Challenging the Traditional Student Leadership Paradigm: A Critical Examination of the Perceptions of Students of Color at Predominately White Institution

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CHALLENGING THE TRADITIONAL STUDENT LEADERSHIP PARADIGM: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS OF COLOR AT A PREDOMINATELY WHITE INSTITUTION

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by

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study employed a Critical Race Theory (CRT) lens to gather a deeper understanding the racialized experiences of students of color (SOC) at a PWI, and how these experiences impact the way in which they understand, conceptualize, and/or actualize student leadership on campus. This study presents the lived experiences of twenty-five SOC. Participants shared their experiences and perceptions through individual semi-structured interviews, with an opportunity to also participate in a focus group. Findings revealed that the ways in which participants view how race is socially constructed on campus and their encounters with normalized racism (such as their experiences with microaggressions, the lack of diversity, the negative racial climate, and the racial segregation on campus) seemed to profoundly impact participants lived experiences and perceptions.

Participants in this study exhibited a strong pull towards SOC groups (both for participation and leadership expression), citing a desire to seek involvement with individuals of similar/racial and ethnic background, a responsibility to give back to their racial/ethnic group, and seeking a group that affirmed their sense of identity as some of the top reasons they joined SOC groups. However, participants' perceptions of predominately White groups on campus, encounters with normalized racism, and the way they view student groups are valued (or

undervalued) on campus seems to suggest that the campus racial climate may play a powerful role in students' decision making around co-curricular involvement and leadership expression. The findings strongly intimate that the college campus remains a microcosm of larger society in that it continues to perpetuate normalized racism as a product of inherent (and biased structures), influencing students' leadership perceptions and expression. This study recommends that institutions *assess* the racial landscape on campus in terms of perceived and actualized student leadership, be willing to engage in *experimentation* on different practices that will foster a greater sense of inclusivity within student leadership, and take active steps towards creating permanent inclusive *change*.

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CHAPTER 1. Introduction and Background of Study

Interest in student leadership is pervasive within higher education, particularly because students "involved in leadership activities have higher levels of educational attainment and increases in personal values" (Cress, Astin, Zimmerman-Oster, & Burkhardt, 2001, p.16). In addition, participation in student leadership produces a significant positive effect on personal development in areas such as self-confidence and self-esteem (Kuh & Lund, 1994). Furthermore, involvement in leadership cultivates opportunities to access social capital by fostering relationships with key campus figures, such as administrators and upperclassman students. These individuals provide support and access to privileged resources and information, which significantly benefit students while in college and post-graduation (Harper, 2008; St. John, Rowley, & Hu, 2009). Additionally, high levels of involvement lead to increased chances of completing college and greater satisfaction with the overall college experience (Astin, 1977, 1984, & 1985). In essence, involvement in leadership activities is viewed as a positive endeavor for college students.

In a society where attitudes and policies systematically benefit privileged individuals (Foster, 2005), students of color (SOC) have been historically disadvantaged by society and within higher education, especially at predominantly White institutions (PWIs). As noted by Loo & Rolison (1986), regardless of the advancements made through civil rights legislation, equal access to "quality" institutions of higher education for racially and ethnically minoritized individuals did not materialize. And this statement still holds true today—even with greater access, equitable representation for SOC within higher education is not guaranteed. Furthermore, the lack of equitable enrollment for SOC within higher education (especially at elite, private, four-year institutions), leads to an unbalanced racial/ethnic demographic within student

leadership groups, chiefly "predominantly White" organizations such as student government associations (Harper, 2006; Harper, 2008; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Rooney, 1985; Sedlacek, 1999; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001; Sutton & Terrell, 1997).

Statement of the Problem

Access to campus leadership opportunities may reflect the larger societal disadvantages and inequities on campus for SOC. For example, in an early study conducted by Schuh & Laverty (1983) to understand the perceived long-term, post-college, benefits derived from holding a student leadership position, "few, if any" of the individuals in their sample spanning 30 years of college enrollments were SOC. As supported by Rooney (1985), "the opportunity to participate in student organizations was not always present for minority students, whether that be because they possessed differing interests or goals, or because they believed these groups to be unreceptive to SOC" (p. 450). Contemporary SOC continue to remain relatively uninvolved on campus due to their low levels of co-curricular involvement (Flowers, 2004), possibly stemming from the fact many view traditional campus organizations as "exclusive and insensitive to their social needs" (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001, p. 31).

While studies examining the experiences of SOC in leadership positions have increased in recent years (Arminio et al., 2000; Flowers, 2004; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Harper, 2008; Hu, 2011; Lavant, 1994; St. John et al., 2009; Sutton & Terrell, 1997; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001), the scope of literature remains inadequate. Furthermore, most studies focus predominately on the experiences of SOC currently in student leadership roles (particularly Black men), and/or "high achieving" SOC (Flowers, 2004; Harper, 2008; Harper et al., 2011; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Hu, 2011; St. John et al., 2009; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001; Sutton & Terrell, 1997). Very few

studies specifically examine how a student's experiences with racism on and off campus, and perceptions of his/her racial identity as a SOC at a PWI, influence the way s/he views and defines student leadership. Furthermore, no studies examine how the impact of perceived racism impacts the development of leadership identity for SOC, should they choose to become involved in leadership activities.

Moreover, this topic is especially salient at PWIs for numerous reasons, but particularly because race and ethnicity often becomes more salient for SOC, especially if they are transitioning from an environment in which their race/ethnicity was the majority and into an environment where they are now the minority (Steinberg, 2013). As such, SOC are underrepresented at PWIs; subsequently, feelings of social and cultural isolation (in being part of a racially and/or ethnically minoritized group(s) on campus) can directly impact retention and persistence for this population of students (Flowers, 2004; Lavant, 2004; Stewart, Kupo, & Davis, 2008). Secondly, if SOC struggle to form a sense of attachment to the campus community, and are subsequently less likely to persist, then involvement in leadership opportunities will be directly impacted. Thirdly, if SOC feel that traditional, predominantly White groups on campus cannot meet their needs, then SOC are less likely to seek involvement (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001). Lastly, as is often the case at PWIs, SOC lack racially and ethnically diverse role models on campus, both within traditional student leadership activities, and within the administration, and struggle with sentiments of "onlyness" (Arminio et al., 2000; Harper et al., 2011). This may also directly impact both their perception of student leadership and motivation for involvement. Hence, understanding the perceptions of, and capacity for leadership at PWIs by SOC seems particularly relevant because racially and/or ethnically minoritized individuals face more inherent challenges in a predominantly White environment.

Purpose of Study

For this study, I employed Critical Race Theory (CRT) as the theoretical framework with which to address the overarching research questions and interpret the data. By using CRT, I wanted to better understand and analyze the systemic disadvantages that SOC perceive within higher education, especially at a PWI, and how these experiences connected to their observations of and/or involvement in student leadership on campus. Therefore, this dissertation research study utilized CRT in order to explore the subjective experiences of SOC at a PWI and comprehend the ways in which SOC understand, conceptualize, and/or actualize leadership on campus. Moreover, a primary goal of this research endeavor was to more deeply understand the influence of students' racialized identity on their perceptions of and involvement in student leadership, as well as the connection between perceived encounters with racism and their potential impact on leadership identity development for SOC. Regardless of whether they chose to become involved in leadership activities, I wanted to better understand how the perspectives of SOC challenged the metanarratives of the dominant culture in terms of defining student leadership and student leadership identity. Additionally, I wished to discern whether students perceived the path to campus leadership was indeed open to them as minortized students on a predominantly White campus.

As such, I utilized a qualitative approach to understand, in depth, how the racialized experiences for SOC have impacted their identity and their perceptions and/or conceptualization of student leadership. In particular, semi-structured interviews emphasizing participant storytelling were employed to explore the intersection between identity (in particular their race), and their perceptions of and/or involvement in student leadership opportunities. However, before the methodological approach (including additional details on the theoretical and conceptual

framework) are more clearly articulated, Chapter 2 will provide a summary of the pertinent literature related to this research study including: an overview of student leadership (and the perceived benefits), along with a purview of the literature regarding SOC and leadership. Moreover, CRT as a theoretical lens will be examined more fully, particularly to understand the overall campus experiences for SOC within higher education. In particular, how their racialized experiences connect to their feelings of belonging on campus, which may impact their involvement in student leadership, will be highlighted. As such, the literature examining the overall experiences of SOC within higher education, particularly at PWIs where the importance of belonging to one's community ultimately impacts persistence in higher education, will also be explored, considering the factors that both enable and encumber campus attachment. For as expressed articulately by Stewart et al. (2008), the "promotion" of student involvement opportunities, along with the ways those opportunities are constructed, must be critically evaluated to examine the messaging students receive regarding whether they are "valued and vital members" to the larger college community (p. 15).

Significance of Study

Understanding the sociocultural and contextual influences faced by SOC, and their decision to be involved or uninvolved in leadership activities, will be significant to student affairs practitioners and scholars. By understanding the influences perceived by students, practitioners and scholars may be able to create structural change to a system that has historically disadvantaged these students. This structural change will provide SOC with greater access to resources and leadership opportunities, thus creating a more inclusive campus environment. For as noted by Schlossberg (1989), "The creation of environments that clearly indicate to all

students that they matter will urge them to greater involvement" (p. 15). Further, Fischer (2007) notes that involvement in extracurricular activities contributes to greater satisfaction for SOC. In addition, most of the studies that do exist regarding SOC and leadership have not been interpreted through a CRT lens. Utilizing this lens for this study enabled a deeper understanding of the systemic disadvantages that SOC face within higher education due to normalized racism that is enacted both at the systemic and individuals levels. Further, CRT helped challenge the metanarratives to the dominant student leadership ideologies that exist. As articulated by Dugan, Komives, & Segar (2008), research is warranted to examine the extent to which the salience of a student's race and racialized experiences influence leadership participation and development, for "rarely explored are the racialized experiences of those who become actively engaged and assume leadership positions on campus where racial diversity is low" (Harper et al., 2011, p. 180). Furthermore, Dugan et al. (2008) also contend that qualitative methods may be the most constructive approach in order to explore the lived experiences of SOC, specifically the influence of their racial identity and environmental contexts in shaping their leadership development.

Research Questions

The guiding research question for this study is as follows: What can Critical Race Theory tell us about how SOC at a PWI understand, conceptualize, and/or actualize leadership on campus? The other sub-questions of this study include:

1. How do SOC understand college student leadership (what does it mean to them)?

    1a. What is their perception of student leadership at their specific institution?

    1b. How do they perceive that multiple aspects of their identity, and in particular race/ethnicity, shape their perceptions and definitions of student leadership?

1c. How do their perceived encounters with racism affect the ways in which they understand student leadership?

2. How do SOC actualize/achieve student leadership?

2a. How do multiple aspects of their identity, and in particular race/ethnicity, influence the ways that they actualize leadership either on or off-campus?

2b. How do perceived encounters with racism affect the ways they actualize/achieve student leadership?

Definitions

Within this study various terms and acronyms will be utilized that warrant further definition. These terms are integral to the understanding of the conceptual and theoretical framework of this study.

Counternarratives/Counterstories. Counterstories confront metanarratives and challenge the status quo perpetuated by the dominant group in society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000), providing a new context to understand and transform beliefs (Solórzano & Yosso, 2009).

Critical Race Theory (CRT). A theoretical orientation originating in the legal profession that grew out of Critical Legal Studies (CLS), an earlier legal movement. Within the law, CRT challenges the 'one size fits all' policy analysis approach, particularly in regards to issues of race and ethnicity, such as the perpetuation of racism within the legal system that enables the continued racial subordination of non-White individuals. CRT, since its emergence in the 1970's, has impacted other fields of study, such as education. Within education, CRT is utilized as a theoretical framework to examine how systemized racism remains embedded within

educational institutions, thereby creating inherent racial/ethnic inequities that impact the lived experiences for SOC.

