

EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MINORITY STATUS STRESS,  
THE SOCIAL CHANGE MODEL OF LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT, AND  
PERSISTENCE OF BLACK STUDENTS AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE  
INSTITUTIONS

A Dissertation

by

LESLEY-ANN BROWN

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2012

Major Subject: Counseling Psychology

Examining the Relationship Between Minority Status Stress, the Social Change Model  
of Leadership Development, and Persistence of Black Students at  
Predominantly White Institutions  
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Approved by:

Co-Chairs of Committee,	Linda Castillo
	Fred Bonner
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## ABSTRACT

Examining the Relationship Between Minority Status Stress, the Social Change Model of Leadership Development, and Persistence of Black Students at Predominantly White Institutions. (August 2012)

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Minority status stress, which is the stress Black college students experience at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) as a result of their racial minority status, has been found to negatively impact their persistence in college. Two manuscripts were developed for this dissertation. The first is a critical literature review which establishes the relationship of minority status stress, persistence, and leadership values within psychological and higher educational scholarship of Black students at PWIs. The paper seeks to clarify the connection between the aforementioned variables as it relates to the Black student experience at PWIs. As minority status stress causes a threat to Black student persistence, leadership conceptualized using the values or the Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development (SCM) were introduced as coping methods Black students have used to increase their persistence and minimize the negative effects of minority status stress.

The second article is a quantitative study examining the relationship of minority status stress and persistence employing the Cs of the SCM as mediators in a sample of 340 Black college students. Results indicated that none of the Cs of the SCM fully mediated the relationship between minority status stress and persistence when employed as composite scores. However, when the six individual factors of minority status stress (environmental stressors, race-related stressors, racial-identity stressors, intrapersonal and interpersonal stressors, achievement-related stressors, and minority status stressors) and the 5 factors of persistence (academic and intellectual development, faculty concerns for student development and teaching, interactions with faculty, institutional and goal commitments, and peer group interactions) were employed in a series of multiple mediation analyses with the Cs of the SCM as mediators, there were several instances of full mediation by the Consciousness of Self, Citizenship, and Change values. The findings emphasized the importance of these three values in conceptualizing Black student leadership at PWIs and in understanding the role of leadership in Black student persistence in lieu of minority status stress. Suggestions for future research, implications, and recommendations for student affairs practitioners, other student services providers, faculty, and staff are discussed.

## DEDICATION

It has been said that it takes a village...I would like to thank God for providing me with amazing support systems every step of my journey beginning from my parents, sisters, niece, brother-in-law, and boyfriend to my extended family, my various church families, higher education networks, friends, students and my dissertation committee. This is not my success; it is our triumph. Thank you for your investment in me. I dedicate this work to each of you.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

There has been a significant amount of research (Fleming, 1984; Gibbs, 1974; Gloria, Robinson Kurpius, Hamilton, & Willson, 1999; Greer & Brown, 2011; Guiffrida, 2004a; Prillerman, 1988) conducted addressing the experiences of Black students at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs). Findings suggest that Black college students like other minorities at PWIs, experience additional stress associated with being racial minorities (Ancis, Sedlack, & Mohr, 2000; Greer, 2008; Greer & Brown, 2011; Neville, Heppner, & Thye, 2004). The literature discusses the academic and social difficulties Black students often encounter at PWIs. The struggle to establish their identities, the pressure to acculturate, the academic anxiety, and the racial dissonance that Black students experience at PWIs creates stress which is specific to this population of students. In turn, the stress that Black students encounter due to their minority status is referred to in the literature as minority status stress (Prillerman, 1988). Minority Status Stress is often experienced as a psychological discomfort and can negatively impact a Black student's academic performance, and ultimately their college persistence (Plummer & Slane, 1996).

Feeling connected to campus and having a support system helps Black students cope positively with minority status stressors.

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This dissertation follows the style of *The Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*.

Neville et al. (2004) suggested that if institutions of higher education developed ways for Black students to make points of connection on campus, feelings of loneliness and isolation might decrease. As a result, Black students may experience an increase in their self-esteem and an improvement in their college persistence. Through being active in student leadership activities and organizations Black students develop an understanding and appreciation of leadership values, which may aid in their ability to become more socially connected on campus. Despite minority status stress, leadership has been stated throughout the literature as a resiliency factor enabling Black students to persist (Holmes, Ebbers, Robinson, & Mugenda, 2000; Flowers, 2004b; Guiffrida, 2003). However, attempting to understand Black student persistence at PWIs is a complex undertaking. All theoretical models employed in the persistence scholarship use sociological factors (Tinto, 1975) as well as some psychological characteristics (Bean & Eaton, 2000) to conceptualize and provide recommendations on how to retain this population of students at PWIs. While neither model explicitly discusses the role of minority status stress in the persistence of Black students, the leadership scholarship bridges the gap in the literature between minority status stress and persistence. Leadership is often viewed as a skills based construct, however, the Social Change Model of Leadership Development (SCM) offers a conceptualization of leadership that may explain how leadership impacts minority status stress and persistence. The eight values (Consciousness of Self, Congruence, Commitment, Common Purpose, Collaboration, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship, Change), which are referred to as the Cs, that encompass the SCM may serve as clear leadership outcomes that student

affairs administrators and other campus constituencies may be able to develop, enhance, and employ through programs, services, and leadership development opportunities to better understand Black student persistence.

### 1.1 Study Rationale

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have long been responsible for educating the Black collegiate populations. The rhetoric of separate but equal did not stand true and Civil Rights leaders fought for school integration. Although, it seemed that many leaders were pro integration, there were several researchers that advised the Black community to consider the repercussions that desegregation might have on the psyche of the young Black population (Fleming, 1981). Acknowledged but not endorsed, the forewarnings subsided in lieu of a historic event. *Brown v. Board of Education* was won and the history of education in the United States was forever changed. During the post segregation era, PWIs experienced an influx of Black students and the aforementioned cautionary voices of the academy began to be realized. In the mid-1970s, researchers began to focus on the experiences of Black students at PWIs (Fleming, 1984; Thomas, 1981). There were several landmark studies including those conducted by Gibbs (1974) that looked at patterns of adaptation of Black students at PWIs and Fleming (1981) who lead the research on stressors Black students enrolled in PWIs experienced. Subsequently, Fleming's (1984) research, a comparative study of the success of Black students at HBCUs and PWIs, was included in a book entitled *Blacks in College*. In 1988 Prillerman completed her dissertation on the adjustment of Black students and their experience with racial stressors as a result of their minority status at

their institutions of higher education. Although Prillerman's (1988) research offered an early conceptualization of the stress Black student populations experience at PWIs, the literature relating to the adjustment, persistence and retention had long been spearheaded by Tinto's (1975) *Model of Student Departure*.

Tinto (1975) offered the academy a way in which to conceptualize student departure. His theory on student departure is the most recognized and cited conceptualization of the attributes that cause students to voluntarily depart from an institution prematurely. The model encompasses a host of pre-entry characteristics and at the heart of its conceptual framework are the constructs of academic integration, social integration, and goal and institutional commitment. Although Tinto's model has gone through several revisions (1986, 1987, 1988, 1993), and it has been greatly studied and cited (Braxton, 2000; Cabrera, Nora, & Castaneda, 1993; Flowers, 2004b; Fox, 1986; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1980; Terenzini, Lorang, & Pascarella, 1981), there have been several criticisms of its validity with diverse populations (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Metz, 2004). Some argue that Tinto's *Model of Student Departure* (1975) does not directly account for confounding variables such as lack of academic preparedness (Tinto, 1987), exposure to environments of racism and discrimination (Fleming, 1984; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993) and the relationship between stress and adaptational behaviors (Cabrera et al. 1999; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993). These factors are particularly relevant in the persistence of Black students at PWIs. At the core of Tinto's model lay the constructs of academic integration, social integration, and goal and institution commitment, which Pascarella

and Terenzini (1980) later operationalized, and have been proven to be sound indicators of the likelihood that a student will persist. These constructs have illuminated a variety of variables that play an integral role in the persistence of Black students.

One specific variable researchers have studied in efforts of increasing academic integration, social integration, and goal and institutional commitment is student leadership involvement (Flowers, 2004b; Guiffrida, 2003; Holmes et al., 2000; Murguia, Padilla, & Pavel, 1991). Leadership involvement has been found to help Black students create cultural enclaves on campus which serve as smaller supportive communities helping students feel less isolated and more comfortable on their college campuses (Murguia et al., 1991). Through student organizations and other leadership activities, Black students have been able to find their place aiding with their persistence at PWIs. However, the intricacies of leadership that aid in the persistence of Black students remain unclear. The question of how leadership involvement helps students integrate into their respective campus environments has yet to be fully discovered. By employing the SCM, one of the few leadership models that was created specifically for the collegiate student population, the “how” question may be answered. Determining the ways in which the Cs of the SCM explain the relationship of minority status stress and persistence can provide key information regarding the role of leadership in the persistence of Black students at PWIs.

## 1.2 Conceptual Frameworks

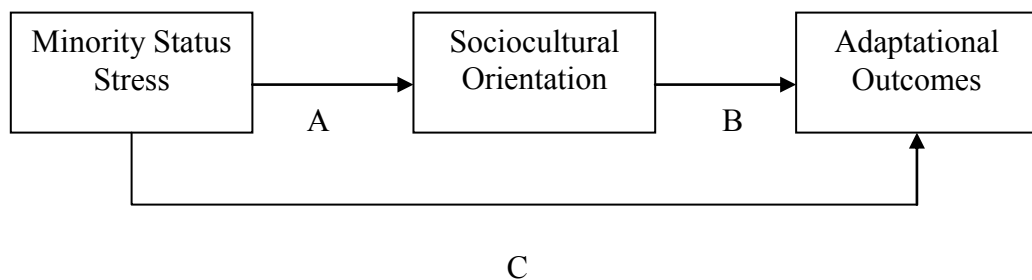
This study is guided by three conceptual frameworks: a) minority status stress (Prillerman, 1988), b) social integration, academic integration, and goal and institutional



commitment constructs of the persistence model (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1980), and c) the Social Change Model of Leadership Development (HERI, 1996).

The minority status stress literature was the foundation of the study. Prillerman (1988) conceptual model provides the basic infrastructure of the study. The *Model of Stress and Coping Processes of Afro-American Students at Predominantly White Universities* (Figure 1) informed this study in the conceptualization of minority status stress, the selection of the minority status stress measure, as well as using coping as a mediator between minority status stress and persistence as the adaptational outcome.

Figure 1. Representation of the Model of Stress and Coping Processes of Afro-American Students at Predominantly White Universities



- A → B Paths in the stress process applicable to Black students at predominantly White universities.
- C Minority status stressors are viewed as exerting their effects on outcomes mediated by sociocultural orientation.

Prillerman's (1988) *Model of Stress and Coping Processes of Afro-American Students at Predominantly White* begins with minority status stress which is the stress that students of color experience being racial minorities at their respective PWIs. As a

result of this stress, these students develop means of coping with minority status stressors (sociocultural orientation) that may have both “costs and benefits” (e.g. focusing on student involvement at the cost of academic achievement) ultimately impacting a student’s adaptational outcomes, which are “the product of the stress-coping process” (Prillerman, Myers, & Smedley, 1989, p. 207).

The social integration, academic integration, and goal and institutional commitment, constructs of Tinto’s (1975) *Model of Student Departure*, which have been studied within the context of collegiate student persistence, served as the adaptational outcomes of the *Model of Stress and Coping Processes of Afro-American Students* and guided the selection of measures. Finally, the values of the Cs of the SCM (Consciousness of Self, Congruence, Commitment, Controversy with Civility, Common Purpose, Collaboration, Citizenship, and Change), will be used to assess the mediating effects of adherence to leadership values to the relationship between minority status stress and persistence.

### 1.3 Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to determine which of the Cs of the SCM mediate the effects of minority status stressors on Black college student persistence. The results of this study will enable student affairs administrators and other university personnel to specifically discuss how leadership assists or hinders students in achieving academic integration, social integration, and goal and institution commitment in lieu of minority status stress. The Cs of the SCM, can then be employed in the discussion of leadership and student activity based interventions aimed at engaging and retaining Black college

students at PWIs. This study is also unique because it attempted to deconstruct each of the latent variables (i.e. Persistence), allowing each factor to be a separate observed variable (i.e. academic and intellectual development, faculty concerns for student development and teaching, interactions with faculty, institutional and goal commitment and peer group interactions). Doing so will provide more specific information regarding the relationship and interaction between variables. The dissertation will be conducted in two phases, each of which will answer the follow four research questions: 1) Is there a relationship between minority status stress and persistence? 2) Is there a relationship between minority status stress and the Cs of the SCM? 3) Is there a relationship between persistence and the Cs of the SCM? and 4) Do the Cs of the SCM mediate the relationship between minority status stress and persistence?

## 2. BLACK STUDENT PERSISTENCE, MINORITY STATUS STRESS, AND THE SOCIAL CHANGE MODEL: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDENT AFFAIRS PRACTITIONERS

The stress that Black people encounter on a daily basis as a result of their minority status and its effects on their physical health (Richman & Jonassaint, 2008; Krieger & Sidney, 1996) and psychological well being (Utsey & Payne, 2000; Carter, Forsyth, Mazzula, & Williams, 2005; Franklin-Jackson & Carter, 2007) has been researched and documented with much fervor. The concept of minority status stress has been defined as the stress that students of color experience as a result of their minority status at predominantly White institutions (PWIs; Prillerman et al., 1989). In the rich body of literature devoted to giving voice to the impact that minority status stress has on the Black community, only a small proportion examines the role of minority status stress on college student adjustment (Neville, Heppner, Ji, & Thye, 2004). Although there has been a plethora of research conducted that addresses the experiences of Black students at PWIs (Fleming, 1984; Gibbs, 1974; Gloria, Robinson Kurpius, Hamilton, & Willson, 1999; Greer & Brown, 2011; Guiffrida, 2004a; Prillerman, 1988), very little of that research has focused on how minority status stress impacts the rate at which Black students persist at PWIs. Retaining Black students is imperative when considering the education and developmental goals of most institutions of higher education. As many institutions seek to represent the diversity of their states and this country, the recruitment, retention, and graduation of students of color in general, specifically Black

students, have significant implications for their reputations, funding, longevity, and relevance. Findings from the growing body of research related to minority status stress and persistence are vast; however, all researchers agree that Black college students who attend PWIs experience additional stress related to being a racial minority on their campuses (Ancis, Sedlack, & Mohr, 2000; Edmunds, 1984; Neville et al., 2004; Prillerman, 1988; Prillerman et al., 1989; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993).

Many researchers use the term race-related stress and minority status stress interchangeably. However, the term race-related stress generally focuses on the psychological discomfort resulting from discrimination and racism Black people experience in America (Plummer & Slane, 1996). Inherent in the definition of minority status stress is race-related stress; however, it also includes factors that may only be experienced on a college campus (e.g. achievement stresses and environmental stresses). This article is focused on minority status stress with the understanding that race-related stress is embedded within its definition.

The study of minority status stress sheds light on the stress that Black students encounter at PWIs. Many Black students who experience stress due to their minority status often feel as though they do not belong on campus and thus are unable to fully integrate into the academic and social realms of the university (Smedley et al., 1993). In a study on minority student stress and college adjustment of ethnic minority freshmen, Smedley et al. (1993) found that minority status stress added to the overall level of stress or stress load Black college students experience, which significantly impacted their daily functioning even when common student stressors (e.g. financial aid and coursework)

were taken into consideration. The social integration difficulties Black students experience can be attributed to experiences with racism, alienation, and isolation which negatively impact their decision to remain at their PWIs (Benette & Okinak, 1989, Lopez, 2005; Mayo & Padilla, 1995).

The literature discusses the academic and social difficulties Black students often encounter at PWIs. The struggle to establish their identities, the pressure to acculturate, the academic anxiety, and the racial dissonance that Black students face at PWIs create stress which is specific to this population of students. Lopez (2005) found that for some students the stress related to racism is experienced to a greater degree over the course of their first year (Lopez, 2005). Feeling connected within the campus environment and having a support system helps Black students cope positively with racial stressors. Neville et al. (2004) suggested that if institutions of higher education can find ways for Black students to make points of connection on campus, they might experience loneliness and isolation at lower rates, increasing their self-esteem and may positively impact their college persistence. The literature makes it clear that being active in leadership activities is one way Black students can form meaningful relationships on campus (Guiffrida, 2003).

Leadership has long been at the heart of the university's educational and societal outcomes for their graduates (Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education, 2006; Dugan, Komives, & Segar, 2008; Thelin, 2003). Through being active in student leadership activities, students develop leadership competences, which may enable them to become more socially integrated on campus. Evidence can be found in

the literature that supports the notion that leadership activities play an integral role in the lives of Black students (Greene & Winter, 1971). Black student organizations help collegians create smaller enclaves within the larger university communities, enabling them to eventually integrate into the campus environment with greater comfort and ease (Guiffrida, 2004b; Murguia, Padilla, and Pavel, 1991). Student leadership experiences also help students feel connected to the collegiate environment and in doing so enables students to feel as though they belong on their campuses. Research also suggests that Black student involvement experiences directly impact their developmental gains in understanding arts and humanities, personal and social development, science and technology, thinking and writing skills and vocational preparation (Flowers, 2004). It is known that leadership involvement helps Black students succeed academically and persist through the academy, yet there is little research that can directly identify specific characteristics of leadership that help create these successes for Black students.

