and knowledge of the African continent and the region of Southern Africa. Similarly to Day-Vines (N. Day-Vines et al., 1998; N. L. Day-Vines, 1998), the study abroad program helped to dispel myths and
to strengthen the students’ commitments to their heritage and their connection to that part of themselves. Leonard exclaimed that he had been to Africa and that it was something no one could ever take away from him. He left the experience with deepened pride and a new Zulu name, Mandla Kaise (“Inheritor of the powerful”), which Professor Maqhawe had given him. The overall experience grounded Leonard and gave him a foundation. This was a similar observation to the “relationship between knowledge of African history and psychological well-being” found in Day-Vines’ study (1998, p. 118).

Realization that Black Americans are not necessarily African Americans. At the same time that their sense of pride in being Black was reaffirmed by the experience, the theme of expanding lenses resonated throughout the experience of the Black students, whose perspectives, views, opinions and beliefs about what it was to be African, or African American were opened up in a new ways, in order to allow for greater variability and new ways of looking at race, identity, and racial and cultural classification. Through the musical “African Footprints” in Johannesburg, Mufasa came to see that more than Black people in Africa considered themselves to be Africans. In fact, the song was sung by Black, White, “Coloured,” Indian, and other performers who represented the racial and ethnic mosaic of modern Southern Africa. He realized through his conversations with Gordon, the group’s bus driver in Cape Town, that Black Americans were not necessarily “African Americans,” since they were not actually from Africa. This helped Mufasa to recognize that “African” is not a race but a nationality or continental identity that can be identified by people of many races in many countries. This was accented further by the realization for both Mufasa and Leonard that most Blacks in the U.S. do
not identify with, or realize the issues that most Blacks in Africa deal with on a daily basis.

*Impact of the Study Abroad Program on Biracial Identity: Identity Crisis*

There was only one student in my study who identified as Biracial or “mixed” (as she put it); however, Suzie’s experience and the struggle she went through, especially at the end of the study abroad program, was very telling of the challenges faced by Biracial students in dealing with racism and the feeling of being torn between two cultures and traditions. Suzie experienced an “identity crisis” as a result of her interactions with the group and especially her interaction with a British man in a hotel in Cape Town, who completely ignored her input, her own experiences, perspective, and feelings.

In her journal, especially, she expressed the impact of this experience in a heartfelt way. Suzie felt invisible and ignored by the British man, and that her racial and ethnic identity and the impact of what she was seeing in South Africa were not valued. Suzie felt that she could relate to much of what she had seen, especially in District 6, because of her own family’s history in dealing with the humiliation of being removed from their homes and being kept in an internment camp during World War II.

Suzie also had difficulty in finding a place within the group and the society because of stereotypes of Asians that did not fit her, and because of the fact that she was not accepted by “true Asians” because they knew she was “mixed” (Suzie Interview Three; Suzie Journal). She didn’t feel she fit in anywhere: "Whites view me as Asian; Blacks view me as Asian - but Asians know I'm not completely Asian." (Suzie Interview Three)
The struggles experienced by Suzie paralleled the key findings of Miville, Constantine, Baysden and So-Lloyd (2005), who explored the characteristics of multiracial identity development. They found that all of their 10 participants described encounters with racism “that drove their awareness of group membership in one or another race." (p. 510) All of the students of color in my study, including Suzie, had experienced racism firsthand. Suzie had experienced it in her elementary school in the form of prejudice towards Japanese people because of World War II (Pearl Harbor) and towards Vietnamese people in being called a “Gook” by students who misperceived her as of Vietnamese descent. She had also experienced what Miville et al. (2005) describe as the ubiquitous "What are you?" question.

Reference group orientation was of key importance to the students in Miville and colleagues (2005), yet that reference group was missing for Suzie in the context of Southern Africa. This may have contributed to Suzie’s feeling of being alone. The White and Black students could not empathize or understand where her feelings were coming from. She was perceived by others as “Asian,” which carried certain stereotypes of material wealth and intelligence, yet she was not accepted by “true Asians,” as she put it, in that they knew that she was “something else” (Suzie Interview Three).

Multiracial individuals can often be a “chameleon,” able to adapt to the cultural norms or demands of a given situation (Miville et al., 2005). In Southern Africa, however, Suzie was not able to “fit in” and was not able to enjoy that flexibility. Instead, she felt alone, frustrated and devalued. She had some level of comfort in the close relationship that she had developed with her roommate on the program, yet no one could really relate to her feelings during the program. For the White students and the Black
students, they had others who could relate and with whom they could share their feelings. This was evident in the connections they felt with others and the validation they expressed in the stories others shared with them.

Similarly to Miville and colleagues (2005), Suzie seemed as she had matured to relate more directly with her father, who was of Japanese descent. The authors found that multiracial students in general adopted the racial-ethnic label of the parent with whom they felt closest and in general, people identified most with their parent of color. This was a product of monoracial racism that had "increased the salience of being a person of color" (p. 513). Suzie may have felt somewhat ambivalent, because she had identified most with her mother, who was White, yet others perceived her as Asian. An unexpected outcome of the experience in Southern Africa was that it piqued her curiosity and desire to learn more about her Japanese heritage, which may have been influenced in part by her lack of support from other reference groups in the study abroad program.

Expansion of Lenses:

Changed Perceptions of Poverty, Priorities, and Globalization

In the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa students were exposed to the historical and long-term effects of the policies of apartheid and its impact on the Black townships, especially Soweto, outside of Johannesburg, Khayalitsha, outside of Cape Town, and the community in Durban where the group visited the elementary school that all of the students commented about. In those communities the students saw abject poverty and conditions that they had never experienced before. Similar to observations from service-learning programs that engaged students in communities of need, students
saw first-hand the effects of poverty on individuals, families and whole communities, and in the process students were exposed to issues of social class and to the privileges that they had taken for granted (Jones & Abes, 2004; Smith-Pariola & Goke-Pariola, 2006).

The unique aspect to the findings from this study was the fact that in those communities of need the students saw rich community, love, support, and “happiness.” I experienced this same phenomenon when I visited those same communities in 2002. Amidst such dearth of material resources, the people had a rich spiritual and emotional base that sustained them. The people had hope, they stayed connected, and they seemed to live their lives to the fullest. This realization disturbed the students’ previous assumptions about poverty. The students had been raised in the United States, where material wealth was highly valued; therefore, they had been taught that poverty was something to avoid and to look down upon, often having the rhetoric of “pull yourself up by the bootstraps” repeated through images in the media, school, and in their families.

Seeing the poverty prompted students to examine aspects of their lives that they had taken for granted, becoming grateful and appreciative of what they had. Joseph, in particular, reprioritized his life and examined what was most important to him. This led to the realization that all of the technological gadgets with which he had surrounded himself were not necessary; that instead the relationships in his life were the most important, including his family, his girlfriend, and his closest friends. It also helped him not to be so driven to achieve but to focus on the people in his life. This experience helped to broaden Joseph’s and his peers’ perspectives. It expanded the way they looked at material wealth and what they had attributed to happiness. It helped them to understand the diversity of communities and the impact of society on communities of
need. Similarly to Day-Vines (1998), students critically and analytically examined Western cultural values in light of the values and viewpoints of the people they met in Africa.