Historically White Institution (HWI). An alternate definition to predominantly White institution, that takes into account the racial history of an institution, rather than looking solely at the current racial/ethnic composition. Smith, Allen, & Danley (2007) assert that utilizing "historically White" over "predominantly White" widens the scope of the definition to include the "historical and contemporary racialized infrastructure that is in place, the current racial campus culture and ecology, and how these modern-day institutions still benefit Whites at the expense of blacks and other groups of color" (p. 574).

Intersectionality. The ideology that no one possesses a single identity (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012); instead the construction of identity involves multiple interconnected forces (race, gender, sexuality, class status, and so forth).

Metanarratives. Defined by post-modern critical theory, metanaratives are overarching espoused ideologies maintained and perpetuated by society, such as meritocracy, or the "American Dream." Almost always these metanarratives reflect the opinions and values of the dominant, majority members of society.

Microaggressions. Utilizing the definition provided by Sue et al. (2007), microaggressions are "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group" (p. 273). Many scholars would contend that microaggressions occur frequently, and often unknowingly, within institutions of higher education.

Normalized racism. A CRT tenet maintaining that racism is commonplace and deeply ingrained within society and institutional structures (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; 2012).

Predominantly White Institution (PWI). Most institutions of higher education within the United States, particularly private four-year colleges, consist of a student body in which the majority of students are categorized as having a White racial identity. As such, one of these institutions, in which the study body is "predominantly" White, will be the focus of this study.

Racism. For the purposes of this study, racism will be defined using the expanded description provided by Solórzano & Yosso (2009) in which, "1) one group deems itself superior to all others, 2) the group that is superior has the power to carry out the racist behavior, and 3) racism benefits the superior group while negatively affecting other racial groups" (p. 132).

Student of Color (SOC). For the purpose of this study, SOC are defined as African American/Black, Latino/a, Native American, Asian, or Multiracial/Multiethnic individuals. Students selected for this study will self-identify as a person of color.

White privilege. As defined by Wildman & Davis (2000), White privilege entails the following: 1) the characteristics of the privileged group defines societal norms (which benefits the privileged group), 2) privileged members can rely on their privilege to avoid oppression, and 3) privilege is rarely seen or acknowledged by individuals who possess privilege. Furthermore, this privilege in unearned, but rather inherently awarded to individuals.

CHAPTER 2. Review of the Relevant Literature

Student Leadership in Higher Education

Student leadership development remains a "central mission" for institutions of higher education (Dugan et al., 2008, p. 476). Research has demonstrated that the majority of what students learn while in college stems from their out of class experiences, with active student involvement in co-curricular activities influencing their personal development and cognitive learning (Astin, 1993; Kuh & Lund, 1994; Terenzini, Pascarella, & Blimling, 1999). Consequently, many institutions consider leadership involvement to be an extremely desirable activity for all students and offer a wide variety of programs to enhance student leadership involvement opportunities and develop leadership behaviors (Astin, 1985; Komives, Lucas, & McMahon, 2007; Posner & Brodsky, 1994; Shertzer & Schuh, 2004; Shertzer et al., 2005). Therefore, leadership programs have more than doubled in the past two decades (Dugan et al., 2008).

Outcomes from participation in leadership positions. Student involvement refers to the amount of physical and psychological energy a student devotes to his/her collegiate experience (both academic and co-curricular), with the amount of student learning and personal development, "directly proportional to the quality and quantity of student involvement" (Astin, 1984, p. 298). In essence, the more time and energy students spend in purposeful co-curricular activities, the greater the amount of learning and personal development that occurs. Furthermore, research trends indicate that involvement in student leadership opportunities, a form of engagement, "is a key determinant of college student success, satisfaction, and persistence" (Shertzer et al., 2005, p.85). Additionally, individuals involved in student leadership activities

possess “higher levels of educational attainment and increases in personal values” (Cress et al., 2001, p.16). Because engagement in leadership activities also increases leadership skills and developmental outcomes within college students (Cress et al., 2001), and because high levels of involvement lead to increased chances of completing college and greater satisfaction with the college experience (Astin, 1977, 1984, & 1985), leadership involvement is viewed as a principal goal of most colleges and universities (Komives et al., 2007).

In addition to critical thinking outcomes, students are more apt to also develop practical competencies though their leadership involvement, such as, decision making, planning, organizing, and teamwork abilities (Kuh, 1995; Kuh & Lund, 1994). Because most co-curricular activities require that students develop competency in the abovementioned proficiencies, these aptitudes tend to manifest in students “willing to invest time and energy in educationally purposeful activities” (Kuh, 1995, p. 150). The involvement variables demonstrating the strongest correlation between involvement and self-reported growth in leadership abilities and behaviors emerges from the amount of time students spend in clubs/organizations (Astin, 1993). Furthermore, participation in student leadership produces a significant positive effect on student’s perceived leadership competence and abilities, such as self-confidence and self-esteem (Kuh & Lund, 1994).

The development of a leadership identity. Moreover, involvement in leadership activities produces a leadership identity, which is grounded in the psychosocial dimensions of developing interdependence—establishing healthy interpersonal relationships and creating a confident sense of self (Komives & Johnson, 2009; Komives et al., 2007; Komives, Owen, Longerbeam, & Mainella, 2005). Additionally, the development of this identity occurs through a constant process of observation and reflection. Foubert and Grainger (2006) articulate similar

sentiments in their study of the effects of involvement on psychosocial development, affirming that students who assume leadership positions develop greater levels of purpose, interpersonal competence, and cognitive complexity. Moreover, students with higher levels of involvement (in this study, specifically student organizations) report even greater levels of overall psychosocial development (Foubert & Grainger, 2006). In sum, in addition to cognitive and skill set outcomes, involvement in student leadership activities involves a complex leadership identity developmental process that ultimately results in greater psychosocial growth in multiple dimensions.

Impact of peer interaction on leadership involvement. Apart from cognitive, personal, and psychosocial gains, involvement in student leadership activities is also heavily influenced by peer interaction. This statement, expanded by Kuh & Lund (1994), states that contact with peers through programs that bring student leaders together for a shared experience effect students more profoundly than the actual program itself. Furthermore, a student's peer group "is the single most potent source of influence on growth and development during the undergraduate years" (Astin, 1993, p. 398), influencing cognitive, affective, and personal development (Foubert & Grainger, 2006; Stanford, 1992). Not only do peer groups influence growth and development, but they also impact the socialization process, affecting students' attitudes and behaviors through norms that are communicated to members (Hurtado, Millem, Calyton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998).

The inequities of student leadership participation. Although student leadership produces many tangible benefits, there are some challenges and inequities that exist in terms of student participation in leadership positions. To start, with data from one of the largest representative nationwide higher education surveys (the Cooperative Institutional Research Program [CIRP] survey), we learn that students with high leadership involvement tend to be

disproportionately concentrated in small private colleges, compared to public and two year institutions (Astin, 1993). This information calls to attention questions regarding institutional structures and opportunities for leadership participation, as well as the specific demographic of students who attend a private college. Furthermore, Stanford (1992) highlights the fact that "student leaders are [also] somewhat self-selected" (p. 21-22), meaning that students often seek out opportunities to become involved based on their own desire and motivation. Stanford's finding is supported by Shertzer & Schuh (2004) in a study that examined college student perceptions of constraining and empowering beliefs regarding leadership opportunities, and affirmed that student leaders typically emerge without much coaxing or prodding from external persons. As further noted by Shertzer & Schuh (2004), students examined did not feel obligated to serve as a student leader; rather, they made a purposeful decision to become involved on their own.

Further research on student perceptions of leadership reveals that overwhelmingly, students find leadership experiences to be enjoyable, beneficial, and an overall positive social experience (Logue, Hutchens, & Hector, 2005). Students also believe that student leaders should possess requisite skills prior to assuming leadership roles; skills such as: communication ability, motivational skills, empathy, organizational skills, listening skills, ethics and morals, and an ability to set a vision for their group (Schertzer & Schuh, 2004). Student leaders in the Schertzer & Schuh (2004) study also often spoke of "motivation"—wanting to work with people, interact with others, and make friends as the impetus behind their involvement. Similar sentiments were reaffirmed in a study investigating the subjective experience of college student leaders, in which helping people, being a part of something larger than themselves, developing unifying

relationships, and a giving of themselves for a greater good (service) inspired involvement (Logue et al., 2005).

A considerable development in more recent research regarding the student approach to leadership is the relational model. Fundamentally, the relational leadership model is a collaborative approach between individuals "to accomplish change or benefit the common good" by including elements of inclusiveness and empowerment for all involved (Komives et al., 2005, p. 594). Shertzer et al. (2005) classify this type of leadership as the postindustrial approach. This view of leadership supports the idea that leadership centers on relationships (unlike the industrial approach in which leadership is the property of the individual), can be done by anyone (not just those elected as leaders), and is intended to create change for a larger community (Komives et al., 2007; Shertzer et al., 2005). This view provides momentum to the research and data that interaction with others—especially peers—enhances leadership and personal development (Astin, 1977, 1984, 1993; Foubert & Grainger, 2006; Komives et al., 2007; Komives et al., 2005; Kuh & Lund, 1994; Stanford, 1992; Terenzini et al., 1999). In addition, as recommended by Cress et al. (2001), this approach to leadership also supports the belief that, "leadership potential exists in every student" (p.23), and that this potential can be nurtured and developed through leadership programs and activities.

However, are all students equally nurtured or coached into student leadership positions? Do all students have equitable opportunities to participate or "self select" into leadership activities?

Widely accepted within higher education research is the belief that SOC often experience an unwelcoming climate and feelings of alienation and marginalization, especially within PWIs (Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000; Hurtado, 1992; Loo & Rolison, 1986; Sedlacek, 1999;

Strayhorn, 2008; Sutton & Terrell, 1997). Feelings of social and cultural isolation leads to diminished leadership participation for SOC (Sutton & Terrell, 1997). Nevertheless, student leaders of color do exist on college campuses. And yet, the literature remains limited in examining the intersection between race and leadership involvement patterns for SOC, differences between various student leader groups of color on campus, and the influence of race on student leadership development (Arminio et al., 2000; Dugan et al., 2008; Stewart et al. 2008; St. John et al., 2009). Even so, important findings have surfaced in existent research that helps to identify the key issues and trends currently facing student leaders of color and their leadership opportunities on campus.

Students of Color & Leadership

In surveying the literature, the key issues and trends that emerge regarding SOC and leadership include: (a) the ways in which SOC differ from their White peers in terms of their leadership experiences and/or leadership preferences; (b) the positive (and on occasion, negative) developmental outcomes derived from participation in student leadership; and (c) the factors that impact or impede involvement in leadership opportunities. Moreover, many of these abovementioned findings often overlap, and the combined effect appears interrelated in creating a sense of belonging for SOC within the campus community. Ultimately, scholars and practitioners promote the value of student leadership experiences for SOC because it contributes to a sense of belonging.

Leadership preferences for students of color. Most notably, numerous research findings indicate that SOC often seek involvement and/or leadership positions within "minority" organizations and not in traditional "predominantly White" organizations (Harper, 2006; Harper,

2008; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Rooney, 1985; Sedlacek, 1999; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001; Sutton & Terrell, 1997). As noted by Sedlacek (1999) in assessing 20 years of research on Black students at PWIs, "Blacks need a supportive group that can give them the advice, counsel, and orientation to sustain them as they confront the larger, often hostile systems they must navigate" (p. 542). Some students select these organizations because they find the climate within predominantly White groups to be racially exclusive, less supportive, and/or an impediment to cultivating their leadership development skills (Sutton & Terrell, 1997). Thus SOC seek involvement in a group with others who share a similar background and/or culture (Rooney, 1985).

Other researchers postulate that ethnic campus student organizations affirm a sense of identity for students, which encourages them to either assume leadership positions or generally become more involved in other aspects of campus life (Hurtado et al., 1998). Research also indicates that some students purposely self-select into minority student organizations because by doing so they possess the opportunity to be directly involved in an organization that responds to and promotes the needs of SOC (Arminio et al., 2001; Harper & Quaye, 2007). Furthermore, involvement in minority student organizations, and dedication to the causes of SOC, earns "same-race peer support," especially to pursue leadership positions within these organizations (Harper, 2006, p. 351).

