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African American college women in the San Francisco Bay Area : perceptions of Cross's nigrescence model and potential leadership style

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AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE WOMEN IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY
AREA: PERCEPTIONS OF CROSS'S NIGRESCENCE MODEL AND POTENTIAL
LEADERSHIP STYLE

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Dissertation Abstract

AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE WOMEN IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY

AREA: PERCEPTIONS OF CROSS'S NIGRESCENCE MODEL AND POTENTIAL

LEADERSHIP STYLE

Although more African American women are pursuing a college education, how are they coping with their double minority status on predominantly White college campuses? As they become more aware of their identity, how does their interaction change with students and groups of a different ethnic background? The possible relationship between ethnic identity development and potential leadership style among African American female undergraduate students is studied at two universities in the San Francisco Bay Area. Quantitative and qualitative data were collected in two phases, using the Cross Racial Identity Survey (CRIS) and one-on-one interviews. Six students, from one private and one public university completed the CRIS and participated in an interview.   Students held leadership positions in Residence Life, a sorority and a student organization geared towards the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender community.

According to the CRIS scores, participants exhibited the highest scores in the Internalization - Multicultural Inclusive stage. Half of the participants also showed high scores in the Pre-Encounter-Assimilation and Self-Hatred stages.   A transformational leadership style is considered, through interviewing each participant, to best describe participants within their organizations. Several recommendations are given to assist

student affairs practitioners, faculty and those interested in further study. Limitations to

this study include the small number of participants and universities involved.

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been present to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, David and Cynthia Picou, and my husband,
Aries Broadnax, and step daughters, Maya and Jasmine Broadnax.

My parents always thought I was a good writer. Thank you for always having
faith in me. You have seen me through my entire educational experience, attending every
graduation with pride and offering words of encouragement and sanity when all I wanted
to do was scream.

I am so grateful that I met my husband toward the end of my formal education. If
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spending more time with you. You are my lifetime.

I am eternally grateful to my babies, Maya and Jasmine, for always asking how
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computer for hours. You looked over my shoulder and read the computer screen as if you
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THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

As African American college students experience the many challenges of life on a predominantly White campus, how is their personal cultural-identity evolution affected, especially if one is a double minority—African American and female? As more African Americans entered college during the post Civil Right era of the 1970s, many student-services practitioners were not prepared to answer this question. College-student-development theories "essentially ignored the development of students of color" (Pope, 1998, p. 273). Pope (1998) noted that "researchers failed to realize or assumed that all students (regardless of race or culture) experienced development phenomena in a similar fashion" (p. 273). By the late 1980s, critics of student-development theory believed any student-development theory was "insufficient in their explanation of growth and development of students of color" (Pope, 1998, p. 274). Therefore, there was a resurgence of interest in Cross' nigrescence conversion process. This raised the question of how college-student-development theory could be intertwined to better understand the psychosocial development of African American college students on predominantly White campuses.

According to Cross (1991), "the 1954 Supreme Court decision on the Brown versus the Board of Education of Topeka case began the contemporary Black Social Movement" (p. 41). The first phase of the Civil Rights Movement lasted from approximately 1954 until the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968. The second

phase, a Black Power phase, "took on the characteristics of a mass movement in the aftermath of King's murder and continued to show mass movement activity through the mid 1970s" (Cross, 1991, p. 41). During the Black Power phase, the concept of Black identity had its origin. Blacks were experiencing a Negro-to-Black identity transformation, captured in the phrase "the psychology of nigrescence, or the psychology of becoming Black. Personality and self concept studies conducted with Blacks between 1968 and the late 1970s were often designed to capture the nature and extent of Black identity change" (Cross, 1991, p. 41).

As more minorities began attending predominantly White colleges and universities, student-affairs practitioners and university faculty began to witness the nigrescence process unfolding among African American students. Thus began the process of understanding if and how the nigrescence conversion process is exhibited among African American college students. University practitioners, including counselors and faculty, began to see African American students experiencing a sense of culture shock, such as feelings of anxiety and isolation as a result of being surrounded by White students. To find their own piece of "home," many of these students formed all-Black student organizations or joined traditional Black fraternities or sororities.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the relationship between African American college students, specifically African American females, who hold a leadership position in a student organization, their nigrescence process, and their leadership style. To fully comprehend the dynamics of this identity transformation for each subject, the

Cross Social Attitude Scale (CRIS) was administered to African American female college students along with a follow-up interview. Also, attention was paid to how the Negro-to-Black conversion affects the way participants lead their organizations (see Appendix A).

Background and Need

"During the Black Power period, especially from 1966 to 1970, militancy and Blackness became linked" (Cross, 1991, p. 151). Therefore, much of the early research on Black identity and the development of racial-identity theories focused on the development of the Black militant. Commenting on how Black sociologists and psychologists focused on the transformation of the Negro to a Black person, Cross (1991) wrote, "The Black community itself adopted labels offered by the Nation of Islam and made popular through the oratory of Malcolm X. Thus, the Black militant was said to have a 'Black identity' and the nonmilitant, a 'Negro identity'" (p. 152). In his book, *Shades of Black,* Cross (1991) wrote about the climate of change that spurred several racial-identity theories or nigrescence models:

> The naturalistic event that was the focus of my observations and subsequent insight was the phenomenon of Black identity change, which Blacks experienced during the 1960s. Along with Bailey Jackson, Jake Milliones, and others, I attempted to capture the psychological stages associated with this identity change. Our resulting developmental models became known as models of nigrescence. "Nigrescence is a French word that means 'the process of becoming Black"; thus our models attempted to depict the psychology of the process of becoming Black. (p. x).

These same psychologists began to romanticize the Black-power movement and its position as the catalyst for the Negro-to-Black conversion.

Also, Cross's nigrescence model was partially based on his own Negro-to-Black conversion with the assistance of self-analysis and participant observations. He attended

rallies, joined activist groups and met with childhood friends whom, during and after

their own conversion. All of this information allowed him to construct his own

nigrescence model, the "Negro-to Black Conversion Model." As a graduate student at

Princeton University, in the spring of 1972, Cross taught his first course on psychology

and the Black experience, a course that undergraduate psychology students had

requested. This course led Cross and his students to further examine the many studies that

were being conducted by Cross's contemporaries. The course also served as a platform

for students to discuss their own conversion at Princeton, a predominantly White

university, as a background. This was the beginning of college students seeing their

experiences on these types of campuses as symbolic pushes toward their conversion.

Since the 1970s, when racial-identity development was first discussed in the

realm of psychology and student development, there have been several racial-identity-

development theories created that speak to the specific psychosocial development of

Asians, Native Americans, and Latinos (Nadal, 2004; Sawyer, 1976; Torres & Baxter

Magolda, 2004) . In fact, many empirical studies, using Cross's nigrescence model, are

based on the experiences of college students. College students can now study the identity

development of Whites, biracial/bicultural students, or lesbians and gays in a counseling

or psychotherapy course. As practitioners and researchers continue to study, develop, and

improve racial-identity models that assist students of color reach their full potential, it is

important to revisit the beginning.

The student-development theories of the 1960s and 1970s largely ignored the

development of students of color (Pope, 1998). Wright (1987) believed that college-

student-development research experienced limitations. For instance, several of the student development theories did not incorporate ethnic specific development, but took for granted that all students, despite their ethnic history, progressed in similar ways. Secondly, the theories assumed that students develop within a monolingual or mono-cultural community, when most students of color are bilingual or bicultural. Also, many of the student development theories did not include aspects of assimilation or acculturation into a students' growth, which can disregard a student's adjustment to a new campus and its environment. Lastly and maybe most importantly, most theories held on to White values that could be quite different from non-White values.

As researchers and theorists began to look further into how to incorporate developmental theories pertaining to students of color, there was an influx of these very students onto predominantly White college campuses. Researchers began to focus on African American students, the minority ethnic group that initiated this integration. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, student-affairs practitioners, in partnership with researchers, began to notice and document the many stressors that African American students were facing. Stressors included a lack of knowledge about the college process, institutional racism, poor health and energy, social isolation, and family and economic problems (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993).

While practitioners were scurrying to understand this new group of students, critics made it clear that relying on Chickering's historical text, "Education and Identity" (1969) was not going to be enough to understand African American college students or any other minority ethnic group. Although prior work on college-student development

was legitimate, it was not sufficient (Pope, 1998). There would also have to be a focus on

cultural and racial identity when studying the development of students of color. Thus, in

the late 1980s and early 1990s began the resurgence of interest in Cross's and other

nigrescence models and how the Negro-to-Black conversion is demonstrated in young-

adult college students.

Simultaneously, practitioners began to study the relationship between nigrescence

models and student development, as universities began to see a high attrition rate among

African American males and a surge in African American female enrollment. From 1995

to 2005 the number of African American men increased by 36.5% compared to African

American women who increased their numbers by 52% (Ryu, 2008). Although these

numbers are impressive, they do not speak to the college-campus experience of African

American women.

> Part of the collegiate experience for students is the challenge of finding their place
> in the social terrain of the university. Students enter at various developmental
> stages, possessing varying levels of social experiences, having preconceived
> notions of the college social scene, as well as creating and reacting to their own
> perceptions of social reality. (Sims, 2008, p. 691)

Couple this with understanding oneself as an African American and a woman and the

sense of confusion can be overpowering. Research shows that minority female students

experience more stress than other groups of students (Guloyan, 1986). Yet, "There have

been few studies that have looked at the experiences of female African American college

students" (Sims, 2008, p. 695).

Even though African American female college students are dealing with a myriad

of stressors, universities are witnessing more women of color take on leadership positions

in student organizations along with traditional sorority groups. Recent studies using Cross's Negro-to-Black nigrescence model have focused on African American students as a whole or just men. Using Cross's model to better understand the development of this group of women could give insight on how best to serve their needs, while empowering them to become better leaders on their college campus and in the African American community.

<div align="center">Developmental Framework</div>

The developmental framework for this study is Cross's Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience, also known as Cross's nigrescence (the process of becoming Black) theory. Cross's 1991 revised nigrescence model is clearly stated in five stages that identify the attitudes and actions of Black students as they experience the very personal process of the Negro-to-Black conversion. These five stages are as follows: Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion–Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization–Commitment. According to Cross (1995), "Nigrescence is a re-socializing experience. That is, it is the transformation of a pre-existing identity (a non-Afrocentric identity) into one that is Afrocentric" (p. 97). Each stage will be discussed in depth to ensure an understanding of the attitudes and actions of a person experiencing the nigrescence process.

Stage 1, Pre-Encounter, describes a person who holds "attitudes toward race that range from race neutrality, to anti-Black" (Cross, 1995, p. 98). The Cross model posits that people in Stage 1 do not deny being physically Black, but believe this physicality does not play a major role in their life. Having knowledge of one's history and the Black

experience does not fuel their sense of personal happiness or life purpose. Cross (1995) believed that a person in the Pre-Encounter stage places "value in things other than their Blackness, such as their religion, their lifestyle, their social status, or their profession" (p. 98). There are extreme cases in Stage 1. There are anti-Black Blacks who dislike Blacks, feel alienated from Blacks, and do not experience support from other Blacks. Aside from this, as long as they have personal fulfillment, these people are not likely to experience an identity transformation that leads to Afrocentricity.

Stage 2, Encounter, is the point at which "events are likely to induce an identity metamorphosis" (Cross, 1995, p. 104). Usually, it is not one event, but a series of small events that forces people to question their worldview. The cumulative effect of these events helps to push the person toward nigrescence. That push does not have to be negative, but it is the crux at which time the event or events are personalized. Many times the event does not have to be racist. It could be an experience that exposes the person to "powerful cultural-historical information about the Black experience that was previously unknown" (Cross, 1991, p. 105) to the individual. This encounter may guide the person toward nigrescence, but the encounter can cause some confusion, anger, or alarm. Many times these emotional reactions are temporary.

The third stage, Immersion–Emersion, is the time when a person is "trying to construct a new frame of reference" (Cross, 1991, p. 106). According to Cross (1991), "The Immersion–Emersion stage addresses the most sensational aspects of Black identity development, for it represents the vortex of psychological nigrescence" (p. 106). The person has not changed, but has made the decision to change personally. Because new

converts do not exactly know much about their new identity, "he or she is forced to erect simplistic, gloried, highly romantic and speculative images of what he or she assumes the new self will be" (Cross, 1991, p. 106). This is the time when the person adopts symbols of the new identity, such as a hairstyle or wearing t-shirts depicting African flags. They are trying to become the right kind of Black person.

In Immersion, people immerse themselves in being Black. They begin to attend cultural events that are Afrocentric and meetings that focus on culture-specific issues. This stage embodies an undercurrent of anger toward Whites, guilt at having believed in White ideas, and pride in being Black and the Black culture. They begin to accept their physical/cultural features and celebrate being Black. They may take an African name or drop their American surname, as Malcolm X did. Also, interest in "Mother Africa" begins. During this transition stage, the person experiences a "constant theme of selflessness, dedication and commitment to the Black group," according to Cross (1991, p. 107). There is almost a religious feeling where an environment of community of oneness is created—a connection to all things Black.

In the second phase of Stage 3, Emersion, the person experiences

An emergence from the emotionality and dead-end, either/or, racist, and oversimplified ideologies of the immersion experience. The person regains control of his or her emotions and intellect. In fact, he or she probably cannot continue to handle the intense emotional phase and is predisposed to find a way to level off. Frequently, this leveling-off period is facilitated by a combination of personal growth and the recognition that certain role models or heroes operate from a more advanced state of identity development. The first hint of this advanced state may be discovered during face-to-face interactions with role models who bring a sophisticated quality to their Blackness, or when reading about the life of someone like Malcolm X, who describes moving beyond a rigid sense of Blackness as a consequence of his experiences in Mecca. (Cross, 1991, p. 207)

The person begins to realize that Immersion–Emersion is not the end state, but a transition that allows for the intense emotions of the new identity while readying the person for internalizing the new identity.

Internalization, the fifth stage, is the phase where the new identity shows itself in more natural ways. There is more "confidence in one's standards of Blackness" (Cross, 1991, p. 159). The anger toward Whites is replaced with

> controlled anger at oppressive systems and racist institutions; from symbolic, boisterous rhetoric, to serious analysis and quiet strength; from unrealistic urgency that can lead to dropping out, to a sense of destiny that enables one to sustain long-term commitment; from anxious, insecure, rigid, pseudo-Blackness based on the hatred of Whites, to proactive Black pride, self-love, and a deep sense of connection, and acceptance by, the Black community. (Cross, 1991, p. 159)

The person feels completely new, understanding that being Black is multidimensional. This new identity protects the person from the racist society we live in, gives the person a sense of belonging, and provides a foundation from which to interact with people of other cultures (Cross, 1991).

The last stage, Internalization–Commitment, can be a time of exploring one's bicultural orientation—as an African American and as an American. Also, Cross (1991) believed that this stage serves as a defensive function of Black identity, although, this function is more sophisticated and flexible. Cross (1991) wrote,

> The protective function seems to involve 1. An awareness that racism is part of the American experience; 2. An anticipatory set—regardless of one's station in American society, one can well be the target of racism; 3. Well-developed ego defenses that can be employed when confronted with racism; 4. A system blame and personal efficacy orientation in which one is predisposed to find fault in the circumstances, not the self; and 5. A religious orientation that prevents the development of a sense of bitterness or the need to demonize Whites. (pp. 214–215).

It is important to note that Stage 5 is not much different than the previous stage, except that many people spend their lifetime trying to find ways to "translate their personal sense of Blackness into a plan of action or a general sense of commitment" (Cross, 1991, p. 220).

Research Questions

The following research questions were explored in this study:

1. To what extent does the CRIS identify the identity phase of African American female college-student leaders?

2. To what extent do CRIS results show a connection between a subject's ethnic-identity stage and leadership style?

3. What stage identifies participants who are in leadership positions while attending predominantly White universities (PWIs)?

Significance of the Study

With the onset of the contemporary African American social movement, which developed from the 1954 Supreme Court decision that segregated schools were unconstitutional to the Black Power Movement of the 1970s, a bevy of researchers have focused on young people and their transformation from Negro to Black. With the onslaught of African Americans entering public, yet traditionally all White schools and universities, professors and student-affairs practitioners, including counselors, have had to adjust to the many issues that face these students who were now isolated from their culture, families, and communities. Over time, with the continuous increase of an ethnically diverse student population, there has been a resurgence of interest in the

theories that focused on ethnic-identity development and how these stages or phases affect not only participation in extracurricular campus activities, but the overall attrition rate of students of color.

This study researched the relationship between students' ethnic-identity phase, outlined by Cross's nigrescence model, and potential leadership style. The results of the survey show the current stage of each student. This can lend some awareness of how African American students are living in an extremely ethnically diverse region of California, but are still considered a small minority on their university campus. Additionally, the interviews provided rich descriptions of what participants are experiencing or are subjected to, depending on the occurrence.

The results of this study will add a layer of understanding to the dynamics of college-student development and leadership development for students of color, especially for African American women. Also, with a growing need to have more on-campus role models for African American women, this study provides insight into how best to empower these students as they develop their ethnic identity and leadership skills. Programs focusing on this area could lead to thoughtful and inspiring role models and university professionals who can mentor their younger counterparts through the same process. It is hoped this study will add to the growing field of college-student leadership development by drawing attention to the personal experiences of African American women in an academic environment.

<p align="center">Definitions of Terms</p>

The terms below are defined for use in this study, to clarify their meaning:

African American or Black. A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa (United States Census Bureau, 2009). In this study, African American or Black consists of those who are naturally born United States citizens and are descendents of Africans.

Culture. An "adherence to values, beliefs, behaviors and norms associated with one's cultural group" (Cokley, 2005, p. 518). In this study, culture signifies the African American culture, as it is expressed in research and by interview participants.

Ethnic identity. Yinger (1976, p. 200) viewed ethnic identity as an individual's identification with

> a segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves or others, to have a common origin and share segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients.

Ethnicity. "A group classification of individuals who share a unique social and cultural heritage (customs, language, religions and so on) passed on from generation to generation" (Casas, 1984, p. 787).

Leadership. "Leadership is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal" (Northouse, 2004, p. 3). In this study, leadership entails holding an elected or appointed position in a student organization. The position is designated by a university official or self-reported by a participant.

Leadership style. Style refers to the type of leadership approach or theory used while practicing leadership. These theories is based on those discussed in Northouse's *Leadership: Theory and Practice* (2004). In this study, the style is determined from interviews conducted by this researcher.

Predominantly White institution/university (PWI/PWU). "Predominantly Euro American colleges and universities are based on Anglo-Saxon, Euro American values and survive because they are symbolically related to the cultural values of the broader American society" (Johnson, 2003, p. 824). In this study, the proposed study site is considered a PWI.

Racial identity. "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" (Helms, 1990, p. 3).

Limitations of the Study

How the ethnic-identity development of African American female college students affects their leadership style is a subject that could be studied from many different angles. Not only are their several different racial-identity surveys or questionnaires available to understand the developmental stage or phase of each subject, but there is a wealth of history and culture that surrounds African American leadership and leadership style. Therefore, this study has two significant limitations that must be noted. Participants were selected through the preference of the researcher. The researcher selected participants based on their self-described membership in the African American community, gender, self-identified leadership position in a student organization, and availability to complete the CRIS and participate in an interview. Secondly, this study used a small sample of participants who attend two universities in the San Francisco Bay area.

Delimitations of the Study

One of the delimiting dynamics of this study is researcher bias. This researcher has personal experiences pertaining to the subject matter. This bias could be a weakness and strength. The personal experience of the nigrescence process and having held a student-leadership position during undergraduate studies could diminish the researcher's impartiality. In contrast, this personal wisdom could make the survey and interview questions more informed and precise.

The truthfulness of the participants' answers could be another delimitating issue. Discussing one's ethnic-identity development is very personal. Also, discussing how one feels about other ethnic groups can make a participant uncomfortable. To avoid embarrassment, participants could possibly give answers that make them look "good" to the researcher.

Summary

For over 25 years, researchers have commented on the lack of research concerning the college-student development of students of color. Therefore, a resurgence in interest of Cross's nigrescence model (1976, 1991; Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001) began to influence much of the research on African American college students. Although, U.S. universities are becoming more and more diverse, African American students continue to struggle with feelings of isolation, alienation, and incompetence. Still, they are taking on leadership positions, especially in same-race student organizations. This study sought to find the relationship between a student's racial-identity development and leadership style.

