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**THE DIVERSION OF DIVERSITY:
UNCOVERING THE ANTIBLACKNESS OF DIVERSITY INITIATIVES**

BY

M. JORDAN ALEXANDER

A Proposal Submitted to the Honors council for Honors in the Africana Studies Program

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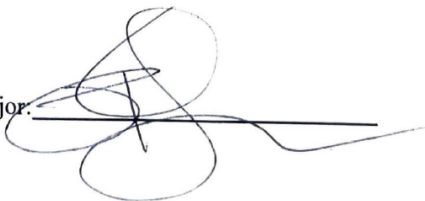
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Abstract universality presumes particular forms of embodiment and excludes or marginalizes others... It is worth examining whether universalism merely dissimulates the stigmatic injuries constitutive of blackness with abstract assertions of equality, sovereignty, and individuality?

- Saidiya Hartman, "The Burdened Individuality of Freedom"

[I]t is Blackness, and more specifically anti-Blackness, that gives coherence to categories of non-Black -- white, worker, gay, i.e., "human." Categories of non - black must establish their boundaries for inclusion within a group (humanity) by having recognizable self *within*. There must also, consequently, be an outside to each group, and, as with the concept of humanity, it is Blackness that is without; it is Blackness that is the dark matter surrounding and holding together the categories of non - Black.

- The Editors, "Afro - Pessimism: An Introduction"

Diversity becomes a means of constituting a 'we' that is predicated on solidarity with others. Yet this solidarity becomes a mechanism of asserting the superiority of one form of politics over others.

- Sarah Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*

INTRODUCTION

Notes of a "Diverse" Son

It saddens me to say this, but throughout my college career, I have, in a sense, done more of the teaching and challenging of my peers and instructors than I have spent learning and being challenged; in classes where the material has revolved around issues of race and ethnicity, the pace of the class has often been impeded by the lack of students' prior knowledge of the material. While it is understandable that, as a Black student, I might be more attuned to these issues, and that is lack of knowledge of material is reflective of a larger problem with the educational system, it becomes a problem when my learning is not only being impacted, but the

knowledge I do have is also being exploited for the benefit of the non-black people around me. When I have brought this up to my professors, or even my peers, their response is always something akin to “but I learn so much from you”. There is never any attempt to reciprocate or to compensate this. There is simply the assumption that their validation for what I add to the class’s insights (most often, about blackness and/or antiblackness) is enough, and suggest that my obligation to aid that process is a part of that.

This experience is not unique to me, as there are numerous other Black students that have told me similar stories. When Black students enter a predominantly white and non-black, upper class academic space, there is often the expectation, by more than a few professors, that those students are going to enrich the lives and learning experiences of that majority through resource sharing and insights from their personal experiences. To some, this may seem to be a “natural” consequence of the interaction between different races and cultures. However, I observe this pattern to be part of a larger institutional design that requires the intellectual and experiential exploitation of the Black students admitted to college and universities as a crucial part of “diversifying” campus life. It is a design that also incorporates the exploitation of other “diverse” bodies; bodies that unfortunately also simultaneously benefit from using Black bodies as foundational to their own success. This exploitation takes many forms, but some specific examples include the expectation that the black student carry the conversation during a class while everyone else takes notes on what the black student is saying. Running parallel with this is the use of Black energy to further everyone else’s goals. Often, there is a shared grievance among Black students, but until it is made known to the professor, it remains a problem. It is a simultaneous paradox of expecting the black student to fix everything, but also believing them to have an inherent incapability to do so.

In the course of this paper, I aim to elaborate these issues for those who have, perhaps, never had cause to notice them. This research is essential for everyone enrolled and/or working in higher education; especially those who oversee incentives such as diversity and multiculturalism. In the following pages, I use my four years as a student at Bucknell University as an example that I connect to the larger project to which I have alluded above; one that is mirrored across the country by countless other Black students.

Throughout this paper, I will point to several universities, including Bucknell, Yale and the University of California to highlight the overall problem that is central to my analysis. Referencing on their various diversity statements, I have constructed an argument that the project of diversity is, among many things, a way of bolstering the image of these schools, while maintaining a moral standing amongst their competitors. Rather than disrupting the historical anti-black systems that upheld these institutions, these universities are using the obscurity of Blackness in order to maintain their reputations as inclusive, yet, continue to thrive as elite entities.

My theoretical distillation of Blackness into Continental African, and African American will help facilitate an understanding that universities are intentionally choosing one form of Blackness over another other while, in the outside world, these distinctions, in fact, benefit neither group where the susceptibility to antiblack violence is concerned. Notwithstanding, the heart of my argument reveals that universities prefer the wealthier Continental African immigrant over the economically dispossessed African American; a distinction that has gone largely unnoticed by many. However, my aim is to render that distinction, among the other problematics of the diversity project, clear in the course of this thesis. In short, this thesis seeks to expose the ways in which the “Diversity” project is tailored to the needs of the higher

educational institutions that forge it, and which its primary benefactors these institutions have been able to define, implement, and garner social value for adhering to and advancing the very definitions of diversity that they have created.

B. Utopian Round-up

One example of this design is actually through the scholarship that brought me to Bucknell University: The Posse Foundation Scholarship Program. The Posse Foundation’s mission “works for both students and college campuses and is rooted in the belief that a small, diverse group of talented students—a Posse—carefully selected and trained, can serve as a catalyst for individual and community development”¹. Some might find this mission laudable. After all, it is noble to believe that a “diverse group of talented students” (typically denoting black and brown students from low income backgrounds) can be placed on historically white college campuses and transform them into catalysts for the inclusion of everyone. However, we must challenge this belief for the sake of the students tasked with this mission. Posse scholars are expected to not only perform well academically, socially, and professionally; they are also expected to *change* the college campuses onto which they arrive. Further, they must perform their “diversity” in a way that enables non-diverse students, faculty and staff to learn the importance of a diverse educational environment in order to “better” themselves in relation to those who are “diverse”. This is manifested through the teaching of peers and professors in the classroom by the Posse scholars; most often, these students are expected to use their personal experiences as examples that advance a particular concept or theory they are learning in class. The bad faith of this demand becomes all the more apparent in the stories of these Posse Scholars. Many of whom either withdraw from college early, or suffer mentally as a result of

¹ See The Posse Foundation, *About Posse*. <https://www.possefoundation.org/about-posse>

being expected to “transform” what are, in effect, and all too often, discriminatory environments².

Throughout my four years at Bucknell University, I have become more resistant to these expectations that have been placed upon me and other Posse scholars in my cohort. As the years have pressed on, it has been disheartening, to say the least, to notice an increasing number of my “diverse” peers succumbing to the pressure of these demands, becoming more willing to submit themselves to being exploited for the sake of enriching the lives of others. As each cohort has arrived after ours, the idea that our experiences *should* be open and available to all for the “learning” (taking) has become more pervasive in the conversations amongst black students. I assert that this is part of the institutional design that systematically coerces -- in effect, colonizes -- the minds of those dubbed “scholars,” but who are, for all intents and purposes, the property of the institution. This is evident in how the black students’ thoughts and speech begin to change as they become more “effective” implements in enacting the institution’s diversity project. To be clear, this thesis does not suggest an opposition to the aim of recruiting diverse people to college campuses, but rather, it aims to critique the means through which academic institutions recruit those people, and how they enable and disable what they deem “acceptable” versus “non-acceptable,” “problematic” behavior on the part of those “diverse” populations; the latter being black students’ criticism of the system into which they are brought - better known as “biting the hand that feeds them”. In other words, in order for institutions who utilize diversifying missions such as Posse to depict themselves as “diverse,” they must do two things: (1) increase the minority population on campus, and (2) ensure that this population complies

² See Lewis R. Gordon’s *Bad Faith and Antiracist Racism* for an in-depth discussion of “bad faith” in this context.

with this mission. As Dr. Jaye Austin Williams observes in her 2015 Black Baccalaureate commencement speech at UC Irvine:

So, while your [Black students'] statistical presence may enable the attestation of a "diverse" campus community, that presence remains disproportionately low, constituting a relative absence, or absent presence that, when it is counted at all, is often calibrated in direct proportion to its compliance with the status quo; which is to say, toward a politics of respectability that is, in itself, an exclusionary project... (Williams, 2015).

Dr. Williams' observation demonstrates what I have also observed at Bucknell University. Specifically, it elaborates on the proprietary relationship between these Black students and the universities they attend. This is to say, their attendance at these institutions is contingent upon their performing their diversity in a way that allows for the university to accrue social capital through its demonstration of a commitment to diversity. Essentially, if these students do not act in the ways expected of them as "diverse" students, then they are transmogrified into "absent presences," meaning that they may be present on campus, but are, in numerous insidious ways, overlooked, hidden away, and otherwise erased.

The search for students who abide by the "status quo," as Professor Williams suggests, is a project that is also being investigated by others. Whether this project can be deemed intentional or not is heavily debated; however, as Douglas Massey suggests, a preferential process of admission pointing to this criteria of selection has been observed by "[r]esearchers who have considered this pattern [and who] argue that the emphasis on respect for authority and family solidarity characteristic of immigrant families, along with their status as voluntary minorities, encourages a positive outlook toward education and social mobility" (Massey 245). This statement gestures towards how Black students are judged according to a status quo of complicity. Simply put, colleges and universities want students who are going to "respect for

authority”. This imperative appeared to intensify amongst my peers throughout my four years at Bucknell University, and ultimately served as a catalyst for this research.

The aim of this paper is not to single out the institution I have attended in hopes of attaining an undergraduate education equal to that received by other students who have attended Bucknell; because the experiences I and other “diversifying” students have endured are not unique to this institution. Rather, they are indicative of a larger, systematic, and deeply concerning diversity project shared by higher educational institutions across the country. Realizing this, I used theoretical texts that analyze and critique diversity and multiculturalism, and juxtaposed them with diversity statements from across the country in order to uncover some of the ways in which the pitfalls of diversity are written into those statements.

C. In Search Of “Home”

As a Black student at Bucknell University, I sought out an experience abroad not only as an enriching learning experience, but also, as a reprieve from the oppressive, white hegemonic space the campus environment had become. Of the numerous programs available, I opted to travel to Cape Coast, Ghana, for a multitude of reasons; mainly, I was looking to “go back home,” like many other African Americans have sought to do in the past. During my time there, I learned a great deal about the history of chattel slavery and its afterlife on the Continent. However, as far as feeling as though I had returned “home” was concerned, I was deeply disappointed. In the United States, I was black, but in Ghana I was *obruni*, or stranger; something akin to being white. This paradox was stunning. I arrived eager in Ghana, only to realize that I had no home there; I no longer knew what ethnic group I belonged to, or where my ancestors were from. I didn’t even know if I was originally from Ghana; Hartman gestures to

this, “In the jumble of my features, no certain line of origin could be traced. Clearly, I was not Fanti, or Ashanti, or Ewe, or Ga” (Hartman 2). To a certain extent, I felt lonelier in that all-Black country than I did in the United States, because my expectation of fitting in had been so high. This is not to say that I feel any more “at home” in the United States, given the rampant anti-blackness that informs its operations. But in the U.S., there are those who also identify with my feeling of homelessness: (so-called) “African Americans”. For example, there are those who attempt to acknowledge and underscore this sense of homelessness by distancing themselves from the term “African American” because “[it] caters to concerns of the black pseudo-bourgeoisie. More than that, it...serves as a way of differentiating a certain class of blacks from the dismal global situation of most blacks” (Gordon 1). The “pseudo-bourgeoisie” Gordon refers to here are “African Americans” who claim to have transcended racism, and who use their success stories and the identity and sense of belonging the term suggests they have achieved as “proof” that racism is over. They are under the illusion that their success is “evidence” that *all* Black people can achieve equality through the channels within civil society, when there remains so much evidence to the contrary. In other words, Gordon is suggesting here that while identifying as “African American” might provide those who use it a sense of distance from the trepidations of Blackness (a structure of feeling that provides the illusion of equality with the bourgeoisie), that structure is, in effect, a house of cards.³ This is because the term has, in turn, been weaponized against those who utilized identifiers such as Black or Negro, and has not necessarily protected those who use the term, from antagonism.⁴ Dr. Benjamin Quarles,

³ See *Preface to Film*, Raymond Williams and Michael Orrom, Film and Drama, Ltd., London, 1954, in which this concept is introduced.

⁴ See page 12 for examples of how Black people who have, to some degree, been successful only still to fall victim to anti-black racism

observes, similar to Gordon, that “Black, [as a collective identifier] is a loose color designation which is not connected with land, history, and culture” (Bennett). Those for whom “African American” identity solidifies a sense of having achieved bourgeoisie status to distance themselves from the Black masses (poor, uneducated, unsuccessful Black people) either fail to realize the severance from cultural roots they share with Blacks, or realize it, and choose to ignore it. Weaponization of the phrase “African American” against those who know they’re Black, is enabled by those “Other people [who] may prefer what they would consider more sophisticated techniques of projecting their identity” (Bennett), in contradistinction to those who are, perhaps, uneducated or less than refined persons. This, in turn, reinforces the class differences between these two groups.⁵

The experience in Ghana spurred in me an interest in investigating how this disconnect (between blackness and belonging/“home”/origin/heritage) manifests itself in the United States (hereafter, “U.S.”). Where Continental Africans had the capacity to identify with other identities rooted in a cultural heritage (nation, ethnic group, nativity), African Americans could not, “I was a stranger in the village, a wandering seed bereft of the possibility of taking root. Behind my back they whispered...a mushroom that grows on the tree has no deep soil” (Hartman 3) I began to notice, particularly in the various social media sites I follow about Black life, that more often than not, the stories I read focused more on *African* “success” in the U.S. than on *Black* struggle and suffering. The term “Black” now stood out more starkly, and at the same time, was disorienting, because it was no longer grounded in any foregone, easily traceable “identity”. It also revealed a deep, irreconcilable divide. This realization was not fueled by some jealousy or anger towards Continental Africans, but rather, a curiosity about why they seem to be privileged

⁵ For a contemporaneous example of the debate around a collective identifier see: “Why I’m Black, Not African American” by John McWhorter, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2004-sep-08-0e-mcwhorter8-story.html>

over African Americans. For example, many of the success stories were of Continental Africans being admitted to dozens of colleges, or graduating from medical school, or securing high positions at prestigious companies. I underscore this point because in my own experience, more African than African American students have appeared to be at the forefront of the various black social groups and organizations I belong to on campus. In addition, I have noticed an increased presence of Continental Africans on campus, overall; which has increased my curiosity about this disparity, and also prompted my decision to pursue this research. I am not alone in this observation. Douglas Massey, for example, suggests that, “[i]n recent years, observers have increasingly recognized the overrepresentation of the children of immigrants among African Americans attending selective colleges and universities...” (Massey 267). It is important to recognize that “Black” identity includes a variety of groups, all of which have very different and notable experiences. However, regardless of this difference, it must be noted that when placed in the same social context, in this case, the United States, Blackness is treated the same, regardless of one’s performative success. One well known case is that of Guinean immigrant Amadou Diallo’s murder by the police in 1999; Diallo was shot 41 times by 4 officers.⁶ The “gun” that they claimed he had, was, in fact, just his wallet. Ten years later, Henry Louis Gates, the successful Harvard professor, was arrested for “breaking into” his own house⁷. One would think that the distinction of being a professor at such a prestigious university would absolve one from such a situation. But blackness, and the violence against it, obscures this. Even more contemporaneously, one of the most famous people in the world, LeBron James, is nonetheless

⁶ See *The New York Times*, 2000. “The Diallo Verdict: The Overview; 4 Officers in Diallo Shooting are Acquitted of All Charges”. <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/02/26/nyregion/diallo-verdict-overview-4-officers-diallo-shooting-are-acquitted-all-charges.html>

⁷ See *The New York Times*, 2009. “Harvard Professor Jailed; Officer is Accused of Bias”. <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/21/us/21gates.html>

subject to anti-Black racism⁸. In all of these cases, one might presume that some (non-racial) aspect of their identities might appear to absolve them from racism. For Diallo, it could have been his immigrant status; for Gates, it should have been his prestige as an Ivy League professor; and for James, certainly, his acclaim as one of the most famous athletes on the planet. But in the end, these identities and achievements did not matter; linking them all is their blackness. As hard as they have each worked to enter civil society, and, in the cases of the celebrities, the efforts to use their success to transcend the conditions of being black, they are, notwithstanding, met with the same antagonism; in one case, fatal, in the others, scandalizing.

D. Diversity's Cognitive Dissonance

My analysis thus far points to a very clear cognitive dissonance in the way that diversity is performed within institutions of higher education; which is to say that given how hard the flag of diversity is waved at these institutions, a closer examination reveals some key contradictions between the institutional aspiration toward diversity, and the resources in place to *ethically* actualize that aspiration. A key area in which this warrants further study has to do with the psychic well-being of students within this context. For instance, during my four years at Bucknell, there has only ever been one black therapist in the Student Health Center. While one could argue that all of the therapists are open to and available for everyone, or that therapy is a colorblind, equal opportunity service, one must also acknowledge that the relative absence of black therapists reflects (a) the corresponding relative absence of diversity amongst clinical staff; and (b) the overall absence of recognition of the particular problems that black students face on predominantly white college and university campuses that might require therapeutic

⁸ See *The Washington Post*, 2017. "LeBron James's House Spray Painted with a Racial Slur, Police Say". https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/early-lead/wp/2017/05/31/lapd-investigating-vandalism-at-lebron-james-house-as-possible-hate-crime/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.303d76f8fe93

professionals trained to confront the unique issues that arise in such environments. Moreover, there is a severe lack of Black representation amongst the faculty at Bucknell: A mere 20 of the 375 full-time professors are Black.⁹ It must be addressed here that while the increased presence of Black professors on campus would, to some degree, better the experience of Black students who are already here, it is not the panacea for eradicating institutional failures to ethically address how Black students suffer.

The 2015 inception of the Africana Studies program at Bucknell University was preceded by a horrific racist incident on Bucknell's radio station WBVU the previous year. Africana Studies is an academic major that at present (in 2019) has only 2 full-time professors (gaining 1 Black female professor since the 2015 report on the incident).¹⁰ While departments do come out of years of planning, this is something interesting to note given that the first Africana Studies program in the country began in 1968 after a wave of protests on college campuses. It is indicative of how Blackness, especially within the realm of academia is viscous in the way that it enters spaces. These stark statistics, and the slow road to expansion of diversity amongst the faculty, contribute to the cognitive dissonance between the dream of diversity and its reality. They also do not account for the abundant anecdotal evidence from Black students who endure ongoing micro-antagonisms both inside and outside the classroom. It is the culmination of these various facts and experiences during my time as a Black university student that has compelled me to pursue this research.

⁹ See Bucknell University Office of Institutional Research and Planning. *Faculty and Staff*. https://www.bucknell.edu/Documents/InstitutionalResearch/FactBook_2015-16/8_Faculty_and_Staff.pdf

¹⁰ See Associated Press. 'Black People Should be Dead': Bucknell Students Expelled for Racist Radio Rant <https://nypost.com/2015/03/31/black-people-should-be-dead-bucknell-students-expelled-for-racist-radio-rant/>

II. The Problem with Diversity

“Diversity,” as it stands today, is purported to be one of the most important incentives a university can have; so much so that it has become one of the gold standards of higher education.,”Indeed, diversity has become a virtually sacred concept in American life today. No one’s really against it; people tend instead to differ only in their degrees of enthusiasm for it...” (Michaels 12). This particular “gold standard” was not created in a vacuum. Rather, it is the result of various pressures applied in past decades by responses to racial and social inequity; most prominently, the “Black Power” and “Civil Rights” movements. It is notable that, inasmuch as Black people have fought for entry into spaces from which they have been historically barred, institutions of higher learning chief among them, the project of “diversity” has enabled identities of inclusiveness for these institutions by way of using the numbers, likenesses and labors of those who either reap no sufficient benefits from the project, or do so to some degree, but at great cost. As popular as the diversity project has become, and as straightforward as its mission can appear to be, its ambiguities emerge when trying to understand precisely *what* diversity is, and to locate its ethical compass. Various institutions have taken the opportunity to define diversity in whatever ways best suit their respective needs. This is interesting in light of the fact that those definitions emerge as virtually identical in mission statements across the country. Paradoxically, if executed ethically, diversity would become a direct challenge to the foundation of the entire academy; which is to say, it would actually disrupt, rather than advance, the oppressive homogeneity that persists in, and is typical of, higher educational institutions, all of which, with the exception of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and those founded with specific populations in mind, have historically been *anti*-Black. The broad “understanding” of diversity’s purpose is that it is meant to break up the white/non-black omnipresence that

permeates and oversees higher education. This understanding should, however, be accompanied by the acknowledgement that such omnipresence is no accident. Colleges and universities have historically invested in the maintenance of precisely such an environment, which is to say that the exclusion of anyone who does not fit into the longstanding, homogeneous image of the university is quite intentional despite declarations and gestures to the contrary¹¹. Diversity, then, should never be presumed inherent to a particular institution, so much as a mandate foisted upon it.

Multiculturalism: A Diverse Problem

Diversity and multiculturalism as overlapping projects stem from the fight for Black civil rights. This reference in the Bucknell University Diversity Plan, for example, notes the following:

The word diversity, as applied to efforts to address inequality, injustice, lack of access, discrimination, and exclusion in higher education, has its roots in the fight against racism in the civil rights and black student movements of the 1960s and '70s (See Appendix A, pg 4).

It is both interesting and concerning, then, that such a movement is riddled with anti-Blackness. The inclusion of the historical Black roots of diversity has become but a move to appease those who would speak out against its absence; a gesture rather than an intentional push forward. This suggests that the era of black struggle is over, and that other minoritized groups can now be prioritized. Any focus on Black struggle becomes an overemphasis on a problem long gone, or a focus that limits rather than expands the overall concerns for equality and social justice; as if Black people are no longer experiencing anti-Black racism. This, in turn, creates the illusion that

¹¹ Which is to say that colleges and universities began with very exclusive admissions practices. Non - white, groups struggled for many years before they were able to enter college spaces due to the very discriminatory practices held by these universities

Black people somehow hold a tyrannical grasp on civil rights discourse. In his book,

Amalgamation Schemes: Antiblackness and the Critique of Multiracialism, Jared Sexton argues:

[Multiculturalism] promotes a phobic imagery of blacks as an authoritarian political bloc that illegitimately determines the direction of federal policy making and the substance of the national culture...multiracialism serves more as a rationalizing discourse for the continued and increasing social, political, and economic *isolation* of blacks” (Sexton 35).

Sexton points to the sheer irony of the idea that Black people have some form of monopoly over the political discourse in the United States. Such an idea completely negates and erases the hard work Black people have done just to be considered in the political realm.