Dedication to one's particular race/ethnic group also manifests in a second setting in which leadership for SOC is often expressed—through service activities within "local" communities (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Sedlacek, 1999; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001; Sutton & Terrell, 1997). These local communities exist outside of the campus community and are often racially/ethnically affiliated. For example, in a study conducted by Hurtado & Carter (2007)

examining Latino college students' sense of belonging, students most frequently participated in social-community and/or religious organizations external to their campus, rather than in on-campus organizations. This off-campus involvement actually enhanced their on-campus sense of belonging by creating a support network for students (Hurtado & Carter, 2007). In other research findings, students became leaders within their community because of familial expectations, as they were raised with a sense of responsibility to their race and community (Arminio et al., 2000). However, this sense of responsibility to their racial and/or ethnic group may be reflected in the fact that SOC (particularly black students) are "overwhelmingly situated" within minority student organizations (Harper, 2008, p. 1050), which remain the primary venue for their involvement and leadership development (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001).

Aside from group/leadership involvement preferences, distinct patterns have emerged for SOC engaged in leadership (either on or off campus) that differentiate them from their White peers. Historically, most of the student leadership research conducted focused on traditionally aged White males, effectively designating this group as the prevailing voice and perspective that defines the student leadership literature (Moore, Lovell, McGann, & Wyrick, 1998). However, current research on SOC demonstrates that substantial differences in leadership style, preferences, and perceptions also exist (Arminio et al., 2000; Greene, Marti, & McClenney, 2008; Sedlacek, 1999; Stewart et al., 2008).

For example, in a study utilizing phenomenological methodology, researchers explored the leadership experiences of different groups of SOC (Arminio et al., 2000). Key findings from this study demonstrate that the "leadership language does not ring true for all students" (p. 505), and that some students choose not to become involved in predominantly White groups because "they felt they were not able to get in touch with their cultural identity" (p. 502). In addition,

many participants in the study did not define themselves as a "leader" and some actually resented the label, even when holding what the dominant culture would traditionally define as a leadership role. This tension between challenging the leadership label while holding a leadership role primarily results from the fact that SOC possess a very strong group orientation in terms of leadership. They often seek leadership roles to benefit the group and not themselves personally, challenging the traditionally held industrial approach to leadership in which leadership is the property of the individual and motivated by individual aims (Shertzer et al., 2005).

Sedlacek (1999) & Stewart et al. (2008) also highlight research trends which indicate that SOC, in particular Black students, appear to be more community oriented than White students, motivated by their desire to help their community and/or serve as a role model. In essence, scholars intimate that this preference towards communal leadership stems from culturally derived beliefs, values, and norms (which traditional leadership models have historically disregarded), so that SOC possess different conceptions of involvement in comparison to their White peers (Greene et al., 2008; Stewart et al., 2008). As asserted by Arminio et al. (2000), SOC possess different values orientation in terms of leadership—seeking group participation that is open, honest, and collaborative. Thus, "using the leader label" and "extolling the individual benefits of serving in leadership roles" may avert SOC from taking advantage of these opportunities (Arminio et al., 2000, p. 505). Subsequently, Stewart et al. (2008) contend that institutions must offer culturally relevant leadership development, acknowledging the intersection between race, culture, and leadership, so that belonging and mattering are institutionally communicated to SOC within student leadership activities.

The developmental outcomes from participation in student leadership. Participation in leadership activities fosters many tangible benefits for SOC. Numerous scholars assert that

involvement in leadership, for both SOC, and all other students, greatly enhances identity development and attachment/commitment to one's campus community. These outcomes subsequently impact persistence (Astin, 1977, 1984, & 1985; Fischer, 2007; Flowers, 2004; Lavant, 1994; Shertzer et al., 2005; Stewart et al., 2008; St John et al., 2009). Fischer (2007) observes that involvement in campus activities not only creates feelings of attachment to the community, but students possessing greater levels of campus life involvement are more likely to stay in college. Shertzer et al. (2005) support this contention stating that leadership involvement "is a key determinant of college student success, satisfaction, and persistence" (p. 85). Sedlacek (1999) also hypothesizes that seven non-cognitive variables are critical to the lives of SOC, with one of those non-cognitive variables labeled as "successful leadership experiences" (p. 539). Successful leadership experiences are defined as "the ability to organize and influence others, often within their cultural-racial context" (p. 543), which in turn determine students' "success or failure" within higher education (Sedlacek, 1999, p. 538).

Additionally, involvement in leadership activities also increases access to social capital for SOC, linked to college success and satisfaction (Harper, 2008; St. John et al., 2009). In a study of high-achieving African American male undergraduate students (students actively involved in out-of-class activities and holding campus leadership positions) and their outcomes, Harper (2008) highlights the distinct advantages that involvement in on-campus leadership can foster in terms of social capital. Harper (2008) utilizes the definition provided by Stanton-Salazar (1997) to define social capital as, "relationships with institutional agents and the networks that afford access to resources and information for social progression and the accomplishment of goals" (p. 1033). Using that definition, participants in the study acknowledged that their involvement on campus allowed them to gain access to "key people"—such as senior level

administrators, or other (older) high achieving peers of color, who then shared privileged information with these students. This privileged information included invitations to participate in highly visible campus committees, or access to advantageous information on scholarships, awards, internships, and/or job opportunities. Ultimately these students possessed access to social capital to which their peers were not privy, which impacted their college experience and post-college opportunities. Most participants acknowledged that both their leadership experiences and active out-of-class engagement significantly contributed to their ability to acquire this individual social capital. Participants also agreed that they would not have established these connections had they not been actively involved outside of class, for as participants stated, their less engaged peers are "unaware of the existence and salience of these social networks" (Harper, 2008, p. 1047). In summation, participation in student leadership can lead to an increased capacity to acquire the social capital sanctioned by larger society, which not only enhances student success, but also enriches the overall quality of the campus community (St. John et al., 2009). Furthermore, in developing leadership skills and successfully acquiring, navigating, and developing this social capital, these students are modeling "the behaviors and outcomes institutions desire of all students" (St. John et al., 2009, p. 29).

Challenges associated with student leadership participation. While student leadership does indeed produce many positive developmental outcomes, SOC may also face inherent challenges when assuming leadership positions, especially in a predominantly White setting. In a recent study of the racialized experiences of Black students in leadership roles at PWIs, researchers identified three main struggles facing these students: (a) encounters with stereotypes; (b) feelings of hyperconsciousness; and (c) struggles with "onlyness" (Harper et al., 2011). To begin, participants recounted their frequent encounters with racial insults, such as

misconceptions and stereotypes of their aptitude and ability in which "their status as student leaders on their campuses did not afford participants immunity from racist stereotypes" (Harper et al., 2011, p. 193). Subsequently these encounters with racism produced feelings of hyperconsciousness and anxiety among many of the participants interviewed. Participants described experiencing feelings of unwarranted scrutiny, surveillance, and pressure, labeled as "all eyes on me" (Smith et al., 2007). In addition, according to Harper et al. (2011), many participants believed their supervisors and other community members often doubted their competence and were subsequently not granted the same "benefit of the doubt" in comparison to their White peers when they did something wrong (p. 192). Lastly, Harper et al. (2011) noted the challenges participants faced with "onlyness"—being one of a few student leaders of color on a campus with low racial diversity. These challenges include navigating a "racially politicized space," the burden of speaking on behalf of their race, and lacking racially diverse role models (Harper et al., 2011, p. 190).

Arminio et al. (2000) suggest that student leaders of color often struggle to find role models within the student body and administration, even though students actively desire role models and believe these relationships to be important. As part of their research findings, Loo & Rolison (1986) note the importance of increasing racial/ethnic "minorities" within the faculty and staff in order to provide role models for SOC. Furthermore, in relation to speaking on the behalf of one's race, Harper & Quaye (2007) warn higher education administrators against making tokens of SOC who do choose to assume leadership positions. Additionally, although student leaders of color may offer a different view and perspective, and may advocate for the needs of the student population they represent (Harper, 2008), they still cannot speak on the behalf of their entire races and/or ethnicities. Moreover, the challenges SOC face in feeling this

"onlyness," particularly when situated within a predominantly White campus, or predominantly White student group, "may actually force some SOC to disconnect from their perceived racial identity" (Arminio et al., 2000, p. 506). Subsequently, Arminio et al. (2000) assert that higher education professionals must continue to explore ways in which SOC can become involved in campus organizations and/or leadership activities (especially predominantly White organizations) without sacrificing their racial identities.

Additional factors that may impact or impede student leadership involvement. When SOC assume a leadership position on campus, they often do not receive the same benefits as their White peers, or even comparable recognition by the campus community. Greene et al. (2008) point out that students with societal experiences and beliefs different than those of the White male, middle-class experience, may be placed at a distinct disadvantage at PWIs. Sedlacek (1999) validates this statement, highlighting how expressions of leadership in minority student organizations may be less recognized as formal leadership and less likely validated by White community members. Furthermore, Harper & Quaye (2007) also conclude that often the clubs and organizations in which African American males choose to become involved in may not be viewed as mainstream, and thus the administration may fail to notice when SOC are actively involved on campus. All of these statements demonstrate the tensions that continue to plague higher education, particularly in the push for greater, more equitable, representation of SOC in campus life through co-curricular activities and leadership experiences. And yet, due to the unconscious nature of systematized racism, higher education continually marginalizes SOC.

For example, through their research findings, St. John et al. (2009) demonstrate a direct link between student engagement and student aid for high-achieving SOC. They assert that inequalities in opportunities are not only limited to access and persistence, but also include

unequal access to campus leadership experiences due to differences in how students are awarded financial aid. For instance, if a student of color from a low SES background is granted less aid, often they must seek employment (and typically off-campus) in order to make ends meet financially, which does not allow them the free time to participate in on-campus activities. In addition, working off-campus produces a significant negative effect on persistence for SOC; in fact it is one of the "biggest detrimental effects to persistence" (Nora, Cabrera, Hagedorn, & Pascarella, 1996, p. 447). As St. John et al. (2009) emphatically state, "It is difficult to avoid discriminating in leadership opportunities without purposeful efforts to overcome these financial barriers to leadership" (p. 25). Purposeful efforts include increasing student aid packages and/or providing work-study opportunities for low-economic SOC. For as Hu (2011) determined in his study of the leadership capacity of low-income SOC, students who receive scholarship rewards tend to be more academically and socially engaged and possess higher levels of leadership efficacy.

The value of participation in student leadership—creating a sense of belonging. Even with the challenges that impact or impede involvement in leadership opportunities, scholars generally affirm the value of on campus participation and student leadership experiences for SOC. Subsequently, scholars also contend that at the administrative/institutional level, continued efforts must be made to educate SOC of the developmental gains derived from leadership involvement and encourage them participate in leadership activities to enhance their collegiate experience (Flowers, 2004; Harper, 2008; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Lavant, 1994; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001). Moreover, while community members need to remain cognizant and inclusive of the perspectives and leadership preferences of racially/ethnically diverse students within all campus groups (Stewart et al., 2008), institutions must also continue to support

minority student organizations. This support is vital, since at present, these organizations remain the preferred venue in which leadership and involvement is actualized for SOC (Harper, 2008; Harper & Quaye, 2007). Furthermore, scholars contend that additional research is warranted to understand the leadership experiences of SOC, especially at PWIs (Arminio et al., 2000; DeSousa & King, 1992; Dugan et al., 2008; Harper et al., 2011; Stewart et al., 2008). And particularly through qualitative research methods in order to more fully understand the contextual factors and influence of multiple identities on leadership development (Dugan et al., 2008).