Much of the extant research is focused on African Americans as a whole or men. This study focuses on African American female college-student leaders. As African American men struggle to enroll and persist, their female counterparts are not only surviving the challenges of college life, but are thriving, documented by their rates of graduation. The guiding theory for this study is Cross's 1991 revised nigrescence model, which consists of several stages, taking an African American from being race neutral or anti-Black, through a stage of being completely pro-Black and anti-White, and ending with exploration of oneself as an African American and an American. This mixed-method study uses the CRIS, a survey that measures a participant's racial attitude, and one-on-one interviews to understand the participant's leadership style.

The foundation for this study is the literature, which gives insight to the history of college-student-development theory and college-student-involvement theory. The major creators of these theories, Chickering (1969) and Astin (1975), did not consider students of color. Hence, minority researchers began considering their own college experiences as studies, as did Cross (1971) and several others. With the influx of African American college students to predominantly White university campuses during the 1970s and 1980s, researchers began to investigate these experiences and focus on variables such as gender. Although people of color have a rich history of ethnic-specific leadership styles (Hetty van Emmeril, Euwema, & Wendt, 2008; House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002), it is not until recently that researchers have focused on leadership development among students of color, and specifically African American female students. The review of literature focuses on the history of college-student development and leadership

theories, African American student experiences and the challenges that African American

women face as a double minority trying to enhance their leadership abilities.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

African American enrollment rose by 46%, from 1995 to 2005 (Ryu, 2008). This increased the African American share of enrollment to 12%. African American women continue to increase their enrollment, becoming 65% of African American enrollments (Ryu, 2008). According to the American Council on Education report, "Minorities in Higher Education" (Ryu, 2008), "about twice as many associate and bachelor's degrees were received by African American women as by men in 2005" (p. 26). Although African American women are persisting through college, understanding their experiences while attending a university could assist in making the journey more beneficial personally, while assisting university professionals in supporting this group of students.

Overview

This section presents an overview of the literature related to the study. There is significant literature in several subthemes covering (a) college-student development and involvement, (b) the experiences and challenges of African American college students, (c) racial-identity theories focused on African Americans, and (d) the relationship between leadership and the phases of the nigrescence process. The introduction of each theme is followed by an examination of important literature and research.

College Student Development and Involvement

Cheatham and Berg-Cross (1992) gave a historical purpose to education that stated, "Education, as originally conceived, was focused on students' moral development;

social usefulness was later adopted as an equally important education goal" (p. 167). As
universities began to focus on a students' social development, researchers began to look
at students' attitudes and behaviors, viewing the students as more human and complex. In
the early 1960s, researchers moved toward understanding relational, social,
environmental, and intellectual influences on students (Moore & Upcraft, 1990).
Cheatham and Berg-Cross (1992) clarified that culture and gender were missing from
much of the early literature.

College-student development is a specific type of psychology that derived its
theories from human development "with a special focus on developmental changes
occurring throughout the phase of the life cycle of one termed 'student'" (Cheatham &
Berg-Cross, 1992, p. 170). In the 1950s, Chickering began to focus on college students.
In 1969, Chickering wrote his seminal work, *Education and Identity*, in which he
discussed his seven vectors, which give a "comprehensive picture of psychosocial
development during the college years" (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998, p. 38).
According to Reisser (1995), "Chickering identified seven dimensions of identity and
proposed that higher education should be about developing those aspects of self that had
the most value for the individual and the society" (p. 505). In 1993, Chickering and
Reisser (1993) set out to revise *Education and Identity* and adapt the theory for a more
diverse student population. Chickering and Reisser kept all seven vectors and added more
recent developmental theories. The seven vectors, based on the 1993 second edition of
Education and Identity are as follows:

1. Developing Competence: This includes intellectual, physical, manual and interpersonal competences. These competences can be developed through coursework, athletic and recreational activities, collaboration, leadership, and followership.

2. Managing Emotions: Emotional development involves being in touch with one's feelings and how best to understand positive and negative emotions.

3. Moving Through Autonomy Toward Interdependence: A freedom from a need for approval and reassurance leads toward self-sufficiency.

4. Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships: Reisser (1995) wrote, "We kept the two components of the vector on developing relationships: tolerance and capacity for intimacy. Both involve the ability to accept individuals for who they are, to respect difference and to appreciate commonalities" (p. 509).

5. Establishes Identity: Students confirm their core characteristics. They become more comfortable with their sexuality, hobbies, outward appearance, and relationships.

6. Developing Purpose: Students clarify their career plans and make several lifestyle choices.

7. Developing Integrity: Students begin to affirm their own values while respecting the values of others. Their thinking is no longer black or white or right or wrong.

Although Chickering continued his work in 1981, by publishing *The Modern American College: Responding to the New Realities of Diverse Students and a Changing Society*, he never focused on how to integrate the psychosocial development of students of color into his popular seven vectors.

College-student involvement theory has its beginnings in research on college-student attrition rates and the factors that contributed to students' persistence in college (Astin, 1975). This longitudinal study also showed that students who were members of social fraternities or sororities or participated in extracurricular activities of any type were more likely to persist. Astin created student-involvement theory for several reasons:

> It is simple; the theory can explain most of the empirical knowledge about environmental influences on student development that researchers have gained over the years; it is capable of embracing principles from such widely divergent sources as psychoanalysis and classical learning theory; and it can be used both by researchers to guide their investigation of student development—and by college administrators and faculty—to help design more effective learning environments. (Astin, 1999, p. 518)

Astin defined involvement as "the amount of physical and psychological energy that the student devotes to the academic experience" (1999, p. 518). According to the theory, there are five hypotheses:

> 1.   Involvement refers to the investment of physical and psychological energy in various objects.
> 2.   Regardless of its object, involvement occurs along a continuum; that is, different students manifest different degrees of involvement in a given object, and the same student manifests different degrees of involvement in different objects at different times.
> 3.   Involvement has both quantitative and qualitative features. The extent of a student's involvement in academic work can be measured quantitatively and qualitatively.
> 4.   The amount of student learning and personal development associated with any educational program is directly proportional to the quality and quantity of student involvement in that program.

> 5.   The effectiveness of any educational policy or practice is directly related to the capacity of that policy or practice to increase student involvement. (Astin, 1999, p. 519)

The more students are involved in extracurricular activities, the more they will learn and develop.

"Neither Astin's theory on student involvement nor Chickering's theory on student development accommodate ethnic, gender or cultural differences as they relate to engagement in and completion of developmental tasks" (Cheatham & Berg-Cross, 1992, p. 173). Both theories continue to be widely used by practitioners.

The college experience has the opportunity to facilitate and stimulate a student's development (Chickering, 1981). Cheatham and Berg-Cross (1992) pointed out,

> College students undergo rapid and profound developmental changes as they mature from teenagers into young adults. During the journey through college, reasoning abilities are sharpened, political consciousness is raised, intimacy skills are cultivated, careers are chosen and identities are chiseled with a renewed and deepened vigor. A successful college experience is one that transforms and enriches the lives of the students through a series of challenging, developmental tasks. (p. 174)

One developmental task is joining a student organization. Involvement in a student organization can have a positive effect on a student's learning and social development (Hernandez, Hogan, Hathaway, & Lovell, 1999).

Hernandez et al. (1999) conducted a study reviewing the significant literature that had been published since Astin's (1999) work on involvement theory. Based on the research, they wanted to determine if student involvement actually does make a difference in student development and learning. They also discussed the limitations in assessing the aforementioned topic. While analyzing the literature, Hernandez et al. found

that there are several definitions used by student affairs practitioners to define student

development: a "movement, a theoretical perspective, a role description, and a set of

goals" (Hernandez, et al., 1999, p. 185). They included an examination of literature that

focused on key subcultures connecting student development, involvement, and learning,

such as athletics, Greek organizations, general clubs/organizations, residence halls,

employment, and experiences with faculty and/or staff. Overall, an examination of the

literature verifies a positive influence for men of color in Greek organizations, but the

opposite for their White counterparts. Further analysis of past studies made it clear that

involvement in student organizations has a positive effect on student development and

learning, and that many students scored higher on several levels of Chickering's vectors.

Hernandez et al. (1999) were quick to point out the limitations of their analysis, such as

the small number of total studies on the topic, many based on small sample sizes; there

was little or no research on adult learners, commuters, and non-White students; and few

of the studies isolated variables.

Cooper, Healy, and Simpson (1994) conducted a study that "examined the ways

in which students who are involved in student organization change while in college"

(p. 98). The results revealed that members of student organizations scored higher on

several levels, based on Chickering's vectors (Cooper et al., 1994, p. 101).

The university setting, processes, and academic life are based on White American

cultural values (Johnson, 2003). Johnson negated the history of college-student

development in this country and wondered about using college student development

theories that are centered around White American psychologies to the development of

African American college students. Her contention was that developmental theories for African American college students should be Afrocentric. In other words, they should be based on African psychology. She made it clear why Afrocentric developmental theories are rarely discussed and studied. "Predominantly Euro American colleges and universities are based on Anglo-Saxon, Euro American values and survive because they are symbolically related to the cultural values of the broader American society" (Johnson, 2003, p. 824).

Johnson (2003) believed that an Afrocentric theory should reflect the historical, philosophical, and cultural reality of African Americans. Practitioners should not try to "Blackenize" a Euro American theory, which would give a false sense of relevance to the needs of African people. An Afrocentric theory must include a belief that (a) human beings are conceived collectively, (b) human beings are spiritual, (c) human beings are good, (d) the affective approach to knowledge is epistemologically valid, (e) much of human behavior is nonrational, and (f) the axiology of highest value lies in interpersonal relationship (Schiele, 1990).

Most research on African American college students has focused on their feelings of isolation, alienation, an inadequate secondary education, and a preoccupation with racism. To study students of African descent, the researcher should have "theories, models and instruments that are Afrocentric in design. This will allow

> the normalcy of African American college students to be based on how far they
> have been removed from what should be their natural way of viewing the world
> and whether or not programs and services help them find their way there.
> (Johnson, 2003, p. 827)

Kuh (2009) focused on what college involvement could achieve for students as they develop: "Engaging in educational purposeful activities helps to level the playing field, especially for students from low-income family backgrounds and other who have been historically underserved" (p. 698). This is the goal of student involvement. Engagement should assist students in attaining their academic personal goals, while preparing them for the challenges that his new century has to offer.

Experiences and Challenges of African American College Students

There are few theories and models that speak to the culture of African American college students (Johnson, 2003). Much of the research on African American college students uses college-student-development theories that are Euro American based. Consequently, just as Johnson (2003) wrote, the majority of research on African American college students focuses on the challenges of acclimating to a predominantly White university. The research also focuses on African American men and women. Therefore, it is important and relevant to give an overall view of African American college students and men before focusing specifically on African American women, where there is a lack of literature.

Much of the research on African American student attrition or persistence is based on Tinto's (1975) model, which involves "academic and social preparedness for college and factors related to the complex ecologies of particular college campuses" (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993). Tinto's model has four variables: students' family background, high school experiences, campus social interactions, and personal attitudes. Tinto believed these variables affected one's academic outcome.

D'Augelli's and Hershberger's (1993) study emphasized the experiences of African American students at a large PWU. It investigated the "differences between African American and White students on this campus using carefully matched groups of students" (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993, p. 68). They explored the differences in students' background characteristics and campus experiences that could affect academic achievement. Information was also collected on direct harassment experienced by African American students. The researchers used Tinto's (1975) model as a guide, hoping to highlight the dimensions that affect an African American student's life on a PWU campus.

They had an equal number of White and African American students, although, the female to male ratio was 4 to 1. D'Augelli and Hershberger (1993) used several instruments, including a survey that asked for information about personal and family characteristics. Students also were administered the General Well-Being Schedule (Fazio, 1977), which focused on subjective well-being, such as depression, anxiety, and health worry. Two instruments were created specifically for this project. The first was the Experiences with Minority Issues measure that asked students about their personal contact with other minority groups and about personal incidents of verbal and physical harassment on campus and the ethnicity of the perpetrators. The second measure was a modification of Norbeck's Social Support Questionnaire (Norbeck, Lindsey, & Carrieri, 1981), which assesses social support networks.

The research found that White and African American students did not differ in campus involvement, but that African American students did score lower on the General

Well-Being Schedule, especially those African Americans who had attended predominantly African American high schools compared to those African Americans who did not. "Only 11% of the African American students in the sample reported never having heard disparaging remarks about Blacks on campus; 41% reported hearing such remarks occasionally, as did 28% often and 20% frequently" (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993, p. 75). About two-thirds of African American students had knowledge of harassment, most of it verbal. Considerably fewer Whites had knowledge of such harassment.

Overall, D'Augelli and Hershberger (1993) found that "the climate for African American students at predominantly White campuses, as reported by the students in this sample, was sufficiently problematic to interfere with academic pursuits, but we found no direct evidence to this effect" (p. 77). They gave one important recommendation, which was for university administrators to make a commitment to increasing campus diversity. This commitment must include a devotion to preventing discrimination on campus, including a policy that provides a method for reporting bias-motivated incidents or racist acts.

Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, and Hagedorn (1999) looked at how African American students and Whites adjust to their campus's racial climate. Their study looked at the role "that perceptions of prejudice and discrimination play within the adjustment to college processes of African American and White students in terms of four assertions in the literature" (p. 134). The first assertion is that academic preparation is one of the reasons for a difference in student attrition among White and African American students.

Secondly, cutting ties to family and one's community allows students to successfully adjust to college. The third assertion combines two connected ideas. Only minorities perceive discrimination and prejudice and decisions to stay in school are largely based on contact with this prejudice and discrimination. Finally, Cabrera et. al (1999) believe "that current models of college adjustment fail to capture minorities' collegiate experiences" (p. 135).

Participants consisted of 1,454 (1,139 Whites and 315 African Americans) incoming freshmen at a 4-year university in the fall of 1992. They used two models: the Student Adjustment Model and the Perceptions of Prejudice-Discrimination Model, both developed by Cabrera and Nora. Construct definitions, item development and measurement models were based on both models. Simply, the models propose that "students undergo academic and intellectual development, become more involved in a healthy socialization process, feel more committed to attaining a college degree, and develop a sense of belonging at and commitment to their institutions" (p. 136).

There were 10 constructs and measures, ranging from persistence and parental encouragement to social experiences and perceptions of prejudice and discrimination. Concerning perceptions of prejudice and discrimination, there were no differences observed between White and African American students, but they did note that African American students were "slightly less likely to report positive experiences with peers" (Cabrera et al., 1999, p. 154) than their White counterparts. High school self-reported grade-point averages pointed out that African American students entered college with lower academic abilities. Consequently, based on their spring 1993 grade-point averages,

African Americans' academic performance was somewhat lower than their White peers.

Conversely, there were gains in quantitative and analytical skills for African Americans,

which contributed to their higher commitment to complete in college.

In the early 1990s, researchers began to look at how a campus climate and

university cultural values were affecting African American students, among other ethnic

minorities. Cheatham (1991) believed that "many institutions have attempted to educate

ethnic minorities, specifically African American students while ignoring their socio-

cultural reality" (p. 23). Despite these challenges, Cheatham and Berg-Cross (1992)

believed that African American students

> must find a way to be part of the majority culture without either compromising or
> abandoning their ethnic heritage; to endorse the values of their collegiate
> institution without endorsing historic and/or new racism; to fashion an acceptable
> American dream without accepting a second class image. (p. 174)

This is also true when trying to understand the challenges that women,

specifically African American women face while attending college. Danowitz Sagaria

(1988) pointed out that "we need the unique perspectives that women bring to problems"

(p. 6) that university students face. Howard-Hamilton (2003) believed that the

development of African American women in college is at risk because these women are

currently in a place that was once occupied by the dominant White culture. African

American women are no longer the invisible double minority. She understood that to

garner the perspectives of this special group of students, student-affairs practitioners must

make room for African American women to tell their stories among their peers and to

offer and promote safe havens, such as Black student associations, Black sororities, and

Black female support groups. Howard-Hamilton (2003) concluded by giving a thoughtful

warning: "Faculty and administrators must be comfortable with Black women establishing these spaces, or a vicious oppressive cycle in which the dominant group maintains the status quo on campus and all other remain outsiders within will persist" (p. 25).

Johnson-Newman and Exum (1998) found that the double burden of racism and sexism are difficult to handle for most African American females. These women, at PWIs, seem to have feelings of loneliness and isolation, and incompetence (Sims, 2008). They also have concerns about dating and feeling inadequate in their appearance (Fleming, 1984), an issue that is quite prevalent among African American female millenials. Henry (2008) defined millenials as those students "born after 1981 and graduating from high school in the new millennium" (p. 17).

A number of researchers River, 1983). Student-affairs practitioners, counselors, and faculty are at the forefront of working with female students and assisting them in having those developmental experiences that give women the ability to flourish in a climate that may not speak to their attributes.

Johnson-Newman and Exum (1998) reviewed the common emotional and developmental challenges that face African American female college students who attend PWIs. Johnson-Newman and Exum quoted their contemporaries when discussing the challenges of being a double minority.

> Unless encouraged to do otherwise, many African American female adolescents may choose inappropriate psychological resistance strategies such as self-denigration due to the internalization of negative self images, excessive autonomy and individualism at the expense of connectedness to the collective, as quick fixes such as early and unplanned pregnancies, substance abuse, school failure and food

addictions in their attempts to survive the negative   influences of racism and sexism. (p. 89)

Therefore, they decided to design an intervention strategy that would encourage healthy ego-identity development. Their intervention

is based on the assumption that a positive sense of self is one of the most important factors in establishing a healthy identity and in enabling African American female students to deal with the racism, sexism and emotional and developmental challenges on PWIs. (Johnson-Newman & Exum, 1998, p. 71)

African American female students deal with feelings of isolation, loneliness, incompetence, and inadequacy (Fleming, 1984). There are many stories of African American women being the "only one" in their class and constantly being called as the spokesperson for all African American people. Many times African American women in PWIs may be assertive, but still suffer from feelings of social isolation. Oftentimes, these students will suppress their talents and skills (Fleming, 1984).

Johnson-Newman and Exum (1998) focused on Loevinger's developmental theory, which centered on the cognitive development of women. There are several stages to the Loevinger theory, which she called milestones. Each milestone builds on the last. The milestones are as follows: Presocial/Symbiotic, Impulsive, Self-Protective, Conformist, Self-Aware Transition from Conformist to Conscientious; Conscientious, Individualistic Level, Autonomous, and Integrated (Loevinger, 1976). The most common milestone for the traditionally aged female college student is Conformist or Conscientious-Conformist. The Conformist milestone is described as a time when a student identifies with a group, conforms to group rules, shows guilt for breaking rules, is insensitive to individual differences, and feels secure in belonging to a group. The

Conscientious-Conformist milestone is a transitional stage and includes an enhanced self-awareness, an increase in awareness of one's inner life, and establishment of an appreciation of individual differences (Johnson-Newman & Exum, 1998).

Johnson-Newman and Exum (1998) proposed a psychological education intervention that employed role-taking experiences through cross-age teaching and peer counseling. "The primary goal of the intervention is to enhance the level of ego development of the participants so that they will be able to become more self-directed, more introspective, and less susceptible to conformity pressures" (Johnson-Newman & Exum, 1998, p. 75). Other goals consisted of increasing self-understanding and self-appreciation. The program ran for two semesters. During the first semester, participants were exposed to cognitive-developmental curriculum. The second semester consisted of the cross-age teaching component, where students served as instructors for a younger group of African American women.

Although Newman-Johnson and Exum (1998) created an intervention that is soundly based in theory and past research, there was no data collected concerning this program. This seems to be an ongoing problem for practitioners who desire to assist minority students, especially minority women, through the college experience. They do give some sound advice to student-affairs administrators. Administrators should "take the lead in promoting psychological development and maturity in members of this population without waiting for a crisis to occur" (Johnson Newman & Exum, 1998, p. 78).

Sims (2008) believed that "the environment at White colleges supports the development of White students and assists the integration of intellectual and interpersonal

energies that is the task of late adolescence" (p. 694). African American students generally complain about feelings of alienation and unfairness in the classroom, experiences their White counterparts do not share (Sims, 2008). By overlooking these student perceptions, universities increase the student-attrition rate (Mallinckrodt, 1988).

Guy Sims (2008) conducted a study on irrelation as a social construct for African American women who attend PWUs.