Similarly, in her book, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*, Sarah Ahmed argues that there is more to diversity than meets the eye. One of the things she calls to our attention is how academic institutions have been incorporating and co-opting diversity as if the realization of its necessity had begun with them. Colleges and universities have, in fact, appropriated diversity and inclusion incentives and redesigned them to appear as though they had been advocating for these incentives all along. In other words, rather than acknowledging diversity as a disruption of their routines that comes out of Black struggle, they have taken ownership of it. Ahmed observes that “[d]iversity is incorporated as an official term insofar as it is made consistent with the organization’s goals... The use of diversity as an official description can be a way of maintaining, rather than transforming, existing organizational values” (Ahmed 57). Ahmed is suggesting here that by maintaining “diversity” as an institutional imperative, universities take the target off of their own backs and are permitted to continue business as usual. Bucknell University, an institution that continues to struggle with actualizing diversity, appears to pursue this very same strategy. It does not seem to recognize diversity as an incentive for change, but rather, as a characteristic that has been inherent to the university since its beginning.

Within the very first pages of its diversity statement (See Appendix A), Bucknell University not only claims that diversity is inherent to its character at present, but also distinguishes itself as a university that has historically been committed to diversity, declaring: “Although the University’s earliest years reflect an inclusion and openness uncommon in the 19th century, over time Bucknell has acquired a reputation for a certain exclusiveness and homogeneity” (See Appendix A, pg 4). Not only does Bucknell make the move to obscure diversity’s necessity *in response* to its historical *exclusivity*, it implies that its reputation is a recent acquisition that has mysteriously encroached upon its historical *inclusivity*. By contrast, Ahmed posits:

“Diversity work becomes about generating the ‘right image’ and correcting the wrong one...According to this logic, people have the ‘wrong perception’ when they see the organization as *white, elite, male, old-fashioned*. Diversity becomes about *changing perceptions of whiteness rather than changing the whiteness of organizations*” (Ahmed 34).

Without the realization that diversity is much more than a *plan*, but that it comes out of the fight for inclusion in persistently exclusive spaces of long standing, chances are, business will continue on as usual. Some of the institutions that “commit” to diversity define its intention as “...creat[ing] an environment that is not only grounded in the principles of equality but also free from homophobia, racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination” (See Appendix A, 4). Many institutions and organizations have drafted commitments to diversity and inclusion, and yet there persists much conversation around the discrimination faced by “diverse” college students on these very campuses.

B. Diversity’s Duplicity

As I have suggested at the beginning of this paper, diversity and inclusion have become the “gold standard” for universities across the country. Those institutions that do not make a

commitment to this standard are shunned and criticized by similar institutions who *are* making the commitment. Similarly, those that do make the commitment are praised by not only themselves, but also, again, similar institutions. It is as if the commitment itself is a signifier that embodies everything institutional diversity is meant to be; as if the diversity plans and other symbolic gestures of that commitment are the action of diversity itself. Ahmed reminds, however, that:

How we read these statements of commitment does matter. If the statement of commitment is read as bringing about what it names, then it could participate in the creation of the idea of the university as being anti-racist...Declaring a commitment to opposing racism could even function as a form of institutional pride: anti-racism, as a speech act, might then accumulate value for the organization, *as a sign of its own commitment*" (Ahmed 116).

This also describes the ambiguity of the term itself, to which I have alluded earlier. Without a widespread understanding of the weight and value of diversity, academic institutions can nonetheless increase their clout, thereby elevating their own prestige through the use of this compelling buzzword.

As I have suggested to this point, diversity in higher education began to gain traction after social pressures forced academic institutions to accommodate minoritized peoples. However, rather than completely succumbing to these demands, academic institutions have devised modes of implementing diversity as something that not only *appears* to satiate the increasing demands for it, but that also benefits them in the process. The primary modes through which this strategy is implemented are hiring and admissions, which is to say, academic institutions have total control over what and who represents diversity for them, at every level of institutional life. As long as the new additions to their rolls are "different" in some manner from those who have historically attended them (typically, white males), then the quota for diversity can be deemed fulfilled. However, if diversity is *simply* about the presence of different (and for

the purposes of this analysis, non-white) bodies, then that presence can be inserted, while the *structure* of anti-blackness, a paradigm that is foundational to the creation of these institutions continues. Or, as Ahmed notes, "...if diversity is about a variety of people, then that variety takes some forms and not others." (Ahmed 77). The "some forms" that Ahmed speaks about undoubtedly allow for the university to continue operating in a way that benefits itself more than its appearance of inclusivity would suggest.

C. The "African American" Conundrum

As historically dispossessed people, those who identify as "African Americans" nonetheless, generally have less capacity to fully finance a college university education. Many African American students must rely on scholarship subsidies. This is in no way a reflection on their scholastic capabilities; rather, it points to the significant disparity between African Americans' overall capacity to pay for higher educations, and that of others.¹² An awareness of economics is necessary to understanding what is central to academic institutions' operations, and as such, is primary on their agendas. Without prioritizing fiscal stability, these institutions must either adapt their criteria or look elsewhere to make up for any fiscal deficits. It would be difficult for colleges and universities to simply stop admitting African American students due to their inability to pay for their educations at the same rates as their racial counterparts. So, rather than focus on the financial benefits that African Americans bring or do not bring to the table, academic institutions can use their symbolic value to ensure they are receiving something from this interaction. In other words, rather than an accrual of fiscal capital, a university can harvest the *social* capital these students can provide by way of their very presence. In short, African

¹² See Appendix B, 7.

Americans' symbolic value would appear to be rendered visible by the melanin in their skin.¹³ This optic can then be used strategically, placing them on admissions brochures, websites, and posters, enabling academic institutions to fabricate the appearance of African American representation of, and “integration” into the general student population. As much as these institutions might like it to be, the deployment of and profit from this symbolic value is no secret. Among African Americans in particular, these *appearances* of diversity are a ruse; they display a “reality” that is nonexistent¹⁴. Further, it is no secret among African Americans that colleges and universities are, in fact, far from being either inclusive or supportive of them.¹⁵ This is why it is important to call attention to both aspects of this critique: inclusivity *and* support. It is one thing to simply bring African American students into a space, and an entirely different thing to *support them*.¹⁶ Simply put, when these institutions are interested in acquiring and displaying their “different and diverse” students in order to accrue social capital, they fail these students. Many African Americans are aware of this disconnect between inclusivity and support, which is why diversity initiatives in higher education are often the punchline of jokes that critique the project for these blatant contradictions.

¹³ See, for example, Jared Sexton's *Amalgamation Schemes: Antiblackness and the Critique of Multiracialism*, University of Minnesota Press, 2008; and his lecture, “What’s Radical About ‘Mixed Race’”, for an extensive discussion about the historical shifts of racial designation. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jSMQpRzcGpA&t=1537s>

¹⁴ For more information regarding the fabrication of a diverse image in organizations and institutions, see <https://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2009/09/02/doctoring-diversity-race-and-photoshop/>

¹⁵ For an example of Black people's response to this, see Lawrence Ware, “How to Survive, Be Safe, and Thrive at a Predominantly White Institution”. <https://www.theroot.com/how-to-survive-be-safe-and-thrive-at-a-predominantly-w-1790856312>

¹⁶ Refer to my introduction where I discuss the lack of Black therapists in the Bucknell University Student Health Center.

In his book, *The Trouble With Diversity: How We Learned to Love Identity and Ignore Inequality*, Walter Benn Michaels scrutinizes universities' intentions where the motives behind the commitment to diversity are concerned. He observes, "It was not asserting that preference in admissions could be given, say, to black people because they had previously been discriminated against... The[se institutions] had, in other words, a legitimate interest in having a 'diverse student body'" (Michaels 5).¹⁷ The landmark *Bakke v. University of California Board of Regents* case, for example, illustrates how the law can at once encourage "diversity," while undermining the very affirmative action strategies that aimed to ensure *racial* equality as existing amongst those categories constituting diversity as an inclusive mission. This same insidious contradiction is also evident in the language employed in the various diversity materials circulated by universities. Yale University, as an example, has numerous pages on its website that detail how it fulfills its commitment to diversity. For this reason, that commitment can be difficult to discern, as each website page appears to be different in its definition. However, the homepage for its Office of Diversity and Inclusion does provide a general understanding of its core goals, which are to:

“... [s]trengthen diversity recruitment efforts, development of internal talent, creation and enhancement of mentoring programs, cultivation of Yale Affinity Groups, offer diversity education opportunities, develop a system of metrics to track and assess diversity progress, develop strategies to communicate and publicize Yale's diversity milestones.¹⁸

¹⁷ Michaels is referring here to the Supreme court case *Bakke v. Board of Regents (1978)*, which declared that universities could take race into account when admitting students if it served 'the interest of diversity'. In this case, the complainant, Allan Bakke, eventually won his case on the basis of age discrimination, and was admitted to the University of California Davis Medical School. However, the victory also undid the numerical quota provisions that set aside a specific number of placeholders for students of Color; a provision intended to make up for the historical barring of minoritized groups from admission. See also, Howard Ball's *The Bakke Case: Race, Education and Affirmative Action. Landmark Law Cases and American Society*, University Press of Kansas, 2000, for an in-depth analysis of the complexities of this case.

¹⁸ See <https://your.yale.edu/community/diversity-inclusion/office-diversity-and-inclusion>

The absence of any mention of underrepresented groups is notable here. The core goals appear to be more concerned with portraying Yale's diversity strivings as a character trait than with why the attempt to increase it is, in fact, important. Hence, Yale's interest in diversity being for the benefit of underrepresented groups is nowhere evident.

Diversity is often portrayed by these institutions as a project that benefits everyone involved. Not only is it meant to provide opportunities to "historically underrepresented groups," but also to create interactions with majority groups (most often, white) that enrich their lives as they are now being exposed to the different perspectives of minoritized students. This is not merely implied, it is built into the diversity statements themselves. Note this excerpt from the University of California's statement:

Diversity should also be integral to the University's achievement of excellence. Diversity can enhance the ability of the University to accomplish its academic mission. Diversity aims to broaden and deepen both the educational experience and the scholarly environment, as students and faculty learn to interact effectively with each other, preparing them to participate in an increasingly complex and pluralistic society" (See Appendix C)¹⁹

The phrase "Diversity can enhance the ability of the University to accomplish its academic mission" suggests that these students, while unable to provide monetary benefits through the payment of tuition, are, nonetheless, able to advance the university's goals. This is problematic because there is no *direct* reciprocity in the statement. What the university provides to these "diverse" students is admittance. This furthers the idea that the "beneficiaries" who are utilized to advance diversity are symbolic currency for the enrichment of those who benefit the most from it: the institutions and their executive

¹⁹ It is also important to note that the language here references my earlier assertion about universities' abilities to mold and craft "diversity" to fit whatever agenda suits their needs, which suggests a language that is non-specific, malleable and therefore without any concrete definition.

officers. African Americans are allowed to enter the Ivory Tower as long as they are willing and able to subject themselves to being that symbolic currency.²⁰

The project of diversity has certainly appeared to validate the University's commitment to opening its doors to those who have previously been barred from entering. However, the conditions precipitating this commitment must be examined more closely since institutional acceptance of this critique and the actualizing of inclusivity and support in response to it, remains an ideal. Demographics are certainly changing on college campuses, but to reference Ahmed's earlier observation, "...if diversity is about a variety of people, then that variety takes some forms and not others" (Ahmed 77). To some, this process can be imperceptible, especially when this "variety" of student is contrasted with white students, wealthy or otherwise. Moreover, this process can even pass under the radar of the students who are being used to represent this "variety," yet, does not seem to warrant investigation.

Such an investigation into the amount of control universities have over the design and promotion of their images is also necessary. One of the primary modes of determining a university's commitment to diversity is through its admissions data. Most universities have immense amounts of data documenting the makeup of their student body, which is, in turn, broken down into the various racial and ethnic groups that comprise their institutions. These categories are typically reflected as: Hispanic, Asian, Native American, and Black. Granted, there are other categories such as multiracial, non-Hispanic white and other delineations of racial and ethnic identity. However, what is central to this thesis is the problematics concerning the absence of ethnic and cultural

²⁰ People of color are "welcomed" *on condition* that they return that hospitality by integrating into a common organizational culture, or by "being" diverse, and allowing institutions to celebrate their diversity (Ahmed 43)

specificity within the overall category of “Black,” and, at the same time, underscoring the differences within the Black community; difference which, upon further investigation, collapse into the category of undifferentiated blackness.

In a world where “celebrating differences” is the *modus operandi*, one might assume that diversity within the Black community would be reflected in higher education’s “multicultural” aspiration. Understanding why this is not the case prompts a myriad of questions regarding the larger definition of “blackness”. It would appear to be simple: a category of African-descended Peoples. There are, however, delineations within this larger group of people that problematize this simplicity. That “problem” is chattel slavery and its dispersal across the territories that constitute the African Diaspora. This, in turn, has become the complicated differentiation between Diasporic and Continental Africans.²¹ This differentiation is not only social, but also a matter of political ontology; which is to say, that Diasporic and Continental Africans today have distinctly different experiences as a result of this violent historical divergence.

D. Blackness Typified

African descended people in the United States have been referred to by numerous monikers: “American Negro,” “Afro-American,” “African American,” “Black,” and the perennially pejorative “Nigger,” among others. As these terms has shifted with the times (with the exception of the last), one might assume that American society is moving toward a “truer,” more accurate means of describing this larger formation, recognizing the insufficiencies of these terms to encompass all its variants. And in spite of these terms being constructed, it has become

²¹ Diasporic Africans refers to descendents of African chattel slaves stolen from the continent of Africa. Continental Africans refers to descendents of African peoples who were able to stay on the Continent.

clear that a linear progression from one to the next has pitched members of that formation into a collective disarray as to which term is the “correct” one. In other words, this identity confusion pitches Black people into a constant state of vertigo;²² one not only caused through an inability to claim some notion of a “true” identity, but also from the violence that necessitates the struggle beyond identity as an endgame: the violence of chattel slavery and its afterlife.²³ Frank Wilderson, III elaborates how this vertigo is constitutive to the experience of Black people in the United States:

Subjective vertigo is the vertigo of the event. But the sensation that one is not simply spinning in an otherwise stable environment, that one’s environment is perpetually unhinged, stems from a relationship to violence that cannot be analogized. This is called objective vertigo, a life constituted by disorientation rather than a life interrupted by disorientation. (Wilderson, “Vengeance” 3)

Wilderson is suggesting that rather than vertigo being a sensation that eventually passes, African descended people in the United States experience it at the level of their *being*. This is to say that there is a constant sensation of disorientation that arises from the violence they experience as a result of their position of social antagonists, violence that is manifested through things collectively described by Saidiya Hartman as the “afterlife” of slavery.

In her memoir, *Lose Your Mother*, Hartman travels to Ghana, West Africa, in an attempt to retrace her personal history. As an African American woman, this retracing of her history is much more difficult than taking a DNA test to determine one’s African ancestry, since that ancestry was disrupted by the Transatlantic slave trade. However, through her personal journey, Hartman makes many observations that have implications

²² ...[B]lack peoples’ subsumption by violence is a paradigmatic necessity, not just a performative contingency. To be constituted by *and* disciplined by violence, to be gripped simultaneously by subjective and objective vertigo, is indicative of a political ontology which is radically different” (Wilderson 4).

²³ “This is the afterlife of slavery -- skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment. I, too, am the afterlife of slavery” (Hartman 6)

on African Americans attempting to do the same. Rather than finding some semblance of home or belonging, she finds the opposite; that she, too, is *obruni* (stranger). In her interactions with both native Ghanaians and expatriate African Americans, Hartman discovers that being “African American,” an identity which so many Black folks in the United States hold so dear, barely has significance. “[T]here was no longer a future in being an *African* American, only the burden of history and disappoint[ment]” (Hartman 29). Hartman’s quote reveals that the strain toward claiming such an identity in the end bears no benefit, which is to say, that many African Americans who travel to Ghana and other African countries often find that these countries do not satisfy the idealistic expectations of “home” that they have brought with them. Instead, these visitors are often left with a heavy feeling of loneliness and estrangement: Strangers in Africa, and antagonists in the United States. This feeling mirrors my own experiences in Ghana, which is why, upon reading Hartman’s work, I felt a form of bittersweet affirmation because I realized I was not alone in my experiences. However, given their context and implications, they also bring great sadness. Put another way, when one understands that everything they once presumed to comprise their rooted identity is, in fact, a *negation* of that identity, the vertigo to which Wilderson refers, ensues.²⁴

The United States of America has created, and continues to create, its social life from the death of black bodies, “...the structural position of the slave paved the way for the genesis of the white bourgeois subject...The relegation of black existence is in inverse proportion to the

²⁴ See fn. 21 for an elaboration of the term vertigo as it pertains to Blackness.

propagation of white life” (R.L.) As such, African Americans have consistently been on the lowest rung of the social ladder (if they can be considered on the ladder at all).²⁵

All of this points to a need to stand united in the face of antiblack racism. Rather than focus on what makes Black people different, they have focused on the collective struggle that is unique to Black people. In addition, this fight against global dehumanization has left many Black people longing for a solid sense of culture and identity; a longing which has only reified this collective identification. Striving to transform one’s “black” marking into “Black” identity is often an attempt to overcome the degradation that comes with being black. However, considering how this term has impacted the Black community historically, we must not be afraid to investigate the consequences of using it.²⁶ Put another way, attaching the term “Black” to the global category of African descended Peoples runs the risk of obscuring the very unique circumstances faced by *each* ethnic group within the realm of Blackness. For example, the experiences of Afro-Latinx people are very different from African Americans in the sense that every cultural context that Black people find themselves in presents different variations of the anti-blackness experienced by them all. Conversely, the straining to assert these distinctions collapses back into a complicated, competitive and divisive identity politics.

Considering the substantial number of African descended people around the world, it can be overwhelming at times to attempt to sift through what makes each group culturally different; especially given how that sorting process is complicated by the overall condition they share. Of the various diasporic African-descendants, the African American occupies one of the most

²⁵ As Sylvia Wynter observes, “[T]he figure of the Negro (i.e., the category comprised by all peoples of Black African hereditary descent) ... was ... place[d] at the nadir of its Chain of Being; that is, on a rung of the ladder lower than that of all humans[.]” (Wynter, 301).

²⁶ “Afraid” in the sense that, by investigating what the term “Black” really means, we may end up unraveling the black “community”.

unique and *precarious* positions. As alluded earlier, the term African American appears to describe the position, the identity formation, of the neo-slave.²⁷ However, it also represents a struggle with that identity that is internal to slave-descended Black people, who can neither find solace in being African nor American; they have been isolated from their African heritage and are dehumanized in America.²⁸ Orlando Patterson describes this isolation as follows:

I prefer the term ‘natal alienation’ because it goes directly to the heart of what is critical in the slave’s forced alienation, the loss of ties of birth in both ascending and descending generations...It was this alienation of the slave from all formal, legally enforceable ties of ‘blood’, and from any attachment to groups or localities other than those chosen for him by the master, that gave the relation of slavery its peculiar value to the master” (Patterson 7).

This natal alienation, brought about by the violent separation from family and kinship ties on the Continent, was passed down through generations of slaves, and will continue to be passed down, as there is no way for “African Americans” to trace their ancestry back to an African ethnic group or country. When this does happen (through DNA websites such as ancestry.com), there is still nothing that can be done to reestablish and reclaim this African heritage in the larger, symbolic sense. In the case of one individual, “[h]aving discovered that his ancestors were from Cameroon [via an ancestry.com test], he remarked that he felt more lost than before. Now he was being estranged from an ancestral tribe as well as the country of his birth: The United States. ‘It’s like being lost and found at the same time’, he said” (Hartman 90).

“African Americans” having no “home” of origin, being neither American nor African subjects them to an ontological homelessness; or, being from no place. For many Black people, having a place to call home or a place from which they originate is a large and important aspect

²⁷ I use this term paradoxically, both, to emphasize the geographic beginnings of the “*African American*,” and to illuminate the continuity of slavery for “*African Americans*”.

²⁸ “In the intrusive mode of representing social death, the slave was ritually incorporated as the permanent enemy...On the other hand, the slave was symbolic of the defeated enemy” (Patterson 39).

of their identity. This is why in large part “African Americans” are amongst those along the African Diaspora struggling to find an identity. In other words, “African Americans” were birthed of a negation out of the societal norms of what makes an identity of belonging, “...what we both accepted was that the experience of slavery had made *us* [“African Americans”] an *us*; that is, it had created the conditions under which we had fashioned an identity. Dispossession was our history. That we could agree on” (Hartman 74). The point of cultural cohesion for “African Americans” then, comes not from a shared cultural appreciation and set of practices, but rather, from the shared understanding that to be “African American” means to have come from a void -- that of the slave. While other Black cultural groups (such as Continental Africans) are able to bond over the excellence and prosperity of a past civilization/society, “African Americans” have no such “prior plenitude” to look back on (Ball). Slave ships were, in effect, the wombs that “birthed” the slave, who, in turn, strained toward an identity as an “African American” in ways no other racial or ethnic formation has had to strain toward their identities. It was into this void that hopes and dreams died, and identities were stripped.

All of this underscores Eugene Genovese’s observation that “[t]he Black experience in this country has been a phenomenon without analog”.²⁹ There is no other racial formation in the United States (I would push this further to say globally) that can relate to, or has experienced what it is to be Black. However, there are many that do not believe this to be true. Rather, they believe that, at least to a certain extent, all peoples experience some form of oppression, especially minoritized groups, and when this is the case, those oppressions are equal. This belief manifests within political organizations and initiatives; in particular, coalitions. Non-black groups have much more in common with each other than they do with blackness. And when

²⁹ See <http://bostonreview.net/archives/BR18.5/genovese.php> Boston Review, October 1993.

blackness enters coalitional spaces, it is often repressed or crowded out altogether. Of this problem, Wilderson observes:

[C]oalitions and social movements, even radical social movements like the Prison Abolition Movement, [are] bound up in the solicitation of hegemony, [which] fortif[ies] and extend[s] the interlocutory life of civil society, ultimately accommodat[ing] only the satiable demands and finite antagonisms of civil society's junior partners (i.e. immigrants, white women, and the working class), but foreclose[s] upon the insatiable demands and endless antagonisms of the prison slave and the prison-slave-in-waiting. In short, whereas such coalitions and social movements cannot be called the outright handmaidens of white supremacy, their rhetorical structures and political desire[s] are underwritten by a supplemental anti-Blackness (Wilderson 68).

Here, Wilderson, in “The Prison Slave as Hegemony’s (Silent) Scandal,” demonstrates that “African Americans,” or “prison slaves,” as he calls them, contrary to members of civil society, have *insatiable* demands that make it easy for other groups to write them off as impossible to meet. These demands are “insatiable” because what “African Americans” need in order to achieve *total* liberation would precipitate the collapse of civil society. This is because “...there is something organic to civil society that makes it essential to the destruction of the black body” (Wilderson 67). Not only did African Chattel slavery birth the “African American,” it also aided -- has been literally utilized as a tool, through the degradation and commodification of the slave’s body -- in the creation of modern Western civilization. This is why the relationship between “African Americans” and American society is so troubled; the destruction of one begets the life of the other. It is for this reason that coalitions can never truly benefit African Americans. Non-black minoritized groups have the opportunity to flourish in civil society, because their journey of immigration is aligned with the aspirations of earlier immigrants, which is why they can come together to form coalitions and advocate on their behalf. But “African Americans” can claim no such origin or alignment because of the Transatlantic breach.