Students also saw the impact of globalization on the people and the communities they visited. This was an important lesson in the effects of Americanization, Corporatization, and Globalization on communities and cultures. This education, however, was not all one-sided. The students did not leave the experience necessarily angry with Corporate America, in that they had seen the positive effects of tourism on the village in the Valley of a Thousand Hills. In that particular community, the school and the resources of the community had improved significantly due to the tourist dollars and South African Rand entering its environs. There also were more jobs and the individuals and families in the community were seeing benefits. That being said, the students saw how culture could be co-opted in the interest of tourism and thus compromise that culture’s authenticity, as in the case of the “medicine man” who demanded money to have his photo taken. They also saw how culture could be further commodified and even bought, as was the case of the village in the Valley of a Thousand Hills, whose tourist rights had been bought by a foreign company. These experiences expanded the lenses students used to look at global business, tourism, and the “developing world.” It helped them to see the broader context and to grapple with its complexities.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

The findings of this study have a number of important implications for practice in designing courses and study abroad programs to support and facilitate the cognitive and
identity development of undergraduate and graduate students. According to the nine participants in this study, key aspects of the design of the course and the study abroad program contributed to the level of impact that was experienced by the students. These design features included aspects in the course in the United States and the organization of the study abroad program component.

Key Features of the Course

The course, as Suzie explained, was extremely valuable to the students, even before they left for Southern Africa. Through the structure and content of the course students were able to move from ignorance to initial understanding, and this process appeared to have helped the students to prepare for the more profound changes that occurred as a result of the study abroad program. The key features of the course were: (1) the content of the course and its orientation from a Black African perspective; and (2) the person of Professor Maqhawe, including his personal stories about Southern Africa.

Since the course was presented through the lens of African American and African Studies, it provided a new perspective for most, if not all, of the students in the study. The majority of White students had not previously recognized or confronted the realities of colonialism, prejudice, racism, and systematic discrimination, especially from the perspective of the oppressed. The students of color, including Suzie, had their personal experiences validated, as well as the lives of the people of the Black Diaspora. It also expanded the lenses they used to look at their own experiences and the experiences of others, for the course was the first African Studies course for all of the students in the study.
The personal stories and experiences of Dr. Professor Maqhawe gave a legitimacy and authenticity to the content of the course, which, according to the students, helped them to understand and appreciate the context and the life experiences of the people there. Professor Maqhawe’s direct experiences in Southern African society compelled students to confront the brutal realities of apartheid and colonialism because of the personal nature of their relationship with Professor Maqhawe and his relationship to that culture. Most of the students commented how the greatest surprise and the greatest impact of the course was Professor Maqhawe. Sam summarized this well when she commented,

You know, you might be learning whatever subject from someone who has read all of the books and gotten a degree in X and they're teaching X, and there you go. But, you know, with this class you know that he has been there. He has been here. He's seen things from so many different perspectives, and he's seen it from a different side. And he tells you all of these stories, like that's his sort of philosophy is, I want to spread the history by telling stories. And he knows so many stories. I think he knows so much about the history and so much about all different aspects of the culture. And it's just really interesting to hear it from him. And I think that's been the biggest - it has been the biggest impact to learn it from Professor Maqhawe. (Sam Interview Two)

Were the class taught by a different instructor, the impact of the course may not be as high, especially if that person learned about the content of the course through their education rather than through their individual experiences. The greatest impact of the course on the students seemed to be in its personal nature, and how it connected students more directly to that context through the use of personal stories and accounts. Had I taught the class, as a White American man, for example, my stories may not have “sunk in” to the extent that Professor Maqhawe’s did, nor might they have seemed as authentic. The person of Professor Maqhawe, including his perspective as a Black African activist,
scholar, and teacher, was definitely an important contributor to the extent of growth that occurred for the students. Attempts to emulate the design features of the course in subsequent educational programs or courses should include the personal stories of individuals who have lived in that context and experienced life in that era (Watts, 2004), preferably the instructor him or herself.

**Key Features of the Study Abroad Program**

The findings of this study resonate with many different aspects of experiential learning and education programs, in general, and service-learning and other study abroad programs, in particular. The Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa’s structure followed the Experiential Learning Model of Kolb (Kolb, 1984), in that the course and study abroad program engaged students in the experiential learning cycle: moving from direct and concrete experience to reflection to abstract conceptualization to active experimentation and back again.

The program, including the course, was “structured to present multiple opportunities continually to enable students to move completely and frequently through the learning cycle” (McEwen, 1996, p. 69). The concrete experiences on which the students reflected were often the stories of others, and then in the context of Southern Africa, their experiences through the five senses. The students then reflected on those concrete experiences through writing in their journal, through informal and formal group discussions, and through participation in this research study. Students developed abstract conceptualizations that were informed by the process of grappling with the gap between their previous assumptions and the challenges of the new experiences they were having.
It was in the dissonance between their previous assumptions and the current reality facing them that students were able to re-think and re-frame their perspectives. Active experimentation was then able to occur in the safety and support of the group and the program as students built new relationships with peers who were different from them, and with new people in the context of Southern Africa. They were able to test out and experiment with their new perceptions and expand the way they viewed Southern Africa and the United States.

Facilitating Group Bonding Through the Structure of the Program

A key feature of the program in 2005 was how it facilitated the bonding of the group of 15 students in ways that Youssef, the study abroad program coordinator, had never seen. According to the study participants, beginning the study abroad program with visiting Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana provided an avenue through which the students could connect while enjoying the beauty of Southern Africa. In a benign and beautiful environment the group was able to enjoy each other and develop relationships. Those relationships that were formed early on helped to support and sustain the students as they grappled with the far more emotional aspects of the program later on in the Apartheid Museum, in Soweto, or elsewhere in South Africa. This sequence of experiences seemed to be critical in helping to facilitate a group cohesiveness that supported the students throughout the process.

When I participated in the program in 2002, we began in Johannesburg and experienced many of the highly emotional experiences of the program early on in the development of the group. The result was a fragmented group with many of the Black
students sticking together and identifying with each other in response to the racism they were witnessing historically and currently. The safaris came later in the program and seemed almost out of place. Starting with the safaris and the natural beauty in 2005 worked very well for the majority of students in this study, and the group’s cohesiveness and bond was evidenced in the fact that on their free day in Zimbabwe the entire group chose to go elephant riding as opposed to going their separate ways in pursuing different activities.**xxv**

The findings of this study would suggest that in study abroad programs that expose students to highly emotional experiences there should first be an opportunity for the individuals in the group to get to know each other in a safe and fun environment. This can be done through an initial orientation, as has been the case in term-length and year-length programs, such as the Beaver College (now called “Arcadia University”) study abroad program to Edinburgh, Scotland, in which I participated in 1991. In that program, the first week was spent in an orientation in London and a three-day host family experience. The alternative for short-term programs, such as the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa, is to have orientations before leaving the U.S. and an opportunity for group bonding in a benign setting where the group can build trust and the foundation that will support the group as they later grapple with the realities they confront.

