Journal of Multicultural Affairs

Volume 2 | Issue 2 Article 2

May 2017

“We Ain’t Come Over Here For That!”: Critical Moments On Racial Identity Development While Learning And Serving In Tanzania

Mariah Bender
mbender2015@gmail.com

Stephanie L. Burrell Storms
Fairfield University, sstorms@fairfield.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/jma

Part of the Education Commons
Tell us how this article helped you.

Recommended Citation

Bender, Mariah and Burrell Storms, Stephanie L. (2017) "“We Ain’t Come Over Here For That!”: Critical Moments On Racial Identity Development While Learning And Serving In Tanzania," *Journal of Multicultural Affairs*: Vol. 2 : Iss. 2 , Article 2.
Available at: http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/jma/vol2/iss2/2

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by SFA ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Journal of Multicultural Affairs by an authorized editor of SFA ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact cdsscholarworks@sfasu.edu.

"We Ain't Come Over Here For That!" Critical Moments On Racial Identity Development While Learning And Serving In Tanzania

Mariah Bender, International Educator
Stephanie L. Burrell Storms, Fairfield University

Open your ears to learn; Open your mouth to teach—Kenyan Jesuit Priest

Student participation in international programs such as study abroad and service-learning continues to grow. A recent Open Doors report (2016) showed a slight increase in Black student participation in study abroad from 3.5 % (2004-2005) to 5.6 % (2014-2015). While these numbers are still considerably low when compared to White students' participation (83%-72.9%), service-learning and short-term study abroad opportunities have increased Black students interest in learning and service internationally (Acquaye & Crewe, 2012; Penn & Tanner, 2008). Literature exploring the experiences of Black students in international programs is understudied as well as research specifically examining the experiences of Black women engaged in study abroad and service-learning in an international context (Willis, 2015). The findings from the studies that have explored Black women's experience engaging and serving in an international context show that heritage-seeking is a factor in selecting where they chose to study and service, some developed sisterhood with Black women in the diaspora through sharing their personal stories, and experiencing racial and gender bias during their trips was a surprising outcome for some of the women (Chapman, 2007; Evans, 2009; Morgan, Mwegelo, & Turner, 2002; Henry, 2014; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Willis, 2015).

Black students in the U.S., like other students of the global majority, tend to study or conduct service-learning in an international context that reflect their own ethnic identities (Willis, 2015). Scholars call this phenomenon heritage-seeking. The concept of heritage-seeking is defined as "selecting a study abroad venue because of family background---national, religious, cultural, or ethnic (Comp, 2008, p. 30). Despite the similarity of skin tone, some Black Americans travelling to Africa may not receive the reception they hope for because "they are often viewed as simply Americans and are not accepted as readily as some of their peers (Doan, 2002; Ganz & Sideli, 2002; Morgan, Mwegelo & Turner, 2002; Sutton & Rubin 2004; Van Der Meid, 2003)." Furthermore, engaging in heritage-seeking while involved in service with White students and peers from the U.S. can be challenging. For example, experiencing whiteness in a Black dominated society from peers and colleagues from the U.S. Leonardo (2002) describes whiteness as "a collection of everyday strategies characterized by the unwillingness to name the contours of racism, the avoidance of identifying with a racial experience or group, the minimization of racist legacy, and other similar evasions" (p. 32).

In this narrative, two Black women, one a recent college graduate and the other a tenured college professor describe their experiences studying and engaging in service while in Tanzania. First, we discuss the major tenets of Black feminist thought (Hill Collins, 2009) and Black identity development (Cross, 1991) that provide a framework for our paper. Afterward, we describe the method used to write this paper and give snapshots of key experiences during our time in Tanzania. We end our paper with implications and recommendations for faculty and students considering learning and serving in an international context. Overall, we hope our experience will inspire Black women and

men to increase their participation in study abroad and service learning specifically in Africa. In addition, we hope white students and colleagues can understand the unique needs of Black students and colleagues engaging in international learning in Africa.

Perspectives

This paper employs Black feminism as a lens for identifying the plethora of struggles Black women face not only in America but additionally within the African context. Hill Collins (2009) explains that "rather than developing definitions and arguing over naming practices--for example, whether this thought should be called Black feminism, womanism, Afrocentric feminism, Africana womanism, and the like – a more useful approach lies in revisiting the reasons why Black feminist thought exists at all (p. 22)." With this, by exploring the distinctions within Black feminist thought, we found that it most accurately describes our experiences of blackness and womanhood within the United States and in the African context. It appeared we were more conscious of our blackness and womanhood while working with self-identified White feminists who proclaimed to be committed to the freedom of all women, yet differentiated our Black American womanhood from that of our Tanzanian Black women in which we partnered.

Matrix of Domination

The influence of U.S. Black feminism as Hill Collins (2009) explained made it difficult for us to shed our lens of racial oppression in the United States upon coming to Tanzania. If anything, our interactions with colorblind White peers intensified our understanding of racial politics, albeit in an African context. When discussing why Black feminism is specific to the U.S., Hill Collins connects the continuation of racial oppression to the racial segregation and institutionalized oppression Black women still face. Prior to our time in Tanzania, we both faced daily microaggressions (Sue, 2010) from white peers, faculty, and staff members on our college campuses. With these experiences, we understood what Hill Collins (2009) explains as a "matrix of domination." This concept symbolizes the different ways that various forms of oppression (i.e., racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, etc.) intersect with one another to create an overarching umbrella of domination for marginalized social groups. Moreover, the matrix of domination illustrates the organization of oppression albeit structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, or interpersonal domains. The four domains support one another to keep the cycle of oppression in place. Hill Collins (2009) argues Black women face a "distinctive set of social practices that accompany our particular history within a unique matrix of domination characterized by intersecting oppressions. Race is far from being the only significant marker of group difference-- class, gender, sexuality, religion, and citizenship status matter greatly in the United States (p. 23)." Depending on how our multiple identities intersect with one another, our experiences with various forms of oppression will have similarities and differences.

