Collective Identity and African American Views of Africa, African Immigrants,

and Immigrant Entitlements

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When I started this project I lived in South Minneapolis, close to the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood. Newly married, I lived in an apartment next to a young Oromo immigrant family and above an African American mother and daughter. My in-laws wondered how we faired as a young white couple in a building that predominantly housed blacks, and their curiosity foreshadowed the curiosity that followed me as my interviewees, friends, family and some colleagues wondered how I faired as a young, white researcher inquiring about black identity. To those two families, who I have thought of often while working on this project, I owe much gratitude. I also cannot overstate the gratitude I owe the man who was my husband at the time, Gregory Steinke, and our two wonderful children, Jered and Autumn Steinke. Greg, you are my best friend and without you I never would have started, much less finished, this project.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Chapter Layout

Introduction

My dissertation is about collective identity and the role of collective memory in shaping collective identity. Empirically, I examine how African American collective identity operates through an interpretation of collective memories of Africa and collective conceptions of affirmative action, as African Americans interact with eastern African immigrants in the U.S. I find that, in this context, African American ethnic identity continues to combine the two-ness of being American and African, but that rather than expanding the collective representation of "Africa," the interactions between African Americans and eastern Africans results in a bifurcated conceptualization of "Africa" as an, often generic, cultural conception, and "Africans" and "immigrants" as an on-the-ground reality, where the most important factor linking these groups is a shared structural experience with discrimination and structural inequities. My dissertation is about African American responses to eastern African immigrants in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area of Minnesota (the "Twin Cities"), but it is also an exploration into how these responses reflect what it means *to be* a contemporary African American. To examine the content of African American ethnic identity in this context requires a commitment to understanding that collective conceptions of Africa, America and the consequences of black racial identity on economic and other structural location factors are eminent to the identity of African Americans. To examine each of these elements of African American ethnic identity, vis-à-vis their engagement with eastern Africans, I collected and analyzed several sources of data and developed three empirical chapters with inter-connected

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analyses. The first chapter empirical chapter (Chapter 4) is an examination of historical newspaper data from the *Minneapolis Spokesman* (the longest running African American newspaper in the Twin Cities), where I examine the community-level portrayals of Africa in the newspaper over a time period from 1965-2001. I make several important conclusions about how the narratives of Africa changed over the time period, moving from a mix of politically engaged, critical discourse that reflected a similarity or parallelism with African Americans' own struggles nationally in the context of the United States, to a celebratory, cultural and largely ceremonial portrayal of Africa. Concurrent to the change in narratives de-emphasizing the critically engaged, largely politically emphasis on Africa in the early time period (from 1965 through the 1970s), the narratives in the *Minneapolis Spokesman* also became more generically American, such that they concerned local and national problems of people of color largely speaking, or of Americans and Minnesotans. These narrative changes in the newspaper content demonstrate a trade-off and interplay between the components of African American identity, namely being African and American, the two-ness oft quoted from W.E.B. Du Bois (1994[1903]), that correspond with trade-offs and negations in African American and American nationalisms. My argument is not so much a causal demonstration that the rise or decline in aspects of American or African American nationalism *caused* the changes in portrayals of Africa or America, but that, instead, the co-existence of these processes set the stage for establishing the awkward cultural place of Africa in African American collective memory at the time that eastern Africans began moving to the Twin Cities.

When eastern Africans began arriving, African Americans largely portrayed Africa in their collective representations, as documented in the newspaper analysis, in terms of cultural iconography. In large part, they did not attempt to engage in the myriad political, genocidal and social strife that was occurring on the continent. At the same time, the cultural representation and meaning of Africa remained pivotal to their collective identity, not only as demonstrated through the analysis of my newspaper data, but also in the conversations that I had with African Americans about eastern Africans (the topic of Chapter 5). In these conversations, African Americans revealed that they perceived eastern Africans as particularly closed off from African Americans and Americans generally speaking and discussed their culturally reclusive culture as a barrier to establishing relationships that could ease the shared structural racial experiences between the two groups. However, they were also largely clear in arguing that eastern Africans were immigrants and that identity often was portrayed with primacy *over* a shared identity as descendants of Africans. The reality of black racial identity was primary, but immigrant identity was secondary and a shared African-ness, if mentioned at all, was tertiary. As a result, African Americans often grouped eastern Africans with other, more familiar, immigrant groups in recounting their experiences in terms of interactions or otherwise. African Americans were also clear in articulating how eastern Africans had posed rhetorical challenges to their own ethnic identity as both *Africans* and *Americans* as we talked about the perception that African Americans had lost their culture in Africa, while eastern Africans felt a more authentic connection with the continent. African Americans were adamant about the dual importance of their historical

roots in African *and* their lineage in the U.S. as descendants of slaves, often implying that both their culture as Americans and Africans was captured in the history of slavery. These interactions, rather than expanding the boundaries of African American collective conceptualizations of Africa, put eastern Africans outside of both the African American experience, and also outside of African Americans' construction of Africa. It also created a defensive posturing by many of my interviewees where they articulated the position that they were not going to allow eastern Africans to "take away" their Africanness of challenge their Americanness or the importance of their culture in American history. While many of my more economically and educationally affluent interviewees had traveled to West Africa, many others also talked about the importance of tracing their genealogy (either literally through the DNA GENE project, or figuratively), and almost unilaterally my interviewees were more comfortable talking about western African countries in conversation. This ease was also apparent when many of my interviewees discussed individual immigrants they had encountered in the Twin Cities who were from western African and not eastern African countries. While there are many possible explanations for the frequency and familiarity of western African versus eastern African discourse about geography, ancestry and interactions with immigrant, its important to note its occurrence in my conversations with African Americans because I argue that, especially in light of the other ways that eastern Africans are marginalized in the African American conceptualization of Africa, it only compounds that marginalization.

My final empirical chapter is about the perceptions of access to affirmative action by African Americans (Chapter 6). I argue that affirmative action operates on multiple levels: as a representation of African American collective memory of historical injustices in the U.S. and as a contemporary representation of access to economic resources, which represents, in the various ways in which African Americans define and elaborate their interpretation of affirmative action, the availability of eastern Africans to have proximal access to African American ethnic identity. In other words, affirmative action is used as an indicator of the manifestation of the African, American and black racial ascription, components of African American identity. African American reactions to this policy and their imagining of how this policy should be expanded (or not) to other groups represents the convergence of the components of African American ethnic identity that I argue in the preceding empirical chapters are represented by African Americans' conceptions of Africa and their interactions with eastern Africans.

African Americans: Collective Identity, Rights and Resources

As I stated above, almost all of the African Americans I interviewed for my dissertation talked extensively about the importance of Africa to their sense of both individual and collective identity. As a part of this, some of the more economically and educationally advantaged interviewees discussed life-altering visits to the continent. They frequently articulated the importance of their African identity in relationship to their historiography in American slavery, and the importance of Africa and America to their identities. When asked about recent East African immigration to the Minneapolis/St. Paul area (the "Twin Cities"), responses were more ambiguous, ranging from inclusive

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visions of an all-black, Pan-African racial community to a view of East Africans as cultural and economic competitors, though most were some combination of the two. The reality of incorporating actual people from Africa has immediate economic, religious, marital and genealogical connotations for African Americans, which correspondingly affects their visions of themselves as an African American community. My findings highlight the importance of collective memory in the construction of African American ethnic identity and I find that in contrast to commonsense sociological thinking, African American views of East African immigrants are not reducible to economic and resource competition, nor are they resoundingly embracing and Pan-African idealistic, but rather these interactions, reveal that collective memories of Africa and a history of dispossessed rights in the United States are important in impacting African American ethnic identity and frame their incorporation of East Africans, often leaving East Africans marginalized in African Americans' collective identity as *Africans* and *Americans*. This contribution from my research also belies the analysis of the interplay of African American and American nationalisms in the interpretation of the portrayals of Africa in the *Minneapolis Spokesman* data, because in the same sense that eastern Africans are largely outside of the portrayals of Africa and America in those narratives, they end up outside of two of three components that I identified (African identity, American identity and black racial ascription), leaving only black racial ascription as a unifier between the two groups. Furthermore, it elaborates upon the central argument in my dissertation as I empirically examine not only the *content* of the African identity and American identity components of African American ethnic identity, but simultaneously argue about the (lack of)

availability of black East Africans to participate in that African American collective ethnic identity. It will become increasingly important for scholars to understand how second and further generation African immigrants may be incorporated (or not) into African American ethnic identity. Will a new version of ethnic options (Waters 1990) become available to African Americans through these interactions, or will the boundaries between these groups become more rigid?   While we recognize that group boundary formation and competition are "intergroup power contests" (Blalock 1967: 109), that may involve struggles for not only economic resources, they are also such resources as values, claims to status and other more commonly recognized "cultural" resources at stake when groups establish the boundaries of who is in and who is out and what is shared between them (Blalock 1967; Bobo 1988). I argue in my dissertation that the place of convergence for eastern Africans and African Americans is in their shared structural position and the cultural aspects of the two-ness of *African* and *American* components of ethnic identity that comprise African American collective identity are constructed with eastern Africans outside of those conceptions. While not as surprising in the American component, it is particularly important in the construction of the African component because it directly parallels and extends the celebratory and ceremonial place of Africa in the collective memory of African Americans.

Summary of Dissertation Chapters

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature: Race, Nation, Immigration and Theories of Collective Memory: I review several literatures including intergroup conflict, race, ethnicity, immigration, collective memory, African American-immigrant relations and

the history of black immigrants in the United States. My contribution in this chapter is to attend to the relevant literatures in defining the most common arguments regarding African American-immigrant relations, but to also make central and highlight my contribution to the literatures in noting that collective memory is an important and central concept for understanding the dynamics of African American ethnic identity.

Chapter 3: Demographics, Methodology and Data Collection: This chapter is a brief demographic outline of eastern African migration to the Twin Cities as well as the population of blacks in the Twin Cities. This chapter, as well as outlining the demographic changes over time in the Twin Cities, will also lay out the various methodologies utilized for my data sets: the interviews with East Africans, my own interviews with African Americans and the small set of interviews I have with persons who worked in refugee resettlement or other similar services within the East African or African American communities. The chapter also includes a description of the historical newspaper data collection process, the interview I did with the newspaper's editor and some contextualizing information on the history of the newspaper, the *Minneapolis Spokesman.*

Chapter 4: Collective Memory and African American Engagement with Africa: This chapter incorporates the analysis of my historical newspaper data from the *Spokesman-Recorder* in combination with an analysis of some contextualizing comments made in the interviews. In it I argue that African American engagement with Africa as a part of a broader collective memory of Africa reflects presentist understandings of and reactions to local and contemporary experiences with Africans. The representations of

collective memories through newspaper and narrative accounts are filtered through competing understandings of nationalism, (one a Republican/civic nationalism; two an African or Pan-African nationalism). These nationalisms, in turn, represent competing interpretations of the potential threat or acceptance of East African immigrants.

Chapter 5: Interrelations between African Americans and East Africans: This chapter most extensively utilizes the interview data from both East Africans and African Americans. It is a descriptive analysis of how the groups view one another and their sort of on-the-ground, day-to-day dealings and interactions with one another. This is the most comparative chapter of the dissertation in terms of understanding the interrelationship between the two groups. This chapter is also where I most extensively incorporate interviews with persons who work with one or both of the groups in a refugee resettlement or other sort of religious or social service capacity. The chapter elaborates four findings: 1. Interviewees who had visited western of southern African countries (no interviewees had been to eastern African countries), were more comfortable discussing this than their experiences and interactions with East Africans that had occurred in the local setting of the Twin Cities, they often redirected questions I asked them about East Africa to specifically address West Africa or would outright confuse countries and say that Nigeria was Kenya; 2. African Americans were adamant about the dual importance of their historical roots in Africa *and* their lineage in the United States as descendants of slaves. They overwhelmingly disputed the notion (expressed by some African immigrants) that they had lost their history; 3. African Americans often redirected questions about East African immigrants to instead answer about other immigrants

groups with which they were more familiar, like Mexicans of Hmong; 4. Despite a

common claim that African Americans and East Africans should bridge community

differences, African Americans vocalized a common perception that East Africans were a

particularly closed off community and certain cross-over behaviors, like inter-racial

dating and marriage, were particularly difficult.

Chapter 6: Entitlements, Affirmative Action and African American "ethnic

options": This chapter brings several levels of analysis together. I argue that to

understand how African Americans view, adopt, accept, incorporate (among a myriad of

choices for how the groups come together) East Africans, we need to understand this as

much more than a competition for resources and/or a recognition of similar experiences

with discrimination because of racially ascription. Here, affirmative action provides a

unique sounding board because at first glance, affirmative action seems to be mostly

about access to resources. But, as the historical and interview data reveal, it encompasses

the cultural and historical dimensions of the interrelations between the two groups as

well. I use a theoretical model of access to "rights" I developed and find that African

Americans articulated four typologies of discussing access to Affirmative Action and

analyze how each typology relates to the potential for their perceptions of immigrant

incorporation. The types are: 1. Historical understanding; 2. Broader definition without

historical reference; 3. If they're citizens clause; and 4. Economic hardships/class &

competition for resources. I expound these four types with interview evidence and

analysis further in the chapter.

Chapter 7: Conclusions: In this chapter I draw out the primary implications for the construction of African American ethnic identity through my empirical analyses and through the analysis of structuring our understanding and interpretation of African American ethnic identity in the context of African American collective memory of Africa, contemporary interactions with eastern Africans and the use of affirmative action as a nexus and indicator of African American collective identity.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature: Race, Nation, Immigration and Theories of

Collective Memory

Introduction

I review several pertinent literatures in this section. Some serve as specific referential points upon which I develop and explore my analysis in the forthcoming empirical chapters, others serve more broadly as contexts for general arguments that emerge to which my empirical analyses touch on marginally or at the periphery. For example, while economic competition has been a dominant mode for characterizing the discourse of African American-immigrant relations, I find that exclusionary focus on this model limits our understanding of the intercourse of African Americans and eastern African immigrants, so while I refer to economic competition theoretical and empirical debates in my analyses, I make little reference back to the literatures I explore at the start. By comparison, the discussion of collective memory theories is foundational for my understanding of the changeable place of Africa as a collective political, historical and economic construct in the collective conscious of African Americans and is referred to specifically and frequently in the empirical chapter detailing my analysis (Chapter 4). Since my dissertation is a novel contribution that combines several broad literatures and empirically examines African American reception of eastern Africans, a new research contribution to immigration studies, much of the literature that I do discuss below fits imperfectly with my analysis since it centers on African American-immigrant relations broadly and black immigrant incorporation and assimilation into American life. Similarly, collective memory theory and African American nationalism have been

conceived of largely as separate literatures. I have drawn out the overlaps and connections where especially relevant in these sections.

Inter-Group Contact: Rights and Resources

As East African immigrants enter the United States, they are in close social distance to African Americans by several measures, including economic, racial and ethnic dimensions (Blau 1977). In this context, affirmative action represents a specific policy that can potentially benefit African Americans and East Africans alike, but at the same time is also a potential source of competition. The policy, which was historically intended as a redress for African American historical injustices, is like any other economic resource that is limited. As the benefits of affirmative action become increasingly relevant for East Africans, there is a potential that African Americans could correspondingly lose some of their benefits. Peter Blau (1977) has argued that the entrance of an immigrant group in society often raises the lowest social strata relative to the new immigrant group. In this case, African Americans would be raised above East Africans. East Africans and African Americans may be simultaneously pushed together by similar racial classifications, but conversely pulled apart by economic, ethnic and cultural forces. Other scholars, looking at black Caribbean immigration, have noted that many first generation immigrants have found it economically beneficial to distance themselves from African Americans by emphasizing their cultural distinctiveness from African Americans (Waters 1999a), thus creating a situation somewhat in opposition to that argued for by Blau (1977). Blau (1977) would question the ability of an immigrant group to be able to raise their social status above a native minority group, but as Waters

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(1999a) shows, this is sometimes possible. In my dissertation, I examine African

American reactions to such a process and their assertion of group identity within this

context.

Frequently contact between African Americans and East Africans would lead to

conflict or friendship (cooperation) (Allport 1954). Frequent contact would be likely if

the native born and immigrant groups share similar social strata and a racial classification

as well as cultural and ancestral characteristics. Culture has a structuring power of its

own (Hays 1994), both as a potential point of differentiation (conflict) and convergence

(cooperation) between African Americans and East Africans. This is particularly

important because it helps to explain why African Americans and East Africans can often

simultaneously see so much similarity and so much difference amongst themselves.

Inter-Group Relations and Conflict

When one or more group occupies the same economic niche, competition often

results. Over time, "…one would expect one such group to displace the other, or an

accommodation involving an increasing complementarity and interdependence to

develop" (Barth 1969: 20). The need for cooperation, or the inevitability of competition,

is necessitated through struggles over resources. Groups can control resources, material

goods, skills or other assets, including ideological assets (Sewell 1992; Gerteis 2002).

The group with more resources often has more power. As I stated earlier, Hubert Blalock

(1967) conceived of the relations between ethnic and racial groups as "intergroup power

contests" (109). Power derives from the ability of groups to mobilize various resources

and the struggle for power does not always include overt conflict. Along with resources

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or power, members of advantaged groups also have more alternatives for achievement (Blalock 1967). Groups might participate in conscious or unconscious bargaining amongst each other, which can result in changed group compositions (Banton 1998).

Sometimes the struggle for power does result in overt competition or violence between groups. Such social group conflict involves "…a struggle over values or claims to status, power, and other scarce resources in which the aims of the conflict groups are not only to gain the desired values, but also to affect, change or injure rivals" (Bobo 1988: 91). Racial competition has several determinants. First, racial solidarity is created when interracial contact is barred (Olzak, Shanahan and McEneaney 1996). Residential segregation reinforces the salience of racial divides. Once segregation is established, increasing contact between groups results in heightened conflict, as demonstrable by the increasing rates of race riots correlating with increased interracial conflict (Olzak, Shanahan and McEneaney 1996).

Herbert Blumer (1998[1958]) also recognized the importance of groups as sites for racial prejudice. He advocates for an understanding of race prejudice as a group phenomenon. He promotes the shifting away from an individualistic analysis of prejudice to one that makes the positional relationship between groups central. Blumer (1998[1958]) further elaborates when he explains that race prejudice is "…fundamentally a *collective process*…to characterise another racial group is, by opposition, to define one's own group" (32, emphasis in original). Blumer ties his analysis to the construction of collective knowledge as he describes how racial groups come to define themselves, as well as other groups, in relation to one another.

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Blumer's (1998[1958]) work on inter-group relations, particularly his emphasis on group position and its influence on prejudice, relies on the concepts of attitude, affect, stereotype, group identity and patterns of inter-group contact (Bobo 1999). Blumer's formulation emphasizes the socially constructed nature of racial identities. Group position and racial prejudice has a strong normative component, according to Blumer. Emotional reactions tied to the in-group and out-group, as well as a strong concern with the integrity of one's own group, heavily impact the desire to protect group position. Blumer also recognizes the importance of interests and interest groups as powerful forces in the ongoing (re)construction and defense of the sense of group position. The continuing salience of ethnic groups as interests groups has been documented in recent empirical studies of post-1965 immigrants (Kasinitz 2000). The positional arrangement of groups within the racial hierarchy conditions feelings between groups (Blumer 1998[1958]). Perceptions of threat to the sense of group position for one group insights prejudice, hostilities, competition and conflict between groups and are often aimed at a particular group or groups (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Esses, Jackson and Armstrong 1998; Bobo 1999; Esses et al. 2001). It is important to remember that only perceptions of threat are necessary, "That is threat as understood in a racialized social context and as a product of socially constructed meaning; it is not a simplistic reflection of strictly objective, realistic and material conditions" (Bobo 1999: 458).

According to Bobo and Hutchings (1996), Blumer's (1998[1958]) model delineates four main components. The first is the existence of an in-group preference. Second, out-group members are viewed as alien. Thirdly, the sense of group position

carries with it claims over certain resources, status and privileges that are not afforded to out-group members. Lastly, members of the out-group desire a piece of the resources, status and privileges afforded to in-group members. Putting several of the components together, it can be concluded that the acquisition and maintenance of resources by a group leads to status beliefs that favor one group over another (Ridgeway et al. 1998).

When in-group members perceive of themselves as losing ground, or relative position, compared to members of other groups, their articulation of hostilities, i.e. their prejudice, is also a claim to loss of relative status vis-à-vis the comparison group (Bobo 1999). This observation has particular effects for members of low-status groups. According to Lawrence Bobo (1999), "The more that members of a racial group feel they are alienated and oppressed, the more likely they are to regard other racial groups as competitive threats to their own group's social position" (460). As Blumer (1998[1958]) articulates, racial prejudice, and conversely racial alienation are collective processes. Racial stratification and alienation become incorporated into the collective memory of the group (Schuman and Scott 1989), thus becoming part of a group's culture (Bobo 1999). In a multi-racial context, where low-status groups experience high levels of racial alienation, "…one may find some of the highest levels of perceived threat from other groups among members of the most disadvantaged racial minority group, not among the dominant racial group members" (Bobo 1999: 460).

Since the group position model allows for negative feelings (the normative component/emotional component), as well as a concern with the material welfare of the in-group, it can serve as a synthesis for other theoretical approaches to group conflict

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(Bobo and Hutchings 1996). Specifically, the classical prejudice model, argues that prejudice is located within individuals (i.e., negative feelings), the stratification beliefs model argues that in an equitable system, where opportunities for success are widely available, inequality is the fair and inevitable outcome of differential ability and effort. Lastly, the self-interest model argues that hostility arises between groups as the result of the scramble for economic or political interests (Bobo and Hutchings 1996). Blumer's (1998[1958]) model allows for the incorporation of all of these elements under the broad umbrella of understanding prejudice as result of group arrangements.

Empirically testing the notion that a group's perceived alienation in the social order impacts their perception of group threat, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) examine whites, African Americans, Latinos and Asians in Los Angeles. They find that whites are the least likely to view other groups as competitive threats, while blacks, followed closely by Latinos are the most likely. This finding reflects the relative social positions historically occupied by these groups, and the resultant level of racial alienation among them. This is relevant to African American/East African relations as the notion that economic competition will characterize or color the perceptions of East Africans by African Americans is complicated by the unique proximity in racial classification and shared cultural history in Africa.

Perceived competition for resources is likely to be influential in determining negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Esses, Jackson and Armstrong 1998; Esses et al. 2001). Even those immigrants who do assimilate pose danger to native-born residents as such successes might challenge the dominant position of the

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native-born. The perception of threat is based on a zero-sum belief that more for immigrants equals less for the native-born (Esses, Jackson and Armstrong 1998; Esses et al. 2001). Out-groups must be both similar to and distinct from in-groups to pose a threat. Only groups distinct from one's own group will stand out as competitors. To be perceived as threatening, out-groups must be after the same resources as the in-group and further must be in a structural position warranting likelihood that the attainment of these resources is possible. Resource stress will motivate in-group members to use discrimination, including the opposition of policies that might benefit the opposing group, derogation and avoidance to remove the source of competition (Esses, Jackson and Armstrong 1998; Esses et al. 2001).

Thomas Wilson (2001) uses 1994 GSS data to empirically test the theory that the perception of threatened group interests will result in the opposition to policies benefiting immigrants. Controlling for other factors, including self-interest, anti-immigrant prejudice, conservatism and economic outlook, he finds that the opposition to policies benefiting immigrants is largely due to the belief that immigrants present a direct risk to their interests as native-born Americans. In the case of my research, I examine African American perceptions of who is entitled to benefit from affirmative action policies (Chapter 6). Wilson's research implies that perception of direct group threat to benefits is the main predictor of opposition to immigrant entitlements, but as I argue, the position of affirmative action in African American historical collective consciousness, conceived as a specific redress to past inequities and a civic and ideological understanding of incorporation into the American polity, are also important. This is further complicated by

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the perception among many African Americans that a common unity among people of color (or, specifically among a pan-African community of blacks). Esses et al. (2001) also test the role of perceived group threat on the reception of immigrants only they asked about Asian and black immigrants specifically, rather than immigration in general. In the study by Esses et al (2001), perceived group threat greatly predicted the attitudes towards Asian and black immigrants. Their study raises the natural next question, what are the implications for native born black attitudes toward immigration? In my empirical chapters (especially Chapter 5), I examine how African Americans discussed both eastern African immigrants and broadened their discussions to incorporate immigrants more generally. The way they discussed immigrants was influenced by their racial classification and structural position in the American economy.

The Overlap of Race, Ethnicity and Immigration

Racial status serves as a nexus of identity in the United States, to the historical and continued detriment of African Americans. Racial ethnic assignment occur both formally and informally. Formal racial classification has historically occurred through state-mandated and legislative criteria (Feagin 2001; Lipsitz 1998; Massey and Denton 1993; Omi and Winant 1994). In a more recent and varied example, Francesca Declich (2000) discusses how humanitarian aid agencies working in refugee camps formally assign race and ethnicity. In contrast, informal classifications involve situations "…where audiences in social settings attribute ethnic meanings to an individual's social characteristics" (Nagel 2000: 111). Non-white immigrants to the U.S. find themselves within a racial system dominated by the historically black-white racial hierarchy (Loewen

1971), and one of the first arenas of assimilation for immigrants is into that racial hierarchy (Bashi and McDaniel 1997).

Concepts like race, ethnicity, gender, nation, and many others, emerge and are reconstituted as persons are born and brought up in societies. They look around themselves to learn about the world and take notice of the classification of persons into groups. Inherently, the classification of some persons into certain groups and other persons into other groups introduces the idea of boundaries. The boundaries "…determine who is a member and who is not and designate which ethnic categories are available for individual identification at a particular time and place" (Nagel 1994: 154). These arbitrary boundaries can turn into concrete classifications based on race as the place of groups vis-à-vis other groups become more firmly entrenched in the racial hierarchy (Blumer 1998[1958]), leading to struggles over the appropriate allocation of scarce resources (Nagel 1994).

The process of classifying persons into groups is facilitated by the contact and mixing of people. Since immigration contributes to both, it also largely informs the construction of race and ethnicity as lived experience as well as how we come to think about the concepts of race and ethnicity (Cornell and Hartmann 2004). Taking for granted the socially constructed nature of race and ethnicity (Nagel 1994), it is still possible to layout guidelines for distinguishing the concepts. Though racial categories lack an actual biological foundation, they are constituted by certain physical characteristics, most prominently skin color, but also including other physiological features (Cornell and Hartmann 1998). These differences demarcate racial group

boundaries. Ethnicity, on the other hand, focuses on descent and homeland (Cornell and

Hartmann 2004). Other important differences also distinguish between race and

ethnicity. First is who is applying the label. In the case of race, it is usually outsiders

who assert that *they* are different from *us*. Ethnicity is a group assertion of who *we* are.

Secondly, race often carries moral implications about group members' intrinsic worth.

Lastly, racial ascriptions more likely imply differences in power (Cornell and Hartmann

2004). The malleability and/or rigidity of racial and ethnic categories are dependent upon

the overall social order.

Following from the above formulations, some groups can clearly be both racial

and ethnic. An example is instructive. In the United States, African Americans are the

most apparent minority racial group, as enacted by the prevailing racial structure.

However, African Americans also comprise an ethnic group, asserting a collective

identity for themselves. This is most clearly seen through African American nationalism,

as nationalism is based on ethnic ties. Through nationalism, ethnic groups seek

autonomy, unity and identity. They aim to "…determine their own destiny and free

themselves from external constraint, to end internal divisions and unite, and to find and

express their authentic cultural heritage and identity" (Cornell and Hartmann 1998: 36).

Asafa Jalata's (2001) comparison of the Ethiopian ethnic Oromo's nationalism to African

American nationalism also demonstrates the distinctly ethnic nature of nationalism.

In their empirical work on the immigrant second generation, Portes and Rumbaut

(2001) find that, in contrast to previous eras, immigrants are no longer expected to

Americanize their last names. They are not required to immediately cast off their ethnic-

national identities (through their surnames). But, they are classified into the broad racial-ethnic, often panethnic (Lopez and Espiritu 1990) categories with which phenotypic and cultural attributes are most closely aligned. Within this context, immigrants face a challenging situation. They must incorporate the cultural expectations of the host country with those that they bring with them or inherit from their parents or grandparents. The empirical work of Portes and Rumbaut (2001) reveals that several outcomes are possible. Some second generation immigrants cling to the ethnic and national identities of their parents, sometimes incorporating these identities into a hyphenated American identity. Others strive to attain an American identity and, at least at a symbolic level, identify with the mainstream. Finally, some second generation immigrants adopt the racial and panethnic categories with which they are continually associated and symbolically align with domestic minorities (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), such as would be the case for East Africans being subsumed into African American ethnic enclaves and appropriating an African American identity.

The adoption of panethnic identities is as much an active processes of creation as one of acceptance of ethnic assignment, as well as an important part of ethnic change (Lopez and Espiritu 1990; Nagel 1994). Though analytically distinct in important ways, perhaps the most "successful" case of panethnicity came in the development of white, i.e. American, identity after numerous waves of European immigration (Roediger 1991). Panethnicity implies solidarity between ethnic subgroups that are viewed as homogeneous by outsiders (e.g., the possibility for a Pan-African identity). In addition, can panethnic identities emerge from the contact of native minorities and recent

immigrants? Such as would be the case for African Americans and eastern Africans. A panethnic identity would require the re-envisioning of the overall black community and a reconstitution of the place of collective memory in that process.

