To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Lillian Marie Wallace entitled "A Survey of Interracial Interaction at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville: An Anthropological Analysis." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Anthropology.

Benita J. Howell, Ph.D. Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

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ABSTRACT

This study was designed to explore the social interaction of Black and White students at the University of Tennessee and how this interaction impacted Black students' college experience. Most of the pedagogical literature offers a psychosocial explanation of Black students' failure to fully integrate on White college campuses. Early educational anthropology literature presents a cultural difference explanation at the micro level. Present educational anthropology literature offers a more complete explanation of variability in minority school performance through a multi-deterministic approach utilizing race, class, and gender. This study moves beyond classroom performance. It attempts to discover inductively how Black and White students and faculty interact on campus and how their interaction influences the college experience of Black students.

This study used a qualitative research method, an open ended questionnaire for Black and White students, and a focus group of Black students, to gain access to student participants' perceptions of interracial interaction. All student participants were enrolled at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville during 1991 spring semester. The data gathered from the questionnaire and focus group were analyzed using grounded theory to identify themes about interaction between Blacks and Whites on campus.

The theory that emerged identified that Black students are unable to fully integrate at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The lack of integration was not an issue of biculturalism but of Black student participants encountering cultural stereotypes that are rooted in the historical legacy that implied Black people's social inferiority. This forced

many Black students to limit or guard their behavior when interacting with White people. Comments from Black student participants and their White student counterparts indicated that cultural stereotypes are pervasive in American society due to lack of first-hand interaction between people who are racially and ethnically different. Lack of first hand interaction creates a second hand enculturation process. Second hand enculturation occurs when people base their ideas about different types of people on socializing agents such as the media and family. The second hand enculturation process is further exacerbated on campus because of segregated activities, the wide spread perception of Whites that they experience reverse discrimination, and low numbers of Black students and faculty.

The study findings have implications for educational administrators and researchers. Based on research findings, this study recommends campus programs and policies that would encourage and support interaction between people who are racially and ethnically different.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Introduction

Inequality exists, most often as group inequality. It centers around people belonging to different races, castes, ethnic, language or religious groups. Until a few decades ago, group inequality was sanctioned by law in the United States. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled, in the field of public education, that the doctrine of separate but equal had no place in American society. Since the Emancipation Proclamation, there have been laws and social norms excluding Black Americans from access to the American Dream. The 1954 decision ended states' power to segregate students by race. The hope of the decision in "Brown versus Board of Education" was for all people to have equal access to public education. The decision did not or could not sanction sociocultural beliefs and behaviors that exist and still exist in American society.

This is evident in the 1971 Southern Regional Educational Board Report on the status of colleges and universities in the south. The 1971 Southern Regional Educational Board (SREB) report indicated the following:

> Black students in predominantly White institutions are pulled by two conflicting forces-- the need for racial and cultural identity on one hand, and the need for involvement and participation in the institution on the other (SREB 1971:23).

The 1971 report illuminated how White colleges and universities are inclined to treat and

accommodate the different needs of Black students:

> The White institutions tend to try to face the issues of social change on their own (white) terms, and those terms seldom are satisfactory to Black students (SREB 1971:18).

The integration of Afro-American curriculum and the appearance of Black Cultural Centers on campuses in the past twenty years have not eroded all the historical sociocultural power differentials in Black and White interaction.

While many theorists have focused on many different approaches to improving Black students' social and learning experience in White colleges and universities, most of the pedagogical research offers only partial explanations for problems that Black students encounter on White campuses. Educational researchers repeatedly deliver the same message: Black students at predominantly White colleges and universities experience social problems that affect their academic performance (Fleming 1984, Epps and Jackson 1985, Carter and Sedlacek 1985, Vaz 1987, Lang 1988, Vasquez and Wainstein 1990, Sutherland 1990, and others).

Pedagogical theorists have often "borrowed" from the social sciences to understand the problems that plague the American educational system. Traditionally, most educational researchers have relied upon sociology and psychology to offer insight into educational problems. Most recently, a distinct subdiscipline of anthropology, educational anthropology, has advanced research on problems in education. Cultural difference theorists hold that the school is part of hegemonic culture and often members of other cultures clash with its tenets. Many cultural difference theorists employ their approach using micro ethnographies in order to intervene between the cultural transmitter

or the school, the cultural mediator or the teacher, and the students.

Certain educational anthropologists, such as Foley and Ogbu, have moved beyond the cultural difference theory and incorporated a multi-deterministic approach in understanding educational problems. American society or the American Cultural Dialogue is composed of many racial and ethnic minorities that are successful in school. Cultural difference theorists presumed that these students would be incompatible with mainstream culture and could not explain their success in school. A multi-deterministic approach that examines race, class, and gender may offer a more complete explanation of the variability in school performance.

Very few theorists have incorporated into their explanations of educational problems, particularly relating to Black students, the historical legacy of the power differential in the interaction between Blacks and Whites. Ogbu hints at this by distinguishing between voluntary and involuntary immigrants in his model of minority school performance, but for the most part this historical legacy of White domination which controlled interaction between Blacks and Whites is largely ignored in educational anthropology.

Social scientists such as Davis, et al (1941) and Powdermaker (1966) conducted extensive research on interactions between Blacks and Whites in the segregated south. Their work illuminates the complex web of social relations between Blacks and Whites and the methods many Black people used to accommodate and resist the White dominated traditional mores that assumed or implied Black social inferiority. The legacy of the traditional mores that dictated interaction between Blacks and Whites in the segregated

south is still present in many interactions between Blacks and Whites today. This legacy must be noted in researching educational inequality; to do so acknowledges the limitations on solutions that can be derived from this type of research.

Purpose of the Study

As illustrated above, researchers continually note that Black students experience social problems which affect academic performance at White universities. Many of these social problems are embedded in the historical legacy of a White dominated society. This research project was designed to discover inductively how Black and White students and faculty interact on campus and how their interaction influences the college experience of Black students. Black students at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville represent approximately five percent of the some 27,000 students currently enrolled. The University is situated in East Tennessee in a predominantly White city of over three hundred thousand. The University has incorporated a Black Cultural Center and African and African-American studies program, yet, it seems that Black students are not socially and academically integrated into the university. Improving Black students' college experience would improve the college experience for all students by promoting healthy interaction between the two groups and exposing students to diversity.

A grounded theory approach was employed to understand how working and middle-class Black males and females perceived their experience and what could be done to improve college life for them. Grounded theory methodology was employed because

it allows the theory to grow from the data rather than testing a preconceived theory.

The inductive data collection and analysis began with a pilot study of a small group of Black students who responded to a questionnaire about college life at the University of Tennessee. A focus group was conducted to test the validity of the findings. A questionnaire was then reformulated to include sections about the sociocultural environment of the university. A larger group of Black and White students responded to the reformulated open ended questionnaire about race relations on campus. The purpose of doing this type of grounded theory analysis is to recommend measures for improving race relations at the University of Tennessee that are grounded in students' own perceptions of the current situation.

Chapter Organization

Chapter Two presents a review of relevant literature. It includes a review of pedagogical research, a mapping of the merging of education and anthropology into a distinct subdiscipline, and a review of anthropological theory on race, class, and gender. Chapter Three contains a detailed description of the grounded theory approach. Chapter Four presents Black student participants' perceptions and experiences of college life at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Chapter Five describes White student perceptions and the emerging theory of how White student participants perceive their Black student counterparts. The concluding chapter examines the findings in relation to anthropological theory and presents recommendations for improving the social climate

at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of the Literature

Introduction

In the past thirty-eight years, since Brown vs Board of Education, legal access is not limited in higher education. However, many sociocultural barriers still block equal opportunities for Black students in higher education. Most of the pedagogical literature on equal educational opportunity tends to focus on psychosocial barriers encountered by Black students at White universities. This chapter will highlight relevant psychosocial education literature and then move to a discussion on educational anthropology and the anthropological theory that has greatly impacted educational anthropology.

The emphasis on educational literature illustrates the psychosocial focus in the research on minorities in higher education. The educational anthropology section covers the merging of education and anthropology into a distinct subdiscipline and illustrates the different theoretical bases that influence educational anthropology frameworks. Also included in this section is a discussion of the different theoretical approaches regarding minorities in education. The second section is emphasized in this study because the thesis aims to contribute to this body of scholarly literature. It should be noted the sections overlap to some extent. Educational researchers and anthropologists offer several different perspectives in analysis of minorities in

education and they will be highlighted in the following sections.

Educational Literature

The attrition and low retention rates of Black students in higher education are dismal and graduation rates are consistently on the decline despite the fact more Black students are graduating from high school. Many educators attribute this phenomenon to the fact that Black students consistently report a much lower quality of college experience than White students. This is especially true of Blacks who attend White colleges and universities (Fleming 1984, Allen 1985 and 1986, Webster, Sedlacek, and Miyares 1979, Willie and McCord 1972, and Nettles et al 1985). Many educators attribute this phenomenon to the psychosocial barriers that Black students encounter at White colleges and universities.

Educational researchers argue that Black students come to White universities and colleges with distinct (although varied within this group) geographic, socio-economic, and historical experiences (Carter and Sedlacek 1989). Those differences further the lack of academic and social integration experienced by Black students at White colleges and universities. Universities and colleges often have been described as a mirror of society and thus they reflect, more often than not, the problems that many Blacks experience in White society. Black students, with their different backgrounds and experiences, often are unable to meet their basic psychosocial needs in a White academic setting.

Fleming (1984), in Blacks in College, engaged in an extensive study comparing Black students at White and Black colleges. She focused on their intellectual and psychosocial needs and found, not surprisingly, that Black students often experience serious adjustment problems at White colleges and universities. The supportive climate of Black colleges is largely absent and unavailable at White post-secondary institutions. Problems that are largely exclusive to Black students at White institutions, such as racial tension and inadequate social lives, often lead to psychological withdrawal and can impair academic performance. Fleming found that the inability to feel a part of the whole, or alienation, experienced by many Black students seems to be associated with the absence of intellectual gain. This pervasive theme of "alienation" or not "fitting in" or not having a "sense of belonging" and not "feeling a part of the university" is consistently found in educational research in this area (Johnson 1988, Vaz 1987, Lang 1988, Rice and Alford 1989, Vasquez and Wainstein 1990, Sutherland 1990, and others).

Concern about the lack of social and academic integration at White institutions causes many educational researchers to advocate for policy change. Much of the literature has been devoted to programs and policy change to alleviate the undue stress that low levels of integration cause Black students. Studies, again and again, report the same complaints by Black students at White institutions. Some of the complaints are due, according to educational researchers, to the fact that Black students often enter academia with little experience interacting in White society. The lack of exposure to White society does not prepare Black students for coping with problems

they might encounter on a White campus. However, it should be noted that Blacks students are not a monolithic entity. They come to campus, just as White students, with a varied amount of experiences and perceptions. Carter and Sedlacek (1989) note that the attitudes and experiences differ depending on the amount of their exposure to other racial/cultural differences.

Braddock and McPartland (1985) and others argue that it is essential that special programs and policies be developed to facilitate Black students' integration into the academic and social subsystems of the university. Universities and colleges cannot offer a policy or program that will alter Black students' experiences that they bring to college, but they can create a culturally diverse educational environment with favorable conditions. Educators and administrators can implement policy changes and programs that offer solutions to the recurrent problems that Black students encounter on campuses. Lack of contact with Black faculty, low number of Black students on campus, conscious and unconscious racist behavior and policies, ethnocentric curriculum, lack of proper advisement and counseling, and financial burdens are the repeated grievances that appear in the literature (Vasquez and Wainstein 1990, Vaz 1987, Carter and Sedlacek 1990, Nettles et al 1985, Thomas and McPartland 1984, Cross and H. Astin 1981, Sutherland 1990, Rice and Alford 1989, Stamps 1988, Lang 1988, Pantages and Creedon 1978, Noel et al 1985, Clewell and Ficklen 1986, and Richardson and Bender 1987).

Institutional characteristics of the university and individual psychosocial problems that Black students encounter on the White campus have been the focus of

educational researchers for over two decades. However, the psychosocial emphasis that dominates educational literature virtually ignores the concept of culture. Cultural anthropology offers a more pertinent way to look at intercultural communications of Black students at White universities.

Educational Anthropology

Cultural Difference Theory and Micro Ethnography

Cultural anthropology, through its methodologies, holistic approach, and emphasis on culture and behavior offers significant contributions to education and the educational process. The following section will include the contributions that anthropology makes to education and will highlight the formal coming of age of the subdiscipline of educational anthropology.

Boas, the father of American anthropology, expressed anthropological interest in education in the early part of the twentieth century. He passed his interest on to two of his students, Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead. Mead noted, as early as 1951, the learner's culture is often quite different from that of the teacher. The actual "rites of passage" of educational anthropology to be considered as a "bona fide" subdiscipline of anthropology began at a 1955 conference initiated by George Dearborn Spindler at Columbia's Teachers College. The purpose of the conference was for anthropologists and educators to meet to address an anthropological approach to education. The cross-fertilization of anthropological theory and methodologies and

educational concerns illuminates the importance of culture in the educational process. At the conference, Spindler contended that the vital aim of educational anthropology is cultural awareness, or more specifically, how an educator's culture influences what s/he does as a teacher and how the students' culture influences what they do, and how to think about, observe, and analyze these influences (Spindler 1955).

Educational anthropologists, specifically Spindler and other cultural difference theorists, examine how the school is an interrelated, functionally interdependent, self-reinforcing system, with both teachers and students influenced by life experiences outside the classroom (Spindler 1955, 1963, 1977, and 1987; Spindler and Spindler 1987a, 1987b, and 1990; Kimball 1973, 1974, and 1976; Ianni 1967 and 1973; Goodenough 1976; and others). Cultural difference theorists advocate that the school represents American mainstream culture and many students come from homes that are incompatible with mainstream culture. They assume that the many different ethnic minorities in American society often do not have any of mainstream culture's characteristics. Cultural difference theorists argue that students enter school with very different cultural values and expectations that clash with mainstream values which schooling is based upon.

The school in American culture, according to the cultural difference theorists, is the cultural transmitter and the teacher is the cultural mediator (Spindler and Spindler 1990). This type of emphasis from cultural difference theory that focuses on schooling and teachers as cultural mediators is often used in micro ethnography. A clear-cut example of this perspective is the sociolinguistic approach in which Hymes

(1974) argues that culturally different speech patterns and communication styles create a conflict between students and teachers. The differences in speech and communication styles are thought to cause cultural incongruence that leads teachers to treat students differently (Foley 1991).

An example of cultural difference and sociolinguistic theory is Philips' (1983) work on the Warm Springs reservation in Central Oregon. Her work characterized adult Indian speech style and classroom speech style. The differences between the egalitarian speech style of Native Americans and the Anglicized speech patterns of the teachers is displayed in classroom participation. Her study illustrated that Native Americans participated much more in classroom situations involving group oriented projects. Philips's approach and the micro cultural difference approach advocated by others (Spindler 1977 and 1987, Spindler and Spindler 1987a, 1987b, and 1990, Trueba 1987, 1988, 1989, and 1990, Trueba and Delgado-Gaitan 1988, McDermott 1987, and others) aids in formulating a more culturally responsible view of pedagogy and assists teachers in avoiding pitfalls of labeling students with different cultural values and expectations.

Rosenfeld's (1971) micro ethnography of what he terms as "slum school failure" is another example of applied cultural difference theory that specifically deals with race. It illustrates the detrimental influences of labeling and holding low expectations of students due to cultural differences. According to Rosenfeld, the teachers and children in the Harlem school interacted in a fatal cycle of self-sustaining perceptions. The children, according to Rosenfeld, reflect an environment that is

desperate and teachers reflect a less desperate but still inadequate preparation for life. The cultural differences perceived by teachers and students alike are variable thus interfering with communication and eliminating potential for learning.

A common criticism of the cultural difference theory is that it does not account for variability within different racial and ethnic groups. The tendency to treat various racial and ethnic groups as monolithic entities is commonplace among cultural difference theorists. Anthropological theory that incorporates a dynamic approach to ethnicity, race, and class and accounts for variability within racial and ethnic groups has influenced the body of educational anthropology theory discussed in the following section.

Contributions From Anthropological Theory

Throughout this research, the words ethnicity, Black, White, race, and class are recurrent. These words indicate different groups and identities. Their use indicates that anthropologists interested in school success and failure of different ethnic and racial groups must consider what it is to be a member of an ethnic or racial group, how these groups are defined, and how class stratification within these groups influences identity and behavior. The following section describes additional anthropological work on ethnic and racial identity, negotiation in the context of surrounding ethnic and racial groups, and effects on behavior and class structure.

In the Beginning

Barth's (1969) publication of Ethnic Groups and Boundaries focused not on differences within groups but concentrated on the boundaries between ethnic groups. His position is that anthropologists need not focus so much on ethnic markers defining the group but the behavior employed to perpetuate it and maintain its boundaries. Barth explains the persistence of group identity by certain defining factors but mostly it is attributed to perseverance of tradition. He argues that one cannot know an ethnic group by its content alone; therefore we should pay attention to its behavior, particularly its boundary-maintaining behavior (Royce 1982:7). Many social scientists viewed Barth's assertion in its most narrow context by ignoring or overlooking the investigation of the changing cultural form and content (Royce 1982:21). Although ethnic groups are not necessarily "races" or racially defined, Barth's analysis of boundaries is nonetheless equally relevant to understand the boundaries between Black and White Americans.