> Irrelation is characterized by having neither a positive nor negative relationship with others in daily social interactions or by having relationships that are defined by the environment (a classroom setting) or by gender or racial groupings (the "Black" table in the student union). (pp. 691–692)

For his study, Sims (2008) defined irrelation as "the lack of social communication and interaction between groups" (p. 692). Sims posed two questions that focused on the experiences of African American female students on a predominantly White campus and the link between the concept of irrelation and his findings. Sims focused his study on the "social experiences of seventeen traditional aged (18–23) undergraduate African American female students who resided in campus housing for their entire academic time as students at a large, public, mid-western university" (Sims, 2008, p. 697). Students completed an interview, with exploratory statements that required reflection.

The participants showed a disconnection from the larger campus community in four distinct areas: residence life, campus involvement, African American Greek life, and their interaction with other campus groups. In this study, it was suggested that the participants did not feel isolated by others, nor did they isolate themselves from others. Sims (2008) pointed out that irrelation "can be an unconscious parallel existence with others who occupy the same or similar environment without having any significant

interactions" (p. 697). These African American female students did not share in this belief. One participant believed that White and African American women on campus existed in separate communities, but in the same space. There is no sense of loss due to this separation. If a situation required, participants would interact with students from different backgrounds, but on a personal level, they lived in their own environment. There were no references to loneliness. On the contrary, there were comments about having small circles of friends.

The most significant outcome of Sims's (2008) study was "the revelation that the African American female students existed and functioned in a state of irrelation" (p. 699). It seems that many African Americans female students are able to persist and graduate because they are able to create and function in their own world. Universities can use the information from this study to intervene on several levels. Participants discussed the importance of sororities that are culturally centered. Therefore, the campus office that supports Greek life should develop a plan to bring and maintain that type of campus activity. There should be support and resources offered for African American females to create a group that addresses their personal and cultural needs. Most of the participants were happy with their residence-life experiences, but Sims suggested that resident-life staff is trained to support African American female residents.

Looking at the university system, Sims (2008) highlighted the importance of intentional planning for programs that address the concerns and interests of African American women. The university should assist this group in securing resources and funding for programs and activities that speak to their interests. Irrelation is an "alternate

way of looking at the social experiences of African American female college students and can provide different paradigms to address issues of inclusion, participation, and other constructs related to student development" (Sims, 2008, p. 692).

Rosales and Person (2003) offered advice on how best to honor and support African American women on predominantly White campuses. They wrote that "the socialization process of African American women as nurturers of the community, particular, is manifested in college. These women tend to value community, group cohesiveness and group socioeconomic mobility, and a commitment to uplifting others" (p. 55) while succeeding in college. Rosales and Person (2003) emphasized the need for "support that is inclusive of their academic, social, cultural, economic, career, interpersonal, and intrapersonal needs" (p. 55). This kind of holistic approach would uplift the aspirations of African American women.

Although the aforementioned research on African Americans and specifically African American women is compelling, there is a dearth of studies on how best to facilitate the healthy development of a student who must live with being an ethnic minority and female on a predominantly White campus. Although most studies speak to the alienation, isolation, and lack of academic preparedness, it is clear that African American men and women have found ways to create their own support system. As universities become more diverse, student-affairs administrators and faculty have begun to look at how best to support the development of minority groups, especially because the young-adult years are important for the emotional development of students. When a student is not only seen as a man or woman, but also as a person of color, campus

administrators must be educated on racial-identity theories so they know how best to support such an important phase of students' life.

<div align="center">History of Racial-Identity Theories Focused on African Americans</div>

Nigrescence, a French term that means "to become Black" originally defined the study of adult identity conversions in African Americans. The study of nigrescence evolved out of the Civil Rights struggles of the 1960s. During this time, many African American psychologists began to "systematically map and codify the identity transformation that accompanied an individual's participate in the Black power phase (1968–1975) of the Black Social Movement" (Cross, 1991, p. 147). "Models that existed prior to 1970 were focused on deficit model analysis which sought to explain the deficiencies inherent in the Black 'personality' or identity" (Burt & Halpin, 1998, p.5). Between 1968 and 1976, scholars produced a myriad of nigrescence models. Among them are Cross (1971) who made revisions in 1991 and 2001, Crawford and Naditch (1970), Downton (1973), Gerlach and Hine (1970), Jackson, (1976), Kelman and Warwick (1973), Milliones (1980), Napper (1973), Pinderhughes (1968), Sherif and Sherif (1970), Thomas (1971), and Toldson and Pasteur (1975). They comprised sometimes opposing insights on how best to grasp African American identity-conversion occurrences. Cross's (1991) model, along with the Milliones's, Jackson's and Thomas's nigrescence models, have been used in several empirical studies. Here, a synopsis of the Milliones, Jackson, and Thomas models will be discussed along with studies that have used the Cross nigrescence model.

A contemporary of Cross's, Thomas (1971) developed the Thomas model at the same time that Cross was developing his model. Thomas believed that Blackness involved "more than a positive feeling of self; it also includes assertive behavior within a social context. Upon gaining awareness, the Afro-American assaults oppressive institutions that brought about the necessity for a search for Black identity in the first place" (Thomas & Thomas, 1971, p. 16). The Thomas model has five stages, similar to Cross's. But, the Thomas Model begins after a person has already begun to change.

Thomas used a new term, *negromachy,* which he defined as "a form of mental illness that afflicted Black Americans before the onset of the Negro-to-Black movement" (Thomas, 1971, p. 78). Later, Thomas and Thomas (1971) gave a more extensive definition of negromachy, which stated the stage is ruled by confusion of self-worth and shows dependency on White society for definition of the self. Thomas and Thomas (1971) explained themselves further:

> Inherent in this concept of approval is the need to be accepted as something other than what one is. Gratification is based upon denial of self and rejection of group goals and activities. The driving force behind this need required Afro-Americans to seek approval from Whites in all activities, to use White expectations as the yardstick for determining what is good, desirable or necessary. Any indication of rejections by or hostility from Whites results in these Afro-Americans changing their pattern of actions, even when the individual hurts himself and others of his people. Such brothers and sisters become parasites who are undemanding and content with little or nothing. They prefer to have goal directed actions that fit into adoptive patterns, which will not be criticized by Whites. (p. 104)

Those suffering from negromachy show signs of compliance, subservience, repressed anger, and an oversensitivity to racial issues (Cross, 1978, p. 14). This can lead to self-denial.

To overcome negromachy, one must seek a racial identity that in turn becomes a conduit for discovering one's unity with mankind (Thomas, 1971). At this point, the person must withdraw and temporarily suspend contact with other groups for the purpose of defining their personal ethnic boundaries. The outcome of this self-cocooning is a source of power. It is during this voluntary isolation that the conversion begins. In this first stage, there is a need to denigrate White people. It is a confusing time because not only is the person releasing some anger against their oppressor, but the person is also trying to gain a clear picture of the dynamics of negromachy.

The second stage is a time for the person to testify to a personal struggle for their own Black identity. There can be some anxiety with this newfound self. Therefore, the person seeks out approval for what is considered appropriate African American behavior. Third, the person usually joins a community-action group that will assist the individual in actualizing the new self. The mood of the person is calm and relaxed during this time of internalization. Next, the person is now ready to end the isolation and reenter into a relationship with past contacts and others from other ethnic groups. Lastly, the person now finds unity with all humankind, looking beyond age, gender, race, or religion.

In 1970, Thomas, in *Psychology Today,* gave a synopsis of the stages along with examples of behaviors that a person might exhibit. Table 1 shows the behaviors with the corresponding stage.

Table 1

The Thomas Model

Stage	Behavior
1	An African American who wastes all their time rapping on White people.
2	They are testifying to all the pain they have endured because they have contributed to the process of denying the self. They learn to express their anxieties about becoming Black. They get confused as to whether this step has to include rioting and looting or becoming violent.
3	Information process on the cultural heritage; not only the African background but the Black contribution to the homeland, America.
4	African Americans work through a group or organization to find linkage to the larger Black experience. They now live in the Black world.
5	They begin to lose their obsession with race, age, sex, and social class. They see themselves as part of humanity.

Note. Adapted from *Boys No More: A Black Psychologist's View of Community,* by C. W. Thomas, 1971, Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press.

Jackson (1976) introduced his theory of Black identity development (BID). He wanted it to be used as a "framework for teachers, counselors, and group leaders using Humanistic Education methodology with Black people" (p. 158). He created the BID theory in 1971 for the following reasons:

> 1. To provide a conceptual framework for the diagnosis of teaching and learning situations that involve Black students;
> 2. To provide a conceptual framework for the matching of educational technology to student needs; and
> 3. To help Black people who want a better understanding of Black identity development based on a positive perspective rather than a cultural or psychological-deficit perspective. (Jackson, 1976, p. 158)

The BID Theory is premised on the historical oppression and racism experienced by African Americans that has influenced Black identity development. This theory "describes the transformation of values, beliefs, goals and behaviors as well as affects" (Jackson, 1976, p. 158).

Following is Jackson's four-stage BID theory, which was created during the same time as Cross's and Thomas' models.

1. Stage 1: Passive Acceptance. An African American accepts and conforms to White culture and social standards in hopes of gaining resources, such as approval, power or money. At this stage, the person has rejected all things African American.

2. Stage 2: Active Resistance. The person begins to reject White standards. Their energy is focused on building a power structure that will reward African Americans, just as Whites have been rewarded. Active resistance is a time for cleansing the self of White influences and to redirect one's energy towards African American values and goals.

3. Stage 3: Redirection. Now, the African American wants to gain inner resources, such as pride, self-esteem and a unique identity by creating African American goals, traditions, and behaviors. At this time, people are ignoring White society. They might find the White culture irrelevant and begin to experiment with wearing African clothing, listening to African music, or learning Swahili.

4. Stage 4: Internalization. At this stage, the African American "owns and appreciates the uniqueness of the black culture, and the person's Black identity in American society" (Jackson, 1976, p. 162). There is now a sense of personal security based on the experiences in the previous three stages. They are now able to interact with Whites without feeling

oppressed or violated. This person is able to figure out which parts of the

American culture are personally acceptable, such as independence or

financial security.

Jackson noted that no one person can be pigeonholed into one stage. A person can be

operating in two different stages while in two separate situations.

Jackson (1976) gave indicators of each stage of consciousness, dividing indicators

into four subcategories: Values and Beliefs, Control and Validation, Goals, and

Behaviors. Table 2 shows each stage with its corresponding indicators, offering educators

and counselors a guideline (rather than a checklist) to quickly assist a student.

Table 2

Indicators of the Stages of BID Theory

Stage	Values and beliefs	Control and validation	Goals	Behaviors
Consciousness	If you work hard you will be judged by your merit. Whites have superior intelligence. The physical features of Whites are the epitome of beauty.	Reacts to the approval or disapproval of Whites. Control is outside of self.	To be acceptable to Whites. To be seen by White as equal. To hold the same social standing as Whites.	Acts in ways that protect the person from "those Blacks." Boycotts Black professionals because they don't behave like White Professionals
Active Resistance	Values anything that is not White. Believes the only salvation for Black people is the destruction of Whites. The Black community is more important than each member. One must sacrifice for the good of the community or movement.	A Black community united can control its destiny. Validation is sought from the "blackest" Black people (revolutionaries, rhetoricians, etc.).	To establish a separate Black nation; To acquire the power and control enjoyed by Whites; To be seen as the Blackest of Blacks.	Supports and engages in activities that will take power from Whites. Supports and engages in activities that will bring Black people together as a power base.
Redirection	The Black person is beautiful, worthwhile, creative, sensitive, warm, strong and intelligent. Black people need their own culture and heritage.		To maintain and nurture the emerging positive identity; To support other Blacks in their quest for this liberating experience.	Ignores the White community. Practices African traditions. Puts energy and resources into the strengthening of the Black culture. Behaves with an internal self-confidence.
Internalization	Sees White racism as a sickness in American society. Owns some of the traditions, norms, and values of American culture.	Needs very little external validation for personal thoughts, feelings, or actions.	Further understanding of self and place in the world. To help other oppressed people in their quest for personal liberation.	Actively participates in the community for the purpose of making it a better place for all oppressed people.

In 1980, Milliones wanted to create an instrument that would be sensitive to the phases of a Negro-to-Black conversion. To clarify the hypotheses stated by Cross (1971), Thomas (1971), and Jackson (1976), Milliones used the transformation of Malcolm X. As Malcolm went from Malcolm Little to Malcolm X, he went through four distinct stages. As Malcolm Little, during his pre-encounter stage, he had a negative self-image where he peddled drugs and was a burglar. His stay in prison moved him into the Encounter stage, where he became a follower of Elijah Muhammad and changed his name to Malcolm X. He spoke of his guilt at his past life and reevaluated himself as an African American. Upon his exit from prison, Malcolm became a Minister for the Nation of Islam and gave speeches in which he called Whites "the devil." He was clearly in Cross's Immersion stage as he began to preach Black separatism. Lastly, when Malcolm was ousted from the Nation of Islam and he traveled to Mecca for his hajj, Malcolm entered the Internalization stage because he initiated ideology based on the strengths of African Americans and was no longer castigating Whites.

Given the autographical review of Malcolm X and Cross's and Thomas's models, Milliones developed his own stages of Black Consciousness. The stages are as follows:

1. Preconscious Stage: Individuals are antagonistic and glorify the exploitation of African Americans. They have internalized many of the stereotypes of African Americans.
2. Confrontation Stage: The conversion has begun. Anti-White ideas are espoused. African Americans are seen as right and good, while Whites are believed to be bad and evil. Their reactions to racial events are quite passionate and intense.
3. Internalization Stage: Positive values related to the African American experience are internalized, while anti-White sentiments are diminished. "Such individuals seem comfortable with just being 'Black and Beautiful' and do not draw up this experience as a source for further understanding of the Black condition.

4.   Integration Stage: They are dedicated to a strategy to eliminate oppression against all people. "These individuals appear to have integrated the emotional and cognitive components of their experiences (personalities) in such a way that they can genuinely assert their energies toward the continued growth and liberation of themselves and others. (Milliones, 1980, p. 177)

The creation of these four stages of Black Consciousness allowed Milliones to construct the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness, originally with 160 items, 40 items for each stage. Two judges analyzed each item to make sure it was appropriate for the designated stage. Each item for the inventory was selected by consensus of the judges and Milliones.

Milliones made it clear that "this study does not validate the Cross or Thomas developmental models" (1980, p. 179), although the Black Consciousness transformation may imitate either model. Milliones (1980) suggested conducting a longitudinal study to bring clarity to the developmental question, while allowing "an examination of the sequential unfolding of the hypothesized stages" (p. 179). Finally, Milliones (1980) "proposed a more structural investigation and expanding it to include other transformational phenomena, such as religious or political conversion" (p. 182).

Yet, it is clear that many of these theories have distinct commonalities, according to Torres, Jones, and Renn (2009). First, development is progressive, linear, and are discussed as stages that end with identities that "are internalized, synthesized, and permanent" (p. 582). Secondly, there is "the general understanding that identity is socially constructed and reconstructed" (p. 582). Finally, researchers and practitioners must pay attention to the environment which "influences behavior, attitudes, and cognition" (Torres et al., 2009, p. 592).

Prince Okech and Harrington (2002) investigated "the relationships among Black consciousness, self-esteem, and academic self-efficacy in African American men" (p. 214). The authors administered the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness to 120 African American men from a predominantly African American university. They decided to focus on men only for two reasons. First, African American men since the 1980s have declined in their social, economic, and educational status (Garibaldi, 1992). "A study examining the relationships between Black consciousness, self-esteem, and academic self-efficacy in African American men has implications for designing effective educational interventions" (Prince Okech & Harrington, 2002, p. 218). Secondly, Prince Okech and Harrington (2002) pointed to Phinney and Chavira (1992) when addressing the reason for not including women in their study. "Phinney and Chavira (1992) also found that self-esteem and ethnic identity were significantly related in African American women" (Prince Okech & Harrington, 2002, p. 218).

They tested three hypotheses:

1.   African American men with higher Black consciousness have higher academic self-efficacy than African American men with lower Black consciousness.
2.   African American men with higher Black consciousness have higher self-esteem than African American men with lower Black consciousness.
3.   There is no relationship between academic self-efficacy and self-esteem in African American men. (Prince Okech & Harrington, 2002, p. 219)

To test these hypotheses, not only did they use the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness, but also the Self-Esteem Scale and the Academic Self-Efficacy Scale.

The results showed there is a significant relationship between Black consciousness and self-esteem in African American men, which mirrors their female

counterparts. There was also a significant relationship between Black consciousness and academic self-efficacy. Based on these two findings, Prince Okech and Harrington (2002) suggested that interventions that target an African American male student's self-esteem have little or no impact. Psychologists should focus on cultural identity by reinforcing the relationships between success in school and a positive cultural identity. Positive role models are also needed to combat the internalization of negative White stereotypes. The authors supported further research to explore the relationship between Black consciousness and other variables, such as socioeconomic status and urban versus rural settings.

As mentioned above, Cross's nigrescence model is used as the theoretical framework for this study. His original model was developed in 1976 as the centerpiece of his dissertation. He revised the model in 1991, when he wrote *Shades of Black* and expanded the model in 2001. For the purpose of this study, the 1991 revised version will be used. Because the revised version was discussed above there is no need for reiteration; Table 3 shows all three versions and gives insight into how the model changed over 30 years.

Table 3

Revisions to Cross's Nigrescence Model

Model	Stages	Identity
1976 original model	Pre-Encounter	Pro-White/Anti-Black
	Encounter	Anti-White/Pro-Black
	Immersion–Emersion	Humanist
	Internalization	
	Internalization–Commitment	
	Pre-Encounter	
1991 revised model	Pre-Encounter	Assimilation/Anti-Black
	Encounter	Anti-White/Intense Black Involvement
	Immersion–Emersion	Black Nationalist
	Internalization	Biculturalist
		Multiculturalist
2001 expanded model	Pre-Encounter	Assimilation
	Encounter	Miseducation
	Immersion–Emersion	Self-hatred
	Internalization	Anti-White
		Intense Black Involvement
		Black Nationalist
		Biculturalist
		Multiculturalist

Note. From "Nigrescence Theory: Current Status and Challenges for the Future," by F. C. Worrell, W. E. Cross, Jr., & B. J. Vandiver, 2001, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 29*(3), 201–213.

In *Shades of Black*, Cross (1991) reviewed the evolution of his thinking on his revised nigrescence theory. "The revised theory contains the ideas expressed in the original five stages in the same sequence, but substantive changes were made in the Pre-Encounter and Internalization stages" (Vandiver, 2001, p. 167). Also, Cross emphasized the distinction between personal identity and reference group orientation.

> Personal identity reflects the general personality or overall self concept common to the psychological makeup of all human beings and is considered a minor component in Nigrescence theory. In contrast, reference group orientation, the

basis of Nigrescence theory, defines the complex social groups used by the person to make sense of oneself as a social being. (Vandiver, 2001, p. 168)

Cross (1991) introduced race salience. "Race salience refers to the importance or significance of race in a person's approach to life and is captured across two dimensions" (Vandiver, 2001, p. 168). The two dimensions are degree of importance and the direction of the valence.

Thomas (1971), Jackson (1976), and Milliones (1980) are cited in each other's work, but not by many researchers. Although their research was done during the same time, they seemed to have built their models based on the other's work. Cross (1976, 1991; Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001), the most cited model, is also the model that has been used in several empirical studies (Cokley & Helm, 2007; Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007; Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, Jr., 2004b) because of the development of the CRIS. To better understand the themes and identities, Helms (1990), created a summary of general characteristics of the Black racial-identity stages. Table 4 makes it clear that many of the researchers were experiencing and/or witnessing the same transformation.

