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African-Born Immigrants in U.S. Schools: An Intercultural Perspective on Schooling and Diversity

Immaculee Harushimana and Janet Awokoya

Despite the significant increase of African-born immigrants in the United States of America, the education system does not recognize their presence and does little to facilitate their integration through the implementation of necessary curricular adjustments. The purpose of this article is to call on multicultural education advocates to endorse the argument for the distinctness of African-born immigrants as a complex cultural group with unique vulnerabilities requiring sensitivity. Organizationally, the paper develops four key points: the current demographic representation of the African population; the absence of African voices in multicultural education scholarship; the salience of multicultural education advocacy in recognizing the essence of African cultures in the western world; and the minimal coverage of African topics in the U.S. curriculum. Two sets of recommendations, curricular and culture-oriented, conclude the argument.

Despite the recent increase of African-born immigrants in the United States of America (Hamza, 2005), their presence is poorly reflected in curricular decisions and educational planning in the U.S. school system. Oftentimes, the efforts of school officials to acknowledge African students yield minimal effect and superficial understanding among American-born educators and peers. Due to the absorption of African immigrant populations into the larger context of the black race (Arthur, 2000), little is known about their histories, their cultures, and their achievements. African-born children or children of African-born parents in the western world are disadvantaged by the manner in which African cultures and people have been portrayed in western-authored textbooks and by the western media.

This paper is a response to the minority cultures from sub-Saharan Africa, who seldom feel recognized or given the opportunity to affirm themselves in the U.S. context, particularly in the educational arena. After examining the American education curriculum vis-à-vis immigrant minorities from non-predominant cultures, like Africans, a two-fold argument emerged.

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- a. The subscription to a Eurocentric curriculum model alienates African-born minority students in U.S. classrooms;
- b. The minimal reference of Africa and African cultures, as well as instances of their misrepresentation in the curriculum, is antithetical to the tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy.

This paper seeks to develop the above argument across four major points: 1. The growing demographic representation of the African population; 2. The need for African voices in the multicultural education scholarship; 3. The limited recognition of African cultures in U.S. schools and society; and 4. Challenges and possibilities of advocacy for a deeper and broader coverage of African topics in the U.S. curriculum. Curricular and culture-oriented recommendations will conclude the article.

Demographic Representation

The decade of the 1980's has been identified as the period which marked the beginning of new African immigration to the United States (Hamza, 2005; Roberts, 2005). Hailing from Nigeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Somalia and other countries, the African population is noticeably diverse culturally, linguistically, economically, and educationally. As their numbers continue to increase, African immigrants are changing the demographics of the minority population in the communities as well as in schools. Immigration figures from U.S. 2000 Census data (U. S. Census Bureau, 2001) indicate a growing trend both in voluntary and forced African migration since the 1990's (Roberts, 2005). Based on statistical figures quoted in several African-focused news sources, Harushimana (2007) observed that African-born immigrants make up at least 1.6 percent of the black population. With an annual average of 50,000 legal immigrants from Africa since 1990 (Roberts, 2005), Census 2000 assessed that approximately one million African-born immigrants were legal residents of the United States in 2000. An important aspect of this immigration trend is the rising percentage of the sub-Saharan immigrant population compared to the entire African American population. McKinnon (2001) pointed out that, at the time of his statistical analysis, Africans represented 6% of *all* (emphasis mine) the immigrants to the United States, whereas sub-Saharan Africans made up 5% of the African-American population. The size of this population warrants attention in current discussions of the multiethnic make-up of the U.S. society, particularly in education. The African perspective in the multicultural education debate is critical in order to represent the needs and experiences of African-born youth in the U.S. educational system.