In the next section of this chapter, CRT influences informing my assessment of the literature focusing on the factors that impact campus climate, both at the individual and the campus community/institutional level, for SOC will be explored. This segment will specifically address how racism is normalized within higher education, including the impact of racism on student perceptions, the racial stratification of higher education, macro and micro forms of racism, racism as it is tied to students' sense of belonging, and lastly, how racism impacts campus experiences for SOC.

Students of Color: An Analysis of their Racialized Experiences

For many years the modern American higher education system predominately educated privileged, traditionally aged constituents—White, male, upper-middle class individuals (Bender, 1997). Access for racially minoritized students in higher education remains problematic today because of this historical exclusion. Although the United States witnessed a dramatic expansion in access for minoritized and low SES populations to higher education in the 1960's and 1970's through the introduction of need-based aid and improvements in federal aid due to the

implementation of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (Astin & Osguera, 2004), greater access did not automatically entail equitable representation within higher education. Simply put, the primary and secondary educational processes at every level tend to under prepare SOC (Yosso, 2002). By the time they reach high school, the achievement of racially minoritized students significantly lags behind that of White students (Brown-Jeffy & Cooper, 2011), consequently limiting their access to higher education.

Within higher education SOC are increasingly concentrated in less selective schools, such as community colleges that enroll a disproportionate number of low socioeconomic students (Wells, 2008). As such, they remain underrepresented at four year and more selective institutions of higher education (Astin & Osguera, 2004). For example, in an examination of the higher education landscape as of 2010, SOC "rely especially on community colleges," with 54% of Native American, 51% of Latino, 45% of Asian Pacific Islander, and 44% of Black undergraduate students enrolling in community colleges (Hing, 2012). For SOC who overcome barriers to attend traditional four-year or elite private institutions, students face additional challenges on campus. Nearly all of these institutions are predominantly White and vary widely in terms of their campus racial climate. Furthermore, perceptions of racism, or racial prejudice/discrimination within the campus environment directly impacts SOC in terms of their adjustment to college, the quality of their experiences, and ultimately, their persistence rates (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Loo & Rolison, 1986; Nora & Cabrera, 1996; Phillips, 2005; Smith et al., 2007; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000).

Critical Race Theory. As noted by Delgado & Stefancic (2000), "virtually all of Critical Race Theory is marked by a deep discontent with liberalism" (p. 1). The classic tenet of liberalism holds that the government should remain neutral in regards to competing conceptions

and perceptions of the "good life," so that individuals may freely pursue their own objectives (Litowitz, 2009, p. 297). However, CRT scholars argue that the government does not remain neutral in its actions and policies. Furthermore, liberalism possesses many forms of oppression based on racial difference that advance White interest, power, and privilege (Solórzano & Yosso, 2009) while subjugating racially minoritized individuals. Embracing a color-blind society in which race is viewed as irrelevant reinforces the notion that racism is a personal act, rather than a systemic issue (Lopéz, 2003). In addition, color-blindness ignores the historical and social context of racism (Dixon & Rousseau, 2006), and eliminates opportunities for members of minoritized groups, who experience systemic racism.

Ultimately, because of systemic racism, persons of color can remain socially disadvantaged at numerous levels throughout their lifetimes, including within higher education. Although promulgating the usage of meritocratic principles to equally reward individuals for hard work, talent, and ability, the American educational system does not achieve these aims. The very notion of meritocracy as a dominant liberal principle, does not function as a neutral basis for distributing resources and opportunity (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995). As noted by Espinoza & Harris (2000), "If you are African American, Latino/a, Asian, or otherwise an 'Other,' you are more likely to be poorly housed, poorly fed, poorly educated, poorly employed, and in poor health" (p. 446). Subsequently, these liberal ideologies perpetuate a system of racism and White privilege deeply embedded within American society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012), maintaining the racial subordination of minoritized individuals on a daily basis through mainstream social structures such as education. As noted by Taylor (2009), neoliberal movements within education over the past three decades, such as "the abandonment of affirmative action, the re-segregation of most schools, and the growing racial achievement gap"

has left many educational scholars "disaffected" (p. 9). As a result, these scholars have turned an eye towards the endemic racism that continues to afflict American society, particularly within educational policies and practices through a theoretical lens known as Critical Race Theory. Utilizing CRT, educators analyze and challenge the racism that pervades the U.S. educational system (Yosso, 2002). According to scholar Ladson-Billings (2009), not only must educators "expose racism in education," but also "propose radical solutions for addressing it" (p. 33).

CRT first emerged in the mid 1970's through the initial work of two legal scholars, Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman, and their concern over "the slow pace or racial reform in the US" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000, p. xvi). Both believed that that the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's had stalled and even begun to regress. Their work grew out of an earlier movement, Critical Legal Studies (CLS), which challenged traditional legal scholarship that focused on a one-size-fits all, doctrinal policy analysis approach (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). However, while examining dominant ideology, CLS failed to sufficiently address racial issues (Litowitz, 2009), which ushered in the need for Critical Race Theory. Bell & Freeman were quickly joined by other legal intellectual figures such as Richard Delgado, Kimbererlé Crenshaw, and Mari Matsuda, to name a few. They challenged the participation of the law in constructing and maintaining White social domination and the racial subordination of non-Whites or the perpetuation of racism (Crenshaw et al., 1995).

Although, as noted by Crenshaw et al. (1995), "no canonical set of doctrines or methodologies" exist to which all CRT scholars subscribe, two interests unify them (p. xiii). First, understanding how White supremacy and the subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in US. Second, CRT scholars' desire to move beyond simply understanding the bond between law and racial power to a point of actually creating social change, challenging

existing paradigms, proposing radical solutions, and taking action (Ladson-Billings, 2009). While writings under CRT may be diverse and perhaps difficult to categorize (Litowitz, 2009), Delgado & Stefancic (2000; 2012) define five basic tenets of Critical Race Theory:

1. Racism as "normalized": Racism is ordinary, pervasive, systemic and deeply ingrained within society and societal structures in the United States.
2. The theory of "Interest Convergence" (originated by Derrick Bell): Whites only tolerate or encourage racial advances when said advances also promote White interest.
3. The "Social Construction" of Race: Races are products of social construction. The very conception of "race" is challenging to define, for race is a complex product of fluctuating social meaning and human interaction, "formed and transformed" (Calmore, 1995) depending on the historical time period and context (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Haney Lopez, 2000; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Pinar, 1993).
4. "Intersectionality:" The construction of identity involves multiple interconnected forces (race, gender, sexuality, class status, and so forth). One must also take into account the various forces that shape the multidimensional aspect of identity in dynamic relationship to context, and how racial power is experienced within numerous vectors of life (Crenshaw et al., 2005); no one person possesses a "single, easily stated, unitary identity" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 10). As a result, individuals possessing multiple forms of minoritized identity components also operate at the junction of numerous counts of oppression (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

5. The power of storytelling: Storytelling is a way to challenge racial oppression, society's dominant narratives, and the status quo by providing racially minoritized groups with a voice in which to name their own reality.

In addition, educational CRT theorists, Daniel Solórzano and Tara Yosso (2009), expand upon Delgado & Stefancic's notions (2000; 2012), and offer a few more tenets to consider in regards to CRT and education:

1. Challenge to the Dominant Ideology: Because of the systemic perpetuation of White supremacy and White privilege, educational CRT theorists refute liberal claims that educational institutions are objective, meritocratic, color-blind, or provide equal opportunity (Yosso, 2005). Overall, CRT theorists often criticize principles of liberalism, such as meritocracy, color-blindness, and equal opportunity, stating that these ideologies, in actuality, further the advances of Whites rather than all people of all races/ethnicities equitably.
2. The Centrality of Experiential Knowledge: This belief recognizes that the knowledge, experiences, and narratives of people of color are legitimate and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination (Yosso, 2005).
3. The Significance of Context: This tenet highlights the importance of examining the historical and contemporary context that shapes racial subordination—one cannot analyze race and racism outside of its context (Solórzano, 1997).
4. The Commitment to Social Justice: A key component of the Critical Race Theory movement in education is the fact that CRT scholars are committed to a social justice approach in order to eliminate racism (Solórzano, 1997). They acknowledge that a call to action and change must exist for educators, practitioners, and policy makers, rather than

simply an evaluation and articulation of the racism that subsists in US society and within education.

These tenets collectively encourage educators to analyze the subordination of racial groups by dominant ideology and the traditional claims that educational institutions make towards "objectivity" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2009, p. 133). As such, institutions of higher education are structures in which the perpetuation of systemic racism continues to occur (Yosso, 2002).

How racism is normalized within higher education.

Impact of racism on student perceptions. The systemic and pervasive nature of racism within higher education is manifested on many different levels, although largely unconsciously. In Loo & Rolison's (1986) seminal study to examine the nature and extent of alienation experienced by ethnically minoritized students at a PWI, findings demonstrate that White students believe the university to be more supportive of "minority" students than racially minoritized students find the campus to be in supporting SOC. In addition, White students believe "ethnic clustering" reinforces "racial segregation," while SOC find this clustering to provide cultural support within a "larger unsupportive system" (p. 72). Moreover, current research trends document that SOC are often much more aware of racial tensions, prejudice, and discrimination on campus, while White students are less likely to perceive such tensions (Ancis et al., 2000; Cabrera et al., 1999; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992; Nora & Cabrera, 1996). SOC, unlike their White peers, must operate constantly within interracial spheres on campus—both inside and outside of the classroom, often fostering feelings of isolation because they are one of few faces of color in comparison to the majority of their White peers (Solórzano et al., 2000). Johnson (2000), when describing African American students who choose to attend PWIs, makes a poignant statement and notes that students are making an "important" decision,

whether conscious or unconscious, when attending such institutions. He states that they are electing to attend a campus where their minoritized status places them at a "degree of risk not faced by white students" (Johnson, 2000, p. 406). While White students may consciously or unconsciously choose to stay within their racial comfort zone, SOC at PWIs are unable to do so (Phillips, 2005).

The racial stratification of higher education. These differences in perceptions between SOC and their White peers may also be attributable to the fact that higher education remains racially stratified due to the persistence of institutional racism. Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995), in their landmark article connecting CRT to the field of education, entitled: "*Towards a Critical Race Theory of Education*," argue that school inequity exists because race continues to be an influential factor in determining, producing, and replicating inequity in the US. Although their article focuses on K-12 education specifically, many educational Crit theorists would agree that the inequity created in the K-12 educational system directly impacts attendance and enrollment in postsecondary education for racially and ethnically minoritized youth. Furthermore, individuals at all points of their schooling are educated in "distinct racial contexts" that are impacted by sociohistorical forces, such as, the history of inclusion/exclusion, structural diversity, and the psychological and behavioral climate on campus (Hurtado et al., 1998, p. 281). Solórzano (1997) expands this statement, articulating how the historical and contemporary context shape racial subordination; one cannot analyze the racialization process outside of a specific historical context. Context shapes our perceptions, the way in which we analyze and interpret the world around us, and our ability to communicate what we experience. Crit theorists also argue that "truths" are situational depending on context (Ladson-Billings, 2009).

Subsequently, as noted by Smith et al. (2007), PWIs are environmental contexts where racial discrimination typically exists in both subtle and overt forms.

Harper, Patton, & Wooden (2009) highlight an important CRT principle when noting that the US was founded on racist principles which often sought to exclude individuals of color; consequently, this basis of White domination or privilege infiltrates most institutional systems, including higher education. Harris (1995) defines this phenomenon by the term, "Whiteness as property," stating that American law recognizes a property interest in whiteness, and that the interaction between race and property plays a critical role in establishing and maintaining racial subordination. She notes that during the creation of constitutional law, blacks were considered property, thus demonstrating how race, early on in US history, became a form of property. Subsequently, Harris argues that the law accords holders of "Whiteness" the same privileges and benefits associated with other types of physical property, such as the right to "use and enjoy"—taking advantage of privileges accorded White people simply by virtue of their whiteness, and the "absolute right to exclude"—noting the ability of those possessing whiteness to exclude "non-white" others (p. 282).

Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995) extend "whiteness as property" to educational institutions, arguing that the property function of whiteness perpetuates educational inequities and impacts educational outcomes for racially minoritized students. Citing Cheryl Harris, the authors highlighted the connection between the property function of Whiteness and education, specifically the "absolute right to exclude" function of property, in which SOC find themselves sorely disadvantaged by vocational tracking programs and excluded from participation in gifted/honors/AP courses. Extending this principle to higher education, SOC have been historically denied access to institutions of higher education, particularly at four year and elite

institutions. As such, Smith et al. (2007) prefer to refer to PWIs as "historically White institutions" to account for the influence of systematized racism. They assert that the total number of White students on campus has less to do with the actual racial composition of the student body than with the "historical and contemporary racialized infrastructure that is in place, the current racial campus culture and ecology, and how these modern-day institutions still benefit Whites at the expense of blacks and other groups of color" (p. 574). Pieterse, Carter, Evans, & Walter (2010) also note that belonging to a group on campus that has been "historically oppressed" may shape the way in which a student experiences their campus environment (p. 256).

The deeply ingrained historical and systemic racism that exists in the United States and within institutions like higher education stems from a collectivist consciousness that gives rise to the notion of White privilege. As defined by Wildman & Davis (2000), White privilege entails the following: (a) the characteristics of the privileged group defines societal norms (which benefits the privileged group); (b) privileged members can rely on their privilege to avoid oppression, and (c) privilege is rarely seen or acknowledged by individuals who possess privilege. Furthermore, this privilege in unearned, but rather inherently awarded to individuals. In summation, often PWIs (or "historically White institutions"), with their history of racial exclusion, as well as a history of racial exploitation for the benefit of the institution, continue to espouse White dominated values and perceptions and maintain "embedded benefits" that tend to favor particular student groups on campus—namely White students (Hurtado et al., 1998).

Macro and micro forms of racism within higher education. The continued espousal of White domination and privilege, and the effects of racism within higher education, manifest themselves in two different ways: through large-scale, or macro-level, forms of systemic racism (e.g. institutionally through laws and policies), and through micro-level forms of everyday

practice (e.g. teaching/administrative practices, teacher/student or administrator interactions, and student/student interactions), both of which profoundly impact the everyday campus experiences for SOC. As articulated by Steele (2009), macro-level forms of racism perpetuated within the overarching social structure creates socioeconomic disadvantage by diminishing educational prospects through a lack of access to educational opportunities, inadequate resources, few role models, and preparation shortcomings. In addition, we see macro-level racism reflected in the persistence of the achievement gap between White and racially/ethnically minoritized students. For example, more African American and Latino males (than any other racial/ethnic group) are suspended, expelled, or drop out of school (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Furthermore, the achievement gap exists for middle and upper class SOC as well (Steele, 2009). Subsequently, many educators and policymakers, when looking at the inequalities in student outcomes, blame the students themselves for this distinction, "without looking at the conditions, such as the curricular structures, processes and discourses that create unequal outcomes" (Yosso, 2002, p. 94).

SOC also experience very real, daily, micro-level instances of White privilege, racial stereotyping, discrimination, and systemic exclusion, which greatly impacts psychosocial development, often producing a profoundly negative psychological effect. Typically, these micro-level instances of racism and discrimination are known as "microaggressions." Utilizing the definition provided by Sue et al. (2007), microaggressions are "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group" (p. 273). Many scholars would contend that microaggressions occur frequently, and often unknowingly, within institutions of higher education. As a result, SOC frequently expend a great

deal of effort and energy combating racial stereotypes, "racial battle fatigue," the stress/demands of tokenism, and the pressure to conform to White culture and/or standards.

Persons of color regularly face negative racial stereotypes such as being lazy, ignorant, and dirty, which can lead to internalized feelings of humiliation, inadequacy, and self-hatred (Delgado, 2000; Steele, 2009). The usage of racial stereotypes and slurs, which are intentional acts, can cause long-term emotional pain and feelings of stigmatization, particularly within an educational context where students will question their competence, intelligence, and self-worth (Delgado, 2000). Furthermore, facing these stereotypes repeatedly, or long exposure to stereotyping, can lead to the inculcation of internalized racism (Smith et al., 2007; Steele, 2009). As noted by Harper (2006), internalized racism occurs when socially marginalized groups consciously or subconsciously accept their group's stereotypes regarding their aptitude or ability, resulting in a lowered self-evaluation and a devaluation of others within the same group. Cuyjet (1997), in a study of the needs and perceptions of African American men on college campuses, notes that many young Black men internalize the negative attitudes exhibited towards the Black race by community members and thereby develop inferior perceptions of their abilities and aspirations. These sentiments were also reiterated in a study examining the impact of campus racial microaggressions on the racial climate for African American students (Solórzano et al., 2000).

These constant encounters with racism on campus also lead some SOC to experience what is known as "racial battle fatigue." Racial battle fatigue may be defined as, "the amount of energy lost dedicated to coping with racial microaggressions and racism" (Smith et al., 2007, p. 555), and/or the energy expended simply from the fear, or the "threat in the air" of being stereotyped (Steele, 2009, p. 164). The energy expended and/or lost often leads to elevated stress

responses such as frustration, anger, exhaustion, withdrawal, and/or physical avoidance; subsequently, these elevated responses lead individuals to perceive their environment as stressful and exhausting rather than supportive and welcoming (Smith et al., 2007). Moreover, recurring experiences with racial battle fatigue—or the negative, collective memories from racism and microaggressions based on one's racialized experiences, typically does not fade. Instead these memories become "a part of a person's life history" (p. 16). Rochlin (1997) powerfully highlights this pervasiveness of racism on an individual's history. Through interviews with 45 individuals of color who attended the University of Arizona over an eight decade time period, Rochlin poignantly illustrates how little has changed in the tone and tenor of the stories told by these former students. Participants repeatedly recounted the barriers and struggles they faced as racialized individuals at a PWI. Regardless of the decade their shared experiences with racial discrimination resonates throughout all of their stories.

Aside from the strain associated with racial battle fatigue, SOC frequently encounter pressures to conform, either to preconceived racial or ethnic stereotypes (for example in regards to their academic aptitude), or paradoxically, to minimize the personal racial/ethnic characteristics that differentiate them from their White peers (Ancis et al., 2000). As established by Smith et al. (2007), norms within higher education, especially at HWIs are controlled and enforced by White power. For example, at the K-12 and higher education levels, Standard American English is both taught and expected, while other forms of language, such as "Ebonics," or African American Language, are unaccepted or disregarded, reinforcing a hierarchy of differences (Kohli, 2008). Scholars note that the capital belonging to minoritized student populations, such as language, remains undervalued by the academy. Subsequently, if students are unable to successfully conform to the language criterion set forth by the "ivory tower" (Loo

& Rolison, 1986), SOC are often left with an elevated risk for lower success rates (Berger, 2000; Valdez, 1993; Walpole, 2003; Wells, 2008).

The pressure towards conformity stems from the fact that the representation of SOC at PWIs remains small. They must navigate a system in which they are one of a few SOC. Pressure to conform and tokenism "contributes to the heightened visibility of the underrepresented group, exaggeration of group difference, and the distortion of images to fit existing stereotypes" (Hurtado et al., 1998, p. 286). Research findings in a study conducted by Phillips (2005) to examine the perceptions of the campus environment of African American and White students enrolled in an equal opportunity program at a PWI support these sentiments. Often African American students feel pressured to represent their entire race while in the classroom and on campus (Phillips, 2005). Harper et al. (2011) noted similar findings for Black male resident assistants at PWIs, in which many participants felt the burden of "racial representation" placed on them "to speak on behalf of their race (p. 191). In sum, experiences with racial microaggressions create a distinct racial climate, which matters significantly to SOC. In the end, students who possess a more negative perception of the campus racial climate express lower levels of satisfaction (Fischer, 2007).

Sense of belonging. Feelings of belongingness within their institutional community, and the campus factors that inhibit or engender this sentiments, are what ultimately appear to produce the most profound effects regarding adjustment to college, satisfaction while in college, and persistence rates for SOC. How students adjust to college is crucial to their persistence rates; in particular a positive perception of the campus racial climate is "significantly related" to a sense of belonging for SOC, and subsequently, a sense of belonging often fosters a "smooth transition" to college (Johnson et al., 2007, p. 537). According to Hurtado & Carter (1997), a sense of

belonging contains both cognitive and affective elements, "in that the individual's cognitive evaluation of his or her role in relation to the group results in an affective response" (p. 328). Thus, a student's perception of his/her campus environment, and his/her relationship to that environment, produces an emotional, psychosocial response. What we must take into account, however, is that race impacts worldviews, including perceptions of campus climate and an individual's place within that community, for "ethnic identity forms a lens through which SOC interpret their world" (Maramba & Velasquez, 2010, p. 296).

For instance, students come to college with a preconceived sense of identity that is shaped by their upbringing—their family, community, educational experiences, potential experiences with racism, and so forth. Subsequently, this sense of identity created by their upbringing, specific cultural values, and differing racial backgrounds, along with their new experiences on campus impacts their perceptions of the campus environment and sense of belonging (Ancis et al., 2000; Hurtado et al., 1998). Interestingly, in a study conducted recently by Maramba & Velasquez (2010) examining the influences of the campus experience on racial/ethnic identity development for SOC, researchers note that often students invest little to no effort to learn about their racial/ethnic group or community before college. However, upon arrival to college and becoming a minoritized student of color on campus, SOC report spending a great deal more time learning about their racial/ethnic group and believe that their racial/ethnic identity has a strong impact on their sense of belonging on campus. Participants noted the "inadequacies in the representation of students of color" in both the student body and within the faculty/administration and believed that the university provided very little programming geared towards a diverse racial/ethnic student body (Maramba & Velasquez, 2010, p. 306).

Furthermore, some researchers have articulated the need to further investigate "sub-environments" on campus which foster a "high sense of belonging" for SOC (Hurtado & Carter, 1997, p. 341). Although recent research indicates that the residence hall climate and positive perceptions of the campus racial climate foster a high sense of belonging (Johnson et al., 2007), additional research also indicates that a sense of belonging may be improved by institutional efforts to increase involvement in extracurricular activities for SOC (Fischer, 2007). Moreover, not only do students benefit from co-curricular involvement, but also campus leadership in particular produces many positive benefits for SOC, which also connects directly to persistence rates. As demonstrated in the "Student Leadership" and "Students of Color and Leadership" sections, involvement in leadership activities increases access to social capital, cognitive abilities, practical skills, psychosocial development (such as self-confidence and self-esteem), satisfaction with the campus community, attachment to the community, and lastly, with all these factors combined, persistence in college.

Impact on overall campus experience. Additionally, research also demonstrates that differences exist for students within various racial and ethnic groups based on their racialized campus experience (e.g. experiences with racism, racial battle fatigue, a sense of "onlyness"), which leads to different satisfaction levels (Ancis et al., 2000; Fischer, 2007; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Loo & Rolison, 1986; Nora et al., 1996). Subsequently, in synthesizing fifteen years of research regarding campus racial climates, as well as conducting a study on the racial climates at five PWIs, Harper & Hurtado (2007) note that of all the racial groups, Whites and Asian Americans expressed the greatest feelings of social satisfaction. Although not as satisfied as White and Asian American students, the satisfaction level of Latinos and Native Americans fell more towards the middle. However, many students within these two

racial and/or ethnic groups expressed gratitude for the opportunity to attend college. African American or Black students expressed the highest degree of dissatisfaction with their social satisfaction. Ancis et al. (2000) note similar results in that African American/Black students report the most negative campus experiences due to greater perceived racial hostility, pressures to conform to stereotypes, less equitable treatment by faculty/staff, and more encounters with racism on campus.