Table 4

Summary of Characteristics for Black Racial Identity Stages

Stages	General Themes	Emotional Themes	Personal Identity	Reference Group Orientation	Ascribed Identity
Pre-Encounter Active Passive	Idealization of Whiteness Denigration of Blackness	Anxiety Poor self-esteem Defensiveness	Negative Idealized Positive	White/Euro American White/Euro American	White None (non-Black)
Encounter Events Experience	Consciousness of race	Bitterness Hurt Anger	Positive Transitional	White/Euro American Black	None Black
Immersion/ Emersion	Idealization of Blackness Denigration of Whiteness	Rage Self-destructiveness Impulsivity; Euphoric	None Positive	Black Bicultural	Black Black
Internalization/ Commitment	Racial transcendence	Self-controlled Calm Secure Activistic	Positive Positive	Bicultural Pluralistic	Black Black/ Pan African

Note. From "Introduction: Review of Racial Identity Terminology," by J. E. Helms, 1990, in J. E. Helms (Ed.), *Black and White Racial Identity: Theory, Research, and Practice* (pp. 3–9), Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

All of the aforementioned racial-identity theories use a sequential-stage process. "People progress in their development from lower to higher stages through a series of changes in the racial attitudes—both with regard to their own race, as well as in regard to other races" (Knox, Lichtenberg, Moore, & Jones, 1996, p. 3). The purpose of the Knox et al. study was to test the instruments that are used to highlight a participant's current stage. Knox et al. (1996) wrote, "Given their popularity and significant use in current research on racial identity and attitudes, whether the instruments themselves function psychometrically in the hierarchical and developmental fashion presumed by the developers is worthy of testing" (p. 6).

Concerning the scales, if each behavior, as it appears, displaces the preceding one, then a set of responses is said to form a disjunctive scale (Wohlwill, 1973). Knox et al. (1996) pointed out that Cross's (1976, 1978) stages of racial development could be considered a disjunctive scale "if as development proceeds, identity and attitudes characterizing lower stages of development successively are replaced by the attitudes of higher stages" (Knox et al., 1996, p. 6).

Knox et al. (1996) used a sample of 203 African American students to test the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B; Parham & Helms, 1981) as the measure for African American racial attitudes and racial-identity development. The RIAS-B consists of 50 items originally designed to measure the racial attitudes proposed by Cross (1976). Using the White Racial Identity Attitude scale, 160 White students also participated. The White Racial Identity Attitude scale is also a 50-item assessment that reflects the five stages of White racial-identity development proposed by Helms (1984). Both groups attended the same predominantly African American urban university, which could be considered a limitation to the study. Knox et al. (1996) wrote, "Given the southern location of the university used in this study, the subject's life experiences may have influenced the level of racial identity development although higher than expected Pre-Encounter scores on the RIAS-B were not found" (p. 13).

The results showed that the RIAS-B and White Racial Identity Attitude scale gave partial substantiation that both instruments performs as intended. Based on their findings, Knox et al. (1996) believed we are "in dire need of more current models of Black identity attitudes which would perhaps speak more successfully to the racial sophistication and

potentially differing developmental stages experienced by today's Black population"

(p. 12).

Although, Knox et al. (1996) believed that new models of racial-identity attitudes

need to be developed, researchers and practitioners continue to rely on Cross's model for

insight and continue to use African American college students to further the research.

Cokley (1999) imitated a cross-sectional study by Cheatham, Slaney, and Coleman

(1990) that found no differences between freshmen and seniors on a measure of the

stages in Cross's model of African American identity formation. Cokley (1999) studied

206 lower- and upper-division African American students using the Multidimensional

Inventory of Black Identity and the African Self-Consciousness scale. Like Cheatham et

al., Cokley found no significant differences between freshmen and seniors on the African

consciousness measure, between African American women at either a historically Black

institutions or PWI, and "no class year differences in racial identity among the women at

the PWI" (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005, p. 217). On a measure of racial-identity

formation, seniors at the historically African American university exhibited higher scores

than the female first-year students. This finding "suggests that the influence on racial

identity development may vary according to the racial composition of the institution"

(Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005, p. 217). Cokley looked for these differences and found

none.

As researchers continued to look at the individual who was experiencing a

conversion, many began to pay closer attention to how this transformation affected their

choices and interactions on campus, specifically in student organizations. Mitchell and

Dell (1992) believed student interactions in organizations and the connection to one's

racial identity was an important field of study.

> Much of the previous research on racial identity attitudes has focused on its
> implications in counseling situations. Little attention has been given to how racial
> identity attitudes affect daily student functioning and decision making or whether
> or not they are predictive of such activities. This is an oversight, given that
> involvement in campus activities can affect student retention, satisfaction, and
> perceptions of college in general. (p. 39)

Therefore, the Mitchell and Dell (1992) study investigated whether the kind of campus

activity students preferred was connected to their racial-identity attitudes. Using Cross's

model as a guide, Mitchell and Dell (1992) hypothesized "that individuals holding certain

attitudes may differentially choose to associate and dissociate with certain racial groups"

(p. 40).

They conducted their study at a large PWU on the west coast of the United States.

There were a total of 101 African American students who were asked to be involved in

the study. The percentage of participation was 51%. Students used a questionnaire that

was developed by Mitchell and Dell (1992). There were demographic questions regarding

age, gender, socioeconomic status, class standing, and college major. For the campus-

involvement segment, students were given a list of campus activities that were grouped

into categories, such as student government, sports, political, and social clubs. Some

clubs were described as cultural, noncultural, or had no designation. "Cultural

organizations refer to those groups for which the primary focus is on the needs and

interests of Blacks or the membership consists primarily of Blacks" (Mitchell & Dell,

1992, p. 40). Students specified in how many clubs they participated. Each person's

racial-identity attitude was determined by the RIAS (Parham & Helms, 1981), which is based on Cross's nigrescence model.

The results showed the mean participation in campus activities was 2.6 organizations with a standard deviation of 3.1. For women, the mean participation was 2.13 activities, while men had a mean of 3.10 activities. "Cultural political and social clubs (41%) and cultural academic and professional organizations (39%) were the activities the total sample participated in the most" (Mitchell & Dell, 1992, p. 41). Of participants, 56% participated in at least one cultural group, while 31% participated in at least one noncultural organization.

Mitchell and Dell (1992) expected and found that the Encounter, Immersion, and Internalization attitudes positively correlated with participation in cultural activities. Pre-Encounter attitudes were negatively related. Accordingly, "the higher a person's pro-White, anti-Black (Pre-Encounter) attitudes, the less likely a person is to participate in cultural (i.e., Black-oriented) campus activities" (Mitchell & Dell, 1992, p. 42). Of particular importance, more men than women were involved in cultural academic and professional student organizations. This could mean that African American men have greater contact with African American role models and mentors.

The nigrescence process is not one event, but a developmental process that can occur over a lifetime. If this process takes place in a supportive social environment, such as a university campus, then a student could develop healthy and high self-esteem and self-efficacy. Alternatively, if the student is besieged with acts of discrimination and oppression, "then the nigrescence stages are likely to be an adequate reflection of that

person's struggle for identity congruence (Parham, 2001, p. 162). When practitioners, whether they are counselors or student-affairs administrators, are working with students, they must remember that students will face hardships. How those students endure hardships will be a testimony to a university's ability to foster a sense of belonging for all students. Parham (1993) posed a thoughtful question in the context of the nigrescence experience: How does one maintain a sense of cultural integrity in a world that does not +could provide people with "psychological armor that is used to defend the psyche against attacks from the larger society" (Parham, 2001, p. 164).

The Relationship Between Leadership and the Phases of the Nigrescence Process

Even before the contemporary Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and early 1970s, African Americans had been discussing what they needed to lead them out of their oppressive state. In the African American culture, men have always been called to lead. DuBois (1995) asked the question, "How then shall the leaders of a struggling people be trained at the hands of the risen few strengthened?" His clear answer was to send African American young people to college. DuBois believed that education not only uplifted a people, but could teach life. He believed that those who lead would only constitute approximately 1 in 10 African Americans. He wrote,

> The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. It would seem that if one is called to be a leader, understanding one's self, as an African American, must first be addressed. (DuBois, 1995, p. 80)

Also, DuBois only wrote of men taking on this endeavor, but currently there is a universal understanding that practicing leadership is not gender specific.

To educate students to be leaders has always been the mission of higher education institutions (Astin, 1993). "Despite the plethora of leadership programs scattered across college campuses, scant empirical investigation has been conducted into the benefits of such educational efforts" (Posner, 2009, p.551). Schuh and Laverty (1983) conducted a study that had several purposes. They wanted to examine the

> perceived influence of significant student leadership experiences on selected life activities of former student leaders, determine the perceived influence of significant student leadership experiences on selected skills of former student leaders, and compare the effect of significant leadership experiences on former student leaders from three diverse institutions of higher education. (Schuh & Laverty, 1983, p. 29)

A two-part questionnaire was developed specifically for this study. The first part asked if leadership experiences affected several major activities in participants' lives. The second part asked participants to report their perceptions of the affect of their leadership experience on their skills, such as budgeting or organizing.

According to 60% of the study participants, leadership involvement had considerable or tremendous influence on the development of skills, such as communication, decision-making, organizing, supervising, or budgeting. Overall, the "effect of student leadership experiences seemed to be about the same" and gender, "as an intervening variable may have little impact on the influence of student leadership experiences" (Schuh & Laverty, 1983, p. 31). They concluded that past student leaders experienced a greater affect on the skills they developed than on activities (marriage, career choices, or religious activities) of their later years. For further research, Schuh and Laverty (1983) suggested an "examination of the impact of leadership experiences of the

members of minority groups" (p. 32) because few, if any, of their participants were ethnic minorities.

Rooney (1985) conducted an exploratory study on students of color and involvement in same-race student organizations. Rooney's research questions centered on the existence of these groups, feelings about being involved, perceptions about the functions of the groups, and involvement in other groups. The study took place at a large university in the midwestern United States and included students from organizations that represented Asian American, Chicano, Native American, Puerto Rican, and African American students.

The results of the questionnaire showed that only 17% of students of color reported being involved in one of the minority groups, whereas 70% reported being aware of minority-group organizations. Of those who were involved in these groups, most had been involved for 2 or more years and stated that the involvement made them feel more comfortable at the university. Almost two thirds (62%) of students had a positive attitude about minority-student organizations and 98% of minority students were involved in some sort of campus-wide organization.

Rooney (1985) gave several recommendations on how best to assist minority students concerning students' feelings about campus wide groups. Student-affairs professionals need to understand that there are minority students who are involved in campus-wide organizations, but want to preserve their ethnic distinctiveness, rather than supporting the notion that all minority students are most at ease in their own groups. Practitioners should be aware of the needs of minority students and should attend to those

needs by persuading campus-wide groups to incorporate multicultural topics and concerns in their activities. Finally, practitioners can help minority student groups by increasing their participation in university activities and by supporting their work to address the needs of minority students and their development.

Finally, Rooney (1985) gave several recommendations for further study. They included investigating the effects of involvement on feelings of alienation and retention, the college environment, and its effects on retention measures; the connection between high school and college involvement; and the characteristics of students who are involved in student organizations.

In 2001, Sutton and Kimbrough set out to investigate African American student involvement in traditional student organizations at PWUs. Based on research (Fleming, 1984; Rooney, 1985) students of color found traditional organizations "exclusive and insensitive to their social needs" (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001, p. 31). These perceptions have influenced the participation levels of students of color. Many of these same students are actively involved in multicultural organizations because of the groups' "commitment to serve disenfranchised members of the community" (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001, p. 32). Sutton and Terrell (1997) found that students of color prefer to share their leadership abilities in community organizations because of their perception that the actions of Whites do not show true commitment.

Sutton and Kimbrough (2001) focused on the types of activities of organizations in which African Americans are involved. The instrument used was the Likert-type Student Involvement and Leadership scale created by Kimbrough (1995). The scale

measures student involvement on and off campus. Data were extracted from a study of African American involvement and leadership development, with an emphasis on Greek membership. A total of 405 students completed the instrument. Students were chosen from historically African American universities and PWUs in seven southern states. Females comprised the majority of respondents.

Results show that "the vast majority of Black students in this study ($n = 334$, 85%) perceived themselves as leaders, although the number of those actually holding a formal position or office was considerably less ($n = 190$, 49.5%)" (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001, p. 34). The results indicated that most African American students continue to see multicultural organizations as the primary venues for involvement. The type of university influenced the students' outlet for involvement. At PWUs, African American students were more involved in same-race organizations, whereas their counterparts at historically African American universities were more likely to be involved in student government or as orientation leaders or ambassadors.

It is interesting that many African American students saw themselves as leaders, but did not hold any elected or appointed position. This coincides with Arminio et al. (2000) who found that many students do not like the leadership label. For that reason, for traditional campus groups to become more diverse, members and their advisors should be receptive to the type of leadership styles that exist in different ethnic groups. Furthermore, campus leadership-development programs should integrate other approaches of leadership, which could improve opportunities for African American students across the whole campus.

In Arminio et al. (2000), all college professors and student-affairs administrators noticed that students of color were not eagerly taking on leadership positions in student organizations. Life experiences and racial identity can influence a student's attitude and behavior. Could these two variables also explain these students' view of leadership? Using phenomenological interviewing, Arminio et al. (2000) set out

> to determine whether leadership programs were congruent with value orientations and leadership experiences of students of color. Moreover, if the student's experiences were not congruent, the researchers sought suggestions on ways that leadership development programs could better assist student leaders of color (p. 499)

Interviews were conducted at two universities with a total of 106 students. "Though the label 'student of color' denotes a great variety of students, the researchers decided that participants in this study would include students who identified themselves as African American/Black, Asian/Asian American, Latino/a, Chicano/a, and Hispanic American" (Arminio et al., 2000, p. 499). International students were not included. Each interviewer selected 6 to 8 students to interview. Each participant was interviewed over a span of 3 years, which led to common elements or themes.

> Themes of their experiences included disdain for the label of leader; the personal costs of holding leadership positions; the different experiences in predominantly White, multiracial or same-race groups; group loyalty over individual needs; gender differences in leadership; and a lack of campus staff and faculty role models (Arminio et al., 2000, p. 496).

Most participants resented being called a leader because the title separated them from their group. Being a leader "meant being part of the enemy, no longer separated from the oppressor or an oppressive system" (Arminio et al., 2000, p. 500). Many participants resented the term *leader* as a description of themselves. Students also

commented on their loss of privacy, interdependence, and relationships. African American student leaders commented on the difficulty of grand expectations. Arminio et al. (2000) found the African American student leaders "often felt they could not do enough for everyone. They had to walk a fine line, fearful of being considered too radical or not radical enough" (p. 501).

As for involvement in student organizations, students of color joined same-race organizations to realize racial-identity developmental and cultural-compatibility needs. In contrast, many joined predominantly White groups to acquire what they identified as a perfect leadership experience or because they were developmentally prepared for external expression of their racial identity. However, they were subjected to racism or were asked to function as spokespeople on behalf of their race. Also, according to this study, African American students were likely to state that they became leaders because their families expected it of them. Arminio et al. (2000) wrote, "They had been brought up with a sense of responsibility to their race and to their community. Hence, they translated that commitment to involvement in campus organizations for the benefit of the group" (pp. 503–504).

Lastly, the students discussed gender issues as they relate to leadership. When researchers asked if there were any differences between male and female leaders of color, they answered "no," but discussed the issue further. They talked about different styles of communication, such as the men getting straight to the point, while females like to talk about an issue. Women discussed being a double minority, a person of color and a woman, believing they already had two strikes against them. This study concluded that

there are important means by which the values and experiences of student leaders of color are not being validated in leadership programs based on conventional leadership literature" (Arminio et al., 2000. p. 505). The authors also gave several recommendations. First, those university professionals who are in charge of leadership development programs need to realize "that leadership language does not ring true for all students" (Arminio et al., 2000, p. 505). Also, a collaborative approach policy is de-emphasized for student organizations even though it is considered extremely important in student-leadership training. Third, role models are important in the leadership development of students of color. Universities need to make an effort to organize meetings of student leaders of color and appropriate role models. In addition, student-affairs practitioners should find a way for student leaders of color to avoid compromising their racial identity when joining predominantly White groups. Their last recommendation focused on gender.

> In training and development programs, the intersection of race and gender must be addressed. The scrutiny that women leaders of color experience as 'two strikes' continues and heightens the need to address gender and racial equity with both men and women. (Arminio et al., 2000, p. 506)

Posner (2009), a professor of leadership at Santa Clara University, conducted a study that investigated the impact of leadership-development programs in student's first year and senior year. Posner wanted to investigate whether students could increase their leadership behavior after completing a leadership-development program. He also wanted to know if these leadership behaviors would differ from those of students who did not complete a leadership-development program. Lastly, Posner examined the impact of gender on leadership behaviors and development.

Posner developed a scale, the Student Leadership Practice Inventory (S-LPI). Using a 5-point Likert-type scale, the S-LPI "consists of 30 descriptive statements about leadership behaviors, and respondents are asked to indicate how frequently they engage in each one" (Posner, 2009, p. 554). Behaviors are modeling the way, inspiring a shared vision, challenging the process, enabling others to act, and encouraging the heart. The S-LPI was administered to 384 first-year business students attending a private university on the west coast of the United States. Gender was the only demographic variable collected. There were 216 females compared to 169 males participants. Three years later all senior business students were asked to complete the S-LPI again. A total of 169 participants (96 females and 73 males) were matched from both administrations of the S-LPI (see Appendix B).

Results showed that "the frequency of use of the five leadership practices increased significantly for both male and female students from their freshman to their senior years; that is, after completing the leadership development program. Gender did not affect this pattern" (Posner, 2009, p. 558). Posner advised that when discussing "doing leadership" and learning about leadership, "Students must learn not about simply leadership, or even about leaders, but must learn what it mean to be effective leaders themselves as they practice learning about the behaviors in which leaders most frequently engage" (Posner, 2009, p. 561). This is advice for campus administrators who are trying to encourage more African American students to participate in campus leadership positions.

Arminio et al. (2000), and Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) agreed that a limited

number of investigations offer empirical assessments of the impact of race on student

leadership development. Dugan, Komives, and Segar (2008) pointed out three problems

that affect the theoretical knowledge of student-services practitioners. Surprisingly,

"leadership research in which college students serve as the primary population of interest

is a relatively recent phenomenon" (Dugan et al., 2008, p. 480). Also, there is a

significant absence of research probing into the influence of demographic membership on

leadership development (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). Finally, there is a lack of

consistency in research findings connected to student leadership development because

most research performed on college students uses "atheoretical, general measures of

leadership rather those models designed for the population" (Dugan et al., 2008, p. 480).

Therefore, the purpose of the study was to create a more thorough awareness of

the leadership development needs of college students. The sample comprised 55 schools,

58% public and 42% private institutions. They used an adapted version of the Socially

Responsible Leadership Scale, created by Tyree in 1998. It was created to measure the

eight values associated with the social-change model of leadership development:

consciousness of self, congruence, commitment, collaboration, common purpose,

controversy with civility, citizenship, and change.

Existing research does little to help interpret the influences of race on leadership,

as much of the research is done outside the realm of higher education. Researchers found

"meaningful differences" among racial groups across individual values. "The strength of

African American and Black students' leadership across the values of Consciousness of

Self, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship, and Change is consistency with cultural value orientations that stress the importance of collectivism" (Dugan et al., 2008, p. 489). Except for change, women scored higher on all leadership measures. This supports Boatwright and Egidio (2003), who found that women exhibit leadership styles that are more democratic, relational, and participative. Dugan, Komives, and Segar (2009) pointed to future research that speaks to part of the purpose for this study: "Future research should also examine the extent to which salience of racial, gender, and sexual identity development influence leadership development" (p. 491).

Kezar and Moriarty (2000) looked at expanding leadership development of African Americans and women. They highlighted the emphasis that African Americans place on "being helpful to others and to society than did Caucasian college students" (p. 56). They also pointed out that African American students favor "less structured and more fluid organizational designs, a very personal style of leadership with an emphasis on making people feel comfortable, and communication styles which stress input and feedback and an exchange of ideas from members" (p. 56).

Kezar and Moriarty (2000) conducted a study examining the "factors influencing leadership development among college students and specifically focused on potential differences for women and African American students" (p. 57). They found that predictors of leadership abilities among African American women were strongest among those who participated in a leadership course or held an elected position. Participating in sports and interacting with students of other ethnic groups were somewhat less important.

Kezar and Moriarty (2000) had one important finding that encourages further study, which is the significance of positional leadership opportunities for African American women. Kezar and Moriarty (2000) wrote,

> Further research on the development of leadership among African American women is clearly needed. Why are training classes important to all other groups, but unrelated to leadership development among African American women? A qualitative research study that explores the reasons why positional leadership is more important to African American women than men would help shed light on the development of leadership among these groups. (p. 67)

There are campus groups that do validate the values and experiences of African American students and are assisting them in developing their leadership skills, while supporting their racial identity development. Black Greek organizations (BGOs) play a crucial role in showing a campus in a positive light. BGOs allow members to create interpersonal relationships and bonds. Kimbrough (1995) wrote, "If being a Greek is a viable means for increasing students' motivation and performance as well as enhancing their cognitive and leadership development, then assessment of Black students' involvement in these organizations on predominantly White campuses seems particularly warranted" (p. 64). Therefore, Kimbrough conducted a study pertaining to the views of African American students and BGOs or fraternities and sororities.