**Talking About and Grappling With Race**

The Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa engaged students of different racial identities in dialogue around race in a safe environment where they could admit their ignorance and grapple with the discomfort that came from seeing the inadequacy of
their earlier ways of making meaning of their experiences. Examining race in the context of Southern Africa may have been easier and less threatening than facing it in the context of the United States, although through their discussions with one another students shifted in their thinking to include looking critically at U.S. society, especially as it related to globalization and the value of material wealth over relationships and community. These issues were particularly salient in the minds of the students when we had our final phone conversations in the autumn, amidst the devastation of Hurricane Katrina in the Gulf Region of the United States, where the economic disparities in communities based on race were brought to the forefront in the public conscience. The Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa provided students a safe and structured environment to dialogue with one another about these subjects, which the majority of American students are reluctant to discuss for fear of being labeled ignorant or racist (Levine & Cureton, 1998b).

The literature on intergroup dialogue, as explored above, can be very useful to educational planners as they develop programs that work with students to grapple with these difficult topics. Dialogues, such as the ones that occurred on the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa, can often become heated; therefore, it is important for the facilitator to be trained in how to move students through these difficult conversations into a deeper understanding of others’ perspectives and insight into their own. The success of the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa seemed to be brought about by the strength of the group, the thoughtfulness and planning of the structure of the program, the knowledge of the coordinators, Professor Maqhawe and Youssef, and the authenticity of the people the students met in Southern Africa. Vicki’s Bed and Breakfast in Khayalitsha offered an opportunity for foreign tourists to get a feel for the community, and Rosie
provided 200-300 meals for children in the community, while Golden created extraordinarily beautiful metal flowers out of soda cans.

IMPACT OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS ON THE STUDENTS

For the nine students in this study, the study abroad program and the impact of the experience did not end with the trip from Cape Town back to the United States. Within six-weeks of their return to the United States, they each spent an hour to an hour-and-a-half with me talking about the meaning of their experiences in the program. This opportunity, as well as the first and second interviews and the final reflection, which occurred in the autumn, provided another means of further reflecting on the experience and critically examining what they had learned.

The research design of the study included member checks after each interview and a final reflection at the end of the overall experience. Without exception, the feedback from participants about the transcripts during the member checks and about the overall experience of participating in the study, were positive. The incentive to participate in the study may have been the $25.00 gift certificate and the simplicity of three interviews, as was the case for Suzie (Final Reflection); however, the outcome of participating was very positive for all of the students. It gave an opportunity for them to reflect on the overall experience and to discuss its meaning to them.

Several students commented that prior to the interviews they had told family and friends about what they had seen in Southern Africa but that they had had few opportunities to discuss the meaning of those experiences to them. Reaching that deeper level of reflection where meaning and the effect of the experience on the individuals
themselves could be explored was very beneficial to the students. Joseph explained how my own personal knowledge of Southern Africa made it easier for him to reach that deeper level where he could explore what it all had meant and how his perceptions had changed as a result:

Like you can relate more, so it's a lot easier to talk to you about it and for you to understand where I'm coming from, rather than me talking to someone that doesn't know because you have to go into so many more details and you talk about every little minute details so that they get a full understanding of what's going on. Where with you, I can be like oh this is what happened. Here's how I feel as a result of what happens, where with them you sort of just spend a majority of your time focusing on here's what happened and - or here's how it is and they're more concerned about here's what it is rather than more concerned about how it affects you. (Joseph Interview Three)

As Joseph explained, the students appreciated the opportunity to reflect and to revisit their experiences and feelings about them, especially since the final interview was a month after the students had returned to their busy lives in the U.S. Michelle and Sam, for example, had started new jobs so they had quickly gotten caught up in the hustle and bustle of their new jobs. In reflecting back on their experiences, they were able to reach a deeper degree of understanding, and they were likely able to learn even more from the overall program. Had they not had the opportunity to further reflect, the impact of the experience may not have been so great.

Students also appreciated how this research would “spread the word” about the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa and the content of the course, something all of the students felt was very positive since they were moved to learn more, to educate others, and in the case of Leonard, to directly affect change through fundraising and advocacy.
A key factor in the success of the research was that I, the researcher, was a former participant in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa, having been a TA and study abroad participant in 2002. This gave me legitimacy, authenticity, and access to the experiences of the students that would not have been achieved had I been strictly examining the experiences of the students as an “outsider.” Since I was able to relate immediately to the places the students had visited, they did not have to describe what they had seen, as was the case when they had spoken with friends and family. They could instead reach a much deeper level in looking at the meaning and impact on them. When the students talked about the Hector Peterson Museum in Soweto I was able to recall my own experiences walking through the museum and visiting with Hector Peterson’s sister, who was the curator of the museum. In addition, when they talked about how the museum had transformed their thinking I understood, since I too had been changed by that place and the people I had met there. As a result, I could understand first-hand how the experience was making an impact on the students and their thinking. This relationship that I had with the students and to their personal experiences allowed me to delve more deeply into the students’ ways of making meaning, which according to the students, was a positive contribution to the overall experience of the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa.

For all of the participants this was the first time they had participated in a dissertation study. Using a qualitative design with open-ended questions meant that they could explore the meaning of the experiences to them and how they were affected by those experiences. This approach was new to the students and several commented that the open ended questions were helpful, as opposed to the close ended survey questions.
that they had answered before. The style of the interviews, and the fact that I met with each of the participants three times (save for Tatiana), helped to build rapport with the students and to establish relationships with them. These personal connections also contributed to the richness and the validity of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Other Effects of the Research

From the descriptions of the participants in this study, the combination of the course, the study abroad program, and the research achieved many goals of emancipatory research. The criteria met are unique to qualitative research, and they add even greater value to the authenticity and validity of the research. The study achieved ontological authenticity, which refers to “the extent to which individual respondents' own emic constructions are improved, matured, expanded, and elaborated, in that they now possess more information and have become more sophisticated in its use” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 248). This expansion of worldview was accomplished through the overall program and was further enhanced by the study and the way in which it helped students to reflect on race and their own racial identities.

The combined program also achieved educative authenticity, which refers to the “extent to which individual respondents' understanding and appreciation for the constructions of others outside their stakeholding group are enhanced” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 248). This is especially important in light of the fact that students of diverse identities were engaged in the process of negotiating race and racism in both Southern Africa and the U.S., and it is evidenced by the comments the students made about the
impact of the other members of the group, especially those who belonged to a different “racial group” from themselves.

