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**The expression of organizational dissent among Sub-Saharan African student migrants in
the United States**

By

Délowendé Bouda

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

In the

Department of Communication Studies

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Date:

This thesis paper has been examined and approved.

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Abstract

This research project, titled *The expression of organizational dissent among Sub-Saharan African student migrants*, was conducted by Delwende Bouda, a student in the Department of Communication Studies at Minnesota State University, Mankato as a requirement for completing a Master of Arts degree in July 2015. The purpose of this quantitative study was to investigate how Sub-Saharan African immigrants express dissent in an organizational setting in the United States. Three hypotheses were established for this study, and online surveys were conducted through *Qualtrics*. Three different scales were used to measure the following variables: organizational dissent (articulated, displaced, and latent), belief in hierarchy, and perception white racial superiority. Overall, 72 respondents completed the survey but 65 responses were eventually considered for the data analysis. The results showed that while there was a significant positive relationship between displaced dissent and belief in hierarchy there is no significant relationship between articulated dissent or latent dissent and belief in hierarchy. In addition, perception of white racial superiority did not have a significant relationship with the types of dissent used by Sub-Saharan African migrants. The results also showed that Sub-Saharan African immigrants had a greater tendency to express articulated dissent as opposed to latent and displaced dissent. The implications of these findings--especially the tendency to express articulated dissent and the positive relationship between displaced dissent and belief in hierarchy--could be linked to cross-cultural adaptation theory (Kim, 2001) and acculturation (Berry, 1980). Both theoretical frameworks suggest that migrants seek to adapt to their new environments while trying to maintain some aspects of their cultures of origin.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Organizational dissent is defined as an expression of disagreement with organizational policies and procedures (Kassing, 2011). This concept has become an important topic in organizational communication research because of its strong influence on organizational life. For instance, Payne (2014) argued that organizational dissent can be a valuable and constructive form of communication in organizations. Similarly, Kassing et al. (2012) pointed out that organizational dissent can be a sign of employees' engagement to the organizational cause or their intention to leave an organization. Organizational dissent, then, is a factor that most modern organizations cannot downplay because of its significant impact on employees' roles and attitudes toward work in specific organizations.

In regards to research pertaining to organizational dissent, studies have focused on defining organizational dissent, determining various factors that contribute to dissent, and measuring dissent (Kassing, 1997; 1998; 2001; 2011); however, most studies have been done in the US organizational context (Gosset & Kilker, 2006; Kassing & Avtgis, 1999; Croucher, Kassing, & Diers-Lawson, 2013). Country-specific or culture-specific studies of organizational dissent remain rare in the literature despite some attempts by researchers to conduct cross-cultural studies on the expression of organizational dissent in different countries. For instance, Croucher et al. (2009) conducted a comparative study between the United States and India and found that nationality has a significant influence on the relationship between argumentativeness and the expression of latent and displaced dissent. This shows that studying organizational dissent from a country or culture-specific perspective may result in useful and better understanding of the expression of dissent by particular groups of people. In this study, Sub-Saharan African student migrants' expression of dissent in the U.S. will be investigated in order

to respond to the need for a culture-specific approach to the study of organizational dissent. In the following paragraph, more arguments are presented regarding the reasons why this research is important in terms of its focus on organizational dissent and Sub-Saharan African student migrants in the US.

Problem statement and purpose of the study

Problem Statement

There are many factors that make research on the dissenting behavior of Sub-Saharan African student migrants in the US necessary. First, research on African migrants in the US in general appears very limited. According to Abla (2012), there is a lack of research on African immigrants in the US due to the fact that the African migrants have been understood according to the “melting pot” logic; that is, African migrants are commonly associated in research with African Americans, and this is partly because of their skin color. Yet, the two populations are very different in terms of the socio-cultural factors, historical context, and economic status that form their identities. Along this line, Boaduo and Gumbi (2010) argued that generally Africa and Africans have been misrepresented throughout history because of slavery and colonization. Such misrepresentations are also reflected in research because non-African researchers study Africans according to their own worldview rather than from an African perspective. Expanding on this debate, this research will focus on the experiences of African migrant students as told by themselves through surveys.

Second, one specific group of African migrants in the U.S that has been growing fast is African migrant students. From 30,585 during the 2012-13 academic year, the number of African students in US higher institutions has increased by 1.7% for the 2013-14 academic year (31,113 students) according to the Institute of International Education (IIE). Despite the growth of this

student population, its acculturative experience remains studied much less. According to Stebleton (2012), “there is a paucity of research done on the immigrant student experience—especially on adult immigrant students and their experiences in higher education” (p. 51). Thus, this study participates in expanding research on the acculturative experience of African migrant students in the US, particularly their experiences regarding expression of organizational dissent.

Third, studies on organizational dissent have covered various aspects including the conceptualization of dissent (Kassing, 1997), the development of dissent scales (Kassing, 1998; Braziunaite et al., 2013), and factors that influence how and why people express dissent, such as communication traits, relational factors, and organizational factors. For instance, Kassing & Avtgis (1999) examined the relationship between individual communicative traits and selection of dissent strategy, and found that argumentativeness, verbal aggressiveness, and organizational position predicted employees’ use of articulated and latent dissent. Similarly, Kassing and Armstrong (2002) found that employees’ preference for latent, displaced, or articulated dissent depended on the dissent triggering event. Additionally, Payne (2014) found that employees’ trust in supervisors has a positive relationship with articulated dissent and a negative relationship with latent and displaced dissent. Expanding on the variety of factors influencing employees’ selection of dissent strategy, this study focuses on the influence of cultural values, specifically belief in hierarchy, on Sub-Saharan African migrant students’ expression of dissent.

Fourth, the history of Africa is influenced greatly by colonization and slavery. According to Appiah (1993), the perception of African identity today in terms of race, ethnicity, geography, culture and nationality, is influenced by the colonial history of Africa. Other researchers have also argued that colonialism has had such a huge psychological impact on Africans that the way they think and act today can find an explanation in the colonial history (Nnam, 2007). With these

arguments, it is safe to say that colonial history can influence the way African migrants behave and integrate themselves in organizations in the West, especially considering that the countries of origin of these migrants were colonized by Westerners of white racial background. So it becomes necessary in this research to investigate the relationship, if there is any, between the Sub-Saharan African migrants' colonial history and their expression of organizational dissent.

Purpose of the Research

Overall, the purpose of this study is first and foremost to understand how Sub-Saharan African migrants' express dissent in an organizational setting in the United States. By focusing on Sub-Saharan African migrants' dissenting behavior, the researcher hopes to facilitate a better understanding of the acculturative behaviors of this minority group in organizations in the United States, hopefully by providing insights on the extent to which cultural values (i.e. belief in hierarchy) and colonial history influence their expression of organizational dissent. This study also participates in increasing the coverage of African migrants in the United States and around the world in organizational communication research. As reported above, African migrants in general have not really been thoroughly covered in social research due to various reasons (Abla, 2012; Stebleton, 2012). This project fills that gap by focusing on a specific group of African migrants—Sub-Saharan African migrant students.