Not only are the experiences and perceptions of most SOC at PWIs shaped by their racial/ethnic identity, but also by the inculcation of White power on campus (Smith et al., 2007). For example, due to the "pervasiveness" of Whiteness on campus, SOC often find it "difficult to identify other spaces on campus in which they [feel] shared cultural ownership" (Harper & Hurtado, 2007, p. 18). Moreover, SOC believe that White interests are privileged over the interests of other racial/ethnic group, which they find inconsistent to institutional claims of diversity and inclusiveness. A somewhat similarly related inconsistency noted by scholars involves the "acculturation" model, in which SOC diminish their cultural differences and adopt the values of the dominant institutional environment in order to be "successful" (Harper & Carter, 1997, p. 327). Instead, many scholars contend that higher education must be more purposeful in genuinely creating institutional conditions that are more supportive of SOC and foster authentic inclusion (Fischer, 2007; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Hurtado et al., 1998; Maramba & Velasquez, 2010; Phillips, 2005). As stated by Hurtado et al. (1998), "Colleges and universities cannot change their past histories of exclusion nor should they deny that they exist. However, they can take steps to ensure that diversity becomes a central value of their educational enterprise" (p. 284).

Summary

Although research indicates that involvement in campus activities, such as student leadership, creates feelings of attachment to the campus community (Astin 1977, 1984, & 1985; Fischer, 2007), SOC may disengage from the campus community before thoughts of participating in student leadership even occur. Due to the very real presence of institutionalized racism, and the inherent challenges SOC face at PWIs, students may be hesitant to participate in their campus community through co-curricular involvement and/or student leadership. For, as previously mentioned, feelings of social and cultural isolation lead to diminished leadership participation for SOC (Sutton & Terrell, 1997), as many student of color believe that their needs cannot be met through traditional campus organization (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001).

As such, understanding how SOC perceive and comprehend student leadership is crucial in providing a new context with which to further understand their needs, and whether they too possess the opportunity to garner the developmental outcomes formed through participation in student leadership. The responsibility to understand the needs and beliefs of student of color on college campuses in regards student leadership (especially at PWIs) and to provide a space and a voice for them to articulate their sentiments rests in the hands of higher education scholars and practitioners, and was a primary aim of this research study.

CHAPTER 3. Methodology

The literature review highlighted the need for increased participation in student leadership by SOC, especially in traditionally "White" student leadership groups. However, scholars also note that additional research is warranted, particularly qualitative research, to first understand how SOC (regardless of whether they currently participate in leadership roles) understand, conceptualize, and/or actualize leadership on campus. Thus, this qualitative study employed a Critical Race Theory lens and storytelling techniques to examine the following questions:

What can Critical Race Theory tell us about how SOC at a PWI understand, conceptualize, and/or actualize leadership on campus? The other sub-questions of this study include:

1. How do SOC understand college student leadership (what does it mean to them)?
    1a. What is their perception of student leadership at their specific institution?
    1b. How do they perceive that multiple aspects of their identity, and in particular race/ethnicity, shape their perceptions and definitions of student leadership?
    1c. How do their perceived encounters with racism affect the ways in which they understand student leadership?
2. How do SOC actualize/achieve student leadership?
    2a. How do multiple aspects of their identity, and in particular race/ethnicity, influence the ways that they actualize leadership either on or off-campus?
    2b. How do perceived encounters with racism affect the ways they actualize/achieve student leadership?

Furthermore, in this chapter I will more fully describe the following elements of this study's methodology: (a) researcher positionality; (b) research site and participant selection; (c) research design; (d) data analysis; (e) validity and reliability; and (f) ethical considerations.

Researcher Positionality

Ropers-Huilman & Winters (2010) utilize the concept of "intersectionality" (similar to its usage within CRT) by asking researchers to think about how their multiple identities affect both their interpretations and their construction of knowledge. As such, I must take into account my multiple identities, particularly how my own racialized background and experiences, and connection to the research site, create a lens through which I view this study. To start, I am aware that my own background as a low SES, multiracial/multiethnic female student, who completed her education at Pembroke University, directly impacts my perceptions towards my research questions. During my undergraduate education, I often felt different. Understanding and coming to terms with my "mixed" racial/ethnic background (I identify as Israeli, Yemeni, Native American, and White European—English and Lithuanian specifically) and my family's economic status became a salient part of my undergraduate experience. Upon arriving to college, I felt intimidated by my peers, many of whom were White and very affluent. As a result, I did not feel as though I fit in 100% of the time. With little encouragement from community members (such as administrators or faculty), I never even thought to apply for leadership positions. I also did not define myself as someone capable of "leadership" in the traditional sense—someone visionary, with the personal and cultural capital to create change and inspire others. I also found the campus large and intimidating and felt overwhelmed at the prospect of getting involved on campus. Furthermore, between my rigorous course load, and the various on/off-campus jobs I

held to make ends meet financially, I maintained a very busy schedule that did not leave much time for co-curricular activity. Even when I became a Resident Advisor during my junior and senior year, I still never viewed myself as a student leader. I did not begin to embrace the notion that I was indeed a "leader" until my graduate studies, and even then, the thought made me uncomfortable. Today, in looking back upon my experiences, I truly wonder what prevented me from exploring additional student leadership opportunities, or from defining myself as a leader, even though I felt very confident in my academic abilities.

I largely believe that the intimidation I felt in my "otherness" in terms of my race/ethnicity, gender, and SES, along with a lack of positive peer role models (both in high school and college) and a lack of encouragement from others (such as staff/faculty/upperclassmen), impacted me. Essentially, I did not know these leadership opportunities were even available for 'someone like me.' Therefore, a large part of what attracted me to these research questions (and this research site) stems from my direct personal connection to this topic—the opportunity to better understand if undergraduate students, like me, share similar or dissimilar thoughts, feelings, and actions in regards to their college experiences, particularly in regards to student leadership.

On the other hand, I am well aware that my experiences, although influenced by my identity as a woman of color from a low economic background, does not mean that I can speak for all students in the same category. Nor does that mean I share an identical common bond with all students who happen to be SOC from a low socioeconomic background at a PWI. We are all unique, diverse individuals, who have been shaped by our own upbringing, contexts, and environments. We all come to college with different attitudes, aptitudes, beliefs, and abilities—thus we will all experience a similar surrounding differently based on who we are, or who we say

we are. As a result, I tried to ensure when interviewing participants, or analyzing my data, that I refrained from making their experience about *my* experience, while also taking into account each participant's individuality, even when searching for commonalities across participants for purposes of data analysis.

In addition to my undergraduate experiences, I also believe that race and ethnicity matters, both on college campuses (especially at PWIs) and within our larger society as a whole. The tenets of CRT resonate deeply with me. I believe because of how racism is normalized within institutional structures through the occurrence of daily microaggressions, SOC are profoundly impacted. This impact may in turn affect their leadership opportunities and/or participation. Granted, I also acknowledge that although there are many societal rewards and benefits granted to those who possess a White racial phenotype, simply being White is not a precursor to student leadership involvement, or the desire to become a student leader. However, I believe, as echoed in the literature, that being one of very few faces of color on a predominantly White campus will play a factor in influencing students' decisions on whether or not to become involved in leadership opportunities, or rather, the opportunities they choose to pursue. If students feel unwelcomed, or intimidated, I believe they may either detach from the campus community, or shy away from non-affinity student leadership opportunities, especially if they perceive predominantly White groups as particularly hostile. In addition, I also believe that intersectionality matters—particularly gender, and how the interplay between race/ethnicity and gender impacts leadership perceptions and involvement, especially within the context of traditional (and traditionally White) leadership activities.

Furthermore, I must acknowledge that I possess a long-standing connection to the research site for my study. Not only did I attend this particular PWI as an undergraduate student,

I worked for the institution as a Teaching Fellow for five years. Previously, I clearly articulated some of the epistemological principles I possess towards my research site and research questions due to my personal experiences as an undergraduate student at Pembroke. In addition, this significant connection to Pembroke as a doctoral student and Teaching Fellow certainly calls to attention the ethics of conducting research in one's own "backyard" (Malone, 2010, p. 797), as well as the impact of possessing elements of both an insider's and outsider's perspective simultaneously. Unlike the Malone (2010) study, I did not conduct my research within my own department with fellow peers and/or colleagues, leading to ethical questions such as: anonymity and confidentiality, coercion, resistance, and power issues. However, some of the individuals I ultimately interviewed were former students from classes I taught. Although participation in this study was completely voluntary, I am aware that a pre-existing relationship with participants may have influenced their level of participation (e.g. they felt more comfortable opening up and sharing on a deeper level, or perhaps the opposite), perhaps resulting in a power dynamic. With these students I clearly acknowledged that their involvement in this study did not have any impact on their past (or present) academic record, or influence our previous relationship as instructor/student in any way. That said, while conducting the individual interviews, students currently enrolled in my class sections at that time of data collection were not permitted to participate in this study due to the ethical considerations of coercion and power inequities.

Additionally, I must also take into account the advantages and limitations of possessing aspects of both the insider and outsider perspectives. Kikumura (1998) clearly defines the distinction between the two, with the "outsider" perspective seeming more objective and perhaps better able to access "authentic knowledge" due the nature of possessing "nonmember" status with the group being studied (p. 140). However, other advocates for the "insider" perspective

argue that, "membership provides special insight into matters (otherwise obscure to others)…based on one's intuitive sensitivity and empathy and understanding of the culture and its people" (Kikumura, 1998, p. 141). As previously mentioned, I completed my undergraduate studies at Pembroke University and self-identify as a person of color; thus, in some ways I believe I certainly possess an insider perspective, possessing a degree of empathy for the population I studied since I once stood in their shoes as a racially and ethnically minoritized individual within a predominately White context. However, I also believe that I simultaneously possess an outsider perspective through the generational dissonance I feel with the current undergraduate student body. Having started my undergraduate education more than 18 years ago, I feel quite removed from the undergraduate culture and the developmental tasks they are working through as emerging adults. Certainly teaching at Pembroke these past five years has also helped to heighten the sense of removal I feel from the student body in that I am viewed now, to a certain extent, as an authoritarian figure by my undergraduate students. So while I once may have been a full "member" of the population I wish to study, in many ways I am also now a non-member due to my former role as a Teaching Fellow, which included some degree of positional power.

Ultimately, in taking into account this myriad of intersecting items, I admit that I must continually "problematize" my positionality within the research, acknowledging that I cannot fully detach from my research, but remain cognizant that I both hold these beliefs and feel a personal connection to my research questions, Pembroke, and the population I studied (Cousin, 2010, p. 9). Furthermore, throughout my data collection, I persistently reflected upon my epistemological principles, creating memos over the course of the research preparation, collection, and analysis process. Through taking the time to record and reflect upon my thoughts,

feelings, and reactions, I believe I was more consistently aware of my perspectives, and how they created the lens through which I constructed my personal knowledge, framed this study, and interpreted my research data.

Research Site and Participant Selection

Research site. For the purpose of this research study, Pembroke University (pseudonym), a highly selective mid-size PWI with a Jesuit and Catholic affiliation and mission in the Northeast, has been selected as the research site. Pembroke meets the criteria of a PWI given that 72% of undergraduates identify as White, while only 28% identify as SOC—persons with a racial/ethnic affiliation of African American/Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, or Multiracial (Pembroke website). Pembroke also follows national data trends in attracting wealthier students who are disproportionately White.

In addition, Pembroke is a university with a robust selection of clubs and organizations. Students can choose from approximately 300 student clubs and organizations. The clubs and organizations fall largely under two umbrellas—groups that are interest based (such as radio, lacrosse, a capella, dance, business, and so forth) and groups that are affinity based (such as racial and or ethnic groups known as "culture clubs"). Student organizations are officially registered student groups through the Office of Student Programs (pseudonym) at Pembroke and are eligible for the following privileges:

- Funding eligibility from the Student Organization Funding Committee (SOFC)
- Ability to reserve University facilities for meetings, programs, and events
- Support from the Bureau of Conferences (BOC) and the Pembroke Police Department
- A University mailbox and mailing address

- Ability to advertise meetings, programs, and events on campus
- Access to general organization advising and programmatic support
- Leadership and organizational effectiveness training
- Inclusion in the fall Student Involvement Fair
- Use of University name and tax status

In addition the Office of Student Programs officially sponsors three student organizations/groups, the Campus Activities Board, the Student Organization Funding Committee, and the Pembroke Student Government. While these are "student led" groups, these two groups are overseen by the Office of Student Programs and receive institutional funding. Outside of student clubs and organizations, there are additional student leadership groups that are institutionally sponsored—including the Resident Assistants through the Residence Life department and the Orientation Leaders thought the First Year Experience department. The respective departments annually select students for these positions, provide student supervision via professional staff members, and pay students through via a stipend and/or housing benefits.