The impact of the combined course and the study abroad program, as well as participation in the research itself, also accomplished a number of objectives of Action Research. One, it made students more self-reflective by moving them through the “spiral of cycles of self-reflection (planning, acting and observing, reflecting, replanning, and so on)” (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000, p. 597), which is a common image in action research. In addition, and most importantly, the combined program was “a learning process, the fruits of which are the real and material changes in (a) what people do, (b) how they interact with the world and with others, (c) what they mean and what they value, and (d) the discourses in which they understand and interpret their world.” (p. 596). As a result, this study may have achieved catalytic validity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), which is the extent to which the research leads to what Freire (1973) calls, “conscientization,” or the knowing of reality in order to transform it (Lather, 1986a). Lather (1986a) argues that the research needs to “consciously channel [it’s] impact so that respondents gain self-understanding and, ideally, self-determination through research participation” (p. 67).

Although the goal of the research was not necessarily to change the participants, the process of engaging in deep reflection and discussion of issues surrounding race and racial identity, among others, may have led to some of these transformations (Blacker, 2001; Burnard, 1996; Fry & Kolb, 1979; Kauffman & Kuh, 1984; Kolb, 1981, 1984; Rainey & Kolb, 1995; Strange, 1999).
LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The goal of qualitative research is transferability rather than generalizability. Through thick description of the institutional and study abroad context I have sought to provide enough information for researchers and practitioners to judge similarities in study abroad programming and the context of this study. While the Study Abroad Program may offer an exciting model to other courses and programs, the power of this study lies in the model of the dynamics of integrating lenses. The goal of this research is the transferability of the model rather than the program itself. The conceptual diagram and the process it describes provide a mechanism for transferring the outcomes of this research to other settings. It is likely, therefore, that this dynamic could be observed in a number of different experiential education contexts, such as study abroad, service-learning, or possibly others. This will be explored more in depth in the section on implications.

Although the participants made up over half of the students on the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa that year, the findings were based on a small sample of nine students. Although three-quarters of the students of color on the program participated in this study, including all three of the African American students, only 26% of the program participants were students of color. This was markedly different from past years in which 50-60% of the students were students of color (Youssef, Email personal communication, February 7, 2005). Of the group, there was only one African American woman and one Biracial student, both of whom participated in my study. Their unique voices added insight. As was mentioned above, Tatiana did not respond to any requests for the third
interview; therefore, I was unable to examine with her the overall effect of the study abroad program.

The group who went on the study abroad program in 2005 had several unique features (Gay, 1996), especially that they had become so close and supportive to one another very early in the overall program. The presence of graduate students may have contributed to the group bonding which in turn seemed to contribute to the depth of learning of the students. This dynamic may not necessarily repeat itself in future years.

One cannot necessarily conclude that students’ racial identity, according to the stage theories of Cross (1995b) and Helms (1992), or others, changed through the course and study abroad program, since no formal instruments were used. This was a conscious choice of mine for two reasons. First, Day-Vines (1998) commented that the use of a pre-test/post-test design using such instruments had been ineffective in measuring the impact of the short-term study abroad program to Ghana on the racial identities of African American students. Second, the goal of this study was to explore and examine how students made meaning of race through the study abroad program, not necessarily to measure change over time.

Although the study design involved three separate interviews, as well as the document analysis of journals and final papers and the final reflections at the end, the design did not include direct observation. The findings of this study are based on students’ own interpretations of their experiences, rather than the observations of the researcher in the context of those experiences. Again, this was a conscious choice due to the complexity that would have been inherent in doing participant-observation in the course and the study abroad program, and the confusion of roles that might have occurred
with such a design. It was also not practical for me to take off the amount of time that would have been needed to observe the dynamics of the class or the study abroad program itself.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

The findings not only provided insight into the overall effects of the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa on students’ thinking as it related to self and others, but it provided a clear understanding of the way the stories and experiences of others became accessible and real to American college students. The dynamics of integrating lenses is an exciting and useful model for student learning, and the design of educational programs aiming to broaden students’ perspectives. The overall theoretical model of this process can be utilized in a number of different settings, including study abroad and community service-learning (Rhoads, 1997). Through thick description of the institutional and program context I have attempted to provide future researchers and practitioners with information that can help them to judge whether their particular context is similar to the one from which these findings were derived; however, future research could explore the extent to which the dynamics of integrating lenses holds true in other institutional contexts and educational programs. I am encouraged that it would, since the model itself is reinforced by the literature from a number of disciplines (explored above). The goal of qualitative research is not to generalize based on large samples of participants, but to situate local meanings in broader contexts, or “to perceive great things in little ones” (Sahlins, 1999).
For faculty and study abroad coordinators, the model also presents a practical tool based on in-depth research for facilitating the expansion of perceptions of American college students, and it provides insight into different strategies that might be used to engage students in discussions around difficult topics, such as race, in a safe environment. The structure of The Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa also provides a very useful model for those who might want to design a study abroad program to the region. The itinerary can be found at the beginning of chapter 5 and a description of the most meaningful elements of the program, according to the students, is contained in Appendix D.

This study revealed that the on-campus course that preceded the study abroad program made a significant impact on the students in shifting them from ignorance to initial understanding. This was an unexpected and exciting finding in light of the number of students who could benefit from such a course, which fulfilled one of the diversity requirements in the General Education Curriculum at Mid-Western State University. I found that in the course on the “Culture and Society of Southern Africa” the personal stories contributed substantially to the depth of meaning and the overall impact of that course on the students.

Practitioners might incorporate some of the key features identified in the dynamics of integrating lenses into educational programs in other contexts. I have included some suggestions below; however, it is important to note that the findings of this research do not necessarily support recommendations for use in other settings, although the model does provide ideas that one might use in designing other programs. For example, stories based on personal experiences in the context of the course content
might help to frame the context through a personal connection. The legitimacy and authenticity the storyteller gains might be important in investing the students in that story and the society or culture it reveals. A group of students could become an important support for one another if that group were safe and accepting. This study suggests that first allowing a group of students to bond in a benign setting may strengthen their ability to support one another at a later time in more emotionally charged or intense encounters.

This research reinforced the importance of providing both structured and unstructured opportunities for reflection on experiences so to help students to grapple with the dissonance between earlier assumptions and new realities. As was said above, however, it is important for the facilitator(s) of the group to be trained in how to support the group through these challenging processes. This type of program structure might be used in study abroad, service-learning or other educational contexts.

No research has yet been conducted to look at the long-term effects of participation in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa on college students. This study examined the evolution of students’ thinking from the beginning of the course through the first month they were back in the U.S. A future study could look at the impact six months later, a year later, or even longer. It would be very interesting to see if the effects of the experience hold over time. Michelle and Sam both began new jobs when they returned to the U.S. after studying abroad, so when we met a month after they got back they had been in the thick of new work and had already become far removed from the study abroad program. The interview helped them to reflect on the experience and to revisit its impact; however, with time would that impact have continued?
Day-Vines (1998) wondered if the full impact of the study abroad program may not have been realized until after her students returned to the U.S. and had had sufficient time to process and further reflect on their experiences (p.145). Findings in the context of service-learning would suggest that there may very well be measurable long-term effects. Jones & Abes (2004) found that a service-learning course “most significantly influenced several aspects of the participants' identities: a heightened focus on others in relation to self, emerging commitments to socially responsible work, and a notable openness to new ideas, experiences, and people” (Jones & Abes, 2004, p. 160), even two years after the original service-learning experience.