Form and Content

Royce (1982) and other scholars of ethnicity (Roosens 1989; Limon 1989; and Pena 1985) advance the notion of concentrating on boundaries by considering the communication of cultural symbols and their interaction across boundaries. Royce advocates that in order for an ethnic group to survive distinctly depends upon its ability to marshall a striking symbol system (1982:9). The phenomenological view of ethnicity that Royce and others support the view that ethnicity is a socially constructed

reality with a specific set of symbols constructed around the social reality (Royce 1982; Roosens 1989; Limon 1989; and Pena 1985). An example of this approach would be the distinctiveness of Afro-American ethnicity and its strikingly different symbols from Blacks in other countries because of the uniqueness of American slavery, emancipation, and southern heritage.

World Systems Approach

This approach is analogous to the capitalistic racial order approach (Greenberg 1980; Hall 1980 and 1986; and Montejano 1988) but moves one step further. Wolf (1982) and Drake (1987) approach the subordination and racialization of certain groups of people by analyzing the spread of a hierarchical capitalist system throughout the world and its dependence upon the racialization and subordination of many indigenous people. The historical analyses employed by Drake (1987) and Wolf (1982) contextualize ethnic and racial groups. The origins of a global economy forced stratification upon many groups. In order to understand these groups in any context, particularly Black Africans and Native Americans, social scientists must employ a fully contextualized model that emphasizes process and the dynamic system of class and race relations.

Caste Theory and Macro Ethnography

Ogbu, (1978, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, and 1987) in his caste theory and application of it in explaining minority school performance has incorporated

anthropological concepts that consider the political, economic, and historical underpinnings of culture in his explanation of minority school performance. Ogbu (1974, 1977, 1981a, and 1981b) pioneered the macro ethnographic approach in educational anthropology. He asserts that narrow cultural difference studies cannot explain success of certain ethnic minorities and failure of others. Ogbu argues further that work based on cultural difference theory lacks the holism and cultural analysis that characterize the discipline of anthropology (1987:312-315).

Ogbu (1987) differentiates between the practical improvement research that is the focus of culture difference theorists and explanatory research. Often, cultural difference theory is utilized in micro ethnography by applied anthropologists who are concerned with a specific problem in a specific area. Explanatory research is not specifically an applied approach: it is multilevel. The explanatory approach begins with comparative analysis of available studies which include micro ethnographies and intervention studies, on the school experiences of minority groups in the United States and elsewhere. The benefit of an explanatory approach is how it illustrates the variability in minority school performance, and its ability for demonstrating why some ethnic minorities succeed and why some fail (1987:317). Broad explanatory comparative studies such as Ogbu's work can be utilized in practical intervention offering an extensive explanation of school success and failure.

Many ethnically different children are brought together during the process of schooling and some manage to overcome communication and cultural differences quite well while others do not. Ogbu attributes this to the nature of the history,

subordination, and exploitation of the minority group. Members of ethnically different groups interpret and respond to their treatment and in turn they are accomplices in their school success or failure. Societal forces influence the success or failure of minority school students. The historical practice of denying minorities desirable jobs and positions in adulthood has had a cumulative and enduring effect of discouraging caste-like minorities from school success.

Ogbu (1987:320-326) employs a heuristic typology in his explanatory research in understanding school success and failure. An example of Ogbu's heuristic typology is how he terms minorities as autonomous (such as Jews or Mormons) immigrant, and involuntary or caste-like types. The autonomous types are not free from prejudice but do not experience social and political subordination. Immigrant minorities voluntarily move to the United States for better economic and political freedom. Caste-like or involuntary minorities were brought and or incorporated into United States society through slavery, conquest, or colonization. Caste-like minorities are denied true assimilation into mainstream society. These minorities, as students, usually encounter more difficulties with school performance.

According to Ogbu, autonomous and immigrant minorities exhibit primary cultural characteristics that originated before contact with American society. Involuntary minorities, in contrast, exhibit secondary cultural differences that arise **after** two populations come into contact or **after** members of a given population begin to participate in an institution controlled by another population (Ogbu 1987:322). A prime example of this is the institutionalized educational system in the United States.

Because of their subordination in American culture, Black Americans, Native Americans, and many Chicano Americans incorporate new or "secondary" cultural ways of coping, perceiving, and feeling in regard to mainstream culture. They assimilate new adaptations, some of which involve reinterpretation of their primary cultural characteristics in response to the cultural stigmas many minorities encounter.

Another characteristic experienced by involuntary minorities is cultural inversion. This is the tendency for members of a minority population to regard certain forms of behaviors, events, symbols, and meanings as not applicable to them although highly regarded by White culture. Similarly, involuntary minorities may identify with features and characteristics that are in opposition to mainstream American culture. This results in the co-existence of two opposing cultural frames of reference. Subordination causes involuntary or caste-like minorities to form a collective social identity in reaction to their treatment (Ogbu 1987:323). This collective social identity framework includes folk theories of making it and survival strategies for getting ahead. Ogbu (1978) asserts that since caste-like minorities are not compensated for educational achievements in the same way as the majority some of these strategies may even undermine educational attainment. The caste-like or involuntary minorities have not incorporated the mainstream culture's folk-theory of making it, simply because it does not work for them.

A common survival strategy that caste-like minorities employ is clientage. Ogbu (1978:112-156) offers a detailed description in his work of classic, situational, and collective clientage strategies. The classic clientage model was the strategy

employed in the south during slavery and reconstructive years. Situational clientage or "Uncle Tomming" commonly took place with increased migration and urbanization. A classic anthropological work describing these types of clientage is Powdermaker's ethnography of a Mississippi town. Collective clientage began with Civil Rights activities and legislation. This is the type of clientage where the government instead of slavemaster, landowner, or employer acts as patron. Affirmative Action programs are a prime example of collective clientage where government acts as patron. The ultimate goal of clientage is to redistribute rewards of educational attainment more equally between Whites and caste-like minorities (Ogbu 1978, 1981, and 1987).

The distrustfulness that is commonplace among involuntary minorities results from historical lack of success with White America and its institutions. Caste-like minorities tend to equate school learning with the learning of oppositional culture. They tend to view following standard practices of American schooling as "acting White." Acting White and learning some aspects of American school practices threatens the ethos of their culture (Ogbu 1978 and Fordham 1988).

A classic example of Ogbu's multilevel macro ethnographic approach and the beginnings of his caste theory is illustrated in his 1974 work in Burgherside, a neighborhood in Stockton, California. The demographic makeup of the neighborhood is mainly Black and Mexican American. Ogbu suggests in this ethnography, which is the prevailing thesis throughout all of his work, that the high proportion of school failures in Burgherside is a reaction and an adaptation to the limited opportunity

available to Blacks and Mexican Americans. If Black or Mexican Americans in Burgherside succeed in school, they are not rewarded the same as mainstream Americans. This inequity exists in the reward system even though American society maintains that all Americans should be employed, paid, and granted other benefits according to their education.

Macro Ethnography and Resistance Theory

Critics of Ogbu's explanatory research and caste theory maintain that his approach does not account for school success among involuntary minorities. The success of involuntary or caste-like minorities is the exception but frequent enough to require explanation. According to Erickson (1987:336), Ogbu takes a mechanical view of society; one that does not take into account human agency. Erickson asserts further that Ogbu's perceived labor market theory, applied to education, implies that the teacher and student cannot do anything positive together in the educational process. Erickson also asserts that Ogbu's research does not demonstrate causal linkages across system levels: he just implies that they exist.

Erickson (1987:336-338) differentiates between school learning and learning. Learning is an ongoing process that affects everyone everyday. School learning is a deliberate process that is decided upon by hegemonic culture. School learning can be perceived as a form of political assent. Not learning can be seen as a form of political resistance (Erickson 1987:344).

The regulation of the educational system by hegemonic practices permeates

and frames school and learning experiences of minorities (Erickson 1987). The students may accept, negotiate, or resist school learning and practices (Giroux 1981 and 1983). This type of theoretical approach does not reduce schools to sites that reproduce mainstream cultural values and meanings but approaches schools as autonomous institutions that have a particular relationship to wider society (Giroux 1981:11). In order to understand the failures and successes (although few) of subordinated students, resistance theory characterizes schools as struggles between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces (Erickson 1987, Giroux 1981 and 1983, Apple and Weis 1983, and Everhart 1983).

Paul Willis (1977) frames his ethnography of Hammertown Boys School in England in terms of the struggle between hegemonic and counter hegemonic culture. Willis employs a social class based accommodation and resistance method to explain school success and failure. The "lads" represent the resisters or counter-culturalists and "ear'oles" (always listening) represent the accommodators or conformists. The working class "lads'" resistance is exhibited in their behavior and stylistic/symbolic discourses. Willis describes the "lads'" stylistic/symbolic resistance as being centered around three great consumer goods that are utilized in different forms by working class people: clothes, cigarettes, and alcohol (Willis 1977:11-47).

The alternative dress and hairstyles selected by the "lads" are instantly perceived as symbols of resistance. The wearing of these distinctive clothes allows the "lads" to "put their finger up against the school," distinguish themselves from the "ear'oles," and make themselves more sexually attractive. The "lads'" dress is an

expression of their cultural identity. The strict rule at Hammertown Boys school prohibiting public smoking spurs the "lads" to continue their practice of public smoking as a form of challenging authority. Smoking, drinking, and sexual activity are associated with the adult male working class world and express rebellion of school and "ear'ole" rules and practices.

The labeling of certain students who exhibit counter-cultural behaviors and the systematic cultural self-preparation as "lads" designates them for a particular type of work (Willis 1977:130). The division of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces at school is practiced as a division between different kinds of satisfactions and futures at work. The internal landscape of the school, preparing students for the divisions of labor in society, allows for school failure among certain class-based groups.

Contextualized "Class" Theory

Foley (1988, 1990, and 1991) argues that in order to understand ethnic school failure researchers must observe ethnic interactions from a class perspective. This class perspective employs the capitalist racial order concept which characterizes American society as a multiple open system of class, race, and gender exploitation. This view portrays the system as a somewhat autonomous and contradictory political and cultural process (Greenberg 1980; Hall, 1980, and 1986; and Foley 1988, 1990, and 1991). Foley's study of ethnic school success in a South Texas community examines the community's political economy. With the onset of the civil rights movement, a new category of middle-class Mexican-Americans was formed. The

new "politicized" Chicanos were acquiring professional, governmental, and small business positions. The process of changing local leadership is what Foley conceptualizes as a regional decolonization process (1991:74). Foley's approach emphasizes the differences in cultural capital operable in the "micro politics" of stratification in the school setting. With this theoretical underpinning, Foley (1988, 1990 and 1991) illustrates how ethnic cultural politics that are based in capitalist development and class recomposition are undermining the local capitalist racial order which, in turn, greatly influences middle-class Mexican American school performance.

Throughout the regional decolonization process, Foley observes that the newly acquired status of the middle-class Mexican Americans influences their children's school performance. Even though these middle-class children display pride in their ethnicity, it is not considered negative or oppositional. However, Foley in his class perspective found that working class Mexican-American youth, the "Vatos" (who could be considered analogous to the "lads" in Willis's study), were often punished for expressing their ethnic pride. In order to understand this phenomenon, Foley (1990) focused on the communicative differences within the Mexican-American ethnic group in a South Texas community.

Foley (1990) employed Goffman's dramaturgical view of social interaction and Habermas's theory of communication to describe class differences in impression management skills. Put simply, he studies how middle-class and working class Mexican-American students express themselves and their ethnicity differently. The

middle-class students "stage-manage" their ethnicity to be perceived in a positive light. The "Vatos" "stage-manage" their ethnicity in a more dialogic style and mock the interaction methods "stage-managed" by middle-class students from both ethnic groups. Foley (1990, 1991) points out in his work that the school authorities correctly view the Vatos behavior as an expression of ethnicity and class. Mexican-American middle-class students in Foley's South Texas community are experiencing increasing success, due in part to the fact they manage to preserve their ethnicity while incorporating mainstream "front-stage" communication skills. Foley (1991:81) notes that Mexican-Americans are demographically strong and are politically well organized in South Texas and this may contribute to school success. His studies illustrate the importance of incorporating the interplay of race and class in the study of school performance.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Design

Introduction

According to what is illustrated in the literature, we have seen many researchers focus on Black students and school failure. Numerous researchers treat Black students as a monolithic entity or as one category where variation does not exist. Research demonstrating variation in Black students' school performance has been scant; the literature focuses mainly on school failure. This research project was designed to investigate, through the grounded theory approach, how variation in Black students' past experience and their interaction with Whites on campus influence their school experience. The rest of this chapter will highlight the reciprocal relationship of data collection, analysis, and 2theory building that characterizes the grounded theory approach.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is an inductive qualitative methodology. Strauss and Corbin (1990:23) offer an inclusive definition in their book, Basics of Qualitative Research:

> A grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomena it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection,

> analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge.

The inductive discovery begins with analyzing the data by breaking them down into discrete categories, closely examining them, comparing them for similarities and differences, then asking questions pertaining to the phenomena as reflected in the data (Strauss and Corbin 1990). This process is termed open coding. It is important to note that this is not just a descriptive and summarizing process but allows the researcher to conceptualize data. The process of grouping concepts pertaining to the same phenomena is termed categorizing. Categories have conceptual power because they are able to pull together and surround themselves with other groups of concepts or subcategories (Strauss and Corbin 1990:66-72).

Axial coding is the next phase in the grounded theory approach. This tool is important in the research process because it contextualizes the conditions in which the category is formed. Axial coding utilizes a constant interplay between inductive and deductive reasoning and relates categories to the paradigm model (Strauss and Corbin 1990:99). The paradigm model enables the researcher to think systematically about data and to relate them in very complex ways. The model works like this:

(A) CAUSAL CONDITIONS --
(B) PHENOMENON --
(C) CONTEXT --
(D) INTERVENING CONDITIONS --
(E) ACTION/INTERACTION STRATEGIES --
(F) CONSEQUENCES.

The verification of data involves interplay between deductive and inductive thinking.

This constant interplay between proposing and checking is what makes the theory grounded (Strauss and Corbin 1990:99).

The preceding paragraphs offer an abstract description of how to analyze data in grounded theory. But what type of principles guide the researcher in obtaining the data when employing grounded theory research methodology? Sampling procedures, in this approach, are not guided by preselected variables based on size and characteristics of a targeted population and the requirements of statistical testing. Instead, theoretical sampling is cumulative. This attribute of theoretical sampling fits into the discovery aim of grounded theory because the concepts and their relationships also accumulate. Theoretical sampling allows the researcher to extend the range and increase the depth of focus as the emerging categories suggest. Strauss and Corbin (1990:178) explain how this is accomplished:

> In the initial sampling, a researcher is interested in generating as many categories as possible, hence he or she gathers data on a wide range of pertinent areas. Later, the concentration is on development, density, and saturation of categories; here the data gathering is more focused on specific areas.

The planned but flexible guidelines of theoretical sampling better protect the goal of discovery by ensuring variation, process, and density (Strauss and Corbin 1990:178).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) describe analysis in grounded theory as a constant comparative method. The coding process begins when data coded during preliminary analysis are put into memos. Memos are, according to Strauss and Corbin (1990:198), written records of analysis related to the formulation of theory. Memo writing "begins at the beginning" of the data analysis. Memos and diagrams are used

to piece the emerging theory together, like making a quilt; memos and diagrams are the scraps of fabric that eventually become a cohesive body of theory.

Memo writing is an organizational tool that allows the data to be easily retrieved for sorting and cross-referencing. Another attribute of memo writing is that it describes codes. But more importantly, it raises the code to the conceptual level of a category, to be treated analytically (Wright 1991). Memos outline the characteristics of a category, identifying major patterns and relationships with other codes and categories (Wright 1991). As the analysis continues, comparisons move from discrete parts of data to comparisons of categories. The comparison of categories, through memo writing and visual diagrams, allows theory to emerge.

Chronological Steps of the Research Project

I. The Questionnaire

A. The Design

A questionnaire was designed to find out how Black UTK students perceive their college environment and how their perceptions influence their school performance. Johnson and Joslyn (1986) recommend reviewing several questionnaires in the same or similar research area before designing an instrument. Several questionnaires designed by educational researchers and psychologists were reviewed. An open ended questionnaire was designed to avoid double-barreled, ambiguous, vague, or leading questions. Respondents were encouraged to state what they

experience and think. Open ended questions allowed the respondents to narrate in their own words, a complex issue, concept, or experience.