Theories of Collective Memory

Maurice Halbwachs (1992) argues that human memory operates collectively: "It is in this sense that there exists a collective memory and social frameworks for memory; it is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in this memory that it is capable of the act of recollections" (38). Collective memory, and therefore much of the thought of individuals, is derived from society itself. In particular, people draw collectively on "sites" of memories (archives, history books, newspaper accounts, commemorative events, etc.) to give direction to the social nature of remembering and interpreting (Rydgren 2007).   There are debates about how much Halbwachs grounded his analysis of collective memory in the present, the here and now, or regarded collective memory as a cumulative process. Barry Schwartz (1982), adapting notions of collective memory taken from Halbwachs, Claude Levi-Strauss and Mircea Eliade, writes, "To remember is to place a part of the past in the service of conceptions and needs of the present" (374). Lewis Coser (1992) has summarized the work of Halbwachs and Schwartz by stating, "…collective historical memory has both cumulative and presentist aspects. It shows at least partial continuity as well as new readings of the past in terms of the present" (26). Collective memory, in the tradition of Halbwachs, highlights both the cumulative and presentist elements of collective memory. Jeffrey

Olick (1999), for example, asserts that "Past meanings are malleable to varying degrees, and present circumstances exploit these potentials more or less" (381). Jeffrey Olick and Daniel Levy (1997), in their analysis of official representations of the Holocaust in the Federal Republic of Germany, iterate this point by stating, "…we analyze the so-called taboos of the German past in order to understand more precisely how the remembered past shapes and constrains the present and vice versa" (922). Olick and Levy (1997) and Olick (1999) argue that collective memory incorporates the past (or, in some cases the commemorated event), the present (contemporary circumstances and celebrations/commemorations) and the path of intermediary commemorations (i.e. "sites"). The existence of collective memory and interpretations are based on the relationships between past and present and the accumulation of such relationships-including their ongoing social construction. Importantly, collective memory is not static, but cumulative and constantly subject to reconstructions of the sites of collective memories. Collective memory is a demonstration of interests by groups that require power to maintain.

Collective memory can and does operate at the level of the community, as the empirical case analyzed by Amy Campion and Gary Alan Fine (1998) demonstrates. Campion and Fine (1998) discuss the effect Sinclair Lewis' critical novel, *Main Street* had over time on the real-life community in which the novel was based. They detail the community-wide techniques adopted to incorporate a more positive image of the novel into the community's collective consciousness and to eradicate Lewis' true message in the book from the collective memory of the community. Collective processes also have

important implications in the power relations between groups. Michel Foucault (1980)

has written that, "Knowledge and power are integrated with one another and there is no

point in dreaming of a time when knowledge will cease to depend on power" (52).

Foucault applies his notions to hierarchies, which by their very nature demand the

existence of multiple groups.

Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) also recognize that a social

distribution of knowledge exists, and that this results in the existence of general and

"role-specific" knowledges (77). But, Berger and Luckmann (1966) argue for more than

just the existence of specialized knowledges, they also grant that what they call

"subuniverses" of meaning exist and are structured by various criteria, including gender,

age, occupation and religion. I argue for the inclusion of race, ethnicity and nation here

as well. Berger and Luckmann (1966) do include Hindu castes (classifications partially

based on ethnicity) as an example of "full-blown subuniverses of meaning" (85). It is in

their discussion of subuniverses that Berger and Luckmann (1966) explicitly argue for the

importance of collectivities, "…that is, by the group that ongoingly produces the

meanings in question and within which these meanings have objective reality" (85).

Randall Collins (1994) also highlights the importance of groups in the ongoing

construction of knowledge and the reality that supports it. He writes, "…social thought

develops only if carried by a community that preserves earlier contributions and builds on

them" (5). Recently Brad West (2008) has noted that scholars of collective memory

largely rest on investigations that assume that sites of collective memories are internal to

nation states. He argues that collective memory studies build on global interdependences

between nations and communities, i.e. transnationalism, and cites the early empirical

work of Maurice Halbwachs (1941) on Christian pilgrimages as a model. In West's own

analysis of Australian backpacker tourists visiting the WWI Gallipoli battlefields, he

considers how global forces are coupled within and contextualized to a study of national

collective memory. In both Halbwachs (1941) and West (2008) the fluidity of national,

international and community is accentuated to highlight the multiple levels with which

collective memory operates. I adopt the same fluidity in my analysis of African

American collective memory as I examine the interplay of national, global and

community memories.

African American Collective Identity and Collective Memory

　　　　African American collective memory has been impacted by multiple sources I

first briefly summarize historical trends before turning to the analysis of my data. W.E.B.

Du Bois (1994[1903]) offered the pinnacle statement of African American identity in his

The Souls of Black Folk. His important and often cited passages on the "double

consciousness" of African Americans are still relevant today. Du Bois (1994[1903]) uses

the image of two-ness, of a people constituted of two conflicting, "warring ideals" in one

body. African Americans are both Americans and Africans. This double self is

implicated in African American consciousness and collective identity. According to Du

Bois (1994[1903]), American blacks, "…would not Africanize America, for America has

too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of

white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood had a message for the world. He

simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American…" (3).

Almost a century later, Cornell West (1996) echoes Du Bois' idea and argues that as both Africans and Americans, blacks were enslaved in the most idealistic and free nation of its time. The dual identity of African Americans, precisely as Africans and Americans, claimed by Du Bois (1994[1903]) and restated time and time again since then, has shaped and reshaped the social construction of African American collective memory.

Images and ideas about Africa have been both part of African American collective identity, and importantly, have maintained iconic status in African American collective memory. In immigration studies, the analysis of transnationals is often linked to questions of assimilation. If transnationlism is conceived more broadly, as the exchange of cultural, political, social and economic processes between broadly defined groups (local, national, etc.), then African Americans have most certainly had a long history of engagement with Africa (Kelley 1999). Instead of focusing on a definition of transnationalism that stresses the communities built by migrant groups between two or more nation-states, my analysis utilizes a broader definition offered by historian Richard White (1999). White's (1999) definition of transnationalism builds on work that focuses on spatial designations, and stresses the interconnectedness of socially constructed definitions of space. Rather than viewing geographic designations of space as rigid, White (1999) emphasizes the fluidity of spatial categories. Thus, in his view, it is not necessarily the interplay between two nation-states that creates transnationalism; rather interchange can take place between nations, localities, regions or even continents. This engagement includes political, social and economic involvement with Africa by African Americans as well as the reinterpretation and incorporation of African culture, images

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and rituals into African American traditions. Images that African Americans hold of Africa may impact how African Americans react to immigrants from Africa. As these groups come into contact, prior images of Africa are open to (re)-interpretation to serve present aims.

Africa's Impact on African American Collective Memory and Identity

Political scientist Ladum Anise wrote an essay in 1974 entitled, "The African Redefined: The Problems of Collective Black Identity." In it he discusses the problems of reconciling the dual identity of African Americans, as both Americans and persons of African descent. Anise (1974) advocates for a collective black identity, while at the same time recognizing that this does not mean that all blacks everywhere share the same "values, goals and destinies" (30). In particular, his analysis focuses on the difficulties blacks have encountered trying to incorporate the "African" into their sense of collective black identity. Anise cautions black Americans' against adapting an African philosophy when they really intend to portray the experience of black Americans. He advocates for analytic precision in the use of "African" as a descriptive. Most important, his analysis raises several issues key to understanding what he calls the "ambivalence of the Black American" in relation to Africa (Anise 1974: 30). First, Anise (1974) raises the important question of which aspects of Africa black Americans can revive: for example, is one African because he or she adopts cultural Dashikis or African beads or an Afro? He also acknowledges that the average black American has invented an image of Africa that is mythologized, and that the real Africa is often alienating to African Americans. Though American collective black identity needs to incorporate elements of an African

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past with an American present, there is a precarious danger in the relationship between Africa and African Americans that could "…create permanent alienation between Africans and Black Americans" (Anise 1974: 31). Africans also feel the need to participate in collective black identity, but may find it difficult to share in relationships with black Americans (Anise 1974).

The analysis offered by Anise (1974) summarizes both the importance and the difficulty of maintaining a broad, encompassing collective black identity. For African Americans this means finding a way to incorporate the African and American components of themselves into a single, unified identity. From the forced migration of African slaves to the United States up to the present, African American collective identity has been impacted by memories and images of Africa. Stories of capture and the Middle Passage, as well as knowledge of African customs, religion and food, was a part of the lives of black American slaves and later, freedmen, through the 19th century (Levine 1977). Herbert Aptheker (1956) writes that the African influence on American blacks was strong, dating back before the American Revolution, and that this influence had profound effects on the development of African American nationality through the 18th and 19th centuries.

In the twentieth century, prominent African Americans, such as W.E.B. Du Bois,[1] Marcus Garvey,[2] Carter G. Woodson, Martin R. Delany, and many others, showed

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[1] The influence of Africa was prominent in Du Bois' thought. He participated in several international conferences, including an Anticolonial Conference in 1945 that included participants from, among other places, U.S., Africa, the West Indies and Indonesia (Von Eschen 1997: 74-78). Africa also plays an important role in much of his writing, most prominently his *The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part which Africa has Played in World History* (1976[1947]), which includes a short section analyzing the situation of American blacks and Africa (265-268). After a lifetime of fighting for racial equality in the United States, Du Bois retreated to Africa, where he later died.

interest in Africa, and initiated Pan-African and Back-to-Africa movements[3] that had

important effects on the continuing reconstruction of African nationalism among African

Americans (Shepperson 1960). Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane (1987) marks the

beginning of Pan-Africanism in 1900 when W.E.B. Du Bois, Bishop Walters, Sylvester

Williams from Trinidad and George James Christian from Dominica gathered in London

for the first Pan-African Congress. Robin D.G. Kelley (1999), characterizing this

engagement with Africa as "transnational," has argued that African Americans have long

held a transnational vision, defining themselves as part of a larger international black

community- i.e., the African diaspora, for well over two centuries. Kelly (1999) writes,

that for African Americans, "…exploring various aspects of the 'black world' from

ancient times to the present-a world that encompassed Africa," (1046) was a natural part

of creating African American history. More recently, Felton O. Best (1995) gathered a

group of African American scholars together to write a series of essays against challenges

that blacks had lost their African culture in the travel through the Middle Passage. Essays

in his edited volume exemplify the African American transnational vision, while using

elements of this vision to fight against racial oppression home and abroad.

In using Kelley's idea of a transnational vision, it is important to clarify how

African Americans have developed an ongoing, transnational vision of Africa. Many

African Americans, descendents of forced migrants, look to Africa to know about their

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[2] For an interesting description of the Marcus Garvey movement in Harlem, "the most militant community in the black world" (Anderson 1981: 186) see Jervis Anderson's (1981) description of Garvey (a native Jamaican), his rise to popularity-which produced the largest black mass movement of the time, the controversies that surrounded this rise, and the subsequent outcome of the remainder of his life (121-127; 186-191).
[3] Several additional essays offer insightful details and analysis of the rise and substance of these movements. See Gordon 1977; Bair 1994; Campbell 1994; Lemelle 1994; Masilela 1994; Tongun 1994 and Van Deburg 1997.

past and develop a transnational consciousness to their ancestral home. This is especially important because African Americans have been historically excluded from American patriotism. Thus when Godfrey Hodgson (1976) writes, "There is an element of conscious choice and personal commitment about American patriotism that is exceptional" (487), he excludes African Americans. This choice is not intentional, nor is it unacknowledged. He goes on to say, "Every *white* American is either someone who voted with his feet to become an American, or is the descendent of someone who made that conscious and often arduous choice" (487, emphasis added). The contrast with black Americans is transparently obvious. Because of this history of systematic disenfranchisement from American nationalism, African Americans have maintained a prominent vision of Africa in their collective memory that is truly transnational.

Penny M. Von Eschen (1997) has characterized African American transnational engagement with Africa during the mid-twentieth century as anticolonialist. She argues that at mid-century, particularly during the 1940s, "…diaspora politics of this period stood in complex relationship to African nation-building projects" (3). During the twentieth century, as the continent of Africa went through vast political, social and economic changes, resulting in rapid political and cultural changes on the continent (Gordon 1977), African American engagement with Africa was often influenced by the contours of American foreign policy toward Africa. James Meriwether (2002) offers examples of African American efforts to influence U.S. foreign policy dating back to (at least) Benito Mussolini's 1935 attack on Ethiopia. Increasing political complexities in Africa turned the attention of all Americans, including African Americans to "…the parts

of Africa that seemingly offered few complications" (Meriwether 2002: 243). In the 1970s and 1980s, African American attention increasingly turned toward the power struggles in Rhodesia and South Africa, where African blacks fought against white minority regimes. The result according to Meriwether's (2002) analysis: "Concentrating on nations still engaged in liberation struggles as opposed to already independent countries enabled African Americans to continue building transatlantic bridges while finessing the task of addressing the complexities of contemporary Africa" (243-244). African Americans have a rich history of engagement with Africa that is evident in their collective memory. As Meriwether's analysis in particular suggests, the focus on particular events, ideas, and images can often serve both past and present interests. Throughout the twentieth century, African American engagement with Africa was impacted by American policy abroad.

African Americans are also influenced by American media depictions of Africa. These images often portray Africa as the "dark continent," uncivilized, or more romantically, exotic and earthy. The media, which only covers a small share of stories on Africa, highly saturates those stories that are covered with images of poverty, war and famine (Cohen 2001; Fair 1993). An example of this is the media coverage, and American involvement, in the Rwandan Genocide. The media and politicians largely stayed out of the conflict until the atrocities became too overpowering to ignore (Taylor 1999). American foreign policy, its implications and resultant media images and portrayals play a part in the ongoing construction of Africa in African American collective memory.

As Anise (1974) has argued, the place of Africa in the collective memory of

African Americans is complex and often impacts the relations between African

Americans and Africans[4]. Understanding the myriad of influences on African American

collective memory: the long history of engagement, both scholarly and otherwise, the

influence of American foreign policy, the impact of American media images, the ongoing

construction of Africa as a site of important racial power struggles, the incorporation of

African cultural customs and rituals into African American life, and many others, helps to

contextualize and understand the reaction of African Americans to black immigrants, and

adds an element of comparison between the reactions of African Americans to all

immigrants and those that are both racially black and African.

Nationalism

Nationalism is important to the construction of ethnic identity, since nationalism

is based on broadly conceived ethnic ties. African Americans have a unique situation in

terms of traversing the boundaries of multiple nationalisms: American nationalism,

African American nationalism and Pan-Africanism. As they attempt to grapple with a

growing eastern African community of immigrants, all of these nationalisms gain

importance in how they frame their discourse and action relative to eastern Africans. My

focus is on the reception of eastern Africans by African Americans, and multiple

conceptions of nationalism impact African American reception of black immigrants,

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[4] Similarly, the notion of immigration in African American collective memory has conflated the categories of black and immigrant and incorporated notions of African American nationalism as historically African American migration north often left African Americans themselves considered as "immigrants" (see for example Du Bois 1996[1899]: 79) and scholars have empirically examined the ability of African Americans to approximate the assimilation process of European immigrants in urban setting (Taeuber and Taeuber 1964).

particularly eastern Africans, as well as the place of Africa in the collective memory of African Americans.

Previously I discussed the definition of ethnic nationalism per Cornell and Hartmann (1998). Their definition is only one of possibly dozens upon dozens of formulations of nationalism. As with so many elusive concepts, there is no single, definitive characterization of nationalism, nor is there a single way to define, translate and apply it empirically (Anderson 1983). State-based definitions of nationalism proceed from the premise that national categories are constructed in large part from the partitioning of the world into national political states (Banton 1998). In this view nationalism is tied to citizenship. Those who predict a decline in the prominence of nation states, therefore also anticipate that nationalism will ultimately decline (Tilly 2002).

Others have found it useful to think of nationalism as a discourse or discursive tool (Calhoun 1997; Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001). As a discursive formulation, nationalism provides a dissonant political culture for the disempowered (Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001). This political culture provides the means through which, returning to Cornell and Hartmann (1998), the disempowered seek autonomy, unity and identity. Nationalism is also often linked to secessionist movements (Kymlicka 2001). Often for these and other political movements, nationalism is laden with racism (Balibar 1988).

Nationalism rests on the premise that the community of adherence to nationalism, be it a national, ethnic or some other, is "imagined." It is imagined because, "…the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet

them, or even hear them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion"

(Anderson 1983: 15).   In the very essence of nationalism is the recognition that both

nations and ethnic groups are small enough to produce a sustainable political (nationalist)

culture and too large to allow all members of the culture to know and interact with one

another.

In the American context, Gary Gerstle (2001) has argued that two prominent

nationalisms, civic and racial, have held continued influence in the United States since at

least the time of Theodore Roosevelt (where Gerstle's empirical analysis begins). Civic

nationalism consists of the combination of the nation's core political ideas: the belief in

human equality and the belief in individual rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of

happiness. The adherence to these rights, often resting on the notion that these beliefs are

bound by neither time nor place, constitutes a sort of political faith in the American

lexicon. Racial nationalism, on the other hand, "…conceives of American in ethnoracial

terms, as a people held together by common blood and skin color and by an inherited

fitness for self-government" (Gerstle 2001: 4). Gerstle (2001) points out that racial

nationalism was also instilled in the founding of the nation, as arguments over the

enslavement of Africans colored the writing of the Constitution. He notes the amazing

durability of both forms of nationalism throughout the twentieth century.

Using a fully inclusive database of communications from the Knights of Labor, a

labor organization at its height in the 1880s, Joseph Gerteis (2002) provides an interesting

empirical examination of the relationships between American nationalism as a discourse,

race and nativism. Gerteis (2002) argues that a tradition of republicanism exists in the

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United States. This tradition deeply imbued with notions of patriotism and the political

language of rights referred to by Gerstle (2001) as civic nationalist, was historically tied

to fraternal organizations, the Knights of Labor being but one example. According to

Gerteis' (2002) analysis, informed by the tradition of republicanism, in fact utilizing

republicanism as their primary schema for interpreting their economic structural position

and the ideals of democracy, the Knights of Labor made the resource of civic virtue

central in their class struggles. The possession of civic virtue, an ideological rather than

material resource, ensured workers the full enjoyment of their work, and accorded them

insulation from the power of alienation of labor under capitalism (Gerteis 2002). Though

not able to be precisely measured, civic virtue is in fact a measure of a group's

participation in civic nationalism. Gerteis (2002) finds that the Knights of Labor used

three separate narratives in their publication, two of which are instructive here.

According to his data, the Knights of Labor were able to unite white and black laborers[5]

while maintaining an immanently nativistic discourse against Asian and Southern

European immigrants. Because civic virtue was of utmost importance for the Knights of

Labor, whites and blacks could unite on the basis of their shared status as Americans.

Immigrants who could not participate in the democratic community posed a threat to a

"…distinctively American way of life" (Higham 1955: 4). Taken together with Gerstle's

(2001) insight that the United States has had a dual history of civic and racial

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[5] This is not to say that the Knights of Labor publications were without discriminatory and racist statements. As Gerteis (2002) notes, at the start of the 19th century, blacks were not thought to be capable of having civic virtue. By the 1880s, blacks were in a considerably different position, between Reconstruction and the onset of Jim Crow.

nationalism, Gerteis' (2002) work demonstrates how nationalism can be marshaled as a justification for either inclusion or exclusion.

Though it has interestingly been noted that there are very few, if any, examples of immigrant groups mobilizing behind nationalist movements (Kymlicka 2001), nationalism has important implications for immigrant reception, American identity and African Americans. Defining what constitutes African American nationalism is just as difficult as defining nationalism. Some scholars include the revitalization of black culture, the civil rights movement and more militant actions as black nationalism, though perhaps different forms (Jalata 2001). Black nationalism in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s took many forms and was expressed by different groups in different ways. As many theories of black nationalism have emerged as forms exist(ed). In one essay on black nationalism, Jeffrey Stout (2002) outlines thirty-five theses of black nationalism derived from the works of James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison alone! Raymond Hall's (1978) analysis of black separatism distinguishes between five forms of black nationalism: cultural nationalism, economic nationalism, bourgeois reformism, revolutionary Black nationalism and territorial separatism. He further notes that cultural nationalism comes in both thick and thin forms. The thick form takes not only the cultural apparatuses of Africa seriously, but incorporates an appreciation for these cultural forms with just as serious political forms.

A recent analysis of black nationalism argues that, "…from early 1968 to as late as 1975 the various politics of this movement provided the dominant ideological framework through which many young, poor and middle-classed blacks made sense of

their lives and articulated a political vision for their futures" (Glaude 2002: 1). This work

emphasizes the aspect of self-determination within the black nationalist movement as the

most salient theme that serves to unite the disparate strands. The revolutionary aspects of

black nationalism most vocally express(ed) this self-determination. For example, as

espoused by Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture) who felt that, "Black

America must have control of its political economy, life and culture in order to survive

and to fundamentally transform itself" (Jalata 2001: 49). This example clearly displays

the Cornell and Hartmann (1998) criteria for ethnic nationalism: desire for autonomy,

unity and identity. Given the importance of nationalism, it is instructive for consideration

in studies of immigration and race. This is especially important given that John Higham

(1955) argues that nativist sentiments rise and fall in relation to the ebb and flow of

nationalism.

Immigrant Reception by American Blacks

Most accounts of American nativism give little or cursory attention to blacks

(Curran 1975; Higham 1955). Research on the nineteenth century indicates that blacks

were in a precarious position compared to immigrants. According to Jay Rubin (1978),

even before the Civil War, blacks viewed immigrants from Europe with hostility, and

anti-immigrant sentiments appeared frequently in the antebellum black press. Rubin

(1978) further qualifies this observation by noting that the source of black nativism

varied greatly from the sources of traditional American nativism. Importantly, the anti-

Catholicism that motivated white antagonism toward many immigrants of the time was

virtually non-existent among the black population. Rather, blacks reacted against immigrant racism and the seeming economic advantages garnered by immigrants over themselves. In addition, black leaders had hoped that immigrants would join them in the struggle for freedom and racial justice, particularly because immigrants came from countries with traditionally less racism than the U.S. Instead, blacks, mostly free blacks, found themselves in economic competition with indifferent immigrants who often turned into racial oppressors themselves.

Arnold Shankman (1982) argues for the contextualization of African American lives between 1880 and 1935. After Reconstruction, African Americans were systematically disenfranchised by new state constitutions, poll taxes, literacy tests, grandfather clauses, and eight box laws. Lynching rates rose dramatically and scarcely a month passed at the turn of the century, which was not marred by half a dozen or more lynchings. Southern blacks were at the bottom of the economic structure. Within this environment, African Americans paid careful attention to the millions of immigrants from Europe, Asia, Mexico and Latin America who streamed into the United States. African Americans were often resentful of the unfair political treatment they received compared to immigrants (Shankman 1982). There is little doubt that in many instances employers favored Asian or Mexican immigrant workers over blacks. The Pullman Company, for example, hired relatively well-educated Filipino workers in the 1920s, partly in an effort to destroy A. Philip Randolph's attempts to organize black workers. Most black leaders during the seventy years after the Civil War supported the restrictionist movements (Fuchs 1990).

The years between 1924 and 1965 saw little discussion of immigration in the United States primarily because of immigration restrictions. The next surge of immigration brought pressure to curb immigration by the end of the late 1970s and early 1980s within both the white and black communities in the United States. Though research has suggested that the Black Caucus has remained arguably the most liberal block in congress with respect to immigration policy and the majority of articles published in the black press on immigration related subjects were nonrestrictionist by an approximate four-to-one ratio, survey research has been more ambivalent (Diamond 1998). Using a review of fourteen national opinion polls (the most recent as of July 1996), which included questions on immigration available to the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Jeffrey Diamond (1998) finds that while a substantial number of black Americans favor restricting immigration, the African Americans community as a whole is should not be characterized as restrictionist, especially compared to whites. On the other hand, when questions were phrased to raise the specific issue of the economic costs associated with immigration, African Americans were actually more restrictionist than whites, on average opposing immigration more than whites by more than five percentage points (Diamond 1998).

Black Immigrants: Becoming Black American?

Recent black immigrants have been noted to impact the economic situation of African Americans. Waters (1999b) notes that even low-skilled, uneducated black immigrants fare better in the American economic system than analogous African

Americans. In her case study, she concludes the reasons for this are largely structural and include the widespread use of network hiring, employer discrimination in favor of immigrants and immigrant tendency to value low-level jobs more than African Americans. She also notes that whites often attribute the differential outcomes to negative traits of African Americans, a tendency that conservative academic Thomas Sowell (1978) has also followed. Sowell (1978) claims that based on the higher earnings of black immigrants, the "cultural traditions" of American-born blacks are responsible for impeding their economic progress. However, different outcomes for native-born and immigrant blacks may have more to with differences between those who migrate and those who do not (Butcher 1994). In addition, African Americans often view the success of black and other immigrant groups as proof of just how much the odds are stacked against them (Kymlicka 2001). Though native-born blacks find themselves economically impacted by immigration, their relationships with black immigrants are complicated. According to the research on Caribbean immigrants conducted by Philip Kasinitz (1992), these immigrants are deeply ambivalent about being favored by whites over native-born blacks. They resent white attempts to differentiate them from African Americans. However, Kasinitz (1992) notes that this tendency has helped them to express ethnicity and race in their own terms. The idea being that, favoritism by whites pushes black immigrants to retain ethnic distinctiveness in an effort to distance themselves from the economic implications of succumbing to the pull of segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993). What about the reaction of native-born blacks to this resistance? How do native-born blacks receive black immigrants in this context? African Americans are

aware that black immigrants both emulate African American culture, a phenomenon that would lead to and increased likelihood of segmented assimilated while simultaneously distancing themselves from African Americans for economic and cultural preservation.

Since African Americans are usually juxtaposed against immigrants as economic rivals, the story gets hazier when the immigrants are themselves also blacks. As far back as 1939, Ira Reid (1969[1939]) noted that black immigration was given little attention in the numerous works on American immigration policies and problems. Writing in 1972, Roy Simon Bryce-Laporte stated that the immigrant experiences of blacks to America had yet to be fully explored and observed that their cultural impact as foreigners had generally been ignored. His discussion has several important contributions of relevance here. First, it counters the notion that black immigrants come from non-racist societies. Instead he notes that black immigrants often subscribe to the notion that their former societies are class divided in an attempt to escape the stigma and mistreatment directed at native blacks. Second, Bryce-Laporte (1972) remarks that black immigrants are likely to suffer from shock and anguish when they first arrive in the United States. They are not prepared to visualize the size, movement, complexity and anonymity of urban America. Within the context of home, work and ethnic enclaves, they undergo the first stage of resocialization. America is a place of prohibitions as well as promises. Third, he notes that there is a convergence between institutional racism and socioeconomic political inequality. Immigrants increasingly break barriers and demolish stereotypes, but whites attribute this to their foreign backgrounds. Fourth, he notes the immense pressures for black immigrants to be black Americans and less African, West Indian, etc. This

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conformity is expected not so much in culture as in their political attitudes toward the "generalized others" who are conceived of as "non-blacks" or "white" in North American terms. This observation leads him to argue that black immigrants operate-as blacks and immigrants- in the U.S. under more levels of cross-pressure, multiple affiliations and inequalities than either native blacks or European immigrants (Bryce-Laporte 1972). In one form or another, these issues remain salient for black immigrants to the United States. The issues are further impacted by gender as Paule Marshall (1987) observes; if the black immigrant's experience in the United States is one of invisibility, then "…the West Indian immigrant woman might be said to suffer from a triple invisibility as Black, a foreigner, and a woman" (87).

Mary Waters (1999a), writing about the contemporary experiences of West Indian immigrants in New York, finds that the West Indian cultural response, both the culture of being West Indian and of simply being an immigrant, to black-white race relations helps foster social mobility for many first generation immigrants. Specifically, three components to West Indians' racial identities and understandings of race are important: 1) lack of an oppositional identity, 2) the expectation of structural racism and 3) the low expectation of interpersonal racism. She notes that the immigrants are far from naïve about the degree of racial discrimination they expect to encounter and there is a widespread belief among blacks, native-born and immigrant alike, that mobility beyond a certain point is blocked for people with black skin, regardless of nativity. In her study, Waters (1999a) finds that black immigrants come to terms with American racism through their experience of interpersonal prejudice. She writes, "The immigrants have to learn

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for the first time that race in the United States is not just about intergroup conflict over societal rewards, which is what they had expected, but many whites simply do not see a black person as a human being" (Waters 1999a: 171). She discusses three main consequences to West Indians resulting from their view of American race relations. First, their different understandings of structural and interpersonal racism contribute to their tensions with black Americans. Second, their different ways of dealing with race relations lead both to increased chances of social mobility for some and increased chances of bitter disappointment for others. Finally, over time they become more like African Americans and their approach to race relations begins to change.