Additional research is needed in examining the effects of short-term study abroad programs preceded by a course on students’ ways of thinking and making meaning. Are similar effects to those found in this study also found in other settings, such as study abroad in South America? Are similar effects found without a course prior to participating in study abroad? It is possible that the depth of experience would be less, since the course itself was so important in framing the context for these students. These questions and more are all valuable as researchers and practitioners examine the impact of study abroad, and how to structure programs so to maximize learning.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation study, which involved nine undergraduate and graduate students, demonstrated the way in which students’ ways of making meaning about self and other were expanded through the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa at Mid-Western State University. The findings revealed a new way to conceptualize the process by which
students’ ways of looking at the world were changed through the experience, what I have
termed the dynamics of integrating lenses: personalizing the other; othering the self; and
expansion of lenses.

Through personal stories, first in the U.S. classroom, later in Southern Africa, and
also in the comfort and security of the group itself, students were exposed to new
perspectives and experiences, including the horrors of apartheid in Southern Africa.
Through personal relationships that were formed with the instructor, Professor Maqhawe,
the tour guides and fellow students, participants became engaged in those stories.
Through later learning about that context: its history, the society, and its many cultures,
students became invested in those stories and the realities they revealed. And, as a result,
they were compelled to confront the reality they were facing and to reconcile it with their
earlier assumptions, perceptions, stereotypes, beliefs, and values. Through reflecting on
those experiences in the support of the group, students were able to grapple with this
process and to increase in their complexity of thinking around issues of race, poverty,
community, and globalization. In the process, students’ lenses for viewing those aspects
of the world were expanded.

This expansion of lenses was brought about by students of various racial
identities: White, Black, and Biracial, honestly and frankly discussing, exploring,
examining and facing the realities of theirs and others’ life situations in informal and
formal group discussions. In the U.S. classroom, students moved from ignorance about
the continent of Africa and the region of Southern Africa to an initial understanding.
Through the combined course and study abroad program, the White undergraduate
students’ unexamined White privilege was surfaced, exposed and preliminarily dealt
with. At the same time, Black students’ pride in being Black and their connection to their histories was deepened. Their assumptions about race and identification with Africa were also broadened. An unexpected result of the experience was the identity crisis that was experienced by Suzie, the one Biracial Asian American/Polish American student, who did not feel grounded or connected to the others because of being neither White nor Black. Suzie’s crisis revealed that the members of the group may not have reached a level of maturity around issues of race and diversity that they could support a peer whose perspectives were still different from their own. That being said, the result of the group cohesiveness and support was that White and Black students who had never had friends of the “other” race had expanded their relationships to incorporate new people, who they may never have interacted with otherwise.

In addition, through the overall experience students’ assumptions about poverty and about community were broadened, as they saw how poverty did not necessarily equate to unhappiness and despair. The students also saw the impact of globalization and Americanization on the developing world. In the process, students became more discerning and more independent in their approach to researching and finding out world events. They also became more curious and more interested in sharing their knowledge with others. In the process, students’ minds were opened to new perspectives and to new approaches.

Figure 7.1, which is a graphical representation of the dynamics of integrating lenses, illustrates how students continuously moved through the cycle of personalizing the other, othering the self, and expanding lenses. Beside each of the three major elements in the figure are illustrations of how each element occurred in the context of the
course and study abroad program. These processes seemed to feed on each other, and to accelerate the overall learning that occurred for the students, thus the elements themselves acted as gears that drove the overall dynamic and continued to facilitate the learning of the students. The loops in the diagram travel in the same direction, thus illustrating the reinforcement of the process throughout the system. For the students in this study this process occurred in a positive direction. Moreover, students seemed to continue to develop in their complexity and their openness to other perspectives by iterating through the process in a continuous flow. Therefore, the diagram needs to be two-dimensional. If the diagram were extended to a helix, it would illustrate the process of increasing the depth and complexity of thinking and understanding over time with each repetition of cycling through the process.

The inherent danger in a reinforcing loop is that "reinforcing loops generate exponential growth and collapse" (Goodman et al., 1994, p. 114), thus under negative conditions the result could be the dynamic collapsing in on itself and the helix spiraling downward rather than upward. For example, had Suzie not had the internal coping skills to work through her identity crisis, the encounter with the Englishman in Cape Town and the lack of support that she felt from the group could have negatively affected her perception of the overall study abroad experience. In fact, it could have completely turned her off from that type of experience. In fact, it did not. Suzie gained that needed support internally and from her roommate with whom she became very close. As a result, the gears continued to turn and her learning and the learning of her peers accelerated as the process reinforced itself.
In order that complex systems do not collapse, a balancing loop is needed so to slow the rate of growth and to bring the system to homeostasis. "Balancing processes generate the forces of resistance, which eventually limit growth. But they are also the mechanisms, found in nature and all systems, that fix problems, maintain stability, and achieve equilibrium. They ensure that every system never strays far from its 'natural' operating range." (Goodman, Kemeny, & Roberts, 1994, p. 117) The balancing factor in the dynamic observed in this study could have been the structure of the program and the natural supports that it provided, as well as the skills in facilitation and teaching that both Dr. Maqhawe and Youssef possessed. Practitioners who use the findings of this study to explore program design should note that this balancing loop is an essential component of the overall system that can prevent the overall system from collapsing in on itself if conditions are too challenging or negative.

This research found that participation in the study provided another avenue through which the students could further reflect and learn from the overall experience. Through the course of the interviews, and the review of transcripts, the students reflected on their experiences in the course and the study abroad program. According to the students, the study added value to their experiences, and very well may have deepened their level of learning. Participating in the course, the study abroad program, and this research study seemed to be transformative for the students, and it certainly was for me. I learned more from those nine students than I ever could have imagined or hoped.
APPENDIX A:
SCRIPT TO SOLICIT PARTICIPATION IN
DISSERTATION RESEARCH
(APRIL 2005)

Good morning everyone, my name is Ben Williams. I actually participated in this course and the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa in spring and summer of 2002, and I would like to work with as many of you as would be interested in learning about your experience on the program this year. For my dissertation research as part of my doctoral program in Higher Education and Student Affairs Administration I would like to see how your perception of race and ethnicity changes throughout the course of the class and the study abroad program.