Addressing the Missing Voices in Multicultural Education

Multicultural education (Banks & Banks, 2007; Rego & Nieto, 2000) champions the implementation of a curriculum that promotes the academic achievement of all students. Banks & Banks (2007) have defined multicultural education as:

an idea, a reform movement, and a process whose major goal is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, language, and cultural groups will have an equal chance to achieve academically in school. (p. 1)

The goal of multicultural education, as defined above, captures the aspirations and expectations of most immigrant families and their children. At the same time, it presents problems of implementation. It is not clear how an all-inclusive curriculum can be achieved in a context where, according to Greene (1988), immigrants keep coming “with their own cultural memories, with voices aching to be heard” (p. 87); nor is it clear what is meant by a one-size-fits-all multicultural curriculum in a society where multiculturalism represents a multiplicity of ideologies and identities, beyond race and nationality. In the case of African immigrants, they come from different cultures, speaking various languages, and adhering to different traditions and beliefs. This multifacetedness of African societies is barely perceivable in the mainstream curriculum nor is it clearly reflected in the multicultural education philosophy.

The multicultural paradigm has yet to frame a multidimensional, culturally-responsive pedagogy, so that the needs and experiences of immigrant groups from societies with an embedded cultural diversity are recognized. Although some African nations and cultures are not well known internationally, immigrant children derive a sense of identity and pride from their roots. A curriculum that is oblivious to the histories of some immigrant societies, while exalting others, may create a sense of social exclusion and intellectual intimidation. Furthermore, when a student's culture is publicly degraded or misrepresented, the resulting feelings of shame, anger, and victimization are detrimental to his or her overall integration into the host society.

A culturally-sensitive curriculum should seek to promote “awareness and respect for a cultural variation, solidarity with others, and the elimination of nationalistic ways of thinking” (Paleologou, 2004, p. 324). We, the authors of this article, recognize the educational plight of non-western immigrant students in the western world. Like Paleologou (2004), we empathize with marginalized immigrant students, especially those who enter the [American] educational system at a later age, likely to “face unequal opportunities since their educational and cultural capital is completely ignored or considered to be

inferior” (p. 324). This article highlights the need for U.S. multicultural education advocacy to help African-born immigrant students to affirm their cultural knowledge and experiences in their new learning context. Substantial adjustments are yet to be made to the existing models of multicultural curriculum in order to make it relevant in the lives of diverse student populations (Gorski, 2006).

Recent curricular developments in multicultural education have featured culturally responsive teaching (CRT) curriculum as a potential model for cultural inclusion. A culturally responsive curriculum aims to “benefit all children by building on the richness of varied lived experiences and cultures to make learning more meaningful” (Bergeron, 2008, p. 8). The challenge with this aim becomes whether a teacher can equitably recognize every child’s experience, particularly in an unusually diverse classroom situation. A novice white teacher who tried to implement CRT in a classroom of predominantly Hispanic students observed a degree of cultural disequilibrium (Bergeron, 2008) due to her inability to adequately integrate the two white students in the class. She noted that the curriculum advantaged the Hispanic students, creating the feeling of marginalization among the two white students, who became minorities in this particular situation. The dilemma is further complicated in a multilingual and multicultural classroom, where the teacher has to acknowledge more than just one minority group. Students who come from lesser-known cultures and speak non-widespread languages are at a greater disadvantage, as silent and underrepresented minorities. While some schools have been successful in facilitating inclusive educational processes for teachers and students (Banks, 1997; 1998), the general implementation of a truly multicultural pedagogy has not yet been achieved (Goodwin, 2002). The constant arrival of new minorities requires an ongoing rethinking of ways in which the curriculum can reflect the ethnic makeup of the classroom.