Précis of Chapters

This paper is organized as follows: In chapter two, I revisit existing literature on organizational dissent, including 1) the definition of the term and the different types of dissent; 2) factors that influence employees' dissenting behaviors, including personal traits, relational factors, organizational factors, and other factors (i.e. economic, socio-cultural etc.); 3) the belief in hierarchy as a major cultural value in Sub-Saharan Africa; and 4) the history of colonialism in

Africa and the issue of *internalized colonialism*. Chapter three consists mainly of the methods used to collect and analyze the data; chapter four will present the results of the data analysis; and chapter five is a discussion of the theoretical implications of the findings in relation to the hypotheses established for this study; the limitations of this study, and recommendations for future study on this topic. This paper will end in chapter six with a summary of the findings.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Organizational Dissent: Definitions, Types, and Measurement

Different definitions of organizational dissent have been given in the literature including the etymology of the word *dissent*, the different types of dissent, and the differences between dissent and other similar concepts. Etymologically, the term *dissent* derives from the Latin word *dissentire* with *dis* meaning “apart” and *sentire* meaning “feeling” (Morris, 1969, cited in Kassing, 2011, p. 29). Thus, organizational dissent can be defined etymologically as feeling apart from one’s organization; that is, not identifying oneself or keeping distance with one’s organization. In that sense, the dissenter is in disagreement with the organization one way or another. Another common definition that goes along with and completes the etymology of the word is the one that Kassing (1997) provided. He defined dissent as not only feeling apart from one’s organization but also “Expressing disagreement or contradictory opinions about organizational practices, policies, and operations” (p. 183). This definition creates three conditions for dissent according to Kassing (2011): 1) organizational dissent should be expressed to someone/an audience who is in the organization or outside the organization; 2) the expression of organizational dissent must involve disagreement and contradictory opinions; and 3) the disagreement or contradictory opinions must be against organizational practices, policies, and operations.

To better understand organizational dissent, previous research has compared it to other similar concepts and found both similarities and differences. For example, Kassing (1998) argued that organizational dissent has been mistakenly used as a synonym of whistleblowing and employee voice, but it is not. Kassing (2011) supported again that organization dissent is no way the same as organizational conflict, upward influence, employee resistance, employee voice, or

whistleblowing. He explained that in fact, organizational dissent can be part of or lead to organizational conflict; it may be expressed as part of upward influence. It is a form of employee resistance, a subset of employee voice, and a parent of whistleblowing because the latter is a specific and extreme type of organizational dissent (Kassing, 2011, p 32-50). In a nutshell, organizational dissent is commonly defined as being distanced from one's organization, expressing disagreement and contradictory opinions regarding organizational practices, policies, and operations (Kassing, 1997; 1998; 2011). Although it is not the only definition of organizational dissent found in previous research, this above-mentioned definition has been widely used in previous studies for understanding the issue and will be used here as a working definition for this research project.

There are three types of dissent that are commonly referred to in the literature based on the strategies used and audiences targeted by the dissenters. These types include *articulated dissent*, *latent dissent*, and *displaced dissent* (Kassing, 1998, 2001; Gosser & Kilker, 2006). *Articulated dissent* occurs when employees express dissent openly and clearly to organizational audiences who can make change happen in the organization; that is, to top management or to supervisors. *Latent or lateral dissent* occurs when employees express dissent to "ineffectual audiences" within the organization; that is, to audiences that do not have the power or authority to make change happen, such as co-workers and lower-level managers. This type of dissent is illustrated in Gosser and Kilker's (2006) case study on counter-institutional websites. They found that employees resort to informal networks, such as websites and online forums, to express their gripes and complaints and to share information when attempts to use official dissenting channels fail or are not encouraged by the organizations. The last type of dissent is *displaced dissent* which occurs when employees express their dissent to external audiences other than

media or powerful audiences targeted by whistleblowers. With this strategy, dissenters express their frustration to audiences who are less likely to take action for change, including family members, non-work friends, partners, strangers, etc.

In addition to defining and categorizing organizational dissent, Kassing (1998) developed an organizational dissent scale (ODS) in order to measure the dissenting behavior of employees by focusing on 'self-reports' questionnaires. After administering the ODS to 61 students in a graduate business program, Kassing (1998) concluded that articulated dissent has a significant positive correlation with employee perception of workplace freedom of speech and employee high quality relationship with supervisors. On the other hand, latent dissent has a negative correlation with these factors. The ODS was recently revalidated in Croucher, Kassing, and Diers-lawson (2013) through 'other-reports' questionnaires, that is, instead of having the dissenter respond to the surveys, the researchers targeted people who were around the dissenters as their research participants. To test whether the ODS can also apply to other-reports dissent, Croucher, Kassing, and Diers-Lawson (2013) developed an 18-item version of the ODS for other-reports of upward (articulated) and latent dissent that they administered to 291 employees. They found then that the ODS remained constant when transformed into other-reports.

Factors Influencing Employees' Expression of Dissent

According to Kassing (2001), three categories of factors can influence why and how employees express dissent in organizations: *individual influences*, *relational influences*, and *organizational influences*. Individual influences include employees' sense of powerlessness, preferences for avoiding conflict, sense of right and wrong, and organizational roles (Kassing, 2001). Along this line, Kassing and Avtgis (1999) explored the relationship between individuals' communication traits and their dissenting behaviors and found that individual differences in

general and communication traits in particular relate to variations in employees' dissenting behaviors. More specifically, the researchers concluded that employees who use articulated dissent are more likely to be more argumentative but less aggressive verbally while employees who use latent dissent are more likely to be less argumentative and more aggressive verbally.

The second category consists of *relational influences* which include the type and quality of relationship that employees maintain in organizations. According to Kassing (2001), high quality relationships with supervisors are believed to favor open and more participative communication whereas low quality relationships are not. Consequently, employees with high quality relationships are more likely to express more articulated dissent than employees with low quality relationships. Similarly, Payne (2014) found that the higher the perception of trust between employees and supervisors, the more likely the employees are to use articulated dissent rather than latent and displaced dissent.

The third category is that of *organizational factors* such as how employees identify with organizations and how tolerant employees perceive their organizations to be of dissenters (Kassing, 1998, 2001). In fact, Kassing (1998) found that employees are more likely to use articulated dissent if management is supportive of employees' opinions and if employees perceive that their expression of dissent will bring change in terms of organizational policies and practices. Hergstrom (1990 & 1999) also argued that organizational climates and cultures greatly influenced how employees express dissent. These studies just confirm that employees' decision to express dissent and their choice of the dissent strategy are highly influenced by organizational factors such as management support of employees' opinions and dissenters' strong identification with the organization.

Other studies have explored factors that can trigger organizational dissent. For instance, employees may choose to dissent for *economic* reasons such as wages, benefits, and standard of living etc. (Hergstrom, 1999). Kassing (2011) also argued that corporate economic priorities and capitalistic worldviews may lead to employees' dissent. *Political factors* were also found to trigger dissent in organizations. For example, according to Kassing (2011) the free speech doctrine in the US gives an opportunity to employees for voicing their disagreements in organizations. Finally *socio-cultural factors* --- cultural tolerance of risk related to the expression of dissent; individualism vs. collectivism etc. --- can also influence how employees express dissent (Kassing, 2011, pp. 90-91). Along this line, Croucher et al. (2009) found that Indians, considering the effects of collectivistic values on argumentativeness, are more likely to avoid latent and displaced dissent as opposed to people from the United States. So they concluded that "an individual's construal, national, and/or religious culture, along with other aspects of cultural variability may influence an argument or dissenting situation". Then it can be said that employees from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds would exert significant differences in how they express organizational dissent.