The purpose of the study was to explore the views held by Black Greeks and Black non-Greeks on the BGOs role in leadership development. Kimbrough (1995) had four hypotheses:

1. Similarities will exist across groups in their self-assessments of their leadership skills.
2. Black Greeks will hold more leadership positions than Black non-Greeks.
3. Similarities will be found across groups with regard to the self-reported value of leadership.

4.   Both Black Greeks and Black non-Greeks will find value in BGOs.
(Kimbrough, 1995, p. 64)

Participants were 61African American students attending a PWU in a rural

Midwest state who volunteered for this study. Of the 61 volunteers, 27 were members of

a BGO; 34 were not members of a BGO, but participated in other African American

student groups. Unfortunately, the majority (80%) of non-Greeks were female because

there is little participation from African American males outside of fraternities. The

instrument used was a Likert-type scale questionnaire that was created by Kimbrough

(1995).

Results illustrated that although most of the students did not hold a position in an

organization, they considered themselves leaders at a level of 92.5% for Black Greeks

and 94.2% for Black non-Greeks. This finding mirrors the Arminio et al. (2000) study.

Approximately 99% of both groups agreed that leadership development is a valuable skill

for African American students. Also, both groups agreed that "Black-dominated

organizations provided leadership opportunities at a higher level than White-dominated

ones" (Kimbrough, 1995, p. 68). All of Kimbrough's hypotheses were confirmed, but he

did mention two important foci for further study: gender differences in attitudes and

having individuals define leadership.

Harper and Quaye (2007) explored ways where membership in student groups,

both primarily African American and traditionally White, provide freedom for African

American identity expression and development. Mitchell and Dell (1992) also studied

African American college students and believed that more investigation needed to be

performed on the factors that drive African American student engagement in campus

groups and activities. Evans, Forney, and Guido-DiBrito (1998) surmised that identity struggles are largely responsible for many early departures from college, especially for African American males.

Harper and Quaye (2007) conducted a qualitative study on the subject of the "experiences of high-achieving African American undergraduate men who were actively involved and held leadership positions in multiple student organizations at PWIs" (p. 131). The authors' sample was 32 African American men, chosen by university administrators, from six different PWUs in the midwestern United States. Harper and Quaye (2007) questioned the participants' selection of organizations, their reasons for involvement, and experiences that shaped their racial-identity development and expression.

Two sets of findings resulted, pertaining to "the development and expression of the participants' Black identities within the context of student organizations" (Harper & Quaye, 2007, p. 134). Each student leader spoke about a promise to strengthen the African American community, whether on or off campus. The leaders also wanted to dispel stereotypes and open new doors for other African American students on campus. Furthermore, if a participant was more involved in a traditionally White student organization, they did so because they saw insufficient representation of African Americans.

Students referred to cross-cultural-communication skills throughout interviews. Participants mentioned they were learning how to work with people from different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. They understood that they would have to learn how to

reach out to people of different ethnic groups to be successful. Participants realized these interactions helped them learn about others with unique backgrounds and allowed them to talk about themselves.

Harper and Quaye (2007) wrote, "Leadership and engagement in student organizations enabled the participants in the present study to embody many of the characteristics" (p. 139) of Cross's Internalization stage. Internalization indicates an ease with one's Blackness: There is an ability to shape partnerships with people outside of one's ethnic group, while holding on to the pledge to create positive change for African Americans.

Harper and Quaye (2007) gave several suggestions as to how student-affairs professionals and advisors can increase involvement among African American males. African American and traditionally White student organizations should market themselves as venues for African American males to learn more about themselves and others. They cautioned professionals against tokenizing African American males who decide to become involved in a mainstream student organization. A student would be reluctant to become a member of an organization if they felt like they were going to be the spokesperson for their whole race. Another item of sage advice is for faculty and student-affairs educators to

> engage African American men in conversations about the ways in which they define their Blackness, the racial realities of their college experiences, and their expectations of the institutions' response to racism and social injustice. Based on where students are developmentally, organizations and activities that will enable them to further explore their identities and respond to the social issues they deem important should be introduced. (Harper & Quaye, 2007, p. 141)

Predominantly African American student organizations are still needed. These are the venues where students are encouraged to express themselves and develop as African American men. These organizations continue to offer a supportive atmosphere that empowers students to seek out their own sense of Blackness, while uplifting the African American community.

Summary

In the 1960s, researchers began to investigate college-student development. Chickering's (1969) seven vectors on the psychosocial development of college students set the stage for university administers to propose programs and extracurricular activities to develop students who were going to be valuable to society. With the beginning of student programming and activities, researchers initiated studies on how student involvement contributed to a student's college experience. Astin (1975) conducted an influential study that led to his student-involvement theory. It was clear by this time that the learning that took place outside of the classroom was just as valuable as that taking place in the classroom.

During the college years, students are on a journey in which they become politically conscious, they choose careers, and form their identities (Cheatham & Berg-Cross, 1992). Studies were conducted to understand how student involvement might best assist students. Student development is enhanced by involvement in an organization (Cooper et al., 1994; Hernandez et al., 1999). It was with the influx of students of color, specifically African American students, in the late 1960s that researchers began to look at how students of color were adapting and developing at PWUs. College-student

development had been based on the theories of Chickering and Astin. Johnson (2003)

questioned whether it is appropriate to base college student development on White

American psychologies. She believed that practitioners could not "Blackenize" a theory,

but needed to create a theory that reflected the historical, philosophical, and cultural

reality of African Americans.

Most of the research on African American college students discussed the issues of

acclimation, attrition, or persistence at PWUs. There are several studies that focus on

comparing African American and White college students (Cabrera et al., 1999; D'Augelli

& Hershberger, 1993). Although the majority of the research focuses on African

Americans as a whole, there were a few studies that focused on African American

women (Baruch et al., 1983; Danowitz Sagaria, 1988; Fleming, 1984; Gilligan, 1982;

Johnson-Newman & Exum, 1998; Robinson & Ward, 1991; Sims, 2008). Researchers

concurred on the issues that African American women faced at PWIs. Living as a double

minority—African American and female—leaves these students feeling isolated,

undervalued, and incompetent. Although they may express assertiveness among their

same-race friends or in their own communities, African American female college

students suppress their talents and skills while interacting with other students on campus

(Fleming, 1984). In fact, Sims (2008) used the term *irrelation* to describe the experiences

of African American women. Sims (2008) found that African American women lived in a

state of irrelation by creating their own world. They participated in same-race

organizations or joined historically African American sororities.

Graduate students, involved in the Civil Rights Movement, began to acknowledge the many changes they were experiencing as African American men. Cross (1971), Jackson (1976), Milliones (1980), and Thomas (1971) created theories, based on personal experiences that defined stages or phases they experienced. These theories are nigrescence theories because of the Negro-to-Black process. Cross's nigrescence theory depicts the identity transformation of an African American. Soon after its inception, many scholars began to apply it to the influx of African American college students at PWUs, to assist African American students through the challenges they would encounter.

Most of the nigrescence theories are similar and have been modified over time, as more research is done. Although Cross's original theory has been revised and expanded, it is the 1991 revised theory that is most used in research. The Cross nigrescence theory stages are Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion–Emersion and Internalization. Cross's model is popular because of the creation of the CRIS.

Understanding Cross's nigrescence model could help student-affairs professionals create a college environment that honors the transformation that African American students experience. To honor such a personal revolution would mean that student programming and extracurricular activities would need to be welcoming venues for these students. It would have to allow for a cross section of conversations around race, history, and psychosocial development that has been 50 years in the making.

Adding leadership development, a key component to the mission of most student-affairs departments, to the conversation opens another path to change for many researchers and practitioners. In the early 1900s, DuBois considered leadership

development an important part of empowering African Americans. Several researchers,

beginning in the 1980s, conducted studies (Arminio et al., 2000; Harper & Quaye, 2007;

Kimbrough, 1995; Rooney, 1985; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001; Sutton & Terrell, 1997) on

the affects of student organizations, leadership, and the nigrescence process on African

American students.

These studies came to the same conclusions. University educators and staff need

to be aware of how a PWU makes a minority student feel. To decrease feelings of

isolation and alienation, programming and activities need to specifically address the

development of African American students. Addressing these issues will decrease the

number of students leaving college. Also, universities need to support the ongoing

activities of same-race student organizations. These organizations assist minority students

in developing and expressing their cultural identity. As an example, BGOs are one venue

where African American men feel comfortable taking on leadership positions

(Kimbrough, 1995). Because of the historical accomplishments of these organizations,

along with famous and accomplished role models, many African American college

students turn to BGOs for cultural lessons, development, expression, and leadership

development.

What Arminio et al. (2000) found was most interesting when discussing

leadership. Students of color may not call themselves leaders or actually like the label or

title of *leader* because it implies a hierarchal system, instead of the collectivism that

many minority cultures value. Therefore, university professionals and organization

advisors need to find ways to make this art of traditional or mainstream student organizations. These changes can begin in leadership-development campus programs.

Much of the research done on the development of African American college students has focused on men or men and women. Cheatham and Berg-Cross (1992) noted the absence of research on the relationship between culture, gender, and college-student development. Chickering (1969) did not focus on students of color or women when developing his seven vectors. Astin did not accommodate for gender or cultural differences when creating his hypotheses. As women began to move into the field of psychosocial development, they began to see some research on how females, especially women of color, cope on college campuses (Fleming, 1984; Gilligan, 1982). Researchers began to focus on the double-minority college experience (Johnson-Newman & Exum, 1998; Sims, 2008). Yet to date, no one has looked at African American women's cultural development and its effects on their leadership experiences and style. If universities are preparing students to be active and compassionate members of society, it is important to pay attention to how all of its citizens are personally challenged during such a transformational time in life.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Restatement of the Problem

Attending college gives a student the opportunity to stimulate their cognitive development. With more African Americans, specifically women, attending college, practitioners have had to look beyond just cognitive development and focus on the student's racial-identity development, especially when attending a PWI. Research has shown that many African American students suffer from anxiety, social isolation, and a lack of self-esteem and self-efficacy when attending PWIs. Much of this research has focused on African Americans as a whole or African American males as a subgroup. As African American female students face the trials of life as a double minority, how is their nigrescence process realized.

Research Design

The researcher used a mixed-method approach that focused on a transformative sequential strategy. This strategy

> has two distinct data collection phases, one following the other. The aim of this theoretical perspective is more important in guiding the study than the use of methods alone. The purpose of a sequential transformative strategy is to employ the methods that will best serve the theoretical perspective of the researcher. (Creswell, 2003, p. 216)

Quantitative and qualitative data were collected in two phases. First, the CRIS was administered to participants. The second phase consisted of an open-ended interview with volunteer participants. The results of both phases were integrated in the interpretation phase. The use of the sequential transformative strategy has best served the

developmental framework because this researcher wanted "to give voice to diverse perspectives, to better advocate for participants" (Creswell, 2003, p. 216).

The researcher contacted individual African American female student leaders at universities in the San Francisco Bay area (see Appendixes C, D, and E). Once contacted, the researcher asked each person to voluntarily participate in the study. Each participant received a password enabling them to complete the survey online. Following receipt of the completed survey, the researcher contacted participants for an individual interview. Approximately six interviews were conducted with participant volunteers.

<div align="center">Research Setting</div>

Research was conducted at one private university and one public university. Both are located in northern California. The public university is a national leader in graduating minority students. In fall 2008, enrollment was 32,746 with 93% being California residents. Over half (17,596) of the enrolled student population was female, which was typical of most Bay area public universities. Only 1,551 of enrolled students were African American, with 822 being African American females. Asians comprised 23% of the population while Hispanics made up 16%. The total minority population was 52%, while Whites were 28% of the enrolled student population for fall 2008. African American enrollment has largely remained the same over the last 10 years, with an enrollment of 4.02% in 1999 and 4.74% in 2008. Although over half of the student population was considered ethnic minorities, the university continues to be considered a PWI. The university has over 300 student organizations ranging from religious and cultural to recreational and social.

According to the private university, the total enrollment for undergraduates was 6,759 in Fall 2008. Approximately 51% was female. African American students comprised 9% of the total undergraduate population, while Asians made up almost three times that, at 24%. The Hispanic population was at 12% of the of the student body, which gave this university a minority population of approximately 47%. Whites comprised 42% of the campus population. There are approximately 25 African and African American student organizations on campus.

Population

The researcher first sampled student organizations, obtained names from the university's office of student involvement website, and then drew approximately 6 African American female student leaders from the university student organizations and residence halls to complete the CRIS. From the survey respondents, the researcher asked for volunteers to participate in one-on-one interviews. Each participant was considered an elected or appointed student leader in their respective organization. All participants were African American female undergraduate students who attended the university and maintained at least part-time status.

Human-Subjects Approval

Prior to collecting any data, this researcher obtained approval (see Appendix F) from the Office of Institutional Review at San Jose State University (SJSU) and then from the University of San Francisco (USF) Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (see Appendix G). Once this was achieved, the SJSU (2009) website was accessed to retrieve the contact information for all student groups that had an elected

or appointment African American female leader. Upon realizing that SJSU had approximately 3 possible subjects, this researcher applied for and received approval from Stanford University (2008), shown in Appendix H. A modification application was approved (see Appendix G) by USF Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects. Following this approval, this researcher contacted the Director of The Black Community Services Center at Stanford University. On the Black Community Center website is a list of all student organizations that are organized by African and African American students. Using this list, all female student leaders were contacted.

Instrumentation

The CRIS is a measure of African American racial identity attitudes based on the revised nigrescence model (Cross, 1991) and expanded based on the empirical work of Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, and Fhagen-Smith (2002) and Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, and Worrell (2001). The CRIS was created using five independent samples over 5 years. During that time, data were collected from approximately 1,000 students at two university campuses.

CRIS team members wrote 250 items during the first phase of development. Asked to rate how well each item reflected one of the nigrescence stages, 45 experts assessed the 126 items.

> Twenty experts returned item analysis, and items meeting the following criteria were included in the initial scale: (a) mean rating was at least six on a ten-point scale, (b) 75% of raters classified it as representing the construct, and (c) fewer than 25% rated it as representing multiple constructs" (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004b, p. 3).

As Worrell, Cross, and Vandiver (2001) humbly pointed out, "From our perspective, the CRIS is a work in progress and, like all scales, should remain a work in progress over several years until the preponderance of the evidence is favorable" (p. 205). Table 5 (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004a) shows examples of CRIS items for each subscale.

The CRIS is comprised of two sections, the first being a demographic section. The second section consists of 40 items on racial-identity attitudes, using a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from (1) being strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree. Each item falls into one of the following attitudes: Pre-Encounter, Immersion–Emersion, or Internalization.

Table 5

Sample CRIS Statements

Subscale	CRIS item
Pre-Encounter—Assimilation	I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.
Pre-Encounter—Miseducation	Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.
Pre-Encounter—Self-hatred	Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
Immersion–Emersion—Anti-White	I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.
Internalization—Afrocentricity	I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.
Internalization—Multiculturalist Inclusive	As a Multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian Americans, Whites, Jews, gays, and lesbians, etc.)

Reliability

Table 6 gives reliability estimates on the CRIS. In the third column, Worrell,

Vandiver, and Cross (2004a) provide "reliability estimates based on Cronbach's (1951)

alpha" (p. 5).

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics for CRIS Subscales

Subscale	Mean	Standard deviation	Cronbach's alpha
Pre-Encounter Assimilation	2.72	1.21	.85
Miseducation	2.74	1.12	.78
Self-hatred	1.95	1.10	.89
Immersion–Emersion	2.03	1.08	.89
Anti-White			
Internalization	3.89	1.08	.83
Afrocentricity	5.59	0.90	.82
Multiculturalist Inclusive			

Note. From *The Cross Racial Identity Scale: Technical manual,* by F. C. Worrell, B. J. Vandiver, & W. E. Cross, Jr., 2004a, 2nd ed., Berkeley, CA: Authors, p. 6.

Interview procedures were employed for the face-to-face interviews. Thorough

field notes were taken and written memoranda chronicled the researcher's assumptions,

analysis, and observations.

Validity

Descriptive and interpretive validity was attained by the accurate compilation and

account of data gathered from the interviews, the researcher's field notes, memoranda

written throughout the collection of data, and coding practices. Also, the transcripts were

reviewed by each participant to personally validate the data.

Interviews

Interviews were face-to-face dialogues or phone interviews and were used to acquire information from participants. All interviews were done in person, on campus, or by phone, and were audiotaped. Open-ended questions were developed that left room for participants to share their perceptions of their experiences. Audio recordings were transcribed and then shared with the participants for comments and confirmation of contents. Administering the CRIS gave data for the first research question, identifying the identity phase of each participant. The interview questions acquired data to answer each of the study's research questions:

Research Question: To what extent do CRIS results show a connection between a subject's ethnic identity stage and leadership style?

Interview Questions:

- Why did you join your organization?

    If joined a predominantly African American organization, why?

    How is your organization different than other organizations on campus?

- What made you take on a leadership position?

    Did you hold any leadership positions before this one? If so, what were they?

    What kind of organizations did you lead?

- What is your definition of leadership?

    How would you describe yourself as a leader?

    How would your membership describe your leadership style?

Research Question: What stage are subjects at while in leadership positions on PWIs?

Interview Questions:

- When you acquired your leadership position, did your attitude change about yourself, as an African American and as a woman?

  Do you believe you must work harder because you are an African American student leader?

  If so, how do you work harder or differently?

- How do you want to represent yourself to predominantly White student organizations?

  Do you believe you must represent all African Americans now that you are a leader? If so, how?

  Do you feel any pressure to represent all African Americans?

- How do you feel about the predominantly White organizations?

- As a leader, do you feel like you need to be inclusive of other ethnic groups?

  Do you separate your feelings about collaborating with the predominantly White organizations into categories, such as personal feelings versus the mission and goals of your organizations?

- What can should be done to improve the situation for undergraduate African American women?

Data Collection

Data were gathered by administering the CRIS and through interviews. First, contact was made with individual African American female leaders. A letter or e-mail inviting participation was sent to a combined total of 55 African American female student leaders. Twenty four potential participants attended the public university while the remainder attended the private university. A total of 8 students responded, 2 from the private university and 6 from the public university. Once each participant was confirmed, they were given a password so they could complete the survey online. Seven participants completed the CRIS. Once the CRIS was administered, the researcher asked each participant to volunteer for an individual interview. All participants volunteered to be interviewed. The interview questions were e-mailed to each volunteer participant approximately 1 to 2 days prior to the interview. A total of 6 females participated in the interview. At the interview, the researcher set up a voice recorder and asked questions that were open ended. Following the interview, the researcher transcribed the interview and sent a copy of the transcript to the participant approximately 2 weeks later. After the participant had approved the transcripts, the researcher reviewed and interpreted the data.

Data Analysis

The focus of this study was to explore the connection between one's racial identity development and leadership style, whether the CRIS is an adequate method of identifying the racial-identity phase of African American women, and, how each woman's phase affects their leadership style. The following research questions were explored in this study:

1.   To what extent does the CRIS identify the identity phase of African

American female college-student leaders?

2.   To what extent do CRIS results show a connection between a subject's

ethnic-identity stage and leadership style?

3.   What stage identifies participants who are in leadership positions while

attending PWUs?

During data collection field notes and memoranda were written by the researcher.

Once each participant approved the transcripts, analysis consisted of reading and coding

transcripts, memoranda, and field notes. The research questions supported the process of

recognizing themes. Additionally, Cross's nigrescence model was used as a lens to

identify descriptive connections between life experiences and attitudes to the model.

Of the 40 items in Section 2 of the CRIS, 30 make up six CRIS subscales with

each subscales consisting of five items. According to Worrell, Vandiver, and Cross

(2004a), "There is no global CRIS score, rather, the CRIS results in six subscale scores

which cannot be collapsed or summed for interpretation" (p. 12). To score the CRIS, the

researcher divided the sum of the five item scores by five and obtained subscale scores

ranging from one to seven. "Higher scores will reflect stronger endorsements of the

attitudes that are named by the subscales" (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004a, p. 12).

Researcher's Role

This researcher has worked in the education field in for approximately 15 years.