Acknowledging New Minorities in the U.S. Curriculum

Many schools have reduced multicultural goals to a heroes and holidays approach that perpetuates a consistent Eurocentric view and diminishes an all-inclusive, social justice perspective (Banks, 1997; 1998). School-observed programs, such as Diversity Day and International Night tend to capitalize on superficial information about the experiences of non-predominant minority groups. This superficiality has been consistently denounced by minority activists (Williams, 2007). As Gorski (2006) contends, lessons about other cultures and celebrations of diversity are valuable educationally; however, unless they are attached to a transformative vision, they do not help facilitate the cultural and educational integration of disenfranchised, non-predominant minorities from lesser known parts of the world, such as Africa. To the contrary, if cultural

showcases are not handled carefully, they can degenerate into occasions for ridicule and humiliation, particularly for immigrant and indigenous students, whose cultural practices and observances are not widely known. As Grambs (2001) remarks, adult and young people do not appreciate other cultures in the same way. The prevalent introduction to ethnic differences through foods, dances, songs, natural heroes and folk stories to children and adolescents may induce them to "look with dismay at those who are different, and pity them for their funny foods, strange songs, frightening mythology and clumsy dress" (2001, p. 160).

Another complicating factor about equitable minority representation is reflected in the U.S. dedication of special months to the recognition of predominant versus new minority cultures. So far, the commonly acknowledged minority cultures in the U.S. curriculum include "Black History, Latino/a History, Asian Pacific Islander History, and Indigenous Peoples History" (Williams, 2007). Non-represented minority groups, especially new immigrants from poor, non-western nations, can rightly view this trend as the rising of a new, subtle "majority-in-the-minority hegemony" (Harushimana, 2007, p. 70). It is in this context that African students are at the utmost disadvantage, as non-predominant and oftentimes misrepresented minorities. The adjustment of the curriculum can allow for these students' previous experiences to transfer into the new context without risk of a "curriculum culture shock." One way multicultural education can help is by putting pressure on school officials to diversify textbooks so that new immigrants' cultures and experiences are acknowledged. An integration of African authors' perspective on Africa may begin a starting point for a much needed repair of the African image.

Repairing the African Image Through Multicultural Education

Whereas the United States has generously opened its borders to legal immigrants and refugees, this permeability is not yet reflected in its school curriculum. Because they promote a Eurocentric worldview, required texts in U.S. schools do not always paint an objective representation of Africa. As a result, the image of Africa tends to be negative, particularly, to an uninformed audience. A multicultural perspective, which supports the use of nonwestern sources in teaching, could balance the effects created by western-dominant textbooks and media.

Africa in Fact and Fiction

Elementary and secondary educational systems in Africa are structured

differently than western systems. Generally speaking, the foundations of literacy in the African curriculum are acquired in another language. Then instruction proceeds in a European language, but from an African perspective. In this light, students from Africa emigrate with a better understanding of African history, African literature, African geography, and African languages, which do not occupy an important place in the western curriculum. Inadequate transition between curricula is detrimental to the academic success of African children and others like them. Invalidation of prior educational experiences not only generates feelings of intellectual inferiority, but it also corroborates adverse stereotypes about Africa and Africans.

African children have to contend with both the negative depictions of Africa in the media, and the mis-portrayals about African societies in the school curriculum (i.e. textbooks, films, and magazines) (Awokoya, 2009; Ukpokudu, 1996). Western media presents African people as primitive, diseased and uneducated individuals barely capable of any development (Michira, 2002). The focus on exotic aspects of sub-Saharan life, such as the safari, wildlife, the Bushmen of the Kalahari, the pygmies and the Massai reinforces the stereotypes that impede learning the truth about sub-Saharan Africa. African-born immigrant students in U.S. middle and high schools are shamed when they are portrayed as primitive, and their nations characterized as backward, underdeveloped, and covered with jungles (Traore & Lukens, 2006).

In a system where multicultural education is intended to ensure that all children feel welcomed, African youth need to have written evidence that would help them to challenge the negative images that arise in the classroom. Consistent with its goal of providing a well-balanced representation of various people and a holistic portrayal of various cultures, multicultural education can provide the space where African scholars and students can challenge the misperceptions of African cultures. The first step in this endeavor should be the revamping of existing practices such as diversity celebrations in schools.

Diversity Programs Revisited

Many schools have implemented cultural programs with the intent of educating their teachers and student body on the diverse backgrounds and experiences of their student population. Due to the entertaining nature of these programs, however, African exhibitions are often reduced to superficial activities such as sampling of ethnic foods, modeling of African style clothing, and performing folkloric dances.