The study and utility of leadership theory and programs have seen exponential growth in the last few decades; however, there has not been as much empirical research focused on collegiate student leadership (Dugan, 2006; Posner, 2004). The Social Change Model of Leadership Development (SCM; Higher Educational Research Institute [HERI], 1996) is one of the few leadership development theories created specifically for college students. It promotes a student's development across seven essential values: Consciousness of Self, Congruence, Commitment, Collaboration, Common Purpose, and Controversy with Civility, which leads to the final value of Change. These eight values are discussed throughout the literature as the Cs of the SCM.

Black student leadership involvement in racial and cultural student organizations is viewed throughout the literature as a coping method Black students employ in navigating their minority status at PWIs (Constantine, Robinson, Wilton, & Caldwell, 2002). Conceptualizing leadership using the Cs of the SCM provides a specific leadership based coping method that can be employed in empirical research aimed at testing theoretical models of stress and coping related to Black college students at PWIs.

Within Prillerman et al.'s (1989) *Model of Stress and Coping Processes of Afro-American Students at Predominantly White Universities* there exists three factors (sociodemographic factors, minority status stressors, and sociocultural orientations) which are believed to impact a Black student's adaptation outcomes such as persistence. One of the factors, sociocultural orientation, was included as a means of understanding how students cope with the stress of their minority status. According to Prillerman et al. (1989) sociocultural orientation is an index of coping styles Black students employ in adapting to the multiracial environment inherent at PWIs. This paper operationalizes the sociocultural orientation construct using the Cs of the SCM. Student affairs professionals may then intentionally employ the SCM values as educational tools and resources, in discussing minority status stress and its influence on Black student persistence.

Attempting to understand Black student persistence at PWIs is a very complex undertaking. All theoretical models employed in the persistence scholarship use sociological factors as well as some psychological intrapersonal characteristics to conceptualize and provide recommendations on how to retain this population of students. The purpose of this article is trifold, a) to illuminate factors (i.e. minority status



stress) that are not considered in Tinto's (1975) original *Model of Student Departure* that likely impact Black student persistence at PWIs, b) to determine the relationship between minority status stress and persistence factors (i.e. academic integration, social integration, institutional and goal commitment), and to c) determine if leadership, conceptualized using the Cs of the SCM, can help explain the effect of minority status stress on Black student persistence.

## 2.1 Persistence

The study of student retention was firmly established in the scholarship of higher education when Tinto (1975) proposed his widely used conceptualization of the “dropout process” (p.89). His model is based on Durkheim's (1952) *Theory of Suicide*, which postulates that suicidality is more prevalent in individuals who are unable to sufficiently “integrate into the fabric of society” (p. 91). Tinto constructed his theory from the presupposition established by Spady (1970) influenced by Durkheim's work. Spady (1970) believed that colleges were social systems with their own constructs and values therefore, the dropout process of an individual from a social system, no matter the context, is comparable with another. Based on this impetus, Tinto asserted that “insufficient interactions with others in the college and insufficient congruency with the prevailing value patterns of the college collectively” resulted in student dropout (p. 92). Tinto's (1975) predictive model of the dropout process is known as the *Model of Student Departure*.

Given the context of the times (1970s) and the “individualistic” and “functionalist” presuppositions that underlie Tinto's model there have been many

criticisms of its applicability to students of color (Lee, 2006, p.7; Rendon, Jalomo, & Nora, 2000; Tierney, 1993). Although in later revisions of the model, Tinto (1993) points to the need of supportive and inclusive campus environments as an integral factor in the success of students of color at PWIs, he still fails to account for the larger cultural context in which individual actions make dropping out a possibility (Lee, 2006).

Particularly notable is the notion that Tinto's model was created out of the "assimilation/acculturation" framework of the 1960s and 1970s determining that students who are successful in the academe are fully integrated into the academic and social systems of their institutions (Lee, 2006, p. 6; Rendon, Jalomo, & Nora, 2000). For Black students, this suggests that it is their responsibility to change their ethnic identities in order to fit in the mainstream systems of their PWIs (Lee, 2006). As such retention programs created based on Tinto's framework are aimed at reforming Black students into "people who can survive in the existing educational system" (Lee, 2006, p.7; Tierney, 2000).

In lieu of these criticisms, caution was used in employing Tinto's model as a conceptual framework for this study. In part this study attempts to respond to Rendon, Jaloma, and Nora's (2000) call for "new models that consider the key theoretical issues associated with the experiences of minority students in higher education" (p. 129). This study uses a conceptual framework created that incorporates cultural factors (i.e minority status stressors) that are not included in Tinto's model but are known to encroach on a Black student's decision to remain at their PWI. This study attempts to address the criticisms of Tinto's model by using knowledge gained from research specific to Black

students at PWIs while acknowledging the theoretical and empirical viability of the model. By embedding the academic integration, social integration, institutional and goal commitment constructs of Tinto's model as the adaptational outcomes of the *Model of Stress and Coping Process of Afro-American Students at Predominantly White Universities* this study does not fully address or resolve all the criticisms of Tinto's model, yet it provides a prospective that is respectful of Tinto's work and contributions while being inclusive of factors specific to Black students that his model fails to address.

Tinto's original model was revised to include a number of attributes that impact a student's decision to leave an institution of higher education (e.g external commitments). It also included a reorganization of the academic and social system aspects of the model (Tinto, 1993). The academic and social components were restructured to include formal (e.g academic performance and extracurricular activities) and informal (faculty/staff and peer group interactions) components. These components, known as academic and social integration, along the institutional and goal commitment component which reflects a student's intent and desire to graduate from the particular institution have been found to be key factors in conceptualizing Black college student persistence.

As evident through the findings of numerous researchers, academic integration leads to a higher level of goal and institutional commitment (Cabrera, Castaneda, Nora, & Hengstler, 1992; Cabrera, Nora, & Castaneda, 1992; Pascarella & Terenzi, 1983; Terenzi, Pascarella, Theophilides, & Lorang, 1985) and students who are integrated into campus life are more likely to persist (Cabrera et al., 1992; Fox, 1986; Getzlaf, Sedlacek, Keamey, & Blackwell, 1984; Pascarella & Terenzi, 1983; Terenzi,

Lorang, & Pascarella, 1981). There is a lot of support in the literature for the positive impact of goal and institutional commitment, academic and social integration in the persistence of Black students at PWIs.

An individual's ability and willingness to commit to a particular institution of higher education and work towards their educational and occupational goals within the institution are the tenants of the goal and institutional commitment construct (Tinto, 1993). In 1975, Astin reported that Black students with unclear goals were more likely to leave their educational institutions prematurely. Likewise, retention of Black students was found to be positively correlated with the ability to set both achievement and performance goals (Midgley, Arunkumar, & Urdan 1996).

Academic integration refers to a student's ability to integrate in to the academic environment and formal educational system of their institution (Tinto, 1993). MacKay and Kah (1994) found that a Black student's personal and academic development was most influenced by involvement in academically related activities. Black students at PWIs have reported feelings of isolation (Neville et al., 2004), difficulties forming relationships with the disproportionate number of White faculty on their campuses (Sedlacek, 1999; Boyd, 1973; Dinka et al., 1980), and uncertainty regarding their ability to compete academically with their White peers (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Each of these factors inhibits Black students from becoming comfortable with the academic environment of the institution, which negatively impacts their motivation and drive to matriculate and persist.

A student's ability to participate in the student activities of an institution and

interact with their peers relates to their social integration (Tinto, 1993). Littleton (2002) conducted a qualitative study and found that nearly half of the 24 African American students stated that being active in student leadership activities helped them endure in college (Flowers, 2004). According to Swail, Redd, and Perna (2003), student alliances and social participation are also powerful predictors of student commitment and persistence. Constantine et al. (2002) reported that Black students who had contact with other Black students outside of the classroom were less likely to drop out of school. Thus, having a support system, often developed through student organization involvement, helps Black students deal with the challenges of minority status stress (Constantine et al., 2002). Student leadership experiences help students feel connected to the collegiate environment and in doing so enables students to feel as though they belong on their campuses building their affinity to the institution. Integration into campus life is a key factor in Black student persistence yet they often struggle to integrate because of challenges they experience being racial minorities on their campuses. These difficulties permeate every aspect of their college experience and impede their desire to remain and graduate from their respective institutions.

## 2.2 Minority Status Stress

The study of the experiences of Black students at PWIs has a long history in the scholarship of higher education. By the late 1970s, towards the end of the Civil Rights movement, America saw an influx of Black students at PWIs (Fleming, 1981). Prior to this time Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) had been primarily responsible for educating the masses of the Black community (Fleming, 1981).

Although this shift seemed to positively reflect the revolutionary times, it had some unforeseen consequences for the Black students and the Black community at large. Research on the academic outcomes of Black students reported that the academic outcomes of Black collegians at PWIs are generally inferior to their peers at HBCUs (Fleming, 1981, 1984; Guiffrida, 2005). Likewise, the motivation towards achievement of Black students at PWIs decreases throughout their academic tenures compared to those at HBCUs (Fleming, 1984).

The academic community has been in continual discussion about the cause of the discrepancies. Attributing factors have included academic preparedness, social integration, and academic integration as does the aforementioned student retention model. One culturally specific attribute Tinto's model fails to consider is the impact of a Black student's minority status at PWIs, the stress it causes the students, and its influence on persistence. This stress was first conceptualized and operationalized by Prillerman (1988) as minority status stress. She determined that minority status stress consisted of five factors (environmental stresses, interpersonal stresses, race-related stresses, intragroup stresses, and achievement-related stresses). These factors speak to the various types of stresses Black students at PWIs experience as a result of their racial minority status.

Generally college is a stressful time for all students; however, according to research Black students also experience race related stress such as "racial discrimination, feelings of isolation, and insensitive comments at PWIs" (Neville et al., 2004, p. 612; Ancis et al., 2000; D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Henderson, 1988; Sedlacek, 1999).

According to Johnson and Arbona (2006) race-related stress refers to discomfort that is felt as a result of personal or indirect encounters with racial discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Utsey, 1998). The personal experiences Black students' have with racism on campus may mediate the relationship between their academic potential and their actual performance (Mallinckrodt, 1988). Although many researchers have looked at racism and discrimination as the main elements of minority status stress, others believe that there are a variety of other stressors that are interconnected with one's race which offer a more complex viewpoint of the stress Black students experience at PWIs. These stresses are related to the dissonance they experience as a result of social climate of the university, their ability to manage an interracial environment, the quality of their interpersonal relationship with their Black peers, and the pressure they feel to achieve academically. The culmination of these stresses, in addition to the collegiate stress all students experience, creates challenges Black students have to navigate daily. Their success or failure to navigate the aforementioned stresses, in many cases, determines their satisfaction with their college experience, matriculation into the university, and ultimately their graduation rates.

Black students at PWIs tend to have difficulties finding their place within the culture and norms of their institutions. Many strain to uncover areas within their academic environment that are congruent with their personal identities, experiences, and heritage. Cultural incongruity assesses the dissonance between the fit of an individual's values and beliefs and that of the environment in which they are operating (Gloria & Robinson Kurpius, 1996). Higher cultural congruity has been found to be a significant

factor in an African American student's decision to persist throughout their undergraduate tenure (Gloria et al., 1999). Some Black students may choose to dissolve the incongruence that lies between their values and that of their institution by dropping out or transferring to another college in effort to preserve their cultural and personal pride.

The campus climate also impacts the manner in which Black students interact with their peers on campus. Black students who interact with peers and institutional representatives who are prejudice or discriminate against them based on their race, beliefs, and personal values deter these students from further interacting with the larger campus community. This may result in low involvement, which encroaches on the student's emotional and intellectual development, as well as, his or her desire to persist (Cabrera, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Fleming, 1984; Loo & Rolison, 1986; Thompson & Fretz, 1991; Tracey & Sedlacek 1984, 1985, 1987; Suen, 1983). Although the campus climate is often established by university history, policy, and administration it is maintained and intensified by the student body. The relationship between Black and White students on campus presents a number of challenges; however, Black students also experience stress when interacting within the Black community.

An area that most researcher fail to adequately study is the stress Black student's face by their racial community and how that impacts their persistence. Many Black students discuss feeling outcasted after attending a PWI and returning home and being accused of "acting white". Castillo, Conoley, Brossart, and Quiros (2007) referred to this concept as "intragroup marginalization" (p.232). Intragroup marginalization occurs



when there are cultural conflicts within one's own ethnic group (Castillo et al., 2007). The stresses associated with rejection or questions of legitimacy from one's racial group can be taxing and detrimental psychologically, ultimately negatively affecting one's ability to integrate into their racial community on campus and their institution (Thompson, Lightfoot, Castillo, & Hurst, 2010). Fordham (2008) stated that underachievement in Blacks suggested that there are important psychological costs affiliated with academic success. Research has, in fact, found that high-achieving Black students face psychological costs behind their academic ability (Fordham, 1988; Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007). Attempting to navigate the expectations of both the Black and White community; may place high achieving Black students in position where they are fighting for acceptance from the White community, while having their racial and ethnic affiliation questioned by their Black peers. The stress of not being "Black enough" may cause Black students to underachieve resulting in feelings of isolation.

Black students at PWIs experience a great deal of stress related to academic achievement whether it is related to finding their place within the classroom or navigating parental expectations. These stresses ultimately impact their ability to be academically successful and inherently influence their integration into the campus community. Prillerman (1988) found that minority status stress is a greater predictor of academic success of African American undergraduate students than are SAT scores. Smedley et al. (1993) concluded that the stresses minority students experience are also experienced as heightened concerns over their academic preparedness, question about their legitimacy as students at the university, perceptions of

negative expectations from White peers and from faculty, and concerns over parental/family expectations and lack of understanding of the peculiar demands of attending a highly competitive university. (p. 447)

The negative impact of minority status stress on Black student persistence has been illustrated throughout literature, and questions related to the mechanism that underlies this relationship are often posed. In researching the Black student experience at PWIs there is one key factor, leadership, which seems to have a relationship with both minority status stress and persistence. Overwhelmingly the scholarship on Black student leadership indicates the personal, academic, and social gains of Black students who are involved on campus. Some have stated that involvement in racially specific organizations (e.g the Black Student Union, NAACP, and Black Greek letter organizations) isolates Black students from the larger student body and often become a hindrance to their academic success (Fleming 1984; Guiffrida, 2004a). Overall, involvement in student leadership activities is viewed as an important method of coping Black students employ when dealing with minority status stress. Leadership involvement in Black student organizations also helps Blacks students integrate into the university.

### 2.3 The Social Change Model of Leadership Development

The scholarship on leadership theories and programs has seen significant growth in the last 20 years and the discussion surrounding leadership will continue to evolve. Originally dominated by the ideology that leaders were born and not made (great man approach; Komives, Lucas, & McMahon, 1998), then the belief that certain distinct traits

were characteristics of leadership (trait approach; Komives et al., 1998) also focusing on skill acquisition (behavioral approach; Komives et al., 1998) and the changes of leadership practices in different situation (situational approach; Komives et al., 1998). The study of leadership has predominantly been based out of the business world and while these models and theories have helped shape higher education they do not take into account the developmental status of college students.

The Social Change Model of Leadership Development (HERI, 1996) is a leadership paradigm that was created specifically for the collegiate student population. Through the development of eight core values (Consciousness of Self, Congruence, Commitment, Collaboration, Common Purpose, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship, and Change), this model aims to encourage social responsibility and change for the common good by developing students' self-awareness and their ability to work as a group (Dugan, 2006). Leadership is understood as a factor that enables Black students to integrate into the university community, while also providing opportunities for Black students to empower themselves when faced with minority status stresses. The scholarship on leadership describes the personal and educational gains of Black students who are involved on campus experience. It also provides insight supporting the manner in which leadership defined by the core values or the Cs of the Social Change Model may be used as a coping mechanism for Black students struggling to persist when faced with minority status stresses.

Individuals who are self-aware have both a strong self-concept and are aware of their thoughts and behavior at any given time (HERI, 1996). Researchers have shown

that culture, ethnic, and racial identity development are all related to one's self-concept. In many ways, for Black students, being self-aware may intensify the minority status stresses they experience at their PWI which will likely impede their persistence. Tracey and Sedlacek (1984, 1985, 1987) established the finding that a Black student's ability to identify with their institution is more important factor in retaining this population than others. Utsey, Chae, Brown, and Kelly (2002) revealed that cultural and individual race-related stress was positively correlated with ethnic identity achievement in Latinos and African Americans. Johnson and Arbona (2006) reported that the more Black students identify with their racial group, the more they tend to attribute negative events to discrimination. Likewise maintaining a strong self concept can not only lead to greater identification with interpersonal racial encounters but can also widen the gap between a Black student's values and beliefs and those of their PWI.

Black students experience a great deal of dissonance related to the person-environment congruence between themselves and their institutional environment (Chapman & Pascarella, 1982; Cope & Hannah, 1975; Tinto, 1975; Thompson & Fretz, 1991). The incongruence Black students experience at PWIs may cause students to forgo critical collegiate psychosocial developmental opportunities and cause significant stress (e.g., environmental stress). Based on the results from Fleming's (1984) study, Black students that persist at PWIs may find ways to cope (e.g., alienation and isolation) with their institutional environment which may impede them from fully engaging in their college experience (Gibbs, 1974). Thompson and Fretz (1991) suggested that Black people use bicultural adaptive coping strategies to manage the incongruence between the

dominant culture and their own. They found that academic adjustment, which has been linked to persistence, is related to the manner in which Black students respond to the predominantly Caucasian campus environment, while their social adjustment is related to their ability to be involved in diverse settings and culturally specific social groups (Thompson & Fretz, 1991, p. 447). The stress that results from the person-environment incongruence that many Black students experience at PWIs may alter their desire to set and achieve their academic, professional, and personal goals.