To summarize, note that the major factors influencing employees' expression of dissent (as found in the literature so far) include individual, relational, organizational, economic, political, and socio-cultural factors. The present study goes along the line of the socio-cultural and political factors influencing expression of dissent by specifically focusing on the influences of cultural values and internalized colonialism on Sub-Saharan African immigrants' expression of dissent in an organizational setting in the United States.

African Cultural Values and Organizational Dissent: Belief in Hierarchy

Sub-Saharan Africa is made of various countries, and within each country there are various subcultures and ethnic groups which make it difficult to speak of a “Sub-Saharan African culture”. Despite the differences, many cultural traits from various African countries have been found to display a lot of commonalities that are worth studying. One of those commonalities is the acceptance of hierarchy in Sub-Saharan African societies. In a historical account titled “Varieties of Hierarchies and Class in Sub-Saharan Africa” published in the *World History Encyclopedia* (2011), the authors argued that “With the development of increasingly complex societies, powerful states emerged in Sub-Saharan Africa around 1000 CE that featured elaborate hierarchies and clearly defined varieties of classes: ruling elites, administrative officials, priests, merchants, artisans, peasants, and slaves”. In this historical account, archives from the book *Rhila* by Ibn Battuta (1304-1368)--an early African scholar who traveled from Morocco to West Africa-- revealed that Sub-Saharan Africans were organized in hierarchies and that the people were very respectful, humble, and loyal toward their chiefs.

Paden (1980) also reported various empirical studies on Sub-Saharan African countries and cultures (from West to East Africa), and the evidence supported that despite differences, there are general shared cultural norms among Sub-Saharan African populations; one of those norms is *hierarchy*. For instance, Hay Jr. and Paden (as cited in Paden, 1980) investigated various ethnic groups in six West African states and concluded that these ethnic groups exert a lot more similarities based on the following cultural characteristics: mode of livelihood, social organization, authority patterns, and inheritance patterns. The various groups were found to be either farmers or herdsman and to mostly exert hierarchical authority patterns [except some groups in the Upper Volta region who have a tendency toward a segmental authority mode—in

which the general public actively participates in the decision making process]. Similarly, Ndiva Kofele-Kale (as cited in Paden, 1980) conducted a comparative study on three ethnic groups in Cameroon and found that the following patterns were similar in the three ethnic groups: recollection of parental authority, patterns of family decision-making, and intragroup contact. As the author further explained, most of the respondents in these ethnic groups “had authoritarian fathers and came from households in which the method of decision-making was hierarchical” (Paden, 1980, p. 149). Hence this finding corresponds very well to Hay Jr. and Paden’s on West African populations’ preference for hierarchical systems.

In this same direction, Munene, Schwartz, and Smith (2000) analyzed national differences in values in Sub-Saharan Africa and concluded that black African culture emphasizes hierarchy. Based on the various evidence presented above, it can be said that most Sub-Saharan African people value hierarchical decision making patterns in general. The various evidence shown above attest that Sub-Saharan Africans not only just accept hierarchical structures as an administrative system but most importantly they integrate hierarchy as a way of life and a cultural value. This upholding of hierarchy, which the researcher labeled here “belief in hierarchy”, clearly may transfer very well to the organizational life of Sub-Saharan African workers in Africa and overseas. So it makes sense to say that when Sub-Saharan African migrants enter organizations in the United States, there is a high chance that their preference for hierarchy may guide their interactions with supervisors and coworkers, particularly when it comes to expressing dissent. In addition, hierarchical structures emphasize top-down communication rather than open and equitable communication (Eisenberg, Goodall, & Trethewey, 2010). So it is reasonable to say that people who have a stronger belief in hierarchy will be less comfortable expressing articulated dissent to their supervisors because of their

perceived respect and loyalty to authorities. Instead, they may be inclined to expressing latent and displaced dissent since these forms of dissent require no direct communication of the dissent to the supervisors, so there is less risk of disrespecting authority or being disloyal. Besides cultural values, especially belief in hierarchy, other important factors are also susceptible of influencing Sub-Saharan African migrants in their process of integrating into society and in organizations in the United States. One of such factors that is well represented in the literature is the history of colonialism and its influence on the identities, behaviors, and beliefs of Sub-Saharan Africans. In the following paragraph, literature pertaining to this factor is reviewed in order to help set up the necessity for researching organizational dissent from that angle.

History of colonialism and its impact on African migrants

There are various studies on African cultures and identities and there seem to be a consensus that one cannot understand African cultures and identities without looking at the colonial factor of African history. Most African countries have experienced some colonial rule or influence at some point in their history, except Ethiopia and Liberia. According to Appiah (1993), the contemporary view of African identity, in terms of race, ethnicity, geography, culture, and nationality, is highly influenced by colonization. Colonial history, in this sense, influences how outsiders perceive Africa and how Africans perceive themselves in relation to other people. One specific concept that is worth investigating in relation to the African colonial history is *internalized colonialism* or *colonial mentality*. According to David and Okazaki (2006) who initially investigated colonial mentality among Filipino immigrants in the US, colonial mentality in general refers to “a form of internalized oppression” by people who have been historically colonized. They further explained that colonial mentality manifests itself among formerly colonized people in four ways: 1) *denigration of self*; 2) *denigration of one’s own*

culture and body; 3) discrimination against less-Americanized in-group members; and 4) tolerating historical and contemporary oppression. In the context of Africa, Nnam (2007) argues that *colonial mentality* is “an unintentional attempt by Africans to continue to live and behave like we did during colonization, even several decades after our independence” (p. vii). He further explained that colonial mentality affects how people speak, dress, act and think of their own values, and for some Africans anything African may be associated with negativity, inferiority and little value. These definitions clearly point out the deeper psychological effects of colonization on Africans even though it ended a long time ago. One particular factor of internalized colonialism which relates to denigration of self and denigration of one’s own body, is perception of race by Africans. When it comes to race, it has been shown in previous studies that African people (before colonization) tended to display an unbiased attitude. In his analysis of *Le Regard du Roi* by Camara Laye (1954), Shelton (1964) argued that in the eyes of the African character, “skin color or race is unimportant for human beings, that it is not a reason in itself for judging a person’s supremacy, and that without loss of wrong color-consciousness one cannot become ‘pure’ and thereby worthy of salvation” (p.354). This line of thought was also echoed by Boaduo and Gumbi (2010) who argued that the concept of race was a pure invention of Western powers for exploitation purposes during slavery and colonization. However, because of colonization, race or skin color has become part of Sub-Saharan African identity, a standard by which some Sub-Saharan Africans wrongly perceive themselves as racially inferior compared to other races, especially compared to white people because the European colonizers were mostly white. According to Bleich (2005), Sub-Saharan Africans were treated as inferior during colonization by both France and Britain. He argued that both colonial powers practiced both “direct and indirect rule..., believed they had a civilizing mission..., and viewed their subjects as

inferior peoples” (p.178). Similarly, Utsey et al. (2014) argued that during colonization, Africans were made to think negatively of themselves, their cultures and their skin color. As they pointed out, colonialism, “by condemning African culture, in terms of its music, names, dance, marriage, inheritance system, and discouraging that they do not be taught in schools, alienated people from their cultures and introduced a sense of inferiority into the African psyche...”; it also “instilled the belief in White supremacy” among colonized Africans (p.4). Because of these effects, post-colonial Africans are also caught in the trap of belittling their cultures and negatively perceiving their skin color. For instance in Ghana and other West African societies, Utsey et al. (2014) reported that skin bleaching has become a common practice because whiteness or fair skin is still considered as socially acceptable and more attractive. So there is a general tendency among Sub-Saharan Africans, living in Africa or elsewhere, to condone a perceived superiority of the white race while belittling their own skin color.