Empirical research has shown that, reflecting Barth's (1969) three choices for marginal groups coming into contact with dominant cultures, some black immigrants, especially second-generation, often high school aged, readily adopt aspects of African American culture while others assert a hyphenated ethnic/American identity, while still others maintain an immigrant identity that stresses their national origins and the culture and experiences of their parents (Stepick 1998; Kasinitz, Battle and Miyares 2001; Stepick et al. 2001). This struggle often creates an identity paradox for immigrants who use shifting identity markers (Haitian, American, African American, etc.) in different situations depending on the context (Waters 1994; Stepick et al. 2001).

Post-September 11th anti-immigrant sentiment has created special difficulties for many immigrants, including East Africans in the Twin Cities (Boyle and Songora 2004). This has been especially the case for immigrants of color and Muslim immigrants. On a national level, Arab and Muslim organizations described the "chilling effect" that

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national strategies to regulate terrorism have had on community members (Lawyers Committee for Human Rights 2003). On a local level, some Somali Muslims in the Twin Cities were often the targets of civilian attacks after September 11[th.] Furthermore, even incidents unrelated to the September 11th attacks have become ammunition for nativist sentiments to emerge. A highly contested March 2002 shooting of a mentally ill Somali man, who was wielding a machete down a busy Minneapolis city street, elicited heated commentary by advocates within the Somali community, as well as from more conservative commentators in the Twin Cities. The shooting was a hot topic for days afterwards, and a popular local radio morning show solicited pubic and community reactions. The March 18, 2002 show included public comments, from local callers, such as the following[6]:

> …these people come over to our countries, learn our rules, learn our
> language and, you know, there's no problems. You don't, this is America,
> you gotta learn our rules. This is a number one problem we have as law
> enforcement people that we have people from Mexico, people from
> Somalia, Kenya, Nigeria, all coming over here, not wanting to learn the
> language, we pull them over, we do whatnot, and it ends up being a
> confrontation 'cause they do not understand why they're being pulled over
> or what's going on, and we're trying to be as reasonable as possible with
> them and these kind uh things will happen and its gonna continue to
> happen and then all of a sudden the community, the Somali community,

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[6] This citation comes from a transcript I made of the KQRS morning show; St. Paul, MN.

thinks that we're a bunch of bad guys that are out to get them, well… and,

like you said, they learn our rules and customs and we wouldn't be out to

get 'em…

Here, the commentator worries about immigrants' ability to learn America's language, rules and customs. Even though the direct commentator is not African American, both African American and white radio personalities participate in and moderate these debates on this particular program. The utility of this commentary is that it is an *American* notion, and this America incorporates native-born blacks. The worry expressed by the caller is really about immigrant assimilation into American nationality and identity. African American assimilation into national identity has historically been precarious at best, but in the wake of the September 11th attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., the rallying call "United We Stand" emerged as a centerpiece for American identity, ideologically incorporating both whites and native born blacks.

African Americans, the descendants of a large group of involuntary migrants, have and remain the historical and contemporary foil against which immigrant success, assimilation and status is often measured. Thus, African American-immigrant relations have garnered much scholarly and popular attention. Within the Twin Cities, the emergence of a large East African, racially black, immigrant and refugee population presents a unique circumstance for the merging of issues of immigration, race relations, late twentieth century nativism and African American-immigrant relations.

In her research, Mary Waters (1999a) comments that West Indian immigrants often have preconceived, demeaning stereotypes of American blacks, usually obtained

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vis-à-vis the media. She writes that these images are often of "…the underclass, including drugs, broken families, and criminality" (Waters 1999a: 48). Thus, many black immigrants realize that the dominant perception of American blacks is negative and that African Americans have a low status. They often strive to maintain their identity as "Haitian," "Jamaican," "Somali," etc. However, as Tekle Woldemikael (1985) finds in his work on the racial identities of Haitian immigrants, a rejection of black American identity does not equal a rejection of blackness. Black immigrant resistance to classification as African American is often a source for inter-ethnic conflict. Though inter-ethnic conflict between African Americans and Latino and Asian immigrants has recently been the center of much academic scholarship (Oliver and Johnson 1984; Johnson, Farrell and Guinn 1997; Sánchez 1997; Bergesen and Herman 1998), little of this work has examined conflicts between African Americans and black immigrants, and most of the work that has examines how black immigrants differentiate themselves from African Americans (Waters 1999a; Benson 2006). The increasingly nonwhite composition of recent immigrants to the United States and the attendant problems this poses for immigrant incorporation into the host society has emerged as a dominant theme in recent immigration studies (Morawska 2008). Recent scholarship examines how African immigrants experience assimilation and navigate racial identities in the black-white American racial hierarchy (Guenther, Pendaz and Makene forthcoming; Chacko 2003; Kusow 2006; Dosi, Rushubirwa and Myers 2007). While this work is important in accounting for eastern African assimilation experiences, no other work has examined the

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inter-relationship of African Americans and eastern African immigrants from the

perspective of African American's reception of immigrants specifically.

Chapter 3: Demographics, Methodology and Data Collection

Twin Cities Demographics

The Twin Cities are a distinctly important locale for my research interests for several reasons. First, while voluntary black African migration to the United States has existed since the abolition of slavery in 1865, such immigration was intermittent. After 1965, African immigration picked up, but was largely comprised of students and professionals (Takougang 1995). Today's East African immigrants, by contrast, are mostly refugees and asylees. Secondly, with a few notable exceptions (see especially Arthur 2000; Stoller 2002; Chacko 2003; Kusow 2006; Dosi, Rushubirwa and Myers 2007) most recent studies of black immigrants to the United States have focused on those from the Caribbean (Woldemikael 1989; Kasinitz 1992; Waters 1999a). No studies have focused exclusively on the multi-faceted dimensions of African immigrant incorporation from the perspective of African Americans, especially by focusing on African American collective memory. In that sense, this study is an essential scholarly contribution and the Twin Cities locale is a highly appropriate research site.

Since much of the literature on immigration and, thus immigrant-native born population relations, has focused on port-of-entry, global cities, like Los Angeles, New York, and Miami, or on Southwestern states that have typically been the recipients of high numbers of Latino/a immigrants, my study's focus on one of several immigrant communities in the Midwest is also an additional empirical contribution. Although these areas have not historically received large numbers of non-white immigrants, recent demographic studies reveal that several states in the Midwest, including Minnesota, have

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increasingly become a primary destination for refugee resettlement agencies, as well as for migrating Latino/as and other immigrants (Johnson, Johnson-Webb and Farrell 1999). In addition, since a large proportion of the eastern African population in the Twin Cities practices Islam, eastern Africans are simultaneously racialized by religion and the racial forms of identity that structure American society, creating an important dynamic between the largely Christian African American community and eastern Africans (Naber 2000).

Eastern African Immigrants to the Twin Cities

In the last decade, immigration has accounted for at least a quarter of the growth in America's black population (Logan and Deane 2003). However, prior to the 1980s, African immigration to the United States was relatively minimal and most often consisted of students (Takougang 1995; Boyle and Songora 2004). Since the early 1990s, most eastern African immigrants, including those from Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and the Sudan, have arrived in the US as refugees or asylum seekers.

The Twin Cities area is home to the largest Somali community in the US, and is also among the top American receiving areas for other eastern African immigrants (Ronnigen 2003; Frazer 2005). While the US Census Bureau cites much lower figures, social service organizations working with eastern Africans estimate that there are as many as 50,000 Somalis in Minnesota, with the highest concentration in the Twin Cities metro area (Peterson 2001; League of Women Voters 2002). This information was also verified during my interview with a representative from the League of Women Voters: "…we were very pleased to see that the Somali(s) who were working on that also felt that our information that we had in publication was accurate and what they wanted to pass

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on" (August 11, 2003). At least 27,000 African born immigrants arrived in Minneapolis and St. Paul in the 1990s, and over 30,000 Somalis were admitted to the US from 1991-2003 (Ruggles et al. 2004). Minnesota officials estimate that there are about half as many Ethiopians as Somalis, and even fewer Eritreans and Sudanese (Ronnigen 2003). While the exact numbers of eastern Africans living in the Twin Cities remains somewhat elusive due to contradictory sources of information, the 2000 census reports that Africans and native-born African Americans alike are counted as part of the black population, "The term 'Black or African American' refers to people having origins in any of the Black race groups of Africa. It includes people who reported 'Black, African Am., or Negro' or wrote in entries such as African American, Afro American, Nigerian, or Haitian" (McKinnon 2001). Thus, when the 2000 census reports that 4.1% of the population of Minnesota is black, this includes African Americans and those who reported eastern African ancestry and origins in the Horn of Africa.

African Americans in the Twin Cities

Most of the 4.1% (roughly 218,000 persons) black Minnesotan population resides in the Twin Cities Metropolitan area, with few blacks living in the northern and western areas of the state. A large number of Minnesota blacks live in Hennepin and Ramsey counties. In Hennepin County, blacks and African Americans account for about 10% of the population and in Ramsey County they account for approximately 9% (McMurry 2008). Cities with the largest percentage of African Americans include Minneapolis (18%), St. Paul (12%), Brooklyn Park (14%) and Brooklyn Center (14%). Chart 1 shows the distribution of population by race in Minneapolis as an example of the larger context

within which the racial dynamics between African Americans and eastern Africans are situated.

The national average of growth in the black population from 2000 to 2007 was 8%, in Minnesota the growth rate was 28%. Twenty-nine percent (29%) of black Minnesotans are foreign born. Between 2000 and 2007, the native born black population in Minnesota went up 17%, whereas the rise in the foreign born black population was 119% (McMurry 2008). The rapidly changing and growing black population in Minnesota creates a unique situation whereby the black community has diversified by nationality and religion.

Chart 1: Racial Composition of Minneapolis, 2000

Racial Composition, All Ages, Minneapolis, 2000

Other 4.1%
Two or More Races 4.4%
Asian or Pacific Islander 6.2%
Hispanic / Latino ethnicity (any race) = 7.6%
American Indian 2.2%
White only, not Hispanic or Latino = 62.5%
Black/African American 18.0%
White 65.1%
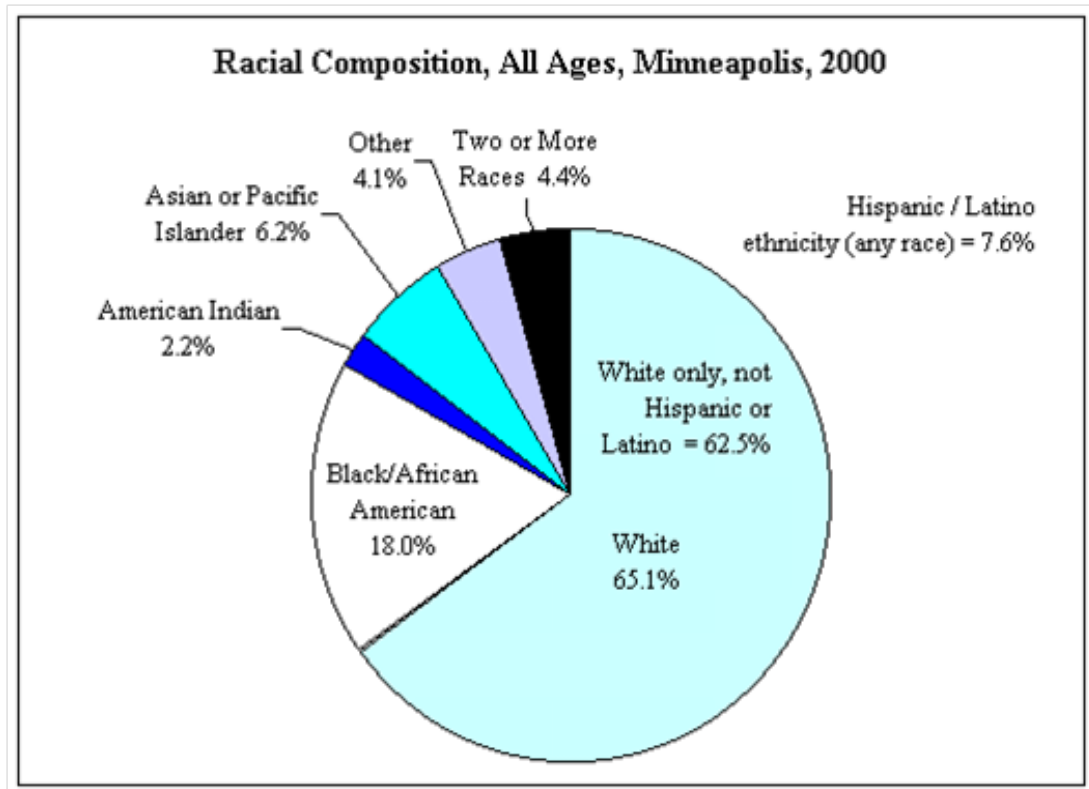
During the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the African American population in

Minnesota had increased rapidly as a result of internal migration within the United States,

mostly from the South and north-central states. From 1950 to 1970, the African

American population in Minnesota grew 153%, with the most substantial growths in

Minneapolis (436%) and St. Paul (388%). The reasons for this exponential growth may

be attributed to several factors, such as a liberal racial climate in Minnesota, employment

opportunities, generous public assistance programs and progressive legislation, in

addition, the Twin Cities had been identified as a training ground for black professional,

technical and managerial people employed be national and international corporations

head-quartered here. Despite this, there is little evidence that the Twin Cities were

proportionately less racially discriminatory than other northern cities and by 1970 only

18% of the population was in employed in professional, technical, managerial or

administrative positions, and a large number of blacks were absorbed in the service and

menial sector of the economy (Taylor 2002). Understanding the contemporary and

historical situation of black Minnesotans involves understanding the growth, dynamics

and general historical trends within the native born and foreign born populations from the

1950s through the present.

Interview Data Collection

There are three sources of interview data utilized in my dissertation. The first is a

collection of interviews conducted with eastern Africans. The second is a collection of

interviews I conducted with community workers who work in social service capacities

with the eastern African and/or African American communities. Lastly, comprising the majority of my data analysis is a collection of interviews I conducted with African Americans.

Eastern African Interviewees

In Chapter 5 of my dissertation I use several interviews with eastern African immigrants that were collected as a part of a collaborative project I worked on ("Home Binds"). I participated in the collection of this data and am very familiar with its content. First, I helped design and periodically re-evaluate the entire interview schedule. Second, I specifically designed a section of questions on racial issues and affirmative action in the US to correspond with my interview schedule with African Americans. Third, I attended community events and made contacts for interviews through these events and through several organizations that help with refugee resettlement.

The sampling strategy of eastern Africans attempts to capture the diversity of eastern African immigrants in the Twin Cities, including variations in nationality, religion, education, age and gender. To accomplish this, we utilized a target sampling and recruited respondents by visiting eastern African neighborhoods and enclaves, English as a Second Language classes, community centers, fairs and other community events, and immigrant-owned or operated stores and shopping malls. We also recruited respondents through personal networks, other respondents and at conferences and community/neighborhood meetings. Our sampling strategy thus involved both snowball and convenience sampling.

Between 2001 and 2004, we interviewed a total of 87 eastern Africans residing in the Twin Cities metropolitan area. Table 1 reviews the characteristics of our sample as reported by respondents through a brief questionnaire completed at the beginning of each interview. Our sample includes 41 men (47 percent) and 46 women (53 percent). The age of respondents ranges from 19 to 78 with a median of 35. Our interviewees have been in the US from on to thirty years, with an average length of time in the US of just under seven years.

The nationalities of our interviewees, although not exactly parallel to population estimates, approximate the distribution of different nationalities in the Twin Cities. Approximately 64 percent of eastern African immigrants in the Twin Cities are Somali and 27 percent are Ethiopian (Boyle and Songora 2004). Fifty-seven (66 percent) of respondents are Somali. Eighteen (21 percent) are from Ethiopia. Both Somalia and the Sudan have Muslim majorities, while Eritrean and Ethiopia have large minority Muslim populations. The other major religions in these countries are various forms of Christianity, with traditional religions practiced by 10 percent or less of the total population (Horn of African News Agency 2000). Our sample is 69 percent Muslim and 31 percent Christian.

Table 1: Eastern African Respondents' Nationality, Religion, and Educational Attainment by Gender

	Men N=41 (47%)	Women N=46 (53%)
Nationality		
Somalis	24 (59%)	33 (72%)
Ethiopians	11 (27%)	7 (15%)
Eritreans	4 (10%)	5 (11%)
Sudanese	2 (5)	1(2%)
Religion		
Muslims	28 (69%)	32 (70%)
Christians	10 (24%)	13 (28%)
Other/No religion	3 (7%)	1 (2%)
Education		
No formal education	1 (2%)	9 (20%)
Elementary	2 (5%)	4 (9%)
GED/High School	21 (51%)	14 (30%)
AA/AS	4 (10%)	5 (11%)
BA/BS	8 (20%)	9 (20%)
MA/MS	3 (7%)	2 (4%)
PhD	2 (5%)	0

Table 1 also includes data on educational attainment. This reveals that a substantial proportion of respondents have very limited education. Forty (40) percent of interviewees have only a high school degree or less and less than one third have a bachelor's degree or more. Women are less well educated than men: nearly 30% of women in this sample did not even complete high school. Respondents with lower levels of education generally arrived in the US illiterate and unable to speak any English.

Interviews were conducted in English, Somali and/or Swahili. Interviews not conducted in English were later translated during transcription. The interviews were conducted by Somali undergraduates and a Tanzanian graduate student. During the interviews, which generally lasted between 90 and 120 minutes, respondents answered open-ended questions in six-general areas: family status and relationships, citizenship,

law, race relations, religion, and political participation. While respondents would occasionally ask for clarification about the meanings of terms or concepts, interviewers encouraged them to base their responses on, and/or to explain, their own understandings of terms or concepts. The only exception was when respondent were provided with a short definition of affirmative action during questions about their attitudes toward such programs.[7]

African American Interviewees

The bulk of my interview data and the primary analysis of Chapters 5 and 6 (and used as secondary evidence in Chapter 4) is from a series of interviews I conducted in two batches from 2002 to 2006.[8] These interviews were with African Americans and I recruited and interviewed them myself. I interviewed a total of 56 African Americans. Twenty (36%) of these interviews were conducted between July of 2002 and February 2003, while the remaining thirty-six interviews (64%) were conducted between April of 2006 and August of 2006. I specifically designed the interview schedule for these interviews (see Appendix A).

Similar to the sampling strategy of eastern Africans, the sampling of African Americans attempts to capture the diversity of the African American population in the Twin Cities, including variations in religion, occupation, education, age, gender, political orientation and place of residence in the Twin Cities. To accomplish this, I utilized a

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[7] From July 2003 through November 2003, I interviewed 9 persons who work with refugee resettlement and/or social services within the eastern African, African American and/or other immigrant and native-born communities in the Twin Cities ("community workers"). These ranged from local food shelves, the League of Women Voters, Lutheran Social Services, Catholic Charities and other local housing and social service organizations. These interviews are used somewhat sparingly within my dissertation.

[8] To conduct this research, I had IRB approval for all interviews and obtained the appropriate consent. My University of Minnesota IRB study number is 0503P68021.

target sampling and recruited respondents by visiting/observing at

community/neighborhood meetings, drug rehabilitation programs/halfway houses and

contact with cultural, religious, educational, police and political organizations.[9] I made

explicit effort to capture a diversity of interviewees and made explicit effort to not

exclude potential populations, such as young African American males who have a high

rate of incarceration. In this vein, I attended community meetings at some drug

rehabilitation centers and halfway houses and some of the interviewees I recruited from

these sites, as a consequence, fell into that demographic. Mostly I was interested,

however, in capturing a diversity of opinions from the African American community, but

sought to speak with individuals who were vested in the community, as a community, and

those with more a peripheral relationship to the African American community. As such, I

sought out all sorts of African American community organizations and made contacts and

did participant observations during their meetings to garner interviewees. This was

important, because as I elaborate below, I also talked to public officials/community

leaders, but wanted to understand how average citizen members of the African American

community viewed the construction of ethnic identity vis-à-vis the questions I was

asking. I also recruited respondents through personal networks, other respondents and at

restaurants and shopping centers. My sampling strategy involved both snowball and

convenience sampling.

　　　My sampling was explicit in targeting a population I defined as "public figures."

These are people who hold a political office (or have in the recent past), are high-level

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[9] I tried, through repeated attempts, to recruit a member of the local Nation of Islam for an interview. I had several phone conversations with their leadership and mail correspondences during the summer of 2006, but eventually this did not lead to a successful interview.

journalists and/or academics. Eleven (20 %) of my fifty-six interviewees were public

officials. The analytical importance of this distinction is that these are persons who can

be called upon as community experts, at least in terms of a perceived representation of

the African American community. Diamond (1998) has noted a disjuncture between the

views expressed by such public figures toward immigration issues and those persons

economically disadvantaged by the labor market within the African American

community. Diamond's (1998) research was based on statistical analyses of public

opinion polls, while my methods allow for a more in-depth exploration. In general,

researchers acknowledge the importance of the distinction between experts and non-

experts on community issues (Luborsky and Rubinstein 1995). Recruitment of the

elected officials amongst my public figures sample was a bit different than my general

sampling and recruitment strategy. I compiled a list of former and current African

American elected officials in the Twin Cities and called them or their assistants directly

to arrange interviews. My response rate was roughly 50% using this method of contact.

Table 2 details the political orientation, religion and educational attainment by

gender among my respondents. The age range of my interviewees was between 20 and

69, with the median age being 38. Three of my female respondents refused to provide

their age. Religion is classified into two main categories, Muslim, which indicates

practicing traditional Islam and Christianity, which includes Catholicism. Other

encompasses, non-religious, Jewish, Jehovah's Witnesses and those who "acknowledge

all religions."

One aim of representativeness within my sampling strategy was to represent a diversity of views in terms of multiple factors of life in the Twin Cities, and thus because of the combination of my recruitment of public/non-public figures along with my employment of targeted, convenience and snowball sampling, created a data base with an over-representation of highly educated (BA or better) persons within my interviewee population. In addition, the end of my sampling time frame resulted in a slight over-sampling of men because two of my recruiting sites were male-orientated drug rehabilitation programs and many of the program participants/residents wanted to be interviewed, which I accommodated until I felt the interview data began to reach a saturation point. Two of these interviews were conducted in group sessions (one had two interviewees; one had three interviewees). Occupations amongst my interviewees spanned a wide-range from University Deans and elected officials to unemployed, data entry specialists, child-care workers and everything in between. I have noted occupations in my analysis when appropriate.

Table 2: African American Respondents' Political Orientation, Religion, and Educational Attainment by Gender

	Men N=31 (55%)	Women N=25 (45%)
Political Orientation		
Democratic	14 (45%)	16 (64%)
Republican	3 (10%)	0
Other Preference	2 (7%)	1 (4%)
No Preference	12 (39%)	8(32%)
Religion		
Muslims	1 (3%)	0
Christians	16 (52%)	18 (72%)
Other/No religion	14 (45%)	7 (28%)
Education		
Elementary	4 (13%)	0
GED/High School	13 (42%)	4(16%)
AA/AS	2 (6.5%)	7(28%)
BA/BS	6 (19%)	10(40%)
MA/MS	2 (6.5%)	2(8%)
PhD/JD	4 (13%)	2(8%)

Interview Data Analysis

In-depth interviews are particularly useful in uncovering how individuals understand broader structural changes. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews also provide an opportunity to "give voice" to a diversity of populations (Ragin 1994). The use of semi-structured interviews allowed me to ask questions specific to my research interests, while encouraging respondents to address issues they felt were especially important along a number of dimensions.

Rather than treating interviewees as passive subjects, I encouraged them to tell stories they thought were significant. To this end, my interviews emphasized the conversational nature of the interview experience and this allowed for deviations from leading interview questions when appropriate (Rubin and Rubin 1995). Because of this,

there were rare interviews where we did not get through the entire interview schedule or where I allowed the flow of conversation to dictate the order of questions asked, rather than following the ordering of the questions on the schedule to emphasize the conversational nature of our interactions. I revisited my questions repeatedly throughout the data collection period and when topics reached a saturation point, I de-emphasized their importance on the interview schedule and only asked them if they came up as salient through our conversations of if time allowed. This is an important notation because in Chapter 6, the majority of the data analysis focuses on the first phase (2002-2003) of interviews because the patterns of responses to affirmative action questions had clearly emerged and begun to be reiterated and thus I had concluded that a saturation point and took the approach I describe above. Also in Chapter 6, where I elaborate on my analysis of my interviewees interpretations of affirmative action, the questions that I asked interviewees were purposefully set-up as a proxy or indicator of African American interpretations who could potentially have access to African American ethnic identity, or not. In other words, I devised and developed the questions, and set up the questions to ask my interviewees to define affirmative action in their own words first, and then to interpret the policy and push them on who could be included as potential beneficiaries, so as to understand their generation of group boundaries, and the reflection of their interpretation of African American collective identity through that generation of group boundaries, in their articulation of the intent, meaning and very definition of the policy (see Appendix A).

Race-of-interviewer effects were an important factor in my interviews, since I am white and my interviewees were black (Rhodes 1994; Davis 1997). This was an issue of occasional discussion before, during or after my interviews, but was often dispelled through discussion with the interviewees, especially as we discussed the genesis of my interest in the project. Whether or not that signaled trust with the interviewees may be impossible to fully ascertain. Mitchell Duneier (1999) discusses cross-racial qualitative research with particular regard to achieving trust and rapport. He argues that full trust is neither achievable (not only in research but in *any* human relationship) nor necessarily a prerequisite for uncovering the way that social processes structure people's lives. In addition, matching the race of interviewer to the race of interviewee is not always a problem-less situation, for example, Ruth Frankenberg (1993) describes some of the struggles she encountered as a white woman trying to interview white women on racial issues.

Newspaper Data Collection

For the newspaper data analysis, which comprises the main portion of the data analysis for Chapter 4, I have sampled every third year from the *Minneapolis Spokesman* between the years of 1965 and 2001, so that the years 1965, 1969, 1971, 1977, 1986, 1989, 1992, 1995, 1998 and 2001 were sampled.[10] 1965 was selected as the starting year to approximate the Civil Rights and Immigration legislation that frames the affirmative action analysis in Chapter 6. The data set consists of all issues from each of these years.

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[10] The years 1980 and 1983 were missing from my source for data collection, The Minnesota Historical Society.

I read through and applied a systematic coding scheme to all of the articles, looking for

references to immigration, Africa, specific African countries, as well as comments about

other ethnic immigrant/groups such as Latinos and Asians. I not only examined the

articles, but also the society pages, the sports pages, the cartoons, the advertisements, the

church news sections and any extra inserts in the papers. In addition, I asked my some of

my interviewees about the contemporary relevance of the newspaper in their lives and

interviewed the editor of the newspaper.

Publication of the *Spokesman* occurs once every week, on Thursdays. Each issue

is between eight and twelve pages in length. To generate the final sample, I first pre-

tested the newspaper by looking at twelve months total, one for each month of the year

(January through December), to see if there were any qualitative differences what issues

contained by month. With the exception of December, which often ran quite a large

quantity of extra Christmas advertising, there were no noticeable qualitative differences

between particular months in a year. There were occasional supplements printed with

certain months, but these seemed to rotate to different months with a regular pattern, so

that not every month each year contained supplements, but if April and March contained

a supplement in 1971, for instance, May and June contained one for 1972, and so forth.

Sampling the data in this manner, to capture 1/3rd of the newspaper content from

1965 to 2001 offered some advantages, such as the ability to follow stories in their

capacity from a (relative) beginning to end, or at least capture trade-offs and back-and-

forth narrations between the events. This was particularly important in my analysis of

editorial comments and letters to the editor. Because the analysis I engage in my

dissertation is a community-level assessment of African Americans' notion of collective identity, these interactional narrative were especially important to my analysis. It was important for my sampling to be a systematic pattern of capturing 1/3rd of the data over my time period rather than an event-driven analysis so that I could demonstrate the collective trends over time. These patterns are discussed in Chapter 4 both in terms of quantitative trends, but also in terms of narrative themes that signal a real shift in the overall tone and content of portrayals of Africa. Especially since I am using the data to demonstrate a foreground within which the interpretations of African Americans' receptions of eastern African immigrants takes place, the general trends are more important to this analysis than specific reactions to a startling or important event.

The *Minneapolis Spokesman* is the longest running black newspaper in the Twin Cities of Minnesota. It is still in production. This made the *Minneapolis Spokesman* the best candidate from among the various black newspaper publications in the Twin Cities over my designated time frame (Henritze 1995; Danky and Hady 1998). Additionally, in an oral history of African Americans in St. Paul, one biographer testified that back issues of black magazines and newspapers were kept in local barbershops so that old articles could be found; he cites *Ebony, Jet* and the *Spokesman Recorder* as the publications that reflected positive and accurate images about African Americans and were commonly found (Cavett 2005). Both longevity and relevance made the *Minneapolis Spokesman* an ideal candidate for analysis.