Throughout the persistence literature, the importance of a student's commitment to having and maintaining goals has been well documented (Kaplan & Maehr, 1999; Midgley et al., 1996; Astin, 1975). Astin (1975) reported that Black students with lower aspirations and less concrete goals were more likely to drop out of school. This notion was asserted through the finding that Black students who made plans were more successful in college than those who did not (Bohn, 1973). Also, Black student leaders in student organizations were found to have more established goals than other Black students on campus (Greene & Winter, 1971). In a qualitative study of high achieving Black students Guiffrida (2006) found that Black students perceived Black faculty members as supportive by providing academic, career, and personal guidance. Students involved in Black student organizations are often exposed to a great number of Black faculty, administrators, and staff than those who are not involved. The support Black students obtain from the Black campus community is an integral contributing factor to their success in college.

Persistence researchers view a Black student's interactions with faculty members as a key influence related to their adjustment, matriculation, and retention (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1980; Tinto, 1975). Thompson and Fretz (1991) suggested that Black students have more resources to assist in their social integration into the university community compared to that which is available to aid in their academic adjustment. Many studies have found that Black students have difficulty developing relationships with White faculty (Dinka et al., 1980; Sedlacek, 1999), and due to the generally small number of faculty members of color on a respective campus it may also be challenging for Black students to form relationships with Black faculty members. This reality often leads to feelings of isolation and loneliness. The contrast between the quantity and quality of faculty contact, and the positive impact of these interactions on Black student learning and persistence at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in comparison to PWIs, is astounding (Seifreit, Drummond, & Pascarella, 2006). The role that academic collaborators play in the academic integration of Black students is clear. The need for Black faculty members to serve as a resource for academic advice, guidance, and mentoring is imperative (Guiffrida, 2006; Sedlacek, 1999; Burrell, 1980; Willie & McCord, 1972). The guidance and support Black faculty, administrators, and staff provide Black students is a protective factor that shields them from the achievement related stress they experience at PWIs. Likewise, interacting with Black peers on their campus and in the community, that have shared values and goals, can provide the safety, comfort, and the support needed to matriculate and to be successful at PWIs.

Leadership involvement of Black students at PWIs has been cited as a significant factor related to their persistence. Black students often experience isolation, stress, and discomfort at PWIs; however, being involved in student organizations, especially those who are cultural in nature, aid in alleviating psychosocial stresses. Murguia et al., (1991) found that minority students use “enclaves” which are smaller subgroups within the campus culture and population which aids in the students’ adjustment (p. 436). In Padilla, Trevino, Gonzales, and Trevino (1997) study’s they found that ethnic student organizations allowed students to retain a sense of ethnic identity on campus and allowed student to dissolve the dissonance that exists between their home and institutional communities. Through student organizations or enclaves, Black students have the opportunity to discuss shared experiences, develop programs aimed at the education of their race and culture and develop a support system of their peers, which allows them to create a sense of a communal common purpose.

Black students at PWIs must develop positive coping mechanisms which enable them to negate the negative attitudes and stereotypes of White students and faculty on their campuses in order to be successful during their collegiate tenures. Involvement in racial and ethnic based student organizations provides a platform for Black students to discuss their race related experiences, allowing them to release anger, stress, and to feel as though their opinions and point of views are being heard (Guiffrida, 2003). In a study of Black student adjustment at PWIs, Thompson and Fretz (1991) asserted that when faced with adversity, students with high levels of communalism are more likely to find positive coping methods (finding support within the Black community on campus) than

utilizing negative coping mechanisms (isolation and engaging in self-blame) which promote positive adjustment enabling Black students to persist. Although there is much for Black students to gain from being involved on campus, being active in the local and/or their home based communities through sports, religious activities, or mentorship of youth can also provide them with the opportunity share their experiences, lessons learned, and skills they have acquired with their racial community.

Black students have been found to a profound sense of responsibility and dedication to the Black community at large (Dugan et al., 2008; Greene & Winter, 1971; Lyons, 1973; Sedlacek, 1987) and view giving back to other Black people as an integral part of their collegiate experience. Active citizenship occurs through broad community service efforts, but citizenship has also been defined, for this group, as service to the Black community on campus. Through the act of service Black students are able to make meaning of their presence at the institution, justify their experiences, and develop connections that facilitate their social integrations into the institutions. Active citizenship on campus can empower Black students to get involved and create change through education, advocacy, and pride building.

In a study that on the influence of race, gender, and sexual orientation on the SCM, Dugan et al. (2008) found that Black students score highest on the Consciousness of Self, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship, and Change constructs. They attributed this finding to an idea previously stated in the research; students of color are more interested in contributing to social change through advocacy and education than in obtaining a formal leadership position (Arminio et al., 2000; Harper & Quaye, 2007).



Feeling as though one can positively impact his or her campus community or alter the campus climate may negate some of the negative consequences (e.g. negative self-concept and feelings of shame) associated with being a Black student at a PWI. Also as advocates on campus, Black students are often presented with the opportunity to meet various university constituents, leadership roles, and gain greater exposure to the university community, which can also positively influence their social integration into the institution.

For Black students who experience minority status stress, change is an important outcome of their educational experience. They may desire to impact change on their particular campuses through involvement opportunities. By impacting campus policies and higher educational legislature, they may seek to share their experiences and prepare the next generation for college and the professional world. The goal of change helps Black students adapt to their changing environment without causing them to lose their sense of self. In large part the method in which Black students enact change is precipitated by their knowledge, value, and belief in the power of leadership.

#### 2.4 Conclusion

The literature on Black students, leadership, and minority status stresses is rich and provides a context through which Black student persistence can be better understood. For student affairs administrators, faculty, and staff who are concerned with the persistence of Black students at PWIs, the following recommendations should be considered:

*Develop an Intentional Plan for the Recruitment of Black Faculty, Staff, and Administrators*

The presence of a critical mass is not only important in terms of the Black student population on campus, but is also relevant in the context of Black faculty, staff, and administrators on campus for a variety of reasons. The presence and connection Black faculty, staff, and administrators to Black students may help create an environment where Black students feel supported and empowered (Burrell, 1980; Sedlacek, 1999; Willie & McCord, 1972). As shown in previous studies (Guiffrida, 2006, 2005; Sedlacek, 1999) Black students attending PWIs find Black faculty much more willing to support their academic endeavors, provide them with personal and professional advising, and advocate on their behalf. Their student-centered approach helps students become more comfortable with the academic environment at PWIs (Guiffrida, 2005). Also, creating a pool of resources within the Black professional community on campus may prevent some of the burn out Black campus officials' experiences as a result of being disproportionately small in comparison to the size of the institution, the scope of their responsibilities, and the demands placed on them as a result of their race. The recruitment of qualified Black faculty, administrators, and staff begins with the recruitment and training of Black undergraduate and graduate students. Research has shown that programs that provide mentorship and training in scholarly skills for Black students contribute the academic success and persistence of its participants (Tinto, 1993). As such, colleges and universities should endorse such programs.

*Engage Black faculty, Administrators, Staff, and Graduate Students in the Leadership Activities of Black Students*

Having racial representatives to relate to, aspire to be like, and to have as a resource can help students succeed academically and socially (Guiffrida, 2006). At any given PWI there are mark disparities between the numbers of Black and White faculty, administrators, staff, and graduate students. Although Black students tend to look to other Black people for support and mentorship, rather than the White university personnel they are exposed to, there may be a disconnect between their co-curricular involvement (e.g involvement in Black student organizations) and their academic experience (e.g. interactions with faculty). One method of bridging this disconnects and exposing Black students to the support and breath of the Black university community at large is through academic integration initiatives. Academic Integration, defined as a seamless connection between the student affairs and academic affairs realms of the university, has long been preached in the field of student affairs (American Council on Education [ACE], 1937). The collaboration of Black faculty, administrators, staff, and graduate students on campus through academic integration initiatives and other programs may increase Black students' perceptions regarding the supportiveness of the university community, their self-concept and their confidence in their academic ability, ultimately leading to positive educational outcomes (Seifert et. al., 2006).

*Infuse Diversity Education into Hiring Practices for Faculty and Administrators, as well as in the Leadership Development Activities of Students*

Any individual on campus that interacts with the diverse array of students should obtain some university-sponsored education related to creating a welcoming environment in the classrooms and within the large campus community for all students (Cabrera & Nora; 1994; Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999). Researchers (Boyd, 1973; Dinka et al., 1980; Sedlacek, 1999) have discussed the disproportionate number of White faculty members at any given institution of higher education and the cultural insensitivity Black students experience as a result of interacting with them (Guiffrida, 2006). White faculty need to acknowledge the fact that the climate of prejudice and discrimination often fostered in their classrooms by their comments and actions can have negative repercussions on a Black student's persistence (Guiffrida, 2006; Sedlacek, 1999). Likewise, the racist attitudes, discriminatory behavior and prejudice of students also play an integral role in creating a hostile campus climate (Cabrera et al., 1999). Diversity education training and multicultural awareness workshops can increase both faculty and students' openness towards diversity creating a more welcoming campus environment for all students (Cabrera et al., 1999; Flowers, 2004b; Guiffrida, 2004a; Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1996).

*Infuse Goal-Setting and Goal-Clarification Activities in Leadership Initiatives from Freshman to Senior Year*

Research has shown that goals are an important contributing factor in a Black student's ability to persist at an institution (Astin, 1975; Bohn, 1973; Midgley et al.,

1996). The literature makes it clear that Black students with goals and intend to graduate from their colleges or universities are more likely to persist (Tinto, 1993). Greene and Winter (1971) found that Black students who were leaders in student organization were more likely to have set goals than their peers. Helping Black students focus on their strengths, their skill based talents, and their passion will enable them to set realistic goals for their tenure in college. It may be useful to encourage Black freshmen to seek out career counseling/development services, even if they are certain of their chosen career paths (Flowers, 2004). Having an advisor, faculty or administrator serve as a mentor and check in with the student at least once a semester regarding their goals may assist the student in reworking or abandoning goals that are no longer relevant and establishing new ones (Guiffrida, 2006). Providing this source of accountability to Black students throughout their college career will help them remain motivated and focused.

*Recognize that the Plight of Black College Students is Often Exacerbated by Challenges that Exist within their Respective Communities*

In the midst of navigating challenges associated with the incongruity of a Black student's personal values and that of their institution, they are often also faced with challenges from within the Black community. Research has shown that Black students attending PWIs are often accused of "acting White" which causes stress that inhibits them from integrating into the academic and social realms of the university (Fordham, 1988; Fordham, 2008; Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007). As such, the reactions of Black peers towards the student accused of acting White is really a question of their Blackness and not a actual reflection of being White (Neal-Barnett, 2001). For the first time students

who have always identified as Black may have their identities questioned by students within their racial community which may be psychologically damaging (Neal-Barnett, 2001; Thompson et al., 2010). Black students who have a hard time finding support within their racial community, may have less personnel resources and engagement opportunities than their same race peers, which can negatively impact their persistence (Thompson et al., 2010). When considering factors that may negatively contribute to the stress Black students experience at PWIs, intragroup marginalization (Castillo et al., 2007) should also be taken into account.

*Employing the Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development as a Tool in Communicating Black Students' Leadership Strengths*

Black students involved in campus organization and activities at PWIs are more likely to persist than their peers who are not involved. As shown in previous research (Guiffrida, 2004; Greene & Winter, 1971; Murguia et al., 1991), Black student organizations provide Black students with cultural enclaves that enable them to create smaller communities on campus which aid in their persistence. Black students as a whole have several leadership strengths that enable them to advocate for themselves and to education the campus community on their experiences and the challenges they face being racial minorities at PWIs (Armonio et al., 2000; Dugan, 2006; Dugan et al., 2008; Harper & Quaye, 2007). These stated goals of Black student involvement reflect the basic premise of the SCM which is to create social change (Dugan, 2006; HERI, 1996). Dugan et al., (2008) found that Black students scored highest on the Consciousness of Self, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship and Change values of the SCM compared to

their White, Asian American, Native American and Latino peers. Discussing the Consciousness of Self, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship and Change values with Black students and helping them understand the importance of the Cs of the SCM in Black student leadership can serve as tools enabling them to cope with minority status stress and may provide them with insight on the importance of leadership. Also, gaining an understanding of each of the Cs, discussing their application in the context of a situation inside or outside of the classroom setting, and processing the experience may be a useful student leadership development initiative targeted at empowering Black students to create social change on their campuses (Padilla et al, 1997).

Research relating to the experiences of Black students at PWIs is ever expanding. The stress that this population of students experiences as a result of their minority status has been clearly established in the literature and has been found to negatively impact educational outcomes such as college persistence. It is known that leadership activities and organizations help Black students integrate into the larger university community by creating smaller ethnic enclaves. These enclaves enable Black students to preserve a sense of cultural identity while helping them bridge the gap between their communities of origin and their institution environment (Padilla, Trevino, Gonzalez, & Trevino, 1997; Guiffrida, 2003). The question that remains is what is inherent within leadership that helps Black students persist in lieu of the minority status stress they experience? The tenants of the SCM give concrete values that shed light on the aforementioned question. By reporting on the relationship between minority status stress, persistence, and the SCM, student affairs professionals may intentionally find ways of strengthening

particular leadership values within their Black students that are already embedded within their practices enabling them to persist at greater rates.



### 3. A MEDIATION ANALYSIS OF MINORITY STATUS STRESS, THE SOCIAL CHANGE MODEL OF LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT AND BLACK STUDENT PERSISTENCE

The scholarship on the experiences of Black students at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs), precipitated by the influx of Black students to PWIs after the Civil Rights Movement, continues to be an area of great interest for researchers and university administrators alike. Although this discussion began during the late 1970s to early 1980s (Thomas, 1981), it persists as a relevant topic in the literature as a result of challenges the Black student population continues to face at PWIs. College students generally experience a variety of stressors related to college life (e.g. financial aid, balancing varying responsibilities, and the academic rigor of college). In addition to those stressors, Black students experience stressors related to being racial minorities on campus. The dissonance Black students experience as a result of their race and ethnicity at PWIs often contributes to challenges integrating into the social and academic realms of the university which along with a desire to graduate from the institution are strong predictors of persistence. Minority status stress, the stresses associated with being a racial minority at a PWI, is one factor that is said to inhibit Black students from integrating into the academic and social realms of university system ultimately impacting their persistence.

Prillerman (1988) created one of the first models used to conceptualize the experiences of Black students at PWIs. Prillerman's model of stress and coping proposes

multiple factors that negatively impact adaptational outcomes (e.g. persistence) for Black students at PWIs. The model includes sociodemographic factors (e.g. race), stressors specific to minority students (e.g. minority status stress), as well as sociocultural orientations (e.g. coping mechanisms). Using Gibbs' (1974) patterns of adaptation, Prilleman's model asserts that Black students cope with minority student stress status by using various modes of sociocultural orientations (i.e. alienation, affirmation, assimilation, and race-avoidance/individualism). Prillerman conceptualizes the stress path applicable to Black students as minority status stress → sociocultural orientation → adaptational outcomes. Prillerman developed a scale that measured Gibbs' (1974) four adaptational patterns of Black students to PWIs and used it to operationalize the sociocultural orientation construct in her model. This study seeks to use a practical and teachable method of conceptualizing the manner in which Black students cope with attending a PWI that is linked throughout the literature with persistence and minority status stress. As such Black student leadership has been cited as a factor that helps Black students cope with the negative influence of minority status stressors on their persistence (Constantine, Robinson, Wilton, and Cadwell, 2002; Littleton, 2002; Murguia, Padilla, and Pavel, 1991; Padilla, Thompson and Fretz, 1991; Swail, Redd, and Perna, 2003; Trevino, Gonzales, and Trevino, 1997). Therefore, leadership activities and involvement can be conceptualized as a sociocultural orientation that helps Black students cope with minority student stress while helping them become more integrated into the campus environment (Greene & Winter, 1971; Guiffrida, 2004).

According to the Social Change Model of Leadership Development (SCM; HERI, 1996) leadership paradigm, there are eight core values of leadership that not only encourage social responsibility and change for the common good by developing students' self-awareness and their ability to work as a group (Dugan, 2006), but offer a means of operationalizing leadership as a sociocultural orientation for Black students struggling with minority status stressors. As such, this study examines the eight values of the SCM, the Cs, as sociocultural orientations and their relationship to minority status stress and the adaptational outcomes of persistence of Black students at PWIs.

Minority status stress is a key factor that distinguishes collegiate stressors all students encounter from those unique challenges minority students, in the particularly Black students, experience as a result of being racial minorities at PWIs (Prillerman, 1988). Minority status stress has been conceptualized as consisting of five domains of stresses: a) racism and discrimination stresses which include students' experiences with racism on campus, b) social climate stresses which reflects the stress related to the campus climate at PWIs, c) interracial stresses which include relationship difficulties with their same race and White peers, d) within-group stresses which highlights the pressure to conform to one's racial group (Smedley et al., 1993), and e) achievement stresses which included stress related to a lack of confidence in one's ability succeed academically (Prillerman et al., 1989). These stresses have been shown to influence persistence. For instance, Prillerman (1988) explored the manner in which minority status stress impacted the freshmen GPAs (a factor related to persistence) of Black

students. She found that minority status stress was a better predictor of Black freshman GPA than SAT scores.