In the same way, some people in western countries still perceive the Sub-Saharan African immigrant through this racial angle. For instance in the US, some scholars have found that African migrants do in fact experience racial discrimination in its different forms just like African Americans do (Arthur, 2000; Taylor & Tuch, 2007). So perception of race could still influence African migrants during acculturation in organizations in the United States, especially considering that the racial majority in the US is white. To further explain this position, note that all of African colonies were settled by white Europeans who imposed themselves as racially superior compared to black Africans. As explained above, colonial mentality settled in, and some formerly colonized people even today may still see themselves as racially inferior as compared to the ‘dominant’ race. Since the European colonizers were mostly white and in the United States the dominant race is also white/Caucasian, there is a possibility that African migrants’ perception

of race in an organization in the United States could be influenced by the colonial history of Africa. Thus in organizations, one's decision to use articulated dissent, latent dissent, or displaced dissent may be dictated by the degree to which one accepts white racial superiority or inferiority. In the current study of Sub-Saharan African migrants, it is reasonable to say that the greater the perception of white racial superiority the greater will be the tendency to engage in displaced and latent dissent in a US organizational setting because, obviously, these two forms of dissent involve less dealing with or less disobeying the [white] manager. However, Sub-Saharan African migrants with a greater perception of white racial superiority may engage less in articulated dissent so not to contradict or disobey the [white] manager.

Hypotheses

Hypotheses 1

In all, the literature reviewed above suggests that how Sub-Saharan African migrant students express dissent may be highly influenced by their belief in hierarchy. Thus, the following hypothesis is worth being investigated in this study:

H1: Belief in hierarchy will predict the type of dissent used by Sub-Saharan African students in an organizational setting in the United States.

- ***Specifically, the greater the belief in hierarchy, the lesser will be the tendency to engage in articulated dissent and greater will be the tendency to engage in displaced and latent dissent.***

Hypothesis 2

The literature has provided good reasons to believe that internalized colonialism influences individuals from historically colonized countries psychologically; this was defined as *internalized colonialism* or *colonial mentality* (David & Okazaki, 2006; Nnam, 2007). Reference

to colonial history was also very significant in previous studies on African migrants, especially in how the host country governments establish integration policies for migrants. For instance, Bleich (2005) analyzed the government integrationist and assimilationist policies and procedures toward immigrant population, including Sub-Saharan African migrants in Britain and France, and argued that policies regarding migrants' integration are highly similar to those used during colonization. In fact during colonization, France adopted an assimilationist approach which aimed at directly ruling the colonial subjects and making them assimilate the French language and culture. On the other hand, Britain used an indirect rule which intended to integrate the colonial subjects without directly imposing the British culture upon them (Bleich, 2005, p.174). Both colonial approaches somehow led to the same result: the acceptance of the culture of the colonizer as the norm or as superior. Comparing the colonial policies with immigration policies in France and Britain, Bleich recognized that "In a number of concrete ways, integration policies in each country [France and Britain] were direct continuations of policies developed for the British and French empires [during colonization]. This is especially true in the realms of citizenship and immigration policy, at least in the early post-war decades" (p. 183). This may illustrate the political impact of colonization on immigrants in Western societies but not the psychological impact. Thus, the current study focuses on how internalized colonialism, particularly how the perception of white racial superiority, could influence Sub-Saharan African migrant students in how they express organizational dissent. Thus, the following hypothesis will be tested:

H2: Perception of white racial superiority will also predict the type of dissent used by Sub-Saharan African migrant students in an organizational setting in the United States.

- *Specifically, the greater the perception of white racial superiority the lesser the likelihood to express articulated dissent, and the greater the likelihood to express displaced and latent dissent.*

Hypothesis 3

Considering the predictions in Hypotheses 1 and 3, it can be deduced that Sub-Saharan African migrants will be less likely to express articulated dissent in an organizational setting in the West, partly because of internalized colonialism and a stronger belief in hierarchy. So the following third hypothesis will be considered in this study.

H3: In general, Sub-Saharan African migrant students are more likely to express latent and displaced dissent as opposed to articulated dissent.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

Procedure

With IRB approval, participants for this study were recruited through the International Student Office and through student organizations, including the African Student Association (ASA), the African student Organization for Development and Progress (ASODP) on a Midwestern college campus in the United States. Students on the mailing lists of these organizations received an invitation with a link to the consent form and the survey. The researcher used *Qualtrics.com* to administer the survey, which took approximately 15-20 min to complete. In addition, the researcher was given permission to attend and collect paper data during one of the meetings of each organization.

Research participants

In total, seventy-two respondents participated in this study but seven respondents were eliminated from the analysis because they did not meet the basic requirement of being from a Sub-Saharan African country. So sixty-five respondents were eventually considered for the data analysis. The average age of the respondents was 22.95 years ($SD= 3.18$). Of all the respondents, 49.1% were male while 50.9% were female. In addition, all participants (100%) were black.

Respondents were from various Sub-Saharan African countries, including Cameroon (4), Burkina Faso (3), Cote D'Ivoire (8), Nigeria (10), Ethiopia (8), Senegal (3), Gambia (7), Zimbabwe (1), Burundi (1), Togo (4), Niger (1), South Sudan (2), Mali (1), Liberia (6), Eritrea (3), Tanzania (1), and Ghana (2). The average duration of stay in the US of the respondents was 67.86 months ($SD= 63.04$). In terms of the immigration status, 70.8% of the respondents were on a student F1-visa; 1.5% was on a student J-1 visa; and 27.7 % were on other status, including

permanent residency (holding a green card), naturalized citizens, or on a Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival (DACA) status. The education level of the respondents was as follows: 79.7% were undergraduate students while 20.3 % were at the graduate level.

The average duration of the most recent job of the respondents was 10.61 months ($SD=7.33$ months). Regarding the position held, 65.5 % of the respondents were in a non-managerial position; 5.2 % were supervisors; and 29.3% chose “other” as their held position. The supervisors’ race was also asked in the surveys; 86.7% of the respondents had a white supervisor; 10% had a black supervisor; and 3.3 % had a supervisor of other races. When it came to the supervisors’ gender, 49.1 % of the respondents had male supervisors while 50.9% had female supervisors.

Measures

Based on the themes discussed in the literature review and the hypotheses established for this research, three variables were considered in the data collection and analysis, including Sub-Saharan African student workers’ *dissenting strategy* (*articulated, latent, or displaced*), *belief in hierarchy*, and *perception of white racial superiority*. The following scales were used to measure these variables.

Dissenting Strategy.

To measure the dissenting strategy of the respondents, the researcher used the organizational dissent scale (ODS) developed by Kassing (1998) (See Appendix A). The scale consists of 20 Likert-scale items categorized into three subscales—*articulated dissent* (nine items), *latent dissent* (five items), and *displaced dissent* (six items). The items were measured on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The greater the score on the scales, the greater were the tendencies to engage in articulated, displaced and latent

dissents. The Cronbach alpha for the articulated dissent scale in Kassing's study was .88 and in this study it was .71. The mean and standard deviation in this study are presented in Table 1 (see Appendix D).

Similarly the Cronbach alpha for the six items of displaced dissent was .87 in Kassing's study; it was .54 in this study. With the five items of latent dissent, the Cronbach Alpha in Kassing (1998) was .76; in the current study it was .51. The means and standard deviations for latent and displaced dissent are also presented in Table 1 (See Appendix D).