The questionnaire began with a demographic section that was designed to find out about the student participants. The demographic section was placed first because it was designed to "break the ice" and because demographic questions are generally easiest to answer (Johnson and Joslyn 1986:166). The data collected from the demographic section describe the gender, age, level of education and educational goals of student and parents, classification, grade point average, racial composition and location of high school, and estimated family income. These demographic variables permit a measure of the diversity among the participants and comparison of subgroups. Much of the demographic data was quantified utilizing simple descriptive statistics. Quantitative analysis was also used in reporting the frequency of various themes found in student responses to open ended questions.

B. Administration to the Pilot Group

According to the guidelines of theoretical sampling, the initial sample is designed to simply examine the phenomenon of interest where it is found to exist (Chenitz and Swanson 1986:9). The first set of questionnaires were administered in pilot form to two small groups of UTK Black students. The groups were composed of eight female members of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority and six male members of the Black Engineering Association. Utilizing the constant comparative method, the responses gathered warranted some alterations and expansion of the

questionnaire.

C. Administration of the Reformulated Questionnaire

The original questionnaire did not include a section on UTK's sociocultural environment. A refined and expanded questionnaire was designed to include a section on how UTK Black students participated in college life and how they perceived their sociocultural environment. This second questionnaire (appendix A) was sent to all UTK Black residence hall students during Spring semester 1991 through campus mail. A letter was included (appendix B) introducing the students to the research project and ensuring participants that all responses will be kept anonymous. The appropriate channels were followed to obtain approval to use human subjects from the University of Tennessee. The refined questionnaire and letter were mailed to 496 students in the Spring of 1991. Ten days after the original mailing a follow-up letter was sent to all who received the questionnaires. The open ended format provided the opportunity for eliciting vivid narratives of what it is like to be Black at a predominantly White university in the south. The return rate was low (about 15%) but the questionnaires that were returned were saturated with descriptions of student perceptions and their experiences.

D. Administration of the Questionnaire to the White Student Participants

An analogous questionnaire was designed to distribute during Spring semester 1991 to University of Tennessee White students. The questionnaire was administered

to students in an introductory cultural anthropology course. Two hundred and thirty questionnaires were distributed and 118 students completed them (117 White students and one Black student). The 51 percent return rate provided insightful information on how White students view their Black student counterparts.

II. Emerging Theory

A. Interactive Approach

A unique feature of grounded theory analysis is the interactive approach of data collection and analysis. The data analysis began with the administration of questionnaires to the pilot groups. As stated above, the analysis of this early data warranted some alterations in the original questionnaire. The subsequent questionnaires became informed by the data and emerging themes from the first set of questionnaires. As more data were analyzed, earlier themes were saturated and refined. In the grounded theory approach, the data collection never really ceases (Wright 1991:77).

The continual coding and memoing of the questionnaire data compelled the researcher to examine and reexamine the data until saturated themes about life as a Black student at the University of Tennessee emerged. The White student questionnaire data were examined and reexamined to raise fresh questions concerning their Black student counterparts. The constant comparative method allowed themes to emerge that describe interracial interaction on campus. These themes are illustrated

in the next two chapters. Chapters Four and Five report Black and White students perceptions about each other and how these perceptions and experiences influence their college education.

B. The Focus Group

A focus group was conducted in the Spring of 1991 to test the validity of the reported experiences of Black student participants at the University of Tennessee. The focus group was formulated in this research project to test the pilot questionnaire findings. In other words, the findings from the pilot questionnaire were viewed as a product which was then presented for evaluation and discussion by focus group members (Wright 1991:78).

Instead of pre-determined open ended questions, a set of six video vignettes depicting interracial interaction on a college campus was employed to promote in-depth discussion of the focus group participants' perceptions and experiences. The group discussion stimulated by the videos was used as a tool for refining the questionnaire and a source of data for saturating categories derived from other students' brief written comments. The discussion which lasted approximately 75 minutes was transcribed. Details of the findings from the focus group are presented in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER FOUR

Black Student Findings

Introduction

Is the University of Tennessee, Knoxville so heavily loaded with mainstream (i.e., White middle-class values) American values that Black students find themselves in opposition to the culture promoted in them? Does American mainstream culture encompass an ideology that Black students find incompatible, and, if so, does this inhibit success? American mainstream culture, which the Spindlers (1990) label as the American Cultural Dialogue (ACD), is not a fixed entity that is easily recognizable- it is in a process of constant change. This state of constant change requires an ongoing negotiation of the ACD. Those students who successfully negotiate mainstream culture are often successful in school. Spindler and Spindler, pioneers of educational anthropology and significant contributors to American anthropology, define the American Cultural Dialogue as:

> culturally phrased expressions of meaning referent to pivotal concerns such as individual achievement and community, equality, conformity and difference, honesty and expediency, and success and failure. These concerns are phrased as "value orientations" but the dialogue expresses **oppositions** as well as agreements. The expressions occur in public speech and behavior, in editorials, campaign speeches, classrooms, the mass media, churches and religious ideology, and so forth. They occur in private speech and behavior as people accommodate and conflict with each other as spouses, friends, partners, parents and children. The pivotal concerns and the agreements and conflicts centered around them are both **in** individuals and **between** persons as social actors in the situations provided them by society (1990:1-2).

This chapter is concerned with exploring the University of Tennessee, Knoxville as a strategic arena for negotiating and contesting American culture. It will analyze whether cultural stereotypes and cultural generalizations block successful negotiation of the American Cultural Dialogue at the university and thus inhibit school success of Black students and interactions between Black students and the White University.

The cultural dialogue consists of the renegotiation of middle-class values. Many studies focus on America's working- and under-classes. The middle-class receives less attention in research and literature than these classes. The stereotypes associated with working- and under-classes are often used as cultural identity markers for ethnic groups; yet the poverty and socioeconomic status indicators for working and under class ethnics are viewed as undesirable by middle-class ethnics.

> For these people, being ethnic means being poor and displaying their stigmatized ethnic social identities with the symbols of a low income lifestyle. These working class ethnics are being culturally assimilated into modern capitalist consumer culture and are bicultural and bilingual in the expressive culture sense (Foley 1990:183).

The acculturation of mainstream ideology into the various ethnic groups' consciousness undermines many of the traditional cultural practices and forms of social organization that characterize ethnic groups. In general, low income ethnic communities seem to retain a more traditionalistic organizational character. The practices of an extended family system and fictive kin are more intact in such communities. The neighborhood also provides a relatively a strong web of social relationships (Foley 1990:183). The preceding paragraphs may lead to the assumption that race loses much of its significance for members of the middle class. To view

race as peripheral and class consciousness as central minimizes the effect of race and racism on the middle class.

> This "seesaw" approach to the relationship between race and class not only minimizes the effects of contemporary racism on all classes within the African-American population, but also fails to take account of the diverse ways in which race and class intersect in specific sociopolitical contexts (Gregory 1992:257).

The complex intersection of race and class and its effect on cultural practices and social organization influences value orientations and helps determine how much mainstream ideology is incorporated into one's personal identity.

Black females encounter the double-edge sword of the American Cultural Dialogue: racism and sexism. Until recently most studies have neglected the diverse range of experiences shaped by different culture histories. McClaurin-Allen (1990:316) argues that researchers need to incorporate this diversity into their studies, lest they risk

> ...ignoring the fact that the particular way in which women define themselves and experience gender oppression arises out of culture history shaped and determined by race, class, and particular events. In the lived reality of individual women, these three aspects of social identity are inextricable from one another.

Black females are forced to deal with society's preconceived notions of what it is to be Black and what it is to be female. The result is that competent and dynamic Black females often are treated as if they are the exception rather then the rule (Moses 1989:3). The incorporation of gender, as well as race and class, into analyses is essential in understanding diversity within groups. Black students at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville do not negotiate the American Cultural Dialogue precisely the

same by virtue of being Black; their class status and gender intersect with race in determining how individuals negotiate the American Cultural Dialogue.

The rest of this chapter addresses the divergent and similar themes that emerged from the participating Black students and describes the means they use to negotiate the American Cultural Dialogue at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The first section discusses cultural stereotypes and cultural generalizations. It consists of a detailed discussion of what cultural stereotypes and generalizations Black student participants have encountered and why they think White students have these ideas. The second section illustrates how Black student participants negotiate the American Cultural Dialogue in their academic and sociocultural environs. These divisions are not precise and there is much overlap in them since cultural stereotypes and generalizations impact the negotiation of the ACD at every level. The themes that emerged from the data certainly did not conform to an orderly accommodation and resistance dichotomy: the layers of data indicate a complicated negotiation of mainstream ideology due to differences in class status, gender, and lived experiences.

Demographic Analysis

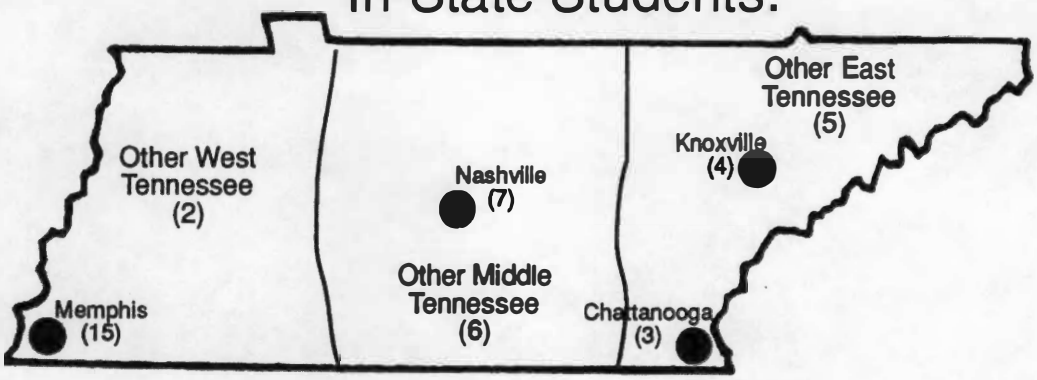
The participants were enrolled at UTK during the Spring semester of 1992 and resided in campus housing. The student participants are from various parts of the country (figure 4.1) and three are from different corners of the world (Islambad, Pakistan [military child]; Nassau, Bahamas; and Nigeria). Over half of the

participants' are from Tennessee urban areas and attended predominantly White high schools. (figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3). The age of the participants ranges from 18 to 29; the mean age is 19.8, and the mode age is 19. The participants' majors vary but most concentrated in liberal arts (figure 4.4). Females responded at twice the rate as males (figure 4.5) and the majority of participants are from lower middle class to upper middle class income levels (figure 4.6). The above information illustrates the commonalities and differences of demographic and lived experiences of the participants.

Cultural Stereotypes

The "pictures in our minds" of various ethnic and minority groups derived from participation in the American Cultural Dialogue influence how members of the dominant and minority groups negotiate their encounters. The contention that these "pictures in our minds" or cultural stereotypes are based on inheritance through one's biological "race" readily supports the American Cultural Dialogue's practice of treating the holders of different racial or ethnic statuses in different ways (Crapo 1990:119). This approach to negotiation of the American Cultural Dialogue strengthens and sustains racism. Social scientists utilize three different approaches to analyze these "pictures in our minds": psychodynamic, cognitive, and sociocultural. The psychodynamic approach, primarily employed by psychologists, focuses on intergroup relations and prejudice. This approach argues that prejudice exists in the

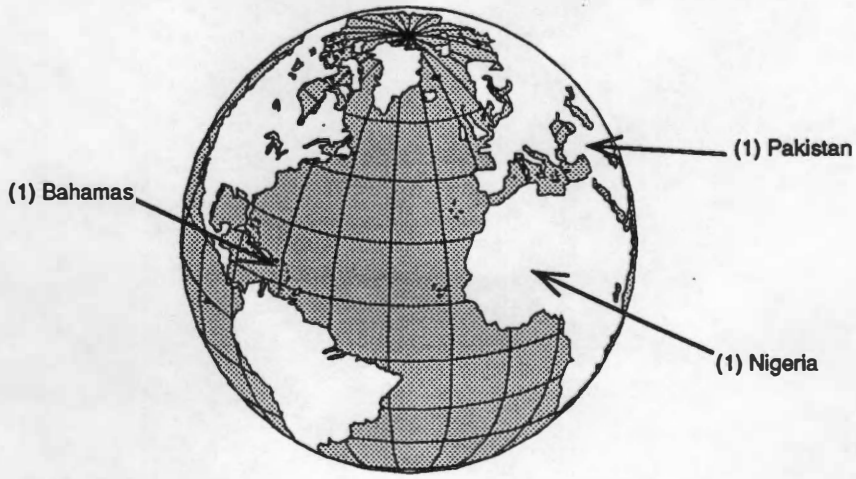
In-State Students:



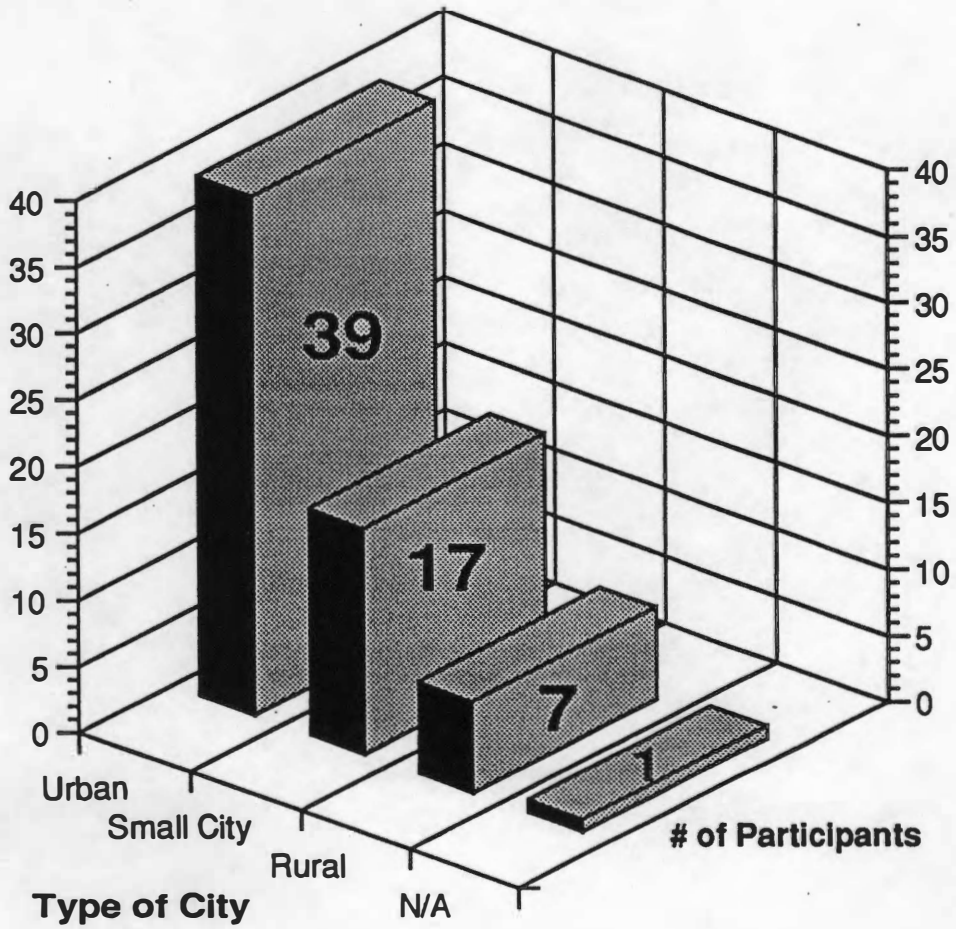
Out-of State Students:

7 - Southeast Region
(North and South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama)
4 - Northeast Region
(New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey)
3 - Midwest Region
(Missouri, Illinois)
1 - Southwest Region
(Texas)

International Students:

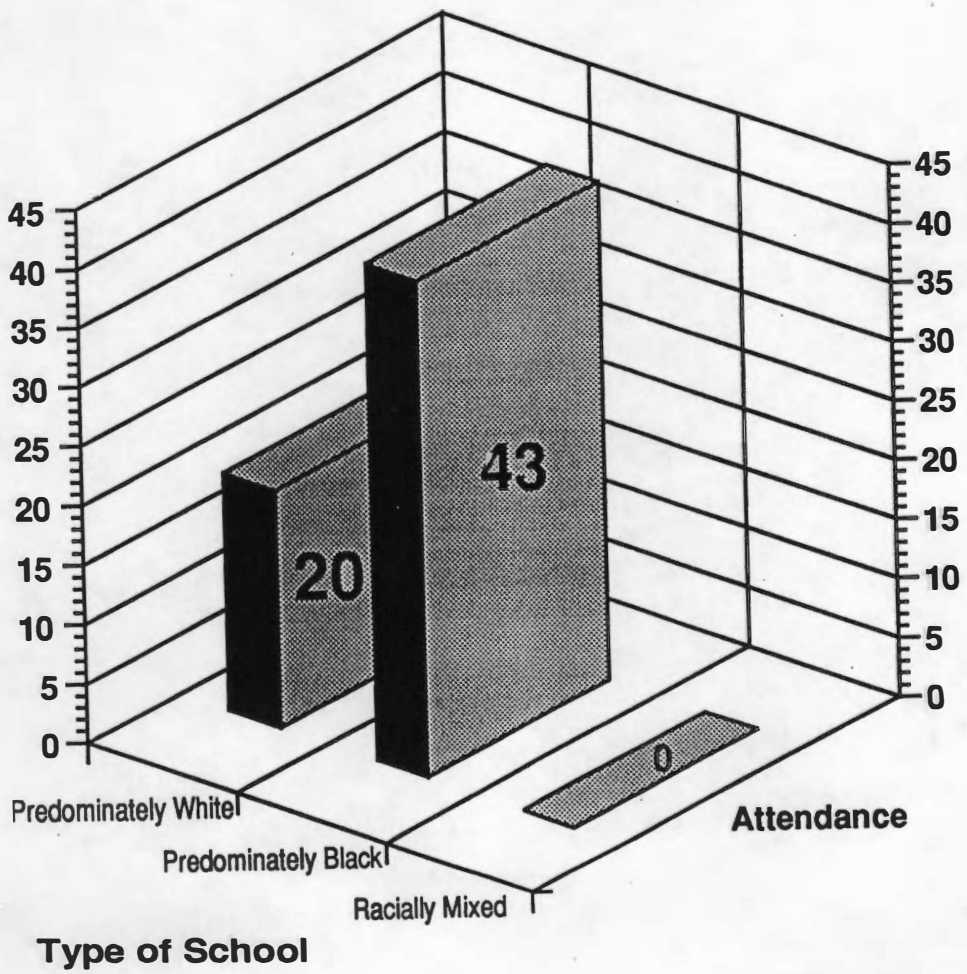


4.1. Black Student Participants Permanent Residence

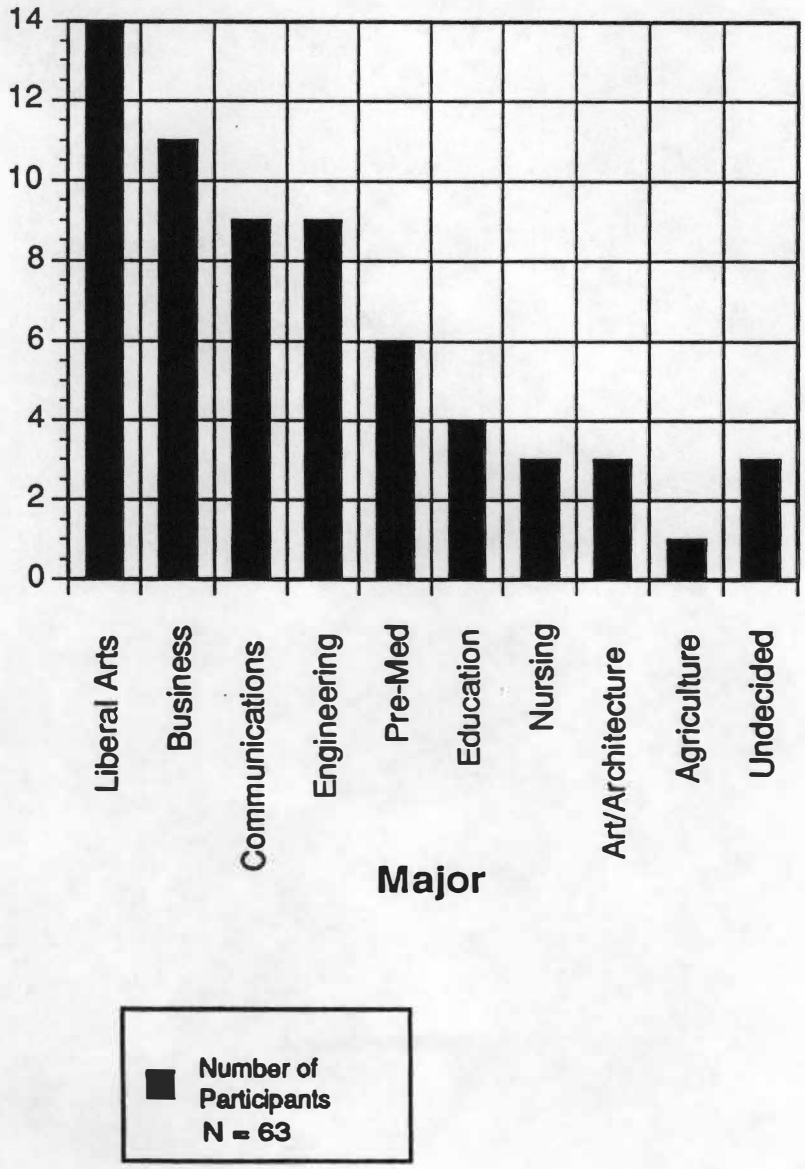


N = 63

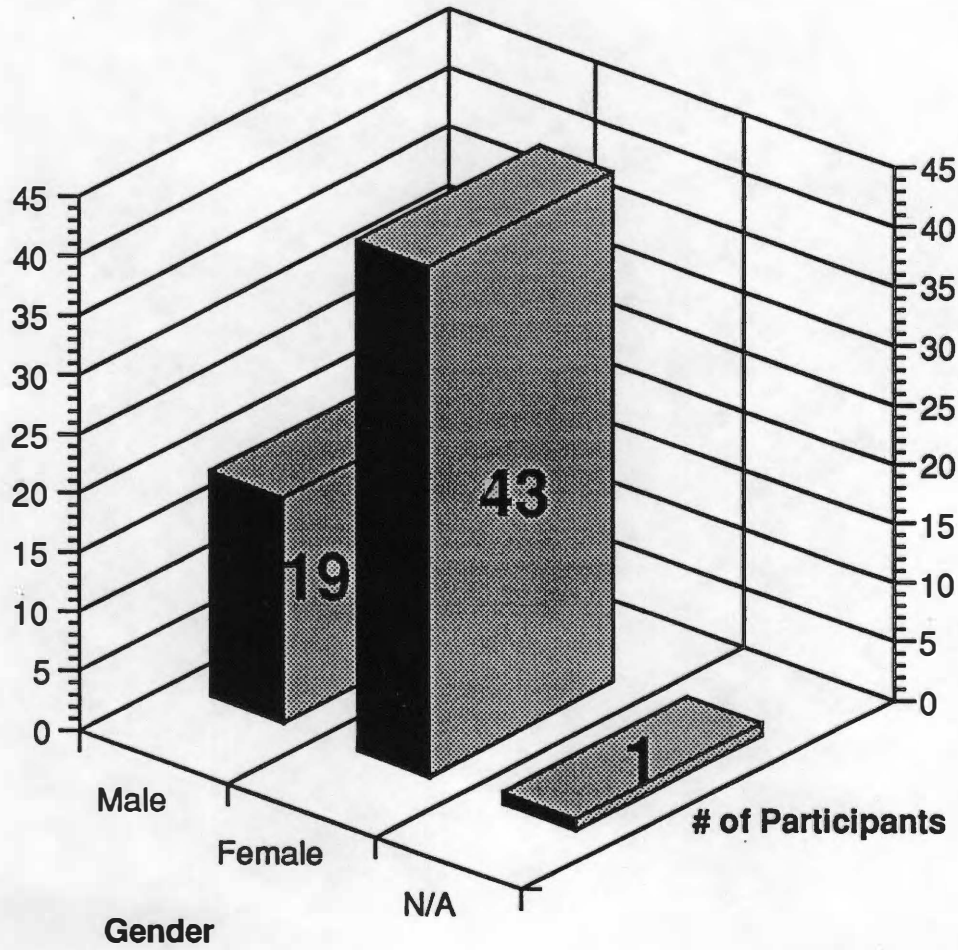
4.2. Black Student Participants by City Classification



4.3. Black Student Participants High School Attendance by Race

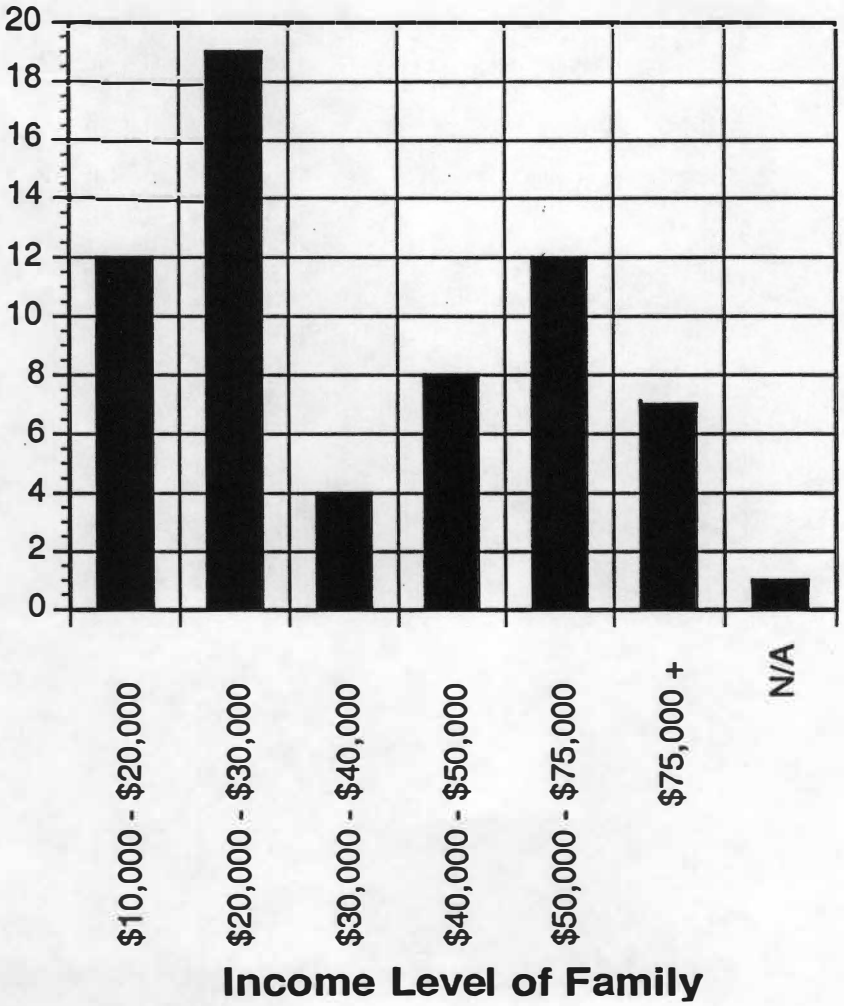


4.4. Black Student Participants by Major



N = 63

4.5. Black Student Participants by Gender



4.6. Black Student Participants Family Income Level

service of personality integration (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981:26). The cognitive orientation views human nature as limited. This limitation makes humans susceptible to systematic biases in processing information about people and events. These biases contribute significantly to the formation and maintenance of stereotypes regarding social groups (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981:29). The psychodynamic and cognitive orientations analyze stereotypes at the individual level while the sociocultural orientation focuses on stereotypes at the societal level. The sociocultural investigation of stereotypes contends that cultural stereotypes are part of a society's nonmaterial culture. Socioculturalists argue that individuals are socialized into a particular culture and through social rewards and punishments, are led to act in accordance with cultural norms. By accepting cultural stereotypes, individuals reinforce and therefore help to perpetuate the existing cultural pattern (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981:23). Conflict theorists and structural-functionalists are main proponents of the sociocultural view of stereotypes.

The cultural stereotypes that are negotiated in the ACD have manifest and latent functions. Perceiving members of ethnic and minority groups in a particular way helps to justify or rationalize the existing patterns of intergroup relations and also helps to reinforce these values. Accepting these perceptions is an affirmation of part of a system of beliefs that one accepts as one's own (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981:26). The social and cultural solidarity gained by accepting these cultural stereotypes reinforces a sense of social and cultural solidarity amongst the culturally stereotyped ethnic and minority groups. The Black experience has been shaped, to an

extent, by these cultural stereotypes. This research suggests that Black students, often, are forced to negotiate the ACD differently than White students and encounter difficulty because of negative cultural stereotypes.

When Black student participants were asked if they had encountered negative cultural stereotypes at UTK all responded yes. Many of the participants elaborated on the types of negative cultural stereotypes that they had encountered. Fourteen percent of the Black student participants reported encountering the negative cultural stereotype that Black people are violent and engage in criminal activity. Eleven percent of the Black student participants reported encountering the negative cultural stereotype that Black people are poor and lazy. Other detrimental cultural stereotypes that some participants reported encountering were: Black people are rude (3%), obnoxious (3%), uncivilized (2%), and unsanitary (2%).

The Black student participants specifically reported encountering cultural stereotypes and generalizations in the classroom. Eight percent of the Black student participants reported that Black students are often viewed as being the spokesperson for everything that is associated with Black culture.

> In the classroom, particularly in group activities, I am seen as the spokesperson for my entire race. I feel responsible for depicting a real view of Blacks in White America.

Moses (1990) notes in her work on Black women that students are alienated by this paradox of underattention in the classroom except when called upon to represent their race. Another stereotype that 8 percent of Black student participants reported that they encountered in the classroom is the assumption that all Black people know each

other and the tendency to "lump together" Black student behaviors.

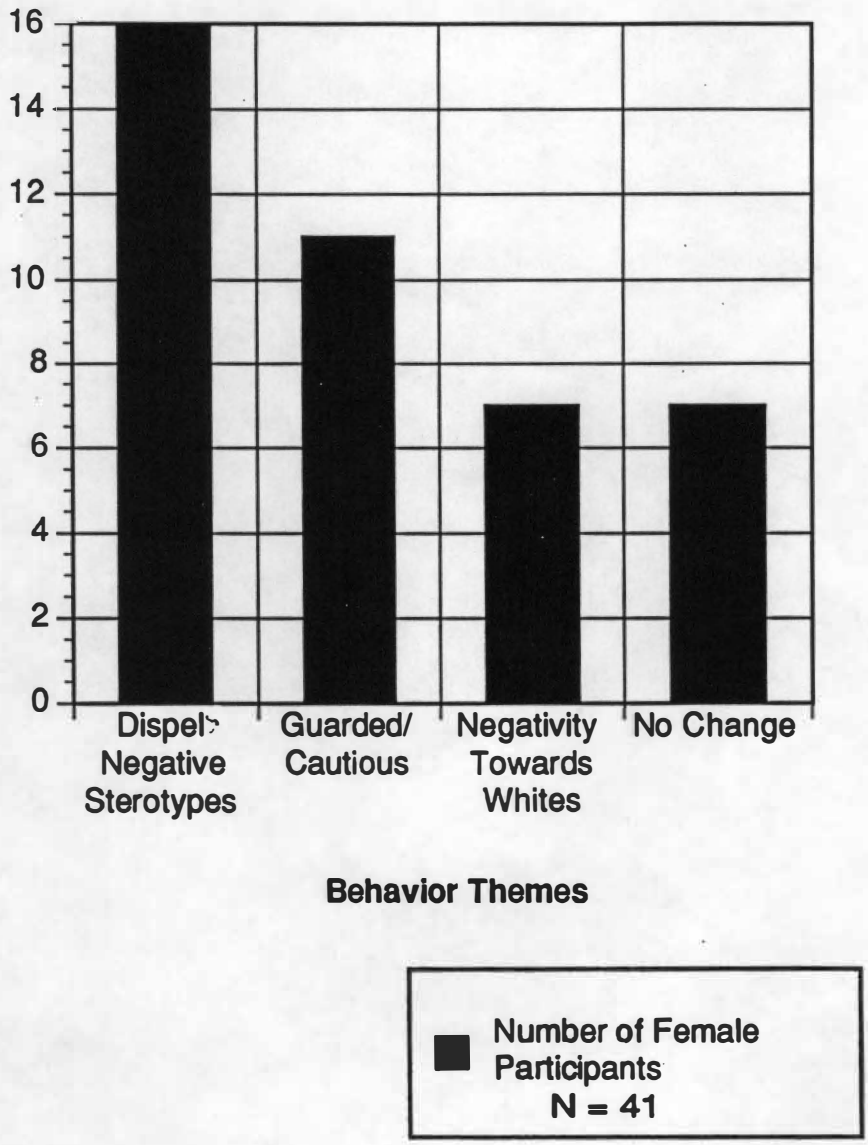
> The same English teacher did something that disturbed one. I had thought that because I was one of two Blacks that he would group us together and expect us to defend the entire Black race during discussion. One day the other Black student was reading the paper in class. I was sitting beside her. I told her to put away the paper away but she didn't. At the end of class he called both of us over and chastised both of us for reading the paper in class. I later told him that I was independent of the other student, what she did or does has nothing to do with me.
>
> Discussions of basketball when meeting with him, accidently called me by the name of a basketball player.

Individuals or their characteristics are not treated as being independent of each other. Fleming (1984:144) found that this type of covert and overt racism in faculty/student relations creates a climate of hostility and rejection as well as lasting psychological damage.