Black women share a significantly distinct experience of inseparable blackness and womanhood that White women may not understand. Furthermore, Hill Collins explained that these intersecting oppressions make it so that Black women in the United States even find relations to the plight of Black women abroad which explained why our experiences varied greatly from that of our white peers. These intersecting oppressions mean that not only do Black women suffer from racism, but sexism, and particularly in Stephanie and Mariah's case

in Tanzania they were still women, therefore, still subject to sexism and harassment. Lastly, as it related to the interconnectedness of Black women globally, Stephanie and Mariah were able to connect with Tanzanian women over their gendered struggle for equality based on their similar struggles in the U.S. While, we overtly visited Tanzania for our racial identity development, because of our multiple identities we in turn, developed deeply as Black women because of the intersections of being both Black and women.

Black Women Intellectuals: Why We Write

We write of our experiences in Tanzania to contribute to a collective consciousness of Black womanhood. Hill Collins (2009) draws from a history of Black women and self-definition. She writes, we as "Black women intellectuals are central in the production of black feminist thought because we alone can foster the group autonomy that fosters effective coalitions with other groups (Hill Collins, 2009, p. 36)." With this, Black women must share their stories, realizations, and growth with other Black women intellectuals in order to show what Black feminist thought looks like in practice. Furthermore, Black feminist thought "cannot flourish isolated from experiences and ideas of other groups. Black women intellectuals must find ways to place our own heterogeneous experiences and consciousness at the center of any serious efforts to develop Black feminist thought without having our thought become separatist and exclusionary (Hill Collins, 2009, p. 37)." For the purpose of Black women intellectuals as internationalists this last point is even more crucial. Without sharing the experiences that Black Women face within the American and African context, as self-defined Black feminists, we run the risk of being only feminist in thought and therefore exclusionary and irrelevant. Through dialogue at our respective institutions, with colleagues, and even through online storytelling we work to broaden the perspective of Black feminism and expand our thoughts on our experiences and realities.

Black Identity Development

Given that our experiences and motivations for traveling to Tanzania were influenced by a desire to engage with our African identity, theory on racial identity development was fundamental to drawing out themes we found in our journals and interactions with peers. Helms (1990) describes racial identity and racial identity development theory as "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's *perception* that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group . . . racial identity development theory concerns the psychological implications of racial-group membership, that is belief systems that evolve in reaction to perceived differential racial-group membership (as cited in Tatum, 1992, p. 9)." Scholars argue that growth through this developmental process can lead to a positive racial self-concept and psychological health (Cross, 1991) in a White dominant society.

We chose William Cross's (1991) Nigrescence model on Black identity development to help us understand how our experiences in Tanzania affected our racial identity. Cross's five stages are centered on the growth from a non-Afrocentric identity to an Afro-centric one. Beginning with pre-encounter, Blacks/African Americans' belief system at this stage can range from seeing race as playing a less salient role in their everyday life to having a strong dislike for blackness. They tend to identify more with White culture, have a Eurocentric worldview, and seek to assimilate.

Blacks/African Americans' at this stage may play down the impact of racism in their lives and describe themselves as "human beings who happen to be Black." Then, at the encounter stage, which signals the beginnings of change and a desire to change, Blacks/African Americans experience a powerful event that makes it difficult to ignore or deny the impact of racism in their life and society. According to Cross, this is a two-step process: experiencing the event or encounter and then personalizing it through reflection. The encounter can be a positive or negative one, but it must be significant. Those at this stage are forced to acknowledge that they are not members of the White dominant group and begin to seek understanding of what it means to be a member of a subordinated racial group in the U.S.

Next, at the immersion-emersion stage, one becomes closer to a Black identification and develops abhorrence for or seeks avoidance of all things White-identified. At this stage, Blacks/African Americans spend more time with other Blacks/African Americans to learn more about their heritage in an affirming way. At the beginning of this stage, some may see blackness as superior to whiteness. As time goes on, however, Blacks/African Americans begin to see blackness in less of a "romantic and symbolic way to a substantive, textured, and complex one (Cross, 1991, p. 111)." Their anger towards Whites begins to subside as they focus on developing a positive racial self-concept.

The fourth and fifth stages, internalization and internalization-commitment show habitation of the new identity. At stage four, Blacks/African Americans internalize a more positive racial self-concept and are more secure in their blackness. Cognitive dissonance dissipates and they become pro-Black and multicultural. Relationships with "Whites who acknowledge and are respectful of his or her self-definition (Tatum, 1992, p.12)" are established or re-established. Blacks/African Americans' focus is more outward at this stage where they become allies for other social groups targeted by various forms of oppression. Cross believes there are few differences between stages four and five. The main difference is Blacks/African Americans at the internalization-commitment stage take actions in their daily lives to continue developing their Afro-centric identity (throughout their lifetime possibly). Those who have developed an Afro-centric identity that suits them may lose interest in issues that affect Black/African Americans primarily. However, these stages are crucial to understanding blackness in the United States, but additionally, for growth into a more Afro-centric identity and life in Tanzania that is fully actualized. It is critical to remember that this is an ongoing, cyclical process where individuals can re-cycle through the stages again and again once a new encounter is experienced.

Who We Are And Our Process Writing This Paper

Mariah's Introduction. I am an African American woman from the Midwest with deep roots to my Southern cultural identity and beliefs on Africa and my connection to the continent as a child was minimal at best. At the time of my study abroad, I was unraveling all the layers to my complex Black and woman identity while studying at a Midwest Jesuit institution that prides itself on international service to mankind. My fascination with the diversity and complexities of the Swahili coast and desire to live on the continent of Africa influenced my decision to study in Tanzania. My identity as an educator and social justice activist also was supported through the program design where students could act as

English tutors and interns at a local organization.

Stephanie's Introduction. I am a middle class African American/Black woman. I am also Christian, middle-aged, and a social justice educator. I am a tenured associate professor in a teacher preparation program at a Jesuit Institution in the Northeast. I believe through education, collaboration, and action citizens can reduce structural inequality and increase equity in schools and society. Heritage-seeking and engaging in useful service instead of "service loitering" (Hill-Jackson & Lewis, 2011) were my motivation for participating in this service project.