Most of my work has been with poor to low socioeconomic-minority high school

students and their families who live in urban cities. Upon transitioning into student

affairs, I began to see students, like me, who had grown up in privileged communities where they did not experience or witness racist or oppressive acts. While attending a public university in the San Francisco Bay area, I experienced the process of transforming from Negro to Black. Having been born and raised in San Francisco, California, a city that is extremely diverse, I had no understanding of the oppression and racism that existed for most people of color. I attended college in the 1990s, a time when our country was dealing with urban decay and illegal drug activity in urban areas, Hip Hop artists were talking about police brutality and the Rodney King riots, which occurred in major cities across California and on my campus. After completing the African American history courses, I joined the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party and a historically African American sorority. I was trying to be as Black as possible by wearing African clothing, marching on campus in honor of Malcolm X's birthday and reading every book I could on famous and infamous African Americans and current issues.

Then, as Director of a Women's Center at a southern California Catholic university, I hosted a dinner for Angela Davis and listened to her give a speech. I realized she was not angry anymore. She had found her peace, had the opportunity to create change for all people, and now was focused on scholarly work and action. That is when I discovered that I was most likely on the same path. As Cross pointed out in *Shades of Black*, the nigrescence process is fluid. One can move back and forth between phases, depending on circumstances, but I have found my Internalization phase.

After joining my sorority, I took on leadership positions, ultimately becoming chapter president and a regional officer. Because of my personal experiences, I have

always been interested in African American female student leaders. Concerning my

professional experiences, I have wondered if personal feelings about their own ethnic

identity affects how they lead a committee or organization. For me, being in the

Immersion–Emersion phase for most of my undergraduate years and through my 20s, I

realized that the sorority programs and volunteer work focused more on the African

American community, more than helping everyone.

  As the researcher, I am intricately connected to this study. My experiences

influence my perspective. Consequently, I have attempted to identify my biases and try

not to prejudice my interpretation of the data. I hope that using the CRIS and conducting

interviews has allowed me to contribute to the body of knowledge that assists student-

affairs professionals in their endeavors to empower and support African American female

students.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

The study investigated and recorded the relationship between one's ethnic identity

stage and leadership style. The study explored the stages of ethnic-identity development

by using the CRIS. This survey allowed the researcher to systematically determine the

specific stage of each participant's ethnic-identity stage. Also, interviews were conducted

with each participant who completed the survey. The interviews centered on reasons for

joining a student organization, the leadership experiences of each participant,

collaborations with predominantly White student organizations, and the challenges of

leading a student organization at a PWU. Data attained from the subjects was dissected

using the methodology presented in chapter III.

The findings are arranged in the following manner: A profile of each participant is

provided, including demographic, educational, and family-background information. Next,

the findings of the CRIS are discussed pertaining to each participant. Finally, responses

to interview questions are organized in thematic fashion, using corroborating quotes from

participants. Chapter IV will close with a summary.

Participant Profile

This study focused on participants who are undergraduate African American

female student leaders who were either elected or appointed to their position in an on-

campus organization. All participants identified as African American, not Black. They

came from suburban communities in California. Their family income was between $50,000 and $100,000. Lastly, all participants had junior- or senior-class standing.

A profile of each participant is provided. The participants are presented in alphabetical order, based on first names. To protect the confidentiality of each participant, only first names and the first initial of the last name, if necessary, are used.

Ashley M.

Ashley M., 21 years old and majoring in education, went from an urban to suburban lifestyle when she was 6 years old. She made it clear that she is from Oakland, California and moved to Modesto, California, where the majority of her neighbors were White. Her parents are married, but live separately. Both of her parents finished high school. Her father worked at the only auto-making plant in California, which closed on April 1, 2010. He's never had any other job. Her mother worked for a bank that was taken over during the banking crisis. She has since found work at another, more stable, bank. Ashley M. is the chapter president of a historically African American sorority at a public university and the sorority's co chair for the far-west region.

Ashley W.

Ashley W. is a 21-year-old senior, majoring in psychology at a public university. Both parents attended college. Her mother received her associate's degree, whereas her father holds a bachelor of arts degree. She lived in Modesto, California until she was 13 years old. She entered high school in Sacramento, California. "Modesto didn't have a lot of African Americans and I went to a private school. I didn't see many Black people until high school. I went to a public high school that was very diverse." She is the chapter vice

president of a historically African American sorority. She is also the historian for the

university's chapter of the National Pan Hellenic Council, the overarching council that

advises and supports most African American Greek organizations.

Crystal

Crystal is 21 years old and is a resident advisor (RA) at a large, public university

in northern California. She is from Long Beach, California and is majoring in

kinesiology, hoping to build a career in physical therapy. As an RA, she leads a floor of

86 residents, while being a member of the National Residence Hall Association and

working part time. Crystal's residents are predominantly White, approximately 75%, she

said. There is one other African American among her residents, and the majority are

female.

Kelsey

Kelsey is quite involved on her campus, a private university. She is the chair of

media relations for her chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of

Colored People (NAACP). She is also a member of a service fraternity, a member of the

rugby team, and an RA in an African and African American themed residence hall where

she leads 107 residents, with the help of three other RAs. Kelsey is 21 years old and has

lived in different cities across the eastern seaboard of the United States; she calls

Pennsylvania home.

Kristin

Kristin is also 21 years old and an RA at a large public university in northern

California. She leads 70 residents: approximately half are White, with the other half

consisting of a majority of foreign-exchange students from China and Japan. There are a handful of African American residents on her floor. Kristin is from Lakewood, California, near Long Beach. She had a double major in Forensics and Biology and she plans to be a crime-scene investigator. In addition to her RA position, she is a member of the campus Black Student Union.

Marie

Marie, 20 years old, is majoring in drama at a private university in the Bay area. She grew up in a suburban community that is mostly White. Her father attended graduate school, whereas her mother has some college. Marie is a member of three student organizations, two of which she is president. True to her major, she is president of an all Black drama club. She is also the co president of an all Black lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender student club. Before our interview Marie had just completed a 4-day leadership retreat for minority-student activists.

CRIS Subscale Scores

The CRIS is separated into two sections. Section I is a set of demographic questions; the second section is comprised of 40 multiple-choice items. Thirty of the 40 items comprise the CRIS subscales. Each subscale consists of five items. "There is no global CRIS score: rather, the CRIS results in six subscale scores which cannot be collapsed or summed for interpretation" (Vandiver, Cross, Fhagen-Smith, Worrell, Swim, and Caldwell, 2000, p. 12). Scores range from one to seven. The higher the score, the stronger the support of the attitude. Vandiver et al. (2000) pointed out that the

> CRIS subscale scores represent racial identity attitudes. Thus, they are not
> mutually exclusive and individuals will have subscale scores of different levels on

different attitudes. Thus, each individual who completes the CRIS will have six scores—one for each CRIS subscale-making up their CRIS profile, and it is important to examine the CRIS profile for each respondent. (p. 13)

To fully appreciate the scores, one must first understand the definition of each subscale. The Pre-Encounter stage is characterized by two identities. Those with an Assimilation identity have a pro-American reference-group orientation. Reference-group orientation "refers to the social group memberships that a person has" (Vandiver et al., 2002, p. 72). Race is not relevant to them. Vandiver et al. (2002) go on to explain that "Miseducation describes the negative stereotypical mindset a Black person has about the Black community. A Self-hatred identity characterizes Blacks who view themselves negatively as a result of their race" (pp. 72–73). Those exhibiting the Anti-White identity rebuff everything White, to the point of demonizing Whites and their culture. In the last stage, Internalization, Afrocentricity, once called Black Nationalism, one concentrates their energy on empowering the African American community. Finally, the Multiculturalist Inclusive focuses on one or two cultural identities. They want to build coalitions beyond the African American community.

Table 7 shows the varied scores of the participants. From the scores, ranging from one to seven, it is clear that all participants are very strong in the Internalization–Multiculturalist Inclusive (IMCI) stage. Crystal, scoring the lowest in this item, spiked on the Pre-Encounter-Assimilation (PA) subscale, yet all participants seem to be in the Internalization stage. It seems odd that Ashley W. would score 3.4 in Assimilation (PA) and Self-hatred (PSH) while having the highest score in IMCI. It is important to note that the nigrescence stages are not static, but quite fluid. African Americans can move back

and forth and through stages throughout their lifetimes. Yet, Ashley W.'s, Crystal's and

Kristin's scores incite curiosity as to whether they were solely replying to questions as a

student or as the leader of a campus organization that should have more of a worldview.

Table 7

CRIS Subscale Scores

Student	Ashley M.	Ashley W.	Crystal	Kelsey	Kristin	Marie
Pre-Encounter						
Assimilation (PA)	1.6	3.4	3.8	1.8	2.8	1.6
Miseducation (PM)	2.8	1	2	1.8	3.4	1.4
Self-hatred (PSH)	1.2	3.4	2.8	2	1.4	1.8
Immersion–Emersion						
Anti-White (IEAW)	1	1	2.8	1.8	1.6	1.8
Internalization						
Afrocentricity (IA)	1.4	2.4	2	3	3.6	3.4
Multiculturalist Inclusive (IMCI)	6.6	7	4	4.8	5.6	5.2

Themes

The interviews provided participants a chance to tell their stories, express their

challenges and discuss how they see themselves as leaders. Five major themes were

discovered from the text of the interviews. The first theme, Reasons, discusses the

reasons each participant chose to join a student organization. Secondly, Role Models,

focuses on the type of role models participants discussed as examples of great leaders.

Leadership, the third theme, highlights participants' personal definitions, conversations

about style, and their perceptions of how their followers would describe their leadership

skills. Fourth is Representing, Therefore Advocating. Participants talked about the

challenges of being an African American female leader and how the lack of African American female leaders forces them to advocate for themselves and all African Americans. Working with predominantly White student organizations delves into the challenges of working with White student organizations, whether the participants actually followed the mission statements of their organizations by being inclusive of White students, and the lack of validation felt by predominantly African American organizations. The last theme is Advice. Participants offer advice to their peers who are also attending these PWUs and may not have found their place. A sample of the interviews are in Appendix I.

Reasons

All participants seemed to join their organizations for a sense of community. Ashley M. was very succinct with her reasons for joining a sorority.

> Well, to be more involved on campus. I was very shy before I became a member. Now, most people don't believe I was very shy. I also joined for networking, stepping, to help the community and to reconnect back to my roots.

When I asked her what she meant by "reconnect to her roots," she answered, "Because of my move to Modesto. Not a lot of Blacks in Modesto." Kelsey also wanted to reconnect with her roots. During her first 2 years living on campus, Kelsey lived in a traditional residence hall. She was already involved in the African American campus community, but wanted to get more involved. "I wanted to be more involved in a more leadership type position and have more of an effect on helping people adjust to [the university] and the challenges they were facing." She joined the staff of the ethnic-themed residence hall that focused on African and African American students.

Ashley W. wanted to join an organization that seemed to mirror her.

> I joined my organization because I wanted to be a part of a sisterhood. I'd gotten to [the university] … when I came to [the university], I wasn't really interested in the whole sorority thing. But then I went to a few events and I was hooked by [the sorority] and I got a chance to see the programs they throw and I got to see that and that just made me want to be a part of their chapter because I felt like I could relate to them. And they were all successful Black women who were doing something with their lives, who were well spoken, educated. But, they also had fun and they get their work done.

Kristin joined her organization for more general reasons, such as wanting to be more involved and make a difference. She thought it would be a good experience. While Crystal was influenced by her RAs, who she considered to be role models.

> I was really connected with my RAs when I was a Freshman. And I'd seen them working and having fun with the residents and helping out and doing all these different activities. So, I kind of wanted to get involved and see what that was about and you know help people too and being that kind of authority figure and that person someone looks up to and be that mentor.

Role Models

Marie joined her organizations because her mentors are in the same club. "Because I share similar interests. My mentors are in [the same organization]. They are examples of what I could be in life."

Both Ashleys mentioned their mothers as role models. When Ashley M. spoke of her mother, she mentioned skills, abilities, and characteristics. "Well, she didn't go to college, but she knows how to communicate, she speaks her mind. She is very passionate and gets the job done." Ashley W., who was raised by a single mother said, "She's always had to make sure we got all our stuff done. She would always be on top of us so that everything is on point."

Two of their sorority's officers were also mentioned. Ashley W. said that their national president is a role model "'cause of all the hardship she's faced and she is like so accomplished." Ashley M. remarked on the president of the alumni chapter when she said, "She knows a lot of information. She can multi task and she doesn't stress out." Lastly, Ashley M. mentioned Angela Davis, by saying, "She inspires people." She went on to discuss Ms. Davis' upcoming campus appearance.

Leadership

Many subthemes arose from the interviews. They are Definitions, Perception of Leadership Style, and Natural Progression. The first subtheme discusses each participant's definition of leadership. Perception of Leadership Style, the second subtheme, looks at how participants described their leadership style compared to how their followers might describe them. Lastly, Natural Progression, discusses how several participants naturally progressed to a leadership position without being elected. It was their turn to be the leader.

Definitions

I asked each participant for their own definition of leadership. Both Ashleys seemed to focus on tasks. Ashley M. responded, "I would say an ability to multi task, excellent or good communication skills, an ability to learn. Don't act like you know everything. And motivation." Ashley W. answered,

> Being able to communicate, being able to motivate people, to get the job done. But also to be stern and to know when to umm, when to, I guess put your hand down, put your foot down. You need to know when to speak up, voice your opinion in a respectful way. Yeah, I think that makes a leader.

Marie seemed to focus on a more powerful definition: "One who inspires, is a trail blazer, doesn't feel entitled to anything. There are two types of leaders. One is by position. The other leads by example."

Kelsey seemed to see herself as a role model. "Leadership would be setting an example that inspires others … and be able to encourage and motivate action without being overbearing and forceful." She understood that her residents were already trying to model her academic goals, such as writing a senior thesis, which is a voluntary commitment. Kristin defined leadership by describing herself as a role model and setting an example for her residents. She wanted to set a "positive example or influence on someone else's life." She believed that a leader does what she feels is right, but in a positive manner. According to Kristin, being a leader means that you are someone that another person can look up to. Lastly, Crystal also discussed influence and saw that as the center of her definition of leadership.

Perception of Leadership Style

Participants were asked to describe their leadership style. Ashley W. hesitantly answered,

> Ummmmm … I think I'm very open for ideas. I think I am very hard working. I get things done. I give 150% all the time. I make sure everyone knows what's going on. I make sure I know what I have to do.

Ashley M. believed that her membership sees her learning how to lead, rather than already having a style.

> I think this is all a learning process. I am more comfortable than last semester. I am earning respect. I have had to separate my friendships with member from the work that needs to get done. I am learning the ins and outs of the organization.

Marie saw herself as a buffalo, according to Native American leadership theory, which she learned while on retreat. "I am a buffalo. I am a driver. I get things done. I am also a visionary."

Kelsey believed her leadership style has a quiet approach. She wanted her actions to speak for her. She seemed quite deliberate in the way she interacted with her staff and residents. "I kind of am the quiet conservative one who takes everything in and processes it and then ummm … so when I speak it means something. I take everything into account." Crystal also wanted to be aware of what is going on before making a decision. She also wanted to take into account everyone's cultural differences and be fair, giving everyone an equal opportunity.

Natural Progression

It seemed that all of the participants, who were involved in traditional student organizations, naturally progressed to their current positions. There was no competition for the position of president or vice president. For Ashley W. it helped to have her turn at being in each chapter position. Holding a leadership position was new for her. In high school, she was a member of the Black Student Union,

> but that died off when people stopped coming to meetings and everything. But, yeah. In high school, I wasn't [involved]. I just kind of, just floated by in high school. I wrote for the newspaper, but that was about it. I was a very quiet and reserved person in high school. I didn't really get that involved in things.

> Why did Ashley W. take on the role of vice president for her chapter?

> Ummmmm. I started off…when I crossed in 2007, I was secretary, then treasurer and I just wanted to take on a new position. Something new for me cause I've never been vice president of anything. So, this is like a new experience for me. I love my sorority. I love my chapter. So, I want to help out as much as I can. So, I

decided I wanted to be vice president. And my president is cool. I feel like I can back her up.

Ashley M. became chapter president because the position was passed to her. There are only three other members in her chapter. She believed that it was just her time to be appointed President. She became more insightful about her position.

I realize that the higher up you are, in office, the more there is to do. I realize that I can't do it all. I have to pass stuff down. There is a lot more to do, but it's worth it.

Marie was also appointed to her position. "It was a natural progression because of my age and others had graduated. Representing the organization seems natural. I know lots of organizations on campus."

Alternatively, those participants who are RAs clearly wanted the position because they wanted to be more involved, were influenced by their RAs, or did wanted other students to have a better experience than they did. For example, Kelsey had a difficult time adjusting to her predominantly White campus. In her freshman year, she lived in a traditional residence hall. She remembers,

I sort of didn't connect that well with many of the students in that dorm. In my sophomore year, I didn't feel like I was really belonging and really getting a lot of enjoyment out of it. I think when I got more involved in the Black community, I did begin to feel that. Ummm, so I wanted to help other students adjust to that more.

Representing, Therefore Advocating

In some form, all participants commented on the challenges of having to represent themselves, the organization, or all African Americans, and therefore having to advocate for these groups. Ashley M. commented, "As an African American female, I am listened to. I think I do intimidate others. Others expect a norm." When asked what the norm is,

she responds, "That I'm going to be all loud and angry". Even in the local National Pan

Hellenic Council, the organization that represents several of the predominantly African

American sororities and fraternities, Ashley M. believed she is representing all women.

> There are five organizations. Four frats and us. In [the National Pan Hellenic Council] I can give a suggestion about something and maybe the advisor, who's female, will agree with me. We could come back to the same thing a couple of weeks later and if a guy gives the same suggestion then it's taken better than when I said it.

> Marie believes her attitude changed once she became the president of her

organizations. She was more aware of herself as an African American and as a woman.

She became more open toward all African Americans on campus. "I'm more open. There

are not a lot of Black people here. We are a minority. Whites act different." Although

Marie is more open toward African Americans and more aware of herself as an African

American woman, she believes that she represents "Black gay people because it's a very

small subset." Marie goes on to say, "The reason I say that is because I am one of the few

people they'll see expressing those things."

Crystal's thoughts took a dichotomous route. As a member of a small group of

African American RAs, she felt uncomfortable when African American residents are

written up for breaking rules. "Sometimes I feel like when African Americans make poor

choices, they are representing me." Yet, she believes she does not represent all African

Americans.

> I feel like I'm just an individual and ummm I guess you could say that there are times I do feel like I need to represent to make people feel like you know as a group we're not stupid and we're not what people perceive us as. We're not ghetto or you know all the other stereotypes that are out there about African Americans.

Ashley W. believed she must work harder because she is a member of an African American organization. She equated her sorority status to being an African American female and spoke with this understanding.

> I feel like, when I'm on campus they see a [sorority member].They don't see the student, the vegetarian. They don't see any of that. They just see Ashley, the [sorority member]. I feel that all the time. People notice me and I always feel like … it's not like I feel like I have to maintain a persona or something, like I knew what I was taking on when I joined the sorority. I knew people would be watching me. I already kind of knew that I had to be mindful of how I carry myself.

As an RA, working in an African and African American themed residence hall, Kelsey constantly feels the pressure of representing all African Americans and the resulting advocacy work that comes with living, leading, and working in such a residence hall.

Working with Predominantly White Student Organizations

Participants had differing views concerning the idea of collaborating with White student organizations. At the public university, there is an overarching student organization that includes all campus Greeks, no matter the ethnicity of members. According to Ashley W., this group was created by the Office of Student Involvement to encourage collaboration and unity between all Greeks. Her sorority produced their first program with a predominantly White fraternity on alcohol awareness, but could not remember the name of the fraternity. Ashley W. has had some of her stereotypes about White Greek organizations proven wrong.

> Ummmm … now that I'm starting to get to know some of the people in the organizations, I kind of think they are all about helping people in the communities. I used to think they would just have parties. Just getting drunk. Like that kind of stuff. They really do help out with their philanthropies. I see that they do really help out a lot. And they raise a lot of money.

Ashley M. is learning more about White Greeks because of collaboration.

> I am surprised at the amount of work they do. In the Bay area, no one is consumed by racial issues. In Modesto, I have to represent for the whole race. There are not a lot of African Americans at [the university].

> Lastly, Marie, when asked about collaborating with White student organizations,

immediately discussed advocating for minorities.