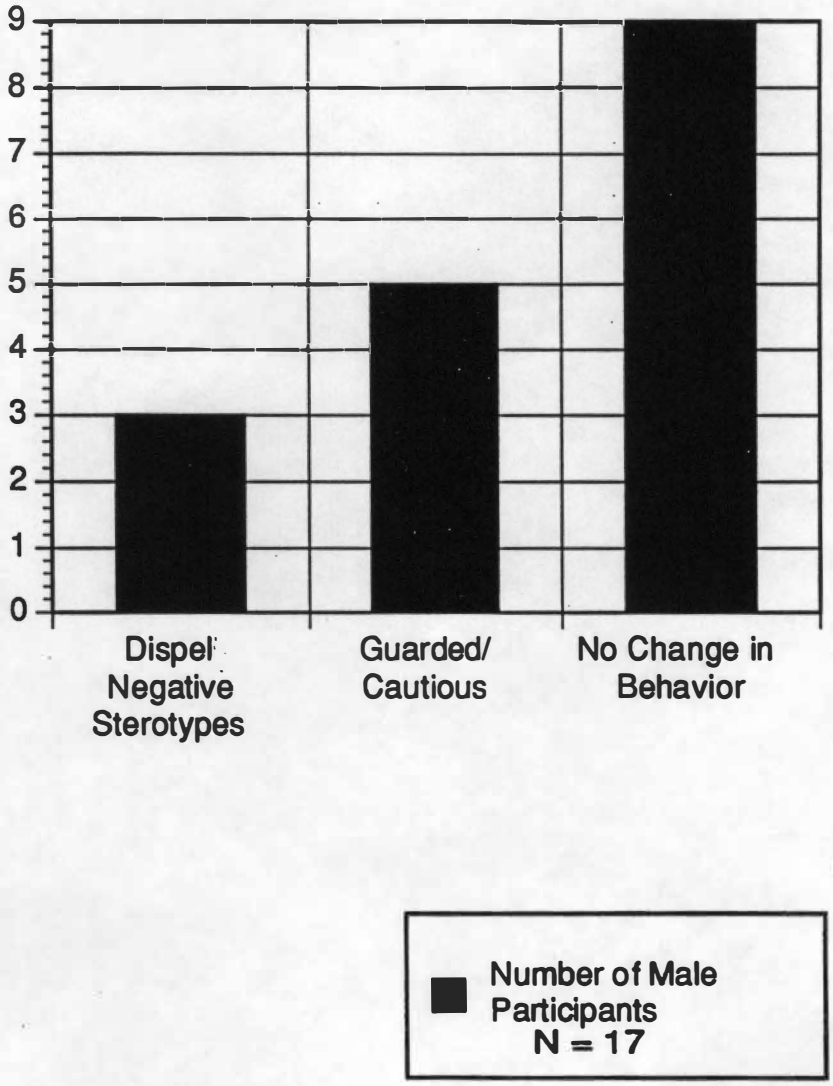
Four basic themes emerged from the data when participants were asked how these stereotypes affected the negotiation of the ACD:

1) It has not affected their behavior.
2) They are guarded/cautious in their interactions.
3) They try to dispel cultural stereotypes.
4) They have negative feelings toward Whites; avoid interactions.

These four basic themes were fairly consistent throughout the data. Thirty nine percent of the female participants altered their negotiation of the ACD versus males (figure 4.7 and 4.8). Most male participants (53%) stated that the stereotypes they encountered did <u>not</u> alter their behavior when interacting with White students and faculty, while only 17 percent of females gave this response (figure 4.7 and 4.8). Some male participants provided the following explanations: two stated that they were



4.7. Black Female Participants Behavior Themes



4.8. Black Male Participants Behavior Themes

comfortable with who they were; one stated he had a good self-image; one stated he had been exposed to and had many friends who were White; one stated he was proud of his heritage; and a foreign participant responded that since he was from outside the US, he was a cultural outsider.

Sixty-five percent of the female participants either reported that they were guarded and cautious, or felt that they had to try to dispel stereotypes when interacting with White students and faculty. An example of this is illustrated in this female participant's response:

> I try to conduct myself in such a way that I try to break the negative stereotype. I do this by acting like a lady, like a Christian, and like an intelligent Black woman. I keep my behavior more in check around Whites because I may be the one to make or break that stereotype for that one White.

The University is a traditional White male oriented society that expects very little of women. But it expects even less of Black women. Black female students are often excluded from the informal and social aspects of their departments and institutions (Moses 1990:2). The double bias that Black women encounter may explain why the female participants felt that they had to be guarded and/or try to dispel myths while negotiating the ACD.

In response to the question on why participants felt that White society maintains these stereotypes, the consistent theme that emerged from the data was lack of exposure and interaction with Black people. The lack of exposure and interaction with Black people causes Whites to base their assumptions of people culturally different from themselves, according to the participants, on the media and/or family

values. Enculturation, the process whereby one grows up in a particular society and absorbs its culture, is immensely influenced by family and media (Kottak 1990:8). The media has become increasingly influential in the enculturation process because of the power and accessibility of television.

> Television is one of the most powerful information disseminators, public opinion molders, and socializing agents in today's world. However, many judgements of television are ethnocentric (Kottak 1990:11).

Ziegler (1991) takes enculturation one step further in her **enculturation process theory**. She differentiates between acculturation and enculturation in her model.

> Enculturation differs from acculturation inasmuch as it is not concerned with the adaptation to culture but rather involves the processing of information through mass media (1991:2).

Ziegler asserts that enculturation can result in a positive or negative form of feedback depending on how the information is packaged by the source and assessed by the receiver during communication. The transmission of cultural messages concerning ethnicity and various cultures or the **enculturation process** would evolve in its crudest form, according to Ziegler,

> ...as the result of processing information about a cultural group, primarily through the mass media, without any direct experience with any members of the cultural group (1991:2).

The Black participants reported that the campus sponsored newspaper promoted a negative form of feedback by depicting cultural stereotypes and expressed their concern that the newspaper perpetuated stereotypes.

> The Daily Beacon is very racist in its depiction and interpretations of guest speakers, celebrities in the news and black student concerns. It particularly

> enjoys quoting in the wrong context and leaving the white readers with the wrong impression.

Campus Life

The Campus Community

Fleming (1984) and other educational researchers recognize that there is a social adjustment crisis for Black students who attend White universities. Fleming asserts that life for minority students in White schools, despite their better resources, is no bed of roses.

> Where the absolute numbers of blacks are small, students suffer from social isolation, from a limited range of accessible personalities, from inadequate dating opportunities, and from the confining and oppressive nature of relationships that develop in such intense social situations (Fleming 1984:18).

Academic success is highly influenced by the quality of campus life.

These themes emerged from the data when participants were asked about campus community life at UTK.

1. Segregated activities and lack of interaction between Black and White students (45%).
2. Lack of Black professors (15%).
3. The treatment of Black students by UTK and Knoxville City Police (14%).

As discussed in the stereotype section, the lack of interaction between Black and White students exacerbates stereotypical images and creates added stress in negotiating the American Cultural Dialogue.

Campus community student activities (such as the student government, the Greek system, and most campus programs) are geared towards the White student

population. The SREB 1971 project report acknowledged the importance of inclusion of Black students in campus activities.

> The participation of Black students on university councils and committees is of utmost importance in determining the degree to which they believe that they have been accepted by the campus community (1971:35).

The exclusion from UTK campus community life intensifies the Black student crisis in social adjustment and adds stress in negotiating the ACD.

A pervading theme throughout the data was that Black student participants were acutely aware of the lack of Black professors. The social isolation crisis for Black students is compounded because they lack Black role models and mentors. The shortage of Black faculty and administrators is due in part to declining numbers of candidates available to be recruited by UTK. Moses (1990) comments on this shortage:

> Between 1977 and 1986, the number of Blacks earning doctorates declined by 27 percent. Experts foresee severe shortages of minority faculty members for years to come (1990:13).

When participants were asked to compare Black professors with their White counterparts, 19 percent of the participants stated that they had not had the opportunity to take a course with a Black professor. The 81% of the student participants who had taken course(s) with a Black professor expressed that they tended to expect more out of the Black student participants than White professors and interacted with Black students on a more personal level than White professors.

> Black professors interact with the students in a more social manner. Black professors try to motivate their students more, take more care in the opinions of their students. However, they are twice as demanding (which is good). Tough love I guess.

> Because I attended a Black college before I came to UT and in my experience, I found the black professors to be more concerned with the student. I found white professors (especially men) to be more concerned with getting through with the lecture so that they could go elsewhere.
>
> Black professors expect much more out of black students when white professors are really nonchalant about it.
> A Black professor seems more student oriented, and towards Blacks, somewhat more challenging than White professors.

These comments suggest the need for more Black professors on campus to minimize some of the added stress in negotiating the ACD by dispelling stereotypes and providing Black students and consequently all students with effective role models and mentors.

Campus Social Scene

The campus social scene is dictated in part by the campus community. The important social aspects of college are often denied to minority students. The participants reported that most campus activities and programs are geared toward White students and that the White Greek system is privileged over the Black Greek system. Often, Black students enter college expecting a less hostile environment.

> Because Black students came to college expecting less prejudice and more social integration than they found, their consequent anger and despair contribute to a desire for separation and withdrawal from Whites. The lack of trust in Whites lead many to turn to other Black students for social life and mutual validation (Fleming 1984:18).

A little under one half of the participants (49%) reported that their friendship network was composed mostly of Blacks while the rest of the participants reported a friendship network composed of a racial mixture. When asked with whom they

socialized, the participants responded family and friends. The female participants responded that they socialized with family more often than the male participants did. A little under one third of the participants (31%) maintained a relationship with their university sponsored mentor and only 20 percent felt that the campus community has done enough to meet their social and cultural needs. One participant describes her social experience on campus:

> I came here because of a scholarship. I think it is a good school for White students because it is certainly geared to them. We have police at our parties, do they? U.T. claims to have a good atmosphere for minorities, but I have failed to see it. There is no longer anywhere to go on the strip. My suite mate has been followed repeatedly by campus police when one of her friends picked her up, because he has a nice car and they assume he sells drugs. I don't see white students in their BMW's followed. One of my friends boyfriend was pulled over because the police were looking for a black male in a tinted car, supposedly. I am not all pleased with the relationship that the campus has with it's minorities students. (Those that don't play sports.) If it wasn't for my scholarship I doubt I'd stay here! I don't think it's a school that offers equal campus life and opportunities to all students of all races.

Another participant suggests an idea to increase awareness and interaction.

> ... the University should offer a mandatory cultural interaction class to promote interaction that otherwise would not occur.

All participants have experienced or know someone who experienced racial discrimination on the "strip." The strip is an area within walking distance from campus that has stores, restaurants, and bars. Many participants noted that the merchants were hostile towards them and even closed their store/restaurant when groups of Black students are about to enter.

> One night after a party I went to Wendy's after about twenty people entered the restaurant, the manager locked the door. The blacks were not allowed to enter, but when anyone white approached the door the manager unlocked the door and let them in.

The most frequent type of discrimination reported is that Black students are often called racial slurs on the strip.

As illustrated in the preceding pages, Black students come to college expecting less racism and more social integration than they encountered. Their consequent anger and despair contribute to a desire for separation and withdrawal from White people. The lack of trust in White people led many to turn to other Black students for social life and mutual validation (Fleming 1984:18). This is evident in the following Black student participants' responses.

> I have White friends from high school I do things with but I don't do things with the new students I've met.
>
> I had not had any serious problems interacting until I came to UTK.

Summary

Neither gender and class based analysis into the analysis of the Black student participants' negotiation of the American Cultural Dialogue nor an orderly accommodation and resistance dichotomy alone is sufficient to reveal the complicated layers of data describing their negotiation of the ACD. Many of the Black student participants came to UTK with many of the same mainstream values as their White peers. Instead of a full college experience, this research suggests that the Black student participants encountered cultural stereotypes that prompted many of them to renegotiate the ACD. The research further indicates that the "Whitewashed" campus community that encourages segregated activities could further inhibit positive

interaction between Black and White students. The subsequent chapter will illustrate how White students perceive their Black counterparts and how this further influences lack of interaction between Black and White students.

CHAPTER FIVE

White Student Findings

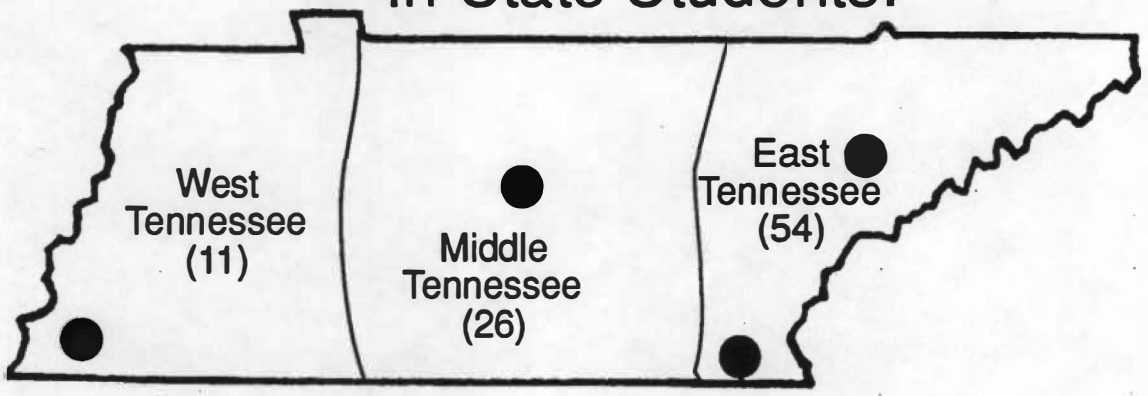
Introduction

Because the environment tends to be more supportive of growth of White students, they show better overall development than Black students at White colleges and universities. As illustrated in the preceding chapter, Black student participants were prepared to negotiate the American Cultural Dialogue comparable to their White counterparts but instead of successful and healthy interaction, many of the Black participants encountered negative stereotypes. These stereotypes contribute greatly to the adverse effects Black students experience in White colleges and universities. They occur in the negotiation of the ACD because of little first-hand interaction.

Demographic Analysis

This chapter will address how White student participants view their Black student counterparts. The White student participants were enrolled in an introductory cultural anthropology course during spring semester 1992. The majority of the White student participants are urban Tennessee residents and attended predominantly White high schools (figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3). The age of the participants ranges from 18 to 56; the mean age is 20.68 and the mode age is 20. The participants' majors vary,

In-State Students:



Out-of State Students:

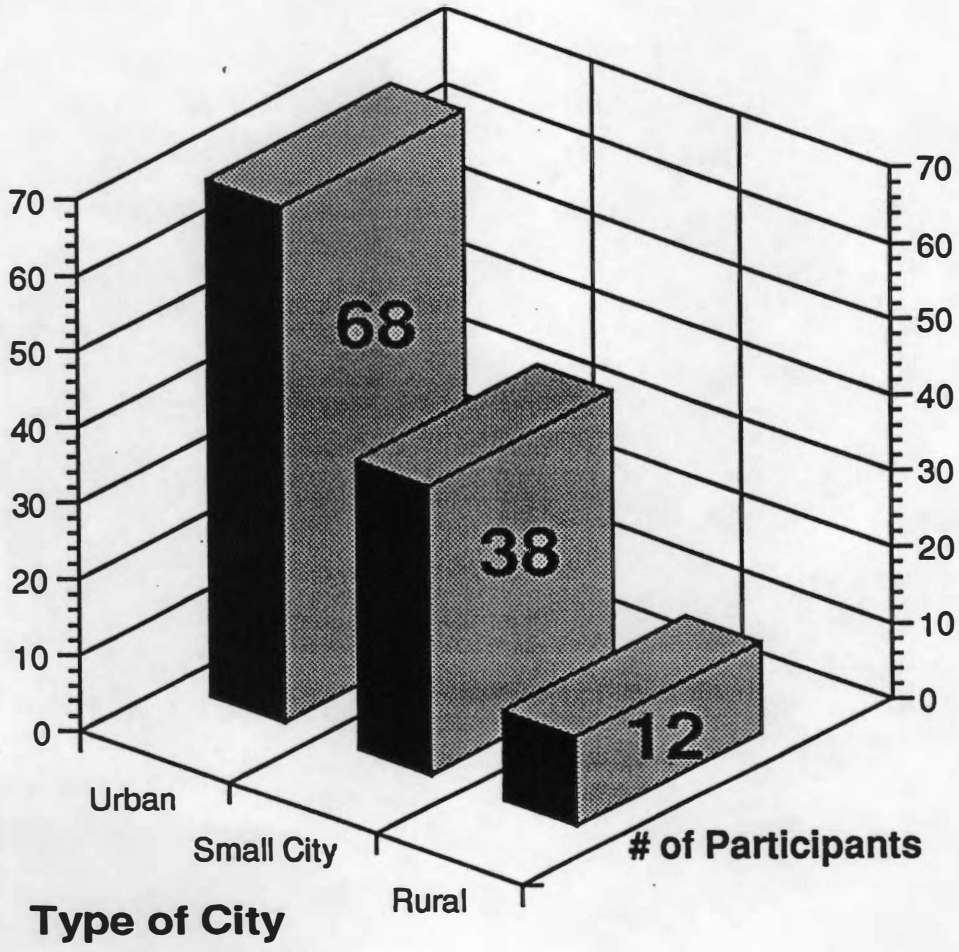
13 - Southeast Region
(North and South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Floridia, West Virginia)