Rather than attempt to truly confront the demands of “African Americans” that result from this reality, coalitions and other such organizations often obscure and dilute them so as to “tame” them and quiet their demands. What Blackness requires in order to be liberated is far more radical than other groups, which is why these groups are afraid to allow Blackness to have what it desires. Frank Wilderson explains why the liberation of Blackness would require the collapse of civil society as we know it when he says, citing Frantz Fanon, “Blackness is a positionality of ‘absolute dereliction’, abandonment, in the face of civil society, and therefore cannot establish itself, or be established, through hegemonic interventions” (Wilderson, 67).

E. Ontological Manifestations

The previous section brings us to the recognition that the ontological difference between “African Americans” and Continental Africans can be summed up as follows: “As it turned out, eluding the slave past was the prerequisite to belonging” (Hartman 42). In other words, “African Americans” are marked by their lack of cultural roots and identity, whereas Continental Africans are marked by their respective countries³⁰ and ethnic groups. By contrast, Continental Africans are able to identify with a history and culture that does not emerge from chattel slavery, and can, as a result, distinguish themselves from the slave in much the same way as the Western world has, historically. While all Black peoples encounter anti-Black racism, whether they are aware of it or not, there is a deeply-etched difference in their structural positionalities as a result of this ontological difference, especially within the context of the United States. One simply needs to look at the data to see how this manifests. In a study done by the Pew Research Center, it was found that African immigrants not only have higher median incomes than “African Americans,”

³⁰ Countries whose borders were haphazardly constructed by the numerous European colonizers of the continent.

but also have a greater college educated population.³¹ This is notable because, while one might think that a native-born population would fare better than those who are newer to the same country, “African Americans,” while having grown up in the United States, with family lines going back generations, still have lower incomes than African immigrants. This leads many to believe there is something inherently wrong with “African Americans” that has held them back from achieving the same success as other groups. But when we understand that “African Americans” have been the social antagonists in the United States, the economic, political, and social dispossession of “African Americans” becomes clearer.

While African immigrants’ success in comparison to “African Americans” in the United States cannot be totally attributed to their ability to claim cultural roots and identity, it cannot be overlooked as a primary reason for it. However, it does not exempt them from the vulnerability to violence the moment they are removed from the African context. However, when compared with other non-Black immigrant groups, African immigrants are either at or below the same levels of income, poverty, and home ownership in the United States³². This is to say, that racism and its agents are not going to be able to distinguish a Continental African from an “African American” at first glance, or even after a conversation; regardless of the country of origin and ethnic background, Black people are guaranteed to encounter anti-Black racism wherever they go, even amongst each other.

III. Conclusion: A Disruption of Diversity

This thesis, and the various ideas and questions it has raised throughout, are meant to disrupt the hegemonic projects of diversity and multiculturalism in higher education. Rather than

³¹ See Appendix D, page 1 and Appendix E page 11.

³² See Appendix E, 11.

pursuing a course of acceptance and integration into the university, this thesis seeks to shock those that read it, but not gratuitously; rather, in the hopes that this shock kickstarts meaningful change in these institutions. This change is something that I view as necessary on the basis of my various experiences in higher education as a Black person. I became further interested in this topic when I found out that the issue of diversity has been something on the minds of other like-minded Black Bucknell students in the past.³³ This suggests to me that my observations are not unique, as there have been and are others who share my concerns. My personal experience at Bucknell University serves as a starting point as I have begun to realize that the issue of diversity, and the questionable means through which it is employed, are not unique to a particular university; rather, they have to do with how higher education and its long-standing priorities are structured.

Primarily identifying and articulating what exactly it is about diversity and multiculturalism that necessitates critique proved to be most difficult. As I have suggested throughout this thesis, diversity is one of the most lauded projects in our present time, which means that any critique of it is going to be met with resistance, and even backlash. This, however, should not dissuade anyone from illuminating its pitfalls. Using my own experience as a backbone to my argument, I began noting the differences between what diversity is often purported to do in and by colleges and universities across the country, versus what it is actually doing. In terms of the psychic fallout of the diversity project's failings, and as I have outlined in the introduction to this thesis, there are currently no Black therapists in the student health center at Bucknell University, a fact that, among others, is dissonant with how Bucknell claims itself to

³³ In 1985, the Bucknell Black Student Union released a "Black Student Union manifesto" where they demanded things such as "...increase its black enrollment to 5 percent by 1990" and "an increase in the number of black hired for administrative positions by 1998. For more information see: <https://www.bucknell.edu/Documents/ToniMorrisonSociety/Archives.pdf>

be diverse. Once I was able to establish the inconsistencies between diversity as a concept, and its performances, it became clear to me how necessary this work is.

In conjunction with this thesis, I became curious as to how academic institutions were responding to the growing popularity of the concept of diversity. Namely, I wanted to know how universities were going to adjust their admissions processes (i.e., not just who they claim to admit, but who they actually admit) in order to abide by this new societal expectation of “diversity and inclusion”. The expectation typically manifests itself as an increase in the presence of Black students on college campuses. However, what many people do not investigate is which *kind* of Black people are being admitted/preferred, which is why I took it upon myself to construct my argument to include the fact that universities across the country are opting to choose those who are, for the most part, financially able to pay more to the university. I am not suggesting I am alone in engaging in such a critique; rather, I am suggesting that those who are pursuing it are in the minority. Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Lani Guinier, two Harvard professors, are among those in academia who are bringing light to this issue, according to Sara Rimer and Karen W. Arenson, who recall that “[w]hat concerned the two professors, they said, was that in the high stakes world of admissions to the most selective colleges...African American students whose families have been in America for generations were being left behind” (Rimer & Arenson). Gates and Guinier are articulating a concern that undergirds this thesis; namely, that universities are opting for a form of Blackness that does not display, or, that appears to be devoid of, the scars of generations of institutional antiblack antagonism.

By my fourth year in college, I had begun to notice an increased presence in the number of Continental Africans, as opposed to “African Americans” in my midst³⁴. This awareness was

³⁴ An observation that is mirrored by data found in “Black Immigrants and Black Natives Attending Selective Colleges and Universities in the United States”, summated, in short, with the following quote, “Not only are black

not borne of a jealousy or malicious thoughts aimed at Continental Africans, but rather, of an interest in how Blackness was being perceived on campuses. When it comes down to it, Black people are Black people, there is no disputing that, but it must be said that within Blackness there are different formations that perform different types of utility for academic institutions. To most of these, the difference between a Continental African and an African American may be imperceptible, but to some the difference between the two is very clear and has to do with financial capacity and also a disposition of Continental agreeability. Put simply, the Continental African can attain to the aspirations of the immigrant absent the grievances of the slave.³⁵ Taking economics alone, it is no secret that universities are constantly looking for ways to increase their wealth, so financially, it makes more sense to admit students who are able to pay full tuition, rather than to admit those who are more reliant on scholarships, as “African Americans” more often tend to.³⁶

It is important to understand at least in part, why there is such a large disparity between the economic stability of “African Americans” and Continental Africans. While we can point to a number of reasons, the largest two become central to their respective identities; namely, the capacity to claim (1) kinship across time, and (2) a place of origin; a homeland. Continental Africans can reference their nation, their ethnic group, their native language and even their colonized language (this last is a much larger issue). By contrast, the “African American” is in a constant state of homelessness; a social antagonist in and to the United States and beyond, while simultaneously a stranger to Africa, “Slavery made your mother into a myth, banished your

immigrants overrepresented at elite academic institutions, but the overrepresentation is greatest in the most exclusive stratum” (Massey 249).

³⁵ See Appendix E, pg. 9.

³⁶ See Appendix B, pg. 7.

father's name, and exiled your siblings to the far corners of the earth. The slave was as an orphan..." (Hartman 103). This difference is a result of the legacy of chattel slavery which essentially cut and cauterized all familial ties between "African Americans" and Africa, and it is this difference that is responsible for the various differences that manifest between the two groups today.³⁷

This translates into a different lived experience in the United States by way of legacies. "African Americans" in the United States have had the legacy of dispossession and institutionalized antiblackness that has been theical to the creation and perpetuation of the United States. While Continental African immigrants have had to deal with colonialism and neo-colonialism within their specific contexts, they are unencumbered by those imprints when they arrive in the United States. Historically, they have had the possibility to accrue wealth across their generations, whereas "African Americans" have been without that potential as a result of chattel slavery, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and other anti-black institutional designs. As Marquan Jones, a former president of Cornell's Black Student Union states, "[While] [e]veryone from the African diaspora may ... experience racism on the individual level...international students who call another place home don't have to deal with the ingrained institutional and structural forms of oppression in the same way American black students do" (Jaschik).

Yet, here is the paradox: despite this difference, Continental Africans and "African Americans" are both impacted by the anti-black racism that undergirds and informs the non-black spaces they *both* inhabit. While the project of diversity definitely prefers the monetary capacity of Continental Africans, it is still, in many ways, unwilling to support the specific needs of Black students who are navigating their larger needs as black students more generally. Quite

³⁷ For more on the essential elements of the slave see *Slavery and Social Death*, Orlando Patterson.

often, the project of diversity and multiculturalism consolidates the needs of students and provides one streamlined, generic set of services, as if the colorblind approach is the most ethical and appropriate way to provide student life services across the board.

As I mentioned earlier, Black people inhabit a unique position within society, which makes streamlined services meant to benefit everyone incompatible with Blackness. Jared Sexton argues, “Ultimately it is consternation about being eclipsed by blackness that articulates multiracialism with the array of political campaigns linkings them collectively, and perhaps unconsciously, to political projects they might otherwise oppose” (Sexton 7). This highlights the extreme anxiety I am referencing, that, when faced with having to consider blackness on its own terms, instead absorbs and obscures it into other considerations.

This obfuscation is my main concern when it comes to this research presently and moving forward. That agitation around Black struggle in relation to other issues will always have to be contended with. Worse, there tends to be an assumption that the time of Black people’s fight for equality is past, and it is now time to move on to the next set of struggles (at the border, in the Middle East, women, and so on). While this presumption is incorrect, it is nonetheless a pervasive one. As American society pushes towards these ideals of diversity and multiculturalism, it is always Blackness that animates them³⁸, only to gets swept under the current and hid away in prisons, ghettoized and in areas increasingly marginalized by gentrification, etc. This thesis, and those that have aided in its scholarship, aims to push against this current by placing Blackness in the spotlight. It aims to move those who read it to do the same.

³⁸ “Soon, however, Latinos, Asians, women, and the disabled took note of the success of the civil rights movement and appropriated the tactics and rhetoric of African Americans to make their own demands for inclusion...The emphasis on diversity rather than restitution naturally worked to the benefit of second generation immigrants...” (Massey 244).

Appendix A

2014-19 DIVERSITY PLAN



BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY





» **The Bucknell University Five-Year Diversity Plan**

An intentional focus on diversity at all levels of the University is essential to our academic mission, purpose and viability. Fully embracing the concept of diversity is necessary for achieving a vibrant, inclusive community that reflects the world beyond Bucknell, challenges and encourages us to broaden our perspectives and worldviews, and helps to fully prepare students to make valuable contributions as citizens of a diverse, globally integrated world.





Dear Colleagues,

Since the 2006 publication of the Plan for Bucknell, our University has identified diversity as an institutional priority directly related to our mission of providing an excellent education to all students. We know that improving our diversity efforts will not only enhance our students' educational experiences while they are at Bucknell, but also contribute to ensuring that they are prepared to engage with the world of both today and tomorrow. Although some progress has been made against the goals of the 2006 Plan, honest reflection leads quickly to the realization that Bucknell has fallen short of both its own commitments and the expectations of many of our students.

The 2014-19 Diversity Plan guides us toward becoming a better Bucknell, a Bucknell in which diversity and inclusion are woven throughout the fabric of the institution. This Plan has been developed over the past year by the President's Diversity Council and shared preliminarily with many of our colleagues for their review and comment.

Because each of us contributes to our students' educational experiences in some way, each of us must contribute to achieving the four goals outlined in this plan. By working together, we can and must bring it to life: We will not be effective if we rely on good intentions alone. This work requires commitment, creativity, discussion, reflection, collaboration, and openness to learning and growth. It is time for the Bucknell community to deliberately advance into the brighter, more inclusive future where so many of our fellow institutions are already staking their claims.

The Diversity Vision presented in this plan illustrates what we strive towards together; the Diversity Statement frames our work. The Goals address policy, people, campus climate, and student learning. Annual reporting on progress will keep us on track and inform us about where increased efforts are needed. Our success will be dependent on the commitment and contribution of each member of the Bucknell community.

Although we have much work ahead of us, we have a good foundation to build on thanks to those of you who are already engaged in this work—in some instances, for decades. I am grateful for your persistence, commitment, and progress to date.

Along with the members of the President's Diversity Council I invite you to read this Diversity Plan, identify the elements that are relevant to your role and interests, and actively participate in its implementation. I am confident that we have the talent and drive needed for success.

I look forward to engaging in this important work with all of you.

My best,

John C. Bravman
President, Bucknell University

The concept of diversity means different things to different people and evokes a wide range of responses. For some, the word is reflective of the ideal of how things ought to be in a pluralistic society. For others, diversity is so broad and general that it seems to have no meaning. Still others believe diversity signals a narrow version of identity politics or political correctness. This Five-Year Diversity Plan clarifies how Bucknell views diversity, defines our institutional commitment to achieving it, and sets us on a course of concrete results that benefit the University and express our shared values.

The word diversity, as applied to efforts to address inequality, injustice, lack of access, discrimination, and exclusion in higher education, has its roots in the fight against racism in the civil rights and black student movements of the 1960s and '70s. The establishment of black student and other minority studies programs and centers on campuses gave voice to the struggle for racial and social justice, and spurred similar activism from other marginalized students and faculty. Today the general term for this essential work falls under the rubric of diversity and inclusion. Inside and outside of the academy, diversity aligns with equity, excellence and innovation.

This plan recognizes the particular histories in which diversity initiatives are rooted, and it also addresses, albeit imperfectly, the multiple and at times conflicting concerns of the constituencies involved in building a more diverse, inclusive and just Bucknell.

This work is not new at Bucknell. From the Zeller Integration Plan (1968) and the Black Student Manifesto (1985) to the diversity plans and campus climate reports of the mid-1990s and early 2000s, many hours of faculty, student, staff and alumni time have been dedicated to various efforts to advocate for and create an indisputably diverse and inclusive Bucknell University. Although the University's earliest years reflect an inclusion and openness uncommon in the 19th century,¹ over time Bucknell has acquired a reputation for a certain exclusiveness and homogeneity.

Building on and borrowing from earlier efforts, this plan addresses Bucknell's need to develop and sustain a community more representative of the broader society. This plan recognizes that Bucknell's challenges with campus climate intersect in

profound ways with the imperative to create an environment that is not only grounded in principles of equality, but also free from homophobia, racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination. Importantly, the plan recognizes that a meaningful focus on diversity is essential to and aligned with Bucknell's mission, most specifically with assertions that a Bucknell education (1) prepares students "for a lifetime of critical thinking and leadership," (2) facilitates the development of "a deep understanding of different cultures and diverse perspectives" and (3) educates students to "serve the common good and promote justice." By committing to this plan, Bucknell emphasizes diversity as a value central to our academic excellence, relevance and integrity.

As we move deeper into the 21st century, Bucknell, like other colleges and universities, recognizes the interconnectedness of diversity and academic excellence. We cannot fully prepare students to live and work in a diverse, globally integrated world—we cannot remain relevant or viable as an institution of higher education—if we do not hold ourselves accountable for achieving the goals outlined in this plan.

Focusing on (1) institutional practices and policies, (2) the composition of the Bucknell community, (3) student learning, and (4) campus culture and climate, this plan provides us with both a mirror and a compass. The mirror requires that we examine ourselves honestly and recognize how much we must do to become the university we aspire to be. The compass allows us to navigate through the challenges ahead, mark our progress and notice deviations from our goals. This plan will be adjusted as necessary as we move forward and adapt to fresh and unanticipated developments.

The work will not be easy, but it is absolutely essential. With this five-year strategic plan for diversity, we commit ourselves to the discipline, focus and hard work necessary for establishing a Bucknell that is diverse, inclusive, excellent and just.



¹In 1864 Bucknell welcomed its first Asian student, Maung Shaw Loo; in 1875 our first African-American student, Edward McKnight Brawley, was welcomed; and in 1885 Bucknell welcomed its first woman student, Chella Scott.



Bucknell's understanding of diversity is inclusive, complex and broad-based; it recognizes historical and current inequities that affect higher education, and it emphasizes the interconnectedness of diversity and academic excellence.

Bucknell's commitment to diversity as a core value supports building an inclusive, thriving campus community that achieves the following objectives:

- Provides an excellent undergraduate education and experience for all students.
- Recognizes how identities and social positions shape and are shaped by our understandings of the world, ourselves and those around us.
- Takes responsibility for learning about and being empathetic to the experiences and perspectives of each member of our inclusive community.
- Respects differences among individuals and groups.
- Builds and sustains equitable systems, actions and attitudes.
- Emphasizes the historical context of diversity at Bucknell and in the world.
- Affirms the personal, collective and institutional accountability essential to a strong campus culture.
- Infuses a focus on justice and inclusion in all levels of decision-making, policies, and practices.

Process and Acknowledgements

The President's Diversity Council would like to thank the numerous individuals, offices, committees and groups that directly or indirectly contributed to this plan. From its first meeting in September 2012, the council recognized that this plan could not and should not be the exclusive work of its 13 members. We knew that the goal to institutionalize diversity—to ensure that a focus on diversity is integrated throughout all aspects of the University—required that all members of the campus community have the opportunity to participate in shaping the plan.

During the spring and fall of 2013, council representatives discussed drafts with interested members of the campus community. Throughout those discussions we found a high level of interest in and commitment to diversity, the desire to learn more or to contribute in a deeper manner and valuable constructive criticism. This plan reflects and is informed by those conversations.



Diversity Vision Statement

Diversity is one of Bucknell's core values. In developing and nurturing a diverse and inclusive community, we respect and engage across difference. We face and respond thoughtfully to difficult questions. We build bridges and establish relationships. Individually and collectively we critically examine and challenge our biases, assumptions, institutional structures and worldviews. We understand and seek to mitigate inequities, and grow—intellectually and personally—through meaningful diversity experiences.



Diversity Statement

Bucknell University's diversity efforts broaden and deepen our personal and intellectual horizons, preparing all of us—students, staff and faculty—to make thoughtful, responsible contributions as individuals, community members and professionals in a diverse, globally integrated world.

An essential component of Bucknell's commitment to academic excellence is our commitment to fostering an inclusive, diverse campus community. Bucknell's understanding of diversity is broad-based, emphasizing the identity and experiences of groups that have been historically under-represented in higher education, and encompassing age, class, culture, (dis)ability, ethnicity, gender identity, gender expression, immigration status, national origin, race, religion and spirituality, sex and sexual identity, among others. We affirm that diverse experiences and perspectives in the classroom and across campus enhance everyone's educational experience.

Together, we are building and nurturing a community that embraces, respects and celebrates diversity in all its forms.

Diversity Goals

1. Improve the diversity of the Bucknell campus community.
2. Develop and maintain a campus climate and culture in which embracing diversity is a core value enacted by all members of the Bucknell community.
3. Enhance students' diversity-related educational opportunities and experiences to ensure that all students graduate with knowledge, skills and habits of mind necessary for living and working effectively as members of a diverse, global society.
4. Reflect institutional commitment to diversity by establishing a culture of accountability around diversity initiatives, practices and policies.

Although listed separately, these four goals are interconnected. Aspects of each goal must be addressed simultaneously to enable and support progress towards all others.



Goal 1: Improve the diversity of the Bucknell campus community.

Objective A: Improve the diversity of the faculty across all academic departments.

Strategy 1. Continue to improve the recruitment, search and hiring process to enhance the potential for increasing the diversity of the faculty.

- a. Pilot, review and revise hiring guide and training.
- b. Develop plans and secure and allocate funding for some or all of the following: distinguished visiting faculty or scholar in residence, two-year post docs, distinguished professorship, cluster hires related to enhancing diversity and faculty attendance at conferences to meet and recruit potential hires.
- c. Contact local universities, colleges, hospitals and other major employers within two-hour drive (give or take) to explore possibility of consortium for hiring and to facilitate partner hiring.
- d. Host conference for rising graduate students from groups under-represented in higher education (in conjunction with CSREG, Griot Institute) every other year.
- e. Build relationships with schools that graduate Ph.D.s from underrepresented groups.

Strategy 2. Evaluate and improve practices that support the success and retention of a diverse faculty.

- a. Evaluate and improve (if/as needed) faculty orientation and mentoring program for junior faculty.
- b. Provide basic funds for affinity groups for community building, mentoring, establishing connections to local communities, etc.

Strategy 3. Monitor faculty demographics, retention, and promotion; disaggregate according to race, ethnicity, gender, and if/as reported sexual orientation, first generation, and disability status.

- a. Track turnover and include questions about diversity/campus climate in exit interviews.
- b. Survey faculty from under-represented groups to obtain information on decisions to remain at Bucknell and build on the positive reasons.

Objective B. Improve the diversity of staff at all levels of the institution.

Strategy 1. Continue to improve the search and hiring process to enhance the potential for increasing the diversity of the staff (casual, support, and administrative).

- a. Pilot, review and revise hiring guide and training.
- b. Establish and implement a plan for outreach to local communities, organizations, and affinity groups to develop connections for hiring diverse groups locally.
- c. Develop awareness of career pathways for promotion among staff, and clarify how and when searches will be internal.

Strategy 2. Evaluate and improve practices that support the success and retention of a diverse staff.

- a. Provide basic funds for affinity groups for community building, mentoring, establishing connections to local communities, etc.
- b. Review and if/as needed improve staff mentoring programs.

Strategy 3. Monitor staff demographics to track staff turnover based on race, ethnicity, gender, and if/as reported sexual orientation, first generation, and disability status.

- a. Include questions about diversity/campus climate in exit interview. Become aware of and responsive to practices and barriers to success for specific demographic groups.
- b. Survey staff from under-represented groups to obtain information on decisions to remain at Bucknell and build on the positive reasons.



Objective C. Improve the diversity of the undergraduate student body.

Strategy 1. Develop targeted outreach plan to build pipelines, broaden the applicant pool, and admit an increased number of qualified students from groups that have been under-represented in higher education.

- a. Leverage opportunities associated with HACU membership.
- b. Identify, assess, and (if/as needed) enhance existing programs aimed at recruiting students from groups that have been historically under-represented in higher education (or at Bucknell), LGBTQ students, international students, students with disabilities.
- c. Re-engineer the admissions selection process to incorporate a richer blend of cognitive and non-cognitive factors.
- d. Increase diversity competency of Office of Admissions staff: tour guides' information on IAE, diversity at Bucknell, diversity messaging.
- e. Increase financial aid resources to support the recruitment, enrollment, and retention of more diverse undergraduates.
- f. Analyze differential yield rates for admitted first-year and transfer students to determine if campus climate affects decisions to enroll or attend elsewhere.
- g. Build pipeline projects.