Studies have also found that minority status stress negatively influences integration to the university environment (Parker & Jones, 1999). In a study of 80 African American students, Parker and Jones (1999) found the students who experienced higher levels of minority status stress were less adapted to the environment at the institution than those who experienced less stress. Because the ability to adapt to the collegiate environment is a foundational component of academic and social integration constructs of Tinto's (1975) model, minority status stresses then not only inhibits Black students from integrating in the campus community but can also ultimately impact their desire to remain at their institutions. As a result, in many cases, Black students tend to have the highest attrition and lowest persistence rates of all minority communities at PWIs (Greer & Chwalisz, 2007).

### 3.1 College Persistence

College student retention and persistence has been a highly researched area of study for over 30 years, spearheaded in large part by the research of Spady (1970) elaborated by Tinto (1975). The college campus is often viewed as a microcosm of American society. Historical events such as the Civil Rights Movement, wars, presidential elections, changes in federal law, all become a part of active conversations on college campuses. These conversations led to student activism impacting higher education policy and often the decisions of the United States government. The college campus is a place where students become intellectually stimulated, are exposed to new

ideas, and begin the transformation from adolescence to adulthood. College is the “marketplace of ideas”, where people of all walks of life are brought together to discuss, grapple, and live with difference; difference of opinions, values, and belief systems. Wrestling with difference prepares students for the educational outcome of active citizenship in a global society. In many cases, however, Black students in particular tend to be more disengaged in campus life at PWIs than their peers and as a result are more likely to depart from their institutions prematurely. There is therefore great impetus for PWIs to comprehend the various components that influences all students, particularly Black students, to voluntarily depart from their institution prior to obtaining their degrees.

Of all the theories of persistence that exist the one that has been the most studied has been Tinto’s (1975) *Theory of Student Departure*. The primary persistence factors of Tinto’s theory, which was built from Spady’s (1970) theoretical *Model of the Undergraduate Dropout Process*, postulates that the more a student becomes integrated socially and academically in their collegiate community the greater likelihood they will persist. Academic integration encompasses interactions with faculty/staff and academic performance while social integration includes students’ involvement in formal co-curricular activities and informal peer group interactions. As evident through the findings of numerous researchers, academic integration leads to a higher level of goal and institutional commitment (Pascarella & Terenzi, 1983; Terenzi, Pascarella, Theophilides, & Lorang, 1985; Cabrera, Castaneda, Nora, & Hengstler, 1992; Cabrera, Nora, & Castaneda, 1992) and an increase likelihood of persistence (Terenzi, Lorang,

& Pascarella, 1981; Pascarella & Terenzi, 1983; Getzlaf, Sedlacek, Keamey, & Blackwell, 1984; Fox, 1986; Cabrera et al., 1992). A vast amount of literature exists in the area of persistence pertaining to the positive impact of institutional and goal commitment, academic and social integration in a Black student's decision to remain at his or her respective PWI (Flowers, 2004; Littleton 2002; Midgley et al., 1996; Neville, Heppner, Ji, & Thye, 2004; Sedlacek, 1999). The literature also suggests that Black student organizations and other leadership activities enable Black students to integrate into the social and academic realms of the campus community while increasing their desire to remain at their institutions.

### 3.2 Black Student Leadership and Persistence

Leadership as a means of aiding Black students with academic and social integration has been an area of scholarly research for some time (Flowers, 2004; Guiffrida, 2003; Littleton, 2002; Sedlacek, 1999). In a qualitative study, Guiffrida (2003) revealed that involvement in Black student organizations provided students with a safe outlet to celebrate and stay connected to their culture. Black student organizations allowed Black students to connect with Black faculty and to give back to their communities (Guiffrida, 2003). A qualitative study by Littleton (2002) found that faculty influence and involvement in campus activities were the two most mentioned persistence factors for Black students in his study. Museus (2008) reported that ethnic student organizations at PWIs fostered Black student adjustment by providing them with a venue for cultural familiarity, validation, expression and advocacy. It is therefore recognized, within the academy, that leadership involvement helps Black students

succeed academically and integrate socially allowing them to persist through college. These facts make a strong argument for theoretical use of leadership as a sociocultural orientation. However, it is unknown exactly what components of leadership assist in Black student persistence. While most leadership models are skill based, the SCM takes a value-based approach to the study of leadership (HERI, 1996). This study proposes that the Cs of the SCM, can be used to identify and explain the mechanism by which minority status stress impacts persistence. Therefore, given that leadership involvement has been stated throughout the literature as a factor that helps Black students cope with minority status stresses and aids in their academic and social integration at PWIs, leadership conceptualized in this study using the Cs of the SCM, can be considered a mode of sociocultural orientation mediating the relationship of minority status stress and persistence.

### 3.3 The Social Change Model of Leadership Development

The Social Change Model of Leadership Development (SCM; HERI, 1996) is a leadership paradigm that was created specifically for collegiate student populations. Through the development of eight core values, the Cs, this model aims to encourage social responsibility and change for the common good by developing students' self-awareness and their ability to work as a group (Dugan, 2006). The Cs of the SCM are organized into three groups, which are Individual Values, Group Process Values, and Community/Societal Values. Individual Values refer to the qualities an individual possesses that are supportive of the group process and produce positive social change. The Group Process depicts the importance of collaborative leadership development.

Lastly, being service minded while utilizing service-learning activities as a developmental tool for the group is the basis of the Community Value perspective. Each group within the SCM contains its specific set of Cs, which are the critical elements of the model. The seven values: a) Consciousness of Self which is the awareness of the core beliefs and values that motivate an individual to take action, b) Congruence which relates to the consistency between one's thoughts, feelings, and actions, c) Commitment is the energy that motivates one to continue with a task until the end, d) Collaboration which is working with shared effort towards a common goal, e) Common Purpose which relates to working with shared goals and values, f) Controversy with Civility which is working through conflict with respect, and g) Citizenship which is related to an individual and group's connectedness to their community and society, contribute to the eighth value, Change, which is considered the "hub" value (HERI, 1996, p. 21). The Change value speaks to the ultimate goal of the SCM, which is to make the world and society better for one's self and others (HERI, 1996). The 8 values of the model are referred to as the "Cs". The term is often used when discussing Consciousness of Self, Congruence, Commitment, Controversy with Civility, Collaboration, Common Purpose, Citizenship, and Change as a group.

The Social Change Model of Leadership Development is the most widely used model of student leadership yet has been used more conceptually than in empirical research (Dugan, 2006). However, as a result of the Multi-Institutional Study of Leadership there has been an increase in published research employing the model. In a study looking at the influences of race, gender, and sexual orientation on a college



student's capacity for socially responsible leadership, Dugan et al. (2008) found that Black students scored higher on the Consciousness of Self, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship, and Change values than their peers. The adherence to these particular values was attributed to Black students' community mindedness and desire to make their surroundings and the world better for themselves as well as their present and future community. Dugan et al. (2008) identified the Consciousness of Self, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship, and Change values as strengths of Black students' leadership, which provide a basis for understanding how leadership can serve as an adaptational coping style (sociocultural orientation) for Black students when faced with minority status stress and its negative impact on their persistence. This study will be the first to link the Cs of the SCM to minority status stress and Black student persistence.

### 3.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to identify and explain the mechanism by which minority status stress and persistence are related. Specifically the mediation effects of the eight Cs of the SCM were evaluated as coping mechanisms given the relationship of minority status stress and persistence. The Consciousness of Self, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship and Change values were postulated to mediate the effect of minority status stress on Black student persistence because these were the Cs that were noted by Dugan et al. (2008) as the values that were strengths of Black student leadership. The specific hypotheses are as follows:

1. Minority status stress will have a negative relationship with persistence, which will be positively and fully mediated by the Consciousness of Self, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship, and Change values of the SCM.
2. Environmental stressors, race-related stressors, racial-identity stressors, intrapersonal and interpersonal stressors, achievement stressors, and minority status stressors will have a positive relationship with Consciousness of Self, Congruence, Commitment, Controversy with Civility, Common Purpose, Collaboration, Citizenship, and Change values of the SCM.
3. Consciousness of Self, Congruence, Commitment, Controversy with Civility, Common Purpose, Collaboration, Citizenship, and Change values of the SCM will have a positive relationship with academic and intellectual development, faculty concerns for student development and teaching, interactions with faculty, institutional and goal commitments, and peer group interactions.
4. Environmental stressors, race-related stressors, racial-identity stressors, intrapersonal and interpersonal stressors, achievement stressors, and minority status stressors will have a negative relationship with academic and intellectual development, faculty concerns for student development and teaching, interactions with faculty, institutional and goal commitments, and peer group interactions which will be positively and

fully mediated by the Consciousness of Self, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship and Change values of the SCM.

### 3.5 Method

#### *Study Design*

This study utilized a web-based survey design. Participants were recruited through an email invitation sent on a variety of listservs associated with a multicultural student service unit at a large public institution in the southwest region of the United States. The invitation email was also sent to student organization advisors who attended a leadership conference specifically for Black students sponsored by the multicultural student service unit. The email asked them to forward the email containing information about the study and the survey link to the survey to their students. Lastly, social media was employed to direct Black graduate and undergraduate students to the informed consent and the survey link.

#### *Participants*

A total of 669 students began completing the online survey for this study. Participants who failed to complete the survey or one of the three measures included in the survey were removed from the final sample leaving 340 participants whose data was included in the statistical analyses.

Three hundred and forty students (92.4%) were recruited from 4 year colleges/universities while 26 attended a 2 year college primarily in the Southwest region of the United States. Of the 340 participants in this study, 251 (73.8%) were female, 87 (25.6%) were males while 2 (0.6%) identified as other. Most participants

were of traditional college age, ranging from 18 year to 25 years (70%) while 1.8% of participants were younger than 18 years and 29.1% were older than 25 years. The classification of participants was widely distributed with 11.2% being freshman, 17.9% sophomores, 17.4% juniors, 21.5% seniors, 15.0% master's level students, 15.0% doctoral students, and 2.1% were enrolled in a professional school. Most of the participants (87.6%) began college immediately following their high school graduation. The majority (70.9%) of participant, their parents and grandparents were born in the United States (5<sup>th</sup> generation Americans) while 39.4% of them are first generation college students.

#### *Missing Data*

Of the 340 participants who completed a 144 item survey, there were 319 missing data points (0.65%). The multiple imputation (MI) method, using NORM software program (Shafer & Olsen, 1998), was used to account for missing data. MI allows for the calculation of estimates of the variance. It was employed as the means of statistically determining values from the missing data. Given that MI produces estimates of the variance, there were instances when the estimates produced were outside of the range of possible scores. In this particular study, there were 25 incidences where the NORM estimate was less than 1 or greater than 6 for items that were originally scored on a 6 point likert scale. In those cases, the scores were changed to fit within the accepted range, therefore if NORM estimated a variance score of 0 it was changed to 1 which is the lowest possible score and if the NORM generated score was 7 it was adjusted to a 6.

### *Measures*

*Demographic Information.* A 19-item self-report questionnaire was utilized to obtain background characteristics of the participants in this study. The items in the questionnaire included: a) personal information including age, gender, and race; b) academic information such as self reported grade point averages, majors, and college classification; c) type of leadership involvement.

*The Institutional Integration Scale (IIS;* Pascarella & Terenzini, 1980) is a 35 item scale that was created to operationalize Tinto's constructs of a) academic integration, b) social integration, and c) institutional and goal commitment. The IIS was used in this study to measure persistence. The items are divided into five subscales: Academic and Intellectual Development, Faculty Concerns for Student Development and Teaching, Interactions with Faculty, Institutional and Goal Commitments, and Peer Group Interactions. This five point likert scale ranges from 1 (agree strongly) to 5 (disagree strongly). Coefficient alphas and internal consistency were found to range from .71 to .84 (Terenzini, Lorang, & Pascarella, 1981). For the current study coefficient alpha for each subscale were: Academic and Intellectual Development ( $\alpha=.70$ ), Faculty Concerns for Student Development and Teaching ( $\alpha=.66$ ), Interactions with Faculty ( $\alpha=.88$ ), Institutional and Goal Commitments ( $\alpha=.59$ ), and Peer Group Interactions ( $\alpha=.81$ ).

*The Minority Status Stress Scale (MSSS;* Prillerman, 1988; Smedley et al., 1993) is a 37 item self-reporting questionnaire that is designed to measure five areas of minority status stress (environmental stresses, interpersonal stresses, intragroup stresses,

race-related stresses, and achievement-related stresses). Items are answered using a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (does not apply) to 5 (extremely stressful for me). Cronbach's alpha for the original MSSS range from .76 to .93 for each subscale (Smedley et al., 1993). The items on each of the five factors were summed to create five minority status stress scores (Smedley et al., 1993). Greer (1999) used the scale with an all African American sample and through a principal component analysis established the following six-factor solutions. Their alpha reliabilities, which accounted for 58% of the variance, ranged from .59 to .91. The alpha coefficients used in the current study were found to be a comparable to those established by Greer (1999): environmental stressors ( $\alpha=.91$ ), race-related stressors ( $\alpha=.88$ ), racial-identity stressors ( $\alpha=.83$ ), intrapersonal and interpersonal stressors ( $\alpha=.84$ ), achievement-related stressors ( $\alpha=.79$ ) and minority status stressors ( $\alpha=.60$ ). Three items were not included in the final selection of items as a result of low factor loadings (Greer, 1999).

*The Socially Responsible Leadership Scale* (SRLS; Tyree, 1998) is a 103-item instrument that measures the eight separate constructs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development (HERI, 1996). Participants rate each item of a five-point Likert-type scale that ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Sample items can be found in Table 1. Cronbach's alpha was determined reliable for this instrument ranging from .71 to .90 for each subscale. Reliabilities across all subscales did not deviate by more than .12 when the measure was reduced from 103 to 68 items through standard data reduction techniques (DeVellis, 2003; Dugan, Komives, & Associates, 2006; Dugan, Komives, & Segar, 2008).

Table 1

*Definitions of Social Change Model Values and Sample Items*

<b>Value</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Sample Item</b>
<b>Consciousness of Self</b>	Self-awareness regarding an individual's core values that motivate their actions.	Self-reflection is difficult for me. (reverse scored item)
<b>Congruence</b>	Thinking, feeling, and acting in a way that is consistent with an individual's core values and beliefs.	My behaviors reflect my beliefs.
<b>Commitment</b>	An individual's motivating passion that drives them towards the collective services of others.	I stick with others through difficult times.
<b>Collaboration</b>	Cultivating the talents of peers to work as a team.	Others would describe me as a cooperative group member.
<b>Common Purpose</b>	Working as a group with a clear vision towards a common goal.	I think it is important to know other people's priorities.
<b>Controversy with Civility</b>	To recognize that differences in viewpoints are inevitable and respectful disagreements are a part of the group process.	Greater harmony can come out of disagreement.
<b>Citizenship</b>	An individual and group's interdependence and responsibility for their communities.	I believe I have a responsibility to my community.
<b>Change</b>	The ability to maintain the core values of a group while positively impacting the environment or a specific situation.	I can identify the differences between positive and negative change.

*Note.* The definitions for the Social Change Model Values are from HERI (1996). The sample items were taken from the Socially Responsible Leadership Scale (Tyree, 1998).

The internal reliability scores for each subscale ranged from .72 to .89 and for the current study they are Consciousness of Self ( $\alpha=.77$ ), Congruence ( $\alpha=.83$ ), Commitment ( $\alpha=.85$ ), Common Purpose ( $\alpha=.87$ ), Collaboration ( $\alpha=.82$ ), Controversy with Civility ( $\alpha=.70$ ), Citizenship ( $\alpha=.78$ ), and Change ( $\alpha=.82$ ). The items within each of the eight outcome variables are combined to create aggregated scores for each of the constructs.

### 3.6 Results

#### *Data Analysis*

Before analyses were conducted, the validity of the MSSS was established. The original MSSS was validated on a diverse (Black, Hispanic, and Asian) group of college students (Prillerman, 1988). Later, Greer (1999) conducted a study with a strictly Black student sample and employed the MSSS. Greer's (1999) study found six factors when the MSSS was used with an African American sample; however, in subsequent studies the scale had different factor structures (Greer & Chwalisz, 2007; Greer & Brown, 2011). Parker and Jones (1999) also used the scale with an African American sample and employed Prillerman's (1988) original factor structure; however, the factors were combined and a minority status stress composite score was used. As a result of these of these discrepancies in the MSSS factor structure, confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) were employed to test the five-factor model established by Prillerman et al. (1999), and the six-factor model Greer & Chwalisz (1999) found.

One of the CFAs was conducted to test and compare the original latent factor model of the MSSS (Prillerman, 1988; Smedley et al. 1993) and another was executed to determine the fit of this study's data with the six-factor structure determined by Greer



(1999) analysis. Goodness-of-fit analyses were conducted via employment of structural equation modeling techniques utilizing Analysis of Moment Structure (AMOS<sup>TM</sup>) software. It has been suggested that model fit should be assessed using a series of indices to ensure more reliable and accurate decisions regarding model fit (Kline, 2005). The chi-square test of significance, the ratio of chi-square statistic to degrees of freedom, the comparative fit index (CFI), the square root mean square residual (SRMR) and root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) were used to assess the fit of the conceptual models.

Kline (2005) reported that a small, nonsignificant chi-square value is expected if a model provides adequate fit to the data. Generally a chi square to degrees of freedom ratio of 3 or less indicates good fit. The standard for good fit for the observed fit indices is  $CFI \geq .90$ ,  $SRMR \leq .06$ ,  $RMSEA \leq .08$ . Greer's model provided the smallest chi square to degrees of freedom ratio and also had the more acceptable values for the various model fit indices (see Table 2). Although the RMSEA was a little high, the rest of the fit indices indicated adequate fit; therefore, the Greer (1999) model was employed as the MSSS factor structure for this study.