When we met Mariah was a pre-service teacher enrolled in a teacher preparation program for undergraduates and Stephanie was a pre-tenure assistant professor. It was the last day of class for Mariah when we met in Dar es Salaam. The instructor of the service-learning course Mariah was enrolled in invited me, Stephanie, to sit in and witness the groups last official debrief. I was honored to hear the students' stories and learn how this type of pedagogy could be applied internationally. Mariah's story did stand out. I wrote in my journal, *I think she felt disappointed with her classmates regarding their ignorance-but they are learning too.* After the debrief Mariah and I sat down privately to introduce ourselves to one another and briefly shared our experiences. We kept in contact once upon returning to the U.S. and decided to put on experiences in writing.

We used an autoethnographic approach to describe and analyze our personal experiences in Tanzania (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). Autoethnography conflates autobiography and ethnography and allows the researcher to "retroactively and selectively write about past experiences (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011)." The approach was appropriate for this study for several reasons. First, this approach challenges traditional ways of conducting and writing research by using evocative narratives written in the first person—thereby removing the boundary between researcher and participant (Belbase, Luitel, & Taylor, 2008). Second, the narrative usually focuses on a single case meaning generalization is within the case not across cases (Belbase, Luitel, & Taylor, 2008). Lastly, scholars using this approach write about "epiphanies" --"remembered moments perceived to have significantly impacted the trajectory of a person's life (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011)." Our critical moments are epiphanies that had a significant impact on our experiences in Tanzania and our thinking about our blackness and womanhood.

The data used in this narrative (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) came from a journal and blog that Mariah kept during her semester-long program and a journal and discussion post Stephanie used prior to and during her time in Tanzania. To conduct our analysis we addressed the following questions individually first in writing to identify patterns across our stories and epiphanies, and then held six one-hour telephone discussions to explore our experiences in Tanzania further. The questions we addressed were:

1. What brought us to Tanzania? How has our servant leadership identity changed?
2. What critical moments influenced our racial identity development? How did those moments help us make meaning of who we are as Black women?
3. How did whiteness interrupt and/or influence our racial identity development during our time in Tanzania?

Reflections

Below we share our reflections from our journals and telephone discussions that best represent our common experiences during our time in Tanzania. We illustrate the challenge of heritage-seeking while learning and serving with White peers and its affect on our racial identity development.

What Brought Us To Tanzania

Mariah's Story. I was brought to Tanzania because of its history, the value of service, and my experiences in an African History class in 2013. The plurality of the Swahili city-states and the diversity in language, culture, and its impressive independence history encouraged me to study and live abroad. The added bonus that as a Black American, I would have the opportunity to return to Africa as the motherland and cradle of civilization provided me an additional emotional connection to Africa. The multiplicity of beliefs, cultures, and the entire mixing of the Swahili language fascinated me. I envisioned living in a city like Dar es Salaam, as a trip back to the ancient times of the Arab slave trade and looked for traces of the era and both the resistance and creation of the peoples who lived there during that time. In fact, one of my first journal entries I remarked about this experience:

> *'I reflected on the ferry [to Zanzibar] about the importance of the Indian ocean as they transported black lives throughout the 14th-19th centuries. I wonder if my connection to this ocean stems from an origin on the Swahili Coast? Where did my soul originate?'*

Additionally, as a descendant of African peoples, I recognized that Africa held a special place in my heart for it is truly the cradle of civilization and my ancestral land. To me, it did not matter which portion of the continent I visited, as long as I had the opportunity to reconnect and tune into the land which born my ancestors. It was as emotional and racial as it was historical and academic, for me to choose Tanzania to study, grow, and live in during Spring 2014.

Finally, my last reflection on day two ended with a hope of learning Swahili quickly to forge a stronger connection to Tanzanians and in my journal I wrote, *I hope to learn Swahili quickly so I can easily converse with my brothers & sisters here in TZ.* The language barrier prevented many of the interactions with Tanzanians that I desired. In a sense, my English outed me as an American and took away some of the genuineness I desired when interacting with my Tanzanian brothers and sisters. In retrospect, I was hoping to shed my American identity and be fully African. I realized this was impossible.

As a Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Scholar and also an educator, my beliefs about service are closely tied to the intersection of service to mankind and freedom. Therefore, the work I do with students to help them positively identify as Black is also tied to the freedom of the Black community. So, in my decision to go abroad to Tanzania my perspective on service to others was an opportunity for growth and enlightenment and eventually a closer connection to the ancestral homeland. On day three I wrote about the difference in how Tanzanians view race:

> *I've continued to reflect on the meaning of race and racism here and I've reached a few conclusions: The Western definition of race is not applicable. To some it is stressed more the place where you live now than where you originated. I'm having the most difficult time with this b/c as a Black American w/o a direct bloodline to Africa I have a hard time tying myself to any land.*

Throughout my journal entries, I tried to reconcile the spirit of Africa while also anticipating how my American identity impeded my ability to fully immerse myself in African culture. Through discussions on race and privilege, I felt a clash between my American and African identities. The course we participated in as a part of the program was designed to help American students grapple with their identities in the African context. However, none of the course material included any content on the role of Africans in America or furthermore how a Black American was to relate to the continent fully. Whiteness had obscured the instructor's ability to think of any other races and ethnicities interaction with Africa. Her discussion of power and privilege was solely related to that of White American students. Was I to assume that I had no privileges, power, or unearned benefits? As a whole, we had decided that the one understanding was on the definition of service for mankind through humanizing work that required a deep reflection on our own values and influence especially as a part of the Jesuit tradition of reflection and especially to be in service with and for others.