4 - Northeast Region
(New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Washington D.C., Connecticut)

6 - Midwest Region
(Ohio, Colorado, Illinois)

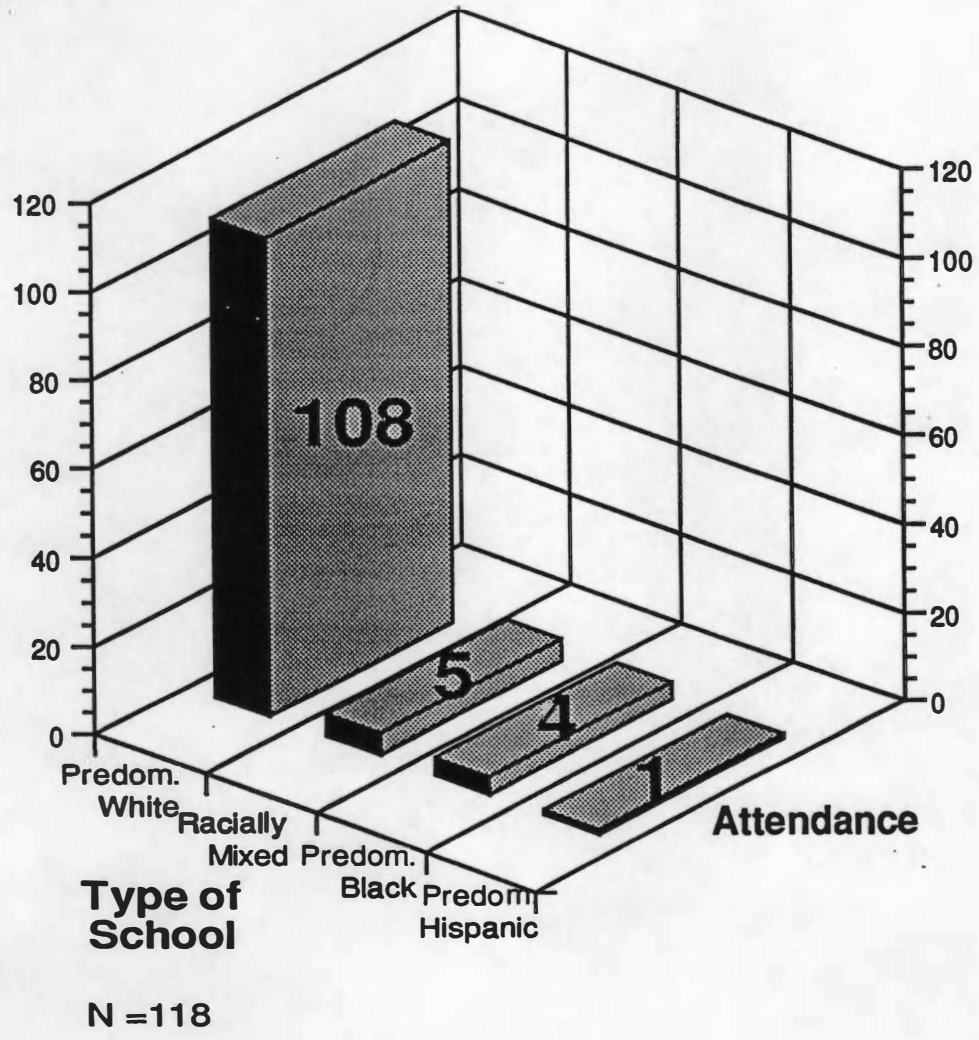
3 - Southwest Region
(Texas, Arkansas)

5.1. White Student Participants Permanent Residence



N = 118

5.2. White Student Participants by City Classification



5.3. White Student Participants High School Attendance by Race

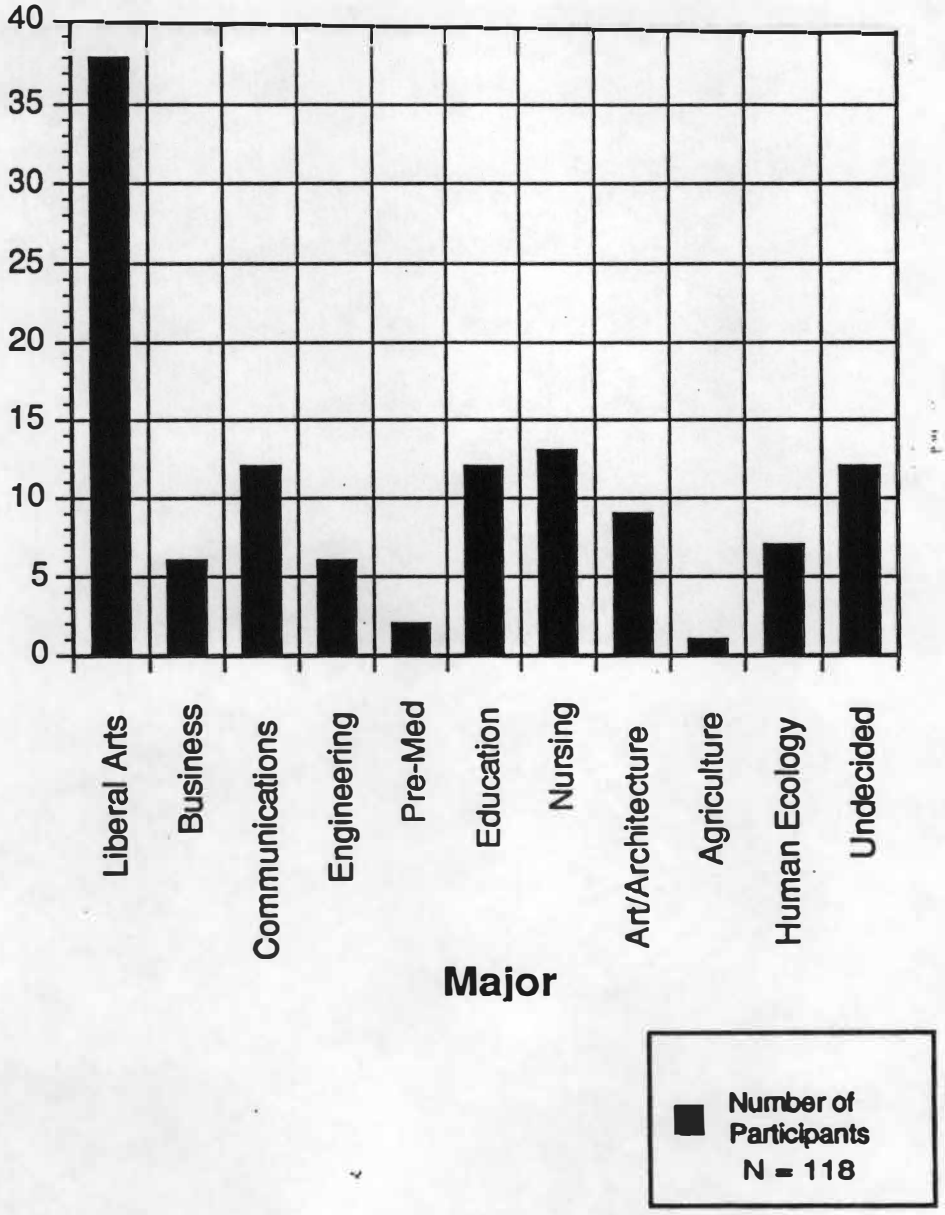
but most concentrated in liberal arts (figure 5.4). Females responded at almost twice the rate of males (figure 5.5) and the majority of the participants are from middle to upper middle class income levels (figure 5.6). The White participants were a more homogeneous demographic cross section than the Black student participants and from this homogeneous cross section a pervading theme of viewing Black students as the "OTHER" emerges.

Cultural Stereotypes and Reverse Discrimination

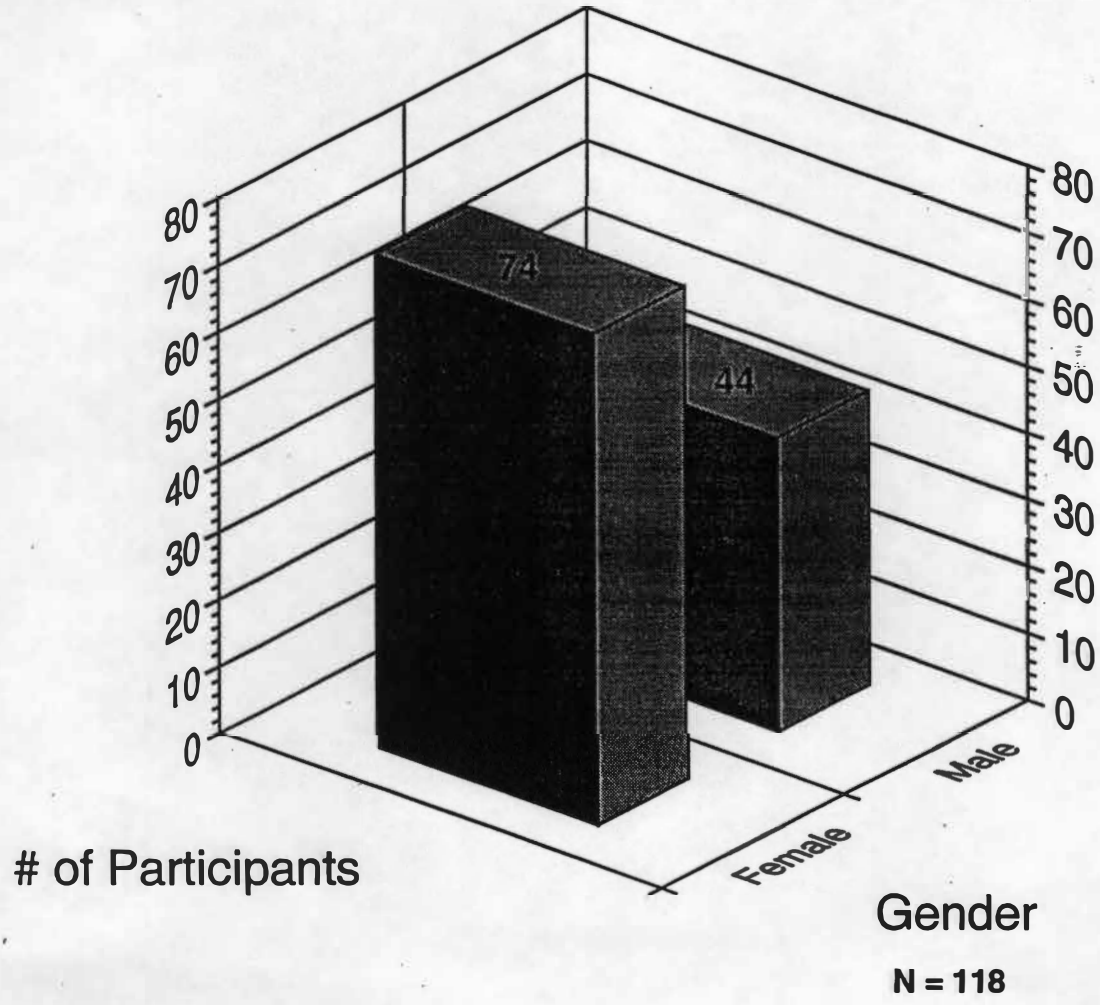
Cultural stereotypes are an influential part of the ACD because the negotiation of the ACD is guided by expectations derived from the stereotype (Tan and Tan 1980:309). Stereotypes assist in maintaining the referent ethniclass (a White reference point) as "WASPISH" and reinforce the "us and all of them" symbolic order. When asked, all White student participants reported that they had encountered cultural stereotypes about Black people. The most commonly reported cultural stereotypes are as follows:

1. Lazy, poor, and not as intelligent (47%);
2. Criminal and violent in nature (42%);
3. Great athletes and dancers (21%);
4. Hate all White people and feel that White people are trying to keep them down (19%);
5. Sexually overactive (8%).
6. Eat different foods (5%).

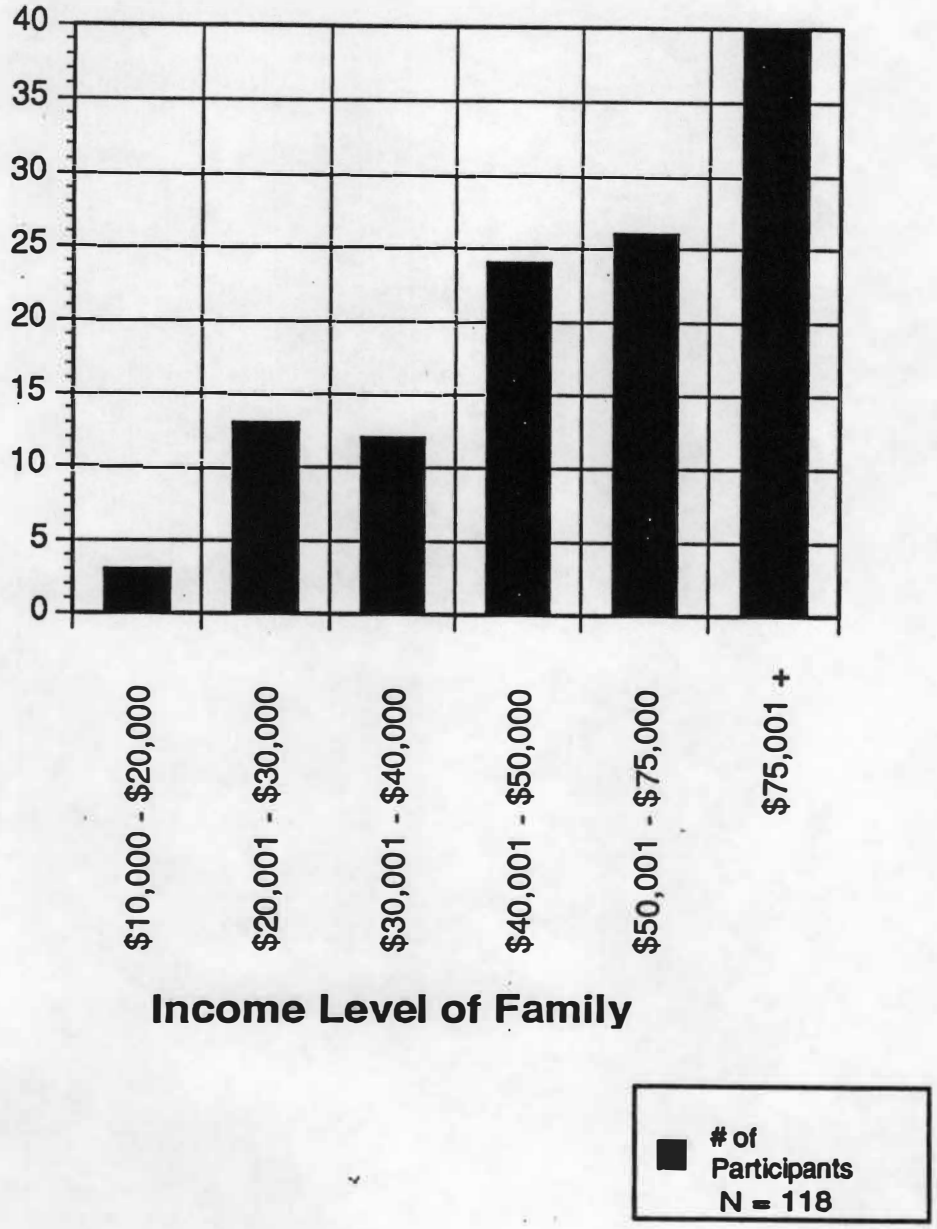
When discussing the widespread cultural stereotypes of Black people, two themes



5.4. White Student Participants by Major



5.5. White Student Participants by Gender



5.6. White Student Participants by Family Income Level

emerged on why these stereotypes were so widespread:

1. Portrayal in the media (6%);
2. Familial socialization (8%).

These themes correspond with those of the Black student participants. As stated previously, cultural stereotypes reinforce a sense of cultural and social solidarity amongst both the stereotypers and the people being stereotyped. This sociocultural solidarity reinforces the symbolic construction of "us and all of them" and encourages White Americans to view Black Americans as the "OTHER." The following discussion of the acceptance and/or experience of reverse discrimination indicates that many of the White student participants accepted certain reported stereotypes as fact.

Reverse discrimination is a relatively recent phenomenon that protects the White boundaries of the referent ethniclass. Although it is a relatively uncommon phenomenon, when asked if they believed or had encountered reverse discrimination 71 percent of the White student participants responded yes. This widespread belief that there is some sort of institutional based policy that discriminates against White people reinforces many of the negative cultural stereotypes about Black people and further inhibits interaction. The consistent and pervading theme that emerged was that White student participants perceived that they had not received the kind of financial aid or opportunities for employment that Black students seem to be afforded.