Belief in Hierarchy.

Belief in hierarchy was measured by creating a scale based on the definition of Power Distance by Hofstede (1980; 2001). Power Distance is defined as "the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations accept that power is distributed unequally" (cited in Hofstede and Bond, 1984). For this study, a 10-item scale was created and a factor analysis was conducted. A single factor comprising of six items emerged (three positively worded and three negatively worded). However, the reliability value (Cronbach Alpha) was negative. Consequently, a scale was created using just the three positively worded items. These items include: *Item 1 (I strongly believe that acceptance and respect of authority is an important cultural value)*, *Item 6 (It is normal to have power inequality between supervisors and their subordinates in organizations)*, and *Item 8 (Non-managers should always comply with managers' authority)*. The Cronbach Alpha for the three items was .729.

Perception of white racial superiority.

Perception of white racial superiority was measured using a 12-item scale (see Appendix C) that the researcher created based on the *Being White in America Scale (BWAS)* by Bahk and Jandt (2003). The scale was divided into two subscales for analyzing. The first subscale

comprises items 1, 2, and 3 (See Appendix C) and was named *Perception of Being Black African in America*, and the second subscale comprises items 4 through 12 (See Appendix C) and was labeled *Perception of Being White in America*.

A principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted on the 12 items with oblique rotation. The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, $KMO = .89$ which is far greater than the acceptable limit of .5. Bartlett’s test of sphericity was 608.275, $p < .001$, which indicated that correlations among items were sufficiently large for PCA. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each component in the data. Two components had eigenvalues over Kaiser’s criterion of one and in combination explained 78.1% of the variance. The scree plot also indicated two components (see Appendix D, Figure 1). Factor loadings are also provided in Table 2 (See Appendix D).

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

The variables considered in this analysis included three dependent variables--*articulated dissent*, *latent dissent*, and *displaced dissent*; and two independent variables--*belief in hierarchy*, perception of white racial superiority, which was divided into two subscales including *perception of being black African in America* and *perception of being white in America*. Before running the multiple regression analysis, correlations between the various variables were calculated as presented in Table 3 (See Appendix D). Three hypotheses were proposed for this study. In the following paragraphs, the results for each hypothesis are presented.

H1: Belief in hierarchy will predict the type of dissent used by Sub-Saharan African migrant students in an organizational setting in the United States:

For Hypothesis 1, I proposed that among Sub-Saharan Africans, the greater the belief in hierarchy, the lesser will be the tendency to engage in articulated dissent and greater will be the tendency to engage in displaced and latent dissent. After running the regression analysis, the results showed mixed relationships between the variables. For instance, as shown by the unstandardized coefficients (Appendix D, Table 4), belief in hierarchy positively predicted the tendency to engage in displaced dissent ($b = .57; p = .01$), which means that increased belief in hierarchy would lead to increased tendency to engage in displaced dissent). However, no significant relationships were found between belief in hierarchy and the articulated dissent and latent dissent variables ($b = -.01, p = ns$; and $b = .57, p = ns$ respectively). In all, it can be said that H1 was partially supported because only displaced dissent positively correlated with acceptance of hierarchy while articulated dissent and latent dissent did not. More information about the unstandardized regression coefficients, standardized regression coefficients, model significance, R^2 and adjusted R^2 values are provided in Table 4 (See Appendix D).

H2: Perception of white racial superiority will also predict the type of dissent used by Sub-Saharan African migrant students in an organizational setting in the United States:

For Hypothesis 2, I predicted that the greater the perception of white racial superiority the lesser the likelihood that Sub-Saharan African migrant students will express articulated dissent, and the greater the likelihood that they will express displaced and latent dissent. This hypothesis was tested using two factors/subscales (*perception of being black African in America* and *perception of being white in America*) of the independent variable *Perception of white racial superiority*. The regression analysis showed that both factors did not have a significant relationship with articulated dissent (*perception of being black African in America*, $b = -.17$, $p = ns$; and *perception of being white in America*, $b = .004$, $p = ns$). Similarly, the results from the regression analysis showed that there was no significant relationship between latent dissent and *Perception of being black African in America* ($b = .14$, $p = ns$) and *Perception of being white in America* (respectively $b = -.07$, $p = ns$). Furthermore, perception of white racial superiority was not significantly related to displaced dissent. More information about the unstandardized regression coefficients, standardized regression coefficients, model significance, R^2 and adjusted R^2 values are provided in Table 4 (See Appendix D).

Based on these results, it can be said that H2 was not supported in this study because there was no significant relationship between the three types of dissent and perception of white racial superiority represented by the two independent variables *perception of being black African in America* and *perception of being White in America*. However, these results set ground for more investigation on the reasons behind the lack of correlation between perception of white

racial superiority and expression of organizational dissent among the African immigrants. This issue will be discussed further in the next section of this paper.

H3: In general, Sub-Saharan African migrant students are more likely to express latent and displaced dissent as opposed to articulated dissent.

Hypothesis 3 stated that Sub-Saharan African migrant students in the United States will be more likely to express displaced and latent dissent as opposed to articulated dissent. To test this hypothesis repeated measures ANOVA was used. The results showed that the participants were less likely to express latent and displaced dissent as opposed to articulated dissent. So H3 was not supported in this study. However, the results of the regression analysis clearly did show significant main effects; there were significant differences in the extent to which the different types of organizational dissent were expressed by Sub-Saharan African migrant students. For instance, as shown in the pair wise comparison table (Table 3) Sub-Saharan African migrant students are more likely to express articulated dissent ($mean = 27.50, p < .01$) as opposed to latent and displaced dissent ($means = 14.98$ and $18.37; p < .01$). In addition, they are more likely to express displaced dissent compared to latent dissent. Based on this analysis, the results support the opposite direction of H3. Based on the results presented above, a thorough discussion about the theoretical implications and directions for future studies in the area of organizational topic among Sub-Saharan African migrants is proposed in the next section of this paper.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Theoretical implications

In this study, I set out to investigate how Sub-Saharan African migrant students express dissent in an organizational setting in the United States and how their preference for any of the three dissenting strategies correlate with African cultural values and internalized colonialism. As reported above, the results pertaining to Hypothesis 1 showed that there was a significant positive relationship between displaced dissent and belief in hierarchy while there is no significant relationship between articulated dissent or latent dissent and belief in hierarchy. In addition, it was found that perception of white racial superiority did not have a significant relationship with the respondents' choice of a dissent strategy. So it is reasonable to say that internalized colonialism and/or colonial history does not have much influence on how Sub-Saharan African migrant students express dissent in an organizational setting in the United States. The results in relation to Hypothesis 3 also confirmed that there are significant differences in how the respondents express articulated, latent, and displaced dissent. Particularly Sub-Saharan African migrant students were shown to have a tendency to express articulated dissent as opposed to latent and displaced dissent. These results overall generate three main observations that can be theoretically approached.

First, why do Sub-Saharan African migrant students who have a stronger belief in hierarchy tend to engage in displaced dissent rather than articulated and latent dissent? One potential theoretical implication of this finding can be attributed to collectivism vs individualism. As shown in previous studies, collectivistic societies focus on the group's interest, respect of authority, and family (Hofstede, 1980; Yoshida, 1994). Seen from this angle, the current finding clearly shows that Sub-Saharan African migrants who have a stronger belief in hierarchy, by

engaging in displaced dissent rather than articulated and latent dissent, may be seeking to maintain their respect and loyalty to organizational authority while expressing their concerns to family members and close friends.