Stephanie's Story. In Spring 2014 the faculty chair for service-learning asked me to be part of a team that would travel to Tanzania to conduct a professional development institute for teachers at a Jesuit institution, Loyola High School, in Dar es Salaam. In addition to the institute, an immersion experience was offered to interested faculty from Fairfield University that included a service project at a community college in Zanzibar and a safari in Arusha. The entire trip would be 30 days. After meeting with the team to discuss the goals and plans for the trip I decided to join the project because of my passion and commitment toward teacher education, community engagement, and social justice. Furthermore, I saw it as a chance to fulfill a life-long dream to travel to Africa while doing service in and with the community. But in some ways, quite frankly, I needed to experience firsthand what it felt like to not be the "racial other" for a change. I wrote the following before arriving in Tanzania,

> *One of the reasons I want to be part of this experience is because I love teachers. To be given a chance to work with teachers internationally is more that I could have ever dreamed of during my tenure at Fairfield…I never thought this kind of opportunity would be part of my journey as a teacher educator. Also, this will be my first trip to Africa. I am wondering whether it will feel like home in some ways. I will experience for 30 days what it feels like not be a racial minority on a daily basis. However, I know our conceptualization of "racial identity" does not apply. Being Black and American in Tanzania opens up many questions for me about identity.*

I arrived in Dar es Salaam 10 days before the faculty development institute. My first week focused on relationship building and implementing final details for the institute with our entire team. Our team for the institute included five faculty (two from Fairfield University and three from Loyola High School), two administrators from Fairfield University and, the Headmaster of Loyola High School. To learn about the context and culture in which we were collaborating, we visited the high school as well as a Jesuit primary school, spoke with teachers and students, had lunch and dinner together, and attended end-of-semester celebrations for both schools. With each experience it felt more and more like home. Even when we met to discuss the institute

and organize the materials for the program, it served as a form of team building.

The goals of the institute were agreed upon collaboratively and reflected the missions of both institutions. The three-day institute focused on Ignatian Pedagogy, outcomes assessment, and teaching strategies to engage students in the teaching and learning process effectively. In addition, we wanted the teachers to have the opportunity to share with one another and support cross-departmental collaborations. During the institute, I collaborated with two of the faculty members from Loyola High School to facilitate discussions about writing a teaching philosophy, developing and aligning student learning objectives with assessment strategies, and action planning. Engaging this type of service was not only a chance for me to share my expertise, but learn about how other professionals teach. I felt honored to be there.

The service we conducted at Machui Community College was meeting with the administration and Sisters to discuss how we could develop a partnership based on academic programs. Their mission "to uplift the marginalized" through vocational training reflects the education apostolate of the Jesuits—which made our decision to pursue a partnership with the college an easy one. The safari was an educative event rather than a service project. I learned real world information that I shared as a participant in a read aloud program at a local elementary school when I returned to the U.S. The second graders in the classroom where I read had just completed a research project on animals. Many of the students had selected animals I saw during the safari. I shared pictures and what I learned about the animals. The students, teacher, and I were excited and had a wonderful discussion that day.

This was my first experience doing service internationally. As an undergraduate and first-generation college student, I was unaware of opportunities for international service-learning. The idea of being a global citizen was unknown to me, so my community service was conducted locally. Furthermore, I never saw the need to do service internationally because there was so much work to be done here in the U.S. As a graduate student my focus was on completing my degree as quickly as possible and finding employment. Any service I was involved in was unattached to my coursework. Even now in my current position, I would not have considered doing teacher professional development internationally unless my colleague approached me. This makes me wonder how many students of the global majority have consciousness about the need to do service internationally or believe that this is a dream deferred. I think about some of the negative feedback Oprah received for opening a school in Africa because many from my community, including myself, believed her service was needed here. However, through this experience I have come to realize that there is no hierarchy of need. For me to become a global citizen, my servant identity must go beyond the boundaries I have set for myself physically and mentally.

Important Moments On Racial Identity Development

Mariah's Story. Prior to studying in Tanzania, my place in Cross's *Nigrescence* model was definitely within stage three, the immersion-emersion experience. I was fed up with whiteness based on my experiences with White students and racial bias I dealt with in the education department. I was frustrated and held quite a deal of rage at the injustices I faced as one of the only Black women in the college of education. I had switched towards embracing all things Black and my own exhaustion with the suffocation of whiteness influenced my decision to

study in Tanzania. As the semester went on and my negative interactions with my colorblind peers continued, I encountered another shift towards the Internalization and Nationalistic phase that is characterized by a stress on an Afrocentric perspective and engages Black problems and Black culture. Furthermore, it is characterized by building meaningful relationships only when Whites are willing to accept their self-definition. Most of the time in Tanzania though, my white colleagues were unwilling to accept my definition, which in turn, I moved back towards stage three. Even in the midst of a sea of whiteness and blinding privilege of my peers when issues facing Black people came up, all my rage towards whiteness subsided and my desire to contribute to supporting Black women became most important once I began to do service in Tanzania.

The intersection of my Black identity and my womanhood merged during my work at the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme in Dar es Salaam. One of the main reasons I chose to participate in the study abroad program with Fairfield University was due to its commitment to service and the program component that allowed an internship with an NGO of our choosing. During the fall of 2013, my identity as a woman and a Black one became present. Prior to living in Tanzania, my Black womanhood existed in my lived experience and expression via my natural hair, and my foundation with my family members. Working with TGNP allowed me to dive into the analytical framework of viewing the multiplicity of oppression and the intersectional framework of blackness, womanhood, and formerly poverty. Hill Collins (2009) explains that African American women face a history of intersecting oppressions known as a matrix of domination. Not only, are Black women subject to racism, but they also face oppression based on class, gender, sexuality, religion, and citizenship status. These markers are not only based on an American context, but, even internationally as I experienced in Tanzania. So, while in Tanzania, I was not directly affected by racism from Tanzanians, my identity as a woman meant I still faced sexism and sexual harassment from Tanzanian men. While still subject to sexism, I also gained a community of Black women who worked to rid Tanzania of sexism and improve the lives of Tanzanian women through grassroots organizing.

One of my first memories at the organization was when one of my colleagues welcomed me to the organization and more importantly home to the continent of Africa. I was taken aback because of the rather cynical view I had of the relationship between Black Americans and Africans. I had read blog entries and think pieces about how as a Black American, I shouldn't expect any sentimental welcome home to the 'motherland', and that instead there would be multiplicity of cultural differences making it difficult for Africans to identify me as an Africa, but more of an American. While, I did have a number of interactions pointing to my American identity I also had welcoming and warm embraces from Tanzanians who saw me as an African person.