Thornhill (1999), a Canadian social critic, has denounced this celebratory practice as a deliberate distraction from a serious debate on multiculturalism. There is a lesson to be learned from the following admonition made to the Canadian Consultative Council on multiculturalism, at one of its

national hearings:

Regular international folkloric festivals with week-end multi-ethnic conferences punctuated here and there by an international buffet, by themselves, cannot create a harmonious pluralistic Canadian society. The real problems are being shoved aside, ignored amidst the folk dances, ethnic costumes and exotic dishes... (As cited in Thornhill, 1999, p. 85)

Thornhill's criticism can be applied to the United States. The widespread practice of International/Diversity Day/Night in K-12 schools provides more entertainment than substance.

International Night is a common school event that entails an evening where mostly immigrant students and children born of foreign-born parents are prompted to share their cultures with the school community. The highlight of International Night includes food, fashion and entertainment. Whereas this event seems to have gained popularity in schools across the United States, its multicultural value remains questionable. The timing, the focus, and the attendance suggest that it is more of a showcase than it is an opportunity for raising cultural awareness. Anything that is relegated to a night, day, a week, or even a month, despite the level of preparation, is likely to be abbreviated and, thus, may not present a comprehensive picture of the individuals and cultures being acknowledged.

Teaching Versus Showcasing

When it comes to African cultures, diversity days seem to provide opportunities for showcasing clothing and dance. The audience, which is predominantly American citizens, finds African clothing exotic and the dance entertaining; very few take the time to find out their actual meaning. Cultural events need to be given more educational meaning than entertainment. This would require that both teachers and administrators recognize the meaningfulness of the event, which is not the case in most schools. Teacher education programs need to diversify instruction to include topics related to new immigrant minorities.

It can be presumed that the current teaching force; which has been consistently described as consisting predominately of young, white, middle class female teachers (Goodwin, 2002); has limited knowledge of minority peoples and their cultures (Ukpokodu, 1996). A logical inference would be that little can be learned from uninformed educators teaching a curriculum that endorses "a museum or tourist approach in which teachers place emphasis on the exotic display of handmade artifacts and invite parents to cook foods of the culture group and play exotic music" (Ukpokodu, 1996, n.p.). By demonstrating

knowledge and interest in Africa and Africans, teachers can positively affect the educational and social experiences of African-born and American-born children attending school in the United States. Further evidence, in the following section, supports the argument that the extent to which a teacher knows about Africa will determine how much of Africa is included in the curriculum. Introducing African topics in the curriculum will open a window through which western stereotypes and biases about Africa and her people may be challenged.

Implementing Africa in the U.S. Curriculum

African studies experts deplore the fact that both college and secondary students in the U.S. know little about sub-Saharan African nations and cultures (Osunde, Tlou, & Brown, 1996). In some U.S. universities and colleges, the situation has been addressed through the implementation of Africana Studies Programs (Black or African American Studies). Research is still needed to determine how much of Africa and African people is represented in the curriculum, who are the students enrolled in these courses, and how well-versed the instructor is in African matters. Among the obstacles that the multicultural curriculum encounters is the shortage of culturally aware faculty willing to work in highly diverse schools (Ladson Billings, 1999; Sleeter, 2001). Ukpokodu (1996) raises the fact that the current teaching force, which is predominantly white and Eurocentric, is likely to have “prejudicial attitudes and misconceptions, perhaps because of their own early socialization and cultures” (1996, n.p.). In contrast, teachers who are willing to step out of their comfort zone to learn about other cultures tend to value diversity and succeed in implementing a multicultural curriculum.