For quite some time I have been very interested in how college students make meaning of race and how that affects their perceptions of themselves and others. I know that the issue of race can be a tough one, and my goal is not to make judgments about anyone’s experiences, views or perceptions. Instead, I want to learn from you how participation in this course and the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa has affected your perception of race and other aspects of your identity, if at all. There is no right or wrong answer for any of the questions I will be asking. I would like to have as broad a spectrum of students as possible, so all are truly welcome and encouraged to participate.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary and all interviews and written materials will be kept confidential. Participants will be asked to meet with me for three separate one hour interviews throughout the next two quarters. In addition, I would like to ask for access to your journals and final reflection papers for the course. All of these materials will be kept strictly confidential and your choice whether or not to participate will in no way affect your grade or standing in the course. All participants will receive a $25 gift certificate to the college bookstore at the first interview.

The first time we will meet will be at the beginning of the class (within the next couple of weeks). The second time we meet will be at the end of the class before you leave for Southern Africa. Our final meeting will be when you return from the study abroad program – in the month of July. All interviews will be scheduled at your convenience, and shortly after each interview you will have an opportunity to review your interview transcript and make any additions or clarifications to me over the phone.

If you would be interested in participating in my research, I have a letter explaining what we’ve just talked about as well as some other details, and a form of informed consent for
you to sign. On that form you can indicate how you would like for me to contact you to
set up the first interview. I will not be coming in to any future classes, but working with
individuals throughout the experience.

If you would like some time to think about participation, then I can give you a self-
addressed stamped envelope that you can use to send me the signed form.

Regardless or whether or not you choose to participate in this research, I wish you all a
rich and rewarding experience in the course and the study abroad program. Professor
Maqhawe’s program is an incredibly unique and exciting experience that opened my eyes
to so many different things. I hope you find it to be rewarding, engaging and exciting. I
also hope that participation in this research will give you new opportunities for reflection
and learning throughout the experience.

Please feel free to raise your hand if you have any questions. My contact information is
also on the Participant’s letter, so feel free to contact me at a later date, if you would
prefer. Thank you again.
APPENDIX B:
INVITATION FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPATION
(APRIL 2005)

Dear student who plans to study abroad in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa in June 2005:

We would like to invite your participation in an important research project that will be used for Ben Williams’ dissertation research, which is being supervised by Professor Ada Demb of the College of Education.

In spring and summer 2002 Ben participated in the course and study abroad program on the Culture and Society of Southern Africa. At that time he became very interested in how the program affected college students’ perception of race. For his dissertation research Ben would like to talk with you about your own experiences during the course and the study abroad program. In particular, he would like to explore what race means to you throughout the experience.

Participation in this research would entail meeting with Ben for three interviews for approximately one hour each over the course of spring quarter and into summer quarter (through July 2005): one interview within the first three weeks of the quarter, one interview at the end of the quarter, and one in July when you return from the study abroad program. Each interview would be audio-taped and transcribed. After each interview there would be a follow-up phone conversation after you have reviewed the transcripts from your interview. Last, you would be asked to share your reflective journals and final papers after you return from the study abroad program. Your journal and final paper would be returned to you by the end of summer quarter 2005. Participation in the study will help to expand the understanding of the impact of study abroad in Southern Africa on college students. It will also give an opportunity to participants to further reflect on the experience and its impact on their thinking.

Your involvement in this study would be strictly voluntary and any data would be kept completely confidential. Although Professor Maqhawe has expressed his support of this research, your choice to participate or not would in no way affect your relationship with Professor Maqhawe, or your grade for the course or study abroad program. If you choose to participate, your name would not be attached to any of the data and your identity would be protected. Any excerpts from journal entries included in the write-up would be anonymous. A participant may decline to answer any question, or withdraw
from the study at any time without penalty. All participants would receive a $25 gift certificate to the college bookstore at the first interview.

If you are interested in participating in this study and you plan to engage in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa in June 2005, please read the Informed Consent Form on the next page, then fill out and sign the bottom of the form. Please give the form either to Ben or to Professor Maqhawe. Ben will then be in contact to set up the first interview and to answer any questions that you might have. Please keep this letter as a reference for yourselves.

Please feel free to contact either Ben Williams or Professor Ada Demb at the email addresses or phone numbers below if you have any questions. Thank you for your time and consideration. We hope you all have a wonderful experience in the course and the study abroad program.

Sincerely,

Ben Williams
Williams.1591@osu.edu

Dr. Ada Demb
demb.1@osu.edu
APPENDIX C:
CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN DISSERTATION RESEARCH
(APRIL 2005)

Protocol Title: Making Meaning of Race through Study Abroad in Southern Africa

Protocol Number: 2005B0047

Principal Investigator: Professor Ada Demb

I plan to participate in the Study Abroad Program to Southern Africa in June 2005.

I consent to my participation in research being conducted by Professor Ada Demb and her associate, Ben Williams.

The investigator has explained the purpose of the study, the procedures that will be followed, and the amount of time it will take. I understand the possible benefits of my participation. I know that I can choose not to participate without penalty to me. If I agree to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time, and there will be no penalty.

I consent to the use of audiotapes, and I understand how the tapes will be used for the study. I also consent to the review of my reflective journal and final paper, and I understand how they will be used.

I have had a chance to ask questions and to obtain answers to my questions. I can contact the investigators by email or by phone at the following locations:

Ben Williams  Professor Ada Demb
Williams.1591@osu.edu  demb.1@osu.edu

If I have questions about my rights as a research participant, I can call the Office of Responsible Research Practices at (614) 688-4792.

I have read this form or I have had it read to me. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy will be given to me at the first interview.
Print your name here: ____________________________________________

Date: ___________________  Signed: ________________________________

Signed:
(Principal investigator or her authorized representative)

I would like to be contacted via the following means in order to arrange for the first interview:

Email: ___________________  Telephone: _______________________

Address: ________________________________
APPENDIX D:
HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PROGRAM

Below are notes of the highlights of the program from the interviews and journals of the students in this study.

Zambia:
Terrain as they landed in Zambia “reminded me of the typical image of Africa – dry and brown safari environment” (Joseph Journal).
Staying at the Zambezi Sun, where there are monkeys roaming around, where you can hear the Victoria Falls in the close distance. Observed that the majority of the guests were White and the employees Black. Visiting Chief Mkuni’s Village, a traditional village with Western flavor, such as the Coke sign that both myself and Joseph observed, and Western dress. Yet, the community is still very traditional in its layout and in its governance, with the chief. Women have to pump water, even with babes on their backs, and they carry the water on their heads without their hands (Leonard Journal). Touring the falls and seeing the natural beauty of Africa.

Zimbabwe:
Seeing the larger view of the falls. Riding elephants all as a group (as opposed to breaking up and going around and doing people’s own thing – as we did in 2002). Elephants had been rescued. Were ridden twice a day and allowed to roam free during the other parts of the day. One of the highlights was feeding two baby elephants from the palms of the students’ hands. Bartering in the large marketplace in Victoria Falls (the best and most extensive market we saw our whole trip as well). Dinner at the Kingdom Hotel, a casino hotel that could be in Las Vegas (Mufasa and Leonard Journals). Zambezi River sunset cruise (especially impressive to Leonard with the beautiful view of the hippo coming out of the water at sunset).