Strategy 2. Review and if/as needed enhance assessment related to success of underrepresented and diverse student groups.

- a. Survey students from under-represented groups to obtain information on decisions to remain at Bucknell and build on the positive reasons.
- b. Monitor and respond to data on retention and success: GPA on graduation, course-taking patterns, post-graduate career placement.
- c. Map Bucknell's current student demographic against emerging trends (WICHE).

Strategy 3. Identify, assess, and (if/as needed) enhance existing programs aimed at retention, support, and success for students from groups that have been historically under-represented in higher education (or at Bucknell), LGBTQ students, international students, students with disabilities.

- a. Build on successful programs and identify policies and practices that inadvertently serve as barriers to academic progress and achievements of under-represented students; develop strategies for transforming such practices.
- b. Enhance academic advising system for under-represented students.
- c. Coordinate the above with athletics' existing plans and assessment.
- d. Develop and implement programs comparable to the McNair Scholars Program or other college-level outreach and pipeline programs.

Objective D. Monitor and respond to diversity of graduate student population.

Strategy 1. Identify, assess, and (if/as needed) improve current practices related to recruiting and enrolling a diverse graduate student body.

Strategy 2. Identify, assess, and (if/as needed) enhance existing programs aimed at retention, support, and success of a diverse graduate student body.

Strategy 3. Review and (if/as needed) enhance current practices related to increasing the diversity of graduate assistants (both those enrolled at Bucknell and those enrolled elsewhere).

Strategy 4. Monitor graduate student demographics.



Goal 2: Develop and maintain a campus climate and culture in which embracing diversity is a core value enacted by all members of the Bucknell community.

Objective A. Increase Bucknell employees' capacity to create and support an inclusive and diverse campus community.

Strategy 1. Develop orientation sessions that prepare all members of the Bucknell community to understand and participate in the University's diversity efforts.

- a. Include a session on diversity at Bucknell in new faculty and staff orientations. (This could be incorporated into a discussion of Bucknell mission and values.)
- b. Develop and deliver a coordinated introduction to diversity as an institutional and educational value for First-Year Student Orientation.

Strategy 2. Provide educational and training opportunities to enhance institutional capacity to undertake effective diversity work.

- a. Develop and deliver annual diversity training series for faculty and staff.
- b. Provide diversity competency training/education to all orientation student leaders, RAs, tour guides, and include a developmental and in-depth approach to Greek Life's diversity efforts.

Strategy 3. Identify, assess, and enhance support services and campus-wide competency for working with persons with disabilities.

- a. Evaluate context, provide and assess ADA training.
- b. Provide enrichment opportunities for faculty and staff to enhance work with persons with disabilities, including training on universal design for learning.
- c. Assess campus-wide signage relevant to persons with disabilities.
- d. Develop a streamlined approach to foster collaborative efforts to support ADA compliance.
- e. Develop enhancement plan for The Office of Disability Services.

Objective B. Recognize and reward individuals, offices, and organizations that enhance and contribute to diversity goals.

Strategy 1. Support existing organizations and offices that provide diversity-related education, support, and services.

- a. Develop incentives for student organizations that engage with diversity in meaningful ways (e.g., sponsorship of Biff Hoffman Lectureship, Hosting Diversity Dialogues, etc.).
- b. Monitor and respond to demands on offices that provide diversity-related education, support, and services.

Strategy 2. Establish institution-wide recognition of participation in or development/delivery of diversity-oriented programming, education, projects, research.

- a. Establish an annual "President's Diversity Award" to recognize faculty/staff/ departments that contribute to Bucknell's diversity efforts.

Objective C. Increase and improve Bucknell's diversity-related messaging (web, print, and spoken).

Strategy 1. Enhance diversity's web and print presence.

- a. Analyze web content related to diversity; connect disparate pieces to be linked from central diversity (from Associate Provost or President level on the web) page.
- b. Develop and enhance diversity brochures and other print materials.



Strategy 2. Enhance materials (print and electronic) highlighting support services offered to students/persons with disabilities.

Strategy 3. Develop visual identity for diversity messaging.

Strategy 4. Examine how Bucknell communicates its values internally and externally, and develop strategies for highlighting the diversity value message consistently and along with other values. (For example, integrate diversity into Homecoming or Family Weekend.)

- a. Establish consistent, clear, and ongoing messaging related to diversity as a core value; identify media and venues for sharing that message (kiosks, cards, etc.).
- b. Create diversity and disability statements for syllabi—as options for faculty use.

Strategy 5. Continue to build on an “I am a Bucknellian Campaign”—to reveal and highlight Bucknell stories/individual profiles related to diversity at Bucknell.

- a. Record “Bucknell Voices/Experiences” to gain access to campus experiences and climate.
- b. Use, as appropriate Griot Storytelling Project.

Strategy 6. Assess and enhance as needed diversity resources in bookstore and library, and online.

Strategy 7. Develop and determine best way to create and disseminate a “Diversity Guide for Lewisburg/ Central Pennsylvania.”

Strategy 8. Hold Annual University-Wide Diversity Summit (conference/workshops) for whole campus.

Strategy 9. Shape Capital Campaign message to address specific aspects of this plan; report results.

Objective D. Regularly assess and report on campus climate and diversity programming, educational efforts, training, and visibility; integrate results with Objective B.

Strategy 1. Assess climate every 2-3 years: students, faculty, and staff.

Strategy 2. Assess diversity efforts and performance; departments and offices report progress to Associate Provost for Diversity.

- a. Use consistent, meaningful assessment criteria for diversity in staff reviews.
- b. Align departmental reviews/annual reports with University-wide learning goals: how have departments and individuals contributed to University goal 3, for example.
- c. Identify and assess policies, programs and activities aimed at improving campus climate.

Strategy 3. Use regularly collected assessment data to inform, highlight successes of, and (as needed) enhance diversity programming, social opportunities, services, and education.

1. Integrate with goal 4.
2. As necessary provide information collected through this Diversity Plan to appropriate offices for action.



Goal 3. Enhance students' diversity-related educational opportunities and experiences to ensure that all students graduate with knowledge, skills, and habits of mind necessary for living and working effectively as members of a diverse, globally integrated world.

Objective A. Develop a systemic process for reviewing, assessing diversity focus in the curriculum and co-curriculum; integrate results with Objective B below.

Strategy 1. Track progress and contributions of academic departments' focus on diversity and student learning.

- a. Track progress on diversity education by school and discipline—achievement of program diversity plans.
- b. Develop as part of departmental diversity plans an understanding of where and how diversity is integrated into majors; how diversity is understood; how achievement is assessed.

Strategy 2. Review and assess the impact of and need for professional development opportunities to assist faculty in addressing diversity (broadly understood—curricular transformation, inclusive pedagogy/assignments, mentoring and advising).

Objective B: Enhance diversity education, experiences, and support for students.

Strategy 1. Cultivate a developmental approach to diversity education, spanning from orientation to introductory-level first-year courses with a diversity experience, to advanced courses, ideally as part of major. Possibilities include:

- a. Connect IEA (Intercultural Equity and Advocacy) with first-year courses/foundations.
- b. Integrate diversity into first-year foundation seminars and residential college experiences. (Goal: All students are introduced to diversity issues in first semester of first year at Bucknell.)
- c. Select and integrate specific number of High Impact Practices into first year experience.
- d. Support and encourage undergraduate research on social justice issues.
- e. Provide incentives for high quality diversity-focused IP courses.

Strategy 2. Review best practices and Bucknell guidelines for declaring minors and determine whether a revision of current practices would benefit students.

Strategy 3. Inventory, evaluate, enhance and develop diversity-focused student learning opportunities inside and outside the classroom.

- a. Undertake a comprehensive curriculum inventory every 2-3 years to identify the extent to which diversity is addressed (a) throughout courses, (b) as components of courses. (Seeking total percent and percent within Colleges and departments/programs.)
- b. Develop criteria and an evaluation rubric for understanding/evaluating student achievement of university-wide learning goal #3 and the CCC "Tools for Critical Engagement: Diversity in the US" learning goal.
- c. Develop and enhance relationships with local communities to provide meaningful diversity experiences for students and connect to coursework.
- d. Emphasize opportunities for deep learning experiences, via reflection, immersion, and service for study abroad and local off-campus study.
- e. Explore the benefits of establishing new and building on existing mentoring programs that provide opportunities for students to connect with diverse local communities and with diverse students in local schools. (Goal: Mutually beneficial educational experiences.)
- f. Collaborate with student groups to develop a Diversity Mini Conference/Summit for outreach to high schools and/or to connect with students from other local colleges and universities.
- g. Explore new majors, minors, and residential colleges focused on diversity.



Appendix B

STATS IN BRIEF
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OCTOBER 2011 NCES 2012-160

Merit Aid for Undergraduates

Trends From 1995–96 to 2007–08

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Statistics in Brief publications present descriptive data in tabular formats to provide useful information to a broad audience, including members of the general public. They address simple and topical issues and questions. They do not investigate more complex hypotheses, account for inter-relationships among variables, or support causal inferences. We encourage readers who are interested in more complex questions and in-depth analysis to explore other NCES resources, including publications, online data tools, and public- and restricted-use datasets. See nces.ed.gov and references noted in the body of this document for more information.

In the 2007–08 academic year, undergraduates received \$62 billion in grant aid from a variety of sources, including postsecondary institutions (\$24 billion), the federal government (\$22 billion), state governments (\$8 billion), and private sources (\$8 billion). Slightly more than half (52 percent) of all undergraduates received grant aid, with total grant aid averaging \$4,900 per student (Wei and Wun 2009, tables 1 and 2).

Grants may be awarded on the basis of financial need, other factors, or both. Need-based grants are awarded based on students' financial need as determined by the grantor. Non-need-based grants are awarded without any regard to financial need. Often called scholarships, they are awarded most frequently to recognize academic merit, using such criteria as admission test scores or other indicators of academic achievement.¹ A small proportion of them are awarded on the basis of athletic performance or other criteria specified by the grantor. For ease of presentation, all of these non-need-based grants are referred to as "merit aid" in this report. Grants with a merit component but whose recipients must also meet

¹ Federal aid and much of state aid is distributed on a need basis using students' and sometimes their families' financial status as determined by information from the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA). Some states also use grade point average or standardized test scores.

This report was prepared for the National Center for Education Statistics under Contract No. ED-07-CO-0104 with MPR Associates, Inc. Mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations does not imply endorsement by the U.S. Government.

some standard of need are considered need-based. For example, the federal Academic Competitiveness Grant, which requires recipients to meet specific, rigorous academic standards, is considered need-based because recipients must also have low incomes.

While federal grant aid authorized by Title IV of the Higher Education Act has consistently been targeted to low- and moderate-income students, an increasing amount of grant aid from state and institutional sources has been merit-based (Baum and Lapovsky 2006; College Board 2000, 2009a, 2009b; NASSGAP 2009). Researchers have found evidence that merit aid increases postsecondary attendance, improves the quality of high school education, and attracts students to higher education who are more likely to persist (Dynarski 2000; Henry and Rubenstein 2002; Singell and Stater 2006). Some, however, have expressed concern that merit aid diverts resources from a central goal of financial aid policy, increasing access to college (McPherson and Schapiro 1998). They view merit aid as support for many students who would attend college without aid. Some also suggest that merit aid may not further a second important financial aid goal—improving success in college—because merit aid recipients, who generally come from more advantaged backgrounds, would likely have succeeded in its absence (Ehrenberg, Zhang, and Levin 2006; Selingo 2001). This report does not examine the potential positive or negative impacts of

merit aid but rather provides descriptive information about who received merit and other types of grant aid.

This Statistics in Brief first examines merit aid and other non-need-based aid from all sources and then focuses on two sources of merit aid widely cited in empirical and policy-oriented literature²—postsecondary institutions and states—examining how much merit aid students received and the characteristics of students who received it.³ It tracks changes in institutional and state merit aid from 1995–96, around the time when many state merit-based programs began, through 2007–08, the latest year for which national data are available.

The report draws on four administrations of the National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS), a survey of a nationally representative sample of undergraduates enrolled in U.S. postsecondary institutions that participate in federal student aid programs. It is limited to undergraduates who qualify for state and federal financial aid (i.e., U.S. citizens and eligible noncitizens), who make up 99 percent of undergraduates.

This Statistics in Brief examines merit aid by institution sector, student characteristics, and region. It does so

because previous analyses of merit aid have found that its award varies by these factors (Dynarski 2002a, 2002b; Heller 2002). When examining aid awarded to undergraduates, the analyses focus on students who enrolled full time for a full academic year at 4-year institutions, where the majority of grant aid is awarded. The analyses also focus on state and institutional merit aid because these institutions are the main sources of such aid. Federal aid is entirely need-based: the relatively small ACG and SMART grants have a merit component but are available only to Pell-eligible students and therefore classed as need-based. To put the frequency and amount of merit aid in context, data on need-based aid are also provided. Students may receive both merit- and need-based aid, and the estimates presented in this report of the percentage of students who received each type of aid reflect that type only without consideration of other types of aid a student may have received (i.e., the merit and need-based aid groups are not mutually exclusive).

State distribution of merit aid varies by region (Ingle, Cohen-Vogel, and Hughes 2007). Therefore, some region-level estimates are presented to illustrate this variation. State-level representative samples were available for only six states: California, Georgia, Illinois, Minnesota, New York, and Texas. Among these states, Georgia was the first state in the nation to enact a state merit aid program (Ingle, Cohen-Vogel, and Hughes 2007), a program that served as

² See, for example, Baum and Lapovsky 2006; Cohen-Vogel et al. 2008; Cornwell and Mustard 2002; Cornwell et al. 2005; Dynarski 2002a; Heller 2002; Heller and Rasmussen 2002; Henry and Rubenstein 2002; Longanecker 2002; Price 2001; Selingo 2001; and Zhang and Ness 2010.

³ Undergraduates who received merit aid often received other grants as well.

a model for the federal HOPE Scholarship program introduced in 1997.

Therefore, a profile of Georgia's program and aid estimates among undergraduates in that state are

presented to provide an example of a state merit aid program.

All comparisons of estimates were tested for statistical significance using

the Student's *t*-statistic, and all differences cited are statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level.⁴

Overview of Grant Aid

Federal

The foundation of federal grant aid for undergraduates is the Federal Pell Grant program. Pell Grant eligibility is based entirely on financial need. The amount for which a student is eligible is determined by a formula that takes into account income, assets, and the number of other members in the family also in college.* Slightly more than a quarter (27 percent) of all undergraduates received a Pell Grant in 2007–08 (Wei 2010, table 3.2-E). Federal Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants (SEOG) are also available to Pell Grant recipients with exceptional financial need. The Academic Competitiveness Grants (ACG) and National Science and Mathematics Access to Retain Talent (SMART) grants, first awarded in 2006–07, include a merit component but also require students to be Pell-eligible. Both these programs are scheduled to end after the 2010–11 academic year. The Pell Grant program dwarfs the others in size—\$15.5 billion in 2007–08 compared with \$0.8 billion for SEOGs and \$0.5 billion for ACGs and SMART Grants (College Board 2009b).

State

Most state aid is awarded in the form of grants and is based on need. Every state except South Dakota had a need-based grant program in 2007–08. However, 27 states also had programs that made awards based exclusively on academic merit. Of the \$8.0 billion that states awarded in grant aid to undergraduates, \$5.8 billion was

based on need (NASSGAP 2008). Whereas 16 percent of 2007–08 undergraduates received a state grant, 4 percent received one based only on merit (Wei 2010, table 3.3-A).

Institutional

Colleges and universities—especially those in the private nonprofit sector—provide grants to help make up the difference between the price of attendance and what a family is expected to contribute from its own financial resources. Some also provide merit scholarships based on academic achievement or other non-need considerations. In 2007–08, some 20 percent of undergraduates received an institutional grant, and 9 percent received one based solely on merit (Wei 2010, table 3.4-A).

Private

Private organizations and employers provide some students with grants using their own criteria, which may or may not include financial need. Tuition reimbursement by employers is considered private grant aid. The extent to which privately funded grants are based on need or merit is unknown. Thirteen percent of undergraduates in 2007–08 received grants from outside private sources or employers.

* Parents' financial circumstances are considered for dependent students. For independent students, only their own and, if married, their spouse's finances are taken into account. Undergraduates are considered dependent unless they are at least 24 years of age, married, orphans, wards of the court, veterans, on active military duty, or have legal dependents.

⁴ No adjustments for multiple comparisons were made. The standard errors for the estimates can be found at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>.

STUDY QUESTIONS

- 1 How did the award of merit aid change between 1995–96 and 2007–08, compared with need-based grant aid, and how did the two types of aid change across income groups?
- 2 What are the characteristics of students who received merit aid in 2007–08?
- 3 How did merit and need-based institutional aid differ at public and private nonprofit 4-year institutions between 1995–96 and 2007–08?
- 4 How did state grant aid, both merit and need-based, differ by region in 2007–08?

KEY FINDINGS

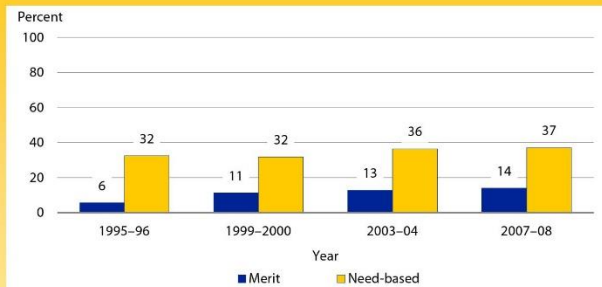
- The proportion of undergraduates receiving merit aid was larger in 2007–08 (14 percent) than in 1995–96 (6 percent); the average amount received was also larger in 2007–08 (\$4,700) than in 1995–96 (\$4,000) in constant 2007 dollars (figures 1 and 2). The proportion receiving need-based aid was larger in 2007–08 (37 percent) than in 1995–96 (32 percent), and the average amount differed by \$400 between 2007–08 (\$4,000) and 1995–96 (\$3,600) in constant 2007 dollars.
- The proportion of dependent undergraduates receiving any grant aid who were in the high-income group was larger in 2007–08 (18 percent) than in 1995–96 (13 percent) (figure 3).
- In 1995–96, need-based institutional grants were more common than merit-based grants in both private nonprofit (43 percent vs. 24 percent) and public 4-year institutions (13 percent vs. 8 percent) (figure 4). In 2007–08, the proportion of merit aid recipients exceeded that of need-based grant recipients at public institutions (18 percent vs. 16 percent) and was not measurably different at private nonprofit 4-year institutions (42 percent vs. 44 percent). The prevalence of merit aid was higher at private nonprofit 4-year institutions than at public 4-year institutions in both years (24 percent vs. 8 percent in 1995–96 and 44 percent vs. 18 percent in 2007–08).
- Among students at private nonprofit 4-year institutions in 2007–08, those at moderately selective institutions received merit aid more often (56 percent) than their counterparts at both more and less selective ones (35 percent and 28 percent) (figure 6). At public 4-year institutions in 2007–08, the percentage of students receiving merit aid at very selective institutions was lower (13 percent) than that at moderately, minimally, or nonselective institutions (19 percent, 20 percent, and 18 percent, respectively).
- The Southeast had the highest proportion of state merit scholarship recipients (24 percent) of any region in the United States, while the nationwide total was 10 percent (table 2).

1 How did the award of merit aid change between 1995–96 and 2007–08, compared with need-based grant aid, and how did the two types of aid change across income groups?

In 1995–96, some 6 percent of all undergraduates received any kind of merit aid. Eleven percent received any merit aid in 1999–2000, and 14 percent did so in 2007–08 (figure 1). In constant 2007 dollars, the average amount received was \$4,700 in 2007–08, compared with \$4,000 in 1995–96 (figure 2). In each survey year, the percentage of undergraduates who received merit aid was lower than the percentage with need-based aid, which ranged from 32 percent to 37 percent.

FIGURE 1.

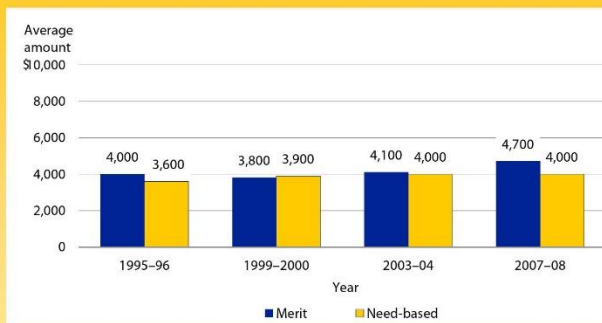
MERIT AND NEED-BASED GRANTS for undergraduates: 1995–96, 1999–2000, 2003–04, and 2007–08



NOTE: Merit and need-based grants are from all sources. Estimates include students enrolled in Title IV eligible postsecondary institutions in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Foreign/international students, who are not eligible for federal aid, are excluded. Merit and need-based aid categories are not mutually exclusive – a student may receive both. Standard error tables are available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>. SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1995–96, 1999–2000, 2003–04, and 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Studies (NPSAS:96, NPSAS:2000, NPSAS:04, and NPSAS:08).

FIGURE 2.

MERIT AND NEED-BASED GRANTS among undergraduate recipients, average amount received: 1995–96, 1999–2000, 2003–04, and 2007–08



NOTE: Merit and need-based grants are from all sources. Average amounts are inflation adjusted to 2007 dollars. Estimates include students enrolled in Title IV eligible postsecondary institutions in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Foreign/international students, who are not eligible for federal aid, are excluded. Merit and need-based aid categories are not mutually exclusive – a student may receive both. Standard error tables are available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>. SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1995–96, 1999–2000, 2003–04, and 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Studies (NPSAS:96, NPSAS:2000, NPSAS:04, and NPSAS:08).

With these changes in the percentage of undergraduates receiving merit aid, the distribution of recipients across income groups (for dependent students) has changed as well. The percentage of recipients receiving merit aid who were high income was larger in 2007–08 (28 percent) than in 1995–96 (23 percent). The percentage who were low income was smaller in 2007–08 (20 percent) than in either 1995–96 (23

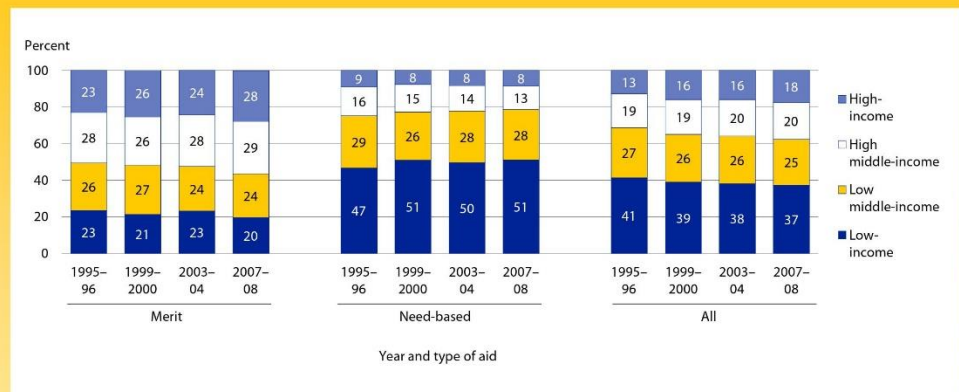
percent) or 2003–04 (23 percent) (figure 3).