Using Newspapers for Analysis

Gunnar Myrdal, in his classic 1944 work, *An American Dilemma,* "…whites are ambivalent in their beliefs since they frequently speak of the Negroes [sic] as docile, subservient and dull. The tendency is exaggerated partly because white newspapers give relatively little news about Negroes other than crime concerns…" (957). Because of this, blacks often created their own newspapers that reflected more concerns of the African American communities. Some recent scholarship has used ethnic and black presses[11] to construct arguments about how collective identities and attitudes are articulated using narratives (Blau and Brown 2001; Weiner 2009). However, the use of newspapers as a source to identify community-level thought is not without its problems. For example, the attitudes reflected in the press tend to mirror more middle-class attitudes than a diverse set of attitudes and beliefs within the community. Some research has also found a distinct split between the views expressed in the black press and those drawn from public opinion polls (Diamond 1998).

Somewhat in contrast to the disjuncture found by Diamond (1998), other scholars have argued that the ethnic press can "assure the continuation of the ethnic society. Thus on the one hand it promotes the full and equal participation of the ethnic community within the larger order at the same time it encourages retention of the distinctiveness that differentiates the community from the dominant society" (Wynar and Wynar 1976: 19).

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[11] The term "ethnic press" most commonly refers to immigrant presses themselves, but many of the works on ethnic and black presses I consulted, and have sited throughout this section, do classify black presses as a form of ethnic press. See also Dann 1971; Miller 1987 and Wolseley 1990 for more discussion on this topic and for more general discussion of the black press in United States history. In the 1976 *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States* lists a section for the "Black American Press," but claims its size is too large to be listed within the confines of that particular volume. Most publications acknowledge that the Black Press is an ethnic press, but it straddles a fine line between joining this group and being an entity entirely unto itself.

Ethnic presses will remain in existence as long as the needs of the readers are not fulfilled within the framework of the existing social institutions and as long as their concerns are not voiced in the pages of the dominant press (Wynar and Wynar 1976). In line with this claim, I argue that the Black Press is a place where the interests of the black community are articulated. Ethnic presses often have a specific intent to act as the "principle agent by which the identity, cohesiveness, and structure of an ethnic community are preserved and perpetuated. It is by providing this sense of shared identity and common consciousness that the entire press serves as the cementing element within the community (Wynar and Wynar 1976: 18). By way of example, the 1998 edition (as well as others in the 1990s) of the *Minneapolis Spokesman* bear the epithets on the front page of, "Serving the Community in Press for 64 Years," and "The First Choice For Community News."

Ethnic, and particularly African American newspapers, are important sources of "narrative framing strategies" (Blau and Brown 2001: 223), and the influence of ethnic presses has been prominent for analyses of African American historical life as well as prominent historical immigration studies (Thomas, Znaniecki and Zaretsky 1995). Newspaper data help to establish the political and cultural schemas (Sewell 1992; Gerteis 2007) that characterize the collective representations of Africa utilized by African Americans throughout the time period of study. Blau and Brown (2001) argue that examining the schemas (what they call, as noted above, "narrative framing strategies), is more useful than trying to make a direct link between text and public opinion, while also arguing that "…the black press was the vehicle for narratizing practices and helping to shape an expanding community consciousness" (222). African American presses have

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served to help disseminate the ideas of elites to the broader community, thus newspapers try to balance local news, human-interest material, sensational stories, as well as to capture a similar balance between editorials and prominent columnists (Meriwether 2002).

The Minneapolis Spokesman: History and Context

In 1934, both the *Minneapolis Spokesman* and its sibling publication, the *Saint Paul Recorder* were founded. Cecil E. Newman, a former Pullman car operator, who worked on several newspapers staffs before starting his own paper, edited and founded both papers. The two merged to become the *Minneapolis Spokesman-Recorder* in 2000. Newman was the editor throughout the majority of my sample and his editorship was influential throughout the time period and beyond.

Newman reflected the need for commentary on the black community that was separate from that offered by whites, and that could serve as a source of pride for the black community. L.E. Leipold (1969) writes, quoting Newman himself:

'Publishing the news about our Negro community raised our morale,' he declared vehemently. 'It made us feel that we were really a part of the big city. It also showed the white population that we were responsible citizens with our own rights. It helped them to understand us. My newspapers became an instrument of force, a means of hitting both sides at the same time' (8-7).

Newman was also active in the labor movement in Minneapolis, and he was able to translate some of his union experiences into political power (Delton 2002). He also

was able to use his multiple positions to positively impact the lives of African Americans in Twin Cities, helping local blacks get job, for example (Delton 2002; Cavett 2005). Newman, like several other African Americans living in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area at the time, "saw the labor movement as a way to integrate themselves into mainstream, economic and political life in a state where they were truly a minority" (Delton 2002: 420). Newman succeeded where others had failed to establish a successful African American newspaper publication. Interestingly, Jennifer Delton (2002) notes that in the 1940s the *Twin Cities Observer*, a rival African American newspaper,[12] "…reported on events in Africa and other colonized areas, a feature absent from the *Spokesman*" (430). My own research from 1965-2001 revealed that reports on Africa, especially in the early portion of my sample, were frequent, in contrast to the claim made by Delton.

Printed editorials in the late 1960s and early 1970s show Newman's willingness to be attentive to the desires of his readers for more commentary on Africa. In a May 9 1968 editorial a reader writes: "I read the seven articles the editor-himself wrote about Africa. I had them reproduced and mailed some of them to my friends. However, you promised to write nine articles and the eighth and ninth articles have not shown up…" (2). On May 20 1971, an editorial reads: "We think you have a good newspaper…We believe that you probably do the best you can under the circumstances but we would like to see more news about *free* African nations in your paper regularly" (2). That Newman printed these editorials lends credence to his willingness to be receptive to the desires of the community of readers he served.

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[12] The run of this paper was relatively brief compared to the *Minneapolis Spokesman.*

Newman was an active supporter of engagement with Africa. In 1968, he accompanied Vice-President Humphrey on his trip to Africa and visited nine African countries (the subject of the articles discussed in the preceding paragraph). He wrote lengthy accounts of each visit in the pages of his paper in the winter (January-March) of 1968. The stories were detailed accounts. Launa Newman, Cecil's wife, as well as vice-president and co-publisher after Cecil's death in 1976, according to a front-page article on May 19, 1977, embarked on "a news mission with other American representatives from the U.S. The Minneapolis Spokesman and St. Paul Recorder was one of the three black publishing companies in the country to be selected for the African Tour." Not all readers were wholly positive in their reception of the news stories on the visits to Africa, and again, the *Minneapolis Spokesman* was receptive to reader feedback and incorporated this feedback into its editorials in the paper. In a letter to the editor on February 1, 1968, a woman complains:

> I think your African trip story, the first one on the Ivory Coast are too
> long. However, my daughter who is a black power and black African fan
> read it through to the end. Considering that you were only in the Ivory
> Coast for less than a couple days you did a fair job in your word picture of
> Houphet-Bolgny's country (6).

After this letter, Newman shortened his stories, even placing parts of them in his "Publisher's corner" section. His responsiveness to reader feedback and commentary demonstrates his view that the newspaper was truly to be a community voice and vehicle accommodating to feedback from its readerships. His travels to Africa, as well as his

wife's subsequent journeys to Africa, demonstrate their commitment to informing the

local black community of issues relevant to Africans worldwide. The relevance of the

context of this analysis is made apparent in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4: Collective Memory and African American Engagement with Africa

Introduction

In this chapter I argue that African American engagement with Africa as a part of a broader collective memory of Africa reflects presentist understandings of and reactions to local and contemporary experiences with Africans. The representations of collective memories through newspaper and narrative accounts are filtered through competing understandings of nationalism, (one a Republican/civic nationalism; two an African or Pan-African nationalism). These nationalisms, in turn, represent competing interpretations of the potential threat or acceptance of immigrants. I primarily use textual analyses of the *Minneapolis Spokesman*,[13] the longest running African American newspaper in the Twin Cities, contextualized with secondary analyses of national newspaper accounts and primary accounts and discussions from my interviewees to address and present the ways in which African American's engagement with Africa are represented in and changed over the time period, 1965-2006[14].

Competing Nationalisms

Part of my argument in this chapter is that two forms of nationalism prevalent in the African American community in the U.S. provide very different frames on immigration African Americans are torn between dual nationalisms. American nationalism implies notions of Republicanism/civic virtue and pushes African Americans toward restrictionist philosophies regarding immigration, while African nationalism

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[13] A discussion of the importance of using newspapers for data analysis, history and the context of the *Minneapolis Spokesman,* data collection and sampling strategy are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

[14] Newspaper accounts range from 1965-2001, whereas interviews were conducted through 2006; hence this is a time frame incorporating the entire range of data. The majority of the textual newspaper analysis from the *Minneapolis Spokesman,* and the primary contrast established in the chapter, are from the years 1965 and 1995.

pushes African Americans toward accepting immigration. The two forms of nationalism

also impact one another with increases in immigration, such that African nationalism has

been complicated by the increase of African immigrants. The definition of

Republicanism/civic virtue that I employ stresses the importance of democratic

participation. This sense of Republicanism places a significant amount of emphasis on a

particular type of resource, "civic virtue" (Gerteis 2007). To have civic virtue means to

partake in decision-making and be a part of the democratic life of the country, whether

this plays out on a national, local, voluntary association, or even transnational level.

Civic virtue is not synonymous with citizenship but a prerequisite for citizenship as a part

of the Republican form of American democracy.[15] Within the frame of Republican

virtue, the importance of participation in the democratic community cannot be

understated (Wilentz 1984). Individuals who cannot participate in the democratic

community pose a threat to a "distinctively American way of life" (Higham 1955: 4). My

main utilization of this concept focuses on the notion that to partake in this sense of

Republicanism and civic virtue, one must be an American citizen.

Historian Gary Gerstle (2001) recently wrote on the existence of two forms of

nationalism in the United States: racialized nationalism and civic nationalism, or the idea

that the United States has been characterized simultaneously by both an inclusive and an

exclusionary ideology. Referring to the start of a new century (2000), Gerstle (2001)

asserts that "a familiar historical pattern may be reestablishing itself: blacks may find

their opportunities for integration limited even as white Americans open their arms

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[15] Weiner (2009) recalls that during the civil rights movement, for example, African Americans actively fought for full inclusion in citizenship by framing the contours of this fight within notions of civic virtue, democracy and religious principles.

(literally in the case of marriage) to nonblack immigrants" (371). Though he calls the exclusions of civic nationalism "new," he also recognizes older notions of nationalism can revive exclusionary notions of America as a "white, Christian fortress that should close its doors to immigrants and corral blacks, Jews, and other minorities already in its midst" (Gerstle 2001: 373). Given the precarious position of African Americans vis-à-vis immigrants in navigating participation in civic virtue/Republicanism, African American responses to immigration have been varied and complex. On the one hand, African Americans have historically been resentful of the unfair political treatment they received compared to immigrants. Capitalizing on the suspect that many whites have regarding immigrant groups, cultural historian Lawrence Levine (1977) notes that blacks could "join the white majority in looking down upon and feeling superior to the strange folkways of an alien group. For once black Americans could feel a part of the mainstream as they ridiculed the awkward actions of unassimilated immigrants" (302). Although they often reflected white attitudes, the critiques that African Americans made against immigrants frequently told more about their own political, economic and cultural position within the United States then about the activities of the immigrants themselves (Shankman 1982). Thus, African Americans use nativisitic discourse to simultaneously critique both the immigrants and internal issues regarding the relations between American whites and African Americans (Hellwig 1982). This is an acknowledged adaptation of W.E.B. Du Bois' notion of 'double consciousness.' Black Americans hold a precarious position: "Americans with physical features and a heritage which set them apart from others and which whites used to justify treatment of them as inferior people

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and second class citizens" (Hellwig 1982: 86). This position ultimately shapes their response to newcomers.

The years between 1924 and 1965 created a space during which a rise in African nationalism caught hold in the African American community. African nationalism brings together the notions of African American collective identity and identity politics (i.e. civic virtue). This rise had roots decades old, but had its most important and significant roots in the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and the "Back to Africa" movement spearheaded by Marcus Garvey. The rise in Afro-centrism/African nationalism[16] has many complex roots, and my analysis is not offered as a full explanation. Yet I argue that part of what facilitated the emergence and popularity of this movement was the absence of large quantities of immigrants entering the United States. A series of restrictive immigration laws, beginning in 1917[17] and culminating in 1924 with a law completely banning immigration from Asia, produced a space for Afro-centrism to gather force.

Both dimensions of nationalism (Republicanism/African nationalism) include economic and cultural elements, and thus questions of economic competition and assimilation crosscut both strands of nationalism. While these two types of nationalism may have only a peripheral impact on immigration as a whole, they are highlighted and complicated in a context where African Americans confront challenges to their understanding of collective engagement with Africa. I turn now to examine the relevance

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[16] I will use the terms, "Afro-centrism" and "African nationalism" interchangeably throughout this chapter.

[17] There was also a series of immigration laws passed in the late 1880s, but this early 20th century series of laws was the critical point when the flow of immigration was drastically lessened before the passing of liberalized laws starting with the 1952 McCarthy-Walter Act.

of and incorporation of economic competition as an underlying factor in African

American and immigrant contemporary relations and conclude with three proposition to

test in my empirical data analysis that bring together African American collective

memory, the interplay of civic/African nationalisms and the question of economic and

cultural interests in the historical, contemporary and political context of African

American/African immigrant relations.

Raising Questions

   Toni Morrison's 1993 article, "On the Backs of Blacks" published in *Time* begins

with the recounting of Elia Kazan's film, *America, America* (1963)*,* the story of a young

Greek's determined migration to America. In the film's final scene, a young black man,

"Quickly, but as casually as an afterthought" (Morrison 1994: 97) enters the Grand

Central Terminal, where the young Greek is working shining shoes. The young black

tries to solicit a customer and is run off the screen-"Get out of here! We're doing business

here!" (Quoted in Morrison 1994: 97). The meaning of this scene seems apparent

enough: immigrants displace African American labor. The scene further implies that

immigrant success and assimilation, at least economically, into American society is

centrally dependent upon the immigrant's ability to see blacks as "noncitizens," further,

"Whatever the ethnicity or nationality of the immigrant, his nemesis is understood to be

African American" (Morrison 1994: 98). Morrison's critique raises an important

question. First, do blacks compete economically with immigrants?

Is it Economic?

Do African Americans compete economically with immigrants? Scholars working in a variety of disciplines have found contradictory evidence on this issue. Most recent quantitative studies, usually the product of economists and social demographers working within a neoclassical economic theoretical frame, show that immigrants do not compete with native workers and do not have strong effects on U.S. wage rates and employment levels: "immigration yields little effect on less-skilled native workers, even in a period of such greatly accelerated immigration as the late 1980s" (Lim 2001: 196). There have been exceptions to this trend, and even in studies that argue that immigration on the whole is beneficial for the U.S., the question of the economic cost to African Americans is examined (Bean and Stevens 2003). Overall, these studies indicate that, with the rare exception of some refugee groups, immigrants do not drain social welfare resources (Massey 1995).

Qualitative work has mostly focused on the importance of social networks in helping to facilitate immigrant incorporation into the job market. This work, mostly done by sociologists who employ the theoretical frame of the new economic sociology, has produced some evidence that influxes of immigrants yields negative consequences for native workers, especially African Americans (Lim 2001). These studies are primarily case studies, and thus have a low level of generalizability across cases. Among this growing body of qualitative work, there is evidence that through the limitations of social networks in hiring, as well as African Americans self-selection out of certain industries, employers may inadvertently avoid hiring African Americans (Waldinger 1997). There

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also exists a growing body of qualitative work that indicates that employers in some industries, such as food service (Waters 1999a; Newman 1999) and domestic labor (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001) indicate a preference for hiring immigrants, including immigrant blacks, over native African Americans.

Nelson Lim (2001) has attempted to bridge the gap between quantitative and qualitative works on the economic costs of immigration to African Americans by taking an intermediate route focusing on concrete employment patterns in the nation's leading immigrant destinations: New York, San Francisco, Miami, Chicago and Los Angeles. He begins by inductively deriving the employment niches African Americans predominantly occupy, and compares the employment rates among immigrants within his resulting niches. He then compares these for the years 1970 and 1990. Interestingly, the same niches emerged in all five cities, though there was some slight variability in how the immigrant populations related to these niches.[18] He finds that the industries toward which African Americans gravitated in 1970 did not rely, or at least had not come to rely yet, on immigrant labor. By 1990 the picture looked slightly different. In 1990, the clusters of African American employment seemed of a higher quality, being predominantly public sector jobs, than those in 1970. The resulting configurations for 1990 reveal that there was much less of an effect from immigrant employment than there had been even in 1970 (Lim 2001). Though these results suggest that African Americans may be increasingly shielded from the effects of immigration on their employment possibilities (and even suggests that they may benefit from increased immigration, as

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[18] This is particularly apparent in Miami. See Lim 2001 pg. 204-218 for a more detailed description of his findings city by city.

many public sector jobs rely on immigrant populations for their utility), the predictions of these findings for future relations needs to be considered. The same processes that made these jobs available for African Americans could in the future make them more readily available to immigrant populations (Lim 2001).

The discourse national mainstream presses, such as *New York Times,* the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, the *Wall Street Journal,* the *Los Angeles Times,* the *Washington Post,* and others, is contradictory and mixed, even within the same publication. For example, an October 18, 1996 op-ed piece in the *Washington Post,*[19] argued that immigration creates economic and social competition for American citizens, particularly for working-class blacks. This was countered less than a month later by a November 9, 1996 article, again in the *Washington Post,*[20] which reminded readers that immigrants have always begged the question of displacing working-class blacks, dating to post-Civil War times. While both articles acknowledged that immigrants either currently (meaning in 1996) had an impact on employment possibilities for native-born American populations or have had an impact on employment opportunities in the past, the tones in the two pieces contrast markedly.

While the question of immigrants as economic competitors with blacks appears to be a widely contested one within the press, the very presence and persistence of such a question has resulted in this being the dominant frame to describe relations between immigrants and African Americans. As Stuart Hall (1988) has argued: "Discursive formations (or ideological formations that operate through discursive regularities)

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[19] Stephan Rosenfeld, "Getting a Grip on Immigration" Oct. 18, 1996 *Washington Post).*
[20] David Carliner, "The Problem With Immigration: Same as it Ever Was" Nov. 9, 1996 *Washington Post.*

'formulate' their own objects of knowledge and their own subjects…constitute their own way of acknowledging what is true and excluding what is false within their own regime of truth" (51). Thus, because economic competition has become the dominant frame to describe relations between these two groups, it has become almost an ideological hegemony that "mainstream" America has used to characterize the relations between the two groups, as demonstrated by the *Washington Post* example. It is not that mainstream newspapers *never* focus on other dimensions; on the contrary there are several examples of articles that focus on the cultural dimensions of African American-immigrant relations.[21] I am arguing that the primary mode of entering into this debate is through the reality *and* the rhetoric of economic competition. Regardless of whether or not economic competition exists in any kind of measurable sense in contemporary America, several scholars have concluded that an immigrant backlash not only exists, but appears to be gathering force within both white and black America (Massey 1995; Sánchez 1997). This perception has important implications for how the civic Republicanism strain of African American nationalism is understood and interpreted within contemporary African American incorporation of Africa into collective memory.

Propositions to frame the data analysis:

Proposition 1: When the number of immigrants increases within the local community, African nationalism decreases in the media portrayals and civic virtue/Republicanism increases. This is measured along three dimensions: cultural, political and historical.

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[21] A good example is, "Culture Clash: African Americans and African Immigrants Seek a Path to Common Ground, but Misconceptions, Stereotypes Clutter the Way." By Erin J. Aubry. In the *Los Angeles Times* July 10, 1994: 14-22.

Proposition 2: African American engagement with Africa reflects presentist aims within the local African American community.

Proposition 3: Portrayals of economic competition will dominate the discourse of African American-immigrant relations in the media portrayals, but at the same time the portrayal of cultural similarities between African Americans and Africans will be celebratory and positive.

I use the propositions as an interpretive frame, not a formal test. My argument is that these are confluent forces that work at the same time, but it is not a causal argument or test. Furthermore, the quantitative data is outlined below to set the tone or provide general trends, and the bulk of my analysis is interpretive, qualitative and descriptive.

Data Analysis

Quantitative Demonstration of Change over Time, Newspaper References to Africa

The units of analyses in the *Minneapolis Spokesman* data were references to: a) immigration, b) Africa, including references to specific African countries and/or Africans, c) Affirmative Action, and d) commentaries on non-white/non-black ethnic/racial groups, such as Latinos and Asians. The selection of immigration, and references to Africa as units of analysis followed directly from the theoretical and empirical interests guiding the analysis of this chapter. Affirmative action references were signals of economic competition and also overlap with the empirical analysis given in Chapter 6 of this dissertation and since I knew I would be asking questions to interviewees on this topic, I wanted to triangulate the analysis with the newspaper data.

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Furthermore, commentaries on non-white ethnic/racial groups were signals of immigration as well as to alert me to any particularities that may emerge in a strictly black-white analysis. My sampling included not only the textual article content, but also the society and sports pages, the cartoons, advertisements, church news sections and any extra inserts within the paper.[22] I also read the newspaper issues in their entirety and incorporated analyses from the entire reading of issues where appropriate.

Quantitative analyses of the units proceeded on two non-mutually exclusive levels. First, I analyzed whether or not each article had a positive or negative tone. The category negative is especially important here because negative is synonymous with critical in most cases, such that "negative" units of analysis in the newspaper were those that, for example, critiqued African or American governments and lobbied for calls to action. Positive units of analysis ranged from those that wholly glorified their content or were benign and mostly neutrally factual in presentation. The second level was analyzing the content of the articles, the categories being political, historical or cultural. Quantitatively, references to Africa, African countries or Africans were the only units with Ns large enough to demonstrate trends over time.

Throughout the time period, references to Africa become less political, more cultural, less critical and more positive. A contrast between the years 1965 (N=34) and 1995 (N=17) demonstrates these trends.

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[22] I did not make systematic analysis of the classified sections because of their specificity and almost entirely localized nature.

Table 3: References to Africa: Tone

	1965	**1995**
Africa Positive	17 (50%)	17 (100%)
Africa Negative	17 (50%)	0 (0%)

1965, N=34; 1995, N=17

Table 4: References to Africa: Content

	1965	**1995**
Africa-Political	24 (70.6%)	3 (17.6%)
Africa-Historical	1 (2.9%)	3 (17.6%)
Africa-Cultural	9 (26.5%)	11 (64.7%)

1965, N=34; 1995, N=17

There is an appreciable trend over time that lends support to *Proposition 1* that as African immigration increases, as it did during the 1990s, African nationalism will decrease and the nature of the commentary will also change (de-emphasizing political and emphasizing cultural). The trend also uncovers the presentist aims of collective memory within African American consciousness, lending support to *Proposition 2.* For example, the political focus in the 1960s was largely on freedom struggles in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa, and frequently called for domestic action to equalize rights in the U.S. This type of political engagement also largely accounts for the negative toned pieces in 1965. By 1995, the turn was toward predominantly cultural and celebratory references to Africa, which ironically does not signal a turn toward increased engagement in African nationalism, but more than likely the reverse, and signals a real change in the utilization of Africa in African American collective memory. The lack of

political commentary *about Africa* is especially telling because there was not necessarily a lack of parallel strife occurring on the continent during the 1990s. In fact, the mid-1990s were a time of extreme political turmoil in Somalia, Ethiopia and the Sudan. In part, the changed utilization of Africa in news articles demonstrates the tug between the competing nationalisms, and it is notable that at the same time, references to immigration remain relatively unchanged in both size and tone (1965, N=4, all positive; 1995 N=3, all positive).

The nature of the political strife in Africa during the latter period may partially explain this outcome. The Somali conflicts of the 1990s have deep historical roots, but stem most directly from the influence of the Cold War and the authoritarian rule of Major General Moahummed Siyaad Barre. Siyaad Barre took control of Somalia through a military coup in 1969, and shortly thereafter abolished the National Assembly, suspended the constitution and banned political association. One of Siyaad Barre's major goals was to unite all Somalis into one nation, including those who lived in Ethiopia at the time. During the 1970s, the Soviet Union gave development assistance to Somalia and armed and trained its military. However, when Somalia invaded Ethiopia in 1977, the Soviet Union sided with Ethiopia and withdrew all support from Somalia. Siyaad Barre turned to the West and Arab nations for support in 1978, and the United States supplied the country with large amounts of foreign aid. The timing of aid from the United States corresponded with a rise in conflict among the six clans in Somalia. The political situations in Somalia were exacerbated by severe droughts in central and southern Somalia. An estimated 400,000 individuals died in the culmination of effects and about

45% of the remaining population is estimated to have migrated out of Somalia (Boyle and

Arthur, unpub). During the 1960s, when Africa was in the midst of its decolonization

era, celebratory images of Africa are frequent in the *Minneapolis Spokesman*. However,

as turmoil in Africa increasingly led to not only economic losses for the United States as

a whole, but also self-inflicted political problems and wars waged at the hands of

disruptive ethnic and clan politics or African dictators, the engagement with Africa in the

Minneapolis Spokesman becomes primarily cultural. There is not so much a shift from

African nationalism to Republican nationalism because in large part Republican

nationalism remains relatively constant during this period, but the balance between the

two and the way that balance is reflected in African American collective memory and

thus articulated and understood by African Americans does change. When African

nationalism and Republican nationalism exist together, African nationalism softens the

brunt of the nativistic discourse associated with Republican nationalism, but African

nationalism is itself blunted in the process, creating a decline in commentary, especially

political commentary, on Africa.

Qualitative Analysis of Cultural Newspaper Data, Contextualized

In line with *Proposition 3,* over the entire time period of the sample, cultural

references to Africa are often an effort to bridge cultural differences or to widen the

awareness of the African American community to African culture. This effort is often

localized. The reader is often referred to events that are occurring in the metro area or the

state of Minnesota. Most, though not all, of these comments refer to cultural festivals,

lectures, weddings that employed traditional African clothing/ceremony or cultural

products (films, novels, etc) that use elements of African storytelling, dance or are set in Africa.

My interviewees often echoed these cultural bridges between communities and most frequently (with the noted exception of elected officials) alliance-based comments were culturally grounded. The following example, from a forty-nine year old male systems navigator, highlights a typical case from my interviews (talking about the Somali Malls):

> You're going to be like impressed. Because I was like, Wow, look at this. Then, there's one more right off of 24th and Chicago. If you go just east of 24th and Chicago, there's another mall. You can't miss it because you're going to see all of these Somalians around there. And I think it's the most vibrant and active in the evening hours, but I would imagine it's as active all day long. But I think when you – when everybody's off of work – it's like a multi-purpose situation. It's not just retail, it's not just for – you know, you can spend money in the community and get…your ethnic goods, but also there's the social aspect to this…one of the things they talk about nowadays is you have all these stores in the community from the … the Middle Eastern, so they take it to wherever they take the dollar to. They have a lot of stores and restaurants in the community today as well (July 21, 2006).

At times, the cultural references do demonstrate an effort to encourage African Americans and Africans to overcome cultural misunderstandings. An example from

1971 is a rare case: "John Akinwale, a 1970 graduate of Bethel College, said of the [African Arts-Language] course: 'Most black Americans are not exposed to Nigerian culture. I will be drawing distinctions between the American culture and original African culture.'" This reference demonstrates something further. The instructor of an African Arts-Language Course, John Akinwale, states that there is a distinction between American culture and *original* African culture. The word, original, implies that the African culture is more authentically African than African American culture is for the African American community. As such, the African American community is implicitly encouraged to overcome its lack of exposure to its African heritage.

While this example serves to demonstrate the importance of cultural references, most of the cultural references in the *Minneapolis Spokesman* simply demonstrate an overall cultural engagement with African by the African American community and an awareness of the desire to celebrate the connection with this element of their historical lineage. An example from August 24 1995 demonstrates this through its promotion of the DanceAfrica festival coming to Minnesota: "DanceAfrica America was created as a way to heighten awareness of African culture in American society…" (2B), the article further goes on to say, "…DanceAfrica America illuminates and explores the social, religious and ceremonial traditions of Africa." Highlighting unity and the power of culture to unite people, the article goes on: "It brings people from different cultures together and provides an opportunity where they can learn through artistic presentations and where audience participation through ritual is encouraged." This reference, which

positively focuses on African cultural adaptations, underscores the power of culture to bring people together.

As I mentioned earlier, most of the cultural references, like the DanceAfrica reference, refer to cultural festivals, lectures, weddings that employ traditional African dress or ceremonies, or films, novels, plays, etc. that use elements of African storytelling, dance or take place in Africa, or have some pivotal relationship narrative associated with Africa. An example is Alex Haley's *Roots*, which is mentioned numerous times throughout my sample, in a number of different capacities, including when the mini-series first aired, when it came up for Emmy nominations, commentaries several years later when the actors had trouble finding work and discussed discrimination in Hollywood and when Alex Haley had the opportunity to visit the areas in Africa several years after that. As the *Minneapolis Spokesman* commented on the challenges that the actors faced finding work and their dilemma with discrimination in Hollywood, they used a cultural symbol, *Roots,* to bring out the connection between presentist aims through collective representations, thus lending support to *Proposition 2*.