Table 2

*Model Fit Indices for Prillerman and Greer MSSS Factor Structures*

Model	$X^2$	$df$	$X^2/df$	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA
<i>Prillerman</i>						
(1988)	101.329	5	20.266	.917	.061	.238
Greer (1999)	64.731	9	7.192	.968	.029	.135

*Testing the Conceptual Model*

Testing the conceptual model (see Figure 2) yielded results indicated less than ideal fit to the data, however; there were two sets of model modification indices proposed that were tested using a modified model to improve the fit (see Figure 3). Several of the modifications suggested correlations be made between the various Cs of the SCM. Also, a correlation between the environmental stressors and race-related stressors was suggested and employed in the modified model. The fit indices shown in Table 3 for the modified model showed significant improvement from the original model. The modifications highlight the theoretical interconnectedness of the Cs of the SCM. Likewise the modification made to the MSSS may suggest the issue of multicollinearity mentioned in Greer and Chwalisz's (1999) study, but is not a significant factor in this study.

*Figure 2.* Model of Stress and Coping Processes of Afro-American Students at Predominantly White Universities Employing the Cs of the SCM as the Sociocultural Orientation and Persistence Variable as the Adaptational Outcomes.

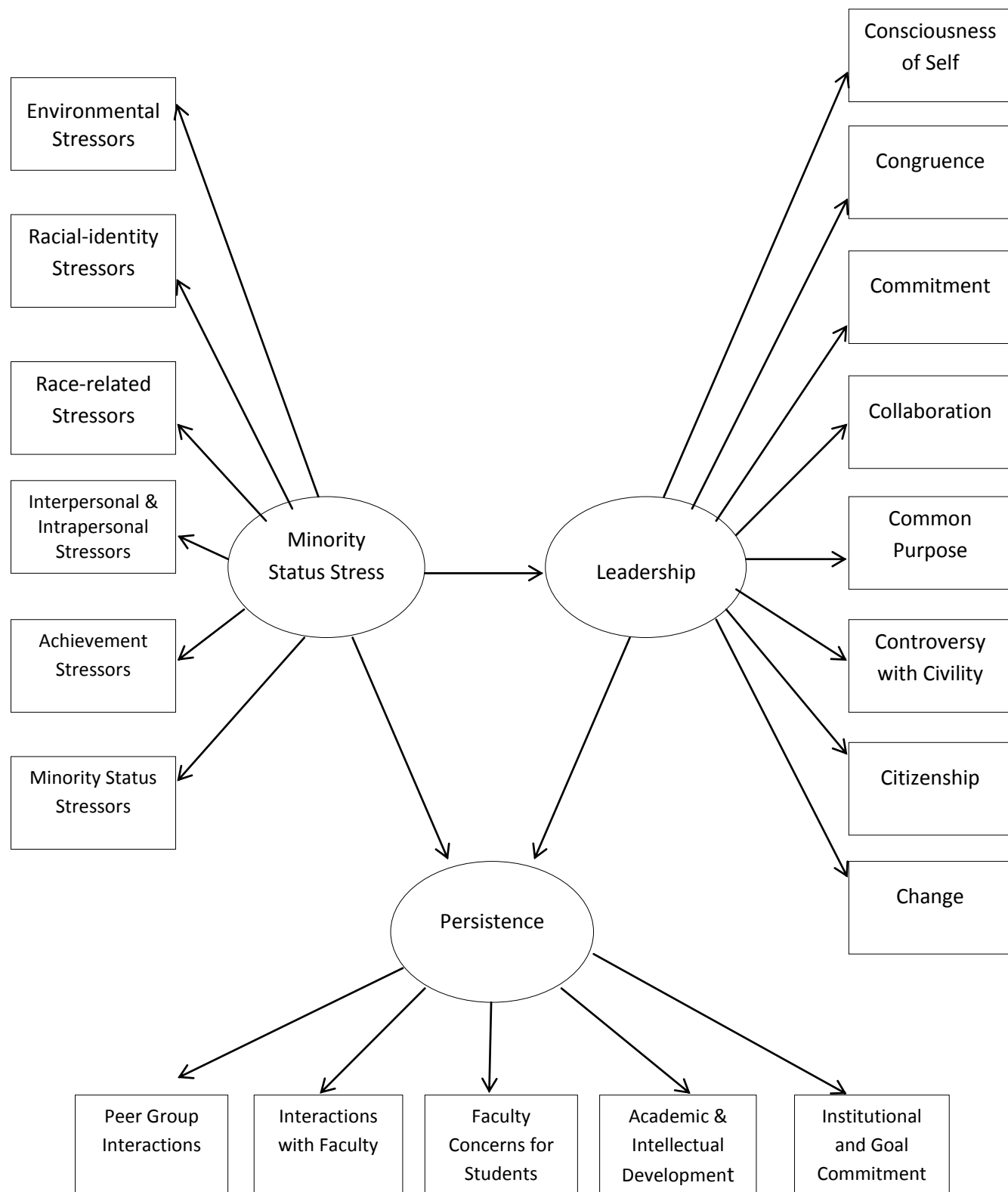


Figure 3. Model of Stress and Coping Processes of Afro-American Students at Predominantly White Universities Employing the Cs of the SCM as the Sociocultural Orientation and Persistence Variable as the Adaptational Outcomes Employing AMOS Modifications.

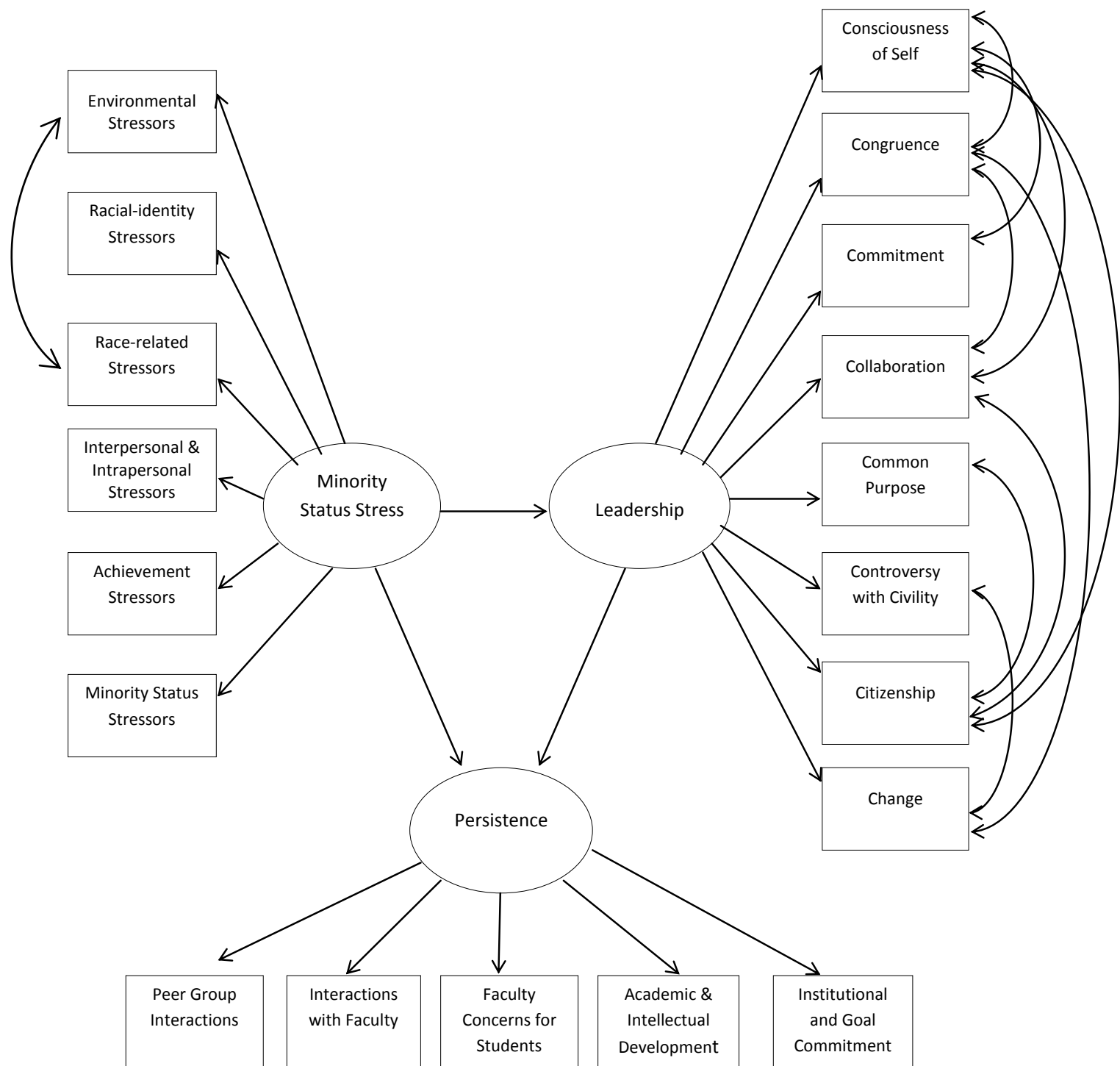


Table 3

Model Fit Indices for Model of Stress and Coping Processes of Afro-American Students at Predominantly White Universities (Prillerman et al., 1989)

Model	$\chi^2$	$df$	$\chi^2/df$	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA
Original Model	594.874	149	3.990	.898	.064	.094
Modified Model	345.159	138	2.501	.952	.060	.067

### *Multiple Mediation Analysis*

Scale means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the full sample are reported in Table 4. In order to examine and identify if the Cs of the SCM underlie the relationship between minority status stress and persistence, a multimediation analysis was conducted using a composite score for the MSSS and the IIS (see Figure 4). The process of conducting a mediation analysis has been outlined through the research of Baron and Kenny (1986) and Judd and Kenny (1981). The four steps in establishing mediation were followed in accordance with the research questions for this study. The first step requires that the correlation between the predictor variable and criterion variable is established. The predictor variable in this study is minority status stress and the criterion variable is persistence. This simple model was tested through path analysis ( $\beta = -.112$ ) using SEM and it was found to be significant.

The second step involves ensuring that the predictor (minority status stress) variable is correlated with the mediator variable (leadership), which was measured through the Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development. The only significant path established was between minority status stress and Citizenship ( $\beta = .142$ ).

Step three in establishing mediation requires that the correlation between the mediation variables and the criterion variable be assessed. The analysis for this step of the mediation analysis process followed the same format as that of step two. The goal was to establish the predictive relationship between the Cs of the SCM and persistence. The results yielded a significant relationship between Consciousness of Self ( $\beta = .108$ ),

Congruence ( $\beta = -.107$ ), Commitment ( $\beta = .124$ ), Collaboration ( $\beta = .227$ ), Controversy with Civility ( $\beta = .100$ ) and persistence.

The final step in determining mediation is to establish that the mediator completely intercepts the relationship between the predictor and the criterion variables. Given that the tested model employs multiple mediators, which are the Cs of the SCM, an understanding of which C of the SCM mediates the relationship between minority status stress and persistence was sought. In order to determine which C fully mediated the tested relationship the direct path between minority status stress and persistence must be set to zero (Barron & Kenny, 1986). A full mediation effect of the Cs of the SCM in this instance was not established. Results from each path analysis are displayed in Table 5.

#### *Multiple Mediation Using Specific Factors*

In efforts of explicating the role of the Cs of the SCM within the relationship of minority status stress and persistence, the 6 minority status stress factors and the 5 persistence factors were examined separately in the context of multiple mediation analyses. The aforementioned steps of establishing a mediation effect were employed a second time to test the relationships between the individual factors of the variables with one another. The six factors of the minority status stress were tested as indicators of each of the five factors that comprise the persistence variable in the first set of analyses see (Figures 5). All paths were significant except for those between environmental stressors, race stressors, racial stressors, achievement stressors, minority status stressors and faculty concerns (see Table 6).



An analysis of the six factors of minority status stress and the eight factors of the SCM (see Figure 6) yielded several significant paths highlighting three of the SCM factors: Consciousness of Self, Citizenship, and Change (see Table 7). Likewise all paths from the Cs of the SCM to the five persistence factors (see Figure 7) produced positive and significant estimates except for the faculty concern for student development and teaching persistence factor which only had a significant relationship with Collaboration (see Table 8).

The last step of a multiple mediation analysis requires that the path between the criterion and outcome variables be set to zero (see Figure 8). In efforts of simplifying the process of conducting a multiple mediation analysis, the mediation of the eight Cs of the SCM between each of the individual factors for minority status stress and persistence were analyzed separately. Thirty individual multiple mediation analyses were conducted testing the mediation of each eight Cs of the SCM between the six minority status stress factors and the five persistence factors. There were 17 instances of full mediation and in each case Consciousness of Self, Citizenship, and Change were indicated as the mediating variables (see Table 9).



Table 5

*Multiple Mediation Path Analysis Regressions Weights*

Multiple Mediation Analysis Paths	b	se(b)	B	C.R	P
Minority Status Stress → Persistence	-.112	.020	-.033	-5.475	***
Minority Status Stress → Citizenship	.016	.006	.142	2.645	.008
Consciousness of Self → Persistence	.351	.164	.108	2.146	.032
Congruence → Persistence	-.436	.206	-.107	-2.118	.034
Commitment → Persistence	.602	.244	.124	2.473	.013
Collaboration → Persistence	1.031	.187	.277	5.507	***
Controversy with Civility → Persistence	.312	.157	.100	1.980	.048

Figure 4. Multiple Mediation Analysis of Minority Status Stress and Persistence Mediated by the 8 Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development

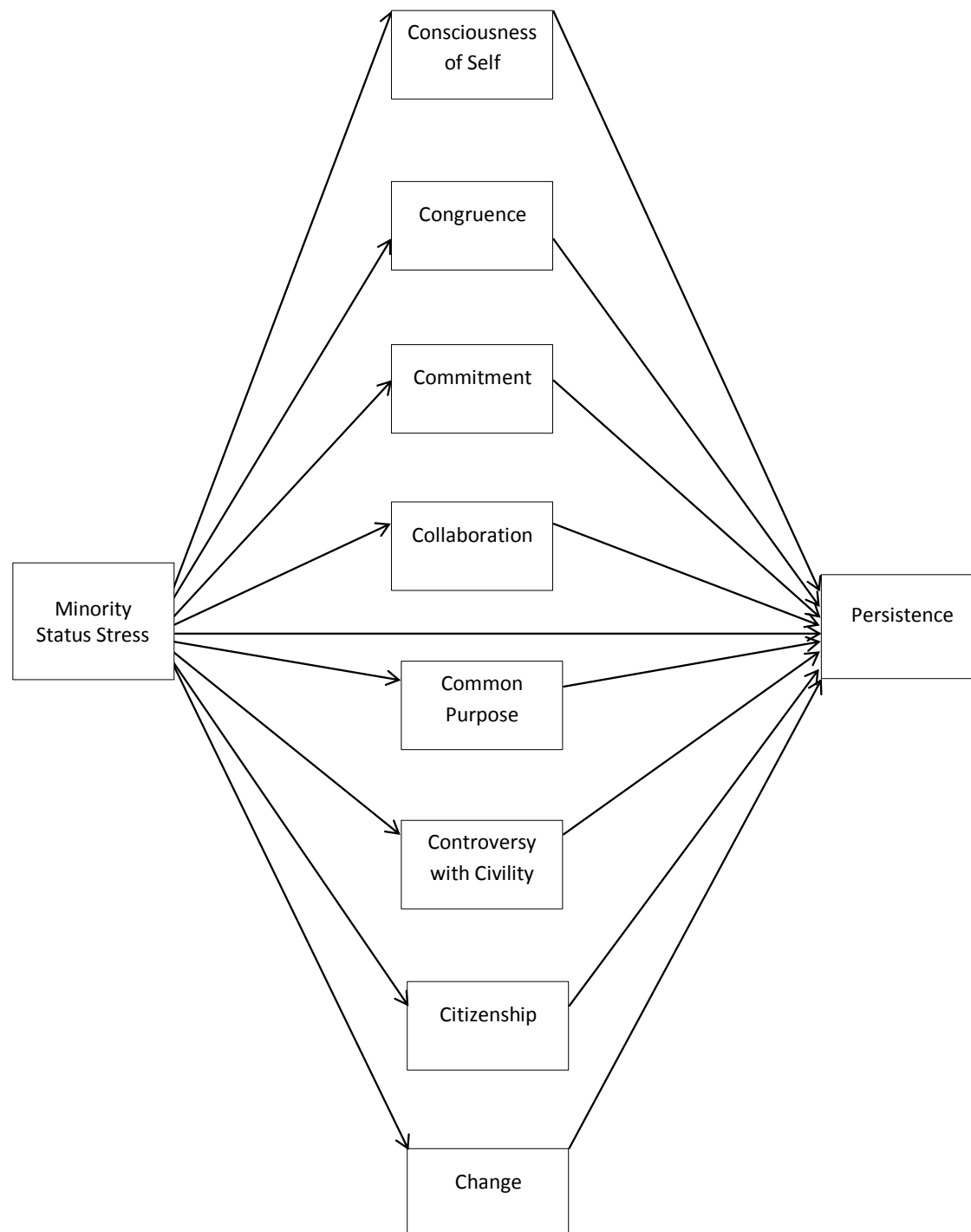


Figure 5. Path Analysis of the 6 Minority Status Stress Factors and the 5 Persistence Factors