Second, the results surprisingly showed that internalized colonialism does not have an effect on how Sub-Saharan African migrant students choose to express dissent in their workplace. This finding is very important in terms of revealing the attitudes of younger Africans toward colonial history. Despite the fact that internalized colonialism still influences the ways of thinking and doing among younger Sub-Saharan Africans (Utsey et al., 2014), it is clear from this finding that when it comes to expressing organizational dissent, that influence is rather insignificant. The question that this finding raises is whether organizational dissent and internalized colonialism can be correlational. Because of lack of previous research on this specific issue, this question remains a fertile soil for future research. Hence, future research can even investigate the influences of colonial history on African migrants' integration into organizations in the US and other western countries.

The third finding in this study was that Sub-Saharan African migrant students in general tend to express articulated dissent rather than latent and displaced dissent. Despite the fact that some Sub-Saharan African migrant students, especially those with higher belief in hierarchy, had a tendency to express displaced dissent, the results revealed that there was a greater tendency to engage in articulated dissent as opposed to latent and displaced dissent. This finding is crucial for the theoretical significance of this study because it proves the opposite of the hypothesis (*H3*) which was initially constructed for this study. In fact, because of Sub-Saharan African cultural values such as loyalty and respect of authority (Paden, 1980; Munene, Schwartz, & Smith, 2000), it is logical to think that Sub-Saharan African migrants would actually express displaced

and latent dissent as opposed to articulated dissent. However, the finding here seems to conflict with that logic. One potential explanation of this finding is *cross-cultural adaptation* and *acculturation* theories found in previous studies. In her definition of cross-cultural adaptation theory, Kim (2001), argued that people are “open systems” that evolve with their sociocultural environments. Placed in a new environments, immigrants seek, through communicative exchanges with the host environment, to create a balance between adapting to the host environment while maintaining some aspects of their original cultures. This definition also goes along with that of *acculturation* which, according to Gibson (2001) refers to “the changes that take place as a result of contact with culturally dissimilar people, groups, and social influences” (cited in Shwartz, Unger, Zambouanga, & Szapockznic, 2010, p. 237). The changes mentioned in this definition can be understood under Berry’s (1980) four categories of acculturation, which includes: 1) *assimilation* (adopting the new cultures while rejecting the culture of origin), 2) *separation* (maintaining the culture of origin and rejecting some aspects of the host culture), 3) *integration* (finding a good balance between the host culture and the culture of origin), and 4) *marginalization* (rejecting both the host culture and the culture of origin). Previous studies have found that Sub-Saharan African young immigrants seek, through acculturation to be integrated, that is, to adapt to the host culture while maintaining their original cultural beliefs. For instance, Akinde (2013), based on previous scholarship, found that young Nigerian immigrants in Minnesota (USA), aged 12-24, are more likely to be integrated than marginalized. Now one may still wonder what these theories have to do with dissent strategies in organizations. As Croucher et al. (2009) discussed, people from individualistic cultures such as the US are more prone to be argumentative, and so they are more likely to express dissent to managers than people from collectivistic cultures such as India. With this being said, migrant students from Sub-Saharan

African countries, being from collectivistic cultures, would be less prone to express articulated dissent. Surprisingly, the results in this study revealed the opposite of what was predicted in the hypothesis, and the understanding that one can have of this finding may very likely come from the changes predicted by cross cultural-adaptation and acculturation theories described above.

Overall, the findings in this study give meaningful insights for future studies to dig deeper in trying to understand more why Sub-Saharan African migrants would prefer articulated dissent as opposed to displaced and latent dissent; why belief in hierarchy positively correlated with displaced dissent, but not articulated and latent dissent; and why internalized colonialism did not yield any significant relationship. In the next section, more specific suggestions are provided for future research on this topic area.

Recommendations for future research

First, future research on the topic of organizational dissent and Sub-Saharan African immigrants may focus on investigating and finding further confirmation of the correlation between displaced dissent and belief in hierarchy as suggested in the findings. Next, future studies can investigate how the level of seriousness of different dissent-triggering events could predict the type of dissent used by Sub-Saharan African migrants in the United States. In addition, notice that both displaced dissent and articulated dissent were found to positively relate to Sub-Saharan African migrant students to some extent but not latent dissent. So future research could look into understanding why latent dissent might be of less interest to this immigrant group. Furthermore, future studies can focus on how organizational factors such as freedom of speech, employee empowerment, and other similar organizational concepts could influence Sub-Saharan African migrants' choice of the type (s) of dissent.

Finally, the fact that no significant relationship was observed between the perception of white racial superiority and the different forms of dissent among Sub-Saharan African immigrants needs further research. For instance future studies could investigate African immigrants' attitude toward their colonial past and whether internalized colonialism, especially the perception of white racial superiority still impact (or not) their integration process into organizations in the United States.

Limitations

This study overall yielded some findings that cannot be undermined, including the following: 1) Sub-Saharan African immigrants generally prefer articulated dissent as opposed to displaced and latent dissent, 2) Stronger belief in hierarchy may lead to a stronger preference for displaced dissent, and 3) internalized colonialism does not necessarily influence the way Sub-Saharan African immigrants express organizational dissent.

Despite the academic and social worth of these findings, this study has its limitations. First, the population sample size was small in this study for a topic of this scope. Of 72 completed surveys, only 65 were used in the analysis because seven respondents did not meet the basic requirement of being from a Sub-Saharan African country. In addition, a lot of missing data were observed, especially for the *belief in hierarchy* and *white racial superiority variables*, which may have negatively influenced the turnout of the results. So the sample size was further reduced in the analysis of these variables.

Second, the characteristics of the sample population in this study might have influenced the results. For example, the average age for the respondents was 22.9, their average duration of stay in the US was 67.8 months (approximately five and a half years), and most of the respondents (over 65%) held a non-management position at their workplace by the time of this

research. Had the population been older than the current sample or had there been more managers than non-managers in the sample size, the findings might have been different. So it cannot be said with absolute certainty that the findings in this study apply to most Sub-Saharan African immigrants.

Finally, the scales used in this study were generally proven to be low in reliability, especially the belief in hierarchy scale, which was altered in the final data analysis. For instance, 10 items were initially created for measuring belief in hierarchy; however, only three items were considered high enough in reliability to be used in this study. With the Organizational Dissent Scale, the Cronbach Alpha values in this study were acceptable (between .5 and .7) but not as high as in the original scale (between .7 and .9), so this scale could have also used some improvement.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

The purpose of the study was to investigate how Sub-Saharan African immigrants express dissent in a US organizational setting. Internalized colonialism and belief in hierarchy were considered as the independent variables while articulated dissent, latent dissent, and displaced dissent were the dependent variables. The results showed that stronger belief in hierarchy among Sub-Saharan African immigrants has a positive relationship with displaced dissent but not with articulated and latent dissent; and internalized colonialism seems to not have a significant relationship with the three types of dissent. Similarly, Sub-Saharan African immigrants in general were shown to have a preference for articulated dissent as opposed to latent dissent. The findings in this study can be understood under specifically *cross-cultural adaptation theory* (Kim, 2001) which states that people are ‘open systems’ meaning they can change their communicative behaviors to adapt to their new environments. The concept of *acculturation* (Berry, 1980; Gibson, 200; Akinde, 2013) also helps explain how immigrants to seek a balance between adopting the host culture and maintaining some aspects their original cultures. For Sub-Saharan African immigrants, the greater tendency to express articulated dissent and displaced dissent may be an indication of the search for balance explained above. The questions that were raised and still need further investigation include whether internalized colonialism has an impact on Sub-Saharan African immigrants in US organizational settings and whether there are other reasons behind Sub-Saharan African immigrants’ tendency to prefer articulated dissent over other types of dissent.

APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Organizational Dissent Scale

Directions: The following is a series of statements about how people express their concerns about work. There are no right or wrong answers. Some of the items may sound similar, but they pertain to slightly different issues. Please respond to all items. Considering how you express your concerns at work, indicate your degree of agreement with each statement by circling the appropriate number to the right of each item. (5= strongly agree; 4= agree; 3= undecided; 2= disagree; 1= strongly disagree).

1. I am hesitant to raise questions or contradictory opinions in my organization	5	4	3	2	1
2. I refuse to discuss work concerns at home	5	4	3	2	1
3. I criticize inefficiency in this organization in front of everyone.	5	4	3	2	1
4. I do not question management	5	4	3	2	1
5. I am hesitant to question workplace policies	5	4	3	2	1
6. I join in when other employees complain about organizational changes	5	4	3	2	1
7. I make it a habit not to complain about work in front of my family	5	4	3	2	1
8. I make it certain everyone knows when I'm unhappy with work policies	5	4	3	2	1
9. I don't tell my supervisor when I disagree with workplace policies	5	4	3	2	1
10. I discuss my concerns about workplace decisions with family and friends outside of work	5	4	3	2	1
11. I bring my criticism about organizational changes that aren't working to my supervisor or someone in management	5	4	3	2	1
12. I let other employees know how I feel about the way things are done around here	5	4	3	2	1
13. I speak with my supervisor or someone in management when I question workplace decisions	5	4	3	2	1
14. I rarely voice my frustrations about workplace issues in front of my spouse/partner or my non-work friends	5	4	3	2	1

15. I make suggestions to management or my supervisor about correcting inefficiency in my organization	5	4	3	2	1
16. I talk about my job concerns to people outside of work.	5	4	3	2	1
17. I do not express my disagreement to management.	5	4	3	2	1
18. I hardly ever complain to my coworkers about workplace problems	5	4	3	2	1
19. I tell management when I believe employees are being treated unfairly	5	4	3	2	1
20. I talk with family and friends about workplace decisions that I am uncomfortable discussing at work	5	4	3	2	1

NOTE: Items 1, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, and 19 comprise the articulated dimension. Items 2, 7, 10, 14, 16, and 20 comprise the displaced dimension. Items 3, 6, 8, 12, and 18 comprise the Latent dimension. Items 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 14, 17, and 18 are reverse-coded for data analysis.

Appendix B: Belief in Hierarchy Scale

Directions: Please read the following statements and indicate your degree of agreement with each statement by circling the appropriate number to the right of each item. (5= strongly agree; 4= agree; 3= undecided; 2= disagree; 1= strongly disagree).

1. I strongly believe that acceptance and respect of authority is an important cultural value.	5	4	3	2	1
2. I believe supervisors should be in full control of making decisions before communicating them to his/her subordinates.	5	4	3	2	1
3. I believe supervisors should seek consensus with subordinates before making an important decision in the organization	5	4	3	2	1
4. I strongly believe supervisors will gain more respect if they exercise power and authority over their subordinates	5	4	3	2	1
5. I strongly believe supervisors will gain more respect if they seek consensus and advice from their subordinates before making important decisions	5	4	3	2	1
6. It is normal to have power inequality between supervisors and their subordinates in organizations	5	4	3	2	1
7. There should be an order of power inequality in society	5	4	3	2	1
8. Non-managers should always comply with managers' authority	5	4	3	2	1
9. Non-managers should avoid openly disagreeing with their supervisors as a sign of respect to authority	5	4	3	2	1
10. Non-managers should not fear disagreeing with their supervisors no matter what	5	4	3	2	1

Appendix C: Perception of White Racial Superiority Scale

Directions: Please read the following statements and indicate your degree of agreement with each statement by circling the appropriate number to the right of each item.

(5= strongly agree; 4= agree; 3= undecided; 2= disagree; 1= strongly disagree).

1. There are situations where I feel ashamed of my racial background	5	4	3	2	1
2. All Africans need to adopt white American norms as quickly as possible to succeed in America	5	4	3	2	1
3. In general, being Black African is not as good as being White in America	5	4	3	2	1
4. White people have more privilege than Blacks in the United States	5	4	3	2	1
5. In the united States, being White determines how a person is treated in everyday life	5	4	3	2	1
6. The US society is largely permeated by the values and norms of White Americans	5	4	3	2	1
7. Whites are the most powerful racial group in the United States	5	4	3	2	1
8. Whites can achieve the most success economically in the United States	5	4	3	2	1
9. The current social status of Whites in the United States is almost unshakable	5	4	3	2	1
10. White people are regarded as superior to people of other racial groups in the US	5	4	3	2	1
11. The politics in the United States is dominated by Whites	5	4	3	2	1
12. Many rules and laws in this society have been formulated according to the standards of white Americans	5	4	3	2	1

Appendix D: Tables and Figures

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for all the variables

Variables	Mean	SD	No. of items	Cronbach alpha
Articulated dissent	27.43	5.514	9	.718
Displaced dissent	18.39	3.835	6	.546
Latent dissent	14.98	3.376	5	.512
Belief in hierarchy	9.11	3.072	3	.729
Perception of Being Black African in America	8.85	3.918	3	.826
Perception of Being White in America	27.76	10.845	9	.960

Table 2: Factor loadings for the perception of white racial superiority scale

Items	Structure matrix	
	Component 1	Component 2
There are situations where I feel ashamed of my racial background	-.238	.877
All Africans need to adopt white American norms as quickly as possible to succeed in America	-.272	.846
In general, being Black African is not as good as being White in America	.160	.788
White people have more privilege than Blacks in the United States	.868	-.261

In the united States, being White determines how a person is treated in everyday life	.885	.022
The US society is largely permeated by the values and norms of White Americans	.784	-.254
Whites are the most powerful racial group in the United States	.901	-.003
Whites can achieve the most success economically in the United States	.834	.250
The current social status of Whites in the United States is almost unshakable	.723	.394
White people are regarded as superior to people of other racial groups in the US	.939	-.112
The politics in the United States is dominated by Whites	.876	-.234
Many rules and laws in this society have been formulated according to the standards of white Americans	.932	-.234

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 3: Correlation between the independent and dependent variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Articulated dissent		.289	.025	.038	-.142	.054
2. Latent dissent	.289*		.154	-.056	.055	-.159
3. Displaced dissent	.025	.154		.348	-.021	.179
4. Belief in hierarchy	.038	-.056	.348**		-.267	.542**

5. Being black African in America	-0.142	.055	-.021	-.267		-.139
6. Perception of Being white in America	.054	-.159	.179	.542		-.139

Notes: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 4: Regression Model for H1 & H2

Regressor	Articulated dissent		Latent dissent		Displaced dissent	
	B	β	B	β	B	β
Intercept	29.408		13.957		12.852	
Belief in hierarchy	-.016	-.009	.210	.199	.577	.459
Black Afr. in Amer.	-.170	-.121	.141	.162	.141	.134
White in Amer.	.004	.007	-.074	-.238	-.017	-.046
RSS	18.830		32.968		117.628	
MSE	31.765		478.012		591.372	
F	.198		1.035		2.917	
R²	.014		.065		.166	
R² Adjusted	-.058		.002		.109	