The distribution of need-based aid recipients across income groups also has changed. The percentage of need-based grant recipients from the lowest income group was higher in 2007–08 than in 1995–96, while the percentage from the high middle-income group was smaller in 2007–08 than in 1995–96.

The net effect of these shifts is a change in the distribution of dependent students who received any grant aid toward students from higher income families. The percentage of all grant recipients (merit and need-based) who were in the lowest income group was higher in 1995–96 (41 percent) than in 2007–08 (37 percent) and the percentage who were in the highest income group was lower in 1995–96 (13 percent) than in 2007–08 (18 percent).

FIGURE 3.

DISTRIBUTION OF GRANT RECIPIENTS BY TYPE OF GRANT AND INCOME LEVEL for dependent undergraduates: 1995–96, 1999–2000, 2003–04, and 2007–08



NOTE: Merit and need-based grants are from all sources. For dependent students, income categories were based upon the distribution of parents' annual income in 1994, 1998, 2002, and 2006. High-income is defined as dependent students' parents with incomes above the 75th percentile; high middle-income is parents with incomes greater than the 50th but less than or equal to the 75th percentile; low middle-income is parents with incomes greater than the 25th but less than or equal to the 50th percentile and low-income is parents with incomes less than or equal to the 25th percentile. Estimates include students enrolled in Title IV eligible postsecondary institutions in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Foreign/International students, who are not eligible for federal aid, are excluded. Merit and need-based aid categories are not mutually exclusive – a student may receive both. Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding. Standard error tables are available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>. SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1995–96, 1999–2000, 2003–04, and 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Studies (NPSAS:96, NPSAS:2000, NPSAS:04, and NPSAS:08).

2 What are the characteristics of students who received merit aid in 2007–08?

Consistent with the primary purpose of merit aid, indicators of student academic performance were associated with merit aid receipt. About one-third (32 percent) of all students with an SAT combined score of 1300–1600 received any kind of merit aid in 2007–08, compared with about 7 percent of students who scored below 700 (table 1).⁵ The pattern was the same for college grade point average (GPA). Receipt of need-based aid was different—the students with the lowest SAT scores received need-based aid more often than did those with moderate to high scores.

In 2007–08, students attending full time received both merit and need-based aid more often than did their counterparts attending part time. About one-quarter (24 percent) of full-time students received merit aid, compared with 7 percent of part-time students, and 48 percent of full-time students received need-based aid, compared with 30 percent of part-time students.

Although dependent students received merit aid more often than independent students did, the opposite was true for need-based aid.

⁵ The SAT combined scores are derived as either the sum of SAT I verbal and mathematics scores or the ACT composite score converted to an estimated SAT I combined score. All SAT I scores are provided in a re-centered scale with a maximum of 1600.

TABLE 1.

MERIT AND NEED-BASED GRANTS for all undergraduates and for full-time undergraduates at 4-year institutions: 2007–08

Characteristic	All students		Full-time, 4-year	
	Percent receiving merit	Percent receiving need	Percent receiving merit	Percent receiving need
Total	13.9	37.0	31.9	46.9
Dependency status				
Dependent	21.0	35.5	34.3	43.7
Independent	6.1	38.7	18.3	65.7
Attendance intensity				
Full-time, full-year	24.4	47.7	31.9	46.9
Part-time or part-year	7.3	30.1	†	†
Race/ethnicity¹				
White	16.4	30.4	35.1	39.8
Black	11.6	52.9	26.9	70.6
Hispanic	8.1	49.7	22.4	66.5
Asian	8.9	35.4	20.5	52.2
Other	11.2	41.2	30.0	54.1
SAT combined score				
0–699	7.3	53.4	18.8	72.1
700–999	13.1	39.9	26.7	52.4
1000–1299	23.8	32.8	37.1	41.8
1300–1600	32.1	32.1	38.2	37.5
College GPA				
Less than 2.0	7.5	38.3	20.1	53.7
2.0–2.99	10.9	38.5	22.1	47.7
3.0 or higher	17.2	35.8	39.2	45.9
Type of institution				
Public 4-year	18.8	34.8	25.0	40.9
Private nonprofit 4-year	36.4	50.9	46.3	59.7
Public 2-year	6.1	27.6	†	†
Private for-profit	4.2	64.7	†	†

† Not applicable.

¹ Black includes African American, Hispanic includes Latino, and Asian includes Pacific Islander. Other includes American Indian or Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, or two or more races.

NOTE: Merit and need-based grants are from all sources. Limited to U.S. citizens or permanent residents. Estimates include students enrolled in Title IV eligible postsecondary institutions in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Foreign/international students, who are not eligible for federal aid, are excluded. Merit and need-based aid categories are not mutually exclusive—a student may receive both. Standard error tables are available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS:08).

Thirty-nine percent of independent students, whose financial need tends to be greater because they do not have their parents' income to rely on, received need-based aid, and 35 percent or 36 percent of dependent students did.

Receipt of need-based grants reflects the price of attending the institution selected as well as student financial

need. Thus, the rate of receipt of need-based aid is highest among students at private for-profit institutions (65 percent) and lowest among those at public 2-year colleges (28 percent). Receipt of merit aid, in contrast, depends on the resources of the institution attended and access to state merit scholarship programs. Undergraduates in 4-year institutions are the main recipients of merit aid: 19 percent of

undergraduates in 4-year public and 36 percent at private nonprofit institution received merit aid in 2007–08, compared with 6 percent and 4 percent of students in public 2-year and for-profit institutions, respectively. Therefore, the remaining discussion of merit aid is limited to full-time, full-year students in 4-year public and private nonprofit institutions.

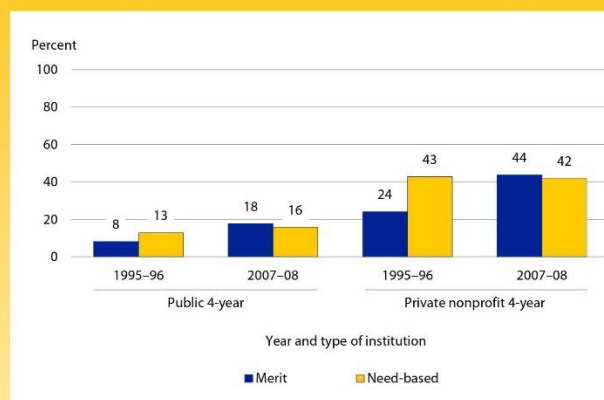
3 How did merit and need-based institutional aid differ at public and private nonprofit 4-year institutions between 1995–96 and 2007–08?

Merit aid can serve institutions' purposes as well as help students. Researchers have found evidence that institutional expenditures on grants improve student retention and graduation rates and have a positive effect on student choice (Gansemer and Schuh 2006; Perna 1998; St. John 1992; Schuh 2000). Institutions can use merit aid to attract high achievers and thus maintain or improve the academic quality of their students relative to those of competing institutions (Brown 2007; McPherson and Schapiro 1994, 1998). In some cases, schools may use merit aid to replace lower ability, high-need students with higher ability, no-need students (Ehrenberg, Zhang, and Levin 2006; McPherson and Schapiro 1998; Schuh 2000). This report does not examine the potential positive or negative impacts of merit aid.

Private nonprofit 4-year institutions awarded merit aid at a higher rate than did public 4-year institutions. In 1995–96, some 8 percent of full-time undergraduates at public 4-year institutions received institutional merit aid and 24 percent of full-time undergraduates at private nonprofit 4-year institutions received merit aid. In 2007–08 those percentages were 18 percent and 44 percent (figure 4).

FIGURE 4.

MERIT AND NEED-BASED INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS AT 4-YEAR INSTITUTIONS for full-time undergraduates: 1995–96 and 2007–08



NOTE: Estimates include students enrolled in Title IV eligible postsecondary institutions in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Foreign/international students, who are not eligible for federal aid, are excluded. Merit and need-based aid categories are not mutually exclusive – a student may receive both. Standard error tables are available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1995–96 and 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Studies (NPSAS:96, NPSAS:08).

In public 4-year institutions, the percentage of full-time undergraduates receiving institutional merit aid was higher in 2007–08 (18 percent) than in 1995–96 (8 percent) (figure 4). The receipt of institutional merit aid at private nonprofit 4-year institutions was also higher in 2007–08 (44 percent) than in 1995–96 (24 percent). In addition,

while these institutions awarded need-based aid to a larger percentage of undergraduates than they did merit aid in 1995–96 (43 percent vs. 24 percent, respectively), in 2007–08, the percentage of students receiving need-based aid was not measurably different from the percentage receiving merit aid (42 percent and 44 percent, respectively).

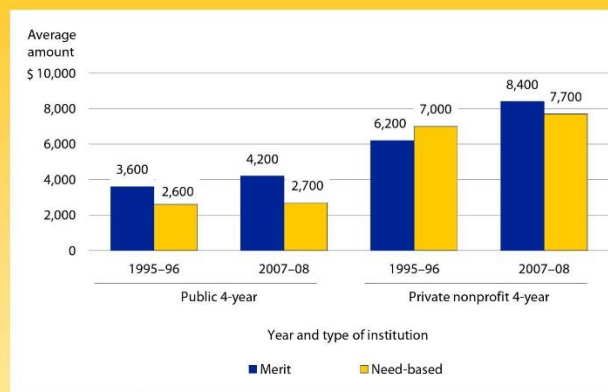
In terms of the amounts of aid received at public 4-year institutions, grant aid recipients received larger average amounts in merit than need-based grants in both 1995–96 and 2007–08 (figure 5).⁶ Moreover, the average amount of merit aid received in 2007–08 (\$4,200) was larger than the amount received in 1995–96 (\$3,600) by \$600, while the average need-based grant amount was not measurably different (\$2,700 and \$2,600, respectively).

At private nonprofit 4-year institutions in 1995–96, there was no measurable difference between the average need-based grant (\$7,000) and merit grant (\$6,200). In 2007–08, however, the average merit grant was larger than the average need-based grant (\$8,400 vs. \$7,700, respectively).

Within each sector, the percentage of students receiving institutional merit aid varied with institutional selectivity, but the patterns were different. In the public sector, the percentage of students who received merit aid was lower at very selective institutions than at moderately selective ones in each year except 2003–04 (figure 6). The percentages receiving merit aid at

FIGURE 5.

MERIT AND NEED-BASED INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS AT 4-YEAR INSTITUTIONS among full-time undergraduate recipients, average amount received: 1995–96 and 2007–08



NOTE: Average amounts are inflation adjusted to 2007 dollars. Estimates include students enrolled in Title IV eligible postsecondary institutions in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Foreign/international students, who are not eligible for federal aid, are excluded. Merit and need-based aid categories are not mutually exclusive – a student may receive both. Standard error tables are available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>. SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1995–96 and 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Studies (NPSAS:96, NPSAS:08).

moderately, minimally, or nonselective institutions were not measurably different in any year.

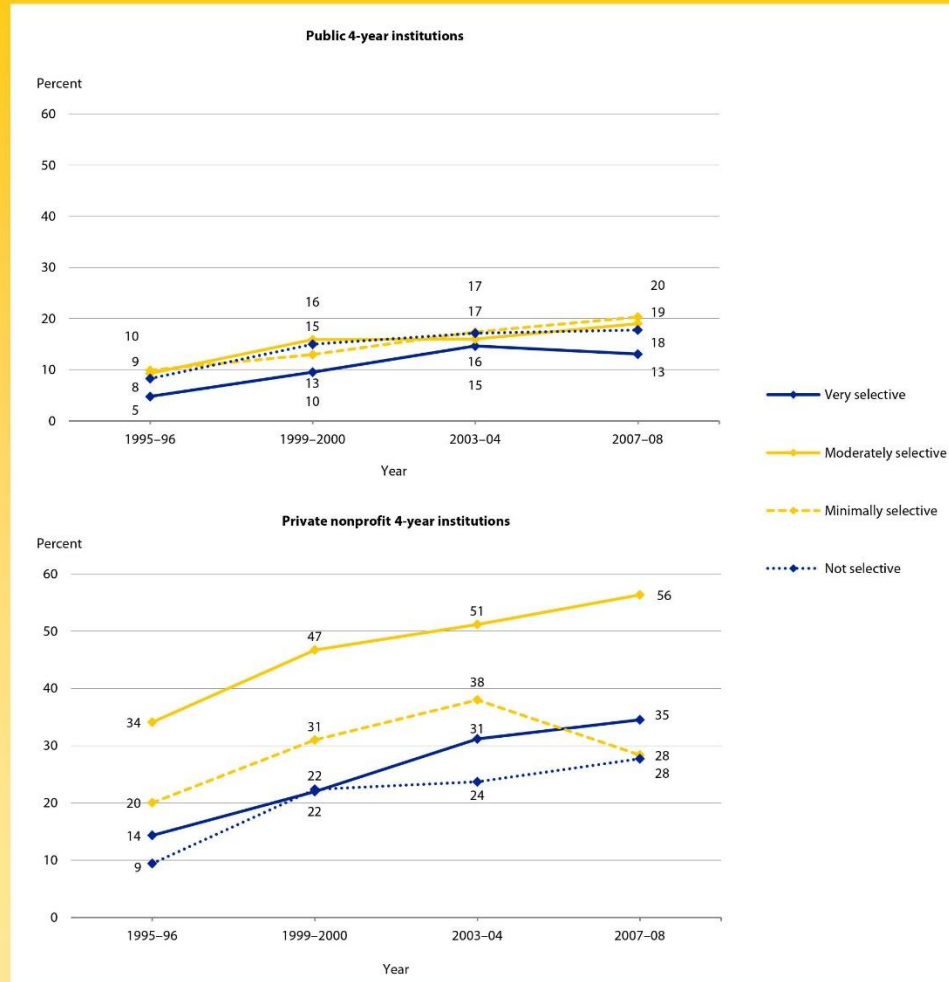
Among private nonprofit 4-year institutions, the percentage of full-time students who received institutional merit aid was highest each year at moderately selective institutions (figure 6). In 1995–96, some 34 percent of full-time students at these institutions

received merit aid, compared with 14 percent of students at very selective institutions and 20 percent of students at minimally selective institutions. In 2007–08, some 56 percent of students at moderately selective institutions received merit aid, compared with 35 percent at very selective institutions and 28 percent at less selective institutions.

⁶ All amounts in constant 2007 dollars.

FIGURE 6.

INSTITUTIONAL MERIT GRANTS AT PUBLIC AND PRIVATE NONPROFIT 4-YEAR INSTITUTIONS BY SELECTIVITY OF INSTITUTION for full-time undergraduates: 1995–96, 1999–2000, 2003–04, and 2007–08



NOTE: All estimates are for institutional non-need-based and merit aid except 1995–96, which is for merit aid only. Estimates include students enrolled in Title IV eligible postsecondary institutions in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Foreign/international students, who are not eligible for federal aid, are excluded. Standard error tables are available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>.
 SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1995–96, 1999–2000, 2003–04, and 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Studies (NPSAS:96, NPSAS:2000, NPSAS:04, and NPSAS:08).

4 How did state grant aid, both merit and need-based, differ by region in 2007–08?

Many states distribute merit aid to students based on their academic achievement. The stated goals of such programs generally include one or more of the following: encouraging academic achievement at the secondary and postsecondary levels; boosting college access and attainment (especially for in-state universities); and keeping talented students in the state for college (and thus reducing “brain drain”) (Cohen-Vogel et al. 2008; Dynarski 2008; Heller 2002; Ness and Tucker 2008; Zhang and Ness 2010).⁷ For example, Georgia has one of the oldest and largest state merit scholarship programs, the HOPE Scholarship program begun in 1993 (see page 13). Of the six states with state-level representation in the student aid survey, Georgia is the only state that had a substantial state merit aid program.

Across all states, among 2007–08 full-time undergraduates at public and private nonprofit 4-year institutions, 22 percent received state need-based grants and 10 percent received state

merit aid (table 2). States with grant programs have different criteria for distributing grant aid and sometimes

offer multiple grant programs, so the pattern of need-based versus merit grant receipt varies among states.

TABLE 2.

STATE MERIT AND NEED-BASED GRANTS for full-time undergraduates at public and private nonprofit 4-year institutions, and among recipients, average amount received by region: 2007–08

Region	Percentage who received ¹			Average amount received in any state grants
	Any state grants	State need-based grants	State merit grants	
Total	30.7	21.7	9.7	\$3,400
Southeast (AL AR FL GA KY LA MS NC SC TN VA WV)	41.2	20.9	23.8	3,600
Mid Atlantic (DE DC MD NJ NY PA)	32.5	28.6	3.5	3,400
Great Lakes (IL IN MI OH WI)	28.8	19.5	10.2	3,200
Far West (AK CA HI NV OR WA)	25.5	20.6	2.0	4,700
Southwest (AZ NM OK TX)	25.2	22.4	3.3	3,400
Plains (IA KS MN MO NE ND SD)	21.9	17.5	4.9	2,500
New England (CT ME MA NH RI VT)	21.5	18.5	3.4	2,400
Rocky Mountains (CO ID MT UT WY)	15.4	8.7	7.9	2,300

Significantly higher than the total.

Significantly lower than the total.

¹ Students attending more than one institution were excluded.

NOTE: Estimates include students enrolled in Title IV eligible postsecondary institutions in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Foreign/international students, who are not eligible for federal aid, are excluded. Merit and need-based aid categories are not mutually exclusive – a student may receive both. Standard error tables are available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS:08).

⁷ There is debate about whether merit aid programs are the most effective way to meet these aims (see Avery and Hoxby 2004; Binder, Ganderton, and Hutchens 2002; Cornwell and Mustard 2002; Cornwell, Lee, and Mustard 2005; Cornwell, Mustard and Sridhar 2006; Creech 1998; Dynarski 2002a, 2002b; Groen 2004; Henry and Rubenstein 2002; Long 2002; Longanecker 2002). Some studies have found that not all students benefit equally from the programs. Specifically, students' likelihood of receiving merit awards varies with their race, socioeconomic status, and the socioeconomic status of students in their high schools (Dynarski 2000, 2002a; Heller and Rasmusen 2002; Price 2001; Selingo 2001).

In 2007–08, there were 10 states with substantial merit scholarship programs (i.e., programs that awarded more than half of their aid on the basis of merit), and 6 of these states, including Georgia, were located in the Southeast region.⁸ Twenty-four percent of students in that region received merit aid,

compared with 10 percent nationwide (table 2). In addition, the Southeast states, the region with the largest number of merit aid programs, also had a larger percentage of students receiving any state grant than did the nation overall (41 percent and 31 percent, respectively).

The average state grant in the Southeast region, \$3,600, was not measurably different from the national average of \$3,400. Students in the Far West region received the highest average state grant, \$4,700 (table 2).

An Example of State Merit Aid: Georgia's HOPE Scholarship

Established in 1993, Georgia's Helping Outstanding Pupils Educationally (HOPE) Scholarship Program is a merit-based scholarship program for Georgia students enrolled at eligible public or private colleges in Georgia. As the oldest and largest state-financed merit-based aid program, the HOPE program was considered an innovative reform in student aid and led 15 other states, including all Georgia's neighboring states, to establish similar programs (Cornwell, Mustard, and Sridhar 2006; Cornwell and Mustard 2002; Ingle, Cohen-Vogel, and Hughes 2007; Severson 2011). Georgia's program was cited as the model for the federal HOPE scholarship tax credit (The Augusta Chronicle 1997; Pianin and Harris 1997). Funded entirely by revenue from the Georgia Lottery for Education, the HOPE program awarded more than 2.3 million students roughly \$4 billion in funding between FY 1996 and FY 2008 (Georgia Student Finance Commission n.d.).

To receive a HOPE scholarship in 2007–08, students had to graduate from a Georgia high school with a 3.0 GPA for a college preparatory diploma or a 3.2 GPA for other diplomas. Students could also become eligible after they started college if they earned a 3.0 GPA on 30-, 60-, or

90-semester hours of college degree-level coursework. To maintain eligibility for funding, HOPE Scholars had to have a cumulative GPA of at least 3.0 at the end of each spring term and make satisfactory academic progress as determined by their institution. If a student's GPA dropped below a 3.0, that student could regain his or her HOPE Scholarship by achieving a cumulative GPA of 3.0 with another semester of academic work.

Forty-five percent of full-time students at public or private nonprofit 4-year institutions in Georgia received state merit grants in 2007–08 (table 3). The average amount of these grants was \$4,400. In contrast, 9 percent of full-time students at these institutions received state need-based grants, with an average grant of \$970. Of dependent, full-time students, 33 percent with low incomes, 51 percent with low middle incomes, 55 percent with high middle incomes, and 49 percent with high incomes received state merit grants. Full-time, 4-year students in Georgia who received a state grant had a higher average college GPA (3.33) than did recipients of state grants nationwide (3.07) (table 4).

⁸ A state is considered to have a large merit aid program if more than half of its financial aid is awarded based on merit, according to the National Association of State Student Grant and Aid Programs (NASSGAP) Annual Surveys. In 2007–08, these states were South Dakota, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Florida, New Mexico, Nevada, and Idaho.

TABLE 3.

**GEORGIA MERIT AND NEED-BASED GRANTS
for full-time undergraduates at 4-year institutions,
and among recipients, average amount received: 2007–08**

	Merit		Need-based	
	Percent receiving	Average amount	Percent receiving	Average amount
Total	44.8	\$4,400	9.3	\$970
Dependent student family income				
Low-income	32.7	3,900	12.8	970
Low middle-income	51.4	4,600	10.8	970
High middle-income	55.1	4,600	6.5	960
High-income	49.0	4,700	5.7	980

NOTE: Merit and need-based aid categories are not mutually exclusive—a student may receive both. High-income is defined as dependent students' parents with incomes above the 75th percentile; high middle-income is parents with incomes greater than the 50th but less than or equal to the 75th percentile; low middle-income is parents with incomes greater than the 25th but less than or equal to the 50th percentile and low-income is parents with incomes less than or equal to the 25th percentile. Estimates include students enrolled in Title IV eligible postsecondary institutions in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Standard error tables are available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Studies (NPSAS:08).

TABLE 4.

**STATE GRANT RECIPIENTS' GPA
for full-time undergraduates at
4-year institutions in selected
states: 2007–08**

State	Average GPA
U.S. Total	3.07
California	2.99
Georgia	3.33
Illinois	2.95
Minnesota	3.18
New York	3.03
Texas	2.91

NOTE: These data include recipients of any type of state grant—merit, need-based, or both. These states, and only these, have state-level representative samples. Estimates include students enrolled in Title IV eligible postsecondary institutions in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Standard error tables are available at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS:08).

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More detailed information on financing undergraduate education can be found in two sets of Web Tables produced by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) using data from the 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS:08). These Web Tables include estimates of tuition, price of attendance, and financial aid shown by the enrollment and demographic characteristics of students and type of institution attended. Additional information on trends in financing undergraduate education, based on data collected in 1995–96, 1999–2000, 2003–04, and 2007–08 can be found in a third set of Web Tables.