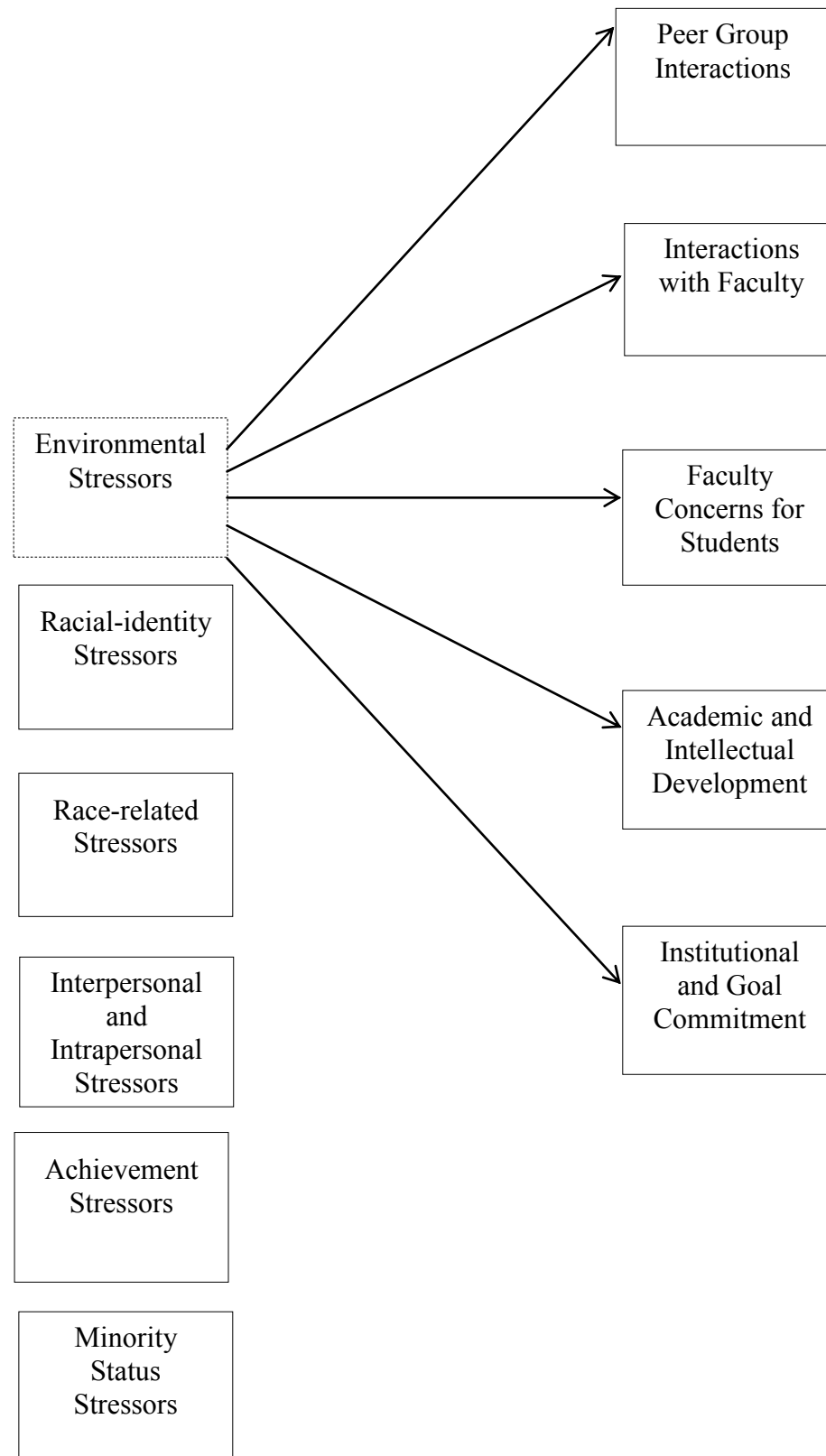


Figure 6. Path Analysis of Each of the 6 Minority Status Stress Factors and the 8 Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development

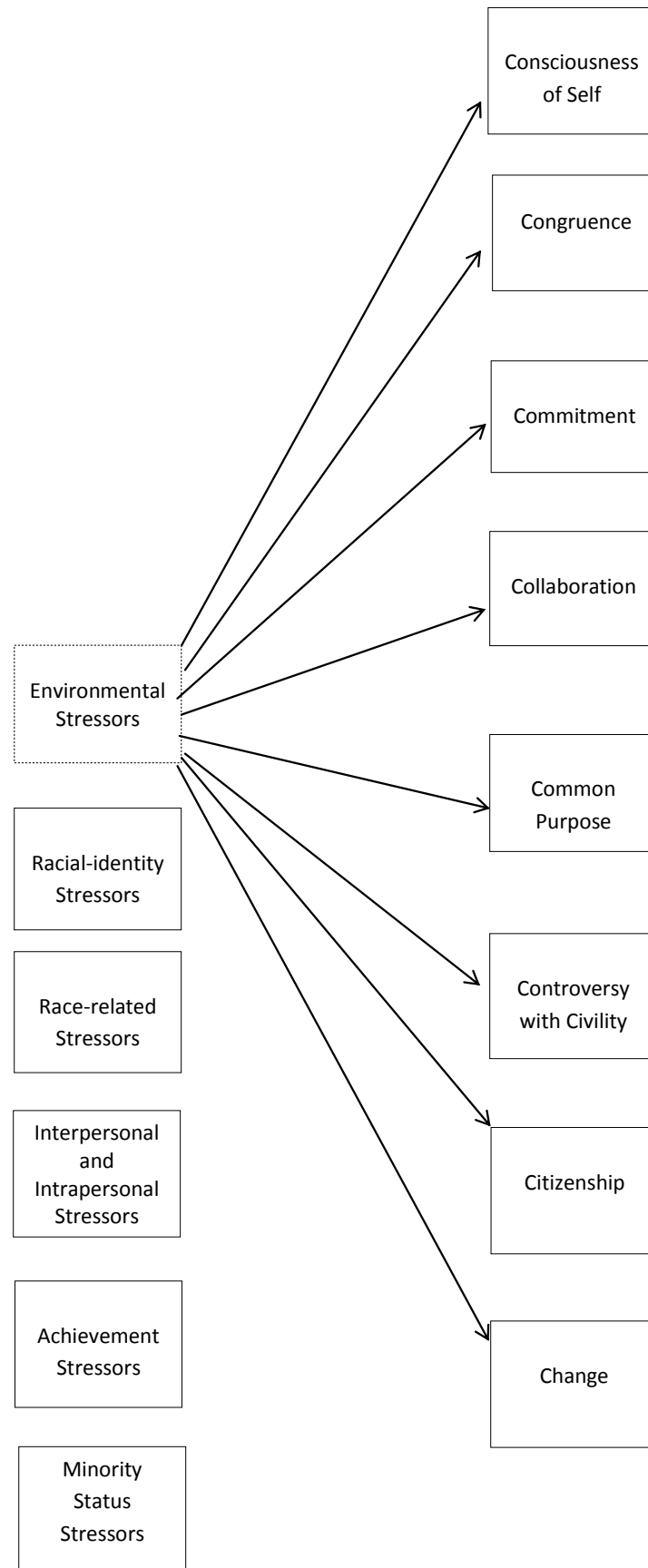


Figure 7. Path Analysis of the 8 Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development and the 5 Persistence Factors

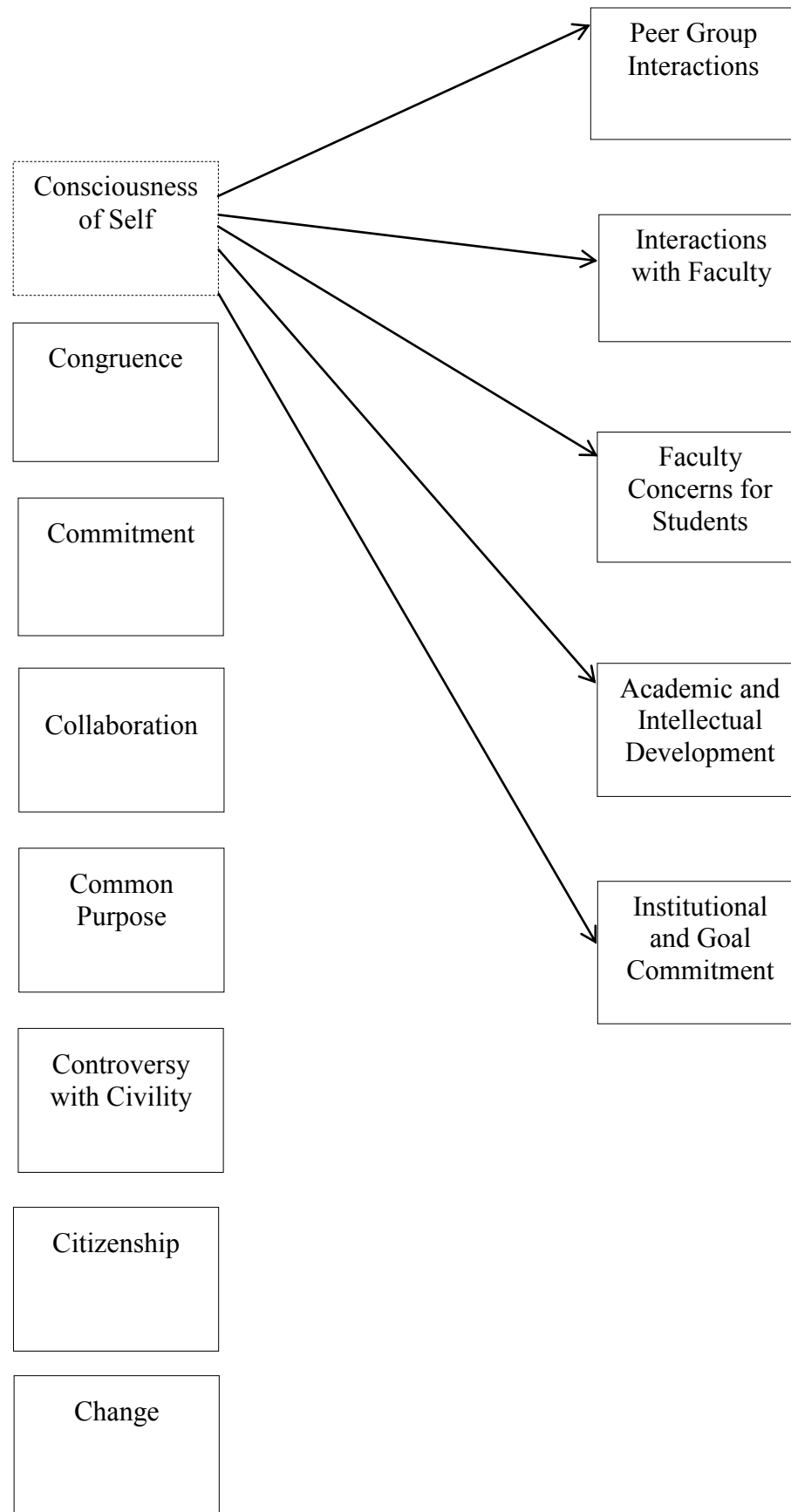


Table 6

*Path Analysis of the 6 Minority Status Stress Factors and the 5 Persistence Factors*

Minority Status Stress Factors-Persistence Factors Paths	b	se(b)	$\beta$	C.R	P
Environmental Stressors → Peer Group Interactions	-.230	.024	-.230	-4.353	***
Environmental Stressors → Faculty Concerns for Students	-.174	.018	-.174	-3.246	.001
Environmental Stressors → Academic & Intellectual Development	-.190	.023	-.190	-3.555	***
Environmental Stressors → Institutional & Goal Commitment	-.161	.018	-.161	-3.011	.003
Race-related Stressors → Peer Group Interactions	-.210	.037	-.210	-3.956	***
Race-related Stressors → Faculty Concerns for Students	-.171	.028	-.171	-3.205	.001
Race-related Stressors → Academic & Intellectual Development	-.133	.035	-.133	-2.479	.013
Racial-identity Stressors → Peer Group Interactions	-.224	.040	-.224	-4.232	***
Racial-identity Stressors → Institutional & Goal Commitment	-.159	.031	-.159	-2.960	.003
Intra & Interpersonal Stressors → Peer Group Interactions	-.256	.036	-.256	-4.870	***
Intra & Interpersonal Stressors → Interaction with Faculty	-.112	.034	-.112	-2.073	.038
Intra & Interpersonal Stressors → Faculty Concerns for Students	-.219	.027	-.219	-4.130	***
Intra & Interpersonal Stressors → Academic & Intellectual Development	-.264	.035	-.264	-5.043	***
Intra & Interpersonal Stressors → Institutional & Goal Commitment	-.191	.028	-.191	-3.579	***
Achievement-related Stressors → Peer Group Interactions	-.147	.053	-.147	-2.740	.006
Achievement-related Stressors → Faculty Concerns for Students	-.118	.040	-.118	-2.191	.028
Achievement-related Stressors → Academic & Intellectual Development	-.211	.050	-.211	-3.972	***
Minority Status Stressors → Peer Group Interactions	-.229	.081	-.229	-4.340	***
Minority Status Stressors → Faculty Concerns	-.162	.061	-.162	-3.016	.003
Minority Status Stressors → Academic & Intellectual Development	-.128	.079	-.128	-2.377	.017
Minority Status Stressors → Institutional & Goal Commitment	-.160	.063	-.160	-2.991	.003

Table 7

*Path Analysis of the 6 Minority Status Stress Factors and the 8 Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development*

Minority Status Stress Factors-SCM Factors Paths	b	se(b)	$\beta$	C.R	P
Environmental Stressors → Citizenship	.135	.020	.135	2.509	.012
Race-related Stressors → Citizenship	.148	.030	.148	2.752	.006
Race-related Stressors → Change	.119	.038	.119	2.210	.027
Race-related Stressors → Consciousness Self	-.117	.037	-.117	-2.161	.031
Intra & Interpersonal Stressors → Citizenship	.121	.030	.121	2.245	.025
Achievement-related Stressors → Citizenship	.154	.043	.154	2.875	.004
Achievement-related Stressors → Change	.139	.054	.139	2.585	.100

Table 8

*Path Analysis of the 8 Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development and the 5 Persistence Factors*

SCM Factors-Persistence Factors Paths	b	se(b)	$\beta$	C.R	P
Consciousness Self → Peer Group Interactions	.205	.058	.205	3.852	***
Consciousness Self → Interaction with Faculty	.160	.053	.160	2.981	.003
Consciousness Self → Academic & Intellectual Development	.213	.055	.213	4.016	***
Consciousness Self → Institutional & Goal Commitment	.356	.043	.356	7.023	***
Congruence → Peer Group Interactions	.152	.074	.152	2.831	.005
Congruence → Interaction with Faculty	.178	.066	.178	3.330	***
Congruence → Academic & Intellectual Development	.159	.070	.159	2.969	.003
Congruence → Institutional & Goal Commitment	.353	.054	.353	6.950	***
Commitment → Peer Group Interactions	.187	.087	.187	3.514	***
Commitment → Interaction with Faculty	.170	.079	.170	3.175	.002
Commitment → Academic & Intellectual Development	.234	.082	.234	4.426	***
Commitment → Institutional & Goal Commitment	.434	.061	.434	8.861	***
Collaboration → Peer Group Interactions	.279	.065	.279	5.358	***
Collaboration → Interaction with Faculty	.278	.059	.278	5.320	***
Collaboration → Faculty Concerns for Students	.116	.050	.116	2.157	.031
Collaboration → Academic & Intellectual Development	.285	.062	.285	5.477	***
Collaboration → Institutional & Goal Commitment	.315	.050	.315	6.111	***
Common Purpose → Peer Group Interactions	.278	.059	.278	5.325	***
Common Purpose → Interaction with Faculty	.234	.054	.234	4.433	***
Common Purpose → Academic & Intellectual Development	.215	.057	.215	4.053	***
Common Purpose → Institutional & Goal Commitment	.332	.044	.332	6.488	***
Controversy Civility → Peer Group Interactions	.281	.055	.281	5.399	***
Controversy Civility → Interaction with Faculty	.224	.050	.224	4.229	***
Controversy Civility → Academic & Intellectual Development	.156	.054	.156	2.903	.004
Controversy Civility → Institutional & Goal Commitment	.290	.042	.290	5.571	***
Citizenship → Peer Group Interactions	.182	.066	.182	3.408	***
Citizenship → Interaction with Faculty	.256	.058	.256	4.866	***
Citizenship → Academic & Intellectual Development	.167	.063	.167	3.113	.002
Citizenship → Institutional & Goal Commitment	.204	.050	.204	3.842	***
Change → Peer Group Interactions	.233	.052	.233	4.419	***
Change → Interaction with Faculty	.174	.048	.174	3.252	.001
Change → Academic & Intellectual Development	.155	.051	.155	2.881	.004
Change → Institutional & Goal Commitment	.308	.039	.308	5.956	***