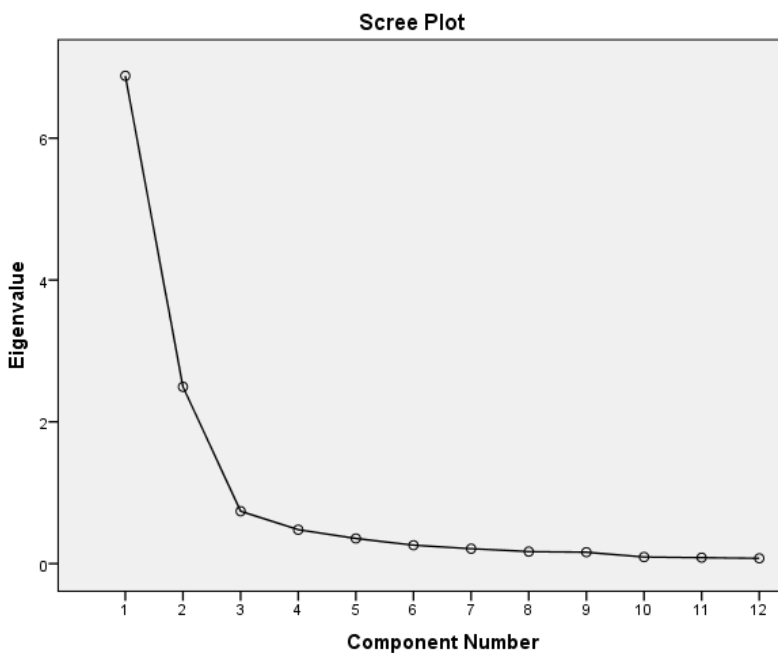
Notes: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 5: Repeated Measures ANOVA for Hypothesis 3

Source	Type III Sum of Square	df	Mean square	F	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
African Ethnicity	4283.69	1.72	2481.64	126.96	.00	.717
Error	1686.96	86.308	19.546			

Notes: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Figure 1: Scree Plot for the perception of white racial superiority scale



Appendix E: In-person/Anonymous Survey Consent

You are requested to participate in research supervised by Dr. Deepa Oommen on Sub-Saharan African student immigrants' experiences in US organizations. This survey should take about 10-20 minutes to complete. The goal of this survey is to understand how Sub-Saharan African student immigrants express dissent in US organizations, and you will be asked to answer questions about that topic. If you have any questions about the research, please contact Dr. Deepa Oommen at deepa.oommen@mnsu.edu or Delwende Bouda at delwende.bouda@mnsu.edu

Participation is voluntary. You have the option not to respond to any of the questions. You may stop taking the survey at any time by returning your incomplete survey questionnaire to the survey administrator. Participation or nonparticipation will not impact your relationship with Minnesota State University, Mankato. If you have questions about the treatment of human participants and Minnesota State University, Mankato, contact the IRB Administrator, Dr. Barry Ries, at 507-389-2321 or barry.ries@mnsu.edu.

Responses will be completely anonymous. The risks of participating in this survey are no more than are experienced in daily life.

There are no direct benefits for participating for all participants. Society might benefit by the increased understanding of the acculturative experiences of particular immigrants groups in US organizations, especially Sub-Saharan African immigrants.

Undergraduate international students who are taking this survey will be compensated with 1 hour of cultural contribution. To ensure anonymity of the survey, a separate sign-up sheet will be passed around where you may register your name and TechID upon completion of the survey if you wish to earn a contribution hour. To prevent any violation of the anonymous nature of the research, the student PI will not be present in the room while participants take the surveys and register their names and Techid for the contribution hour. Instead, the ASA president will be present and will collect, and the surveys and the sign-up sheet to be returned to the student PI right afterwards.

By completing and returning the survey, you indicate that you are at least 18 years of age and you give your informed consent to participate in this survey.

Please keep this page for your future reference.

MSU IRBNet ID# 739501

Date of MSU IRB approval:

Appendix F: Online/anonymous Survey Consent

You are requested to participate in research supervised by Dr. Deepa Oommen on Sub-Saharan African student immigrants' experiences in US organizations. This survey should take about 10 to 20 minutes to complete. The goal of this survey is to understand how Sub-Saharan African student immigrants express dissent in US organizations, and you will be asked to answer questions about that topic. If you have any questions about the research, please contact Dr. Deepa Oommen at deepa.oommen@mnsu.edu OR Delwende Bouda at delwende.bouda@mnsu.edu.

Participation is voluntary. You have the option not to respond to any of the questions. You may stop taking the survey at any time by closing your web browser. Participation or nonparticipation will not impact your relationship with Minnesota State University, Mankato. If you have questions about the treatment of human participants and Minnesota State University, Mankato, contact the IRB Administrator, Dr. Barry Ries, at 507-389-2321 or barry.ries@mnsu.edu.

Responses will be anonymous. However, whenever one works with online technology there is always the risk of compromising privacy, confidentiality, and/or anonymity. If you would like more information about the specific privacy and anonymity risks posed by online surveys, please contact the Minnesota State University, Mankato Information and Technology Services Help Desk (507-389-6654) and ask to speak to the Information Security Manager.

The risks of participating are no more than are experienced in daily life.

There are no direct benefits for participating for all participants. Society might benefit by the increased understanding of the acculturative experiences of particular immigrants groups in US organizations, especially Sub-Saharan African immigrants.

Submitting the completed survey will indicate your informed consent to participate and indicate your assurance that you are at least 18 years of age.

FOR MSU MANKATO STUDENTS ONLY: Undergraduate international students who will take this survey will be compensated with 1 hour of cultural contribution. To ensure anonymity, I have created a separate web page where you may register your name upon completion of the survey in order to earn your contribution hour. Once you answer all the survey questions and successfully submit your survey, a **hyperlink** for the contribution hour sign-up page will automatically appear and you will be asked whether you wish to sign-up. If you wish to earn 1 hour of cultural contribution, please click on the link or copy and paste into a new browser and enter your name and TechID.

Please print a copy of this page for your future reference.

MSU IRBNet ID# 739501

Date of MSU IRB approval:

Appendix G: Recruitment Script—Online Surveys

Hello,

My name is Delwende Bouda, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Communication studies. I am currently conducting a research on Sub-Saharan African students under the supervision of Dr. Deepa Oommen, and I would like to invite you take a survey on the experiences of Sub-Saharan African students in terms of expression of organizational dissent. This survey will take about 10-20 minutes to complete. The survey link is https://az1.qualtrics.com/ControlPanel/?ClientAction=EditSurvey&Section=SV_0JkZGpcohDZ4y7b&SubSection=&SubSubSection=&PageActionOptions=&TransactionID=1&Repeatable=0&T=5RJGHmHuyvckQaVNBn0Th2&requiresApproval=

The survey will be completely anonymous and will not require any special commitment from your part except the time that you will commit for taking it. Before you access the survey questionnaire, you will be asked to sign a consent form, confirming that you're at least 18 and that you consent to take this survey. This can be done by just clicking on I ACCEPT on the webpage of the survey.

I sincerely thank you so much for your willingness to help in this research project!!!

Sincerely,

Delwende Bouda

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