Web Tables—Student Financing of Undergraduate Education: 2007–08 (NCES 2010-162).
<http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2010162>

Web Tables—Undergraduate Financial Aid Estimates by Type of Institution in 2007–08 (NCES 2009-201)
<http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2009201>

Web Tables—Trends in Student Financing of Undergraduate Education: Selected Years 1995–96 to 2007–08 (NCES 2011-218).
<http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2011218>

Readers may also be interested in the following NCES publication related to the topic of this Statistics in Brief:

Horn, L., and Peter, K. (2003). *What Colleges Contribute: Institutional Aid to Full-Time Undergraduates Attending 4-Year Colleges and Universities* (NCES 2003-157).
<http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2003157>

TECHNICAL NOTES

Survey Methodology

The estimates provided in this Statistics in Brief are based on data collected through the 1995–96, 1999–2000, 2003–04, and 2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Studies (NPSAS:96, NPSAS:2000, NPSAS:04, and NPSAS:08). NPSAS covers broad topics concerning student enrollment in postsecondary education and how students and their families finance their education. In 1996 and 2000, students provided data through instruments administered over the telephone, and in 2004 and 2008, through instruments administered over

the Internet or by telephone. In addition to student responses, data were collected from the institutions that sampled students attended and other relevant databases, including U.S. Department of Education records on student loan and grant programs and student financial aid applications.

NPSAS has been conducted every 3 to 4 years since 1986–87. The NPSAS:96, NPSAS:2000, NPSAS:04, and NPSAS:08 target population includes students enrolled in postsecondary institutions in the United States and Puerto Rico at any time between July 1st and

June 30th of the survey year.⁹ In NPSAS:2000, NPSAS:04, and NPSAS:08 the population was also limited to students enrolled in Title IV institutions.¹⁰ Table A-1 provides the sizes of the undergraduate and graduate components of the target population.

Table A-1 also lists the institution sampling frames for NPSAS:96, NPSAS:2000, NPSAS:04, and NPSAS:08, which were constructed from contemporary Institutional Characteristics, Fall Enrollment, and Completions files of the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). The sampling design consisted

TABLE A-1. Target populations, unweighted number of participating institutions, and unweighted number of study members: NPSAS:96 to NPSAS:08

NPSAS year	Sampling frame	Target undergraduate population (in millions)	Target graduate student population (in millions)	Participating Institutions	Number of undergraduate study members	Number of graduate study members
NPSAS:96 ¹	1993–94 IPEDS	16.7	2.8	800	41,500	7,000
NPSAS:2000	1998–99 IPEDS ²	16.6	2.7	1,000	49,900	11,800
NPSAS:04	2000–01 IPEDS	19.1	2.8	1,400	79,900	10,900
NPSAS:08	2004–05 IPEDS	20.9	3.5	1,700	113,500	14,200

¹ NPSAS:96 was the last survey to include institutions that were not eligible for Title IV funds.

² Supplemented by 1996–97 IPEDS Completions file because NPSAS:2000 served as a base year for Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study (B&B).

SOURCE: Riccobono, J.A., Whitmore, R.W., Gabel, T.J., Traccarella, M.A., Pratt, D.J., and Berkner, L.K. (1997). *National Postsecondary Student Aid Study, 1995–96 (NPSAS:96) Methodology Report* (NCES 98-073). National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC. Riccobono, J.A., Cominole, M.B., Siegel, P.H., Gabel, T.J., Link, M.W., and Berkner, L.K. (2001). *National Postsecondary Student Aid Study, 1999–2000 (NPSAS:2000) Methodology Report* (NCES 2002-152). National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC. Cominole, M.B., Siegel, P.H., Dudley, K., Roe, D., and Gilligan, T. (2006). *2004 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS:04) Full-Scale Methodology Report* (NCES 2006-180). National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC. Cominole, M.B., Riccobono, J.A., Siegel, P.H., and Caves, L. (2010). *2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS:08) Full-scale Methodology Report* (NCES 2011-188). National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC.

⁹ The target population of students was limited to those enrolled in an academic program, at least one course for credit that could be applied toward an academic degree, or an occupational or vocational program requiring at least 3 months or 300 clock hours of instruction to receive a degree, certificate, or other formal award. The target population excluded students who were also enrolled in high school or a high school completion (e.g., GED preparation) program.

¹⁰ "Title IV institutions" refers to institutions eligible to participate in federal financial aid programs under Title IV of the Higher Education Opportunity Act of 2008.

of first selecting eligible institutions, then selecting students from these institutions. Institutions were selected with probabilities proportional to a composite measure of size based on expected enrollment during the survey year. Table A-1 includes the approximate number of institutions participating in each of the survey years, and the corresponding weighted institution unit response rates. In NPSAS:08, eligible sampled students were defined as study respondents if at least 11 key data elements were available from any data source. Similar definitions of study respondents were developed for each of the earlier NPSAS administrations. See the methodology reports, listed below, for detailed descriptions of these definitions. The approximate number of undergraduate and graduate students who were study respondents in each survey year is also reported in table A-1.

Table A-2 provides a summary of weighted response rates across NPSAS administrations. There are several types of participation/coverage rates in NPSAS. For the student record abstraction phase of the study (referred to as computer-assisted data entry or CADE), institution completion rates vary across different types of institutions and depend on the method of data submission (field-CADE, self-CADE, and data-CADE). Overall student-level CADE completion rates (i.e., the percentage of NPSAS-eligible sample members for whom a completed CADE record was obtained) are reported in Table A-2 as “Student survey (analysis

TABLE A-2. Base-weighted response rates for NPSAS surveys: NPSAS:96 to NPSAS:08

Component	Institution list participation rate	Student response rate	Overall ¹
NPSAS:96			
Student survey (analysis file ²)	91	93	88
Student survey (student interview)	91	76	70
NPSAS:2000			
Student survey (analysis file ²)	91	97	89
Student survey (student interview)	91	72	66
NPSAS:04			
Student survey (analysis file ²)	80	91	72
Student survey (student interview)	80	71	56
NPSAS:08			
Student survey (analysis file ²)	90	96	86
Student survey (student interview)	90	71	64

¹ Institution list participation rate times student response rate.

² NPSAS analysis file contains analytic variables derived from all NPSAS data sources (including institutional records and external data sources) as well as selected direct student interview variables.

NOTE: The student interview response rates for NPSAS:96 and NPSAS:2000 are for telephone interviews only. The response rates for student interviews in NPSAS:04 and NPSAS:08 include all interview modes (self-administered web-based, telephone, and in-person interviews).

SOURCE: Riccobono, J.A., Whitmore, R.W., Gabel, T.J., Traccarella, M.A., Pratt, D.J., and Berkner, L.K. (1997). *National Post-secondary Student Aid Study, 1995–96 (NPSAS:96) Methodology Report* (NCES 98-073). National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC. Thurgood, L., Walter, E., Carter, G., Henn, S., Huang, G., Nooter, D., Smith, W., Cash, R.W., and Salvucci, S. (2003). *NCES Handbook of Survey Methods* (NCES 2003-603). National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC. Burns, S., Wang, X., and Henning, A. (Eds.) (2011). *NCES Handbook of Survey Methods* (NCES 2011-609). National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC.

file).” This table also contains weighted response rates to the student interview (i.e., the percentage of sample members who completed either a full or partial interview [“Student survey (student interview)”]). Estimates were weighted to adjust for the unequal probability of selection into the sample and for nonresponse.

Two broad categories of error occur in estimates generated from surveys: sampling and nonsampling errors. Sampling errors occur when observa-

tions are based on samples rather than on entire populations. The standard error of a sample statistic is a measure of the variation due to sampling and indicates the precision of the statistic. The complex sampling design used in NPSAS must be taken into account when calculating variance estimates such as standard errors. NCES’s online application PowerStats, which generated the estimates in this report, uses the balanced repeated replication (BRR) method to adjust variance estimation for the complex sample design.

Nonsampling errors can be attributed to several sources: incomplete information about all respondents (e.g., some students or institutions refused to participate, or students participated but answered only certain items); differences among respondents in question interpretation; inability or unwillingness to give correct information; mistakes in recording or coding data; and other errors of collecting, processing, sampling, and imputing missing data.

For more information on NPSAS:96, NPSAS:2000, NPSAS:04, and NPSAS:08 methodology, see the following reports:

- *National Postsecondary Student Aid Study, 1995–96 (NPSAS:96) Methodology Report* (<http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=98073>)
- *National Postsecondary Student Aid Study 1999–2000 (NPSAS:2000) Methodology Report* (<http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2002152>)
- *2004 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS:04) Full-scale Methodology Report* (<http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2006180>)
- *2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS:08) Full-scale Methodology Report* (<http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2011188>).

Item Response Rates

NCES Statistical Standard 4-4-1 states that “[a]ny survey stage of data collec-

tion with a unit or item response rate less than 85 percent must be evaluated for the potential magnitude of nonresponse bias before the data or any analysis using the data may be released” (U.S. Department of Education 2002). This means that nonresponse bias anal-

ysis could be required at any of three levels: (1) institutions, (2) study respondents, or (3) items.

For more information on response rates and nonresponse bias analysis for selected variables from NPSAS:2000

VARIABLES USED

All estimates presented in this Statistics in Brief were produced using PowerStats, a web-based software application that allows users to generate tables for many of the postsecondary surveys conducted by NCES. See “Run Your Own Analysis With DataLab” below for more information on PowerStats. The variables used in this Brief are listed below. Visit the NCES DataLab website (<http://nces.ed.gov/datalab>) to view detailed information on how these variables were constructed and their sources. Under *Detailed Information About PowerStats Variables*, find the appropriate survey sample and then search for the variables of interest by subject or variable name. The program files that generated the statistics presented in this Brief can be found at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012160>.

Label	Name
Attendance status	ATTNSTAT
Citizenship status	CITIZEN2
Cumulative college grade point average	GPA
Dependency status	DEPEND
Federal aid eligibility status	T4ELIG (filter for 1995–96 only)
Grants (total)	TOTGRT
Income percentile, dependent students	PCTDEP
Institution sector	AIDSECT
Institution type	SECTOR4
Institutional grants total	INGRTAMT
Institutional need-based grants	INSTNDR (1995–96) and INSTNEED (other years)
Institutional non-need-based and merit grants	INSMERIT (1995–96) and INSTNOND (other years)
Need-based aid (total)	NEEDAIDR (1995–96) and NEEDAID (other years)
Non-need-based aid (total)	TOTNOND1 (1995–96), TOTNOND2 (1999–2000), and TOTNOND3 (2003–04 and 2007–08)
NPSAS institution region	OBEREG
Race/ethnicity	RACE
SAT combined score	TESATDER
Selectivity	SELECTV2
State grants (total)	STGTAMT
State need-based grants	STATNEED
State non-need-based and merit grants	STATNOND

and NPSAS:04, please see the relevant NPSAS methodology report, listed above. For NPSAS:2000, *National Postsecondary Student Aid Study 1999–2000 (NPSAS:2000), CATI Nonresponse Bias Analysis Report* provides additional information.¹¹ Note that for NPSAS:2000, nonresponse bias analysis for computer-assisted telephone interview (CATI) nonresponse was conducted at the student level and not at the item level. Nonresponse bias analysis was not conducted for NPSAS:96.

For NPSAS:08, the institution and study respondent response rates were 90 percent and 96 percent, respectively, and thus nonresponse bias analysis was not required at those levels. Nonresponse bias analysis is required for variables based in whole or in part on student interviews, however, because 71 percent of sample members responded to the student interview. The following NPSAS:08 variables used in this report had response rates below 85 percent: TOTGRT (61 percent), PCTDEP (55 percent), and TESATDER (75 percent). For each of these variables, nonresponse bias analyses were conducted to determine whether respondents and nonrespondents differed on the following characteristics: institution sector, region, and total enrollment; student type, gender, and age group; whether the student had Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) data, was a federal aid recipient, was a Pell Grant recipient, or

borrowed a Stafford Loan; and the amount, if any, of a student's Pell Grant or Stafford Loan. Differences between respondents and nonrespondents on these variables were tested for statistical significance at the 5 percent level.

Nonresponse bias analyses of these three variables indicated that respondents differed from nonrespondents on 73 percent to 80 percent of the characteristics analyzed, indicating that there may be bias in these estimates. Any bias due to nonresponse, however, is based upon responses prior to stochastic imputation. The potential for bias in these estimates is tempered by two factors.

First, potential bias may have been reduced due to imputation. While item-level bias before imputation is measurable, such bias after imputation is not, so whether the imputation affected the bias cannot be directly evaluated. Therefore, the item estimates before and after imputation were compared to determine whether the imputation changed the biased estimate, thus suggesting a reduction in bias.

For continuous variables, the difference between the mean before imputation and the mean after imputation was estimated. For categorical variables, the estimated difference was computed for each of the categories as the percentage of students in that category before imputation minus the percentage of students in that category after imputation. These estimated differences were tested for statistical

significance at the 5 percent level. A significant difference in the item means after imputation implies a reduction in bias due to imputation. A nonsignificant difference suggests that imputation may not have reduced bias, that the sample size was too small to detect a significant difference, or that there was little bias to be reduced. Statistical tests of the differences between the means before and after imputation for these three variables were significant, indicating that the nonresponse bias was reduced through imputation.

Second, for some composite variables, the components of the variables from which the composites are constructed often constitute a very small proportion of the total variable, attenuating the potential bias introduced by nonresponse. For example, most of the components of TOTGRT (total amount of all grants received) were obtained from federal databases and institutional records and have very high response rates. Some components of TOTGRT, however, are types of grants that are often disbursed directly to students and not through institutions (e.g., employer aid). Because the primary source of information about such types of aid is the student interview, these variables were missing for interview nonrespondents.

In the case of missing information from the student interview, values were stochastically imputed and the imputed values used to construct the composite variables. In the example cited above, employer aid was received by relatively few students and was a small compo-

¹¹ This publication can be retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=200203>.

ment of the total. For example, 52 percent of all undergraduates received any grants (TOTGRT) and the median among all undergraduates was \$300. In comparison, 8 percent received any employer aid (EMPLYAM3), with a median among all undergraduates of \$0. Therefore, despite the low response rate of this component, any bias it contributes is likely to be minimal.

For more detailed information on non-response bias analysis and an overview of the survey methodology, see *2007–08 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS:08) Full-scale Methodology Report* (<http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2011188>).

Statistical Procedures

Comparisons of means and proportions were tested using Student's *t* statistic. Differences between estimates were tested against the probability of a Type I error¹² or significance level. The statistical significance of each comparison was determined by calculating the

Student's *t* value for the difference between each pair of means or proportions and comparing the *t* value with published tables of significance levels for two-tailed hypothesis testing. Student's *t* values were computed to test differences between independent estimates using the following formula:

$$t = \frac{E_1 - E_2}{\sqrt{se_1^2 + se_2^2}}$$

where E_1 and E_2 are the estimates to be compared and se_1 and se_2 are their corresponding standard errors.

There are hazards in reporting statistical tests for each comparison. First, comparisons based on large *t* statistics may appear to merit special attention. This can be misleading since the magnitude of the *t* statistic is related not only to the observed differences in means or percentages but also to the number of respondents in the specific categories used for comparison. Hence, a small difference compared across a

large number of respondents would produce a large (and thus possibly statistically significant) *t* statistic.

A second hazard in reporting statistical tests is the possibility that one can report a "false positive" or Type I error. Statistical tests are designed to limit the risk of this type of error using a value denoted by alpha. The alpha level of .05 was selected for findings in this report and ensures that a difference of a certain magnitude or larger would be produced when there was no actual difference between the quantities in the underlying population no more than 1 time out of 20.¹³ When analysts test hypotheses that show alpha values at the .05 level or smaller, they reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference between the two quantities. Failing to reject a null hypothesis (i.e., detect a difference) however, does not imply the values are the same or equivalent.

¹² A Type I error occurs when one concludes that a difference observed in a sample reflects a true difference in the population from which the sample was drawn, when no such difference is present.

¹³ No adjustments were made for multiple comparisons.

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Appendix C



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Regents Policy 4400: Policy on University of California Diversity Statement

Adopted September 20, 2007

Amended September 16, 2010

RECOMMENDED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BY
THE ACADEMIC SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA

Adopted by the Assembly of the Academic Senate May 10, 2006

*Endorsed by the President of the University of California June 30,
2006*

*Adopted as Amended by the Assembly of the Academic Senate
April 22, 2009*

*Endorsed as Amended by the President of the University of
California August 17, 2010*

The diversity of the people of California has been the source of innovative ideas and creative accomplishments throughout the state's history into the present. Diversity – a defining feature of California's past, present, and future – refers to the variety of personal experiences, values, and worldviews that arise from differences of culture and circumstance. Such differences include race, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, language, abilities/disabilities, sexual orientation, gender identity, socioeconomic status, and geographic region, and more.

Because the core mission of the University of California is to serve the interests of the State of California, it must seek to achieve diversity among its student bodies and among its employees. The State of California has a compelling interest in making sure that people from all backgrounds perceive that access to the University is possible for talented students, staff, and faculty from all groups. The knowledge that the University of California is open to qualified students from all groups, and thus serves all parts of the community equitably, helps sustain the social fabric of the State.

Diversity should also be integral to the University's achievement of excellence. Diversity can enhance the ability of the University to accomplish its academic mission. Diversity aims to broaden and deepen both the educational experience and the scholarly environment, as students and faculty learn to interact effectively with each other, preparing them to participate in an increasingly complex and pluralistic society. Ideas, and practices based on those ideas, can be made richer by the process of being born and nurtured in a diverse community. The pluralistic university can model a process of proposing and testing ideas through respectful, civil communication. Educational excellence that truly incorporates diversity thus can promote mutual respect and make possible the full, effective use of the talents and abilities of all to foster innovation and train future leadership.

Therefore, the University of California renews its commitment to the full realization of its historic promise to recognize and nurture merit, talent, and achievement by supporting diversity

Related Resources

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and equal opportunity in its education, services, and administration, as well as research and creative activity. The University particularly acknowledges the acute need to remove barriers to the recruitment, retention, and advancement of talented students, faculty, and staff from historically excluded populations who are currently underrepresented.

University of California | Office of the President | Academic Senate

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Appendix D

4/1/2019 In 2013, One-third of Black Immigrants from Africa Have a College Degree, a Higher Share than Among the U.S. Population | Pew Resear...

NUMBERS, FACTS AND TRENDS SHAPING YOUR WORLD

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APRIL 3, 2015

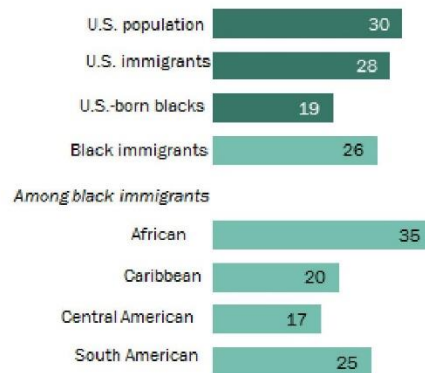


A RISING SHARE OF THE U.S. BLACK POPULATION IS FOREIGN BORN

In 2013, One-third of Black Immigrants from Africa Have a College Degree, a Higher Share than Among the U.S. Population

In 2013, One-third of Black Immigrants from Africa Have a College Degree, a Higher Share than Among the U.S. Population

% of adults ages 25 and older with a bachelor's degree or advanced degree



Note: U.S.-born and foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-13/)

Appendix E

3/28/2019

Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

NUMBERS, FACTS AND TRENDS SHAPING YOUR WORLD

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APRIL 9, 2015



A RISING SHARE OF THE U.S. BLACK POPULATION IS FOREIGN BORN

Chapter 1: Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

BY MONICA ANDERSON ([HTTPS://WWW.PEWRESEARCH.ORG/STAFF/MONICA-ANDERSON](https://www.pewresearch.org/staff/monica-anderson/))

Black immigrants are a diverse group with notable differences in demographic, economic and geographic characteristics, often tied to the regions of their birth countries. Black immigrants are also notably different from other Americans. For example, immigrant blacks are more likely than U.S.-born blacks to have a college degree or to be married. Compared with all U.S. immigrants, immigrant blacks are more likely to hold U.S. citizenship and to speak English proficiently.

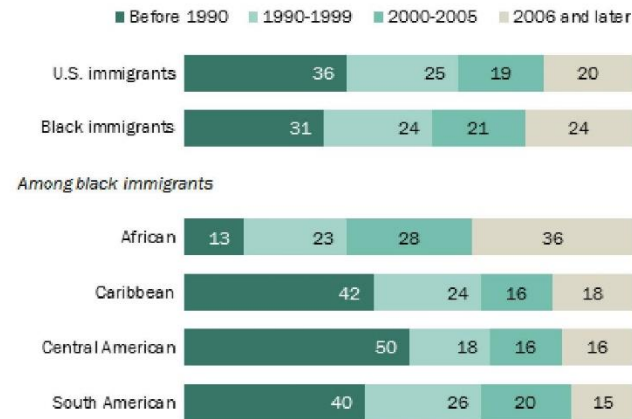
Year of Immigration

3/28/2019

Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

Year of Immigration Varies by Region of Birth for Black Immigrants, 2013

% of immigrants who say they first came to live in the U.S. ...



Note: Foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-06/) Close to half (45%) of black immigrants arrived in the U.S. in 2000 or later, with 24% saying they arrived sometime in 2006 or later, according to the Pew Research Center analysis of the 2013 American Community Survey. About a third (31%) say they began living in the U.S. prior to 1990 and 24% arrived in the 1990s.

However, year of arrival varies among black immigrants by region of birth. For example, 63% of black African immigrants are recent arrivals, having arrived in the U.S. in 2000 or later. More than one-third (36%) arrived the most recently—in 2006 or later. These are the largest recent arrival shares of any major black immigrant subgroup.

By contrast, black immigrants from the Caribbean generally have lived in the U.S. longer. Some 42% arrived in the U.S. before 1990, while just 18% arrived in 2006 or later. Black immigrants from Jamaica, Haiti and the Dominican Republic increasingly began moving to the U.S. in the 1960s.⁹

Among black immigrants from Central America, half arrived before 1990, the largest share of any regional group. For example, nearly half (47%) of all black Central American immigrants are Panamanian or Belizean. Panama, in particular, saw large waves in the 1980s due to the Panama Canal Act, which granted admission to Panamanians who worked on the canal, while others fled because of the Manuel Noriega regime.¹⁰

Compared with other U.S. immigrants, black immigrants are a more recently arrived immigrant population. Fully 45% of black immigrants say they first arrived in the U.S. in 2000 or later, while 39% of the overall immigrant population did so. Black immigrants are somewhat more likely to say they arrived in 2000 or later than Hispanic and Asian immigrants whose shares are 38% and 42%, respectively.¹¹

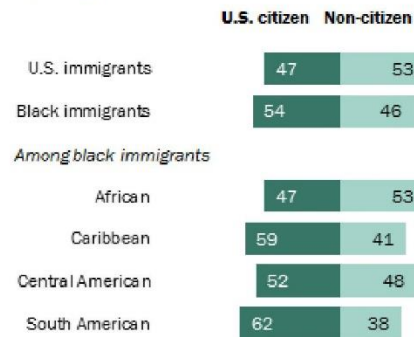
3/28/2019

Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

Citizenship Status

Citizenship Status, by Region of Birth, in 2013

% of immigrants



Note: Foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-07/) A majority of black immigrants—54%—hold U.S. citizenship, a higher share than among all U.S. immigrants (47%). Among black immigrants, citizenship rates are highest among black immigrants from South America and the Caribbean—62% and 59%, respectively. By contrast, less than half (47%) of the black African immigrant population are U.S. citizens. One possible reason for lower citizenship rates among black immigrants from Africa is that they generally have arrived more recently than other black immigrants.