African Americans visited various parts of Africa in large numbers and celebrated the many cultural forms (e.g. music, art and dress), that were influenced by African heritage. The *Minneapolis Spokesman* devoted at least one page per issue to social and church news.[23] Among these pages were accounts of visits to Africa. The purpose of some of these visits was to conduct religious missionary work, and was often cited in the church news section. An example is from May 21 1970: "…the Sarah Grant Missionary

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[23] These columns were written by regular staff reporters, where authors varied, so that there was no one sole author.

Society will present Miss Vabor Esping, a returned missionary from Africa. Her talk will be highlighted with a film strip showing her work among the Africans" (4). Another example of this sort, from May 28 1970 reads: "The Grant Missionary Society, Mrs. Florence Daniels, president and Mrs. Odessa Allen, Chairman, presented a Travelogue of Africa and other countries with Miss Vabor Espring, missionary who served 15 years in Portuguese Guinea" (4). Another quote from the May 28 1970 edition of the *Minneapolis Spokesman* demonstrates the global vision that African Americans often tied to religion. The article the quote is taken from is about a talk given about the development of the local African Methodist Episcopal Church. "She further told how our A.M.E. church grew out of a protest movement, and how it circles the earth where ever Black people are found in great numbers" (4). The local A.M.E. church, which had roots in Africa, exemplifies the global, transnational cultural reach of religion and African American-African religious connections.

The *Minneapolis Spokesman* also discussed visits to Africa by members of social clubs. A May 17 1973 example of a Credjafawn Club member's visit to Africa reads: "Mrs. Gertrude Greene impressed members with an account of the Greene's trip to Africa as part of a Masonic group, with most of the action taking place in Monrovia, Liberia" (5). A May 9 1968 example:

> The Golden Age Club also had a pleasant surprise recently when Miss
> Cynthia Van Deusen, a senior at Macalester College who was sent by the
> organization "Operation Crossroads" to Africa where she lived, learn and
> work [sic] with the Africans and attend school with them. She gave an

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interesting account of her work and experiences and showed slides to

acquaint the club members with the customs and manners of life in Africa.

She even wore an African costume and displayed a number of articles

which she had purchased while living there (3).

These examples indicate that members of both church and social groups went on and

supported trips to Africa and were interested to hear about the trips of others. The second

example (from May 9 1968), also shows that there was an interest in African culture and

clothes. The significance of these cultural overlaps is not to be taken lightly and the

finding that many of the connections between African Americans and Africa are through

religious and material cultural means supports both *Proposition 2* and *Proposition 3*,

except for the absence of economic competition themes, which are largely absent.

Yet another example from October 26 1989 highlights the importance of

interconnections between African American concerns at home and African cultural

heritage. The example is taken from a discussion of an accelerated learning program

from African American children and reads: "The Huey P. Newton Breakfast Program

will continue on Saturday, October 28th at 9 a.m., Prince Hall Grand Lodge followed by

classes in African history and culture, Kishahili, Egyptian hieroglyphics, folktales and

African Dance" (1). The example shows the dual concerns of advancing educational

opportunities for children at home as well as supporting a connection with African

cultural history. In these cases and those like them, symbolic meaning becomes attached

to material cultural borrowings and engagement with Africa by African Americans:

"When black nationalists donned the garb of Africa, when they indicted and convicted

white America, somehow black America's suffering was to be alleviated, the evil of white supremacy was to be no more, and African Americans were to be made whole again…" (Glaude 2002:10). Cultural representations of Africa are symbols of both African American engagement in Africa and emblematic of the need to resolve African American's problems at home. They encapsulate the convergence of Pan-African and Republican nationalisms.

Qualitative Analysis of Political/Historical Newspaper Data, Contextualized

At the same time that cultural references increase as a percentage of the whole over the time period (9 numerically, 26%, in 1965 and 11 numerically, 65%, in 1995), a corresponding decrease in political references occurs. This content and trajectory of this decline provides additional support for *Proposition 1* and *Proposition 2*. First, I will examine the shift in terms of political commentary and how that reflects the change from African Nationalism, utilizing presentist aims, to a more Republican/civic virtue political engagement over the course of the time frame. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, African Americans, simultaneously focused on domestic issues such as desegregation efforts, civil rights and black power, labor demands and jobs, all the while keeping an eye on the struggles in Vietnam and southern Africa. During this time, African Americans often celebrated the triumphs of the past rather than face the increasingly complicated reality of independent Africa.

Africa went through vast political changes during the twentieth century. Two World Wars, followed by the Cold War, along with independence and apartheid struggles in Africa throughout the century, all contributed to changing the political and cultural

face of the continent. Post-World War II Africa witnessed a series of rapid political

transformations. In 1945, the continent had just three independent states (Egypt, Ethiopia

and Liberia), but by 1977, that number had increased to forty-four (Gordon 1977). In

1980, the long war in Rhodesia finally ended when the nation gained its independence

and the area became known as the nation of Zimbabwe (Horne 2001). Independence in

Zimbabwe "marked the conclusion of the era of colonialism" (Horne 2001: 4), which had

begun in 1890 when Cecil Rhodes of Great Britain gained governing control of the land.

The relationship of the United States to Rhodesia was greatly shaped by the war's

inception during the Cold War. This was a time that "posited African Americans, and

especially Africans, as witting or unwitting allies of Communists" (Horne 2001: 7).

Actions of government officials (in terms of policy) and regular American citizens (in

terms of discourse and actions) toward Africa reflected the broader Cold War context.

During this time, U.S.-Soviet relations shaped United States foreign policy toward

Africa. The U.S. was not much interested in helping colonized African nations achieve

independence. This led to the establishment in 1958 of a separate bureau of African

affairs and to the formal launching of a Cold War Africa Policy (Kornegay 1994). From

the late 1960s to the present, U.S. policy toward Africa can be viewed in relation to the

changing dynamics of the continent itself, but throughout the period, Africa's political

status in the U.S. has been marginal. Kornegay (1994) states: "Thus, it will always take a

proactively engaged constituency to ensure that Africa is more than an after-thought on

the U.S. foreign policy agenda" (74).

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Kornegay (1994) claims that lobbying for international concerns in Africa is a recent development (since the late 1960s), while James Meriwether (2002) gives examples of efforts by African Americans dating back to Benito Mussolini's 1935 attack on Ethiopia. Meriwether (2002) discusses African American's efforts to "overcome their traditional lack of influence in foreign affairs" (34) during the 1930s onward. In 1969-1970, African American Charles Diggs chaired the Congressional Africa Subcommittee of the House of Foreign Affairs. The committee challenged Nixon's polities in southern Africa and in 1971 the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) was formed. Black activism toward Africa in the late 1960s and early 1970s took shape primarily around issues in southern Africa (Angola, Rhodesia, Namibia, Mozambique, Zambia and South Africa). Kornegay's (1994) discussion highlights this in relation to African Americans in U.S. governmental positions. He also emphasizes the role that African Americans play(ed) as an "engaged constituency" in shaping and encouraging official U.S. foreign policy towards Africa (75).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s African Americans simultaneously focused on domestic issues such as desegregation efforts, civil rights and black power and labor demands, while keeping an eye on struggles in Vietnam and southern Africa. During this time, African Americans often celebrated the triumphs of the past, rather than address the increasingly complicated reality of an independent Africa. Triumphs from struggles African Americans were heavily involved with in the 1935-1960 era, such as those in Ethiopia and Ghana, were frequently displayed in the *Minneapolis Spokesman*. An example is from May 28 1970 (2) issue.

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Cartoon 1:
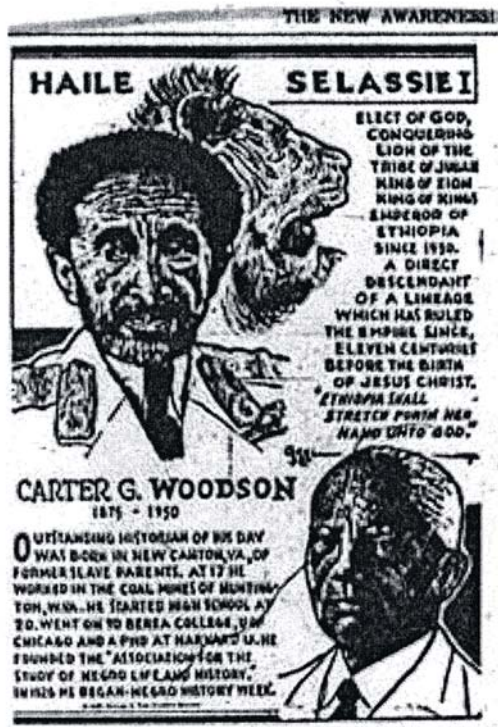
The last line about Selassie reads, "*Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand unto God*" (2).

This last comment reflects observations by Meriwether (2002) that, "Religious

connections to Ethiopia also permeated much of black America. With the term 'Ethiopia'

used as a generic reference for Africa in the King James translation of the Bible, the

African American Christian community invested Ethiopia in its modern state with great

import" (30). Many examples of missionary work and engagement with black power

struggles were often discussed in the society pages section of the *Minneapolis*

Spokesman.

The liberation struggles in Rhodesia were often discussed in the *Minneapolis*

Spokesman particularly during the earlier years of my sample. A May 19 1966 front-

page article reads: "Roy Wilkins of the NAACP Asks U.S. for Tougher Policy Against

Racist Rhodesia" (1). The article included excerpts from Wilkins' May 4 letter to

President Johnson, in which Wilkins expressed, "the deep concern of the NAACP over

the problem of Southern Rhodesia" (1). A May 12 1966 article railed against a local

Republican leader, who commented in defense, an even celebration of Rhodesia, when he

called Rhodesia, "an outstanding example of economic and political stability and

interracial harmony" (2). The article's sarcastic tone is evidence when it continues,

"Now, this the white supremacists government which by its acts of oppression and

defiance of world opinion has called down on itself a worldwide boycott, with only

white-supremacist South Africa giving Rhodesia any significant help" (2). The article

ends by saying, "…we wonder if Republicans generally subscribe to this particular

endorsement of an oppressive government, and the criticism of world efforts to discipline

that government" (2). A May 8, 1969 article, reprinted from the Chicago-based African

American newspaper, the daily *Defender*, lamented the seeming softening of the British

government toward Rhodesia (2). Another example of 1960s *Minneapolis Spokesman*

commentary on Rhodesia is a visual one. While many of the cartoons focused on the war

in Vietnam, the death of Martin Luther King Jr., problems of homelessness and hunger

among American minorities, the disengagement of the black middle class, problems

surrounding the Nixon white house, or a score of other local and national issues, some

were commentaries specifically on Africa. Those political cartoons that did focus on

Africa from the late 1960s were most often about Rhodesia. The following is an example

from December 2 1965 (2).

Cartoon 2:

The racial and political implications of the cartoon are powerful and the image of relative

lack of strength coupled with repression is encapsulated in the representation of bondage

of the African man held in repression by the white Rhodesian leader. The cartoon's

representation of African strength in the muscular physique of the African male versus

the white repressor implies hope for the potential to overcome repression as well as

acknowledgement of the reality of repression. The caption regarding fear draws out the

duality of strength and repression to politically shame the white leadership of Rhodesia.

Another example is from December 9 1965 (1).

Cartoon 3:

From December 9, 1965:

APOLIS, MINNESOTA, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1965

'Hear This! We're Independent'

RHODESIA

In this cartoon, the white governmental representative is declaring freedom by force to the populace, revealing the irony of freedom through force and fear (a theme paralleling the previous 1965 cartoon above). Focusing on the struggles in Rhodesia allowed African Americans in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area to rally around an ongoing freedom struggle, rather than to focus on the internal struggles waging in other parts of the continent amongst black Africans. Changes on the continent had impacted changes in U.S. foreign policy toward Africa (Kornegay 1994), and had also influenced the focus African Americans engagement with Africa would take during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

During the mid-to-late 1970s the content of political cartoons about Africa are very different from those about Rhodesia that had appeared in the mid-1960s. These

commentaries called upon the U.S. government to focus more on the needs of the

continent of Africa. The following example from May 15 1975 (2) shows surplus food

being shipped to Vietnam, while the caption asks, "But Why not Africa…Mr. President?"

As in earlier time periods, African Americans used struggles in Africa to question

domestic problems (here U.S. involvement with Vietnam).

Cartoon 4:

Again, the commentary on Africa reflects disenchantment with the American

governmental policies overall, reflecting the duality of civic and Pan-African

nationalisms.

In 1987 Mildred Fierce commented that by 1977, "…expressions of individual

Black-American interest in South Africa, both in government and private sectors, have

become highly visible" (305). The first reference to South Africa in my sample is from

May 27 1965. The blurb appeared in a feature present in the 1965 and 1966 *Minneapolis*

Spokesman issues in my sample entitled, World News Digest, and was a minor note about a new law, and the potential punishment for breaking it, that had been instituted in South Africa. The May 25 1967 issue of the *Minneapolis Spokesman* took a more political tone than the blurb printed in 1965 when it reprinted a letter in *Christian Science Monitor* written by sociologist Pierre L. van de Berghe. A line in the letter read, "The apartheid system is so vicious that any decent white person must keep studiously ignorant of the conditions around him to be able to live with himself and stay in South Africa" (2).

Commentary on South Africa in 1967 and 1968 often centered on the Olympic Protest movement, which was an attempt to muster an appeal against South African's participation in the Olympics, which ultimately resulted in a dramatic gesture by two medal winners, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, who mounted the award podium shoeless, wearing only black socks and then placing their fists in the air and looking downward during the playing of the national anthem (Hartmann 1996). The *Minneapolis Spokesman's* May 18 1967 account relayed that "A group of 30 prominent Americans recently called for the exclusion of South Africa from the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico because of its policy of 'discrimination and racial segregation'" (7). Further into the article it reads, "The letter contended that the new sports policy 'does not alter the discriminatory pattern' in South Africa where under the apartheid policy of racial separation, 'All competition inside the country is segregated" (7). The May 23 1968 commentary by a regular *Minneapolis Spokesman* columnist read, "As a subterfuge to being permitted to participate in the forthcoming Olympic Games, South Africa agreed to send an integrated team to Mexico City in October. Yet, after the integrated athletes

return home to South Africa they could not sit on the same bench in a public park or drink Coca-Cola together in a public place!'" (2). Douglas Hartmann (1996) has written about the Smith and Carlos display, the " final outcome" of the movement, that among mainstream Americans "…there was little sympathy or political support for those dramatizing the problems of race once again, much less for those who did so on the international stage of the Olympic Games" (557). But, it is this fact that in itself demonstrates that the very nature of African American's engagement with the continuing independence struggles in Africa echoed their domestic frustrations and hearkened back to earlier independence struggles, while it also highlights that African American transnationalism was often in contrast to mainstream America's neglect of international problems, particularly when they relate to Africa.

In contrast to the decline in articles about Rhodesia during the 1970s (there were none in my sample), articles about South Africa remained about the same in my sample and even increased during the 1970s. This is in line with Meriwether's (2002) claims that African Americans focused more and more on South Africa as other African countries gained independence. Several articles during the 1970s chastised U.S. investors for supporting South Africa.[24] For instance, a May 2 1974 article entitled, "U.S. Corporations Investing in S. Africa Playing with Fire" (2), went on to discuss how such investments support an unjust apartheid system in South Africa. Other titles from the 1970s reflect similar trends. A May 30 1974 front-page article reports, "Black Caucus Attacks Plan to Import South African Coal" (1). This article goes on to describe:

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[24] The articles from my sample were focused nationally, based in cities like Washington D.C., for instance, rather than locally, thus blurring White's (1999) spatial categories of local, regional, national and transnational.

'These slave wages combined with the hazardous working conditions in

South African mines,' said Rangel,[25] 'have created unrest in black mining

communities. It should be stressed that these communities are really

worker compounds and that black worker fatalities are never investigated.

By buying South African coal we are helping perpetuate these conditions'

(1).

A May 1 1975 article entitled, "Apartheid Opposition Threatens So. Africa Gold Mining

Industry," (7) discusses how black South African's opposition to apartheid was "seriously

threatening" South Africa's billion dollar gold mining industry (7). These examples

illustrate an increased focus on the continued struggle against colonialism that existed

during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

By the 1990s, the relative lack of political commentary on Africa is remarkable

(as noted in the quantitative trends above), though there are still occasions where

commentary is still present. An example from September 3 1992 on South African police

reforms meant to incorporate black South Africans into the promotions system reads, "A

South African police specialist said that some Blacks who are now eligible for promotion

may be imbued with the attitudes of the apartheid-based institution, and could be viewed

only as symbolic by the Black citizenry" (2A). Again, the commentary reflects the

presentist aims of the African American community, as an accompanying article

discusses similar issues in the context of the U.S. Entitled, "Why Black Middle-Class

Fails to Lead Social Progress," the article goes on to detail that many middle class blacks

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[25]Congressman Charles Rangel, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus in 1974.

are moving to upper and middle class neighborhoods where they "…are pushing for an Afrocentric (curricular) approach" (2A). The coupling of these articles underscores the corresponding idea in both instances that historical structuring in both societies has affected the contemporary circumstances of blacks in the relative societies. This trend was also evident during the 1980s, even though the quantity of articles about Africa had declined substantially as compared to the earlier decades. In an example from November 20 1986 about South Africa that mimics the previous 1990s example in aim and intent, the article is entitled, "Rich Get Richer Under Reagan Representatives," with content that goes to argue that Reagan Reagan's politics enabled a small minority of Americans to get richer while millions of Americans were joining the ranks of poverty. The article admonishes African Americans to use the power of their vote to alert congressional members to take action against the injustice of Reagan's economics. The duality of civic and Pan-African nationalisms is revealed in one particular line from the article, "…the senate must increase its number of sensitive Senators to the Black American interest if it is to override Reagan's vetoes as in the case of economic sanctions against South Africa" (2). This also lends more support to *Proposition 2* as will continue to be explored below.

Some examples imply collective memories that incorporate previous commentaries on Africa and clearly demonstrate presentist aims. A relevant example is from September 3 1992, when readers are reminded of the 1968 Olympics protest. The article reads:

Some of us have not completely forgotten the 1968 Olympics in Mexico.

It was at the Mexico Olympics when two African American runners, John

Carlos and Tommy Smith won the gold and silver medals. At the awards

ceremony Carlos and Smith shocked the world by raising their fists with

black gloves in the air and render a Black power salute. Yet, what these

brothers were protesting was the state of oppression in the African

American community (2A).

As we saw earlier, the 1967 and 1968 *Minneapolis Spokesman* articles about the Olympic

games in Mexico and the commentaries about Smith and Carlos highlighted the

opposition to South African politics, whereas the analysis in 1992 (and shortly following

the 1992 summer Olympics in Spain), reflects the importance of the protest for domestic

civil rights issues. The important point is not to determine which analysis of the actions

of Smith and Carlos is more accurate or representative of their intentions, but to reflect on

the shift in assessments of where that action lies in the collective memory of the

commentators.

The early 1990s also signaled the emergence of several mentions of cultural

differences that exist between African Americans and Africans. One example is the

recounting of an altercation that occurred between Charles Barkley and the Angolan

basketball team during the 1992 Olympics and is from the September 10 1992 issue: "the

'Brothers' from Angolan teams were trying to understand the motive of their 'Brother'

from American [Barkley, sic] who severely elbowed and pushed them during the game

between U.S. and Angola." It goes on to quote Barkley as saying, "'Next time, maybe I

should pick up a fat guy. You never know though, those skinny guys could wind up being

like Manute Bol—got a spear somewhere[26].'" The article immediately goes on to discuss the irony of the political situation between the U.S. and Angola. Specifically that the George H.W. Bush Administration was refusing to allow official recognition of Angola as a sovereign nation, and yet in the 1992 Olympics the United States officially faced Angola on the basketball court. The article only mentions Barkley's nativistic remark but does not comment on it, rather uses his comment as a way to enter into a criticism of the United States government. This reflects what historian David Hellwig (1982) discussed in reference to the use of nativistic discourse by African Americans between 1830 and 1930: that it was used simultaneously to critique those it was marshaled against and to critique the political/racial situation in the United States. This example serves to demonstrate how the contemporary black press spun a particularly nativistic comment to do just the same.

The quantitative and contextualized qualitative discussions of the political and historical engagement with Africa support *Proposition 2*. In addition, by examining the decline in political discussion of African politics, the qualitative discussions and, in particular, examining the political cartooning over the course of the era, we find further support for *Proposition 1*. In particular if we contrast the political cartoons from the 1960s and 1970s (see Cartoons 1, 2, 3, and 4), with some examples from the 1980s and 1990s, the turn to a focus on civic virtue/Republicanism is especially highlighted. This is especially supported in tandem with the quantitative/numerical analysis. Below I explore examples of political cartoons from the 1980s and 1990s. It is especially telling to note

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[26] An unprecedentedly tall Sudanese –born basketball player and activist, who played in the NBA from 1985-1995, Bol was friendly with Barkley and was known during this basketball career for being a practical joker.

that the examples below do not even explicitly feature issues of particular concern to the

African American or African communities. The content, underscoring the emphasis on

civic nationalism and commitment to global American concerns, emphasizes Americans

or local Minnesotans in general. Perhaps even more important, the primary individuals

depicted in the cartoons are whites. Midwestern concerns also emerge as paramount in

the cartoons of the 1980s and 1990s. For example, this cartoon from September 3 1992

(2A) mocks the economic complexities that face Minnesotans.

Cartoon 5:
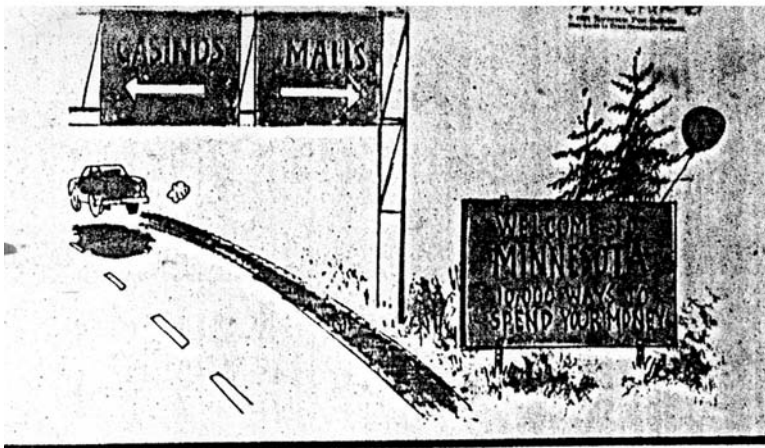
In this example, African Americans tackle issues that are important for all of

Minnesotans in a critical manner, implicating the overall population of Minnesotans as

susceptible to the "problem" (over-consumption, economic waste and the availability of

gambling) as well as implicating multiple groups as the potential perpetrators of the

problem (American Indians are implicitly addressed as the proprietors of casinos and

potentially all ethnic/racial groups are targeted as potential business owners).

Another example from June 25 1998 (2A) focuses on issues that unilaterally affect all

Minnesotans. Emphasizing the weather, the example is apolitical and relatively bland in

terms of political affect.

Cartoon 6:
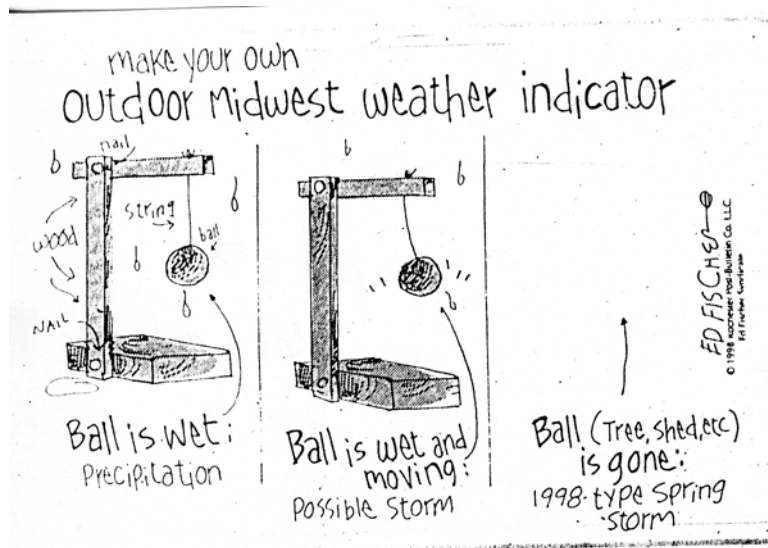
Two examples from the 1980s demonstrate the emphasis on American issues and the turn

to civic nationalism and focus on domestic issues *over* Pan-African issues, or the

opportunity to dually illuminate domestic and African concerns. The first example is

from October 19 1989 (2).

Cartoon 7:
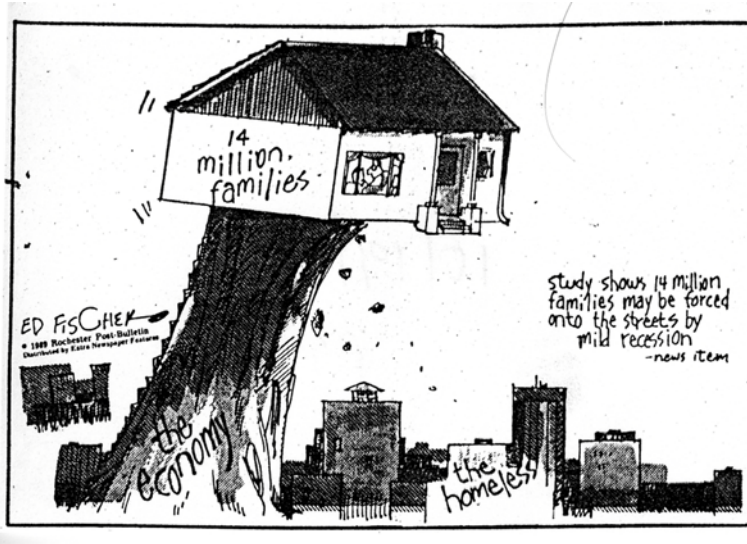
Another example is from November 13 1986 (2).

Cartoon 8:

Two examples from July of 1998 are similarly focused on local issues in Minnesota/the

Midwest, more than they are focused on issues of broad concern to the United States.

Cartoon 9:

Cartoon 10:

It is important to note that the content of the cartoons is encompassing of all

Minnesotans/Americans in general and whites are featured in the cartoons. This point

cannot be downplayed, and is a stark contrast to the political commentary on Rhodesia in

1965 where whites are portrayed as the perpetrators of black oppression. Taken in

tandem with the quantitative analysis above, the decline of political commentary on

Africa lends support to *Proposition 1*, *Proposition 2* and *Proposition 3*, particularly the

rise of civic nationalism in the face of changing demographics along with a portrayal of

economic concerns. It is important to note that economic concerns are not directly

discussed as a result of immigration, but again universal to Minnesotans in general,

which actually serves to uphold the universalism of civic nationalism as a guiding

ideology that implies responsible democratic citizenship in the American polity.

Finally, when there is commentary on international issues during the 1980s and

1990s, the commentary focuses on specific incidents where the United States was heavily

involved. The first example is from November 20 1989 (2).

Cartoon 11:
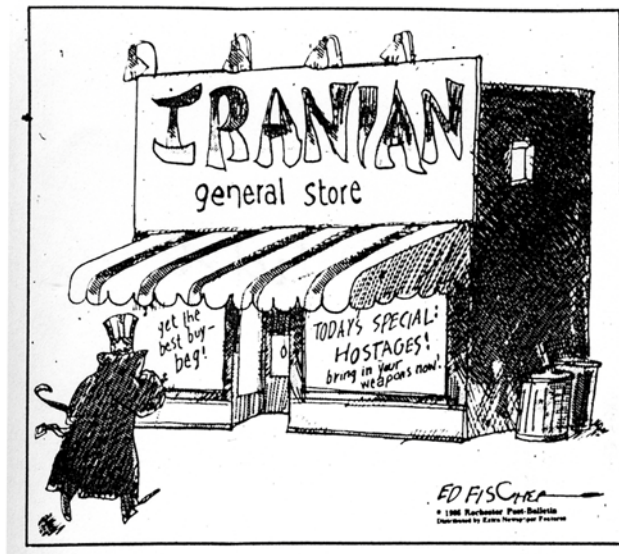
A second example is quite critical of American culture, and involves a comparison

between several countries to show the naivety of Americans, but does not contain

commentary on Africa or a specific focus on African American concerns. Over the

course of the shift from emphasizing Pan-African and civic nationalisms, the decline in

critical commentary on Africa is remarkable. Another example is from July 9 1998 (2A).

Cartoon 12:

In keeping with the notion that the analysis is descriptive and interpretive, it is

important to remember that there were many influences that signaled these transitions, it

was certainly not just about levels of immigration exclusively, however, these concurrent

trends show that there is a relationship between increased immigration and civic republic

nationalism and the relationship between civic republic nationalism and African

American nationalism. There are many possibilities and I am not arguing that other

things do not matter, but that levels of immigration do have an impact on the

interpretation of civic republicanism.

In contrast to *Proposition 1* and in-line with aspects of *Proposition 3* (specifically

that cultural similarities between African Americans and Africans will be expressed

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positively), towards the end of my sample time frame, some discussion of Somalis appeared in the *Minneapolis Spokesman*. For example, in the July 9 1998 issue a front-page article discusses how local Somalis were celebrating their freedom from European colonial rule. The article detailed some of the historiography of the 1960s struggles for Somali freedom from British rule, as well as the subsequent 1977 freedom of Northeast Somalia (now called Jabuti), this was despite the lack of commentary about the freedom struggles in Somalia during the 1960s and 1970s. The article also noted that there were an estimated 12,000 members of the Somali community and highlighted the importance of community dialogue to "…discuss obstacles facing Somali peace and reconciliation and elements of peace in Somali culture…" (1A).