Participant selection process. This study utilized a combination of purposive and snowball sampling methods. Participants were purposively selected from the undergraduate population at Pembroke, meaning that they had to meet parameters of a "student of color" for this study—identifying as African American/Black, Asian American, Latino/a, Native American, Multiracial, and/or Multiethnic. A purposive sampling of students from this population was used because "they offer useful manifestations of the phenomenon of interest," providing an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon through information-rich cases (Patton, 2002, p. 40). Aside from utilizing purposive sampling to pinpoint SOC on campus, the hope was to ensure a balanced mix of both student leaders and non-leaders. Unfortunately, securing non-leader

participants proved more challenging than anticipated, which will be explained in greater detail later in this chapter. Additionally, in order to secure a sufficient number of participants from the SOC community at Pembroke, snowball sampling was also utilized—asking participants to identity other similar students who would yield "information rich" cases and would be interested in participating in this study (Patton, 2002, p.243). Although purposive sampling helped in the initial outreach and in securing the first few participants, snowball sampling actually proved critical in achieving the desired participant number.

Initial outreach began in the summer of 2014 and occurred in a variety of ways. First, utilizing contacts I created within the SOC community at Pembroke (such as through courses I taught), I outreached to students via email soliciting their participation in this study. The email, approved by the IRB, contained information regarding the purpose of the study, the anticipated time commitment, compensation for participation, and the contact information of the researcher. During the summer of 2014 I taught in a bridge program organized by the OMSP—the Office of Multicultural Student Programs (pseudonym) at Pembroke. As the program drew to an end, I began my recruitment by first outreaching to the upperclassmen students who had served as peer mentors/resident advisors for the bridge students (incoming first year students) over the course of the summer. The majority of these mentors identify as SOC, and because they were on campus for the summer, I thought outreaching to them would be a good starting point for recruitment. My outreach to this student population yielded three participants for my study.

Next, just prior to the start of the fall 2014 semester, I outreached to various offices and student groups on campus. I first contacted the OMSP office whose mission is to "service the needs of all students" with a particular focus on African American/Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, Multicultural, and "Multi-ethnic students" (Pembroke website). With the

assistance of the office staff to promote this research study to their student constituents, I provided a solicitation/recruitment email that was sent out via their email list-serv, and posted in an OMSP online newsletter/blog, to all student affiliates of the OMSP community. Moreover, the office also offers a unique voluntary opportunity for students entitled the Community Research Program—a yearlong course that offers leadership, research, and public policy training for students interested in working with Latino, Asian American, Native American, and/or African and African Diaspora communities in Massachusetts. I contacted the instructor of the course to ask if she would forward a recruitment email to students in her class on my behalf, to which the instructor agreed.

Similar to the OMSP office, Pembroke supports an office geared specifically to help promote learning success for low-income, first-generation students, many of whom are also SOC. Similar to my outreach with the OMSP office, I contacted the director of OLS—the Office of Learning Success (pseudonym) to ask if his office would promote my research study through their email list-servs, and by targeting some of their specific programs such as Sister's Let's Talk (a group for women of color), the McNair Scholars, and DIOP (a character-building group for Black men), by posting my recruitment information on their Facebook pages. Although I contacted the director multiple times, I unfortunately did not hear back. However, through teaching in the bridge program, I did become acquainted with one of the English faculty members who also served as an advisor in the Office of Learning Success. Thus, I outreached to her directly to ask for recommendations of students who she believed would be a good fit for my study (particularly non-involved, non-student leaders), and subsequently contacted those students directly.

Aside from recruiting participants through the OMSP and OLS offices, I also researched via the Pembroke website the various student clubs and organizations that have an ethnic and/or racial affiliation, and contacted either the president of the group or their general email accounts. The organizations I contacted included the dominant umbrella group for Black, Latino, and Asian students: The Black Student Organizations (pseudonym), Asian Collective Society (pseudonym), and the Organization of Latin Students (pseudonym), as well as culture clubs that were subsets of these larger groups (such as the Korean Club, the Dominican club, and so forth). Similar to the recruitment strategies above, I emailed the president's and/or general email accounts of these groups to see if they would send out my recruitment email to their list-serv, post recruitment information on their Facebook pages, and/or allow me to speak briefly at one of their club meetings. My efforts yielded mixed results. Often the websites for these student groups contained outdated information (e.g. the contact information for the president from the 2013-2014 academic year, rather than the current president), or the general email addresses did not work properly. I found, however, that once a few participants joined the study, asking them to share my study information with groups they were a part of had a greater impact.

In fact, the sampling technique that proved most fruitful (as alluded to above) was indeed snowball sampling. For every participant I met with early in the interview process, I asked them to recommend names of students (either student leaders or non-involved students) who they believed would be a good fit for this study. Participants had two options—they could provide my contact information to their peers, or they could provide me with the names of the students directly so that I could send them my standard recruitment email. When I reached out to student recommendations, I explicitly stated that a fellow peer had recommended them. On that note, I also asked various faculty within the school of education for student recommendations, and

similarly, sent those students recruitment emails, again specifying that a faculty member had nominated them. I found the snowball method yielded the most participant interest and quickest turnaround time from when I sent out my recruitment emails, to when students contacted me either via email or through the completion of the pre-study survey.

Accordingly, students who contacted the researcher and expressed interest in participating in the study were sent, via email, a detailed consent form (approved by the IRB), which included all of the relevant information regarding the study, their right to withdraw at any point, the safeguarding of their anonymity, the structure of the interview, their anticipated time requirement, and compensation (see Appendix A on page 177). Participants were asked to sign the consent form in advance of their participation in the study. In addition, students were directed to complete a brief online pre-interview Qualtrics survey and provide the following demographic data:

- name;
- preferred pseudonym;
- age;
- gender;
- race;
- ethnicity;
- year in school;
- major;
- employment (if applicable—either on or off campus);
- co-curricular involvement (if applicable—either on or off campus);
- general interests;

- availability during the week;
- preferred method of contact (email, phone, text) and contact information.

After receiving the completed pre-interview surveys, the responses were reviewed to ensure each individual fit the specifications of a student of color as defined for this study. After completing the survey review, and validating that students had read the consent form, only then did I reach out to participants to confirm their inclusion in the study and schedule their interview appointments. Once interviews were completed, students received a $15 gift card for their participation in this study.

In addition, it is important to note that co-curricular involvement responses were reviewed to see if individuals could be categorized as leaders or non-leaders. As a "student leader," they had to possess an in-depth involvement in an on-campus group or organization that extended beyond simply attending group meetings, going to events, or receiving emails, such as: holding a specific role within club/organization (like president, vice-president, or chair), serving as a class ambassador, serving as a Resident Assistant, and so forth. While I hoped to amass a relatively balanced group of "student leaders" versus "non-student leaders" to construct a balanced sample, finding uninvolved students proved very challenging. When asking participants, staff, and faculty for recommendations of uninvolved students, many struggled to think of individuals to recommend. For the few recommendations I received, upon outreaching to these students, the majority did not respond to my emails. However, I found it unsurprising that through my purposive sampling (office list-servs, facebook posts via culture clubs, and so forth), the students who responded and were interested in participating in my study held leadership positions, as often those who are involved tend to be the individuals that enjoy sharing and talking about their experiences. In addition, as will be explained in Chapter Four, Pembroke

seems to breed a culture of leadership. Thus, I again did not find it surprising that a sizeable number of participants in this study could be classically defined as a student leader (and also self-identified as such). However, this imbalance in the distribution of student leaders versus non-student leaders may be considered a limitation to my study (to be discussed further in Chapter Six).

Participant sample. Regarding sample size for this study, Patton (2002) notes that there are "no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry" (p. 244). However, in a study conducted by Guest, Bunce, and Johnson (2006) examining theoretical saturation during qualitative data analysis, the majority of new codes emerged within the first 20 participants, with only a small number of additional codes emerging within the next 10 participants. After 30 participants, very few new codes emerged, indicating saturation had been reached, meaning "no new information or themes are observed in the data" (Guest et al., 2006, p. 59). Thus, for this study, my goal centered on conducting in-depth interviews with 20-30 participants in order ensure theoretical saturation utilizing the outreach efforts described above in conjunction with snowball sampling.

Ultimately, 25 participants were interviewed over the course of the 2014-2015 academic school year, with the bulk of the interviews occurring in the fall 2014 semester. However, upon review of the demographic information of the participant group at the end of the fall semester, additional participants were recruited for the spring semester to gather additional students who identified as male, Latino/Hispanic, Asian, and/or as non-student leaders. In the end, the sample included 14 female and 11 male students, and a racial/ethnic breakdown as follows: 11 participants who identified as Black, 5 who identified as multiracial, 5 who identified as Asian, and 4 who identified as Latino. In terms of class year, the breakdown consisted of: (a) 2 recent

graduates (graduated from Pembroke in the spring of 2014); (b) 11 seniors; (c) 9 juniors; and (d) 3 sophomores.

A more detailed individual list of the demographic composition of the sample can be found below in Table 1. Aside from the demographic information, this table also includes the names participants selected for this study. All of the information in this table was self-reported by participants.

Table 1

Demographic Information of Participants

Name/Pseudonym	Race	Ethnicity	Gender	Year
Alisha	Black	African American, Haitian American	Female	Senior
Bryce	Black	African American	Male	Junior
Chance Rodriguez	Multiracial[1]	Cape Verdean & Italian	Male	Junior
Curtis Williams	Multiracial[2]	Jamaican American, African American, Native American	Male	Junior
Danielle	Black	Grenandian American	Female	Junior
Emily	Asian	Chinese Indonesian	Female	Sophomore
Eric	Latino	Mexican American	Male	Sophomore
Frank	Latino	Dominican	Male	Senior
Geo	Latino	Mexican	Male	Junior
Isosa	Black	Nigerian	Female	Senior
Jacqueline	Asian	Chinese & Japanese	Female	Recent grad
Jonah Antoine	Black	Haitian American	Male	Junior
Jose	Multiracial[3]	Dominican American	Male	Junior
Joshua	Black	Jamaican	Male	Senior
Katie	Asian	Chinese	Female	Sophomore
Mashaunda	Black	Caribbean & British	Female	Junior
Nanci	Multiracial[4]	Italian & Indian	Female	Senior
OJ	Black	African Caribbean	Male	Senior
Patience	Black	African American: Liberian	Female	Senior
Rowan Decker	Black	Cape Verdean	Female	Recent grad
Sam	Latino	Dominican	Male	Senior
T.M.	Black	American	Female	Junior

[1] Black & White
[2] Black & Native American
[3] Latino & Black
[4] White & Southeast Asian

Victoria	Asian	Korean	Female	Senior
Viva	Multiracial[5]	Nigerian, Austrian, & Dutch	Female	Senior
Yvonne	Asian	Taiwanese	Female	Senior

Additionally, the participant sample was analyzed to categorize individuals as student leaders versus non student-leaders. Table 2 below represent two different analyses: 1) Researcher identified leaders versus non-leaders (with "leaders" defined as those possessing an in-depth involvement in an on-campus group or organization that extended beyond simply attending group meetings), and 2) Participant self-identification. In terms of researcher-identified leaders versus non-leaders, 17 were categorized as leaders, and 8 participants were categorized as non-student leaders. For participant self-identification, 18 identified as a student leader, while 7 students either did not identify or felt "mixed" in terms of the student leader label.