Francis Kazemek (1995), an American secondary English instructor, who took a trip to Ghana as an exchange professor at the University of Cape Coast, discovered that “Africa is infinitely more than starvation and strife” (p. 95). While guest teaching, Kazemek learned that the author selection for senior secondary students in Ghana was truly multicultural. In addition to African authors, the curriculum covered English and U.S. authors, such as Shakespeare, George Eliot, Richard Wright, Mark Twain, and Robert Frost. Insights gained from the Ghanaian classroom transformed Kazemek into an advocate for incorporating African literature in the secondary English Language Arts curriculum.

Of course, one does not have to visit the continent to become a proponent of the inclusion of African literature in the English curriculum. There are educational scholars with great ideas on how to design a curriculum that is responsive to the needs of all immigrants, regardless of their country of origin. An example of such curriculum was pioneered by Jean Grambs (1981). With immigrant and refugee students in mind, Grambs (1981) fashioned four

strategies specific to the needs of immigrant and refugee students in secondary Social Studies and English Language Arts. The strategies are constructed around timeless issues for immigrants: generational gap (old versus the new immigrant); immigrant population heterogeneity (students as pedagogical resources, students as informants); immigration policy and biases (classifying issues and identifying social distance); and immigration experiences (what it was like: immigrant authored biographies, autobiographies, and novels). All four strategies are adaptable to the needs and situation of contemporary immigrant and refugee minorities, including those from Africa. In her first two strategies, Grambs proposes two activities: 1) with old and new immigrants of the same origin (e.g. old and new Polish immigrants), and 2) with immigrants from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds (e.g. Haitians, Latin-Americans, Africans, Pakistanis, etc.). Grambs also suggests fishbowl (i.e. "structured debate") as an adequate format to engage pros and cons in the discussion of issues related to federal immigration policy. Finally, Grambs proposes the integration of immigrant writings (fiction, autofiction, and autobiography) as an effective way to bring immigrant voices and histories into the classroom. This, indeed, is a very important suggestion; teachers need to be particularly careful to ensure that the voices of lesser-known or ill-known immigrant groups are represented in book and materials selection. A diversified author selection, which includes autobiographies by and about emerging nonwestern immigrant authors, can foster mutual respect and understanding in a multicultural classroom.

Accordingly, the use of films to support learning in a high diversity setting needs to be reexamined. Like literature, film constitutes a power tool for intercultural exploration. Unfortunately, the film medium has been often used at the detriment of African-born children in U.S. schools. As it is the case with textbooks, in a curriculum that is largely Eurocentric, the use of films does not always represent Africa and her people objectively. Now that the African presence in the classroom requires visibility, it is time to call for a careful examination of the implementation of film and media pedagogy in the secondary curriculum.

Diasporic Versus Mainstream Films: Media Mediation in a Diverse Classroom

Due to its visual, audio, and dramatic effect, film constitutes a powerful educational medium in the U.S. curriculum. In culturally and ethnically diverse school settings, however, teaching with films can cause emotional discomfort to learners, as Daly (2007) remarked. Children's self-esteem is affected when the images flashed on the screen represent a distorted reality of who they are and where they come from. The African image through the lens of Western media

has been and remains negative and derogatory. Colonial and postcolonial movies such as *Tarzan and His Mate* depict Africans as “[a]...homogeneous group that is unintelligent, superstitious, and expendable...” and Africa “as a dangerous, inhospitable place...” (Henderson, 2001, p. 101). Most of the derogatory epithets that American-born students use to characterize African students, such as smelly and savage (Traore & Luken, 2006) are derived from the characterization of African people in Hollywood movies like *The Lion King* (1994), *George of the Jungle* (1997) and Disney’s *The Legend of Tarzan* (2001). Despite the progress that Africans have made to advance themselves, despite the modernity that has been achieved in Africa, and despite the literacy level that has been reached by Africans:

Of all the images of African people that permeate the Western media, that of famine and starvation is the most consistent and persistent [...]. The news texts are frequently accompanied by moving pictures of some poor, emaciated and malnourished figures of women and children who are sorrowfully staring into the camera (the reader), their eyes empty and hopeless, as if pleading for mercy. (Michira, 2002, n.p.)