> Every time I apply for financial aid I experience reverse discrimination. My parents both work more than one job apiece. I work and my brother works and I have never received any kind of financial aid that I didn't have to pay back. I did get a music scholarship one semester, but that was because of my ability not because of my color. I think that it is absolutely stupid that there is such a thing as a college fund

> for people who are Black. Why don't I get a little money for school because I am White? Black people get grants for school because they are Black. Why don't they get loans that they have to pay back when they graduate and get a job? That's what I get. Because I'm White, my parents and I have to work like dogs to put me through school, then when I graduate and get a job I'll have to put forth a chunk of every paycheck to pay for my five years of school. Not to mention the interest that my parents are paying on my loan now.
>
> ... try to get a job normally occupied by a Black person.
>
> Employers hire a less qualified Black just to meet a quota.

A latent function of reverse discrimination in the negotiation of the ACD is the belief that the majority of Black people could not obtain upward social mobility unless the government provided extra money or strict job quotas. The inference that Black people do not achieve social mobility unless there is government assistance or job quotas assumes that they do not negotiate the achievement orientation of the ACD as strongly as White people. The achievement orientation that is pervasively negotiated in the ACD is the belief that hard work, personal endeavor, and aggressive manipulation of circumstances will earn social mobility (Spindler and Spindler 1990:74). The widespread belief that Black people do not negotiate the achievement orientation as well as White people further reinforces the most commonly cited cultural stereotypes at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville: Black people are lazy, poor, and not as intelligent. This encourages exclusion from the "symbolic" White referent ethniclass and facilitates the concept of viewing Black Americans in the binary symbolic order as the "OTHER" (Black folks) opposed to us (White folks).

The White student participants stated overwhelmingly that they did not feel the

need to negotiate the ACD differently. The themes that emerged were similar to those of the Black student participants, but White students may also avoid interaction with Black people (figure 5.7).

1. Did not influence behavior (50%);
2. Guarded and cautious interaction (19.5%);
3. Little or no interaction (19%):
4. Eliminate stereotypes that Black people have about White people (4%).

The following excerpts from the data illustrate behavior themes of White student participants:

> Cautious, never trusting them in full.
>
> I tend not to hang around Black people. I will associate with Black people but will not go out my way to do so and I am sure this attitude holds true about Blacks to Whites.
>
> I just try to be myself and prove the stereotypes of Whites are wrong.

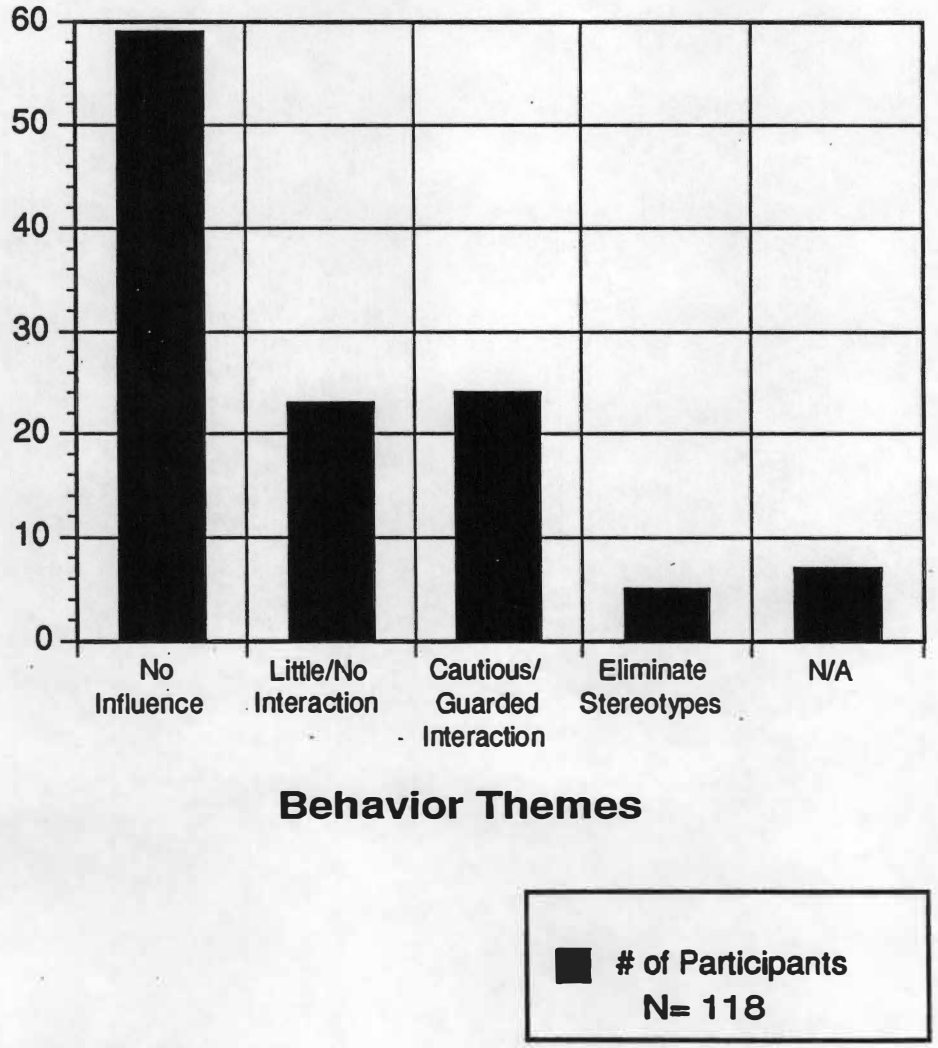
The data illustrates that both Black and White student participants avoid social interaction which reinforces each groups perceptions of negative cultural stereotypes.

Campus Life

The Campus Community

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville is what Fleming (1984) terms a "traditional" university.

> "Traditional University" has the distinction of being



5.7. White Student Participants Behavior Themes

> the oldest chartered state institution of higher education. It is therefore appropriate that tradition, tempered by innovation, figures prominently in its philosophy. It is the idea of tradition tempered by innovation that allows the university to see itself as up to date and in step with the times. Its academic goals are consistent with the development of strong intellectual goals and well-rounded people capable of holding responsible positions (1984:69).

The "traditional" university's environment was built around the White students' academic and social needs. White students' lack of exposure and interaction with people of color at the "traditional" university is apparent in the White student participants' responses about campus life at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

White student participants reported that their interaction with Black peers was not much different inside the classroom than in social settings. The participants noted that there are seldom large numbers of Black students in their classes, but they may have an occasional class with one or two Black students.

> I do not have any Black friends that I am close to, as this is a predominantly White campus. As a matter of fact, as I look around the class that I'm in right now, there is not one single Black present! In social settings, however, I interact with them just as I would anybody. I try to base my opinions on character, not color.

Since there is such a low number of Black students on campus and there is little interaction between Black and White students, the White student participants had little chance to observe differential treatment in classes with only one or two Black students versus more. The theme that did emerge from the data was that discussions about Black issues tended to be much more guarded when there were Black students in class.

> I have noticed that when there are one or two Black people in a classroom, White people seem to be more careful in what they say

about Blacks for fear of offending them in a face to face situation.

...teachers being careful to say African-American instead of Black.

Only thirty percent of the White student participants had taken a course taught by a Black professor, and of the thirty percent, about two-thirds (66%) felt that it was a positive experience.

> Yes, positive- through the two classes I have had Black professors. I learned more than in any classes. They had more enthusiasm for teaching.

> Yes, and he was one of the most intelligent and interesting teachers I have had. I did better in his class, than I have in any other here- it was also very challenging.

When comparing Black and White professors, the White student participants had very little experience on which to base their responses. The participants that could make this comparison felt that overall there was not much difference in Black and White professors except that some participants noted that Black professors seem to be more enthusiastic and concerned if the students were learning. Sixty-two percent of the White student participants stated that they had not observed interaction between Black and White professors while twenty-two percent felt that the faculty interacted better than students.

Campus Social Scene

As stated above, the "traditional" university was built around White students' academic and social needs. The most common social outlet for the White student participants was their mostly segregated fraternity and sorority activities. The White student participants stated overwhelmingly that they frequented restaurants and clubs

on the strip and in the "Old City." Only 8 percent of the White student participants have a racially mixed friendship network and 17 percent are members or participate in racially mixed groups. Twenty-five percent of the White student participants felt that the university does not fulfill its obligation to promote exposure to cultural diversity and only 13 percent have used the services or attended functions sponsored by the Black Cultural Programming Committee.

As illustrated in the preceding pages, White student participants came to UTK with preconceived stereotypes about Black people and more homogenous lived experiences than their Black peers. This could explain why the campus social scene appears to be more segregated than the campus academic community. It is interesting to note that particular White and Black participants responded that in high school or when they socialized at home, they had a more diverse friendship network.

Mainly White in Tennessee but Chicago it was very racially diverse.

...all White in Knoxville.

Summary

As demonstrated in both findings chapters, cultural stereotypes are instrumental in the negotiation of the American Cultural Dialogue. Negotiation is navigated by the expectations derived from the cultural stereotypes encountered or held. This research indicates a widespread perception of experiencing reverse discrimination which places the blame on individuals for institutional policies and blinds White students to the actual characteristics of their Black student counterparts.

This widespread perception of experiencing reverse discrimination implies that Black students lack the achievement value orientation that is so highly valued in the ACD. This research further indicates that the "Whitewashed" traditional campus community offers little encouragement for interaction between Black and White students. Segregated activities and low numbers of Black students and professors also contribute greatly to the lack of interaction between Black and White students.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusions and Implications

Introduction

This research was designed to examine interaction between Black and White students and discern how the level of interaction influences the college experience of Black students at a "traditional" White university. Grounded theory analysis of student reports on their experience demonstrates that Black students enter the university with the same or similar expectations of negotiating the American Cultural Dialogue as their White peers. The study uncovered a "vicious cycle" which encourages a low level of interaction between Black and White students. Frustrated Black students respond by limiting or guarding their interaction with White students. Many of the student participants, particularly the White student participants, experienced a second-hand enculturation process. The process of basing "pictures in their minds" on media and familial socialization reinforces negative cultural stereotypes of people that are racially and ethnically different from themselves. This greatly inhibits healthy Black and White student interaction. This is further exacerbated by a "traditional" university community that does not encourage and often inhibits Black and White student interaction. The validity of the findings was examined further in a focus group. This chapter addresses the findings in a broad perspective. A section is devoted to summing up the American Cultural Dialogue and

another section examines specific recommendations for practical application of the data.

Anecdotes from the Focus Group: A Measure of Validity

A focus group was conducted to provide data which, when viewed in relation to earlier findings, would either confirm, broaden and enhance those findings, or provide contrast and disagreement with previous findings (Wright 1991:158). The focus group was held in the Spring of 1991 and corroborated the findings of the pilot questionnaires. The nine Black female focus group participants were University of Tennessee students and members of the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority. The age range of the focus group participants was from 18 to 22 and all but two were from urban Tennessee areas. A set of six video vignettes that depicted Black students interacting with peers and professors at a White university were utilized to stimulate discussion. The videos, titled a "Change Model", were written and produced by Dr. Dhyana Ziegler and Camille M. Hazeur.

The data in the focus group reinforced the findings from the Black student participants' questionnaires. Many of the focus group participants nodded and chuckled in recognition, in particular, as they watched a video vignette that depicted a classroom situation where the professor paired a White and Black student to work on a class project. The White student reacted in a negative manner because she had to work with a Black student. The focus group participants commented that they had

encountered attitudes similar to the ones depicted in the video on campus. The focus group participants commented that they had also experienced differential treatment by White professors. One participant related a story that she and other students were accused of cheating on an introductory physics exam. The White students were given the benefit of the doubt while she and two other Black classmates were made to retake the exam. Focus group participants commented that incidents such as those described above and the general attitudes described in the findings chapter caused them to act in a defensive and on guard manner when interacting with White people. The replication of the questionnaire findings in the focus group confirmed that the perceptions and experience Black student participants expressed in questionnaire responses are a valid reflection of Black student college experiences at UTK.

A Synopsis of the American Cultural Dialogue

Cultural Stereotypes and Enculturation

It was illustrated in the preceding findings chapters that Black and White students expect to similarly negotiate the American Cultural Dialogue. When White students negotiate the ACD by employing highly regarded mainstream values they are not plagued by preconceived cultural stereotypes that Black students encounter. As demonstrated in Chapter Four, many Black student participants altered their negotiation of the ACD when interacting with White people because of cultural stereotypes embedded in the ACD.

Cultural stereotypes pervade the negotiation of the American Cultural Dialogue at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville because of little first-hand interaction. Because of little or no direct interaction with Black students **as equals**, cultural stereotypes and generalizations were based on second-hand information gained from the mass media and familial socialization. This type of enculturation process often results in a negative negotiation of the ACD. It is negative for Black students because they encounter excessively narrow stereotypes and generalizations about themselves from the White campus community. It is negative for White students because they are unable to develop a broader understanding of racial and ethnic groups. Ziegler (1991:2) notes little true meaning "comes out" through this type of second-hand enculturation.

> Enculturation would be based on media exposure, ego-related beliefs and values, and without any level of personal experience with the cultural or ethnic group. Enculturation in this case would be myopic (1991:2).

She further argues that second-hand enculturation reinforces racist attitudes in the ACD.

> Enculturation in a negative form can foster prejudices, hostility, and hatred among various cultural or ethnic groups (1991:2).

As the study indicates, some participants interacted across racial boundaries before coming to UTK and still do outside of campus life, but since the campus community encourages little interaction, it appears that cultural stereotypes and generalizations are exacerbated on campus.

The Uneven Effects of Race, Class, and Gender

The statement that the Black student participants' expectations of negotiating the American Cultural Dialogue did not differ much from their White counterparts has been repeated throughout the research. The similar expectations of negotiation are derived from the participation of many different racial and ethnic groups in the ACD.

> ... the cultural distribution of mainstream characteristics extends far beyond the Protestant, North European, Anglo-Saxon middle class. In the broad sense of the term, mainstream America is constituted of all persons irrespective of ethnicity or religion or social class who exhibit mainstream characteristics (Spindler and Spindler 1990:32).

This finding departs from Fordham's emphasis on the distinctiveness of an African American ethos and its opposition to American mainstream values.

The Black student participants came from lower-middle to upper-middle socio-economic classes and exhibited mainstream value orientations. The emphasis on mainstream values and the socio-economic class of the Black student participants does not mean to imply that race does not play an important role in the Black student participant's negotiation. It is important to set race within social formations but to reduce race to class is damaging (Roediger 1991:8). Gregory (1992:225) realizes the ambiguity of the intersection of race and class in the ACD.

> The paradoxical notions of living with blacks but in a "white community" and of thinking outside one's own community seem to confound, if not undermine, the significance of the concept "black community," pitting consciousness against racial topography in a manner that exposes the interplay of race and class in its most ambiguous form.

The Black female participants seem to encounter more ambiguity in the negotiation of the ACD than did males. This demonstrates the interplay of race,

class, and gender. Well over half of the female participants felt that while negotiating the ACD they had to behave in a guarded and cautious manner or try to dispel stereotypes. The Black male student participants felt that they could be themselves and not alter their behavior. This parallels many of the existing macro theories in feminist anthropology. By understanding a dynamic and fluid approach to the intersections of race, class and gender which does not reduce the power structure to an oppositional logic category (oppressor/oppressed) one can reveal the uneven effects of race, class, and gender hegemony. Mohanty (1991:13) and others assert that by understanding these intersections, we can locate the relations of ruling.

> It is also by understanding these intersections that we can attempt to explore questions of consciousness and agency without naturalizing either individuals or structures.

The Black female participants reported that they socialized with family much more than any of the other student participants. This corresponds with the Black cultural tradition of a dual role for women and Black female participants needing a support network that understands the complexity of the uneven effects of being Black and female.

> The Black cultural tradition assumes women to be working mothers, models of community strength, and skilled women whose competence moves beyond emotional sensitivity. It is through this tradition of a dual role that Black women acquire their identity, develop support systems (networks), and are surrounded by examples of female initiative, support, and mutual respect (Carothers 1990:234).

The uneven and ambiguous effects of race, class, and gender are illustrated in the Black student participants negotiation of the ACD. The data indicates that both Black and White students have the same or similar mainstream value systems. The

cultural stereotypes that are incorporated into negotiation of the ACD because of second-hand enculturation reinforce a greater complexity of negotiation for Black students, particularly for Black female students. The Black female students cope with this complex negotiation by utilizing a traditional support network that understands the uneven effects of being Black and female.

Naturalizing Hegemony

Researchers such as Gregory (1992) and Mohanty (1991) emphasize the importance of <u>not</u> drawing precise lines of separating race, class, and gender but rather drawing lines connecting them. But analysis of race, class, and gender is incomplete until the ruling class is investigated. Ziegler (1991), Seiter (1986), and others are acutely aware of how "majority" stereotypes are often overlooked in investigation of race.

> Stereotypes of socially powerful groups are studied less frequently, and the relationships among individual stereotypes are rarely examined. This suggests that positive "majority" stereotypes are somehow more realistic and do not warrant the kind of examination "minority" stereotypes deserve (Seiter 1986:19).

To ignore White ethnicity is to redouble its hegemony by naturalizing it (Roediger 1991:6). This phenomenon of ignoring Whiteness is often exhibited in social science theory.