Furthermore, in an interview I conducted with the editor of the *Minneapolis Spokesman* in January of 2003, she noted that the newspaper was going through a transitional phase and discussed how her recent article on Oromo nationals in Minnesota (from the January 23 2003 issue) had gotten a tremendously high reader feedback as an example. The article detailed the history of Oromia's colonization by Ethiopia, likening it to the colonization of other African countries by white oppressors, and emphasized local Oromo political and religious organizations and their efforts to reach out for support from "all communities in the area, but particularly from African American communities" (9). In particular the article sheds light on the difficulty Oromos face in garnering support from the African American community, though it is much desired, due to perceptions that native born black Americans face similar struggles to those endured by Oromos. The difficulty stems from, as one of her subjects notes in the article, "when we

were going out of our way to get sympathy for our people, African Americans were the

toughest to sympathize with us, simply because how could you speak against another

African nation?" (9).[27] In my interview with her, she discussed the article and

subsequent reader feedback in the context of expanding the definition of the black

community,

> …so we have a community newspaper focus, but we also want to be
>
> relevant, definitely relevant to black people elsewhere, and even this more
>
> recent story, which I wrote about (laughs) the Oromos, I've probably
>
> gotten, probably now, like sixty or seventy response to that…(January 29,
>
> 2003).

With regard to the expanding definition of African American, she stated:

> …we want to provide timely, insightful and relevant news, um, to the
>
> communities that we serve, and those communities are primarily African
>
> American, and they're not limited to, African American community, but,
>
> um, that's sort of on our radar screen and, part of what I've been doing
>
> here since I've been hired is, um, trying to expand exactly…no trying to
>
> bring us as a newspaper more in tune with what's happening culturally,

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[27] Incidentally, this difficulty in allying with nations and/or ethnic groups within the context of continental problems in Africa had been ongoing through the 1960s and 1970s, which partially explains the heavy focus on independence struggles against white colonizers in Rhodesia and South Africa during those years, and was discussed earlier in my analysis when detailing a brief history of Somalia. As Meriwether (2002) explains, "The historic image of Africa as a more or less unified whole could not be sustained in a world of radical nationalists, authoritarian strongmen, military coups, and democratic hopefuls. Africa would not lend itself to undifferentiated views. Internecine African conflict particularly created problems. The clarity of vision when every right-thinking person favored Ethiopians over the Italians could not be matched when Ethiopia claimed sovereignty over Eritrea and part of Somalia while the Eritreans and Somalis sought self-determination and independence. The dispute between Ethiopians and the Eritreans festered for decades, periodically flaring with bloody violence: who should one support in such a conflict?" (243).

um, with definitions of African America, African Americans, which I feel

is getting expanded, what that means…

Even though the commentary on the Oromo nationals did not garner entirely positive feedback and she discusses the struggles of transitioning the newspaper to incorporate the expanding the definition of African America, it continues to highlight the importance of African American's (not to mention Oromo's) use of presentist aims when reconfiguring their notions of collective memory to negotiate the incorporation of East Africans into current realities.

Conclusion

Proposition 1 and *Proposition 2* were well supported in my analysis, while mixed evidence was found for *Proposition 3*. African Americans encounter Africans in their native United States. That means that they confront them first as Americans, who have a sense of American nationalism (i.e. Republicanism/civic virtue), but they also confront them as *African* Americans, people who have engaged and continue to engage with Africa on political, cultural and historical levels. Economic and resource-based competition narratives do not characterize African American-immigrant, and particularly African American-African relations, though there are definite changes in how narratives of Africa are contoured over the time period. As Judith Blau and Eric Brown (2001) found for previous eras, blacks often used discourses of unity with other minority groups and the historical and contemporary experiences of African Americans are not easily

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characterized as restrictionist or nonrestrictionist, nor should they be characterized by economic reductionism.

The tendency for African Americans to unite with all racially and ethnically oppressed groups gained strength through the time span of the study. By 1992, diversity was expressed with other racial and ethnic groups, immigrants, women and gays/lesbians. For example a July 27 1995 article discussing President Clinton's view of affirmative action positively quotes Clinton as saying: "Hispanics and new immigrant populations are succeeding in making America stronger" (7). This rhetoric of inclusion also included African immigrants. In a July 16 1998 article about the "Summer in the Cities" program, a reference reads: "The participants came from many cultures- African American, Hispanic, Hmong, Kampuchean, Laotian, Somali and Yugoslavian" (7). The article went on to discuss the benefits of the program for those able to participate as well as the national recognition the program receives. The summer program is a cultural reference and highlights the argument presented earlier about the tendency to emphasize cultural over political phenomenon later in the period of my study, however, the affirmative action reference is explicitly political and implicates a collective history of economic and resource redress.

Examining the changes in the portrayals of Africa over the time period and linking the changes in those portrayals to African American collective memory of Africa, several key features stand out as important in setting the stage for the analysis of my interview data. First, over the time period, two processes happened simultaneously. African Pan-Nationalism decreased, while the portrayals of Civic Republicanism

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increased, this was in tandem with a de-emphasis on political and critically evaluative commentary on Africa and an increase on cultural and wholly celebratory commentary on Africa. Second, we can understand the changes in terms of the content of the portrayals of Africa by using a presentist understanding of collective memory. Early in the time period African Americans could see their national struggles in the U.S. mirrored in the experiences of black Africans in South Africa and Rhodesia. In all three cases (the U.S., South African and Rhodesia), blacks were struggling for equal rights against white oppressors. In the latter period of my study, in the 1980s and 1990s, when African conflicts were between multiple black African groups, like in Rwanda, Ethiopia and Somalia, the parallels were less obvious and it became increasingly difficult for African Americans to side in the conflicts. Clearly this did not translate into a lack of interest in Africa (and correspondingly, should not be overstated as an apathy to the content of those conflicts), but the utility of involvement, directly or in newspaper rhetoric, in the Rwandan, Ethiopian, Somali, etc. conflicts, did reflect the presentist needs of African Americans during the time period. So, the portrayals shifted.

This shift is so important because of the multiple implications. First, Africa remains a central feature in African American collective memory, and thus in African American collective identity, but the contour and content of that feature changed. Second, not as a consequence of the presentist interpretation of collective memory, but as an interpretive frame itself for how African Americans might incorporate eastern Africans into their conception of Africa, the political conflicts that occurred in the latter part of the time period, consequently happened to be geographically located in eastern

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Africa. This did not *cause* African Americans to exclude eastern Africans from their

conception of Africa in terms of interactions, but there is a correlation between the two

that sets the stage for the analysis of my interviews with eastern Africans. In particular,

with east Africa politically and culturally outside of African Americans' conception of

Africa, would *interactions* with East Africans position them inside the conception of

Africa or would they remain outside? I turn to this analysis in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: African American Perceptions of Intergroup Relations with Eastern Africans

Introduction

This chapter is about the stories that African Americans told about their interactions with eastern Africans. It is not dialectic or a back-and-forth conversation between eastern Africans and African Americans, though I do engage with prompts from the interviews with eastern Africans as a way in to the discourses that emerged from my interviews with African Americans. At the end of the chapter I make some ties back to the literatures I examined in Chapter 2, however, this chapter is more about "giving voice" to the themes that emerged from my analysis of the interviews (Ragin 1994). Specifically, I elaborate on four themes: 1. Despite a common claim that African Americans and East Africans should bridge community differences, African Americans also vocalized a perception that East Africans were a particularly closed off community and certain cross-over behaviors, like inter-racial dating and marriage, were particularly difficult. 2. African Americans were adamant about the dual importance of their historical roots in Africa *and* their lineage in the United States as descendants of slaves. They contested the notion that they had no culture (expressed by some African immigrants), and though they acknowledged a loss of history due to tans-Atlantic slavery, they nonetheless expressed the importance of their history as Americans and dual rootedness in African lineage; 3. African Americans often redirected questions about East African immigrants to instead answer about other immigrants groups with which they

were more familiar, like Mexicans of Hmong; 4. Interviewees who had visited western

of southern African countries (no interviewees had been to eastern African countries),

were more comfortable discussing this than their experiences and interactions with East

Africans that had occurred in the local setting of the Twin Cities, they often redirected

questions I asked them about East Africa to specifically address West Africa or would

outright confuse countries and say that Nigeria was Kenya.

African American Reception and Impressions of Eastern Africans

It has been repeatedly suggested that black immigrants resist tendencies towards

segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997), while still others equate

being American with being black and thus strive towards "acting Black" (Ramos-Zayas

2007). Structurally, there is little doubt that African Americans and eastern Africans

similarly face discrimination based on their skin color in the U.S. system that is

dominated by the black-white racial hierarchy (Foner 1987; Bashi and McDonald 1997;

Waters 1999a). While some of my interviewees noted that immigrants may have a harder

time with discrimination because of their status as immigrants, such as the comments

from this twenty-two year old male,

> …actually it might be worse for them because they don't know English
>
> and I think there's a perception that a lot of immigrants are coming over
>
> here and trying to take over, I mean like being more prosperous than
>
> American citizens, so I can see how they would be treated maybe even a
>
> little worse than African Americans, so… (September 6, 2002).

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This sentiment is echoed by some of the eastern African interviewees, such as the comments from this Somali man,

> There's racism against Africans and there's racism against native-born blacks… [Unscrupulous business people] want to hear that accent. Then they think, they automatically assume they can…trick you into higher percentage rates for lending you money…'This person hasn't been in American too long so we can trick them and charge them a lot of money'…

Most of my African American interviewees recognized that by being racially ascribed as black makes African Americans and eastern Africans roughly structural equivalents. This presumption gets complicated in the narratives of African Americans as multiple factors become weighted. African Americans also face eastern Africans as potential competitors in the job market and these multiple sources of competition and cooperation are further complicated by a sense of shared genealogy on the continent of Africa. African Americans expressed the multiplicity of these conflicting sources of interest and conflict when they discussed their interactions with and perceptions of eastern Africans, but were reluctant to singularly name eastern Africans as the sole source of competition economically, instead naming them among other immigrants, or as I discuss later, shifting the narrative of immigration, the very discussion of eastern African immigrants, to focus on *other* immigrant groups as economic competitors, or to diffuse the discussion so that eastern Africans are named alongside other groups. For example, a fifty-nine year old male names east Africans as especially entrepreneurial, seeking out job and

educational opportunities at the same time bringing in other immigrant groups, not

exclusively naming eastern Africans,

> But these Africans and these Mexicans…and these, uh, Iraqi people, all of
>
> those peoples are taking advantage of all the opportunities, because you,
>
> when you go to these little small classes and go to these learning labs and
>
> stuff like that, all you see in there is Africans, and you see Somalians, I
>
> mean, you see…Iranian peoples…All around the Twin Cities, you know
>
> (May 30, 2006).

Even though some of my interviewees did make note that eastern Africans might serve as

a potential source of economic competition, this comment was in tandem with a general

pattern of threat from immigrants and eastern Africans were rarely named exclusively.

Commentary from a forty year old male university professor captures the duality of

acknowledging economic competition, while dispersing the scope amongst and between

east Africans and other immigrants:

> I know, uh, for a fact that some of the people that I interact with are
>
> Africans Americans who are just sort of down on their luck, sort of
>
> derelict-like, and when I talk to this population of young guys, who are,
>
> you know, going to the soup kitchens and homeless and stuff like that,
>
> you know, they always bring, blame the Somalis or the Mexicans for
>
> taking all the jobs. So from that point of view I think there's lots of
>
> dissonance (July 9, 2002).

In addition, there were some explicit efforts to dispel the notion that eastern Africans served as a real source of economic competition for African Americans, mostly by notations among my interviewees that eastern Africans have come to dominate the local taxi-cab industry, and were sequestered in that economic domain, or occasional acknowledgements that educational credentials did not match the qualifications of some eastern Africans in terms of their occupational achievements in the United States, such that, persons with PhDs or other advanced degrees were working in service-industry jobs in the US. A thirty-six year old police officer articulates this effort to dispel the notion of economic competition when he says:

> I mean a lot of East Africans they drive cabs or they're working in lower
>
> paying, you know, hospitality jobs and if you want one of those, you
>
> know, I just don't see there's any competition there. If you want one of
>
> those jobs I'm sure you could get hired for one, you know, if you were
>
> working for six dollars an hour or something …so I don't think there's
>
> much competition, no… (August 1, 2006).

Overall, though economic competition did come up as a factor when asked about eastern African immigration to the Twin Cities, most interviewees felt more comfortable speaking about competition in terms of a conglomerate of immigrants, and were reluctant to name East Africans exclusively, even when asked directly. Invariably, the notion that immigrants may or may not serve as an economic threat is linked to the class position of the commentator, and though my data is neither stratified explicitly along class lines, not sampled in a manner to make generalizations based on economic class position,

commentators from various class positions were likely to view economic threat to themselves and others as a phenomenon of immigration and *not* due to eastern Africans, preferring to include other immigrants.

More predominantly, when asked about eastern African immigrants outright, my interviewees expressed, with some regret and disappointment, the notion that eastern Africans were an especially closed-off and tight knit community. The fifty-nine year old man on SSI notes,

But, but the guys, the guys they don't, they don't really talk to us, to the

other, to the black American people…When you talk to them [East

Africans]-when you say something to them, they will speak but, but they

don't tarry, they won't stop and just hold the conversation (May 30, 2006).

Or similarly, this sixty-nine year old woman notes that interactions are difficult between the two groups (May 25, 2006):

INT: What types of interactions have you had with East Africans?

HER: None

INT: Even passing people on the streets or…?

HER: They don't acknowledge.

This especially held true when interviewees talked about dating across the ethnic boundaries. For example a twenty-nine year old male notes his frustration with attempts to date east Africans:

[It was] probably mid-90s. I was courting a couple of Ethiopian ladies,

and just could not figure out why I could not get past hello, and realized

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that Ethiopians are definitely different than Liberians, there's different

morals and there's different values… (July 31, 2006).

Similarly, a forty-five year old man notes, "The guy I work with he tried to fix me up on a blind date with a Somalian woman before, you know, that was a bad experience" (September 9, 2002). Since traditional, straight-line assimilation theories note that inter-marriage is the pinnacle of full assimilation, this observation of the difficulty of romantic involvements across these groups might indicate the lack of a creation of a monolithic black community, even though segmented assimilation theories argue that second generation immigrants experience downward mobility when they assimilate into African American culture. Furthermore, the resistance of romantic involvements between eastern Africans and African Americans further highlights the frustration that members of both groups feel when they are taken as a homogenous group by outsiders. Though only some of my African American interviews felt that white Americans viewed African Americans and eastern Africans as indistinguishable in terms of physical characteristics and culture, they resoundingly noted that both groups faced discrimination based on skin color. Eastern Africans were more pronounced in noting that Americans do not care to distinguish between African Americans and eastern Africans, such as the comments from this forty-five year old Ethiopian woman:

I can say that they [whites] know it, but they don't care. There is a

difference, where there is a difference, they don't care, they don't want to

understand, even if there is a difference. They just want to lump them, the

group together and that's the end of it.

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The recognition of shared structural placement in the black-white racial hierarchy,

prompted the frequent commentary that there was an expressed need for the two groups

to come together, especially amongst many of the group of African American public

officials, but was common sentiment throughout my interviews. More educated

interviewees were able to name specific ways the coming together of groups might be

beneficial or to point to specific efforts to bridge the divides, while less educated

interviewees talked about this in generalities, nevertheless the sentiment was common.

For example, a twenty-six year old graduate student named specific efforts to bridge an

understanding between the groups when she said:

> At Lucille's Kitchen[28], they had a public forum on African-African
>
> American relations, which I heard was fairly positive, I didn't attend
>
> it…you know and I have friends who have had similar interactions with
>
> people who feel like the relationship is strained and that something needs
>
> to be done about it and that we could, you know, in terms of working for
>
> social change and working to make race relations in the Twin Cities better
>
> that they would be a good alliance to have, so I mean there are people who
>
> are thinking about those things (July 11, 2002).

What is most important to note is that when people talked about bridging divides it was

because of shared interests within the system of American race relations, not because of

shared ancestry in Africa or some sense of cultural unity between African Americans and

eastern Africans. Though African Americans talked about the importance of their

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[28] An African American diner in north Minneapolis.

ancestry in Africa and as descendants of slaves in the US (something I talk about in the next section), they did not see the shared African lineage with east Africans as a reason to build bridges with them. This positions the relations between the two groups within the frame of America's black-white racial divide and creates an interesting dynamic. Even though African American's were reluctant to name eastern Africans as specific economic competitors, any sense of unity and urgency that emerged in their narratives was still positioned in the American system of inequality, such that structural inequality is the primary source of unity cited by my interviewees, not cultural similarities.[29] A twenty-two year old male discusses this when he says,

> I think we need to work more closely together. I think those two
> communities are divided and I think that's something that people need to
> realize and change because I think the two groups, they don't even think
> about it, I don't think African Americans think, you know, I don't have
> any African immigrant friends, just because you're so used to the people
> that are Americanized, the African Americans and you think-oh, they're
> too different, blah, blah, blah, but in actuality we are experiencing a lot of
> the same things just because they're newer to the country and just because,
> you know, they don't eat McDonalds and wear Gap clothes and do XYZ
> that you do, that you can't be friends with them so because I think if the
> African American community and the African immigrant community
> came together that would be some powerful stuff we could, we could

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[29] This is especially interesting as cultural engagement with Africa by African Americans is an important source of identity, as I discuss in Chapter 5.

change things (laughs) we could come together, fight the fight together, we

can do this (laughs) and that's it, I'm done… (September 9, 2002).

Even though African Americans discussed the coming together of eastern Africans and

African Americans as a response to the need to address shared discrimination, cultural

concerns did arise as a part of this discussion when interviewees discussed the

stereotypes they felt that eastern Africans held of American black culture. For example a

thirty-eight year old woman shows how she feels cultural portrayals of black culture

impede eastern Africans in realizing structural discrimination prior to their real-life

encounters with it:

…they view us as less than, they viewed us as somewhat barbaric, they

viewed us somewhat, as somewhat ignorant, and so I don't think they

understand race relations because some, the way the mainstream media

has portrayed us and, and to them, they don't have the freedoms, until they

come over here and they get freedom, and they immediately, say, well

what is wrong with you people, until they run up against racism smack in

the face and they don't, they don't have any idea what is

happening…(August 20, 2002).

When African Americans noted that eastern Africans mimicked American black culture,

there was also the realization that eastern Africans, nonetheless, retained some of these

stereotypes about African American culture, especially when examining the difference

between first generation immigrants and their children. A forty-two year old male

demonstrates this when he talks about eastern Africans teenagers copying African

American culture,

> …cause I don't think they…they emulate us, but they really don't like us.
>
> Cause I had heard some of the parents, and they tell me what they feel
>
> about the way we live over here (June 1, 2006).
>
> African Americans are also influenced by American media depictions of Africa.

These images often portray Africa as the "dark continent," uncivilized, or more

romantically, exotic and earthy. The media, which only covers a small share of stories on

Africa, highly saturates those stories that are covered with images of poverty, war and

famine (Cohen 2001; Fair 1993). An example of this is the media coverage, and

American involvement, in the Rwandan Genocide. The media and politicians largely

stayed out of the conflict until the atrocities became too overpowering to ignore (Taylor

1999). The same forty-two year old man above reflects this ambiguity about images of

Africa that are portrayed in the American media:

> I really don't have no idea what Africa is. I hear about it, but I
>
> just…Cause one minute the media be blowing up stuff over there-I'm
>
> talking about blowing stuff up-but I mean, by blowing up stuff, they be
>
> lying…(June 1, 2006).

More explicitly, a sixty-six year old man discusses the stereotypes in images of Africa

portrayed through the media:

> And you see they're showing, on television, so many a time all them little
>
> African children, just flies all over them, and their little potbellies and

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starving to death laid out in a cave. I just feel so sad for them, but ain't

nothing I can do (April 13, 2006).

Stereotypes about Africa can extend to the African communities in the US as well, for

example a thirty year old male I interviewed talked about the tendency of his own

children[30] to lump Africans residing in the US into stereotypes about the continent as a

whole:

Like girls, say they got AIDS, and I'm like you can't say that just because

you come from Africa where there's a high AIDS rate, but still, just, if it's

not affecting you, why say anything about it? (July 24, 2009).

Though most of the stereotypes that people identified as a source of their impressions

about Africa were from news or relief agencies, a fifty-eight year old woman also

discussed her perceptions of Africans that were transported through the media, through a

much different metaphor.

And if I might add, that movie *Coming to America* that Eddie Murphey

played in,

I believe that is portrayed as true. Because a lot of the Somalians or

whatever, this is my opinion or my impression, they do think that we are

beneath them (April 13, 2006).

Even though her comment is atypical, as most of the references by my interviewees to

media portrayals of Africa discussed Africa as war-torn and poverty-stricken, the

overlapping of several themes emerges in her example. First the idea of a monolithic and

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[30] At the time of the interview, he had seven children, ages 3 to 11.

generic Africa is present, since the country of origin (Zamunda) of Murphey's character, Akeem Joffer, is non-existent and he is meant to represent a generalized African royalty. Second, she groups Somalis into this monolithic Africa, which is also somewhat atypical since most of my interviewees are more comfortable talking about western African countries as proxies for a general Africa. Lastly, she identifies Somalis as taking on an air of cultural superiority over the presumably culturally vapid African Americans, which is implied through Murphey's character in the film. Her popular culture reference parallels the notions voiced among eastern African that African Americans had lost their cultural rootedness in Africa, and asserted that eastern Africans had a more genuine culture than African Americans.

Cultural and Genealogical Lineage in Africa and America

While eastern Africans may assert the depth of their cultural roots in an effort to remain separate from African Americans and thus not experience downward social and economic mobility, in part, the desire to remain distinctive from African Americans reflects the common view among eastern African immigrants that African Americans do not have an "authentic" culture. Eastern Africans see themselves as having a community-centered culture that is meaningful because it is rooted in Africa. African Americans, on the other hand, either are viewed as having a culture with limited value, or as having no culture at all. A Somali man posits:

Somebody may ask African Americans, what is your background culture?

They may not have a background culture. We do have a background

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culture, the Somali culture. That is the only big issue that we need to

coordinate with our fellow African Americans, that they also have

background culture. It's only that they need to go sit down and find their

background.

Here, the interviewee emphasizes the need for African Americans to uncover their

African heritage. This comment also reflects the common view among eastern African

immigrants that the only meaningful culture for African Americans would be a culture

that originates in Africa.

While African Americans acknowledged the fact that their background in Africa

had been lost, and many of them expressed a dual identity as Africans and Americans,

they also baulked at the notion that they were culture-less. Their lineage and culture was

embedded in the duality of the legacy of American slavery and the loss of their African

heritage. Those historical processes had created their culture. In other words, the

memories of American slavery and the process of trans-Atlantic transport *is* culture

(Levine 1977; O'Meally and Fabre 1994; Gardullo 2007) and the material and

nonmaterial artifacts of those processes are important in framing the contemporary reality

of my African American interviewees in terms of their cultural lineage and genealogical

lineage *and* in terms of a frame of contextual reference for cultural events that serve to

impact their present-day identities. For example, a twenty year old female college

student answers the question of how important her *African* ancestry is in her own

personal life, by recounting the struggles of her family in the American South and

addressing the gratitude she has for being able to attend the University of Minnesota as a part of her personal narrative as a descendant of slaves:

> …like coming to the University of Minnesota, getting a scholarship, I was very excited, very happy and my family was too, because, most of my family still lives in the South, you know, so they still feel some of the effects of the Civil War, 'cause my grandma lives in Birmingham so she was there during the whole Martin Luther King and the bombing and all that, so she's just extremely proud of me for, getting, I guess out of that environment and coming up here and getting and education… (September 19, 2002).

When asked about her commonality with Africans in terms of identity, she further articulated, not a cultural affinity, but an affinity based on migratory experiences:

> …I guess I can kind of parallel that they want to get out Africa and, you know, start a better life here in America just like I wanted to get out St. Louis, because that wasn't the best environment for me…"

Clearly for this interviewee, thinking about her *African* ancestry is the same as thinking about her *African American* ancestry, and even though she does not name it as such outright, when asked about the importance of her African ancestry, she contextualizes the discussion in her contemporary experiences as the descendant of slaves, citing more recent American historical figures, such as Martin Luther King Jr. as paramount in her narrative, rather evoking deep cultural rootedness in Africa.

More explicitly, none of my interviewees indicated that their African ancestry trumped their lineage descendants of American slaves. As one twenty-two year old female indicated:

It would definitely be my…descendent of American-my history here. And, I mean, what we know-it dates back for a while, so I feel like I know enough, I mean after so long it's like, what does it matter? I mean-it sounds bad to say, but it is like, you know, what does it matter after so long you're tracing that far back? (May 3, 2006).

Or, as this forty-seven year old woman said,

I definitely don't think of my African heritage as meaning more to me than the other [lineage in American slavery] or you know outweighing it, because like I said, yes that's important, but if I'm so engrossed –I feel if I'm so engrossed in that, then what about, you know what's going on with me, what's going on with my parents, what when on with my grandparents…I'm trying to think would I look at it as 50%? Personally, myself, I would allocate it as probably less than 50% as important. It doesn't-they're not equally weighed-for me (June 26, 2006).

So a sense of generational loyalty becomes important in conditioning how much weight to give the importance of these dual lineages. Again, in the narrative from the forty-seven year old woman, she indicates the specific and coherent ties to identity from her grandparents to her parents, similar to the twenty year old college student who notes that her grandmother, who still lives in Birmingham, is proud of her accomplishments. The

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immediacy of generations certainly has an impact on my interviewees in citing how culture impacts their identity, a sense of qualified sense of historical space, literal and figurative belonging is also important, as demonstrated in the comments from the following twenty-four year old man that reflect a relative *lack* of place to belong in Africa versus the US:

> They'll [African American friends of his] be like this country enslaved us and stuff like this. And it's like if you tell them, well go back to Africa, they'll be like-no way (June 9, 2006).

Similarly, a twenty year old male discusses how Africans and African Americans might collide over the issue of the legitimacy of African Americans as Africans and the lack of place for African Americans in Africa:

> …because our ancestors were Africans, that African Americans, or those living in the U.S.A. or America, are Africans too. That's a very common issue that comes up, and you hear a lot of different things, you hear the African Americans say that, there are a few who say they aren't African, just because if they wanted to, to go, if they wanted to go back to Africa they would have no way to go, like they don't, there's not a place that says, 'Oh, people in America, if you want to come back to Africa, so here, here you are'…but still the other side is that their ancestors were from Africa, so they're Africans…(September 13, 2002).

The two prior commentators talked in general about the lack of spatial belonging in Africa, whereas this forty-four year old male personalizes the comments and discusses his own lack of identificational belonging in Africa:

> I don't know where no hut is in Africa for me…African Americans, you know, some won't –they don't want to say it, most of our leadership don't want to say it, they want to say we're all together, but when you ask me about that question, I don't know where my, where my family is, my ancestors was in Africa…so I don't know about no hut in Africa or wherever I'm from. I know I'm an African. I know I'm from Africa, but I'm American. I'm an African-American, I'm born in America (May 4, 2006).

Many of my interviewees were explicit that they had indeed lost something by not having/knowing their roots in Africa. This created a sense of default choice in identifying with American slavery as opposed to African history of culture. For example, a twenty-four year old male indicated (June 9, 2006):

> HIM: …as African Americans we really don't know our heritage beyond that. And honestly, we don't-I can't even trace back to-past my great grandmas. You know, I don't know anything past that, and so, a lot of our culture and stuff is lost there. And we just kind of, you know, get it as we go on. I think a lot of African Americans don't even really think about it that way.

> INT: What do you mean?

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HIM: I think a lot of African Americans don't even really pay attention to

the fact that we have lost our culture from you know Africa like tribal

culture and stuff like that, whereas Africans that are here you know they

really-they have a different sense about them because they're proud of

their culture.

Specifically, a twenty-six year old female indicates that she identifies more in her history

in American slavery than African ancestry because she was not able to be aware of her

specific African history (May 10, 2006):

INT: When you think about your sort of historical identity then do you

group that more in American slavery or more in your ancestry in Africa or

kind of a mixture of both?

HER: Um, American slavery.

INT: Oh, okay.

HER: Because I like have no idea about the African ancestry at all, so…

Still others saw the adherence to Africa as a political choice that ensured that the

commentator was working toward global justice. For example, a twenty-eight year old

female says:

…there's no possibility for me, or most black Americans, to really know

what that specific African heritage is because of the way in which slavery,

transatlantic slavery, occurred, so, I mean to me it's less of like a specific

familiar legacy and it's more of like, I'm probably getting too deep here,

but it, it's more of like a path that I want to be on, like I feel in our culture,

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you can either, you can choose, and not choosing is still choosing, but you

can choose if you want to be aligned with white supremacy, or if you want

to aligned with other things… (January 29, 2003).