> I'm trying to get [Associated Students, the student government] in gear. We need to have more programs geared towards minorities, but now at [the university], I am considered privileged, even though we are having more economic problems. I am considered privileged because I go here.

> On the other hand, Ashley W. thought the White sororities receive more support.

"I think there's a lot more resources around campus. I think their recruiting process is different. I think they have a better chance of getting a lot more people and a lot more support." Ashley M. believes Greeks work separately because they have different councils (the National Pan Hellenic Council, Interfraternity Council, and the Panhellenic Council, which represent the predominantly White fraternities and sororities, and the United Sorority and Fraternity Council, which represents all other minority sororities and fraternities) not because of race.

When asked about being more inclusive of predominantly White organizations Marie replied, "Look! Our goal is not to make room for others. No one made room for us. We advocate for ourselves. Whites don't have to fight for anything. They didn't even ask for privilege and they got it." Ashley M. does not believe her organization needs to be more inclusive of Whites. "Well, we feel like we should be with [the campus multicultural center], not just Greeks. We should start with people of color organizations and spread from there." Ashley W. wants

to focus more on how to connect in the community. A lot of our programs are not limited to the African American community. It goes by who we talk to and who we advertise to. Yeah. I think our programs are geared towards minority students. Just because there isn't that much representation of them. So, we want to make sure they get that representation and know what's going on.

If she could only focus on African Americans, would she? "No. I mean in reality that's not how the world is. We try to reach out, outside African Americans. I would like everyone to come to our events, like people in my classes, teachers."

Advice

When asked for advice for those future African American female student leaders, several participants offered very sage guidance. Marie focused on finding a community.

I guess I feel like the thing that's been most helpful for me was making sure I had my own community, who ever that is, not necessarily Black people. Making sure I'm comfortable within my community because that means I'm more comfortable with myself and that's what people will see.

Crystal, an RA also commented on a sense of community that is lacking at her university.

One of the biggest things for me or in general you know sometimes I see another African American or Black girl and I try to give them an uplifting smile and I get nothing but a mean look. You know, sometimes I feel like we're all connected and ummm my advice is come and deal with that.

Lastly, Kristin wants future leaders to be emotionally strong to deal with different types of people, while trying to be open and honest.

Be yourself and don't get offended if people don't want to talk to her, him or her, that I think they will come around once they see what kind of person you are. It's just may not be how they were brought up or what not.

Summary

The participants, demographically, share a similar history. Their CRIS scores support an Internalization stage for all 6 participants.. They all seem to be Multicultural Inclusives, which means they appreciate building coalitions with those outside of their ethnic group. Two participants, Ashley W. and Crystal, also had significant Pre-Encounter scores. Although Cross's nigrescence process is based on life experiences and is therefore quite fluid, it is surprising to see such high scores in polar opposite stages. All participants mentioned joining their organization because they wanted to connect to their heritage, be more involved, or because their mentors were involved in the same organizations. Mentors seemed to exhibit the attributes that the participants want to learn. Not only did they mention their mentors, but both Ashleys spoke of their mothers. When discussing their leadership style, each participant seemed to focus on being task oriented and giving of themselves to the membership or their residents.

Ascending to their leadership position was a natural progression for both Ashleys and Marie. None of them were elected. They all explained that it was their turn because their organizations have low membership. They understood that being African American and female meant they were representing, not only their organization, but all African American students, which moved 1 participant to advocating for all minority students on campus. There were different opinions on the amount of collaboration that should happen between their organizations and predominantly White student organizations, but participants discussed White privilege and working with the campus multicultural center. Only 1 participant wanted to reach all people outside the African American community.

In contrast, the RAs, Kristin, Kelsey, and Crystal, applied for their leadership positions because of their desire to be more involved on campus. They also mentioned mentors who piqued their interest in the position. Kelsey spoke at length about the challenges of adjusting to a predominantly White campus and the need to live in a residence hall where she felt she belonged. She also spoke about her ethnic-themed residence hall that stands as a symbol of validation. Working and living in her residence hall makes her feel like she belongs on campus. Kristin and Crystal, who attend a public university, have a more diverse resident group, but still feel that they must represent all African Americans, especially because they are the only African Americans on their individual staffs. Even though they are open to collaborating with predominantly White student organizations, they only mentioned programs that were cosponsored by the campus multicultural center and the local chapter of the NAACP.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Introduction

The research questions attempted to offer insight into the relationship between

CRIS scores and leadership styles for African American female student leaders. The

research questions are as follows:

1.   To what extent does the CRIS identify the identity phase of African

American female college-student leaders?

2.   To what extent do CRIS results show a connection between a subject's

ethnic-identity stage and leadership style?

3.   What stage identifies participants who are in leadership positions while

attending PWUs?

The CRIS, although easily offering scores that were highest in the

Internalization—Multiculturalist Inclusive stage, did not mirror some of the comments

from the interviews. Recommendations for further study and for higher education

professionals are offered, along with some suggestions on leadership styles that could

speak to the abilities of the participants.

Discussion

The first research question asked to what extent the CRIS identifies the identity

stage of each participant. All participants (100%) completed the CRIS. Surprisingly, all

participants tested in the Internalization stage, which seems to mirror the sentiments of

the comments in their interviews. More specifically, they all scored the highest in the

subscale of IMCI.

As discussed earlier, with a maximum possible score of seven, Ashley W. had the

highest score (7), but also shared the highest score, with Crystal, in the Pre-Encounter

stage, specifically in the PA and Self-hatred PSH subscales. To flush out the score even

more, Vandiver et al. (2001) should have included the subscale Multiculturalist Racial.

"In contrast to the Multiculturalist Inclusive individual, who is open to building coalitions

with all diverse cultural groups, the Multiculturalist Racial individual does not want to

build coalitions beyond racial minority groups" (Vandiver et al., 2002, p. 73) This

subscale seems more in alignment with the interview comments of Marie and Kelsey. It

seemed that Vandiver et al. (2002) wanted to include this subscale, but "because the

Multiculturalist Racial identity emerged as a theoretical construct in Phase 4 of scale

development, its viability as a nigrescence identity has not been established" (p. 73).

Ashley W. is in a dichotomous situation with the highest scores in Stages 1 and 5.

Her 3.4 score in the Pre-Encounter subscale, Assimilation, means that Ashley might have

been socialized "to see the system as adequate, in suffering various degrees of

miseducation about the origin of Black problems, and in having a basic faith in the

system" (Cross, 1991, p. 196). Ashley W. might feel that African Americans can

overcome these self-made problems and become part of the system. The Self-Hatred

subscale centers on negative feelings toward African Americans. Because Ashley W.

talked so openly about the connection she has to her sorority and the respect for one of

her role models, the national president of her sorority, it is difficult to comprehend these

scores. In Cross's book, *Shades of Black: Diversity in African American Identity* (1991),

Cross briefly discussed Parham's theory of "recycling," which may be what Ashley W. is

experiencing. Cross (1991) wrote that Parham

> extended the implication of my model across the life span. Parham has noted that
> having completed their original nigrescence cycle at an earlier point in the life
> span, some people may find that the challenges unique to another life-span may
> engender a recycling through some of the stages. (pp. 220–221)

> Crystal is somewhat similar to Ashley W. with scores spread over several stages.

Unlike Ashley W., Crystal's scores show that she does not have a strong inclination

toward any one stage. Her PA and IMCI scores are equal, 3.8 and 4 respectively. Her

PSH and IEAW are equal at 2.8 and the PA and IA scores are also equal at 2. Therefore,

the CRIS did not produce a specific stage for Crystal. In her interview, Crystal pointed

out that she wanted to make sure to take into account everyone's differences. She went on

to say, "And I want to make sure that I'm being fair and giving everyone an equal

opportunity." She seems to exhibit IMCI attributes. Yet, when asked about a possible

change in her attitude about being African American when she took on the RA position,

Crystal replied, "I don't think I'm the type of person that really ummm, lets race and

ethnicity like play a role in how I see things all the time." This statement clearly speaks to

her high score in the PA subscale. These comments speak to the research question that

focused on the relationship between ethnic identity stage and leadership style. Just as her

CRIS scores offered no definitive stage, her interview mirrored this outcome.

Marie has one of the lowest score in IMCI, but the one of the highest in the

Afrocentricity (IA) subscales. With her closing remarks about White student

organizations and White privilege, it is difficult to believe that she is in the

Internalization phase. Her comments clearly put forth the idea that the Multiculturalist

Racial subscale is needed in the CRIS. Also, this researcher would posit that the CRIS

score is a representation of her identity transition. She has one of the highest score in IA,

which supports her comments from the interview. As time passes, there might be a

lowering of the IA score and a surge in the IMCI score. However, with her focus on

White privilege, especially after attending a leadership retreat for gay people of color, her

Anti-White (IEAW) score might surge upward, overcoming her IMCI score. Overall, if

the creators of the CRIS included the Multiculturalist Racial subscale, these scores might

be even more telling and more closely coincide with interview comments.

Kristin scored highest in the Internalization subscales, Afrocentricity (IA) and

Multiculturalist Inclusive (IMCI) at 3.6 and 5.6 respectively. Her interview comments do

highlight her concerns about being the only African American on her immediate staff.

She wants to make sure she represents African Americans in a positive manner and dispel

stereotypes about African American women. At the same time, Kristin admits that her

position has helped her to be more inclusive. It is part of her job description and is part of

her job training.

Kelsey, an RA in an African and African American themed residence hall, also

has her highest CRIS scores in the Internalization stage. She applied for this residence

hall because of her own challenges adjusting to the predominantly White private

university. She grew up along the eastern coast of the United States and has a multitude

of experiences interacting with people from different ethnic groups. Her experience in a

traditional resident hall seemed to push her in the Immersion–Emersion stage, which was

the catalyst to applying for her current residence hall. With her last 2 years in this ethnic-specific hall, Kelsey has had the space to transition in the internalization stage. Her membership in the campus chapter of the NAACP and the university rugby team probably assisted in her transition.

Research Question 2 focused on the relationship between the participants' ethnic-identity stage and leadership style. Northouse (2004) believed there are four major components that are fundamental to leadership: (a) leadership is a process, (b) leadership involves influence, (c) leadership occurs in a group context, and (d) leadership involves goal attainment. Although each participant gave their personal definition of leadership, they all spoke to the components of leadership.

Ashley M. began the definition of her leadership style by stating, "I think this is all a learning process." Marie's definition seemed tied to how she described herself as a leader: "One who inspires, is a trail blazer." She said she is a buffalo, according to Native American leadership descriptions. She also considered herself a visionary. It seemed obvious that she was influenced by her most recent retreat. A website that supports Native American culture said that the buffalo provides "wisdom, renewal and personal power based on knowledge" (Support Native American Art, 2010). It is clear that Marie believed she influenced her organization and should use that influence to push predominantly White organizations, such as Associated Students, to offer more multicultural programs.

Ashley W. spoke about loving her sorority, her chapter. One reason she joined this particular sorority was because she felt this was the group that closely mirrored her

goals and offered a feeling of sisterhood. She commented that her sorority felt like a safe place to be a leader. It was in this safe place that Ashley W. rose from secretary to vice president of her chapter. Marie's goal seemed to be to advocate for the needs of African American students at her school. Ashley M. and Ashley W. seem to have similar goals because of the type of organization they joined. Both spoke of uplifting the African American community in some way while offering educational programs to the campus community.

Because Kristin, Kelsey, and Crystal are RAs, their definitions of leadership focused on role modeling, setting a good example and having influence over others. Their position requires that they live the life they want the residents to live. They must also create programs that speak to the kind of personal attributes that the each student needs to function in a diversity society. In essence, RAs are encouraged to help residents grow and change as they do the same.

As for a specific leadership style that is exhibited by each participant, this researcher believes that Northouse's *Leadership: Theory and Practice* (2004) provides a theory that speaks to the legacy of African American leadership throughout recent history and to the gender-specific attributes that women bring to the leadership process. Combining a need for a sense of belonging, advocacy, and constantly having to represent all African American women should yield a leadership theory that encompasses the challenges of being a double minority—African American and female. Coupled with being a young adult whose identity is changing based on life experience and acquired knowledge, and one has the makings of a dynamic transformational leader who is being

transformed as they are transforming others. Transformational leadership honors the differences that these young people bring to the world.

Northouse (2004) defined transformational leadership as "the process whereby an individual engages with others and creates a connection that raises the level of motivation and morality in both the leader and the follower" (p. 170). In a metaethnography of literature about transformational leadership, Pielstick (1998) created a profile of a transformational leader. Seven themes became apparent from his analysis: (a) creating a shared vision, (b) communicating the vision, (c) building relationships, (d) developing a supporting organizational culture, (e) guiding implementation, (f) exhibiting character, and (g) achieving results.

Most student organizations are already transformational organizations because the main mission of most of these organizations is to create a space for students to engage in the community and participate in activities that could transform them. Therefore, each participant, by leading a student organization, had committed to the shared vision of the organization. This was most evident in the sorority members, Ashley M. and Ashley W. Through the interview, it was clear these women found the sororities' shared vision "a source of energy and even excitement for the group" (Pielstick, 1998, p. 18). This was also true for Kelsey, the RA of an ethnic-themed residence hall who found meaning in her work because of her commitment to the vision and purpose of the residence hall.

"Communicating the vision instills shared meaning and purpose. Communication regarding the vision is used to excite, inspire, motivate and unify both followers and leaders" (Pielstick, 1998, p. 19). Kristin and Crystal discussed the many times they have

talked with African American residents who have been disciplined for various

infractions. Each time they have these discussions, they are instilling the vision that the

residence-life department is promoting in each residence hall. Every time Marie has a

conversation with the university Associated Students government, she is promoting the

mission and vision of her group. They are very aware that their actions must mirror their

words, which is why Ashley M. and Ashley W. spoke about being seen as sorority

members first, instead of as African American women. They understand that their

persona is connected to the reputation of their group.

Relationship building, a primary skill of female leaders, "reflects the interactive,

mutual, and shared nature of transforming leader behaviors" (Pielstick, 1998, p. 20).

Marie attended a retreat that focused on the leadership development of gay people of

color. She created relationships that could help her campus organization reach some of its

goals. The RAs collaborate with on- and off-campus organizations to enlighten students

about the wider community. The sorority sisters work in their organization on a local and

regional level to create change, but also collaborate with two different campus Greek

councils to create and maintain relationships and positive programming.

Developing a supportive culture is one of the essential priorities of the RAs.

Residence halls are supposed to provide a supportive space for engagement, discussion,

education, and self awareness. For the RAs this is done through the programming they

offer. Marie, as a leader of a group of people who are often ostracized by society,

encourages her membership to supportive of one another, while empowering them to

seek social justice. Clearly, she creates this space by modeling this behavior herself.

Team building is an important means of guiding implementation. Collaboration and coalition building enhance a sense of group cohesion and commitment toward the shared vision (Pielstick, 1998). For the RAs, Kristin, Crystal and Kelsey, activities are built into their training to help them begin building their teams. Outside challenges, such as Kelsey's need for validation, can also assist her and her coworkers in building a united front when the purpose of her residence hall is being questioned. This team will eventually be the group that implements the shared vision. It will be through successes and challenges that the necessity for team building will emerge.

Transformational leaders "are committed and motivated by a higher purpose" (Pielstick, 1998, p. 22). They are passionate people, expertly exhibited by Marie when asked if her organization feels the need to collaborate with traditional White student organizations. These leaders do their best to show value-centered characteristics, such as honesty, integrity, and trust. These are the qualities that most residence-life professionals look for in their staff. It would seem that the RA participants demonstrated these qualities because they must model the behavior that residents should mirror.

When transformational leaders achieve results they ultimately create transformational leaders from their followers, as was the case for Crystal, who witnessed the work of her RAs and therefore became an RA. This is also true for both Ashleys. They both became members of a sorority after seeing the members in action, through programs and interactions.

Conclusions

The Bay area is an extremely diverse region of the United States. Minorities outnumber Whites 50.4% to 45.6 (Bay Area Census, 2010). Participants' comments seem to speak to this dynamic, especially for Kristin and Crystal. All participants have the experience of living in an urban and suburban area. They have had to deal with feeling like a minority, adjusting to a PWU and taking a leadership position that required them to represent an entire ethnic group. To then attend a university in the midst of this ethnic diversity, where they are once again the minority has been a shocking lesson to some of them. Yet, their CRIS scores show they have held on to a sense of inclusiveness for all people. Their comments tell another story. This contradiction can make one question the validity of the CRIS scores or the interviews.

To include the Multiculturalist Racial subscale to the Internalization stage of the CRIS is vitally important. It seems that when completing the CRIS, participants were answering as leaders of organizations. When being interviewed, they were African American women having a conversation with another African American woman. There was room for anger, personal stories, realizations, and kinship. Patton (2002) wrote, "The purpose of interviewing is to allow us to enter the other person's perspective. Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit" (p. 341). The interviews achieved this insight.

Always having to represent a culture and a gender can lead to complete mental and emotional exhaustion. Yet, 4 of the participants have taken on more than one leadership position to further, not only their personal interests, but those of African

Americans. These young ladies are achieving personal and academic goals while uplifting the African American community. Transformational leadership speaks to the African American culture and the importance of community based on cultural identity, family influence, and the historical treatment of this group in the United States. By considering the first and second waves of the women's movement, one achieves a myriad of issues to address in creating a leadership style that honors the many facets of young African American women and the ever-changing challenges they must address.

Both Ashleys spoke to the connection to family, which includes their sorority. They joined because of the shared goals and sisterhood. In *Women of Influence, Women of Vision* (Astin & Leland, 1991), one of the female leaders talked about her time in a sorority. "They did teach me, I suspect, something about management and working with people, how to focus on various goals and help people move together as a team to accomplish them" (p. 58). Astin and Leland (1991) also found that women leaders benefitted from parents who encouraged them to develop their independence "infused with strong beliefs in social justice and the work ethic" (p. 42). This might be inferred from the experiences of this study's participants, especially if their parents were the first to benefit from the outcomes of the Civil Rights Movement. The relationship that female students have with their parents oftentimes can influence the student's transition to college and their continued college experience (Wartman & Savage, 2008). Being a transformational leader means they know how to empower others to make positive and creative changes and to be comfortable with the changes. This would be something that their parents would have witnessed through the Civil Right Movement.

When Sojourner Truth asked, "Ain't I a woman?" she was speaking to the historical treatment of African American women. They have been subjected to restrictions placed on African Americans and restrictions placed on women. It is no wonder the participants of this study continue to feel like they are representing all African American women and therefore must continue to advocate for their community, with the exception of Crystal. As mentioned in chapter III, this group of women is socialized to be the nurturers of the community and its best advocates. Marie discussed advocating for more multicultural programs. Ashley W. talked about always feeling like she was representing her group and that no one saw her as an individual, whereas Kelsey was looking for validation. Howard-Hamilton (2003) would disagree. She believed that this sense of representation is a byproduct of an increase in African American female-student enrollment. Either way, it has led to focusing on advocating for more programming that focuses on minority students. In essence, these participants are trying to create a safe haven, not just in their organizations, but on campus.

As discussed in chapter II, several studies on leadership development and aspirations have resulted in producing clarity on the type of leadership style that women prefer, such as transformational leadership. When one includes culture, the comments of the participants along with their CRIS scores show an enlightening story. In this study, participants not only spoke about how they see themselves, but also how they want to be seen. They want to be seen as strong advocates who are trying to create change for themselves, on their campuses, and in their organizations. They use relational, participative, and collaborative styles to not only transform their lives, but those of the

campus community. The participants' work is based on a foundation of communal strength and a shared vision. Alternately, Crystal and Kristin, leaders in predominantly White organizations, see themselves as individuals, but still seemed to create programs that focused on African Americans or people of color.

Implications for Professional Practice

After extensive research, it seems clear that this is the first study that looked at a possible relationship between one's ethnic-identity stage and leadership style among African American female college-student leaders. This study could be most helpful to those who work in college student affairs and university multicultural centers, and to those faculty who create curriculum for leadership development among undergraduates. This study contributed to the field of education in the areas of curriculum development, leadership training, and college-student development of African American women.

For those universities that offer undergraduate and graduate leadership courses, it is important to add to the knowledge of how best to assist African American women during their leadership journey. As more minorities and females take on leadership positions in politics, business, and education, there needs to be curriculum that speaks to the needs, concerns, and history of those who, through their experiences, have given insight into new styles of leadership. Creating such curriculum is essential in preparing students to live and work in a diverse society.