According to Pew Research Center estimates, about 575,000 black immigrants are living in the U.S. without authorization, making up 16% of all black immigrants. Among black immigrants from the Caribbean 16% are unauthorized immigrants as are 13% of black immigrants from Africa. By comparison, among the nation's 42.5 million immigrants, more than 11 million are unauthorized immigrants,¹² accounting for about one-quarter of the total immigrant population, a higher share than that among black immigrants.

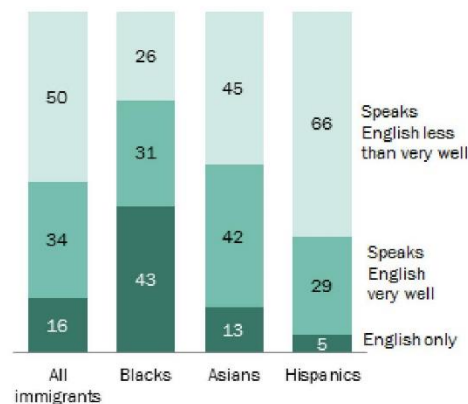
English-language Ability

3/28/2019

Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

In 2013, English-language Proficiency Is Higher Among Black Immigrants than Other Immigrant Groups

% of immigrants ages 5 and older



Note: Foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Asians and Hispanics may also include blacks. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS. On English-language proficiency, respondents are asked if they speak a language besides English at home. If they answer yes, they are asked how well they speak English.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-08/) A greater share of foreign-born blacks is proficient in English than the overall U.S. immigrant population, according to the Pew Research analysis of the 2013 American Community Survey. Nearly three-quarters (74%) of black immigrants, ages 5 and over, are proficient English speakers. Some 43% speak only English at home, while an additional 31% say they speak a language other than English at home but report that they speak English “very well.”

By contrast, among all immigrants ages 5 and up, 50% say they either speak only English at home (16%) or speak a language other than English at home but also speak English “very well” (34%). And among the two largest groups of immigrants, the shares that are English proficient are lower than among blacks. Some 55% of Asian immigrants 5 and older say they speak only English at home (13%) or speak English “very well” (42%). And about one-third (34%) of Hispanic immigrants 5 and older say only English is spoken in their home (5%) or indicate they speak English “very well” but speak Spanish at home (29%).

Given that half of black immigrants are from the Caribbean, where English is widely spoken, English-language proficiency rates are high among those from the region. Black immigrants ages 5 and older from the Caribbean (76%) and South America (82%) are the most likely to be English-language proficient, compared with 72% of Africans and 60% of black immigrants from Central America.

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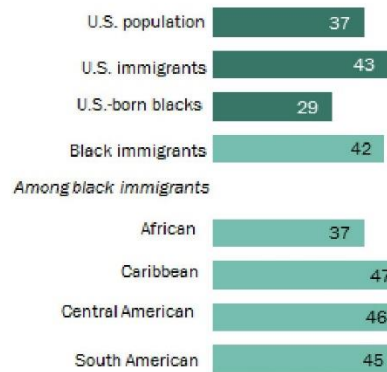
Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

Among black immigrants ages 5 and older, other languages spoken include French/Haitian Creole (14%), Spanish (11%), Kru (7%) and French (6%).¹³

Age

Median Age of Black Immigrants Exceeds that of U.S.-Born Blacks by 13 Years in 2013

Median age in years



Note: U.S.-born and foreign-born blacks includes single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-09/) The U.S. black immigrant population is overwhelmingly made up of adults, reflecting the adult age of migration for most immigrants. About nine-in-ten (93%) black immigrants are 18 or older. Foreign-born blacks are also older than Americans overall. Their median age is 42 years, compared with 37 for the overall U.S. population. But the median age of black immigrants is similar to that for all U.S. immigrants (43 years).

There is an even larger age discrepancy between U.S.-born blacks and foreign-born blacks. The median age among U.S.-born blacks is 29 years, a full 13 years younger than what it is among blacks who are foreign born.

Median age also varies some among black immigrants. For example, the median age for black immigrants from the Caribbean is 47 years, similar to that of black immigrants from Central America (46 years) and those from South America (45 years). With a median age of 37 years, Africans are the youngest black immigrant population.

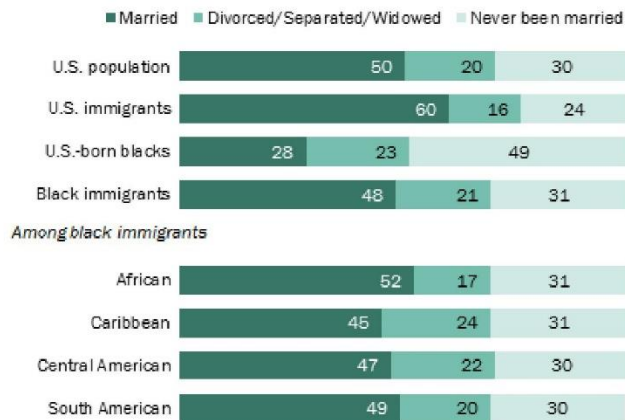
Marital Status

3/28/2019

Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

Marital Status of Black Immigrants on Par with Overall U.S. Population in 2013

% of adults ages 18 and older



Note: U.S.-born and foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-10/) Nearly half (48%) of black immigrants ages 18 and older are married. This is comparable to the share for all U.S. adults (50%) but is below that for all U.S. immigrants (60%).

Compared to U.S.-born black adults, a significantly higher share of black immigrant adults are currently married (28% among U.S. born versus 48% among foreign born). Looked at another way, just one-third (31%) of black immigrant adults have never been married, while half (49%) of U.S.-born blacks have never been married.

There are only small differences in marriage rates within the foreign-born black adult population. Overall, 52% of African black immigrant adults are married which is the highest share among black immigrant origin groups.

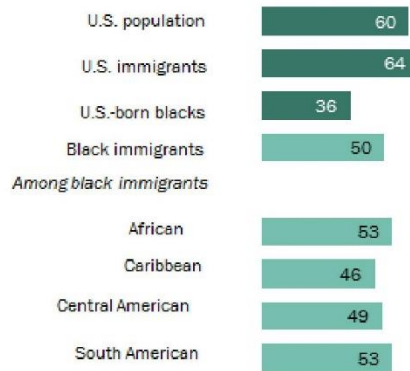
Household Type

3/28/2019

Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

In 2013, Half of Black Immigrants Live in a Married-Couple Household

% of household population



Note: U.S.-born and foreign-born blacks includes single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-11/) Fully 83% of black immigrants live in a family household.¹⁴ This group is made up of 50% who live in married couple households, 24% in female-headed households and 10% in male-headed family household.¹⁵

By comparison, a greater share (60%) of all Americans live in married couple households. Among U.S. immigrants, an even greater share (64%) lives in a married couple household.

However, the Pew Research analysis shows that U.S.-born blacks are less likely to live in a married couple household—just 36% do so—than black immigrants. They are also more likely than foreign-born blacks to live in a female-headed household (41% versus 24%).

Among foreign-born blacks, 53% of Africans and 53% of South Americans live in married couple households. Among Central American black immigrants, that share is 49%, while it is 46% of black immigrants from the Caribbean.

Educational Attainment

(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-12/) About a quarter (26%) of black immigrants ages 25 and older have a bachelor's degree or higher. This share is below that of the overall U.S. population, in which 30% of U.S. adults 25 and older have at least a bachelor's degree. However, the share with an advanced degree, such as a master's degree, Ph.D. or a professional degree, is similar among all Americans (11%) and black immigrants (10%).

Black immigrants hold degrees at a similar rate as the U.S. foreign-born population—26% of the foreign-born black population ages 25 and older has at least a bachelor's degree, comparable to 28% of all U.S. immigrants. But there are striking differences when comparing black immigrants with Asian immigrants and with Hispanic immigrants. Among those 25 and older, 50% of all Asian immigrants have completed at least a four-year degree; but only 11% of Hispanic immigrants have done so.

By comparison, U.S.-born blacks ages 25 and older are less likely to have at least a bachelor's degree than black immigrants—19% compared with 26%.

Educational attainment varies greatly among black immigrants by birth region. Some 35% of black African immigrants ages 25 and older have at least a bachelor's degree, including 15% who have an advanced degree. These shares are higher than any other major black immigrant subgroup. Black South American immigrants have the second highest share (25%) of college degree holders, followed by those from the Caribbean (20%). Some 17% of black Central Americans immigrants have a college degree.

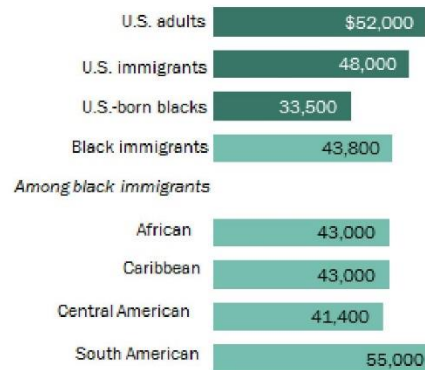
Household Income

3/28/2019

Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

Household Income for Black Immigrants Lower than Americans Overall but Higher than U.S.-born Blacks in 2013

Median annual household income



Note: U.S.-born and foreign-born blacks includes single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-13/) Although black immigrants have similar levels of educational attainment as Americans overall, their household incomes are lower than the median U.S. household. The median annual household income for foreign-born blacks in 2013 was \$43,800. That's roughly \$8,000 less than the \$52,000 median for American households.

Black immigrants' median annual household income is below that of all U.S. immigrants (\$43,800 vs. \$48,000). Among immigrants, there are differences. While the median household income for black immigrants is higher than it is for Hispanic immigrants (\$43,800 vs. \$38,000), both groups have median household incomes substantially below that of Asian immigrants, whose median household income is \$70,600.

But foreign-born blacks have a higher median income than U.S.-born blacks. U.S.-born blacks have a median household income of \$33,500, a full \$10,000 less than that among foreign-born black households.

Among black immigrants, the group with the highest median annual household income is South Americans, at \$55,000. For African and Caribbean immigrants, both groups have a median household income of \$43,000, while Central Americans have a median household income of \$41,400.

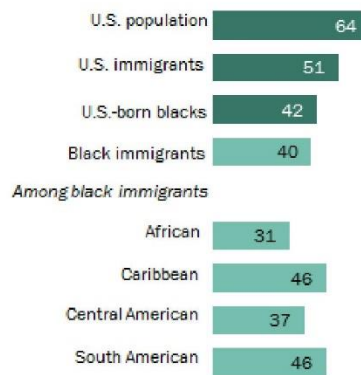
Homeownership

3/28/2019

Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

In 2013, Black Immigrants Less Likely than All Americans, All Immigrants to Be Homeowners

% of households that are owner-occupied



Note: The household population excludes persons living in institutions, college dormitories and other group quarters. Households are classified by the nativity and region of birth of the household head. U.S.-born and foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-14/) Black immigrants are less likely to be homeowners than Americans overall—40% of household heads versus 64%. And when compared with all U.S. immigrants, foreign-born blacks are less likely to own their homes—51% and 40%, respectively. Among U.S. immigrant subgroups, fully 57% of Asian immigrants are homeowners, compared with 43% of Hispanic immigrants. Both homeownership rates are higher than that for black immigrants.

Just as with other immigrants, homeownership rates vary across black immigrant subgroups. For example, 46% of black immigrants from the Caribbean and South America are homeowners, while 37% of black Central Americans are homeowners. Some 31% of black African immigrants owned their own home in 2013. But across all black immigrant subgroups, homeownership rates are below those of all Americans.

Homeownership rates vary little between U.S.-born and foreign-born blacks. Some 42% of U.S.-born blacks are homeowners compared with 40% of black immigrants.

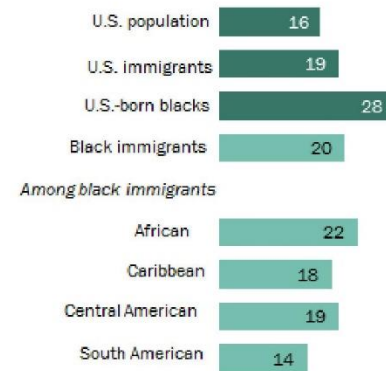
Poverty Status

3/28/2019

Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

One-in-Five Black Immigrants Live Below the Poverty Line in 2013

% living below poverty line



Note: Poverty status is determined for individuals in housing units and non-institutional group quarters. The poverty universe excludes children under age 15 who are not related to the householder, people living in institutional group quarters and people living in college dormitories or military barracks. Due to the way in which the IPUMS assigns poverty values, these data will differ from those that might be provided by the U.S. Census Bureau. U.S.-born and foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-15/) One-in-five (20%) black immigrants live below the poverty line, according to the Pew Research Center analysis of Census Bureau data. That share is below that of U.S.-born blacks, who have a poverty rate of 28%. But the poverty rate among black immigrants is higher than it is among all Americans (16%).

Among all U.S. immigrants, at 19%, the share living in poverty is similar to that for black immigrants. Overall, the poverty rate among black immigrants falls between that of Asian immigrants, at 13%, and Hispanic immigrants, at 24%.

Among black immigrants, poverty rates vary some. Some 22% of those from Africa live in poverty, as do 19% of those from Central America, 18% of those from the Caribbean and 14% of those from South America.

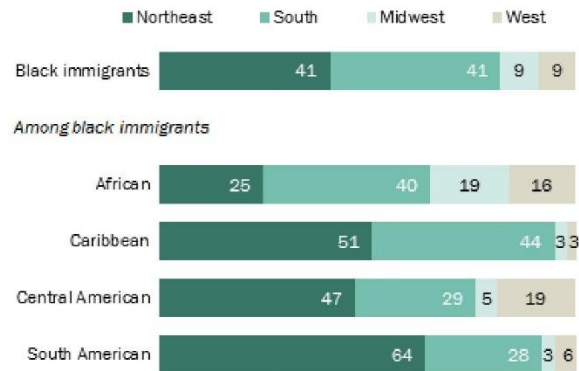
Geographic Dispersion of Black Immigrants

3/28/2019

Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

In 2013, Most Black Immigrants Live in the Northeast and the South

% of black immigrants who live in ...



Note: Foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin. Africa includes North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-16/) The nation's black immigrant population is highly concentrated. More than eight-in-ten (82%) of them live in just two regions—41% live in the Northeast and 41% live in the South. Meanwhile, the Midwest and West are home to just 9% each of the black immigrant population.

Black immigrants from the Caribbean are more concentrated in the Northeast and the South—95% live there—than the overall black immigrant population.

By contrast, the black African immigrant population is more dispersed, with 40% in the South, 25% in the Northeast, 19% in the Midwest and 16% in the West. Among black immigrants from South America, 64% reside in the Northeast. And among Central American black immigrants, 47% live in the Northeast and 19% live in the West, the highest share living there among major black immigrant groups.

Looking at the top states of residence for the nation's black immigrants, one-in-four (24%), or 910,000, live in New York state alone. Florida has the second-largest foreign-born black population with 661,000, followed by New Jersey, Maryland and Massachusetts.

(https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/a-rising-share-of-the-u-s-black-population-is-foreign-born/st_2015-04-09_black-immigrants-17/) Among metropolitan areas, the New York-Newark-Jersey City metropolitan area has by far the largest black immigrant population, containing 27% of the foreign-born black population overall. The Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach metro area in Florida is the second largest with 12%, followed by Washington, D.C.-Arlington-Alexandria, Virginia at 6%. The Boston and Atlanta areas each account for 4% of the total black immigrant population.

Some black immigrant country of origin communities are clustered around particular metropolitan areas. For example, the New York metro area is home to roughly 250,000 black Jamaican immigrants, or nearly 40% of all foreign-born black Jamaicans in the U.S. And the Miami metropolitan area has the nation's largest black Haitian immigrant community—more than 211,000 black Haitian immigrants, equal to 36% of its population in the U.S.

The Washington, D.C., metro area is home to the biggest black Ethiopian immigrant community in the country with 46,000 black Ethiopian immigrants living there, equivalent to 24% of that group's U.S. population, while 25,000, or 31%, of the black Somalian immigrant population lives in the Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington metro area of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

In the nation's 10 metropolitan areas with the largest black populations, the share of these populations that are foreign born varies widely. In only three are black immigrants a double-digit share of the overall black population. About one-in-three (34%) blacks living in the Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach metro area in Florida are immigrants. In the New York-Newark-Jersey City metro area, foreign-born blacks make up 28% of the black population. And in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, 15% of the area's blacks are foreign born. In the other seven largest black metropolitan areas, black immigrants make up a much smaller proportion of the overall black population. For example, 8% of black residents in the Atlanta metro area are foreign born. Black immigrants' share of the overall Chicago black population is just 4%, and only 1% of blacks living in Detroit are foreign born.

Top 10 States by Foreign-born Black Population in 2013

Population in thousands, by state

State	Population	% of foreign-born black pop.
New York	910	24
Florida	661	17
New Jersey	211	6
Maryland	200	5
Massachusetts	190	5
Texas	189	5
California	179	5
Georgia	163	4
Pennsylvania	130	3
Virginia	109	3
Minnesota	81	2

Note: Foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin.

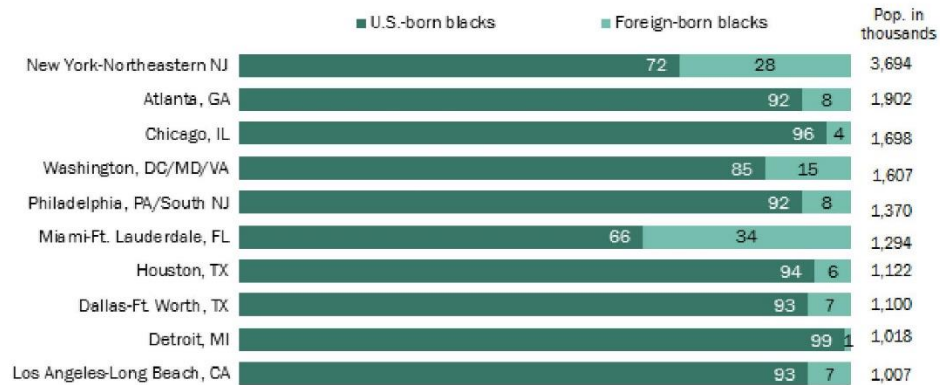
Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population

Foreign-born Shares Among Nation's 10 Largest Metropolitan Black Populations, 2013



Note: Miami-Ft. Lauderdale, FL also includes West Palm Beach, FL. U.S.-born and foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

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9. Thomas, Kevin J.A. "A Demographic Profile of Black Caribbean Immigrants in the United States." Migration Policy Institute. 2012. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/CBI-demographic-profile-black-caribbean-immigrants>

10. Bayor, Ronald H., ed. Multicultural America: An Encyclopedia of the Newest Americans, Volume 4. 2011.

11. Data for Hispanic and Asian immigrants contain immigrants of all races, including those who are black.

12. For details on the methodology used to estimate the size and characteristics of the nation's unauthorized immigrant population, see "As Growth Stalls, Unauthorized Immigrant Population Becomes More Settled," by Jeffrey S. Passel, D'Vera Cohn, Jens Manuel Krogstad and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, Pew Research Center, 2014. <https://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/09/03/as-growth-stalls-unauthorized-immigrant-population-becomes-more-settled/>

13. Kru is spoken in northeastern Liberia and Ivory Coast.

14. Family households are those with a household head and one or more persons living in the household who are related to the household head by birth, marriage or adoption. Households with a household head and an unmarried partner are considered family households only if there are other persons in the household who are related to the household head by birth, marriage or adoption.

15. Due to rounding, household population figures may equal more than 100%.

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Sub-Saharan African Immigrants in the United States

MAY 3, 2017 SPOTLIGHT | By Jie Zong and Jeanne Batalova



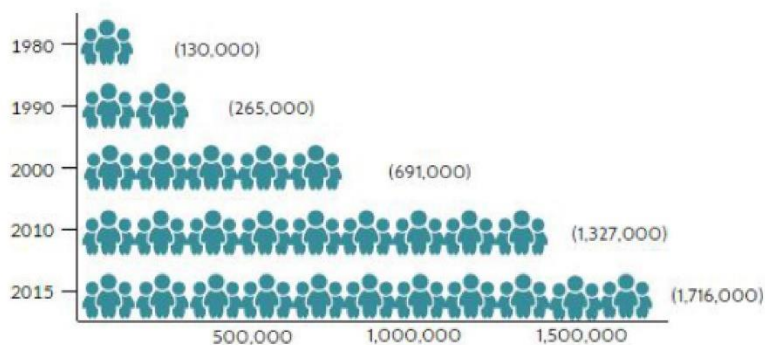
A woman sells clothing inspired by traditional West African fashion at a market in Washington, DC, home to one of the largest concentrations of sub-Saharan Africans in the United States. (Photo: Elvert Barnes)

Contemporary migration from sub-Saharan Africa to the United States, which is a relatively recent phenomenon, has risen steadily over the past several decades. The sub-Saharan African immigrant population roughly doubled every decade between 1980 and 2010, and increased by 29 percent over the following five years. In 2015, 1.7 million sub-Saharan Africans lived in the United States, accounting for a small but growing share (4 percent) of the 43.3 million immigrants in the United States. They also made up 83 percent of the 2.1 million immigrants from Africa, the remainder coming from North Africa. The current flow of sub-Saharan Africans consists of skilled professionals, individuals seeking reunification with relatives, and refugees from war-torn countries.

Figure 1. Sub-Saharan African Immigrant Population in the United States, 1980-2015

4/1/2019

Sub-Saharan African Immigrants in the United States | migrationpolicy.org



Source: Data from U.S. Census Bureau 2006, 2010, and 2015 American Community Surveys (ACS), and Campbell J. Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States: 1850-2000" (Working Paper no. 81, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC, February 2006), **available online**.

In 2015, 80 percent of sub-Saharan Africans came from Eastern and Western Africa, with Nigeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, and South Africa comprising the top sending countries. Together, these five countries accounted for more than 54 percent of all sub-Saharan Africans in the United States (see Table 1).