The most rewarding part of pushing beyond the comfort of English speaking Americans came in my close relationship to the Jesuit community and attending local church services. Drawing on my spiritual side opened up a new perspective during my time living in Tanzania. The Jesuit community, our African spirituality class, and my own meditative time allowed me to live mindfully, speak kindly, and truly reflect on the beautiful things and people around me. The Jesuit community at our service site welcomed me with open arms

and even adopted me as an honorary Kikuyu from neighboring Kenya. My experiences with the Kenyans at the Jesuit school and also my Tanzanian colleagues exemplify my shift towards the Internalization and Nationalistic phase of Cross's racial identity development model. My focus was not on the microaggressions of my peers, but more so, on how I felt connected to Tanzania as a Black person and more importantly, how welcomed I felt. As flattered and overwhelmed by their hospitality as I was, it struck me that this love and compassion was why I chose to study, live and grow in the African context. This embrace was what I yearned for and why I separated myself from the suffocating tendencies of white privilege, entitlement, and blissful ignorance of my peers. Pushing past my discomfort, shaky Swahili, and introvert tendencies, I reaped an immense reward in solidarity—the comfort of blackness, and a new community. Ultimately, these interactions with my colleagues at TGNP and the Jesuit community were positive affirmations of my racial identity and provided me with a sense of home among other Black people in Tanzania. In traveling to Tanzania, I had hoped to shed my identity as an American wrought with years of racial oppression, poverty, and "othering" and fully assume my identity as an African person and connect with this identity globally. I was inching closer and closer towards full acceptance of my blackness with no shame of embracing my racial identity in an American context, and while in Tanzania, I felt I was closer towards a strictly African focused worldview with no regard to whiteness.

However, my identity as an American was inevitable and clung to me no matter how hard I tried to shake it off. The most uncomfortable interactions with this identity was in my informal conversations with woodcarvers who worked in a busy market in town. Anytime local Tanzanians learned I knew little Swahili I would have to eventually relay that indeed, I was American. Their first response was shock but also a quick handshake and calling me 'm*y nigga.'* Whether I was chatting casually with a fellow passenger on the *daladala* (local buses), or even in the foothills of Mt. Meru in Northern Tanzania, their identification with Black Americans from their knowledge of hip-hop was to harmlessly call me a *nigga*. This struck me as odd with no context, yet, seeing the barber shop advertisements in Ludacris, Kanye West, Drake and hearing hip-hop everywhere, I understood their association. Just as my African identity was accepted or rejected on different occasions, so, too was my American identity. In later dialogue with woodcarvers, they often lamented the plight of the Black person in America, describing how difficult they thought life was in the United States. One woodcarver explained that even though there is corruption and poverty there is a sense of African pride that does not exist for Black Americans in the United States. This profound remark is one that perfectly encapsulates the difficulties of blackness in America, given the tendency to ignore race as a system used to oppress and separate Black people even from fellow Black people.

Stephanie's Story. Prior to my experience in Tanzania, my identity would best be described at stage five, Internalization-Commitment, of Cross's Model (1991). Cross describes Black people at this stage as those who are "confident in personal standards of blackness, have controlled anger toward systems of oppression, show long-term commitment toward social change, and feel Black pride, self-love, and a deep sense of Black communalism (p. 159)." I have a strong sense of self and am proud of my blackness. I am committed to social justice education (SJE) and use the

classroom as a space to challenge all forms of oppression. SJE is an approach that examines how power and privilege are used in social institutions to unintentionally and intentionally reproduce social inequality in society based on citizens' social group membership. However, I can go back to stage three at any time.

I describe my teaching as activism because my overall goal is to inspire students to engage in social action to make schools and schooling more equitable for all students no matter their social group status. My racial identity remains salient due to living and working in predominantly white environments and watching social institutions (e.g., schools, criminal justice system) reproduce racism. With the black lives matter movement in full swing, I felt compelled to use my voice and position to challenge social injustice that affect my community. For example, I participated in a Black Lives Matter course in Spring 2016. This was the first time this course was offered on our campus and I lectured on educational disparities in our community.

One of the reasons I wanted to do service in Tanzania was to learn more about what blackness and womanhood meant in that context. I had questions such as: Do they feel powerful in a country where everyone looks the same? Does racial privilege exist? If so, what does it look like? I wanted to know what the lives of Black women were like in Tanzania. In addition, I wanted to learn how Tanzanians viewed Blacks from the United States. I did see pictures of Black American artists like Beyoncé and Drake on the buildings of beauty salons and barbershops. But, I also saw pictures of Kim Kardashian. I wanted to know why those pictures? Did they view Kim Kardashian as Black? Unfortunately, I was unable to engage in these types of conversations with my Tanzanian colleagues like I had hoped, but plan to next time.

One of the first moments that made me think about my identity was when my group went to a seamstress to be measured for clothes we wanted made while in Dar es Salaam. This was a positive encounter for me that I believe was an example of stage two of Cross's work. A friend of the tailor was there when we arrived. After I completed my measurements and stepped out of the shop she asked my name said, "you like me, but American?" I immediately answered "yes." That moment stuck with me for the rest of day. I began to ponder the question and reflect on my response. What did she mean? Was I like her? Did I misunderstand her? Did she mean race, gender, and ethnicity? Why did I say, "yes," so quickly? I felt honored when she asked because that is what I hoped for while I was there. I wanted Tanzanians to acknowledge me as a Black woman and accept me as one of their own. Being a Black woman in the U.S. can make you feel unwanted and undervalued. However, I knew that being a Black woman is more than skin deep. Was my nationality the only characteristic that made us different? I thought about my social class and language privilege and how both intersect with my racial identity. Hill Collin's (1990) reminds us that oppression and privilege are defined in relation to one another. One can be both a member of the subordinated group and dominant group. I was there to ask her to design clothes for me—something I don't do in the U.S. I had to own this social class difference, but at least in that moment I felt like we were on the same page. Cross's model (1991) as well as others (Jackson and Parham) discuss our racial identity development in juxtaposition to whiteness within the U.S.—becoming sociopolitical. While in Tanzania I wanted to think about being a Black woman without everyday whiteness being involved in the equation. Was this naïve on my part? That even in a Black dominated society whiteness

still had power? I wrote, *One of my preconceptions [about this trip] is that I will learn more than I can imagine. I believe I can read as much as possible, but still be unprepared for what I see and experience.*

A second experience that was quite disturbing for me occurred during dinner with my colleagues. As we were eating and talking an intoxicated Tanzanian man came up to me, put his face close to mine, and started speaking Swahili to me. My heart was racing, so I moved back in my chair to create space between the two of us while one of my colleagues who knew more Swahili than I did kept telling him no. He eventually received the message and walked away. Later when I told the story to my Tanzanian female colleague who arrived after the situation took place, she warned me, "Be careful how you respond, the men here will beat you." Her response frightened me, but made the commonality of sexual violence Black women and Tanzanian women experience clear. While we didn't have the chance to unpack her statement fully, this was a wake up call for me to learn more about the violence my Tanzania sisters face, and give voice to it. Hill Collin's (2000) argues "U.S. Black feminism will remain hindered in its goal of fostering Black women's empowerment in a context of social justice unless it incorporates more comprehensive analyses of how nation can constitute another form of oppression (p. 229)."