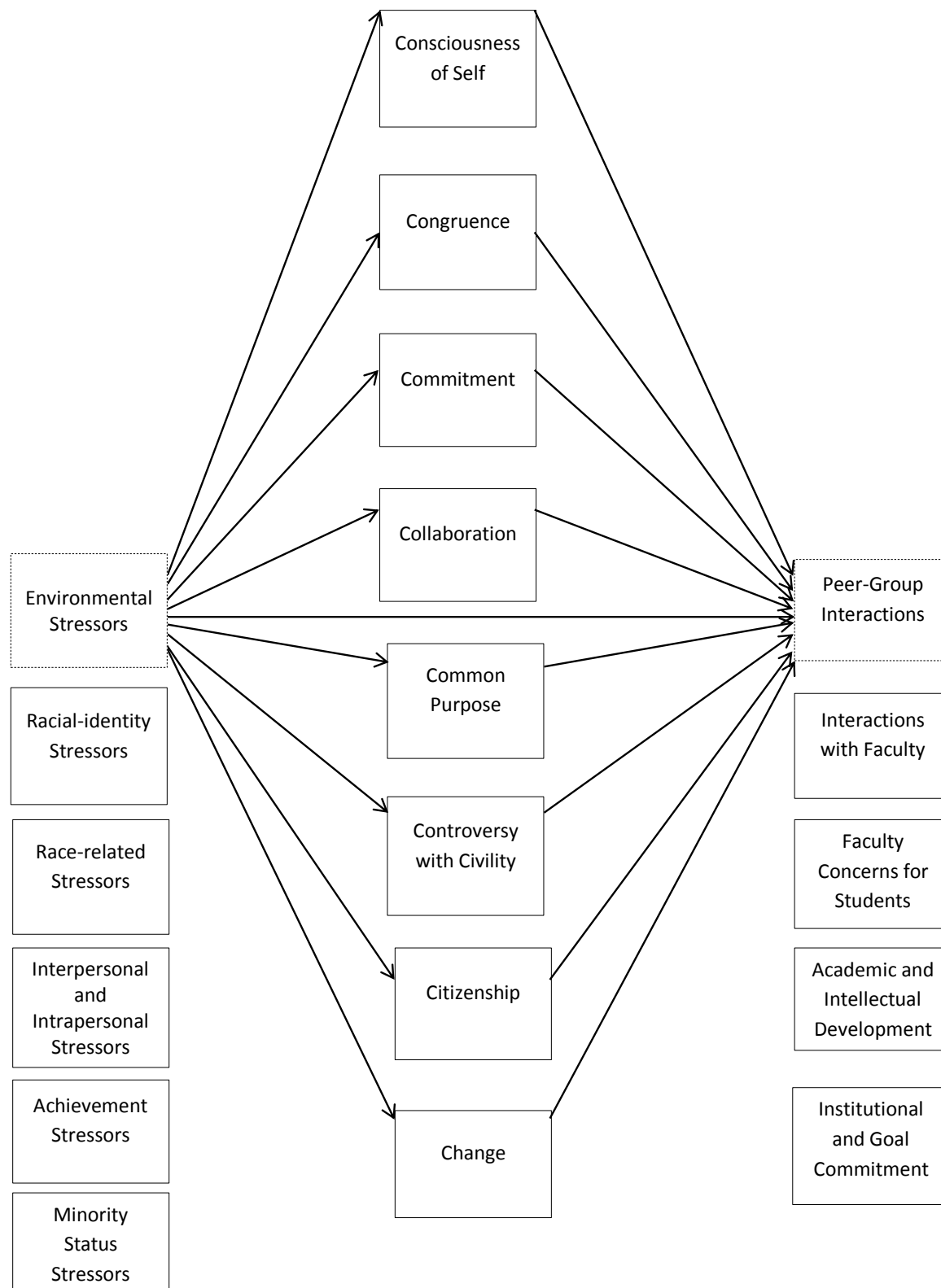


Table 9

*Multiple Mediation Analysis of the 6 Minority Status Stress Factors and the 5 Persistence Factors Mediated by the 8 Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development*

Multiple Mediation Analysis Paths		b	se(b)	$\beta$	C.R.	P
Environmental Stressors	→ Citizenship	.050	.020	.135	2.509	.012
Citizenship	→ Interaction with Faculty	.169	.057	.151	2.948	.003
Environmental Stressors	→ Citizenship	.050	.020	.135	2.509	.012
Citizenship	→ Faculty Concerns for Students	-.140	.049	-.149	-2.852	.004
Environmental Stressors	→ Citizenship	.050	.020	.135	2.509	.012
Citizenship	→ Institutional & Goal Commitment	-.141	.046	-.115	-3.077	.002
Race-related Stressors	→ Citizenship	.083	.030	.148	2.752	.006
Citizenship	→ Interaction with Faculty	.169	.057	.151	2.947	.003
Race-related Stressors	→ Change	.084	.038	.119	2.210	.027
Change	→ Interaction with Faculty	-.114	.046	-.127	-2.472	.013
Race-related Stressors	→ Citizenship	.083	.030	.148	2.752	.006
Citizenship	→ Faculty Concerns for Students	-.140	.049	-.149	-2.851	.004
Race-related Stressors	→ Change	.084	.038	.119	2.210	.027
Change	→ Academic & Intellectual Development	-.113	.048	-.115	-2.335	.020
Race-related Stressors	→ Citizenship	.083	.030	.148	2.752	.006
Citizenship	→ Institutional & Goal Commitment	-.141	.046	-.152	-3.076	.002
Intra & Interpersonal Stressors	→ Citizenship	.068	.030	.121	2.245	.025
Citizenship	→ Interaction with Faculty	.169	.057	.151	2.948	.003
Intra & Interpersonal Stressors	→ Citizenship	.068	.030	.121	2.245	.025
Citizenship	→ Faculty Concerns for Students	-.140	.049	-.149	-2.852	.004
Intra & Interpersonal Stressors	→ Citizenship	.068	.030	.121	2.245	.025
Citizenship	→ Institutional & Goal Commitment	-.141	.046	-.152	-3.077	.002
Achievement-related Stressors	→ Citizenship	.123	.043	.154	2.874	.004
Citizenship	→ Interaction with Faculty	.169	.057	.151	2.947	.003
Achievement-related Stressors	→ Change	.139	.054	.139	2.585	.010
Change	→ Interaction with Faculty	-.114	.046	-.127	-2.472	.013
Achievement-related Stressors	→ Citizenship	.123	.043	.154	2.874	.004
Citizenship	→ Faculty Concerns for Students	-.140	.049	-.149	-2.851	.004
Achievement-related Stressors	→ Change	.139	.054	.139	2.585	.010
Change	→ Academic & Intellectual Development	-.113	.048	-.115	-2.335	.020
Achievement-related Stressors	→ Citizenship	.123	.043	.154	2.874	.004
Citizenship	→ Institutional & Goal Commitment	-.141	.046	-.152	-3.076	.002
Racial-identity Stressors	→ Consciousness of Self	-.080	.037	-.117	-2.161	.031
Consciousness of Self	→ Academic & Intellectual Development	.171	.054	.157	3.202	.001

Figure 8. Multiple Mediation Analysis of the 6 Minority Status Stress Factors and the 5 Persistence Factors Mediated by the 8 Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development



### 3.7 Discussion

The present study was the first to look at Cs of the SCM as a mediating variable between minority status stress and persistence. It was also the first study to look use the individual factors of minority status stress, leadership, and persistence to gain more information about their relationships to one another. The overall goal of this study was trifold: a) to test the minority status stress conceptual model employing the values of the SCM and persistence variables as the sociocultural and adaptation outcomes, b) to examine the relationship between the stress Black students experience at PWIs and desire to remain at their institutions while determining if adhering to specific leadership values could explain the relationship, and c) to deconstruct the minority status stress, leadership, and persistence variable into their various factors in efforts of providing more detailed information regarding the relationships between the variables.

The results indicated that the revised model provided adequate fit to the data. Several correlations were made to improve model fit. The correlations between the Cs of the SCM were explained through the literature regarding the development of the model. The leadership goal of the model is to influence positive social change, which would be impossible to accomplish without the interaction effect of each of the individual Cs of the SCM (Komives, Wagner, & Associate, 2009). “As an individual gain better Consciousness of Self, acts Congruently, and demonstrates Commitment, the individual’s ability to contribute to the group’s Common Purpose, work with others Collaboratively, and engage in Controversy with Civility increases (Komives, Wagner,

& Associate, 2009, p. 65) Hence it makes sense that there would be correlations between Consciousness of Self and Collaboration as well as Citizenship, and between Congruence and Commitment, Collaboration and Common Purpose, and Controversy with Civility and Change.

Although none of the Cs were found to fully mediate the relationship of minority status stress and persistence, the analyses yielded a few note worthy points. The presumption that the more minority status stress Black students experience the less likely they are to persist was confirmed. Also, as a Black student experienced minority status stress, their adherence to the Citizenship value increased. This finding affirms the notion that an important source of coping for Black students as they attend to minority status stress is getting involved in their campus communities. The leadership value that was most correlated the minority status stress Black students face at PWIs is Citizenship. Students experiencing high levels of minority status stress are more likely to be involved in their communities through services. It is also important to acknowledge that although the community will likely be race or culturally based its size and affiliation to campus is irrelevant (Sedlacek, 1999). The importance of cultural enclaves and communities have been well documented in the literature (Murguia et al., 1991) and enables Black students to negotiate the often hostile environment they face in the academe (Sedlacek, 1999).

Examining each of the observed variables that encompass the latent constructs yielded information that can be particularly useful in working with Black student experiencing persistence difficulties as a result of their race and/or ethnicity. As previously mentioned, in observing the six factors of minority status stress and the five

factors of persistence, as each of the individual minority status stress factors (environmental stressors, race-related stressors, racial-identity stressors, intrapersonal and interpersonal stressors, achievement-related stressors, and minority-related stressors) increased, the persistence factors (academic and intellectual development, faculty concerns for student development and teaching, interactions with faculty, institutional and goal commitments, and peer group interactions) decreased. In exploring the relationship between the six factors of minority status stress and the eight Cs of the SCM, Citizenship and/or Change, were the two Cs that increased as environmental stressors, race-related stressors, intrapersonal and interpersonal stressors, and achievement-related stressors increased. As Black students deal with the challenges of various sources of minority status stress, their need to establish a community and to desire to create positive change on campus increases. In the presence of racial-identity stressors the Consciousness of Self value decreases for Black students. Racial-identity stressors encompass challenges associated with how Blacks students are viewed by their racial and/or ethnic community on campus. It is understandable that an individual that is experiencing high levels of racial-identity stressors may be more self-conscious and less self-confident.

Taking a more in-depth look at persistence, it is evident that as each of the Cs increase so does a Black student's adherence to each factor of persistence except for faculty concern for student development and teaching. The only C that had a significant relationship to faculty concern for student development and teaching is Collaboration. Faculty concern for student development and teaching views the faculty student

interaction as an important part of creating an environment where student learning is of the utmost importance. Faculty members are seen as partners in the achievement of Black students' academic goal. Ultimately, students are not viewed as distractions from a faculty member's work; rather, they are the work itself. The richness and depth of interaction between faculty members and Black students at HBCUs is one of the stated differences that leads to greater educational gains of Black students at HBCUs compared to their peers at PWIs (Seifert, Drummond, & Pascarella, 2006). A student's development and a focus on teaching are paramount in an education obtained at an HBCU (Seifert et al., 2006) and are the same values expressed in the faculty concern for student development and teaching factor of persistence. The results of the analyses of the eight Cs of the SCM and the five persistence factors validated the role that leadership can have in explaining Black student persistence. The more Black students adhere to the Cs of the SCM the more likely they are to be integrated into the social and academic realms of the institution while being determined to graduate from that particular institution.

In the multiple mediation analyses conducted using each of the six factors of minority status stress, the eight Cs of the SCM as mediators, and the five factors of persistence several interesting patterns arose. In each of the multiple mediation analyses only three of the Cs, Citizenship, Change, Consciousness of Self, helped explain the relationship of the minority status stress factor and the persistence factors. This is particularly interesting because Dugan et al. (2008) found in a study of 50,378 students at various institutions of higher education across the country that Black students scored

higher on Consciousness of Self, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship, and Change than their peers of various races. Although in this particular study Controversy with Civility was not established as a mediator, the other constructs mentioned by Dugan et al. (2008) were the only Cs found to fully mediate the relationship of five minority status stress factors and persistence. This finding echoes previous research stating that leadership involvement for Black students is grounded in the “advocacy and education” of the university community, in hopes of creating positive change within their campus environment (Dugan et al., 2008, p. 489; Aminio et al., 2000; Harper & Quaye, 2007).

There were several instances where scoring higher on one minority status stress factors produced higher adherence to the Citizenship, and/or Change values but led to more negative outcomes for the persistence factors. For instance, a Black student who experienced racism and/or discrimination related stress on campus (race-related stressors) may have been dedicated to changing the campus environment (Change) yet be less likely to have positive out of classroom interactions with faculty (interactions with faculty). Likewise Black students who experienced stress related to proving their academic abilities to others (achievement-related stressors) were more willing to contribute positively to their communities (Citizenship), however, had more negative views of the investment faculty members have in them (faculty concern for student development and teaching). This finding conflicts most of the Black student leadership literature stating that being involved in student leadership activities has a positive impact on Black student persistence. An explanation for these findings may be that as students become more integrated into the Black community on campus their perspectives on the

university community become increasingly negative (Johnson & Arbona, 2006). In the context of racial identity theory, Cross' (1971) *Theory of Nigrescence* later operationalized by Parham and Helms (1981) conceptualized that after a Black student has a negative racial encounter where their understanding of themselves as a racial being is challenged (Encounter), they enter the Immersion/Emersion stage which consists of an engulfment into all things Black related and a pro-Black and anti-White attitude. For many Black students, college is the developmental period when their racial world view is changed. As they enter into the Immersion/Emersion stage of their racial identity they may have negative attitudes towards the mostly White campus community. This shift in attitude may explain the lower scores on the persistence factors. Another, rationale for the primarily negative persistence outcomes in lieu of high adherence to the leadership values, may reflect a shift in focus of Black students. Despite the various minority status stressors Black students experience, wanting to be a part of a community and feeling an obligation to the betterment of the Black community on and off campus (Citizenship) while engaging in efforts of improving the campus climate for other Black students (Change) may cause them to become a highly active-underachieving student. Highly active-underachieving Black students are extremely involved and are viewed as advocates for their community on campus, but have lost focus on their academic. These students tend to use their involvement as a means of coping with minority status stressors, as well as a method of distracting themselves and others from deeper difficulties (e.g. academic, career-related, family, feelings of being overwhelmed). Being affirmed by the university community for their involvement and dedication to the



institution and their racial group, they are able to find purpose in their college experiences that helps others while they struggling academically and often barely obtain the GPAs necessary to graduate (Guiffrida, 2004a).

In contrast, Black students experiencing most sources of minority status stress (environmental stressors, race-related stressors, intrapersonal and interpersonal stressors, and achievement-related stressors) were more likely to be active within the Black student community (Citizenship) and have positive non-classroom interactions with faculty. Perhaps these students are interacting with Black faculty through initiatives often led by student affairs professionals' aimed at getting Black students more connects to Black support systems on campus. Their involvement with Black student organization may provide them with opportunities to form positive connections to Black faculty on campus. Also, Black students who enter Black student organizations in the immersion-emersion stage of their racial identity development and may benefit from having a platform to voice their concerns regarding the racial environment and a support group, which may enable them to move into the internalization stage. In the internalization stage, self-confidence and a commitment to the Black community is embodied while positive attitudes towards other racial groups are established. The change in attitude may translate into more positive perceptions of White faculty and their role in Black student success on campus. Lastly, although Black students who experienced pressures from within their racial community (racial-identity stressors) tended to be less self aware (Consciousness of Self), their satisfaction with their academic experience (academic and intellectual development) increased. There seems to

be need for self-reflection in the lives of Black college students. Providing them with the time, space, and tools necessary to explore their unconscious, they may be able to discover emotions and challenges they are experiencing, work through them, and make meaning of them. Opportunities for self-reflection, will also keep Black students engaged and dedicated to their academic pursuits. Through self-exploration academic, career, personal, and professional goal adjustments may be made aimed at finding congruence between their goals, their passions, and who they really are. It is important to note that the only persistence factors that were included in the 17 instances of full medication were those related to faculty interactions (i.e. interactions with faculty, faculty concerns for student development and teaching, academic and intellectual development) and institutional and goal commitments. The role of faculty in the persistence of Black students in this study was more of a prevailing factor than peer support. It is imperative that all faculty acknowledge the importance of their roles in the success and drop out decisions of Black students.

### 3.8 Implications

The present study provides practical implications that should be considered when working with Black students at PWIs. Through the use of the presented conceptual model of minority status stress for Black students, student support services on campus can develop programs, workshops, and other developmental opportunities that will enable students to gain an understanding of the Cs of the SCM and how they can help students cope with minority status stress. Likewise a discussion about possible challenges associated with Black student leadership and persistence when faced with

minority status stressors should be included. This knowledge may increase the Black student persistence allowing the students to successfully matriculate and graduate at greater rate; ultimately helping institutions of higher education retain the diversity it recruits. A qualitative study of highly active-underachieving Black student leaders would shed light on their experiences, needs, and ways in which the university community can support and hold these students accountable. Lastly, given the resounding presence of the persistence factors related to faculty involvement in the instances of full mediation, it is imperative that the investment in Black student retention come from student affairs administrators and university faculty. The academic and student affairs units of the university need to establish ways of collaborating both inside and outside of the classroom to provide Black students with the support they need to remain and to be successful at their PWIs. It indeed it takes a village!