Though many of the eastern Africans and almost all of my African American

interviewees felt that eastern Africans and African Americans could be distinguished

from one another by the general American populous, a few eastern Africans expressed

cultural concerns in terms of the fear of being absorbed into African American culture.

This phenomenon was reversed for African Americans, who occasionally spoke of being

mistaken as African and what the misappropriation of identity meant for them. A Somali

man discusses the difficulty of judging people's ethnicity based on looks:

That is very difficult to determine which group they belong to. But it is

very easy to differentiate between a Somali or a different ethnic

background by their looks, some of them, but not all of them. So they can

be judged by their looks, which I don't recommend people to judge other

people by their looks. They can be Somalis, or not Somalis; they could be

African Americans or Somalis. So the perception of people is kind of

equal. What is Somali or African American?

While confusion over ethnic identity for eastern Africans could be source of distress,

partly because they want to retain their ethnic distinctiveness and, furthermore, as a way

to provide social distance to prevent the outcome of segmented assimilation and

downward social mobility, African Americans had more limited experiences with being

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mistaken for African. Though, rare, their responses were quite different from the eastern Africans. For example, a twenty-three year old male states that:

> I actually have African American friends who have been mistaken as African, and to me it's a compliment. I mean, I wish I knew, I wish I did know what part of Africa I came from… (December 20, 2002).

One of my interviewees, a thirty year old male, talked about himself being mistaken as Somali while working at the airport. He indicated that he was mistaken as Somali by both Somalis and African Americans while working there. In contrast to the claim that African American culture is vacuous, he commented that aspects of eastern African material culture were not stylish and thus was usually an identity marker for telling the difference between eastern Africans and African Americans.

> I mean like some of them dudes [eastern Africans], but they don't have any kind of style at all, I'm sorry (laughs)-I laugh at some of the things they put on. Because they don't know how to match up the clothes right…they like they trying to fit in…and after you've seen one you get to you should know the difference. The only exception was me I guess (July 24, 2006).

Other Immigrant Groups in Relation to Eastern Africans

I asked my interviewees about their perceptions of how immigration was changing race relations in the Twin Cities, as well as specific questions about eastern African immigration. Two basic themes emerged from these conversations. The first

was that my interviewees more candidly displayed the economic competition rhetoric when talking about other immigrant groups. Possibly because many of my interviews had achieved a relatively high level of educational attainment, many of them couched their discussions of economic competition within a frame that expressed the need for African Americans to emulate the behavior of immigrant groups that make them successful. Second, interviewees sometimes redirected questions about eastern Africans to answer instead about other immigrant groups. This was when asked *directly* about eastern Africans.

Resource competition is the dominant mode through which African American-immigrant relations are understood, and when asked about immigration in general, many of my interviewees acknowledged this as a possible outcome for the interactions between the two communities. Though some of my interviewees stated that they did not perceive eastern Africans as specific threats on the job market (see above), overall, they were much more willing to acknowledge the potential source of friction between immigrants generally and African Americans. For example, a forty-four year old man said:

> …when immigrants come in, they got all kind of these programs to help
> them uplift 'em, put 'em in college, and all that stuff. But we go try to get
> grants, we gotta go through all this red tape. If you a American citizen,
> the immigrants come in they got all things for you. And, they used to, you
> know, remember back a while ago, you can come in the country and you
> ain't gotta pay taxes for five years as an immigrant (May 4, 2006).

A fifty-eight year old woman similarly vocalizes that immigrants can be a cause of depressed wages for Americans generally. She qualifies this discussion by acknowledging the value of opportunities afforded to people in the context of the US:

> …when immigrants come they usually will accept a lower standard of living and a lower pay wages and everything, than the Americans was used to. So, I think in a sense it [immigration] has [affected race relations], but I don't blame them. I mean if there was opportunity to come here, and they wouldn't take advantage of it, then I think they would have some serious issues (April 13, 2006).

Other commentators noted the relative success of immigrants compared to African Americans, but viewed the success as a model or goal for African Americans to emulate or attempt to achieve. For example, a twenty-four year old woman says:

> …like we see a lot of Mexicans, a lot of Somalians. They came up here, opened up businesses and once they get theyself going good then they bring the rest of they family. You know, and we [African Americans] don't do stuff like that, but they study moving up. And we ain't (June 7, 2006).

One of the most interesting and surprising findings in my study was that a significant number of times during my interviews (roughly 15%), my interviewees would shift the focus of a question about eastern Africans specifically to talk instead about other immigrant groups with which they felt more comfortable. At times, I had to prompt them multiple times to elicit responses about eastern Africans directly. On the question of

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what his general perceptions were of relations between African Americans and eastern African immigrants a thirty-four year old male shifts the focus of the discussion, by stating:

> My general perception is that it is a non-perception, in a sense that, we,
> you know, the bigger problem, the bigger things to focus on is, kinda
> black-white relations or black-Latino relations or black-Native relations, I,
> my general perception is our interactions with other native groups, kind of,
> overshadows our relations with immigrant groups. So for the most part,
> most people, I, my perception is that they don't think about it much…
> (September 20, 2002).

Similarly, this twenty-three year old male deflects his responses to a direct question about interactions with eastern Africans such that he responds about other minority groups instead; he goes on at length and the quotation is rather extensive, but underscores the difficulty some interviewees had in being specific about interactions with eastern Africans, possibly as a result of their relative newness to the Twin Cities: (July 21, 2006):

> INT: So…what types of interactions have you had with East Africans?
> HIM: At first when I was young, most of my interactions with the
> different groups was just negative, it was just based on so much ignorance
> in itself. It's a lot different from today-I didn't always though how I think
> today…And at first, it was really the Asians-at first it was the Asians I
> couldn't stand. I caught myself saying, I didn't like Asians, I didn't like
> no Asians…

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He continues on at length, discussing Puerto Ricans and Cambodians, along with the general category of Asians, without ever addressing the topic of eastern Africans. I prompted him with two more questions, one about Somali gangs versus African American gangs, and a third about how he thinks about East Africans, before he finally referenced east Africans specifically.

Since African Americans have a long history of unease with immigrants, sometimes viewing them as economic competitors, other times envisioning a unified community of color that would raise the economic conditions of all people of color, including blacks, and reduce the blatant racism faced by members of both groups, it makes sense that their discussions of immigrants would widely include all people of color, native and immigrant groups. African Americans are more comfortable talking about immigrants that have been in the country for longer and that have become established populations and established potential rivals. Similarly, African Americans showed an increased comfort in discussing and/or diverting questions and conversations about eastern Africans to instead discuss western Africans or specific West African countries.

Deference to Western African Countries

Some interviewees expressed their familiarity and comfort level with discussing western African countries as opposed to eastern African ones. For example, a twenty-two year old woman says, "I don't really know much from Somalia, I know a lot of people who are from Kenya and then who are from Nigeria…" (May 3, 2006). Kenya is

in West Africa proper, as the region known as West African includes Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, and sometimes includes Rwanda and Burundi, however, in the Twin Cities a pan-ethnic category of East African has emerged, such that references to East Africa include most prominently persons from the Horn of Africa: Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Sudan. Even though regionally, these countries from the Horn of Africa are *not* a part of East Africa, most residents of the Twin Cities are more likely to exclude Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda from their conceptual notion of East Africa and to include Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Sudan. This means that when my interviewees talked about Kenya, as did the woman above, it was almost exclusively with the understanding that Kenya was not a part of East Africa. One of my male interviewees even noted that Kenya was a part of West Africa, thinking it was geographically near Liberia and Nigeria. Since the Twin Cities has a sizeable Liberian population (mostly located in the northwest suburbs, such as Brooklyn Park and Brooklyn Center) that started growing in the mid-1980s through the 1990s, and has even been called "Little Monrovia" (Reckdahl 2000), some of my interviewees were more familiar with Liberians and Nigerians than Somalis, at least in terms of the ease of creating conversation and friendship networks. For example, a twenty year old male University of Minnesota student discussed his participation in the Black Student Union and participation in the organization by African immigrant and descendant of immigrant members:

> I don't know the exact name, because they just changed it, it used to be
>
> Africana, and that used to be with African Americans and Africans would
>
> get together and just socialize and attend meetings, so through that I met a

lot of Nigerians, Sierra Leonines, and, uh, Liberians… (September 13, 2002).

Even though most African Americans trace their lineage back to western Africa as opposed to eastern Africa, their familiarity and comfort with discussing West Africans as opposed to East Africans is more likely due to increased cultural and social mixing in the US (most West Africans are Christianized as opposed to East Africans who are frequently Muslim) than to any appreciable influence from their direct or indirect lineage in Africa. One sixty-eight year old male did note his family's accomplishment in tracing their genealogy back to West Africa and subsequently through the remainder of the interview was more comfortable discussing West Africans, even when asked questions directly about eastern Africans, he had also traveled to Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia and Ghana. Similarly, in the few interviewees I talked to who had traveled to Africa, most had been to Nigeria, Liberia or Ghana. None of my African American interviewees had visited a country in eastern Africa or the Horn of Africa. When asked about interactions he had with eastern Africans, he was able to briefly mention some conflict with Somalis that the African American men in the program he worked for (a drug rehabilitation program) had, but he felt more comfortable discussing West Africans and went on:

…you know, one of my best friends is a West African from Nigeria, and I've known for almost twenty-five years now. And one of the regional people I met was from Nigeria. If we are trying to get to sit down and talk, yeah, we're okay [it's easy to talk to them] (July 25, 2006).

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Whatever the particular reason, social and cultural distance and proximity, how recently

the groups immigrated, a history of traveling to western African countries, or the ability

to trace their lineage back to West Africa, some interviewees had a difficult time staying

focused on questions about eastern Africans and felt more comfortable engaging in

discussions about western Africans. Though at times, my interviewees seemed reluctant

to include eastern Africans in an overarching category as economic competitors, and

instead predominantly classified Latinos and Asians as a source of inter-group threat,

they also frequently demonstrated the social, cultural and historical difficulties they face

in imagining a unified black community that incorporates African Americans, eastern

Africans and western Africans. My interviewees expressed the ideological need to bridge

boundaries with East Africans, to improve the social and economic situation of all blacks,

but also dismayed the hesitancy they perceived from East Africans in terms of

interactions, dating and cultural differences. An application of Blumer's (1998[1958])

discussion of interests and group threat, particularly the construction of collective

knowledge of racial groups vis-à-vis their interactions with each other leads to the

identification of multiple levels of interests: economic, cultural, social distance and

lineage. Blumer also points to the importance of the construction of collective

knowledge, i.e. group knowledge, as groups define themselves and others, as well as their

relation of themselves to others. African Americans have historically defined themselves

in relation to American slavery, as many of my interviewees indicated was especially

important, but also developed a collective representation of Africa, often limited and

sometimes a generic Africa, but nonetheless a collective representation that has loomed

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largely in the collective consciousness of African Americans. Many of my interviewees discussed their lack of connectedness to Africa and the importance of the American media on influencing their perceptions of Africa writ large, while others compressed the notion that their history in American slavery *was* their history in America *and* Africa and were adamant and even defensive about the possibility of having either cultural identity taken away from them.

Interactions with eastern Africans highlighted the two-ness of African American collective identity. This issue has been central to conceptualizing and thinking about African American identity for over a century, and while the content has changed, the centrality of the convergence of American and African components of identity as lived experience has not. Taking together the assessment of the changed content of Africa in African American collective memory (see Chapter 4) and the analysis of the interactions and perceptions of eastern Africans in this chapter, I argue that eastern Africans are outside of the African American experience and outside African Americans' construction of Africa, and rather than expanding a collective conception of Africa to include eastern Africans, African Americans reduce the similarities between the groups to the economic, structural and experiential reality of being black in the United States. In the following chapter, I examine how African American definitions and understandings of affirmative action can help us define the boundaries of African American ethnic identity and how the process of constructing those boundaries speaks to the overlaying of multiple conceptions of collective memory.

Chapter 6: Affirmative Action and African American Perceptions of Immigrant Entitlements

Introduction

In this chapter, I use affirmative action as a proxy of African American collective memory of a history of disenfranchised rights in the United States. Similar to how portrayals of Africa in the *Minneapolis Spokesman* analysis (see Chapter 4) provide insight to the content of the African cultural part of African American identity, the boundaries around which African Americans draw access to entitlements historically intended as a redress for African Americans, serves as an indicator of the American cultural part of African American identity. The way in which African American define affirmative action (and as we will see there are four prominent themes in terms of definitions/understandings) serves as an indicator for how they construct the boundaries of who is and is not a part of their group, which directly impacts their understanding of what it means to be African American, i.e. the content of African American ethnic identity. Taken together with Chapter 4, we see that collective memory (of Africa, of a history in America) plays a prominent role in the construction of African American ethnic identity.

Structure, Entitlements and Collective Memory

African American cultural schemas, which are heavily influenced by African America's collective memory of Africa and the place of immigrants and affirmative action in those memories, impact the way that African American narratives of inclusion or exclusion incorporate history, United States citizenry and economic competition into their schemas of Affirmative Action.

As previously discussed, African Americans have long engaged with a history of collective representations and memory of Africa. In Chapter 4, I examined how collective representations of African Americans' collective memory of Africa changed through a process of structuration, politically, culturally and historically, partially as a result of intergroup contact between African Americans and eastern Africans and a transformation of present-day utilization of collective representations. In this chapter, I examine the impact collective representations have for these groups in terms of narratives of access to resources, or narratives/schemas of entitlement for African Americans and immigrants *by* African Americans. Recently, collective memory scholars have argued that the formation of collective memories of history can be used to explore intergroup conflicts (Savelsberg and King 2005). While it is especially helpful in cases of direct conflict, and access to resources like affirmative action present the potential for actual, perceived or theoretical conflict, looking at collective memory formation as a process of structuration also allows for the possibility of cooperation as well, and narratives of both competition and cooperation emerge in my empirical analysis below.

Affirmative Action-For Whose Benefit?

In the mid-1960s, two important pieces of legislation were passed that, though only marginally linked at the time, would merge toward an explosion of political intensity starting in the 1970s: affirmative action and the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act (Graham 2001). Affirmative action began with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, title VII of which prohibited employers with 100 employers or more from discriminating on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin (Dobbin et al. 1999; Skrentny 1996). Affirmative action policy developed through a string of executive orders, administrative

policies and court decisions rather than through the legislative process (Steinberg 1999).

Initiatives first through the Kennedy and more prominently through the Johnson

administration, helped to implement what has become known as affirmative action policy

(see Skrentny 1996: 6-8 for a full discussion). The term affirmative action appears once

in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and is a statement intended to provide redress

for the historical grievances of groups that have been systematically discriminated against

by employers (Fried et al. 2001; Mack 1996). Under this assumption, it has been argued

that American blacks were the primary group intended for redress by the policy (Lincoln

1980).[31] Relying on this assumption, the most obvious implications of affirmative action

depict African Americans as the primary beneficiaries, but other systematically

discriminated against minorities, such as American Indians, also fall under the original

mandates of the statement.

In 1965, the Immigration and Nationality Act loosened immigration reigns in

place since the mid-1920s and shifted the main principle of admission to family

reunification while expanding the total number of immigrants admitted (Diamond 1998).

The policy was initially intended to raise the number of immigrants by only a marginal

amount. As Hugh Davis Graham (2001) writes, the labor secretary in 1964 expected an

increase of only 63,000 more than the 300,000 immigrants that had entered the country in

the years shortly before the act's passage (57). Ultimately, however, the liberalization of

immigration laws had a much larger impact. The 1964 estimate was a stark

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[31] Lincoln (1980) goes on to argue that other groups have become the vicarious beneficiaries of African
American distress when they are now considered their peers and thus valid recipients of affirmative action, and
other social policy, benefits (371).

miscalculation and a decade after the act's passage immigration had increased by sixty

percent. In particular immigration from Latin America and Asia had increased markedly

(Diamond 1998). The effect upon contemporary affirmative action policies has been that

many immigrants and their children have come to benefit from policies that were written

prior to their arrival. Will Kymlicka (2001) has characterized these individual's inclusion

as beneficiaries of affirmative action as a "gradual widening of the target groups" (197).

How can the results of these two pieces of federal legislation most effectively and fairly

be reconciled? African Americans, whites and immigrants themselves have differing

perspectives.

Increasingly since the 1990s, working and middle-class whites, as well as some

others, have expressed a growing opposition to affirmative action (Lynch and Beer 1990).

In part, they are reacting to a trend recognized by analysts whereby the historical ground

upon which affirmative action was built to alleviate systematic discrimination against

American blacks in the workplace has been replaced by a system of race-consciousness

that benefits a variety of minorities, including immigrants. The goal of the new form of

affirmative action is often proportional representation, not simply a policy of

nondiscrimination (Lynch and Beer 1990: 67).[32] In this regard, Bobo and Kluegel (1993)

discuss the important disjuncture between whites and blacks when it comes to support for

race-targeted policies (i.e. those like affirmative action): "Majority support among blacks

is often matched by majority opposition by whites" (445). Whether this is best explained

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[32] This assertion may be up for increasing debate. Recently it has been noted that affirmative action seems to be facing a period of retrenchment that began in the 1990s. Local governments, universities, and the U.S. Supreme Court have continued to reduce the impact of affirmative action in various arenas, including employment, school admissions and voting rights (Pedriana 1999: 4).

through simple economic self-interest (of either the individual or group variety), beliefs (primarily on the part of whites) about how inequality functions, or racial attitudes, it is clear that at least minimally, white opposition to these programs signals a perceived economic threat to themselves. This threat is only heightened when not only American blacks but immigrant groups are recipients of such policies. There is a resultant need to better understand how African Americans view their access to race-targeted policies as well as immigrant access to the policies.[33] Even if the goals of affirmative action programs have shifted over time, whites often use affirmative action as a scapegoat to assign blame to African Americans, Latinos and immigrants for problems that affect the whole of the working class (Rosenthal 1997).

Christian Joppke discusses the shift in civil rights law from equal opportunity to equal results (1999b). According to Joppke, affirmative action was the benchmark of this shift. Originally intended to primarily benefit African Americans and to serve as restitution for past injustices, the vague wording of civil rights and affirmative action laws made it possible for other groups to claim benefit: "…The colour-blind logic of civil-rights law did not *name* its main addressee-instead, it spoke abstractly of 'citizens', 'individuals', or 'persons' who were to be protected from discrimination on the ground of 'race, color, religion or national origin' " (Joppke 1999b: 156). This non-specific classification became the route by which other group could claim benefit to civil rights legislation and thus minority status. For African Americans, the group historically understood to be the primary beneficiaries of affirmative action policies, extending the

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[33] See Hunt 2007 for a similar discussion of African American beliefs toward black/white inequality that highlights the importance of understanding the relative positions of blacks, whites and Hispanics with regard to their potential effects on support for race-targeted policies.

application of affirmative action increasingly to immigrants has had economic

consequences that extend to the middle class and urban poor alike (Graham 2001).

Potential labor market threats from immigrants have long been cited by many,

particularly in the media, as a cause for alarm. American-born minorities seem to be

particularly vulnerable to the negative outcomes of immigration, according to popular

and academic accounts (Moss and Tilly 2001). Policies in labor and education, whether

originally intended for native-born minorities or not, are often applied to both American

minorities and immigrants alike. Specifically, affirmative action programs have been

cited as possibly giving advantages to foreign-born minorities while simultaneously

providing less-than-ideal benefits for African Americans. This is particularly true because

employers, as well as college and university administrations, often lump immigrants and

American minorities into monolithic ethnic and racial categories as beneficiaries of

affirmative action/equal employment opportunities (Hoxby 1998; Lucas and Paret 2005).

In addition, minority job concentration can create competition among racial groups

(including immigrants) over limited resources such as jobs and education (Eitle 2002).

Large-scale immigration has been linked, though not without qualification (see Lichter

and Waldinger 2001: 155-156) with negative economic effects for African Americans.

Specifically in certain industries, African Americans are often overlooked for jobs in

favor of immigrants (see for examples Newman 1999; Waters 1999a; Hondagneu-Sotelo

2001; Lee 2001). These claims have their contestations (see for examples Bean, Van

Hook and Fossett 1999; Lichter and Waldinger 2001; Lim 2001). Though even in these

cases, there is often at least marginal evidence to suggest that blacks are

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disproportionately affected by immigration. For example, an empirical study, using data from the early twentieth century, finds that though the occupational standing of African Americans remained unaffected by the relative group size of blacks and immigrants in the labor market, the economic fortunes of *immigrants* were more favorable in communities with proportionately larger black populations (Tolnay 2001).

Though debates over affirmative action have raged for decades, the coming together of affirmative action and immigration, as scores of immigrants in the 1990s became the recipients of affirmative action policies, has resulted in an increase of public scrutiny in both arenas. The conjoined timing of these policy implementations and expansions indeed impacted one another (Graham 2001). Some authors, like Mark Krikorian, originally writing in a 1989 issue of *The Christian Science Monitor*, report that "the interplay of affirmative action and large-scale immigration, as they exist in the United States today, shows that they are incompatible and their combination explosive" (Krikorian 1994: 300).

Though pressures had mounted within both white and black communities by the early 1980s to restrict immigration to the United States (Diamond 1998), the African American community as a whole has a complex relationship with support for and/or against immigration. Some research on African American attitudes towards immigration has shown a disjuncture between the way that African American public figures and the black press portray community attitudes about immigration (predominantly positive) and those displayed by others in the black community (as assessed through survey research available to the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research as of July 1996), which have

been more negative. This has been shown to be especially the case when survey questions are phrased to emphasize the economic consequences of immigration (Diamond 1998). Jeff Diamond has discussed this disjuncture by exploring the attitudes expressed in black political caucuses and the black press versus those obtained through large-scale survey research (Diamond 1998).

While very real tensions may exist between African Americans and immigrants, especially with regard to economic competition, African Americans and recent immigrants, who are predominantly Asian, Latino or African, also find themselves subject to similar racially discriminatory treatments (Model and Ladipo 1996). Broader cultural changes have also contributed to a sense of cohesion among recent immigrants and African Americans. In recent years, it has been argued that in contrast to assimilationist assumptions, new immigrants are expected to renounce homogenization and celebrate their cultural distinctiveness (Joppke 1999a). Upon these grounds, African Americans are often able to embrace immigrant groups as part of the broader group of people of color (Graham 2001). Support for both race-targeted programs (Bobo and Kleugel 1993) and immigration-friendly policy (Diamond 1998) are higher among African Americans overall than whites, and Pedrianna and Stryker (1997) place both immigration and affirmative action among a battery of criteria for assessing where people stand in today's "culture wars" (634-635), indicating an expected link between support for affirmative action and liberal immigration policies.

Affirmative Action, Class Divides and Collective Memory

Manuel Castells (1997) has made the intriguing argument that African American collective identity has developed along two, disparate class lines: Urban, poor blacks and middle-class blacks. Middle-class African American identity stresses the themes of the past, both African and American, while "keeping silent on the plight of the present," (Castells 1997: 60) which is the plight of the urban underclass. In contrast, urban, poor blacks, have created a collective identity "where blackness matters less than the situations of exclusion that create new sources of bonding, for instance, territorial gangs…" (Castells 1997: 60). Castells does not dispel the importance of blackness or African ancestry to either of these emergent identities within the African American community; rather, his argument is that they are separate strains of African American identity. Although there are elements of a unified collective identity and memory that run throughout the African American community, the community as a whole cannot be taken to be monolithic. Affirmative action programs have long been noted to disproportionately benefit the middle-class (Wilson 1978). Despite this, several commentators have argued that affirmative action does benefit working and urban underclass blacks. In a Marxist analysis of affirmative action, Fred Pincus (1997) concludes that affirmative action "helps to improve the life for large sections of the working class and helps to reduce the effects of racism and sexism" (101) and therefore is worthy of continued support and implementation by all. His argument supports the notion that even if affirmative action fails to significantly improve the plight of the black

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urban underclass, African American access to opportunities would be worse without it and discrimination would still persist (Pincus 1997).

Some commentators have even gone as far as to argue that affirmative action should be extended to all persons disadvantaged by class (Mack 1996). In addition, it has been argued that it may not be appropriate to expect affirmative action to ameliorate the problems of the urban underclass. At best, affirmative action should help make the share of African American representation among the underclass more proportionate to their representation within the overall population (Mosley 1992). Whatever the case, commentators and the evidence they marshal indicate that, even if affirmative action disproportionately benefits the middle-class, there are still real and ideological benefits for the African American working and underclass.

If Castells' (1997) argument about a divided African American community is taken into consideration, the disproportionate effects of affirmative action should be noted by both sectors of the African American community and should emerge in a typology of narrative schemas. Given that affirmative action has real and perceived implications for all sectors of the African American community, and that many white, working-class Americans perceive economic threats from affirmative action policies, African Americans of all classes are likely to react, one way or another, to the inclusion of immigrants as beneficiaries of affirmative action. Among the lower and working classes, African Americans, other minorities, and whites, often compete with immigrants for jobs (Waldinger 1997). Often native-born Americans, and in particular African Americans, are undercut by immigrants, sometimes undocumented, willing to work for

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lower wages than they are themselves. Many upper and middle-class whites are fully aware of this (Muller 1997). The case of "undocumented workers" shows that the issue of jobs will not lose force for blacks until there are enough jobs, and equal and fair access to them, for everyone (Oliver and Johnson 1984).

Black Immigrants in the United States and African Americans

Increasing variance in immigration to the United States since the mid-1960s has led to an interest in how immigrants have adjusted to American society and culture as well as the interactions with and effect American society has had on immigrant culture. In particular several books have been recently published about Caribbean and West Indian and Afro-Cuban immigrants in the United States (see for examples Kasinitz 1992; Waters 1999a; Buff 2001; Greenbaum 2002). These works have started dialogues about how African Americans, native-born in the United States, and black immigrants relate through first and subsequent generations and how immigrant groups acculturate into the American system of race relations. A complex picture of race relations and integration into American society is painted in these works. For example, as I argued in previous chapters, Portes and Zhou (1993) indicate that second generation black immigrants may give way to "segmented assimilation" into the urban culture of African Americans.

In this chapter, I link the expansion of affirmative action laws, immigration laws and African American/black immigrant relations as I ask the question: How are African American understandings and articulations of their definitions of affirmative action related to their expressions of inclusion or exclusion for immigrants? The questions that I asked my interviewees were about their perceptions of the effect of affirmative action

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benefits being extended to other groups aside from immigrants. So, the guiding question of this chapter is not about whether or not African Americans are directly hurt by the extension of affirmative action benefits to other groups, but their perception of who should or should not benefit. I then classified the perceptions into one of four conceptual models, listed below. The understandings of where people's understandings and perceptions fit into the conceptual model is partly a moral and ethical discussion of who fits into the American polity depending on how rights are conceived for African Americans and for immigrants alike.

To facilitate this discussion, I first developed an ideal-type theoretical model of who has access to the "right," to affirmative action, based on an adapted model of James Coleman's (1990) model of rights to smoke. This model is then applied to African American conceptions of affirmative action "rights" to benefit from such race-targeted policies. I conclude by looking forward to how African American conceptions of rights to affirmative action contour their understandings of their 'ethnic' options vis-à-vis black immigrants. In my analysis, I map the narratives that emerge in reference to affirmative action as an element of collective memory.

Rights

My model of the conception of rights to affirmative action was inspired by James Coleman's, though Coleman's model focused on discrete interactions and mine focuses on group perceptions. The model is an ideal type, and developed to be matched against the empirical evidence. The model is tested to explore understandings of African American perceptions of immigrant access to affirmative action. The model is

represented by a two-by-three table of African American and immigrant perceptions of

who has the right to access to affirmative action (this is tested empirically through the

perception African Americans and the perceptions African Americans *have of* African

immigrant perceptions). The table is detailed along three lines: should African

Americans, all black citizens or all blacks, citizens, legal immigrants and non-legal

immigrants, have the rights to access to affirmative action? The table is a theoretical

model of what is possible and the empirical analysis unfolds using these categories,

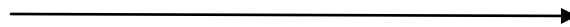though it is not an empirical test of the model per se.

Table 5: Model of the Conception of Rights to Affirmative Action
Along the Side: Group Perception
Along the Top: Groups that Ought to have Access

Less Inclusive   *More Inclusive*

$\longrightarrow$

	African Americans	Citizens Only	All People of Color
African Americans	Historical	Citizenry and Economic Competition?	Broad Understanding
Immigrants	Historical	Citizenry and Access to Resources	Broad Understanding

The empirical findings are organized along the theoretical dimensions of the

model. Further each cell of the model can be further differentiated along two lines: Who

should and/or has received access to affirmative action; and how is affirmative action

understood in terms of contemporary and/or historical issues. These are further

delineated along several lines, as follows:

Who ought to have Access to Affirmative Action?:
1. Is this question answered based on historical circumstances?

2. Is it this question answered based on a broader, contemporary conceptualization

   of affirmative action? That access to the rights of affirmative action should be

   based on contemporary discrimination (racial, ethnic, national origins, etc?)?

3. Is this question answered based on who has received access to the rights of

   affirmative action?