Dealing With Whiteness During Our Safari (Journey)

Mariah's Story. The most difficult times in which whiteness interrupted my experiences, were the moments in which it intruded in my racial and gender identity growth and forced me to in a sense cede to whiteness and turn my attention to how pervasive it is. In this case, I was shifted back towards Cross's stage of Immersion/Emersion where I had to continue to work to avoid whiteness and actively distance myself from it. Especially in the African context, when I found myself 'ceding' to whiteness and actually considering the plight of my White classmates, I jolted towards reminding myself why I was in Tanzania, which was my own racial development and not the coddling of my peers. Consciously or unconsciously, these moments interrupted both my Black identity and my processing of my womanhood in the African context. I had a colleague who explained that the veil of racial oppression I have faced in America is not present in the African context, and instead we are all just women. I found this difficult to grasp, and separate my band womanhood albeit in the African context. As a Black woman my experience as Black and female was distinct. Hill Collins (2009) explained, "U.S. Black women as a group live in a different world from that of people who are not Black and female (p. 40)." Because of this, I could not just be a woman seeing White women as fellow women, because my lived experiences were vastly different than theirs because of my intersecting oppressions. Furthermore, the disconnect between white women and Black women are evident in the issues they deem most important, Hill Collins includes an anecdote from an elderly Black domestic worker which echoes this sentiment she explained: "Since I have to work, I don't really have to worry about most of the things that most of the white women I have worked for are worrying about. And if these women did their own work, they would think just like I do—about this, anyway (Hill Collins, 2009, p. 40)." This distinction between Black women's issues and white women's

issues was also evident in many discussions with peers who could not understand my emphasis of blackness and womanhood as inseparable entities.

Initially, it felt relaxing and tempting to ignore the racial oppression awaiting my return to the states, but as an overbearing cloud it remained. The times in which it was difficult to ignore that racial oppression was especially while in close contact with my white peers in the program. Times when local Tanzanians would defer to me as the Swahili expert, and would remark about my afro kinky twists and call out *rasta* in the streets were met with jealousy from my peers who were used to being the stand out *mzungu* or foreigners in the groups. Whiteness blinded my ability to fully engage with fellow Black people when traveling with my white peers. This blinding whiteness pushed me, however, to seek out my own authentic experiences as a Black person returning to Africa with a desire to engage with other Black people. Whiteness blinded my ability to fully engage with fellow Black people when traveling with my white peers. This blinding whiteness pushed me, however, to seek out my own authentic experiences as a Black person returning to Africa with a desire to engage with other Black people. This blinding whiteness pushed me back into the internalization stage and feeling more secure in my blackness especially in Africa.

Stephanie's Story. After my positive encounter with the tailor (stage 2), the following example illustrates my desire to move to the immersion-emersion stage (stage 3). In addition, I share a negative encounter (stage 2) that made me want to avoid my White peers and go deeper into learning about what blackness from my Tanzanian sister and brothers.

During the first half of the service trip, I was the only person of color with my group from the U.S. This was challenging at times because I wanted to separate from the group and speak with Tanzanians about their lives without the veil of whiteness affecting the conversation. For example, I wrote, *How do Tanzanians talk about oppression? Which frameworks do they use? Can the frameworks I use be helpful?* I wanted to share with them my experiences being a Black woman in the U.S. I wanted to know what it was like being a Black woman in Tanzania. Hill Collins (1990) stresses the importance of dialogue and empathy necessary to "bring a Black women's standpoint to larger epistemological dialogues concerning the nature of the matrix of domination." I knew I had a partial perspective about domination in my own context. I wanted to hear Tanzanian women's perspective about racial, gender, and other forms of oppression to understand their context and broaden my knowledge base. However, separating from my colleagues was challenged. For example, one evening after the institute everyone ate dinner and danced together. We knew this was essential for relationship building. When my colleagues from the U.S. were ready to leave I decided to stay and ride home with my colleagues from the high school so that I could continue dancing. When I arrived back to the hotel one of my colleagues confronted me about making plans (staying to dance longer) without checking with the U.S. group first. I found their response to be inappropriate and unnecessary. I was angry because of how I was feeling at the time. I wrote, *They (colleagues for Jesuit high school) are making me feel welcomed and like I am one of them. What joy I feel about that [right now].* My colleagues from Fairfield did not

inquire about why I chose to stay longer. My need to connect with my Tanzanian sisters and brothers was not understood nor validated.

Discussion

The goal of this paper was to provide critical moments that we believe affected our racial identity development while in Tanzania. Comparing our experiences with previous studies, (Chapman, 2007; Evans, 2009; Morgan et al., 2002; Henry, 2014; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Willis, 2015) we found, as with other studies, heritage-seeking was a factor in our decision to serve and learn in Tanzania. We both wanted to go to Africa to learn about our Tanzanian sisters and brothers and our own blackness and womanhood. Mariah did develop a sense of sisterhood with Black women in Tanzania due to her work with TGNP. Stephanie did not have that experience to the same degree due to less time spent in Tanzania. Relationship building is a long-term process. While we did not experience racial bias from Tanzanians, we did experience whiteness from our peers and colleagues who travelled with us. We both experienced sexual harassment while in Tanzania as indicated in prior studies. Lastly, we both received welcoming receptions from Tanzanians more often than negative ones. However, Mariah did experience moments of being seen as an American only (Doan, 2002; Ganz and Sideli, 2002; Morgan, Mwegelo & Turner, 2002; Sutton & Rubin 2004; Van Der Meid, 2003).