Botswana
Chobe Safari Lodge. Had to cross over the Zambezi River, which is 1 kilometer wide, using a small ferry boat. This took four trips to get the people and gear across the river. Andrew commented about the infrastructure and how a bridge would revolutionize travel and commerce for the countries; however, (my own observation) 1 kilometer would be one heck of a bridge.

Three major safaris: Saw many different animals on a massive reserve. Safari during the day; in the early morning; and on the river – highlights: approximately 500 elephants at a massive watering hole, two elephants using their trunks as snorkels when fording a river;
two hippos mating amongst a group of 40, sables, impalas, warthogs, and other animals, and unusual but tasty food, such as warthog, kudu, and impala.

Impact on the group significant – a time for bonding, getting to know one another and to feel comfortable with one another (See Joseph’s comments coded under Group Impact) “During the game drive, the group in my care became much closer, as it gave us time to talk and joke with one another. I think this was a major point in the trip where people became very comfortable with the group and their participation in the group. I think we realized the importance of looking out for one another, caring for one another and bonding.” (Joseph Journal) – reiterated by almost everyone else.

South Africa
Johannesburg
Far more modern and “Westernized” than what the students had seen in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. Joseph describes it as more akin to Detroit or Chicago. The students even went to the new Nelson Mandela Mall, with a 50 foot status of Nelson Mandela outside of it (Leonard Journal). The mall had a food court with KFC and McDonald’s. The mall we went to looked like any other mall in North America. Sandton is one of the richest suburbs of Johannesburg.

Highlights:
Pretoria
• Union Plaza: The president’s residency and where the congress sits. Prior to Mandela’s presidency, Blacks were not allowed in the gardens and grounds and had to keep a distance from the Plaza itself.
• Voortrekker Monument: Erected to mythologize the “Great Trek” of the Boers. Portrayed the Boers as victims and the Black “natives” as savages and beasts, with the Boers on a holy trek (erected at the beginning of the 20th Century). Interesting note: Of the tourists there with them, the group was the only with Black members. All of the other tourists were White. During the tour when Professor Maqhawe pointed out to the group the inaccuracies in the bas reliefs art, a couple quickly walked away from them to avoid Professor Maqhawe and the group (Michelle and Leonard Journals). Very hegemonic in its approach and portrayal.
Quote:
“This tribute displayed the strength and innocence of the Voortrekkers along with their determination. The Africans (Zulus) were portrayed as savages with no soul (killing ‘innocent’ women and children – specifically girls). I find it unfortunate that the art work is so beautiful and well done but depicts such a twisted version of the story.” (Suzie Journal)
Mpho asked why there wasn’t a disclaimer about the story told in the monument. The government is supposedly working on it but has become somewhat complacent (Suzie Journal).
• Gold Reef City: A former gold mine to learn about gold mining.
• Apartheid Museum: Recently built to demonstrate the inequality and oppression of apartheid era South Africa. Joseph observed that the majority of the patrons were Black, as opposed to the Voortrekker, which was majority White. The museum seemed to make a major impact on all of the students. Leonard was upset that he could not photograph or videotape the museum, yet he had been able to with the Voortrekker Monument. This seemed wrong since the stories of the Apartheid Museum were the most important to be told (Leonard Journal). It was a “must-see landmark”, according to Leonard (Journal). Suzie commented that the group only spent an hour there, yet everyone mentioned it as making the greatest impact on them (spend more time in the future!)
• Constitution Hill: Recently constructed to house the citizen’s court. In stark contrast to the Apartheid governments of the past, this court is literally and symbolically transparent and open. Part of the court is some of the prison cells that had housed Nelson Mandela. Thick with symbolism with the court being transparent and being under a tree (symbolic of the tradition of African peoples to settle disputes under a tree). To Leonard and Andrew (Journals), the most powerful image was of 8-9 four-foot stone slabs that were riddled with tick marks – representing each day that Nelson Mandela was imprisoned. That image particularly blew Leonard away. Suzie mentioned that this was the location of the TLRC and the slabs marked the number of days of the TLRC (I bet it was Mandela, not the TLRC).

Soweto (SouthWestern Township) – built in the 1950’s
3-5 million people all of whom are Black. An extensive city with upper, middle and lower class living. Drove past large homes in the hills, more modest homes, including one they visited, and the squatter villages.
  • Squatter villages
    The great majority of the people live in the squatter villages, which are cramped with makeshift dwellings made of old wood, sheet metal and tires (to keep the roofs on). According to Mpho, their guide, approximately 35% of the people in the squatter village were infected with HIV/AIDS. Interestingly, Soweto is also home to the most technologically advanced eye hospital in the world (according to Joseph Journal).
  • Hector Peterson Museum
    June 16, 1976, the protest of grammar school children in Soweto towards the mandatory instruction of Afrikaans in South African schools that ended in bloodshed with a large number of children being shot. The image of Hector Peterson being carried by his friend with his sister running next to him became a powerful image of the oppression and violence of apartheid-era South Africa in the mid-1970’s. Group met his sister, who is the curator of the museum. Hector Peterson has become a cultural symbol.
  • Wandy’s Restaurant
  • Nelson Mandela’s home: Including bullet holes still in his house from previous times of violence.
Durban:
Shiney Bright – a British woman who had come to South Africa in 1974 during the apartheid era.
- Indian Ocean and the beaches – esp. for Mufasa and Leonard
- “African Footprints” and the Casino
- Phoenix and Inanda Township and Gandhi’s home and newspaper, “The Indian Opinion”
- John Dube’s home: First president of the African National Congress and founder of the first Black newspaper in SA
- Khanganjalo Junior Primary School in the Inanda Township. A remarkable school where 35 teachers and administrators educate 1,300 elementary age school children. A major highlight for many, if not all, of the students. About 40% of the children are infected with HIV/AIDS. About 50 kids to a classroom. Group gave about $100 to the school through collections from everyone. (Particularly affected Suzie) Leonard, Youssef and Professor Maqhawe decided to raise more money so that the school can build needed bathroom facilities – goal according to Leonard was $1,000.
- Indian Market with traditional medicines
- Valley of 1,000 Hills:
  - The Zulu Village (name?)
    Traditional village. Learn about the local customs. Meet the local traditional healer – “medicine man” and have a traditional meal in the kral with men on the right and women on the left – eating with their hands. Andrew, Leonard and possibly others (check) commented how the village was becoming increasingly commercialized, with the Medicine Man collecting money for photographs with him (or of him – check) and in the building of a welcome space and hotel, as well as a store to sell the beaded jewelry (different from how we bought it right on the road)
- Kwamuhly Museum – Also highlighting apartheid era Durban (the one I went to at the station where workers would gather).
- YMCA and A cappella performance of men commemorating the performances of the Zulu workers, who had to remain in the hostels because of curfews during the Apartheid Era. They would sing through the night from Saturday night to Sunday morning (through the night). The group were the only White people in the hall for the performance – a very rare experience and only possible because of Shiny.
- Harbor Tour – seeing the shipping industry of South Africa.