> The main body of writing by white Marxists in the United States has 'naturalized' Whiteness and oversimplified race (Roediger 1991:6).

The naturalization of "Whiteness" by the White student participants is apparent in the data concerning reverse discrimination. The inference that Black

students are not entitled to financial assistance and employment opportunities because of racial oppression and that they do not incorporate the achievement value into their negotiation of the ACD demonstrated this phenomenon. As discussed in Chapter Five, the referent ethniclass is an important component of the American Cultural Dialogue. The hegemonic White Anglo Saxon Protestant base culture is guarded closely by the power elite because they have a vested interest in preserving its historical continuity.

> ...this upper-middle segment of the historically defined American cultural mainstream is the "reference" by which people have measured their success, achievement, and essentially, their "mainstreamness." This referent ethniclass is that population in the United States of America that has disproportionately furnished the personnel for positions of power and influence in our society (Spindler and Spindler 1990:34).

The "Whiteness" representation of the referent ethniclass in the ACD has important implications for people who identify with it. It assists people in defining themselves and increases the solidarity of an "us and all of them" binary symbolic order. The WASP referent ethniclass and the White history it implies encourages White people to identify around the issue of race not class. Buck recognized this phenomenon in her study of poor White farming families. She found that poor Whites identify with the White power holders rather than poor Blacks. This indicates that the belief that race not class defines self-interest and preserves the naturalization of hegemony.

> Possessed generally of only a colonized version of their own history, in which there is no rational class conflict and racism is presented as part as nature, most poor White farming families have little basis for reinterpreting their past or challenging the hegemonic interpretation of their future (Buck 1990:4).

This reference point is necessary in the naturalization of Whiteness process because it camouflages the construction of the referent ethniclass and all that it implies,

> ...so that Willie Horton and the media construction of crime as a Black artifact is actually necessary. Destroying such racial representations by showing their construction by the elite would empower both Blacks and poor Whites, as a class rather than race became the salient feature (Buck 1990:5).

The White student participants overwhelmingly identified with the referent ethniclass rather than Black students from the same type of socio-economic background. This widespread perception of encountering some type of reverse discrimination policy or believing that it exists implies that 71 percent of the White student participants accept some of the stereotypes that were mentioned in the data. This acceptance of reverse discrimination implies that Black students do not negotiate the highly regarded achievement value as well as White people thus protecting the White boundary of the referent ethniclass and reinforcing the naturalization of "White as Right" process.

As stated in Chapter Four, the data did not fit an orderly accommodation and resistance model. However, Black female participants resisted the cultural stereotypes more often than Black male participants. The interpenetration of accommodation (acceptance of mainstream values) and resistance (the rejection of cultural stereotypes implicit in the ACD) is precisely evident in the Black female participants data.

The negotiation of the American Cultural Dialogue is everchanging and often ambiguous. The cultural stereotypes that are intertwined in the American Cultural Dialogue, the second-hand enculturation process, and the tacit history of the

subordination of Black people in American society, inhibits a healthy equal negotiation between Black and White students. The uneven effects of race, class, and gender and the symbolic weight of the White referent ethniclass contribute to a forced renegotiation of the American Cultural Dialogue. This renegotiation has implications in the interaction between people who are racially and ethnically different from each other. The following section will address policy and policy implementations that could eliminate the added stress of renegotiation for Black students and start to erode the second-hand enculturation process, and break down the barrier of the referent ethniclass. It is important to note that an equal first-hand interaction process cannot alone correct the racialization and subordination of people in American culture but it certainly is a good place to start.

One Step Further

Introduction

The grounded theory analysis discovered a vicious cycle similar to the social adjustment crisis described by Fleming (1984). The behavior themes of the Black student participants indicated a tendency to separate and retreat from Whites and socialize primarily with other Black students on campus.

> Because Black students came to college expecting less prejudice and more social integration than they found, their consequent anger and despair contribute to a desire for separation and withdrawal from Whites (Fleming 1984:18).

The analysis also indicated that these behavioral patterns of the Black student

participants evolved from encountering negative cultural stereotypes in the negotiation of the American Cultural Dialogue. Little first hand interaction exacerbates negative cultural stereotypes and creates a hostile learning environment. The added stress of being perceived to be "given undeserved job opportunities and financial assistance" further inhibits interaction on campus. Additionally, this research indicates that the campus community itself discourages Black and White student interaction.

Policy and Policy Implementation

The grounded theory analysis added a crucial and normative dimension to the research project. This type of method allowed statements to be made concerning why and how the University of Tennessee, Knoxville is failing to achieve its objective of offering Black students a holistic college experience. The grounded theory research project exposed the need for blending social science knowledge with human action. The results of this project can be made into human action through the development of new policies or reinforcing and revamping policies related to student interaction. The implementation of action-oriented policies that are designed to encourage healthy interaction between Black and White students has manifest and latent functions. These policies have strong implications for improving more than race relations at the University level and providing Black students with a more positive and encompassing college experience. Policies that create and encourage Black and White student interaction will influence behavior long after students have graduated. These policy recommendations will have a great impact on students, particularly students who have

only been exposed to people racially and ethnically different from themselves through a second-hand enculturation process. These suggestions, if put into action, can contribute to an understanding of a diverse and changing American Cultural Dialogue and world that students otherwise may not appreciate nor understand. The action-oriented policy suggestions listed below can also hasten or encourage the erosion of the Whitewashed barriers of the referent ethniclass. The rest of this section is devoted to explaining the three policy recommendations. These policies were derived from the results of the data analysis. Each policy suggestion includes an explanation of how it relates to and encourages Black and White student interaction.

Policy Recommendations

I. Implementation of Education of Cultural Awareness for University Organizations, Faculty, and Staff.

The implementation of cultural education training for student organizations, faculty, and staff has the potential to greatly impact students. Throughout the study student participants reported encountering cultural stereotypes from campus faculty, staff, and students. The campus police were mentioned numerous times throughout the data because of their differential treatment of Black students. The campus media, particularly the campus paper, "The Daily Beacon" was also criticized for depicting negative images of Black students. The Black student participants noted that they were treated differently by certain White professors. Again, an effort to raise faculty, staff, and students' consciousness can encourage healthy first hand interaction between Black and White students.

Benefits of policy recommendation number one:

A strong commitment to the implementation of cultural education could prove to be very beneficial. A realization of the detrimental impact of the second hand enculturation process and the immense role of the media in reinforcing negative stereotypes may motivate people to interact differently. One mechanism for such a program are already in place at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. "A Change Model," written and produced by Dr. Dhyana Ziegler, Associate Professor of Broadcasting and Ms. Camille M. Hazeur, Director of Affirmative Action Programming, is designed to facilitate change in how people racially and ethnically different from one another perceive and interact with each other in a university setting.

As stated previously, this type of policy action has far reaching implications. Not only can cultural education improve race relations on campus and facilitate a more positive college experience for Black students, it can affect student perceptions of people who are racially and ethnically different from themselves and foster positive images long after graduation.

II. Provide Certain School Sponsored Activities that meet a Broad Base of Interests.

Throughout the study, Black and White student participants expressed the need for, and desire to participate in activities that are geared toward all students. Inclusive activities at the departmental, service, social, and pre-professional level would provide the opportunity for students with different interests to interact. This

would provide an opportunity for students to come together as college students interested in the same activity instead of Black students interested in and participating in "Black activities" and White students interested and participating in "White activities". There are examples of these types of activities on campus. The music department, for example, has performance groups that include both Black and White students and provides opportunities for interaction that focuses on a common interest.

Benefits of policy recommendation number two:

These student activities may release some of the inhibitions of interaction among students. A broad based and more inclusive activity base would not denote the activity as "Black" or "White." This would allow students who are interested in the same type of activity to interact with one another. This does not mean to imply that activities promoted by Black Cultural Programming Committee or other cultural awareness activities should be discontinued. These activities also are beneficial because they provide Black students with a much needed support network and all students with greater cultural awareness.

III. Create an Orientation Program for Incoming Students.

Many of the participants expressed several misconceptions and lack of knowledge about campus life. The lack of knowledge about what financial aid is available to whom and how it is distributed was a prevailing theme throughout the study. Misconceptions of what Affirmative Action is, lack of knowledge and

misconceptions of people who are racially and ethnically different from themselves, and the general misconceptions about campus life, were also prevalent themes in the student reports. These themes clearly illustrate a need for some type of program that would introduce students to financial aid, campus programs, and diversity on campus. The university offers a two-day orientation during the summer months for incoming students, but this is not mandatory. The university could design some type of centripetal that would be mandatory for all incoming students. The centripetal could be offered for credit and consist of explanations about how the financial aid system works and what is available, what Affirmative Action is, what type of campus programs and activities are offered, and cultural awareness and sensitivity training. This would be a costly program; however, the staff is already in place. Different academic and administrative departments could contribute staff to lecture on given topics.

Benefits of policy suggestion number three:

The benefits of a mandatory orientation program for all incoming students far outweigh the costs. The orientation program could dispel myths and inform students how the financial aid system and Affirmative Action works, highlight campus activities and programs on campus, and alleviate anxiety about interacting with different people. The university could also incorporate into the orientation program other relevant issues such as date-rape and safety programs. This would benefit all students who enroll in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville by informing them of

various aspects of campus life and preparing students to understand and appreciate diversity.

Benefits of a Serious Commitment to all the Suggested Policy Recommendations:

Through out the study the student participants were acutely aware of the small numbers of Black professors. The student participants also noted the low numbers of Black students on campus. The implementation of the suggested policy recommendations could create a hospitable environment that would encourage a higher number of Black professors to teach at UTK and more Black students to attend and complete their education at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Many of the participants did not have the opportunity to enroll in a course taught by a Black professor at UTK. Courses taught by Black professors received very high marks from both Black and White student participants.

The increased number of Black professors and students at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville could provide Black students, faculty, and staff with a stronger support network. The increased number of Black faculty and administrators on campus could assist in negating the "Whiteness" of the symbolic referent ethniclass and provide a more diverse educational setting for all students.

The above policy suggestions are not "cure alls" and do not promise to end all racial tension or erase the history of unequal interaction between Blacks and Whites in American society. However, the policy recommendations were derived from what students reported, and the grounded theory analysis illustrates an explicit need for

them. Students enter the university with preconceived notions about people different from themselves often formed through a second-hand enculturation process. Many Black students are forced to renegotiate the American Cultural Dialogue as UTK students, placing added stress on the already stressful situation of adjusting to college. On one level, these policy recommendations are designed to reinforce the erosion of the second-hand enculturation process and the White barriers of the referent ethniclass. On another level, these policies are designed to promote healthy interaction between Black and White students, and reduce the tension, hostility and ambivalence that Black students encounter while negotiating the American Cultural Dialogue at the University of Tennessee.

Limitations of Research

This research project was designed utilizing a grounded theory approach in order to give the Black student participants a voice in how they perceive their college experience at the University of Tennessee. It was a small representation of Black students, approximately 15 percent of the on-campus Black student population, and they reported their own experiences and perceptions. The focus groups consisted of groups that had already been formed and active in campus life. While persistent themes emerged from the participants response, it was not representative of all Black students on campus.

As noted in the introduction, the history of complex social relations between

Blacks and Whites in the American south that implied or assumed Black social inferiority acknowledges the limitations of the type of solutions that one can derive from this research project. It cannot change history or the traditional mores that dictate many Black and White interactions, it can only hope to reinforce the erosion of many of this traditional mores.

Implications for Further Research

This research must be considered a preliminary effort. Many of the existing categories of data remain unsaturated, due in part to the low number of participants, and leave room for many more questions. There are two issues that are of particular interest to this researcher - to what extent has the organizational culture of the University of Tennessee incorporated the traditional mores that have dictated Black and White interaction and do most of the students at UTK have the same or similar perceptions as the student participants.

The grounded theory approach is useful in allowing the researcher to incorporate the insights of equally perceptive and knowledgeable social actors (student participants) which corresponds to the shift in research emphasis in cultural studies. This shift recognizes the political processes which shape the local contexts, interests, and perceptions that influence the social actors and researchers (Rosaldo 1989:21). A more intensive grounded theory research project that would reveal the social reality of the majority of Black students at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville may influence the construction of healthier policy implementation and add to the body of

literature the complex, often subtle, traditions that dictate interactions of Black and White people in or out of college.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

Survey of Interracial Interaction at UTK

Section I - Demographic Information

The following items ask for information that will be useful in interpreting your answers.

1. Gender Female__ Male__

2. Age ___

3. Student Status Full-Time__ Part-Time__

4. Educational Level of Parents

	Father	Mother	
Elementary school graduate	___	___	Elementary school graduate
Some high school	___	___	
High school graduate	___	___	
Some college or technical school	___	___	
Graduate of college or technical school	___	___	
Post graduate work	___	___	

5. Freshman __ Sophomore __ Junior ___ Senior __ Grad __

6. Live on campus __ Live off campus __

7. Grade Point Average at UTK

   Below a 2.0 __
   2.0 - 2.5 __
   2.6 - 3.0 __
   3.1- 4.0 __

8. High School Racial Composition
   Predominately white __
   Predominately black __
   a. Location of High School _____
   b. Other places where you attended Middle or High School
   _____

c. Date of graduation _____

9. Major Source of Funding Education (may check more than one)
   Parents __ Loans __ Grants __ Scholarships __
   Employment __ Other ___

10. Highest Educational Goal
    Bachelor's __ Master's ___ Professional __
    Doctorate __ Other __

11. Do you plan to graduate from UTK? Yes __ No__

12. Major _____

13. Estimated Total Family Income Annually
    $10,000--20,000 ___
    $20,001--30,000 ___
    $30,001--40,000 ___
    $40,001--50,000 ___
    $50,001--75,000 ___
    Above $75,000 ___

II. Background Information

1. What is your earliest remembrance of people being racially different?

2. Do you believe that White people have negative stereotypes about Black people? and if so, why is this?

3. If the answer is yes to the above question, how has it influenced your behavior around and interaction with White people?

4. How do you interact with your White peers or how do they interact with you in the classroom? in class related activities? in extra-curricular social settings?

5. What racial issues are problems at UT now?

6. Have you seen, experienced, or know of any discriminatory behavior on or around campus? (such as on the "strip") If so, please describe.

III. Learning Situations/ Teacher-Student Interactions

1. How would you describe yourself as a student?

2. Describe positive interactions with a professor. Indicate a specific situation that made you feel good.

3. Describe negative interactions with a professor. Indicate a specific situation disturbed you.

4. Can you contrast experiences with White professors and Black professors?

5. Do you notice differential treatment in classes with only one or two Black students versus more?

6. What have you observed about the interaction of Black and White faculty members and staff at UTK? Is this similar or different to interactions between Black and White students?

IV. Social and Cultural Interactions

1. Where and with whom (family, friends, co-workers, fraternity/sorority members, etc.) do you socialize with off campus?

2. What is the racial composition of your friendship network?

3. Do you have a mentor? If not, were you given an opportunity to establish one?

4. What types of social and professional organizations are you involved in? What is the racial composition of these groups?

5. What type of extra-curricular activities do you enjoy?

6. Do you feel that the University has done enough to meet your cultural and social needs? If not, how have you reacted to this and how could it be improved? (please use the back of the page for more space)

APPENDIX B

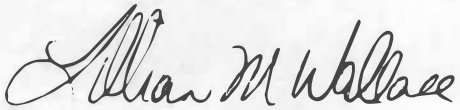
Letter

To Whom It May Concern:

I am conducting a research thesis at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville titled "Black Students' Perceptions of Interracial Interaction in the University of Tennessee Classrooms: An Anthropological Analysis." The research's goal is to obtain the Black student's worldview at a predominately White Southern University. The research will be useful to the University of Tennessee in fulfilling the commitment to multiculturalism, specifically, in understanding how race relations are related to retention of minority students. The project is was designed to supplement the FIPSE project titled "Toward Equal Opportunity and Retention: Using Videos as Strategic Agent of Change." The project co-directors are Dr. Dhyana Ziegler, Associate Professor of Broadcasting and Ms. Camille M. Hazeur, Director of Affirmative Action Programming. For further information regarding the FIPSE grant contact Dr. Ziegler at 974-4291. For further information about the thesis project, contact Dr. Benita J Howell at 974-4408.

The research data collection will take place during the spring of 1992. A large group of students are being asked to complete a questionnaire on the early experiences of race, race relations at UT, interactions with faculty, and social aspects of campus life. The findings gathered from students are confidential and anonymous. Participation is strictly on a volunteer basis. Students may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. The participants will be entitled to view the final analysis. Questionnaire data may be used for further research and publication.

Thank You,



Principal Investigator

Participant's Signature

Date

VITA

Lillian Marie Wallace was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey on November 25, 1963. She attended Tennessee Technological University in Cookeville, Tennessee and received a BS degree in Sociology in 1987. The author has been employed as social services worker, specifically working with the elderly.

The author entered the University of Tennessee anthropology department in the Fall of 1989. She received a Masters of Arts Degree in May of 1994. While attending the University of Tennessee she held a departmental teaching assistantship and a research assistantship in the Office of Affirmative Action Programming. This most recent work experience defined her research area of interest.