Cross's (1991) work helped us analyze and name our racial identity development process in Tanzania. For example, prior to our trips to Tanzania, Mariah placed herself at stage three, immersion-emersion, on the *Nigrescence* model while Stephanie identified with the fifth stage, internalization-commitment. During our time in Tanzania, both of us identified positive and negative encounters (stage 2) with our African sisters and brothers as well as with our White peers and colleagues that moved us to stage three, immersion-emersion. At this stage, we both wanted to be more Black/African identified and spend more time with our Tanzanian sisters and brothers to learn about our commonalities and differences in a positive way without interruption from our White peers and colleagues. One reason for this was centered on the confusing messages we received about what blackness meant in Dar es Salaam when we saw pictures of artists at Barber shops who identify as Black in U.S. alongside Kim Kardashian for example who does not identify as Black.

Furthermore, Cross contends that Blacks at stage three have more of a romantic and symbolic view of an African identity. This was true for both us. Part of the reason for this perspective is based on our need to have experiences where racial oppression did not play a salient role in our daily lives. We were able to see Blacks in positions of power on a daily basis. This was empowering for us. Those with social power is the U.S. are described as White, male, heterosexual, wealthy, Christian, etc. In our experience, blackness in Tanzania was not seen as less than. In addition, we did not feel like our skin color was on display EVERYDAY as it is in our predominantly White institutions. We could be Black women, be ourselves, without being judged for it by our oppressors in the U.S.

We believe our journey with racial identity development will continue because it is a cyclical process (Cross, 1991; Tatum, 1992). We will continue to experience positive and negative encounters in our daily lives whether we are in the U.S. or studying and serving abroad in Africa or other international context. However, the way that the process manifests will be different as the

context changes. Meaning that the type of encounters we will experience will be different in the U.S. versus Africa and what we learn about blackness will have different meanings in other parts of the world.

Mariah and I went to Tanzania to learn about the lives of African women. We knew this knowledge would help understand the commonalities and differences of our lived experiences with domination and provide us with a nuanced perspective on sexism and the meaning of Black womanhood. Hill Collins (2000) stresses the importance of "shifting to a global analysis"...that "illuminates how a transnational matrix of domination presents certain challenges for women of African descent (p. 230)." Mariah was able to do some of this analysis through her work at TGNP. I was unable to do this work to the degree I wanted to due to my shortened trip. We both had experiences where we had to explore our multiple identities, how they intersected, and how our privilege played a role. Hill Collins's work reminds us that Black feminism can help us define Black women's reality in the U.S. and Tanzania. This experience helped us realize how critical it is to bring forward the experience of Black women in the diaspora. We are in privileged positions to give the stories of Black and African women voice. Our stories not only challenge the Black/White paradigm of U.S. feminism, but also highlight the common agenda we as Black women have to fight for liberation together. This paper is our first attempt at this process. We both are committed to centering Black women's voices in our scholarship moving forward.

We both had established servant identities prior to travelling to Africa. We participated in service locally and believed giving back to our community was a shared value for Blacks/African Americans—showing an intersection between our racial/ethnicity and servant identities. It was that particular value which that influenced our decisions to learn and serve in Tanzania. In addition, Mariah graduated from and Stephanie is faculty at a Jesuit Institution; whose ideology of service, "Men and Women for Others" supported our participation in international service. While Mariah had made the critical connection to conduct service with our African sisters and brothers, Stephanie had not. It was this opportunity and re-reading Hill Collin's (2000) discussion on *U.S. Black Feminism in Transnational Contex*t that helped Stephanie understand the importance of expanding her service to include the diaspora. As a feminist and social justice educator, Stephanie realized that by limiting her service to the U.S., she was privileging the U.S. Moreover, Hill Collins contends, "U.S. Black feminism can better be seen as part of an "intercontinental Black women's consciousness movement" that addresses the common concerns of women of African descent (p. 233)." This has forced Stephanie to re-think her servant identity and remove the boundaries she placed on her service geographically.

Whiteness, unfortunately, was part of our experience in Tanzania. Mariah described how she experienced it in her service-learning class and I provided a critical moment of whiteness when attempting to spend needed time with my African colleagues. Mitchell, Donahue, & Young-Law (2012) make a strong case about how service-learning pedagogy perpetuates whiteness. For example, they argue service learning pedagogy privileges the experiences of White students and marginalizes the experiences of students of the global majority. This certainly was the case for Mariah. She writes, "The course we participated in as a part of the program was designed to help American students grapple with their identities in the African context. However, none of the course material

included any content on the role of Africans in America or furthermore how a Black American was to relate to the continent fully." In my case, I was reprimanded publicly for not telling my White colleagues before our dinner and dance event that my plans changed and would be riding home with our African colleagues. Our White peers lack of knowledge of racial identity development theory and the concept of heritage-seeking interfered, at times, with our journey to discover more about ourselves as Black women in an international context. However, this experience taught us the importance of these concepts when participating in international programs with colleagues from diverse social groups.

Recommendations For International Learning And Service

Below are recommendations we have for those considering learning and serving in an international context. The recommendations are for Black students and faculty, our White peers and colleagues, and for those who lead study abroad and/or international serving trips.

First, it is important for everyone involved in international education to be aware of whiteness in order to recognize when it 'strikes' so to speak (See Catlett & Proweller, 2011; Mitchell & Donahue, 2012). When we are aware of the insidiousness of white supremacy and privilege we can be more prepared to distance ourselves from it or challenge it when it arises. Our experiences with social justice education, specifically about racial oppression, prepared us to identify harmful behaviors from White people. This awareness helped us to become more empowered to resist it.

Second, it is critical for people of the global majority participating in international programs to recognize the centrality of our racial identity and the limited time within the African context to explore all the beauty of the land, people, language, and spirituality without allowing whiteness to sweep in and wash away all there is to feel there. The semester is a short five and a half months. In this time, it is imperative that we remind ourselves why we chose this host country and find time to connect with local Africans and immerse ourselves in the beauty of Africa and the spiritual connections we will experience. Becoming bogged down with peers, who can literally drown you in their whiteness, may have us looking back on our time as wasted rather than being elevated and praised in blackness.