African students in elementary and high schools have no way of defending themselves when their classmates call them derogatory names based on the images of Africa and Africans that are repetitiously displayed in mass media, movies, and books.

Another problem with the use of African films in the classroom has to do with teachers’ limited knowledge of the African reality. Leading a discussion on film on Africa is a daunting challenge for a teacher with no knowledge of African history, literature, or anthropology. As a result, the teacher has no other option than to allow the film itself to be the teacher without any critical discussion to provide a more comprehensive view of the subject matter. The lack of depth in the discussion of the enactments can be problematic, as many films about Africa are often presented in stereotypical ways or from very limited viewpoints. For instance, while mainstream media has covered wars in African nations, it has done so from a western point of view. Local (African) writers, reporters, and actual victims, who in many cases directly and indirectly experienced these wars firsthand, often do not get the opportunities to express their views and experiences.

Teacher-led discussions, aimed at uncovering biases in the film, can provide a space for critical multicultural awareness to occur. In the case of teachers who are not very knowledgeable about the film’s content, a special guest can be invited to present a different perspective. Consultants, community members, or African students in local universities, may be invited to participate in the film discussions and share their African experiences, thus, providing a

more balanced view of Africa and Africans. The other alternative would be to promote diasporic films made in Africa, acted by Africans, and directed by film makers who have a good knowledge of Africa. The popular practice of “depicting Africa and Africans as exotic, savage, and primitive” (Henderson, 2001, p. 122) needs to be countered by an effort “to utilize the powerful resources of film, music and its complementary components to define and shape notions about Africa in the way that Africans themselves perceive them” (Henderson, 2001, p. 122). Ultimately, multicultural education advocates should encourage the incorporation of diasporic films to supplement instruction on non-western topics across the disciplines.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Multicultural education advocates are still faced with the major challenge of conceptualizing a curriculum model that acknowledges *all* the cultures represented in the classroom. As a contribution to the conceptualization of a culturally responsive-curriculum, which takes into consideration the special needs of African and other marginalized immigrant students, this article makes two sets of recommendations.

Curricular Recommendations

Given the increasing diversity of the American school system, schools should be encouraged to implement a curriculum that is inter-culturally connecting and intra-culturally empowering. Below are some points to consider when conceptualizing an African-conscious curriculum:

- *Create partnerships with African Studies Programs* to sponsor lectures, seminars, and talks on Africa and Africans to both pre-service and in-service teachers, the students, and the parents.
- *Encourage teachers to apply for exchange program opportunities* for themselves and their students in the direction of various African nations. International exchange programs, like the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), provide high school and university students and educators the opportunity to visit and learn from and about less traveled regions of the world, like some countries in sub-Saharan Africa.
- *Balance Hollywood movies on Africa and other marginalized cultures* with diasporic films, documentaries, and Africa-authored works in the humanities and social sciences curricula.
- *Commit to a replacement of cultural days with full integration of African history* in the social studies and humanities curricula to enforce the fact that Africa is a continent, made of sovereign nations, each with its own history, culture, and people.

Culturally-based Considerations

In addition to curricular transformation, culturally-meaningful approaches should be considered and applied in the planning and presentation of cultural events that occur in school settings. A few recommendations follow:

- *Avoid the “you are here to entertain me” undertone* in cultural events, by giving an academic tone to diversity days and culture clubs in schools, so the American-born youth can gain knowledge of African folklore, usages and customs.
- *Promote an inclusive intercultural awareness model*, by encouraging all students, including American-born students, to participate in cultural events.
- *Seek to hire culturally diverse consultants* to provide on-going culturally responsive workshops and consultations for students, educators and administrators.
- *Diversify school board representatives to include members of different cultures*, by including people from different cultures, particularly members of non-predominant minority cultures, like Burundian, Iraki, Congolese, and Somali parents.
- *Create partnerships between schools, immigrant advocacy centers, and community organizations*, by including immigrant advocacy centers and community organizations in the school governance.

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