Table 1. Distribution of Sub-Saharan African Immigrants by Country and Region of Origin, 2015

4/1/2019

Sub-Saharan African Immigrants in the United States | migrationpolicy.org

Region/Country	Number	Percent (%)
Sub-Saharan African Total	1,716,000	100.0
Eastern Africa	613,000	35.7
Ethiopia	229,000	13.3
Kenya	130,000	7.6
Somalia	89,000	5.2
Eritrea	39,000	2.3
Other Eastern Africa	126,000	7.3
Middle Africa	129,000	7.5
Cameroon	51,000	3.0
Other Middle Africa	77,000	4.5
Southern Africa	99,000	5.8
South Africa	94,000	5.5
Other Southern Africa	5,000	0.3
Western Africa	766,000	44.6
Nigeria	324,000	18.9
Ghana	156,000	9.1
Liberia	79,000	4.6
Cabo Verde	43,000	2.5
Sierra Leone	42,000	2.5
Other Western Africa	122,000	7.1
Africa, n.e.c.	110,000	6.4

Notes: Due to ACS data limitation, people shown in the “Africa, not else classified” (Africa, n.e.c.) category, who did not report their country of birth, were included in the sub-Saharan African foreign-born group though some may have been from North Africa. The 110,000 foreign born from the residual “Africa, n.e.c.” category accounted for 5 percent of the total 2.1 million African-born immigrants and for 6 percent of the 1.7 million sub-Saharan African-born immigrants. The formal name of Cape Verde was changed to Cabo Verde in 2013.

Source: Migration Policy Institute (MPI) tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2015 ACS.

Most sub-Saharan African immigrants who obtain lawful permanent residence in the United States (also known as receiving a green card) arrive as immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, as refugees, or through the Diversity Visa Lottery. Compared to the total foreign-born population, sub-Saharan Africans were among the best educated immigrants as a group and were less likely to be Limited English Proficient (LEP). Sub-Saharan Africans experienced a slightly higher poverty rate than immigrants overall, but lower uninsured rates.



Click here to view an interactive map showing where migrants from sub-Saharan Africa (and elsewhere) have settled worldwide.

Using data from the U.S. Census Bureau (the most recent 2015 American Community Survey [ACS] as well as pooled 2011-15 ACS data), the Department of Homeland Security's *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, and World Bank annual remittances data, this Spotlight provides information on the sub-Saharan African immigrant population in the United States, focusing on its size, geographic distribution, and socioeconomic characteristics.

Definitions

The U.S. Census Bureau defines the foreign born as individuals who had no U.S. citizenship at birth. The foreign-born population includes naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents, refugees and asylees, legal nonimmigrants (including those on student, work, or other temporary visas), and persons residing in the country without authorization.

The terms foreign born and immigrant are used interchangeably and refer to those who were born in another country and later emigrated to the United States. Data collection constraints do not permit inclusion of those who gained citizenship in a sub-Saharan African country via naturalization and later moved to the United States.

Sub-Saharan Africa is defined as all African countries except Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, and Tunisia. Due to data limitations and for the purposes of this Spotlight, individuals in the "Africa, not else classified" (Africa, n.e.c.) category were added to the sub-Saharan African foreign-born group.

Note: While the characteristics of the overall sub-Saharan African population are based on the entire subregion, analysis of individual countries in this article covers only the largest origin groups: Nigerians, Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Kenyans, South Africans, Liberians, and Somalis.

Click on the bullet points below for more information:

- **Distribution by State and Key Cities**
- **Language Diversity and English Proficiency**
- **Age, Education, and Employment**
- **Poverty**
- **Immigration Pathways and Naturalization**
- **Health Coverage**
- **Diaspora**
- **Remittances**

Distribution by State and Key Cities

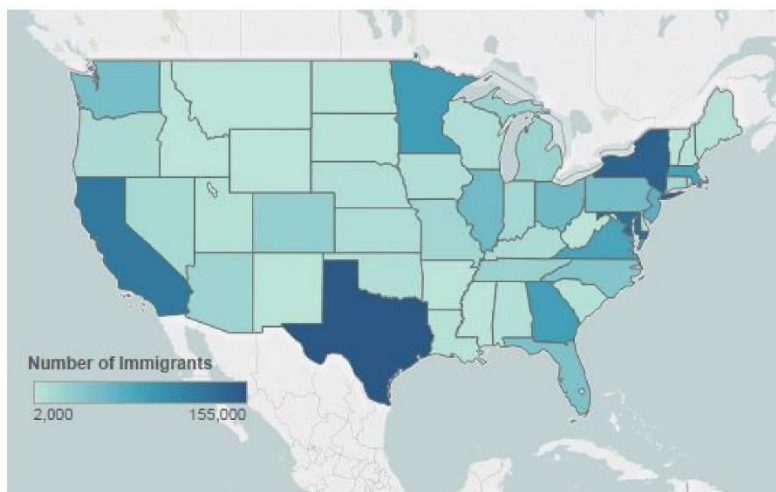
Compared to the overall immigrant population, sub-Saharan Africans were more spread out geographically. As of 2011-15, the largest shares of sub-Saharan African immigrants settled in Texas (10 percent), New York (9 percent), and Maryland (9 percent). The top four counties by concentration of sub-Saharan Africans were Bronx County, NY;

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Montgomery County, MD; Harris County, TX; and Prince George's County, MD. Together, these counties accounted for about 12 percent of the total sub-Saharan immigrant population in the United States.

Figure 2. Top Destination States for Sub-Saharan African Immigrants in the United States, 2011-15



Note: Pooled 2011-15 ACS data were used to get statistically valid estimates at the state and metropolitan statistical area levels, for smaller-population geographies. Not shown are populations in Alaska and Hawaii, which are small in size; for details, visit the MPI Data Hub for an interactive map showing geographic distribution of immigrants by state and county, [available online](#).

Source: MPI tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau pooled 2011-15 ACS.



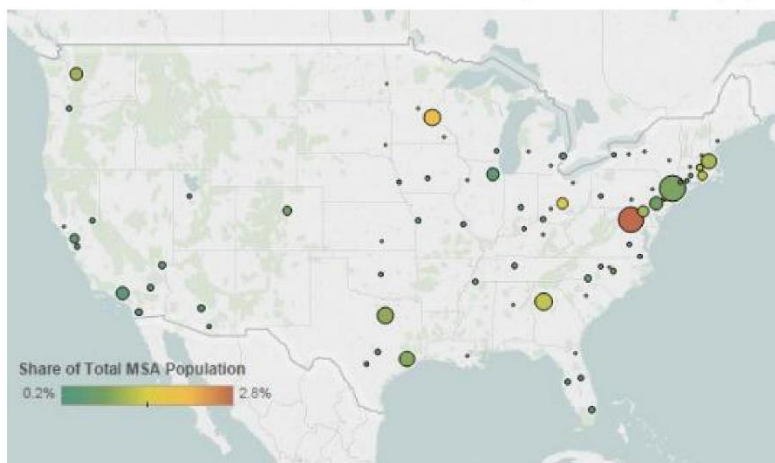
Click here for an interactive map that shows the geographic distribution of immigrants by state and county. Select individual sub-Saharan African countries from the dropdown menu to see which states and counties have the most immigrants.

In the 2011-15 period, the U.S. cities with the greatest number of sub-Saharan immigrants were the greater New York City, Washington, DC, and Atlanta metropolitan areas (see Figure 3). These three metro areas accounted for about 27 percent of sub-Saharan Africans in the United States.

Figure 3. Top Metropolitan Destinations for Sub-Saharan Africans in the United States, 2011-15

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Note: Pooled 2011-15 ACS data were used to get statistically valid estimates at the metropolitan statistical-area level for smaller-population geographies.

Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau pooled 2011-15 ACS.



Click here for an interactive map that highlights the metropolitan areas with the highest concentrations of immigrants. Select individual sub-Saharan African countries from the dropdown menu to see which metro areas have the most immigrants.

Table 2. Top Concentrations by Metropolitan Area for the Foreign Born from Sub-Saharan Africa, 2011-15

Metropolitan Area	Immigrant Population from Sub-Saharan Africa	% of Metro Area Population
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	175,000	0.9
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	167,000	2.8
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA	74,000	1.3
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	71,000	2.0
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	69,000	1.0
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	61,000	1.0
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	55,000	1.2
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	45,000	0.7
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	45,000	0.3
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	42,000	0.4

Source: MPI tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau pooled 2011-15 ACS.

Language Diversity and English Proficiency

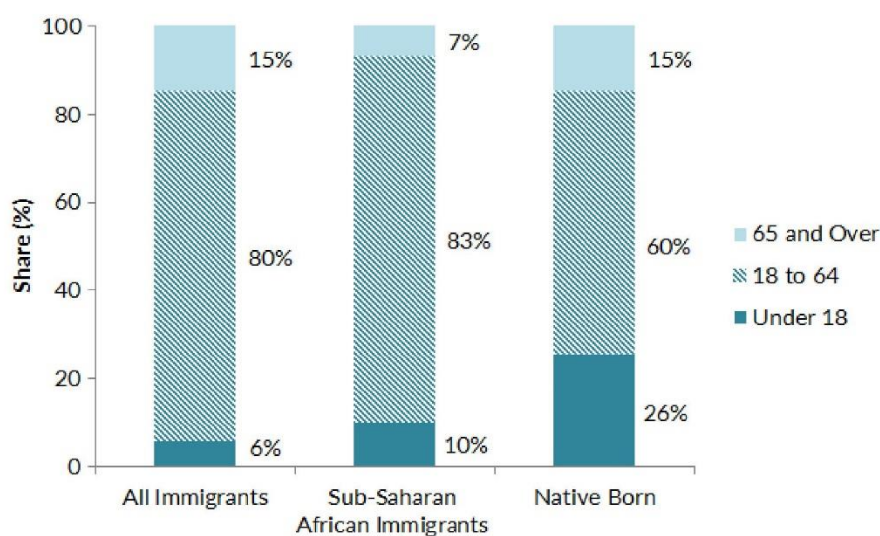
Sub-Saharan immigrants were more likely to be proficient in English and speak English at home than the overall U.S. foreign-born population, largely because a majority came from countries where English is an official language. In 2015, 25 percent of sub-Saharan Africans spoke only English at home, versus 16 percent of all immigrants. Furthermore, 27 percent of these immigrants (ages 5 and over) reported limited English proficiency, compared to 49 percent of the overall foreign-born population. Individual-country groups made up predominately of refugees had much higher limited English proficiency (LEP) levels, however, than the regional average: 62 percent of Somalis and 41 percent of Ethiopians were LEP in 2015, for instance. Other than English, top languages spoken were Kru, Amharic, French, Somali, and Swahili.

Note: Limited English proficiency refers to those who indicated on the ACS questionnaire that they spoke English less than “very well.”

Age, Education, and Employment

The sub-Saharan African population was slightly younger than the overall U.S. foreign-born population but older than the native born. In 2015, a higher share (83 percent) of sub-Saharan immigrants were of working age (18 to 64), compared to the overall foreign-born (80 percent) and U.S.-born (60 percent) populations.

Figure 4. Age Distribution by Origin, 2015



Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2015 ACS.

Sub-Saharan immigrants have much higher educational attainment compared to the overall foreign- and native-born populations. In 2015, 39 percent of sub-Saharan Africans (ages 25 and over) had a bachelor’s degree or higher,

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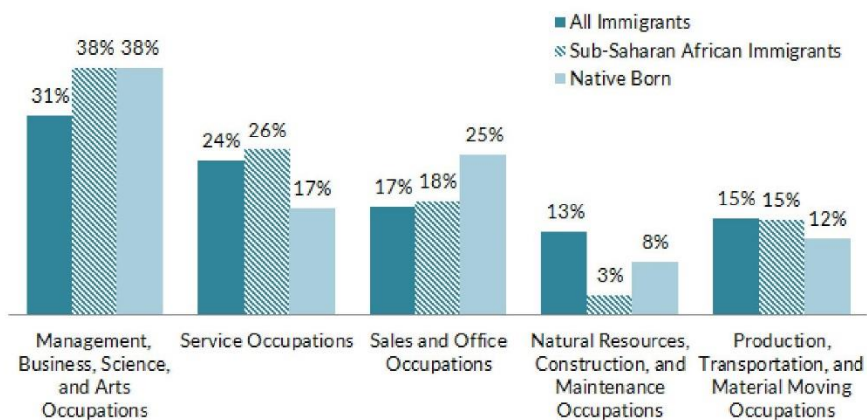
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compared to 29 percent of the total foreign-born population and 31 percent of the U.S.-born population. Nigerians and South Africans were the most highly educated, with 57 percent holding at least a bachelor's degree, followed by Kenyans (44 percent), Ghanaians (40 percent), Liberians (32 percent), and Ethiopians (29 percent). Meanwhile, Somalis had the lowest educational attainment of all sub-Saharan Africans, with 11 percent having graduated from a four-year college.

Sub-Saharan Africans participated in the labor force at a higher rate than the overall immigrant and U.S.-born populations. In 2015, about 75 percent of sub-Saharan immigrants (ages 16 and over) were in the civilian labor force, compared to 66 percent and 62 percent of the overall foreign- and native-born populations, respectively.

Compared to the total foreign-born population, sub-Saharan Africans were much more likely to be employed in management, business, science, and arts occupations (38 percent) and much less likely to be employed in natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations (3 percent; see Figure 5). The occupational distribution by origin group follows the pattern of educational attainment: South African (62 percent) and Nigerian (53 percent) immigrants were the most likely to be in management positions, while 37 percent of Somali immigrants worked in production, transportation, and material moving occupations.

Figure 5. Employed Workers in the Civilian Labor Force (ages 16 and older) by Occupation and Origin, 2015



Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2015 ACS.

Poverty

In 2015, sub-Saharan Africans were slightly more likely to live in poverty (19 percent) than all immigrants (17 percent) or the U.S. born (14 percent). Poverty rates were highest among Somalis (46 percent) and Liberians (22

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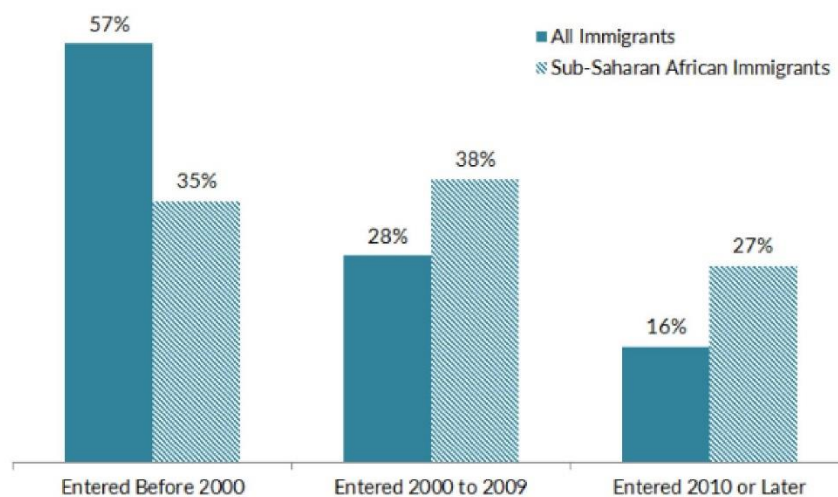
percent).

Immigration Pathways and Naturalization

Compared to immigrants overall, sub-Saharan Africans had a slightly higher naturalization rate. Fifty-three percent were naturalized U.S. citizens, compared to 48 percent of all immigrants. Naturalization rates exceeded 50 percent for most sub-Saharan origin groups, with the exception of Kenyans (47 percent).

Sub-Saharan Africans were more likely than immigrants overall to have entered since 2000. Approximately 65 percent arrived in 2000 or later, compared to 44 percent of all immigrants (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Sub-Saharan Africans and All Immigrants in the United States by Period of Arrival, 2015



Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2015 ACS.

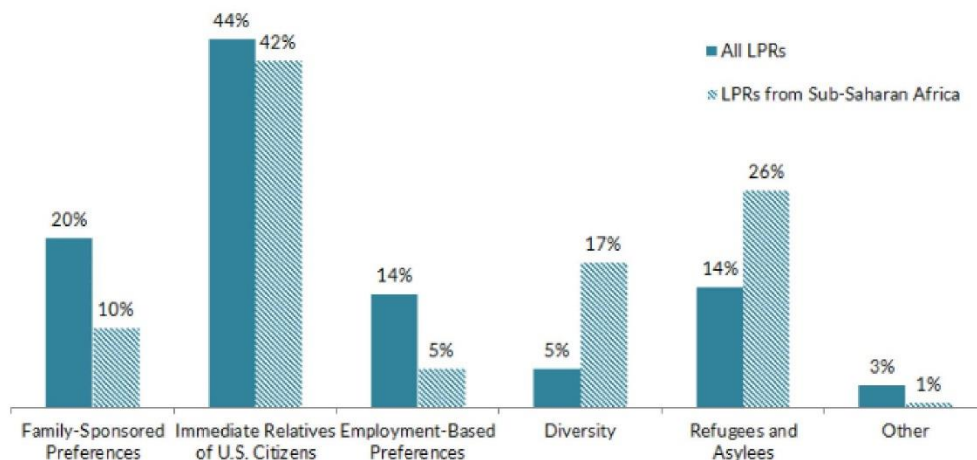
In fiscal year (FY) 2015, half of the 79,000 sub-Saharan immigrants who became lawful permanent residents (LPRs) did so as immediate relatives of U.S. citizens or through family-sponsored preferences (42 percent and 10 percent, respectively; see Figure 7). New LPRs from sub-Saharan Africa were much more likely to have been admitted through the Diversity Visa Lottery (17 percent) or as refugees (26 percent) than immigrants from most other regions. Meanwhile, sub-Saharan Africans were much less likely to become green-card holders via employment pathways (5 percent) compared to the overall LPR population (14 percent). The majority of new LPRs from the Central African Republic (88 percent), Djibouti (86 percent), and Somalia (83 percent) obtained their green cards by

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adjusting from refugee or asylee status, while more than one-third of new green-card holders from Liberia (47 percent), Benin (39 percent), Togo (35 percent), and Cameroon (34 percent) did so via the Diversity Visa program.

Figure 7. Immigration Pathways of Sub-Saharan Africans and All Immigrants in the United States, 2015



Notes: *Family-sponsored:* Includes adult children and siblings of U.S. citizens as well as spouses and children of green-card holders. *Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens:* Includes spouses, minor children, and parents of U.S. citizens. *Diversity Visa Lottery:* The Immigration Act of 1990 established the Diversity Visa Lottery to allow entry to immigrants from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States. The law states that 55,000 diversity visas are made available each fiscal year. For the 2018 Diversity Visa program, nationals of all countries in sub-Saharan Africa except Nigeria are eligible to participate in the lottery.

Source: MPI tabulation of data from Department of Homeland Security (DHS), *2015 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (Washington, DC: DHS Office of Immigration Statistics, 2016), [available online](#).

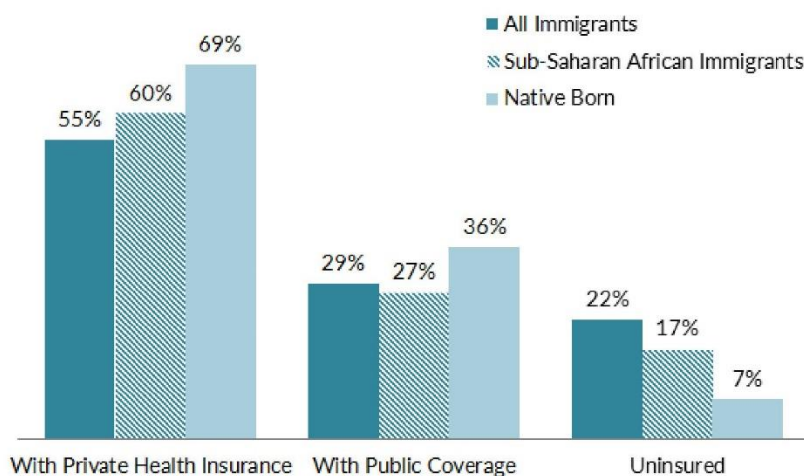
Health Coverage

In 2015, sub-Saharan Africans were more likely to be covered by private health insurance (60 percent) compared to the overall foreign-born population (55 percent; see Figure 8). They were also less likely to be uninsured than immigrants overall (17 percent versus 22 percent). Among sub-Saharan origin groups, South Africans had the lowest uninsured share (8 percent) while Liberians had the highest rate (18 percent).

Figure 8. Health Coverage for Sub-Saharan Africans, All Immigrants, and the Native Born, 2015

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Note: The sum of shares by type of insurance is likely to be greater than 100 because people may have more than one type of insurance.

Source: MPI tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2015 ACS.

Diaspora

Approximately 3.3 million members of the sub-Saharan African diaspora resided in the United States, including individuals who were either born in the region or who reported sub-Saharan African ancestry, according to tabulations from the U.S. Census Bureau pooled 2011-15 ACS.

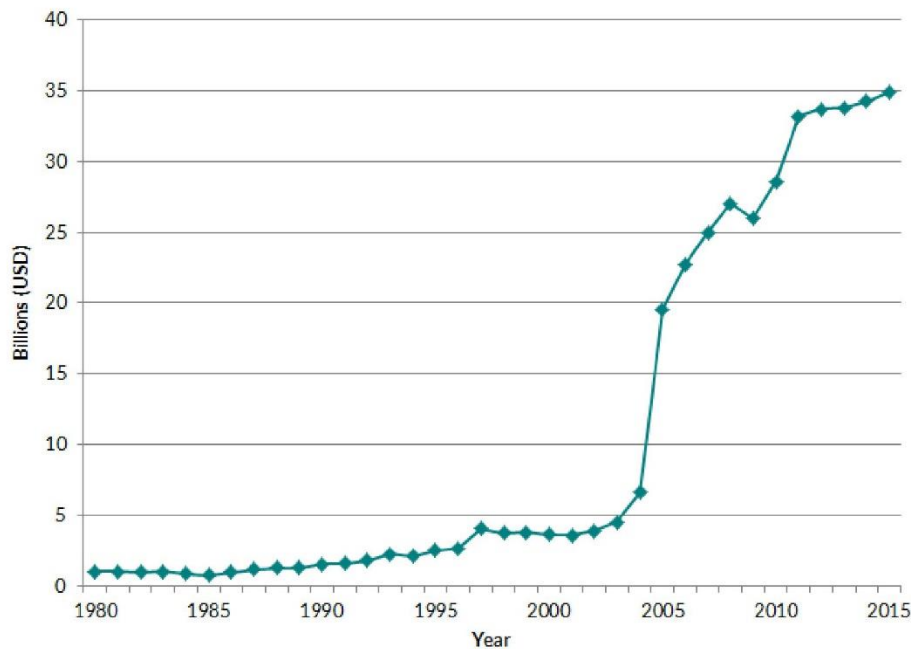
Remittances

Remittances received by sub-Saharan African countries via formal channels have risen nearly ten-fold since 2000, reaching \$35 billion in 2015, according to the World Bank. Global remittances account for about 3 percent of overall gross domestic product (GDP) in the region. Some economies in this region are more dependent on remittance than others: remittances accounted for 31 percent of GDP in Liberia, 22 percent in The Gambia, 18 percent in Lesotho, 14 percent in Senegal, and 12 percent in Cabo Verde, versus just 0.01 percent in Angola and 0.3 percent in South Africa.

Figure 9. Annual Remittance Flows to Sub-Saharan African Countries, 1980-2015

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Source: MPI tabulations of data from the World Bank Prospects Group, "Annual Remittances Data," April 2017 update.

Visit the Data Hub's collection of interactive remittances tools, which track remittances by inflow and outflow, between countries, and over time.

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