Third, Black students and faculty, as well as others, need to be given the space necessary to explore and reflect on our racial identity amongst themselves and Blacks in the diaspora during international programs. This is not a rejection of White peers and colleagues personally. However, it is seeking a separation from whiteness that continues to affect how we see ourselves and how others view us. In an African context we need to be able to caucus with our sisters and brothers to discover what it means to be Black and a woman, for example, in the U.S. versus Tanzania? We think it would be healthy for White students and colleagues to do the same, individually and with other Whites on the trip. Afterward, we can all come together and share what we learned and even model how effective conversations about race, poverty, gender, etc. can take place.

Finally, write, write, and write some more. By documenting our experiences in a blog, journal, or a rant of tweets- we can build a wide network of support from home and even in Africa with people and organizations that empathize with our journal. Social networks are an amazing way to build and maintain relationships with

those who understand our context and are willing to listen and build with us. Writing about your experiences is critical because chances are there is another Black American student or researcher facing similar issues with experiencing whiteness in the middle of attempting to connect to ancestral lands, and this network can also sustain us during your time. Furthermore, writing also provides members of targeted social groups “new knowledge about their own experiences that can be empowering (Hill Collins, 1990, p. 553).”

Conclusions

More research is needed to provide a more complete picture of how learning and serving in international programs can provide the heritage-seeking students and faculty of color may seek and how travelling with White peers—who are also experiencing their own racial identity development journey in an international context—can affect that process. If we want to increase Black students and faculty participation in international programs, concepts such as heritage-seeking and whiteness must be discussed openly prior, during, and after the trip so that all persons involved can have an experience where everyone can learn about what their multiple identities mean in an international context. Montgomery’s (n.d.) recent work on examining the relationship between African-American racial identity, American national identity and study abroad is promising. For this type of research to occur those faculty and administrators in international programs must encourage students and faculty of the global majority to participate in these programs more often. Only then can we learn more about the experiences of Black women.

References

Acquaye, L. A., & Crewe, S. E. (2012). International programs: Advancing human rights and social justice for African American students. *Journal of Social Work Education*, *48*(4), 763–783.

Belbase, S., Luitel, B. C., & Taylor, P. C. (2008). Autoethnography: A method of research and teaching for transformative education. *Journal of Education and Research*, 1(1), 86-95.

Catlett, B. S., & Proweller, A. (2011). College students’ negotiation of privilege in a community-based violence prevention project. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, *18*(1), 34-48.

Chapman, Y. M. (2007). “ I am Not my Hair! Or am I?”: Black women’s transformative experience in their self perceptions of abroad and at home. *Anthropology Theses*, 23.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Comp, D. (2008). U.S. heritage-seeking students discover minority communities in Western Europe. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *12*(1), 29-37.

Cross, W. E. (1991). *Shades of Black: Diversity in African-American identity*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Doan, T. M. (2002). *Asian American students: Study abroad participation, perspectives and experiences* (Doctoral dissertation, Master’s Thesis). Available from http://umabroad. umn. edu/assets/files/PDFs/ci/MSAG/AsianAmericans.pdf).

Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. P. (2010). Autoethnography: An overview [40 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *12*(1), Art. 10, http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs1101108.

Evans, S. Y. (2009). African American women scholars and international research: Dr. Anna Julia Cooper's legacy of study abroad. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, *18*, 77–100.

Ganz, M., & Sideli, K. (2002). Diversity. *It's your world: Student's guide to education abroad*, 28-31.

Henry, S. S. (2014). *Finding ourselves abroad: How African American women successfully navigate the study abroad process*. Thesis, Georgia State University, http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/eps_diss/108.

Hill Collins, P. (1990, 2000, 2009). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Hill-Jackson, V., & Lewis, C.W. (2011). Service loitering: Service learning in an underserved community. In T. Stewart & N.S. Webster, N. S. (Eds.). *Problematizing service-learning: Critical reflections for development and action* (pp. 295-324). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Jackson, B. (2001). Black identity development: Further analysis and elaboration. In C. L. Wijeyesinghe & B. W. Jackson III (Eds.), *New perspectives on racial identity development: A theoretical and practical anthology* (pp. 8-31). New York: NYU Press.

Leonardo, Z. (2002). The souls of white folk: Critical pedagogy, whiteness studies, and globalization discourse. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, *5*(1), 29–50.

Mitchell, T. D., Donahue, D. M., & Young-Law, C. (2012). Service learning as a pedagogy of whiteness. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *45*(4), 612-629.

Montgomery, M. H. (n.d.). African-American national identity development: The role of study abroad. Unpublished manuscript, https://www.academia.edu/6097256/African_American_National_Identity_Development_Theory_Maraina_Montgomery.

Morgan, R. M., Mwegelo, D. T., & Turner, L. N. (2002). Black women in the African diaspora seeking their cultural heritage through studying abroad. *NASPA JOURNAL*, 39(4), 333–353.

Open Doors. (2016). U.S. study abroad participation. New York: Institute of International Education. https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Open-Doors/Open-Doors-2016-Media-Information.

Parham, T. A. (1989). Cycles of psychological nigrescence. *Counseling Psychologist*, 17, 187-226.

Penn, E. B., & Tanner, J. (2008). Black students and International Education: An assessment. *Journal of Black Studies*, 40(2), 266–282.

Sue, D. W. (2010). *Microaggressions in everyday life*: *Race, gender, and sexual orientation*. Hoboken, NJ:Wiley.

Sutton, R. C., & Rubin, D. L. (2004). The GLOSSARI project: Initial findings

from a system-wide research initiative on study abroad learning outcomes. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, *10*, 65-82.

Talburt, S., & Stewart, M. A. (1999). What's the subject of study abroad?: Race, gender, and "living culture." *The Modern Language Journal*, 83, 163–175.

Tatum, B. D. (1992). Talking about race, learning about racism: The application of racial identity development theory in the classroom. *Harvard Educational Review*, *62*(1), 1-24.

Van Der Meid, J. S. (2003). Asian Americans: Factors influencing the decision to study abroad. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, *9*(4), 71-110.

Willis, T. (2015). And still we rise: Microaggressions and intersectionality in the study abroad experiences of Black women. *Frontiers: Journal of Study Abroad*. Retrieved from http://frontiersjournal.org/wpcontent/uploads/2015/11/WILLIS-FrontiersXXVI-StillWeRise.pdf