How is Affirmative Action Understood?
1. Historical understanding

2. Broader definition without historical reference

3. If they're citizens clause

4. Economic hardships/class & competition for resources

The empirical examples will be linked to the ideal typical theoretical model, while also

suggesting which of the Who has Access? And How is Affirmative Action Understood?

dimensions are highlighted in each example.

Findings

Almost all interviewees used the language of "leveling the playing field" to

describe what they saw as the purpose of affirmative action. Sometimes responses

included indications that affirmative action helped make up for historical injustice

wrought upon native-born domestic minorities. A twenty-six year old female offers an example that encompasses all of these elements:

> I would define affirmative action as, um, programs that exist to, um, level the playing field for minorities and women, and I, you know, they can be in the workplace or in education…but I think at some basic level the idea behind it is to, um, create a level playing field for, for everyone, or for, um, historically disadvantaged groups (July 11, 2002).

Later, when prompted to respond regarding whether or not immigrant populations should be on the receiving end of affirmative action policies she responded by saying:

> I think it gets a, a little trickier with immigrant populations, but, most immigrant populations [should be able to benefit from affirmative action].

A second example of this type of definition for affirmative action and the associated cautious reception of immigrants as recipients of affirmative action policies is from a thirty-four year old male university professor, who defines affirmative action as follows:

> Affirmative action for me, uh, is providing, uh, an opportunity for people who are, who have been historically disenfranchised…I think the true intent, if not always the, the practice of affirmative action is to, sort of a redress for past injustices…so, it's definitely a way of trying to level the playing field, I think, to decrease some of the artificial barriers that are put up in front of certain groups certainly in terms of race, such as my group which would be African Americans…women also have been beneficial, benefited, I think from affirmative action programs (September 20, 2002).

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He then goes to discuss whether or not Asian Americans should benefit from affirmative action policies and had this say:

> Asian Americans that's an interesting story because, you know, they, their group is kind of a mixed number of the people who have been here for a long time, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans are, are attaining parity with white Americans, but more recent immigrants, Vietnamese and Hmong are still, kind of, facing some of the early immigration, uh, type problems, so, uh, so that's, that's a little tougher call, but I guess in general, Asian Americans as well…

Finally, he discusses whether or not immigrants, in general, should be able to take advantage of affirmative action policies:

> INT: Um, how about immigrant groups, do you think they should be able to benefit from affirmative action?
>
> HIM: That's interesting, I, I've never really thought about that…the debate has always been in terms of, you know, U.S. born, uh, people of color and also U.S. born women, um, yes that would definitely go along with my earlier statements about affirmative action should be tweaked, we should experiment with, with new kind of practices and under that kind of definition, then immigrants would definitely be eligible, I think.

Though this interviewee clearly supports affirmative action for immigrant groups who are struggling to survive in white dominated America, he also only thinks that immigrants should benefit from affirmative action once the definition of affirmative action and the

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types of practices and policies that accompany the definition are changed. Working with

a definition of affirmative action that emphasizes the traditional intent of the policies, as a

compensation for past inequities (Skrentny 1996; Joppke 1999b), African Americans in

my sample were careful about their inclusion of immigrants as beneficiaries of the

policies, but they were not necessarily unwilling to consider the extension of legal

benefits to immigrants. They were however much more likely to consider these

extensions when exploring the possibility of expanding the definition and understanding

of the policies. In these instances, the definition would follow the line of reasoning

follows developed from Pedriana and Stryker's (1997) "litmus test," which places

affirmative action and immigration among a host of other hot-button issue indices (also

including abortion, multiculturalism, and sexual orientation) of where Americans stand in

the "culture wars," (634-635). So, the idea is that a person who is conservative on

affirmative action is highly likely to be conservative on immigration because these issues

inhabit the same cultural and political space. But, the question still remains of the

implications for African Americans of broadening the definition of affirmative action. It

might lead to a more unified "people-of-color" sentiment, especially among groups like

East Africans and African Americans who share a racial ascription. On the other hand, it

could also lead to increased claims of economic competition.

Respondents who initially during the interview had adopted a broader definition

of affirmative action highlighted the prospect affirmative action offered of leveling the

playing field, either by using this phrase specifically or by utilizing comparable discourse

to describe it, for minorities, and often also women. Though not directly, these types of

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responses often implicitly de-emphasized the historical dimensions of affirmative action in their less cautious inclusion of immigrants under the rubric of individuals deemed appropriate to benefit from affirmative action. A typical example is from a twenty-two year old male of this type of definition and the following discussion of immigrant inclusion follows:

> I define it as a practice that's used to give equal opportunity in various different areas, the workplace and housing, to minority groups such as African Americans, you know, Hispanics, Asians, whereas without an affirmative action policy it might be more difficult for those people to get the same opportunities as whites.

> I definitely think immigrant groups should be able to benefit from it because once you come over here, it's tough to get established, I mean, because you're not going to become a U.S. citizen right away, a lot of people are trying to learn the language, trying to adapt to a new society, and I mean I can see how people would think that, you know, African Americans, you know, should be benefiting the most or people that are U.S. citizens in minority groups, but immigrants are having a tough time too so I definitely think they should be able to take advantage of affirmative action (September 2, 2002).

A similar definition and discussion of immigrant inclusion is from a twenty-three year old male:

Affirmative action, uh, to me, was a system that was put in place to level

the playing field between, uh, underrepresented, uh, populations, like

women, it could be, you know, um, especially originally it had a lot of

focus on like ethnicity and nationality, but it's basically supposed to level

the field between, what I see is, uh, white males and everyone else.

If, yeah, if they [immigrant groups], they have the desire to do something

and, and they're underrepresented, and it's a significant underrepresented

population, then of course [they should be able to benefit from affirmative

action] (December 20, 2002).

An interesting note about these two respondents is that they both began discussing their

opinions about affirmative action by stating that they had "mixed feelings about it."

Even though they thought that the misunderstandings often associated with affirmative

action could potentially result in stigmas for some beneficiaries of affirmative action,

they easily listed people they thought should still be able to benefit, and included

immigrants among these people.

Other respondents varied in their feelings about the incorporation of immigrant

benefits into affirmative action. These variations can be discusses as encompassing

roughly two themes. The first were those who those who supported affirmative action for

immigrants under the "if they're citizens clause," and the second set of interviewees cited

specific economic threats posed by the various immigrant groups in Minneapolis/St. Paul,

including East Africans, Mexicans and Hmong.

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A twenty-year old college student offers an example of the "if they're citizens clause" when answering the following question:

INT: How about immigrant groups? Do you think they should be able to benefit from affirmative action?

HER: I feel if they're U.S. citizens, they should be able to have all rights that, um, other U.S. citizens have (September 19, 2002).

Other respondents embedded their definition of affirmative action itself in a language that implied that recipients should be citizens. A thirty-eight year old elected city official, gave the following definition of affirmative action:

How would I define affirmative action? Um, let me see, if the world were fair, we wouldn't need affirmative action, but since we're not, we need affirmative action as something that we use to make sure that everybody has an honest chance to participate in those same freedoms that I just said, that, uh, that come with having citizenship here in the United States (August 20, 2002).

A forty-five year old systems analyst, who reserved the use of affirmative action for the "real extreme," discusses the implications of increased immigration in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area by pointing to the economic hardships brought by increased immigration:

I think it [increased immigration] affected it [race relations in the Twin Cities] as far, um, you know, as far as jobs…a lot of jobs that people are qualifying for or even jobs that are available to people applying for, um, as

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far as, uh, the way I feel, 'cause I'm in a different area than a lot of, even a

lot of my black, um, um, people there that I have a lot, that I interact with,

you know, I'm more of a technical person and, I, I normally don't have

problems finding jobs and, and working in certain arenas, but, you know,

guys in my technical areas or, you know, they're having a tough time,

because, I think, competing with those immigrants, not just, you know,

African immigrants, but other minorities, Asians and, and Mexicans, I

mean, there's a lot of other immigrant groups here…(September 9, 2002).

Later in this same interview, he went on to discuss how he had not viewed a fellow

Somali employee as an economic threat:

I worked with a, a guy from, a Somalian in, in my field and he's a pretty

nice guy and, you know, I never looked at him as a, you know, a problem

applying for my job or, or, or anything, just another employee.

Another, more straightforward example of economic threat being cited by African

Americans, comes from a thirty-eight year old Health Unit Coordinator, who discussed

not economic competition, but the perceived ability of immigrants to accumulate credit in

the face of African American's inability to accumulate credit. She defined affirmative

action primarily in terms of its implications for African Americans. In response to a

question about which groups she thought should benefit from affirmative action policies,

she stated:

African American people have suffered a great deal since they've been

here in this country, and just depending on what they are actually fighting

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for, or whatever actions they want taking place. I can't speak for other

nationalities because I don't know what they're going through, I just know

what we're going through (July 1, 2002).

She went on to add, in response to a question about which groups should not be able to

benefit from affirmative action:

For now yes. I think that, you know, the people that had been living in this

country all their life should benefit first before you let other cultures come

in and benefit from anything, um, that's my opinion.

Later in the interview, she went on to discuss the ability of immigrant groups to get

credit:

I think it's a lot of unfairness for the hard-working African Americans that

try to achieve, not to say the ones that don't want anything in life, the ones

that do want some in life, it's, it's really hard for them to get things

they've been wanting versus the Somalians who come in and seem like

they can get whatever they want, and its always a credit, uh credit issue,

like your credit is not good enough and your credit's bad, but of course

you get immigrants come in that didn't accumulate bad credit, of course

your going to have a fresh clean start. It's like, um, they offer them so

much, and I, and I think it's a lot of unfairness for people who try so hard

to accomplish things and they can't anything.

Another interviewee, a 44-year old male daycare owner, articulated his perception that

economic threat was based primarily on the existence of guest worker programs and

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specifically illegal immigrants taking jobs from the African American community, expressing a variation of the "citizen" clause, which is the "its ok if they're legal" clause:

> …not just about East African. I'm talking about the immigrants that's working in Wendy's and MacDonald's and taking kids from 14 and 15, 16 year old kids, you got grown men working in there taking those jobs away from kids now. And they illegal. The ones – I don't care about the ones that's legal, if you, if you 40 years old and Legal, its okay. If you are 40 years old and illegal it's not okay (May 4, 2006).

One final note of interest is the relative ease with which respondents were able to articulate answers to questions about affirmative action compared with other types of questions. For example, one respondent a twenty-one year old male, answered this way to a question about the benefits of being an American citizen:

> Um, I guess I never really thought about that…I don't know, I guess I take it for granted…American citizenship, uh, wow, I don't know how to answer that…I don't know, it's just something that's always been like automatic where I didn't have to take, you know, any exams being from here so I… don't know how to answer that (laughs) (February 14, 2003).

When asked about affirmative action, his response was almost automatic, which really underscores how relevant the topic of affirmative action is for the African American community, thus making it an important window to use to gauge feelings of exclusion and inclusion for the immigrant community. When asked to define affirmative action, he says:

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It's a policy implemented to help, uh, people of color and women…sort of

ward off discrimination when there's two equally competent applicants,

and it's designed to favor, or, uh, prefer the woman or the person of color

applicant.

Reflected in the narratives of the African Americans I interviewed are the ways in which their understandings of affirmative action mirror their ideas of incorporation of African immigrants into a larger collective black community. The adaptation of Coleman's model is a useful tool in that it helps us to understand the theoretical possibilities and to apply these possibilities to make sense out of the emerging narratives from my interviewees. The narratives of an historical understanding of affirmative action, a broader definition without reference to historical determinants, the "if they're citizens clause," and an emphasis on the competition for resources, mirror the myriad ways in which the African Americans I interviewed understand the complex interplay of their own history, access to race-targeted policies, economic competition and immigrant, particularly black immigrant, incorporation into a larger black or "people-of-color" community. What is most important here is the notion that the choices are between a larger *black*, *American* (citizenship clause), or *people-of-color* community, and not necessarily a larger African American community. It does not seem surprising, based on the cultural differences between these communities, and the recent immigrant status, and a whole host of other factors, that African Americans would relegate their conversation of eastern Africans to outside of African American ethnic identity, so that in and of itself is not extraordinarily telling. However, what it reflects about the commonalities between

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African Americans and eastern Africans is important. Similar to how I argued in Chapter 5, African Americans, when they do open up their definition and understanding of affirmative action to include the possibility for eastern Africans to benefit, do so based on structural and experiential discrimination.

This analysis says as much about the primacy of racial categorizations on resource allocations in the United States (Bashi and MacDaniel 1997) as it does about African Americans relationship with eastern Africans. The notion is that racial classifications have a big impact on structural location and experience, and African Americans recognize this in terms of black racial ascription. With regard to affirmative action, insofar as that recognition also overlaps with how they define the policy, there is a convergence and therefore an acknowledgement that immigrants and more specifically, eastern African immigrants should benefit from the policy. That acknowledgement is based on shared experiences with discrimination based on racial identity and not an overlapping of other components of African American ethnic identity or access to African American collective identity as a history of disenfranchisement in the United States. Because this overlapping is based on shared racial identity, it still continues to place eastern Africans outside of the African American experience. Especially when we conceive of affirmative action as a gauge of the convergence of African culture and American cultural components of African American identity and an indicator of the way in which African Americans draw group boundaries, the reduction of similarities between the two groups to shared racial ascription becomes even more telling.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

The central question of this research was: How do African Americans reconcile a collective concept of and linkage to "Africa" with their experiences and understandings of African immigrant groups in the U.S.? This dissertation has shown the importance of collective memory in facilitating an answer to this question. I find that for African American ethnic identity, collective memories of Africa and the historical remembrance of slavery are paramount in the process of constructing collective identity. I also find that rather than African immigrants impacting, challenging and changing African American conceptualizations of the collective construction of Africa, changes in the way that African Americans had conceptualized Africa, predated the arrival of eastern Africans in the Twin Cities. This reconceptualization set the stage for, and thus influenced African Americans' reception of East Africans. Rather than reimagining and reconstructing Africa in the collective consciousness of African Americans as inclusive of eastern Africans and their culture, African Americans amplified the American part of their identity in their interactions. Even the frequently recognized and discussed notion that African Americans and eastern Africans share a structural location based on racial ascription in the United States is itself uniquely American. Finally, interactions with immigrants resulted in a bifurcated concept of "Africa" as a collective construction and "Africans" or "immigrants" as an on-the-ground reality.

Each of the empirical chapters contributes to the overall argument about the shaping of African American ethnic identity through collective memory. In Chapter 4, I report over time trends in the portrayals of Africa presented in the *Minneapolis*

Spokesman, using a time frame of thirty-six years. I find a dramatic decline in political

representations and a corresponding turn to emphasizing cultural representations of

Africa. This is not an aberration based on a selected event or series of events, but a

pattern that represents a shifted emphasis in the construction of Africa in African

American collective identity. The pattern demonstrates by a shift towards portrayals of

Africa as more cultural, more generic, less political and more of a "symbolic" part of

African American ethnic identity (Gans 1979). This does not mean that Africa is less

important to African American ethnic identity; but it reflects a narrowing of the range of

contemporary circumstances in which Africa is salient, and the spectrum of possible

ways in which Africa is infused into African American ethnic identity. This pattern

frames the reactions of African Americans to eastern Africans. Importantly since the

reconstruction of the collective memory of Africa occurred before the arrival of eastern

Africans, it is reflected in African Americans' explanations of interactions with reception

of eastern Africans. In those interactions, African Americans tended to put East Africans

outside of their construction of Africa.

To elaborate, I found that African Americans did not expand their idea of Africa

through their interactions with eastern Africans, but rather these interactions resulted in a

bifurcated concept of "Africa" as a collective construction, separated from African

immigrants. At the same time, African Americans continually asserted the importance of

Africa as a central feature of African American collective identity and refused to

succumb to the notion that was sometimes expressed by eastern Africans, that African

Americans had no culture due to a loss of history in Africa resulting from trans-Atlantic

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slavery. African Americans were adamant in their assertion that they had a valid lineage in Africa, but also that their history and culture in American slavery was another representation of the cultural aspects of both the African and American aspects of African American identity.

African Americans were perceptive in their recognition that eastern Africans questioned the legitimacy of their history and culture in Africa. However, since the culture and history associated with the American part of their identity is rooted in trans-Atlantic slavery, this reframing incorporates a historiography of lineage in Africa. Africa remains staunchly positioned in African American ethnic identity. Many of the African Americans I spoke with had the defensive posture that they were not going to allow either the Africanness or the Americanness of their identity to be challenged or taken away.

Being black in the United States is often conceived as a master status that black immigrants must negotiate as they reconcile their position in the racial hierarchy vis-à-vis African Americans (Waters 1999). Though there has been a proliferation of recent research examining how black immigrants negotiate their identity within the context of the black-white racial hierarchy in the United States, there has been no corresponding literature examining the reaction of African Americans to the expanding category of those who are racially black to include increasingly historically and culturally differentiated groups from themselves. When examining the negotiation of group boundaries resulting from the adaptation of black immigrants to the American racial hierarchy, explanations such as segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993), as well as empirical examinations of black immigrant adaptations (Waters 1999) assert that black

immigrants seek to culturally and ethnically differentiate themselves from African Americans by highlighting the uniqueness attendant to the cultures of their countries of origin. Attempts to differentiate themselves can even take the form of emphasizing linguistic differences (i.e. their accent) or be demonstrated by highlighting their foreignness. The assumption embedded in analyses of segmented assimilation is that black immigrants seek this differentiation in part as a resistance to succumbing to the structural disadvantages of being racially black in the United States.

While it is interesting to note that some first-generation black immigrants may stress their foreignness while African Americans concurrently find their Americanness amplified through interactions with black immigrants, it is more telling to examine the motivations for and implications of these varied responses to the negotiation of the boundaries of black racial identity and African American ethnic identity. Since a resistance to black racial ascription equates to a resistance to African American ethnic identity for many black immigrants, it also implies that African American ethnic identity is synonymous with black racial identity. On the other hand, I find that even when African Americans recognize the structural and socioeconomic commonalities inherent in being ascribed as racially black in the American black-white racial hierarchy, equating this ascription with African American ethnic identity ignores the central two-ness of the construction of "Africa" in African American collective memory and the history and culture of the "American" part of African American ethnic identity.

I find that racial ascription resounds as the main point of commonality in the narratives of my African American interviewees about their interactions with eastern

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Africans (see Chapter 5) and their interpretation of eastern Africans as potential

beneficiaries of affirmative action policies (see Chapter 6). However, racial ascription is

not the whole of African American collective and ethnic identity. While sociologists

continue to underscore the primacy of racial ascription and the ongoing importance of

reconfigurations in how racial ascription impacts the life chances of African Americans,

the resources they have access to in American society and the invention of new racisms

as a perpetuation of experiential and structural inequalities (McArdle 2008) my findings

demonstrate that we cannot reduce African American collective and ethnic identity to

black racial identity. They do not equate. Likewise, the notion that African Americans

face real challenges in the economic, educational and occupational realm because of

resource competition with immigrants (Nagel 1995; Waldinger 1997), while valuable in

its own right, and certainly reflected in the narratives of some of my interviewees, (see in

particular Chapter 6), proves rudimentary in providing a comprehensive account of the

dynamics of the inter-relationship between African Americans and eastern Africans, the

reception of eastern Africans by African Americans, or the ways in which resources (or

lack thereof) structure identity.

I found in my interviews that the place of Africa within the collective memory of

African Americans helped shape and impact their interactions with eastern Africans. The

impact that interactions with eastern Africans had on the place of Africa in African

American collective identity is something of a counterfactual. It is a missed opportunity.

Rather than expanding their representation of Africa to highlight a group that is

undeniably African, I found that the collective portrayal remained rather general and

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cultural, as well as geographically and regionally de-centered outside of eastern African and the Horn of Africa. This has implications for other potential sources of cultural differences and commonalities between African Americans and African immigrants. For example, in my examination of the relationship between African immigrants and African Americans, I highlighted the importance of genealogical lineage and familiarity through travel to countries in West Africa as substantial factors in explaining the tendency of some of my interviewees to shift the tenor of conversations about East Africans to instead discuss West Africans. While my argument underscores the resiliency of western African countries as foundational in the collective memory and collective construction of Africa by African Americans, correspondingly other aspects of eastern African culture also become ousted in conceptualizing Africa, and in conditioning the relationship between African Americans and African immigrants in the United States. This especially includes religious differences. Examining the role (or lack thereof) or religious differences between African Americans and eastern Africans, while peripheral to the analysis I undertake in my dissertation, is an important area for expansion and future research. As some of my interviews noted, the construction of Africa in their collective memory had not included Muslims and this challenge only furthered the perceptions of eastern Africans as outside of African American ethnic identity and conceptualizations of Africa.

Religious differences were occasionally volunteered by my interviewees as an explanation for their perception that eastern Africans were a particularly closed-off and tight knit ethnic group. In particular, some interviewees commented that certain cross-

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over behaviors, such as inter-ethnic dating (see Chapter 5) might be particularly difficult, seemingly cementing the ethnic boundary between the groups. Since inter-ethnic marriage is an important index of cultural assimilation, the perception of enhanced difficulty in successfully establishing inter-ethnic romantic relationships is yet a further illustration of the resistance to segmented assimilation by black immigrants and the implications for understanding the content of African American ethnic identity as irreducible to black racial ascription. The role of religious differences between eastern Africans and African Americans is certainly an area for future research, but likewise future research should examine the role of religion specifically as a part of African American collective identity. It would be especially fruitful for future research to comparatively analyze the collective construction of Islam within the segment of the African American community that is a part of the Nation of Islam to see if there are notable differences in how this segment of the African American community expands or retracts the collective construction of Africa in relation to religious similarities, overlaps and differences. The addition of religion as another layer of identity convergence among African American Muslims or those within the African American community who are a part of the nation of Islam and eastern Africans, who are largely Muslim, would enhance our understanding of how African American ethnic identity incorporates the two-ness of being both African and American, and the place of the collective memory of Africa within that merging of African and American aspects of identity when not only racial ascription, but religion as well, can serve as a source of structural and cultural discrimination for the members of the groups.

As I have repeatedly argued, the presence of East Africans positioned many of the African Americans I talked with defensively in their assertion of the importance of their cultural and ancestral lineage as descendants of slaves as either more salient, or equally important as, their ancestry in Africa. Collective representations of Africa and the impact of interpreting affirmative action as a nexus of African American collective memories of the history of inequalities in the United States of affirmative action serve well as indices of the limits of who can be a part of African American ethnic identity. I have demonstrated that there is a difference in the meaning of what it means to be African American and in contemporary America versus what it means to be racially black. I have argued that the content of the racial ascription of blackness for African Americans and black immigrants alike is the sharing of experiences with racial discrimination. Since being black and being African American have long been presumed synonymous in American culture, the recognition that for black immigrants and African Americans alike, they are not synonymous compels us to further examine the content of African American ethnic identity, and, in particular, the role of collective memory in shaping that content. Black immigrants are not a new phenomenon in American culture (see Reid 1969[1939]), but the growing visibility and diversity of their presence elicits a confrontation of what it means to be black in the United States, and, further, how blackness is incorporated into African American collective identity. As second and later generation black immigrants face the possibility of incorporation into African American ethnicity, it will remain important to examine how African Americans make sense of the possibility for extensions to their ethnic options (Waters 1990) or to examine whether or not African

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Americans and black immigrants will sharpen the differentiation between their ethnic groups. Either way, to understand how African American collective identity is constructed will require continued attention to the ways in which African American collective memory of Africa, their collective memory of a lineage in American slavery, the two-ness of being African and American that Du Bois (1994 [1903]) famously elaborated more than a century ago and of the impacts of structural discriminations resulting from black racial identity, combine to create African American ethnic identity.

As I argued at the outset of this dissertation, processes of racial/ethnic group formation and stratification are collective, become part of the collective memory and culture of the group(s) involved (Schuman and Scott 1989; Blumer 1998[1958]; Bobo 1999). For my interviewees, this manifested as a part of the process of reconfiguring what collective incorporations of Africa, immigrants and the possibility of entitlement to policies, like affirmative action, means as a part of their individual and collective notions of being both *black* and *African American* in the Twin Cities.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

Interview Schedule Layout of Sections, Interview Guide
Each interviewee will be given and ID #, Date will be noted and Gender will be noted.
- Introduction; explain interview; Transitions/explanations of sections explained verbally.

Community Change
- Are you a native to Minnesota?
- If no, where are you from and how did you come to Minnesota?
- If no, how does Minnesota seem different from where you come from?
- How long have you lived in the Twin Cities?
- How do you think the Twin Cities has changed during the time that you have lived there? (Probe for demographic, political, economic, cultural and other changes).
- Could you describe the positive and negative aspects of these changes?
- How would you describe the African American community in the Twin Cities?

African Ancestry
- How important is your African ancestry in your own personal life?
- Have there been times in your life when it has been more important to you than at other points? (if so, can you elaborate on these experiences for me?).
- Have interactions with recent East African immigrants changed your perceptions of Africa?
- What about interactions with West Africans that you may have encountered?

Attitudes Toward Immigrants/African Immigrants
- There has been an increase in a various immigrant populations to the Twin Cities in recent years, do you think this had affected you? How?
- Do you think it has affected race relations in the Twin Cities? How?

Now I am going to ask you some questions about the recent East African (i.e. Somali, Ethiopian, etc.) immigrants to the Twin Cities.

- When did you first notice the presence of specifically East African immigrants in the TC?
- What types of interactions have you had with East Africans?
- Have there been situations where an East African person stood up for you?
- When you think of East African immigrants, what images and traits come to your mind?
- Do you think East African immigrants understand race relations in the United States?
- What are your general perceptions of relations between East Africans and African Americans in the Twin Cities? Please elaborate.
- Have you noticed or heard about any conflicts between African Americans and East Africans?
- What do you perceive to be the similarities between African Americans and East Africans? Do you perceive any differences?

- I know that there is a large Liberian population here in the Twin Cities, as well as a relatively large community of other West Africans, are the relations between African Americans and West African immigrants different than those between African Americans and East Africans?
- How much would you say you have in common with both the West and East Africans that you've encountered?
- Do you think that African Americans in the Twin Cities have a relationship that is different with African immigrants than with other immigrant groups such as the Hmong or Mexican immigrants?
- Do you think Americans know the difference between East Africans and African Americans?
- Do you think Americans treat African Americans and East African immigrants differently?
- Without speaking to someone, can you always tell the difference between a native African American and an East African immigrant?

Affirmative Action
- How would you define Affirmative action?
- What do you see as the advantages of Affirmative action?
- Do you see any disadvantages?
- Do you think that Affirmative action benefits are distributed equitably within minority communities?
- Are there groups of people you think should not be able to benefit from Affirmative action?
- What about immigrant groups, how do you feel about extending the benefits of Affirmative action to immigrants?
- If yes, in terms of extending benefits to immigrants, does it matter to you if the immigrants are U.S. citizens or not?

Discrimination
- From your perspective, does it seem like you have ever experienced discrimination for being African American?
- Have you had experiences with discrimination at work, school or in housing?
- Do you think that East African immigrants experience discrimination for being black? Have you noticed or heard about any particular incidents?
- Do you think that experiences with discrimination are comparable for African Americans and East Africans immigrants, or are there any differences?

Law
- Could you discuss for me what you see as the positive and negative aspects of the Twin Cities criminal justice system, from police to courts to prisons and so on?
- Have you or someone you know had interactions with lawyers, police officers, or other people involved in the legal system? How did it go? What motivated the interaction?
- How does law enforcement treat African Americans compared with East African immigrants?

Citizenship
- What do you think are the advantages of being a U.S. citizen?
- Are there any disadvantages that you can think of?
- Do you view citizenship any differently after September 11th?

Political Participation
- Do you ever attend meetings in your community? If yes, what were they about?
- Have you ever participated in rallies or demonstrations? What did you do?
- Have you ever been involved with getting the word out about an event, or encouraging people to register to vote or helping someone to get elected?
- Is there anything that makes African American involvement in politics different from the political involvement of other groups?
- How do you think the political involvement of immigrant groups, such as the Hmong and East African immigrants, is similar to or different from African American political involvement?
- Do you find it more difficult to be politically active after September 11th? Did your own level of political participation change after that event?

Family
- In most families, men and women have different roles, is this true in your family?
- How important is it that men do "men things" and women do "women things"?
- In your community, what are the most important things to teach boys so that they will grow up to be good men?
- What about women, what are the most important things to teach girls so that they will grow up to be good women?
- Are there certain things men just shouldn't do? Why?
- Are there certain things women just shouldn't do? Why?
- Are children today treated the same way you were treated when you were a child?
- Do you think there are differences between the roles men and women have in African American compared to East African families? What about between white families and African American or East African families?

Religion
- What is your religion? How important is your religion to you? How important is it in your community?

(If Muslim): Has your practice of religion changed since September 11th? How do you think it has affected those immigrants to the Twin Cities who are Muslim?

Have you experienced discrimination for being Muslim? Do you think East African immigrants experience this type of discrimination?

To your knowledge, what are the differences between Islamic practice and the practices of the Nation of Islam?

(If Christian): Are you aware of many East Africans who practice your religion? Are there differences you've noticed between the way you practice this religion and their practices?

How do you think September 11th has changed immigrant religious practices?

Do you think that East African immigrants who are Muslim experience discrimination based on their religion?