Cape Town
- Table Mountain
- Robben Island – the prison where Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders were held for the majority of their incarceration. Group was given a tour by a former political prisoner (same was the case for me). Students saw how prisoners were segregated by race and given different rations based on their racial classification. One interesting note was how the Black prisoners were given short pants and that
Mandela fought and fought to have them receive long pants (I remember this detail from *Long Walk to Freedom*, 1994).

- Khayalitsha (township) – Vicky’s Bed and Breakfast, which is the first of its kind where someone can stay in the township; Rosie’s Kitchen, which serves 200-300 kids breakfast each day. Recognized for its value by the government and subsidized by churches and other charitable organizations. Group gave 900 Rand to her cause. Other highlights: “parading” (Suzie) through the streets with 30-40 children holding hands, talking, and taking pictures. Joseph observed that no one asked him for money – unusual when he was interacting with children in the townships and villages.

- Langa (township) - Golden’s metal flowers

- The Cape of Good Hope, Cape Point, the seals and the penguins in Simonstown—a fun day to see the natural beauty of the Cape

- The Afrikaans Language Monument – On top of a San burial ground/holy site (very disrespectful) as a monument to the Afrikaans language. The root languages were minor in size compared to the towering Afrikaans language. (Leonard’s quote is powerful): “This monument is another symbolic image of an oppressors’ ideology of self-actualization. This image is quite similar to the Voortrekkers’

- Wine Tasting in three wineries in the Cape.

Note: Group Meetings:
- Johannesburg (June 22nd, Day 9): After day in Joburg (Apartheid Museum, Reef City, Pretoria): Focused on expectations v. reality, globalization, the differences between fences in Sandton and Pretoria v. Soweto.
- Jo-Burg (June 26th, Day 13): After free day: Talked about globalization and modernization of Southern Africa.
- Cape Town: June 28th, Day 15) Sights seen thus far
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NOTES

i My pre-dissertation study was approved through the Institutional Review Board as protocol # 02E0213.

ii A fictitious name for the institution used to protect the identity of the participants in the study.

iii Originally Helms (1984) used the term stage; however, she changed the term to “status” to account for (1) an individual’s tendency to exhibit attitudes, behaviors, and emotions reflective of more than one “stage”; (2) the tendency for the “dynamic interplay between cognitive and emotional processes that racial identity models purport to address” (Helms, 1995, p. 183); and (3) no theoretical or measurement support for mutually exclusive stages (Helms, 1992; 1995). Statuses are expressed through “schemata,” which are behavioral manifestations of the underlying statuses (Helms, 1995). The “dominant” schema used by an individual is the behavior that is exhibited in most situations involving racial information (p.187). There may also be secondary statuses or schema that the individual may employ if the dominant schema is not sufficient to cope with a stressful or challenging situation. As a result, multiple statuses may act in concert, “that is they may each influence a person’s reactions to racial stimuli” (p.188). If a status is consistently reinforced, it grows stronger; if it is not, it withers away (p. 187).

iv The professor’s name is a pseudonym so to protect the identity of the students in the study. The professor chose this pseudonym for himself.

v See further discussion of Member checks under “Credibility criteria” later in this chapter.

vi One student was unable to locate his journal after moving shortly after returning from South Africa. In addition, the graduate students were not required to complete a final paper.

vii Although one student’s exploration of “Ecotourism” helped to demonstrate his expansion of understanding of issues. See Chapters six and seven for more details.

viii See Weitzman (2000) for a comprehensive discussion of software programs for qualitative data management and analysis.
An intriguing twist occurred in the life of Sam, who experienced prejudice against her because of being White. Sam’s boyfriend’s parents did not accept her because she was not from the same culture as her boyfriend, in this case from a particular country in Asia. This was very different from the way Sam had experienced life as a White middle-class person in the U.S.

So, you know, there are different cultural pieces but I also know that, you know, they are not particularly fond of me, only mainly because, I mean, ‘cause they don’t’ really know me. Mainly because I’m White. So that’s been interesting, because that really doesn’t happen too much, I don’t think, you know, because of Whiteness, are you said to be, you know, that’s not a good thing or we don’t really, you know, want your kind—that sort of thing. Not, not that in that way, but…but, you know, I think it’s…it’s difficult for them to know that we’ve been dating for so long and, you know, we’re planning on eventually getting married once our careers are sort of on track, and, you know, we’re somewhat settled there. But, um, so that certainly made me see race and ethnicity in a different way as well. Um, because of that…that dynamic. (Sam Interview One)

See Note ix above for more background.

Throughout the next two chapters there will be boxes with important information on the history and culture of Southern Africa that will help readers to better understand the context as they walk the journey of the program with the students. This choice of placing historical/background information in the findings was inspired by Lather and Smithies, who first used a similar approach in Troubling the Angels (Lather & Smithies, 1997).

After my interview with Suzie I, too, looked up the story on the internet, but the story was housed in the form of small articles not articles in major News agencies. Had Suzie not mentioned it, I never would have heard about the murders myself.

Tatiana spoke about this very dynamic in her own life in her first and second interviews.

Similar to what Helms (1992) talks about. See chapter seven for a broader discussion.

She had planned to attend the same university as an undergraduate the following year.

John Ogbu, the Social Anthropologist, has previously used this same term “Black Americans” (Ogbu, 2002, 2003).

Made very real by the District 6 Museum curator, Noor Ebrahim, whose book Noor’s Story: My life in District 6, was a powerful story about the vibrancy of the community before the forced relocation. Interestingly, this was a book that both Suzie and I had purchased when we were in Cape Town in 2005 and 2002, respectively.
See the official South Africa 2010 FIFA World Cup website at http://www.southafrica2010.org/ for more information.

This trend held true for all of the students interviewed in the study, but the individual experiences of those students and their individual journeys were of course unique. I have attempted to explore the variety of experiences and interpretations through telling their stories.

No formal instruments were used to measure White Racial Identity based on Helms’ theory or any other theory for that matter; therefore, this is strictly an observation based on my data and the experiences of the nine students in this study.

It is important to note that not all White people are necessarily wealthy or rich in resources; however, race in the United States can play a definite factor in the opportunities afforded to people (hooks, 2000; Robinson, 2000).

See Table 2.1 in Chapter Two for a detailed explanation of Cross’ theory.

This included Tatiana, who was an African American African Studies Minor. Prior to the course she had taken only courses in African American history and culture.

As he explained to me in a personal communication in autumn quarter 2005, shortly after the group returned from Southern Africa.

In 2002, when I was on the program, there were five different groups doing five different activities that free day.

Except for one student, who returned to her home two-hours away after returning from the study abroad program, and was unable to meet with me until mid-September.