### 3.9 Limitations

Possible limitations associated with this study may include geographical limits of the sample population. Participants only represented Black students at primarily southern institutions of higher education. Due to limited resources and access, a nationally representative sample was not collected. Although the sample size made the results more generalizable, it may not be appropriate to do so depending on the type and geographic location of the other institutions. A replicated study conducted with samples from other institutions, especially those outside of the southern part of the United States would be useful. Campus climate, culture, and institutional reputation may play a role in the types of students that decided to attend the particular institution. In light of the

delicacies that encompass the social and academic climate of a university campus, a college or university interested in data specific to their institution may consider conducting an individual study. While the MSSS has been widely used to assess the stress racial and ethnic minorities experience at PWIs, researcher choosing to use the MSSS with a particular race need to be aware that the factor structure may change which can make the comparison of factors and results across studies difficult. Likewise, researchers need to take note of previously stated multicollinearity issue in employing the MSSS. Although SEM accounts for some of the multicollinearity of a set of subscales, studies using the MSSS subscale should check for multicollinearity and use a minority status stress composite score if necessary.

## 4. SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

### 4.1 Summary

This dissertation was submitted in journal article format. The first manuscript provided a critical review of the literature on persistence, minority status stress, and the Social Change Model of Leadership Development (SCM) as it pertains to Black college students. Based on the literature reviewed, recommendations for student affairs practitioners were suggested. The literature review article provided the foundation for the empirical study, which is the second manuscript. The empirical study examined the relationship and mediation effects of the Cs of the SCM (Consciousness of Self, Congruence, Commitment, Collaboration, Common Purpose, Controversy with Civility, Citizenship, and Change) given the relationship of minority status stress and persistence.

The literature review article bridged the minority status stress, leadership, and persistence scholarship on the experiences of Black students at PWIs. Specifically, the literature review article explained the concept of minority status stress and its negative impact on institutional and goal commitment, as well as, social and academic integration, which are elements used to conceptualize persistence. It also, provided insight into the role Black student organizations and activities play in the persistence of Black students faced with minority status stress.

There were several recommendations provided for student affairs administrators working with Black students at PWIs. A few of the recommendations discussed the importance of involving Black faculty and staff into the leadership development

activities of Black college students. Given the small number of Black faculty, administrators, and staff at PWIs, the literature review article also suggested that higher education make more of a concerted effort in encouraging Black students to enroll in graduate school and expose and nurture the path towards obtaining an academic position. Black students should be encouraged to partake in mentoring programs like the *Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement Program*, which is a part of the federally funded TRIO Program for undergraduate students, aimed at exposing underrepresented students to research and a variety of scholarly activities with the hopes that they will later enroll in doctoral programs. Doing so may increase the numbers of Black people with advanced degrees ultimately creating a larger pool of Black faculty at PWIs. Greater access to Black faculty, staff, and administration provides Black students with role models and potential mentors, aiding with their academic integration into the university which is a critical to their persistence (Guffrida, 2005; Tinto, 1993).

The results of the empirical study of this dissertation provided more depth and direction for the recommendations listed in the literature review article. The multiple mediation analysis of the Cs of the SCM between minority status stress and persistence did not yield significant results; however, subsequent analyses conducted using the collected data provided some insight regarding Black student persistence. Initially, the relationship of the Cs of the SCM and the five persistence factors yielded significantly positive correlations, however, when taking minority status stress into consideration, there were several instances where the relationship of the Cs of the SCM and the persistence factors became negative. One instance was looking at Change as the

mediator of race-related stressors and the interaction with faculty persistence factor. Black students experiencing stress related to being discriminated against and feeling as though White students and faculty expected lower academic performance from them, were more comfortable with change yet stated that faculty had a less influential role in their personal, intellectual, and professional development. Another finding suggested that Black students who viewed the university as unfriendly and observed relationship challenges within their racial community on campus (interpersonal and intrapersonal stressors), found it important to positively contribute to their communities (Citizenship) even though they felt as though faculty members were less invested in them as students (faculty concerns for student development and teaching).

These findings suggest that although Black students experience minority status stress, their adherence to specific leadership values does necessarily protect them from the negative effects of minority status stress on their persistence. The reasoning for these finding may indicate that in some cases adhering to the Citizenship and Change values of the SCM, which are primarily fostered at PWIs through Black student organizations and activities, exacerbates racial tension and acts of discrimination serving to isolate Black students from the White campus community (Guiffrida, 2004a). Given that there are such small numbers of Black faculty, staff, and administrators any PWI, the Black student respondents from this study, may have only thought of examples of White faculty when responding to the questions regarding faculty interactions. If those Black students were more in touch with Black faculty on campus through their student

organizations and activities, their view on the role of faculty and their investment in Black students and their learning may change.

Another interesting finding was in exploring Consciousness of Self as a mediator of racial-identity stressors and the academic and intellectual development persistence factor. Black students faced with stress as a result of pressure experienced within their racial group (intragroup marginalization) tended to also have lower self-esteem yet viewed their academic experience positively. Consciousness of Self was the only C of the SCM that yielded a negative relationship to any factors of minority status stress. The notion that when faced with difficulties within their racial community, Black students retreated and focused on their academics may be affirmed through these findings. Perhaps these findings are reflective of the Encounter racial identity stage. The robust findings from this study allowed for the development of recommendations for student affairs professionals and faculty, in addition to those provided in the literature review article, and suggestions for future research.

#### 4.2 Recommendations for Student Affairs Professionals and Faculty

##### *Promote Consciousness of Self by Building Self-Reflection and Processing Activities in Black Student Organizations' Development/Curriculum*

The activities and leadership experiences Black student's gain can be very helpful to them as they persist through the academe, despite minority status stress. Helping them to reflect and process their experience in and outside of student organizations using leadership terminology, the Cs of the SCM, may enable them to discover concrete ways in which their leadership involvement is positively or negatively influenced by minority



status stressors. Through these discussions, the negative impacts of minority status stress on persistence can be confronted using the language of the Cs of the SCM. Also, the academic challenges some Black students face, attributed to their involvement (Fleming, 1984; Guiffrida, 2004), can be addressed and possibly prevented.

*Utilize Self-Reflection and Processing Activities to Equip Students with Tools to Cope with Future Encounters with Race-Related Stress in the United States*

One of the priorities of higher education is to prepare students to live as active citizens in America and the world at large. Research on the negative impact of the race-related stress the Black community experiences in America has been well documented (Franklin-Jackson & Carter, 2007; Utsey, 1998; Utsey & Payne, 2000). It is important that Black students are taught to process their collegiate experiences with minority status stress. Additionally, gaining an understanding of how being active on campus helps them cope positively with the minority status stressors, can provide them with tool that may help negate the negative impacts of race-related stress post graduation.

*Empower Black Students Through Student Organizations*

In a national study, four of the eight Cs of the SCM that Black students scored higher on than their peers are Consciousness of Self, Controversy with Civility Citizenship and Change (Dugan, Komives, & Segar, 2008). The results of this study echo the aforementioned findings. In most cases, as a result of minority status stressors, becoming an active citizen on and off campus and being adaptable have resulted in positive gains in terms of Black student persistence at PWIs. Assisting Black students

faced with minority status stressors find their voice on campus through involvement; advocacy, and community can help with their persistence.

*Identify Highly Active-Underachieving Black Students and Hold Them Accountable for Their Academic Success*

Although, Black students benefit from being involvement at PWIs, they may also experience challenges associated with balancing their involvement and their academics (Fleming, 1981; Guiffrida, 2004a). For some Black students building community and advocating for Black issues becomes their focus and their academic performance suffers as a result. Many institutions of higher education have GPA requirements for students to remain involved in student organizations. Although it makes sense to release student from their involvement responsibilities to focus on their academics if students fail to maintain a reasonable GPA (e.g 2.0), yet that may not prove advantageous for all Black students. The literature makes it clear that Black students involved in student organizations and activities are more likely to persist than those who are not involved. However, for the highly active-underachieving Black student leader GPA requirements, aimed at helping them focus on their academic success, may prevent them from getting involved causing them to become disengaged, which negatively impacts their persistence.

#### 4.3 Recommendations for Future Research

*Design a Qualitative Study of Highly Active-Underachieving Black Student Leaders*

One of the most interesting finding from this study was that Black students who scored high on the factors of minority status stress generally scored high on the Cs of the

Social Change Model for Leadership Development and as a result scored higher on persistence factors. However, when the mediation effect was investigated, in several instances, those Black students who scored high on the Citizenship and Change values scored lower on the persistence factors. This finding made a case for the highly active-underachieving student leader. In a qualitative study of the positive and negative impact of student organizations on the academic achievement of African American college students, Guiffrida (2004) found that although Black student organizations were a source of social integration, participation could also hinder their academic achievement. Hearing the perspectives of these students would be important in supporting them through their collegiate experience. Likewise, research in this area, may enable university personnel to identify highly active yet underachieving Black students and provide them with resources and support.

*Utilize the Social Change Model of Leadership Development as the Conceptual Leadership Model Measured by the Socially Responsible Leadership Scale in Empirical Research*

There are a variety of leadership models and measures aimed to shed light on the leadership experiences of college students. The Social Change Model of Leadership Development (SCM) is one of few models that conceptualize the experiences of college students engaged in leadership. The premise of the model is that the goal of student leadership is to make the ones community and world a better place (HERI, 1996), which is often one of the outcomes administrators have in mind when working with college students. Although it has been over 10 years since the original Socially Responsible

Leadership Scale (SRLS) was created, it has not been used in very many empirical studies (Dugan, 2006). Broadening the usage of the SRLS would equip student affairs administrators with data that could help explain the important role of leadership in the development of students. It could likewise, help student affairs administrators be more intentional with their leadership programs ensuring that students in general, but particularly Black students, gain the full benefits from their leadership experiences.

*Investigate the Relationship of Microaggressions and Minority Status Stress*

The Minority Status Stress Scale (MSSS) was developed in the late 1980s as a means of measuring the stress students experience being racial and ethnic minorities at PWIs. While the MSSS accounts for more of the explicit racial stressors that occur on a college campus, it does not include the more ambiguous acts of racism or discrimination. Racial microaggressions are defined as “brief commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color” (Sue et. al., 2007, p. 271). Racial microaggressions have been a growing area of study that may shed light on the some of the stress Black students experience as a result of their race and/or ethnicity that is not accounted for by the MSSS. Hurst (2010), created the Microaggressions Scale which is a measure that seeks to quantify the microaggressions people of color experience. This measure needs to be validated and used in empirical research. Also, conducting a study employing the Microaggressions Scale and the MSSS could provide valuable insight regarding the multiple types of stressors Black students experience and their impact on Black student persistence.

*Conduct a Study Investigating the Influence of a Black Student's Racial and/or Ethnic Identity to Their Involvement in Black Student Organizations*

Research on the experiences of Black students at PWIs all indicate the important role being engaged on campus has on their ability to persist through college. In large part, Black students become engaged on campus through Black student organizations, however, not much attention is given to Black students who are not involved in Black student organizations. A study of Black students including those who are uninvolved, their racial identity, and persistence would provide the foundation for a qualitative study exploring the experiences of uninvolved Black students and the reasons why they choose not to be involved in Black student organizations and student activities as a whole. Recommendation on how to engage and support Black uninvolved students could be offered to student affairs administrators.

#### 4.4 Conclusions

The manuscripts for this dissertation provided a vast amount of data. Although the amount of data could have been overwhelming, the themes that arose simplified the interpretation and discussion of the findings. The recommendations provided in this section are aimed at encouraging administrative support and increasing the scholarship on the experience of Black college students at PWIs. Gaining an understanding of Black student persistence at PWIs is a complex undertaking because there are so many factors to consider. As in the case of this dissertation, utilizing established theoretical frameworks, employing existing scholarship, and exploring new research trends across

research disciplines, although challenging, may continue providing clarity to the university community's questions regarding Black student persistence.

This dissertation conceptually and empirically determined the relationship of minority status stress, the Cs of the Social Change Model of Leadership Development (SCM) and persistence. The information and results contained in the two manuscripts can provide insight into the dynamics of leadership and persistence as it relates to Black students experiencing minority status stress. This dissertation sought to answer four questions:

1. Is there a relationship between minority status stress and persistence?
2. Is there a relationship between minority status stress and the Cs of the SCM?
3. Is there a relationship between persistence and the Cs of the SCM?
4. Do the Cs of the SCM mediate the relationship between minority status stress and persistence?

The first step was to conceptually determine if there was some interconnectedness in the literature of minority status stress, leadership, and persistence. The literature confirmed that Black students do experience additional stress at PWIs as a result of their race and/or ethnicity and that this stress is often one of the culprits inhibiting academic achievement (Prillerman et. al., 1989). However, many Black students seek refuge from minority status stress through involvement in Black student organizations and activities. Black student organizations serve as cultural enclaves that enable Black students to form a smaller community within the larger campus community (Murguia, Padilla, Pavel, 1991). These enclaves become a source of culture exploration, enrichment and advocacy for Black students. As Black students become engaged in

student organizations they are more likely to become more socially and academically integrated into the university while being more committed to their institutions and their goals (Astin, 1975; Midgley, Arunkumar, & Urdan, 1996). These attributes are said to influence Black students' decisions to matriculate and graduate from their institutions.

Once the relationships were established through the literature, answering the questions with empirical research was the next step. The relationship of minority status stress and persistence was confirmed. When experiencing minority status stress Black students were less likely to persist ( $\beta = -.112$ ). When looking at the relationship of the six factors of minority status stress (environmental stressors, race-related stressors, racial-identity stressors, interpersonal and intrapersonal stressors, achievement-related stressors, minority status stressors) and the five persistence factors (peer-group interactions, interactions with faculty, faculty concerns for student development and teaching, academic and intellectual development, institutional and goal commitment) all paths that were significant were also negative. The only minority status stress factor that had a significant relationship with every persistence factor was interpersonal and intrapersonal stressors. Racial-identity stressors had two significant paths to the peer group interactions ( $\beta = -.224$ ) and institutional and goal commitment ( $\beta = -.159$ ) persistence factors.

Determining whether or not there was a relationship between minority status stress and the Cs of the SCM was the focus of the next set of analyses. There was a significant relationship found between minority status stress and the Citizenship value ( $\beta = .142$ ). All factors of minority status stress, except minority status stressors, had

significant relationships with Consciousness of Self, Citizenship, and Change values.

The only minority status stress factor that did not have a significant relationship with any of the Cs was minority status stressors. Also, the only path between the minority status stressors and the Cs of the SCM that had a negative relationship was that of racial-identity stressors to Consciousness of Self ( $\beta = -.117$ ).

The paths from the Cs of the SCM to persistence yielded several significant paths. The path from each of the Cs to four persistence factors (peer-group interactions, interactions with faculty, academic and intellectual development, institutional and goal commitment) produced significantly positive paths. The only SCM value that had a significant effect ( $\beta = .116$ ) on the faculty concerns for student development and teaching persistence factor was Collaboration.

Lastly, although none of the Cs of the SCM model were established as mediators between minority status stress and persistence, taking a closer look at the individual factors of minority status stress and persistence yielded 17 full mediations. Particularly interesting were the findings suggesting that even though the Black students in the study were more likely to connect to their community (Citizenship) and were more adaptable (Change), they still experienced minority status stresses which negatively impacted their persistence. The only persistence factor that was not included in any of the significant mediation paths was peer group interactions, while the only Cs that served as mediators in the multiple mediation analyses were Consciousness of Self, Citizenship, and Change. These values, with Controversy with Civility, were noted in previous research studies as the values that Black students, in comparison to their peers, score highest on (Dugan et



al., 2008). The importance and influence of these values for Black students was confirmed through this study.

Through this dissertation the experiences of Black student at PWIs with minority status stress, leadership, and persistence have been determined. This study is the first to examine the interactional relationship between the aforementioned variables. It is also unique because the methodology used employed minority status stress as a composite score, as well as its individual factors as observed variables. Additionally, it is the first study to use the Cs of the SCM as the leadership variables for a mediation study.

Understanding the relationship of minority status stress and persistence using the Cs of the SCM created a bridge within the Black college student persistence literature. It specifically offered an explanation regarding the components of leadership that explain the persistence of Black students when faced with minority status stress. It also provided insight regarding practices and research that the university community can develop, in efforts to gain a greater understanding of the persistence related challenges Black students face at PWIs.

Through this dissertation, several recommendations for practice and future research were provided. They could be organized in three categories: University initiatives, Black student organizations, and the Black student community. University initiatives discussed the need for more Black faculty members and the importance of providing diversity education for students as well as the university professional community. Encouraging Black faculty involvement, engaging in research employing the Cs of the SCM model, particularly Consciousness of Self, Citizenship, and Change

with a Black college sample were recommendations made that fall in the Black student organization category. Likewise utilizing the safe space created by many Black student organizations as a means of processing the experiences of Black students with minority status stress, helping Black students create career goals, and gaining insight into the experiences of the highly-active underachieving Black students were also suggestions provided in this dissertation. Finally, this dissertation made a case for gaining a deeper understanding of Black students at PWIs. The research in each manuscript established the connection between minority status stress, leadership, and persistence of Black students at PWIs and set the foundation for future persistence related studies employing the Cs of the SCM, particularly Consciousness of Self, Citizenship, Changes, as a leadership framework for Black students at PWIs.

Exploring Black students from every angle will provide greater insight into their experiences. By exploring the racial identities, minority status stress, and microaggressions through empirical while discussing the marginalization many Black students experience from the Black community will add to the diversity of literature on the Black student experience at PWIs. No longer will Black students be viewed as one monolithic group, rather, their voices and the dynamics of their individual experiences will be heard. This dissertation provided a strong foundation for future studies and clarified one more piece of the Black student persistence puzzle.

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