Leadership training at the undergraduate level oftentimes requires students to attend a retreat and participate in team-building exercises. Training for this special group should focus on the many challenges that minorities still face on predominantly White

campuses. How to make White students aware of this and assist minority students as they experience these challenges is important for the success of all students. Such an endeavor could positively affect attrition rates for minority students. In the professional world, oftentimes leaders and managers receive training on sexual harassment and prejudice in a 1-day seminar. Conversations, with the help of a trained facilitator, could help these leaders create a more welcoming environment.

Recommendations for Further Research

Following are recommendations for further study:

1. There needs to be another study of the validity of the Multicultural Racial subscale. This subscale could give a more enlightening picture of the true feelings of participants. With the Multicultural Racial subscale, CRIS scores might have been more in alignment with interview comments.

2. Create a study that monitors the leadership development of African American female students over the span of their college education. Such a study could accurately measure the identity transformation that occurs throughout the college years and offer ideas as to what kind of programs and support could be offered to this specific group of students.

3. Use the CRIS to determine the stage of African American students at public or urban universities compared to private or rural universities. Growing up in the San Francisco Bay area, an extremely diverse region of the country, and then attending a PWU gave this group of students a special set of challenges that may not be experienced by students in rural

areas, at Historically Black Colleges or Universities, or private universities such as Harvard or Princeton.

Recommendations for the higher education community are as follows:

1. Offer leadership courses that discuss the leadership styles of historic minority leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Angela Davis, Cesar Chavez, Ghandi, Golda Meir, Shirley Chisholm, Malcolm X, the Dalai Lama, or Barbara Jordan.

2. Create a leadership minor for undergraduate students who are interested in the subject, such as the program at the University of San Diego. Howard-Hamilton (1998) suggested an emerging-leaders programs that might help female students with more leadership opportunities. Make a concerted effort to market this course to student leaders across the campus.

3. Create department policies that promote the involvement of minority faculty and staff in campus mentorship programs. Howard-Hamilton (1998) wrote that women of color "could benefit from personal contact through individualized mentoring and program that respects their race, gender and cultural differences" (pp. 7–8).

4. Promote "safe havens" for minority women in the campus multicultural center and women's center. Offer Wisdom Circles that are student led and create a space for self-discovery and community building.

    This format is also valuable to any group that is seeking to improve its communication and cohesion, to create common ground, to clarify purpose and to recommit to a mission. A wisdom circle is also a place to hear opposing views, reconcile differences and find, or offer, forgiveness.

It is also a practice arena for the way we want to be in the world. (Wisdom Circles, 1999)

Similar to Wisdom Circles, but focusing on the interactions between ethnic groups, is Sustained Dialogue.

> Sustained Dialogue is a carefully defined but open-ended process that focuses on changing relationships within a community that are strained along ethnic, racial, religious, or other lines. Instead of discussing surface issues, Sustained Dialogue probes deep into the background and experiences of the individuals in the group, allowing them to understand one another's behaviors and perspectives. (Parker, 2006, p. 20)

5. Conduct employee trainings on the psychosocial development and identity development of minority women for those employees and peers who will be advising and counseling students.

6. Encourage the multicultural center to offer programming on issues that directly pertain to one ethnic group and/or gender, such as challenges of a double minority, or feminine attributes as an asset for leaders. "The most helpful programs for developing women's leadership seem to be those intended primarily or exclusively for women" (Danowitz Sagaria, 1988, p. 9).

7. Advisors of student organizations must attend training on how best to support new students, especially minority students who deal with feelings of alienation and isolation.

Concluding Thoughts

Understanding the trigger that starts a woman on the path of understanding herself as an African American and as a woman is an elusive endeavor. As Cross has pointed

out, it could be one event or a series of events. Whatever the trigger may be, the path these woman walk is filled with self-discovery. It has been interesting to witness the challenges, self-awareness, and confusion through their stories and comments. Their ability to be so aware of how Whites are different than them, yet cannot see how their upbringing and community has formed their values and opinions, is amazing.

Their definitions of leadership seem to be task oriented and somewhat vague, yet were strongly stated. Ashley M. finds that leadership is a process. Ashley W. understands the need of good communication, and Marie is a visionary. Historically, African American women are socialized to be the cheerleaders, uplifting as well as nurturing the community. Over the past 20 years, more and more African American women are changing the African American cultural landscape. As they continue to graduate in larger numbers than their male counterparts, we are bound to witness more women taking on leadership positions in business, education, and in the community. These women will create and define new leadership styles. And their identity, although moving fluidly back and forth through Cross's stages, will empower them to continuously represent and advocate for themselves and others.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

Cross Social Attitude Scale Approval

May 10, 2009

Beverly J. Vandiver, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Education
Department of Educational & School Psychology
& Special Education
125 CEDAR Building
Penn State University
University Park, PA 16802

Dear Researcher:

Thank you for emailing me about the CRIS. I have attached the CRIS manual, which contains the CRIS at the back, breakdown of items by subscale, scoring, and the psychometric features of the CRIS scores.

If you intend to use the CRIS, there are several requirements that users agree to upon receipt of the manual and the CRIS.

1. As the CRIS is copyrighted, it should not be revised or changed under any circumstances, as it is likely to invalidate the scores obtained from the measure.
2. As the CRIS scores are based on a racial identity theory about U.S. Blacks, it should not be used on non-U.S. Blacks. It is likely to invalidate the scores.
3. There are separate citations for the scale and the manual, which are specified on page 17 of the manual. In addition, the proper citation for the expanded nigrescence model, which is the basis for the CRIS is Cross, W. E., Jr., & Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Nigrescence theory and measurement: Introducing the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. M. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 371-393). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
4. Clarifications for distinction between the original, revised, and expanded nigrescence models can be found in Worrell et al. (2001), which I have also attached and Vandiver et al. (2002), which provides the basis for the current version of the CRIS. It is a scale developed initially from the revised nigrescence theory (Cross, 1991) and then validity of the scores established from the expanded nigrescence theory.
5. The scale was designed for all six subscales to be used together, but not to be summed to a total score. If you choose not to use all of the subscales, then be aware that the findings could be inconclusive or reflective of only one dimension of how racial identity is viewed in the expanded nigrescence model.
6. As the CRIS is a copyrighted scale, the CRIS Team requests that you not include the entire scale in your documents. Rather, you can use sample items from each subscale that are listed at the bottom of this letter.
7. If you plan to use the scale in an online survey, we ask that the system would be a closed one, where participants are invited in and that the broader public not have access to the CRIS.
8. If you have any questions about the theory or the scale, feel free to ask. If you use the CRIS, we would love to have permission to use the CRIS data you collect once you have completed your project, as we have been working on building a large enough database to continue validity work. We have been fortunate that other researchers have given us access to only the CRIS data and the demographics. We hope you will be willing to do the same.

Sample CRIS Items
1. Pre-encounter Assimilation
   I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.
2. Pre-encounter Miseducation
   Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.
3. Pre-encounter Self-Hatred
   Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
4. Immersion–Emersion Anti-White
   I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.
5. Internalization Afrocentricity
   I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.
6. Internalization Multiculturalist Exclusive
   As a Multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian–Americans, Whites, Jews, gays, and lesbians, etc.).

Best wishes in conducting your research. If you have questions about using the CRIS and the appropriate analysis to use, feel free to email (bjv3@psu.edu) me back. Let me know that you have received the email and the attachments.

Sincerely,

Beverly J. Vandiver, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Education

Appendix B

Demographic Information

Characteristic	Number of Students
Female	6
Age	
20	1
21	5
Ethnic Self Designation	
African American	6
Primary Community	
Urban	1
Suburban	5
Racial Composition of Primary Community	
Mixed	2
Mostly White	4
Mother's Education	
High School Diploma / GED	1
Associate's Degree	1
Some College	2
Bachelor's Degree	1
Graduate or PhD Degree	1
Father's Education	
High School Diploma / GED	1
Bachelor's Degree	2
Some Graduate School	1
Graduate or PhD Degree	1
Unknown	1
Family Income	
Less Than $50,000	1
$50,000–$100,000	3
$1000,000–$150,000	1
Greater Than $2000,000	1

Family Status	
Working Class	2
Middle Class	2
Upper Middle Class	2
Academic Student Standing	
Undergraduate—Senior	5
Undergraduate—Junior	1

Appendix C

Sample Introductory Letter To Participants

February 8, 2010

To Whom It May Concern:

I am conducting a study on the relationship between one's ethnic identity development and leadership style as part of my doctoral studies at University of San Francisco, School of Education. The goal of this study is to determine if one's stage of ethnic identity development affects the style of leadership they practice within their student organization.

The format of the study will be based on a survey and one-on-one interview, which could last approximately an hour. The interview, which will require an audio recording, is an opportunity for you to tell your personal stories of developing as an African American woman on this campus and how you operate, as a leader, in your organization.

I would deeply appreciate your participation in this research study. This project could help university faculty and administrators understand how best to support and encourage women of color on campus. If you are interested in the findings of this research, I would be more than willing to share the information with you at the end of the project.

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at 408.781.8132 or apicou@dons.usfca.edu. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Amber Picou-Broadnax

Appendix D

Sample Informed Consent Form

CONSENT TO BE A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Amber Picou-Broadnax, a doctoral student in the School of Education at the University
of San Francisco is conducting a study on African American female student leaders and
the relationship between ethnic identity development and leadership style.

If I agree to be a participant in this study, I will participate in a survey. If I desire, I may
volunteer to participate in a personal interview with Amber Picou-Broadnax, during
which time I will be asked about my experiences on campus as an African American
woman and leading a student group. An audio recording of my interview will be required
to assist the researcher in acquiring accurate data and for note-taking.

Participation in research poses the possibility of a loss of confidentiality. Study records
will be kept strictly confidential. No individual identities will be used in any reports or
publications resulting from this study. Study information will be coded and kept in locked
files at all times.

If I have any questions or comments about my participation in this study, I should first
talk with the researcher. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the
IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may
reach the IRBPHS office by calling 415.533.6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-

mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology,

University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080.

I have been given a copy of the "Research Subject's Bill of Rights" and I have been

given a copy of this consent form to keep.

Participation in the research is voluntary. I am free to decline to be in this study, or to

withdraw from it at any time.

Sincerely,

Research Participant

Appendix E

Research Subjects' Bill of Rights

Research subjects can expect:

❥ To be told the extent to which confidentiality of records identifying the subject will be maintained and of the possibility that specified individuals, internal and external regulatory agencies, or study sponsors may inspect information in the medical record specifically related to participation in the clinical trial.

❥ To be told of any benefits that may reasonably be expected from the research.

❥ To be told of any reasonably foreseeable discomforts or risks.

❥ To be told of appropriate alternative procedures or courses of treatment that might be of benefit to the subject.

❥ To be told of the procedures to be followed during the course of participation, especially those that are experimental in nature.

❥ To be told that they may refuse to participate (participation is voluntary), and that declining to participate will not compromise access to services and will not result in penalty or loss of benefits to which the subject is otherwise entitled.

❥ To be told about compensation and medical treatment if research related injury occurs and where further information may be obtained when participating in research involving more than minimal risk.

❥ To be told whom to contact for answers to pertinent questions about the research, about the research subjects' rights and whom to contact in the event of a research-related injury to the subject.

❥ To be told of anticipated circumstances under which the investigator without regard to the subject's consent may terminate the subject's participation.

❥ To be told of any additional costs to the subject that may result from participation in the research.

❥ To be told of the consequences of a subjects' decision to withdraw from the research and procedures for orderly termination of participation by the subject.

❥ To be told that significant new findings developed during the course of the research that may relate to the subject's willingness to continue participation will be provided to the subject.

❥ To be told the approximate number of subjects involved in the study.

❥To be told what the study is trying to find out;

⁍ To be told what will happen to me and whether any of the procedures, drugs, or devices are different from what would be used in standard practice;

⁍ To be told about the frequent and/or important risks, side effects, or discomforts of the things that will happen to me for research purposes;

⁍ To be told if I can expect any benefit from participating, and, if so, what the benefit might be;

⁍ To be told of the other choices I have and how they may be better or worse than being in the study; To be allowed to ask any questions concerning the study both before agreeing to be involved and during the course of the study;

⁍ To be told what sort of medical or psychological treatment is available if any complications arise;

⁍ To refuse to participate at all or to change my mind about participation after the study is started; if I were to make such a decision, it will not affect my right to receive the care or privileges I would receive if I were not in the study;

⁍ To receive a copy of the signed and dated consent form; and

⁍ To be free of pressure when considering whether I wish to agree to be in the study. If I have other questions, I should ask the researcher or the research assistant. In addition, I may contact the institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS), which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS by calling (415) 422-6091, by electronic mail at IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to USF IRBPHS, Department of Counseling Psychology, Education Building, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080.

References: JCAHO and Research Regulatory Bodies
(1) To be told what the study is trying to find out;
(2) To be told what will happen to me and whether any of the procedures, drugs, or devices are different from what would be used in standard practice;
(3) To be told about the frequent and/or important risks, side effects, or discomforts of the things that will happen to me for research purposes;
(4) To be told if I can expect any benefit from participating, and, if so, what the benefit might be;
(5) To be told of the other choices I have and how they may be better or worse than being in the study;
(6) To be allowed to ask any questions concerning the study both before agreeing to be involved and during
the course of the study;
(7) To be told what sort of medical or psychological treatment is available if any complications arise;

(8) To refuse to participate at all or to change my mind about participation after the study is started; if I were to make such a decision, it will not affect my right to receive the care or privileges I would receive if I were not in the study;

(9) To receive a copy of the signed and dated consent form; and

(10) To be free of pressure when considering whether I wish to agree to be in the study. If I have other questions, I should ask the researcher or the research assistant. In addition, I may contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS), which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS by calling (415) 422-6091, by electronic mail at IRBPHS@usfca.edu or by writing to USF IRBPHS, Department of Counseling Psychology, Education Building, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080.

Appendix F

San Jose State University Human Subjects Approval

Hi Amber,

Since you have a list of potential survey participants and does not require university resources to assist your study, your study does not need IDMC approval. Also, your study fits Item 1 below. You should be good to move forward with your study.

This policy applies to any university-wide survey of the campus community except for the following conditions:

a. surveys for individual classroom research projects, or any research gathering information for theses, dissertations, publications, or scholarship that does not require widespread involvement of SJSU students; and
b. surveys that involve personnel within the initiator's immediate department.
c. "focused" surveys are those given to a defined population for a specific operational purpose, (including course evaluations; surveys targeting a limited, well-defined group of respondents for a narrowly defined purpose).

Sutee Sujitparapitaya
Associate Vice President
Institutional Research
San Jose State University
(408) 924-1516

Appendix G

University of San Francisco Human Subjects Approvals

December 20, 2009

Dear Ms. Picou-Broadnax:

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS)

at the University of San Francisco (USF) has reviewed your request for human

subjects approval regarding your study.

Your application has been approved by the committee (IRBPHS #09-077).

Please note the following:

1. Approval expires twelve (12) months from the dated noted above. At that

time, if you are still in collecting data from human subjects, you must file

a renewal application.

2. Any modifications to the research protocol or changes in instrumentation

(including wording of items) must be communicated to the IRBPHS.

Re-submission of an application may be required at that time.

3. Any adverse reactions or complications on the part of participants must

be reported (in writing) to the IRBPHS within ten (10) working days.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRBPHS at (415) 422-6091.

On behalf of the IRBPHS committee, I wish you much success in your research.

Sincerely,

Terence Patterson, EdD, ABPP

Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

March 8, 2010

Dear Ms. Picou-Broadnax:

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS)
at the University of San Francisco (USF) has reviewed your modification
request for human subjects approval regarding your study.

Your modification application has been approved by the committee (IRBPHS
#09-077). Please note the following:

1. Approval expires twelve (12) months from the dated noted above. At that
time, if you are still in collecting data from human subjects, you must file
a renewal application.

2. Any modifications to the research protocol or changes in instrumentation
(including wording of items) must be communicated to the IRBPHS.
Re-submission of an application may be required at that time.

3. Any adverse reactions or complications on the part of participants must
be reported (in writing) to the IRBPHS within ten (10) working days.
If you have any questions, please contact the IRBPHS at (415) 422-6091.

On behalf of the IRBPHS committee, I wish you much success in your research.
Sincerely,

Terence Patterson, EdD, ABPP

Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

Appendix H

Stanford University Human Subjects Approval

Hello Amber,

Thank you for your inquiry regarding approaching student leaders here at Stanford University. As I mentioned, because you are not a Stanford affiliate, our FWA does not cover your research. You indicated that you received IRB approval from your University; this in effect covers your study.

I will reiterate here that, should you be approaching a specific department on campus, I advise you to speak to the Chair or Department Head prior to commencement of any activities. However you indicated you would be speaking to individuals. As such, they are free to agree or not to agree to participate in your study. You do not need (and because you are not affiliated with Stanford, cannot receive) IRB approval from us for your research.

If you have any questions, please let me know.

Good luck with your research,

Bertha deLanda

Bertha deLanda
IRB Training Specialist
Vice Provost and Dean of Research
Research Compliance Office

1215 Welch Road, Modular A
Stanford, CA 94305-5401
Phone 1.650.736-2686
Fax 1.650.736.7077
bertha.delanda@stanford.edu

Appendix I

Sample of Interview Transcripts

ASHLEY W.

APB: How would you define leadership?

ASHLEY W.: Being able to communicate, being able to motivate people, to get the job done. But also to be stern and to know when to umm, when to, I guess put your hand down, put your foot down. You need to know when to speak up, voice your opinion in a respectful way. Yeah, I think that makes a leader

APB: Do you have any role models as leaders? It could be someone you know, someone you don't know.

ASHLEY W.: Yeah, well my mom. Cause well she's a single mom. She's always had to make sure we got all our stuff done. She would always be on top of us so that everything is on point. And then in my sorority, our national president is a role model for me cause of all the hardship she's faced and she is like so accomplished.

KELSEY

APB: Ok. Ummm, let's see here. I think I only have a couple of more questions. So, when you took on an RA position, did your attitude change about who you are as an African American?

KELSEY: Ummm a little bit. I think that … I am light skinned. Both of my parents identify as Black. I come from a very light skinned family on both sides. So, I've had an interesting time growing up because my family is really very much culturally and umm you know … they're very Black. I've lived in a predominantly White community. So, I'm … I guess when I came to Stanford I didn't think I could live in Ujamaa my freshman year because I didn't know if I was Black enough. Cause I always felt that way, but didn't look that way and because I wasn't raised socially in a … my peers weren't all Black. Ummm I didn't know if I would fit in. So, when I moved into Ujamaa I had a little bit of apprehension and didn't know if I would be accepted and things like that. I think that once I got that leadership position in the NAACP and then being on staff for Ujamaa is a very coveted that and is a positive thing and a lot of people compete for that position. So being chosen especially since I wasn't … I mean usually it's the people who are seen most in the community who get the position. So, especially junior year when I was someone who wasn't out there in the community as everyone else was, at that time, being on staff was very validating … like I am a role model as a Black woman and that it's something that I can always be proud of and I don't have to be afraid that I'm not Black enough and people won't question who I am because my skin is lighter and my hair is curlier and something like that. I felt like I could own it more so than (inaudible)

APB: Do you … this is my last questions. … Do you feel like you have to fight for Ujamaa to be valid on campus?

KELSEY: Ummm. Yeah. Very much so. It's a fight all the time and sometimes we feel like that Residential Education, which we're a part of , re did the whole housing system and we've been afraid for many years. Like they've tried to move us, they've tried to … last year they ended up doing something where all the freshmen (inaudible). Ultimately, we are looking at the long term and they keep trying to move us around without including us in the decision. And we're afraid that ultimately they're going to make a decision to get rid of ethnic themed houses cause a lot of people do, just don't believe they're useful or are detracting from the unity of the campus and stuff like that. So, every year someone writes an editorial that goes in the newspaper that says something about ummm ethnic themed houses and Ujamaa being the most outspoken and definitely the most successful in terms of programming and things like that. We're usually the ones they're attacking. More so than the others. So, when you have students of other colors and other ethnicities living in the house, and they talk about how when they go to other places and they tell their friends that they live in Ujamaa they ask things like, "Do you like that? Did you choose to be there?" So, definitely the overall campus culture, for people who have never experienced it, is not favorable. It is always a struggle to maintain validity and to try to get people to understand, but for the most part we know they're never going to fully understand but just maintaining the fact that we deserve to be here