Table 2

Student Leadership Breakdown

Name/Pseudonym	Researcher Leadership Identification	Participant Leadership Identification
Alisha	Yes	Yes
Bryce	No	Yes
Chance Rodriguez	No	Yes
Curtis Williams	Yes	Yes
Danielle	Yes	Yes
Emily	No	No
Eric	No	Yes
Frank	Yes	Yes
Geo	Yes	Mixed
Isosa	Yes	Yes
Jacqueline	Yes	Mixed
Jonah Antoine	Yes	Yes
Jose	Yes	Yes
Joshua	Yes	Mixed
Katie	No	Yes
Mashaunda	Yes	Yes
Nanci	Yes	Yes
OJ	Yes	Yes
Patience	No	Mixed

[5] Black & White

Rowan Decker	No	Yes
Sam	Yes	Yes
T.M.	Yes	Mixed
Victoria	Yes	Yes
Viva	Yes	Yes
Yvonne	No	Mixed

Research Design

Theoretical framework. As previously stated, I used CRT (as defined in Chapter Two) as the theoretical lens with which to understand normalized racism within higher education, the systemic disadvantages that SOC students face, and how both of these elements may connect to their perceptions of and/or involvement in student leadership. I utilized the tenets of CRT as a tool and lens to structure the interview protocol. For example, asking about times participants felt very aware of their race on campus, or if they believed encounters with microaggressions impacted their leadership involvement and/or experiences, aimed to capture instances of "racism as normalized." Or asking how others in the Pembroke community would label their race and/or ethnicity was one example of exploring "the social construction of race" within the interview protocol. In addition, the interviews were also analyzed and coded using CRT tenets (among other codes). Furthermore, by understanding the experiences and perceptions of SOC through a CRT lens, I hoped to utilize CRT to challenge the metanarratives of traditional student leadership and offer a counternarrative. In addition, I employed qualitative inquiry, in particular storytelling techniques, to allow for an enhanced understanding of the perceptions and beliefs held by participants in this study through detailed examples and stories.

Conceptual framework. A qualitative inquiry approach seemed most fitting because the goal of this study involved exploring the subjective meaning SOC make of their experiences within the context of their social/interpersonal environment on campus. This subjective meaning

would have been difficult to achieve through the usage of a standardized instrument (Patton, 2002). It is important to note, however, that "a single, monolithic approach to research and evaluation" for qualitative research does not exist (Patton, p. 2002, p.76). As such techniques examining participants' life and relationships as defined through storytelling were employed. For as stated by Ladson-Billings (2009), "stories provide the necessary context for understanding, feeling, and interpreting" (p.13), or in other words, narrative is a "basic structure through which we make meaning of our lives" (Clark & Rossiter, 2006, p. 20).

Originating with philosopher Paulo Friere (1996), Friere advocated for the use of storytelling with minoritized (or "oppressed") groups in order for them to understand and construct their world, name their reality, and eliminate the "culture of silence" (p. 226). As expressed by Lawrence (1995), stories of persons of color must be told otherwise they remain invisible. Often, due to cultural and racial oppression, "marginalized group members are rendered mute" (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p. 13). Furthermore when stories of racially and/or ethnically minoritized individuals are told by "others," the meanings and images of their stories are severely distorted by bias and misunderstanding (Lawrence III, 1995). Subsequently, Patton (2002) ponders the following two foundational questions regarding storytelling: "What does this narrative or story reveal about the person and world from which it came, and how can this narrative be interpreted so that is provides an understanding of and illuminates the life and culture that created it (p.115)?" Delgado (1989) and other Crit theorists assert that through storytelling, racially and ethnically marginalized students will be given a voice through which to name their own reality. According to Delgado (1989), storytelling, or naming one's reality, is important because: (a) much of reality is socially constructed; (b) stories provide members of marginalized groups with a vehicle of self-preservation, and (c) the exchange of stories from

teller to listener can help overcome ethnocentrism and the drive, or need, to view the world in one way (Ladson-Billings, 2009).

Delgado & Stefancic (2012) further note that aside from bringing a voice to persons of color unfiltered by the biases of the dominant culture, storytelling may also build cohesion or community within minoritized groups through the power of "shattering" dominant ideologies. This ideology seems particularly pertinent for SOC within the context of a predominantly White campus environment, and in terms of the traditional leadership language, which is also conventionally defined by dominant perspectives. However, although "voice" is often used in the singular, this usage does not mean that a single common voice exists for all people of color (Dixon & Rousseau, 2006). Furthermore, narrative/storytelling helps to highlight the conflict that arises between the metanarrative of the dominant group (for example White students on campus) and the counterstory of minoritized groups (SOC at a PWI), defined by post-modern philosopher Jean-Francois Lyotard as "the différend" (Duncan, 2006). The "différend," demonstrates how specific concepts, such as what it means to be a student "leader" within high education, acquire conflicting meanings for the dominant and minoritized groups. Subsequently, the narrative for marginalized groups provides the language with which to name that chasm (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). For example, the "différend," was demonstrated in the Arminio et al. (2000) study in which the traditional leadership language (that of White students) did not "ring true" for SOC, who often did not define themselves as a leader, and in some instances actually resented the label.

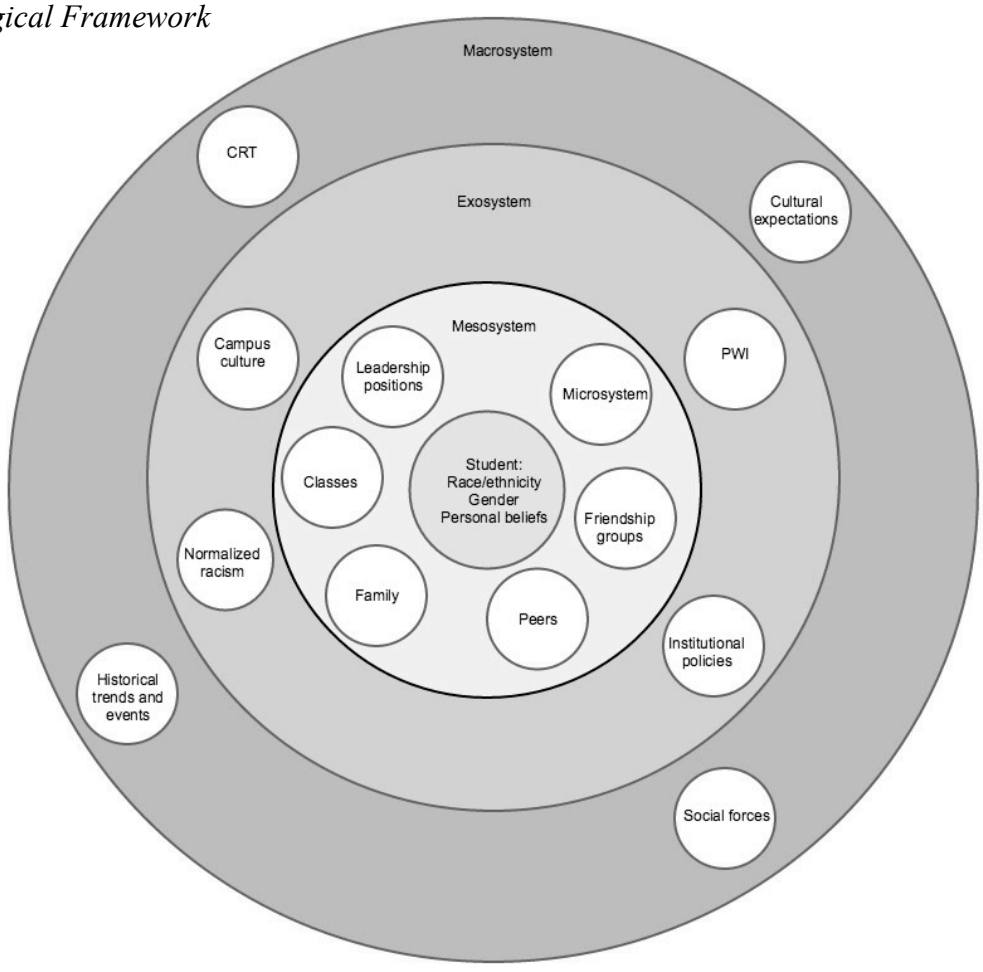
Fundamentally, counterstories confront metanarratives and challenge the status quo perpetuated by the dominant group in society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000), providing a new context to understand and transform beliefs (Solórzano & Yosso, 2009). Therefore, understanding how SOC perceive and comprehend student leadership, based on their racialized

experiences, is crucial to providing a new context with which to further understand their needs. In addition, this study strove to shed light on whether participants possessed the opportunity to garner the developmental outcomes formed through participation in student leadership. Ultimately, utilizing a CRT lens and encouraging storytelling during interviews provided a strong framework to garner rich participant information. Specifically, participants were frequently encouraged to share particular stories, and their responses were reviewed to determine if they were recounting master narratives or counternarratives.

Methodological framework. A visual representation of the methodological framework may be viewed in the figure below:

Figure 1

Methodological Framework



This figure follows a developmental ecology approach, utilizing Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory as a basis for the visual representation of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2010). In essence, ecological theory maintains that development, including identity, "is a function of the interaction of the person and the environment" (Renn et al., 2010, p. 160). Furthermore, a person's environment consists of many layers based on their immediacy to the person. These layers move from more intimate "micro" levels (such as involvement groups, peers, and so forth) to broader, "macro" levels of environmental factors (such as cultural beliefs, historical events, and so forth). However, all of the layers (microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems, and macrosystems) exert influence on an individual, impacting the way in which they perceive themselves in relation to their environment, and ultimately, impacting their sense of self.

For the purpose of this study, the innermost circle above is the individual student, including their demographic characteristics and personal belies. The next ring in the diagram would be the mesosystem, which envelopes the different activities and interpersonal relationships maintained by an individual within a specific environment (Evans et al., 2010). Again, for this study, that would include participants' friend groups, classes, student leadership activities, and so forth. The next layer, the exosystem, does "not contain the individual" but can "exert an influence on his or her environment through interactions with the Microsystems" (Evans et al., 2010, p. 164). Particular to this study, the exosystem would include elements such as the culture of a PWI, normalized racism, institutional policies, and overall campus culture. The last level in this diagram, the macrosystem, are embedded grand-scale societal beliefs, which is where elements such as social forces and cultural expectations in the US are included, but also

where CRT would also be placed. This methodological framework will be further explained in Chapter Six when discussing the findings that emerged in relation to person-environment theory.

Data collection and methods. This qualitative research study employed semi-structured interviewing with a storytelling emphasis. Participants engaged in one in-depth interview ranging in length from 1-1.5 hours. Interviews followed a semi-structured or "interview guide approach," in which questions were developed so that "the same basic lines of inquiry are pursued with each person interviewed" (Patton, 2002, p. 343). However, the "balance of talk" was in favor of the participants, remaining open to the topics the participant raised and respecting how the participant framed their responses (Rossman & Rallis, 2012, p. 177). In addition, the semi-structured approach also allowed the interviewer to ask questions as they spontaneously arose, probing further into specific interviewee responses, and/or focus in on a particular subject area (Patton, 2002). Moreover, CRT themes were utilized as the framework for the construction of the interview protocol to focus specifically on the impact of race and ethnicity on participants' perceptions and experiences on campus and in relation to student leadership. As outlined in chapter two, the following six CRT themes guided the creation of the protocol: (a) racism as normalized, (b) theory of "interest convergence," (c) challenging the dominant ideology, (d) the social construction of race, (e) The importance of context, and (f) intersectionality. A full transcript of the interview protocol may be found in Appendix B on page 179.

In addition, narrative inquiry emphasizes the "study of experiences…a matter of people in relation contextually and temporally" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 189), examining, "how human beings make sense of experience and transform experience into consciousness" (Patton, 2002, p. 104). Thus, interviews also reflected elements of narrative inquiry as participants were encouraged to engage in storytelling whenever possible. Participants were asked to ground their

responses contextually through the usage of stories because, "telling stories is an important means for representing and explaining personal and social experiences" (Rossman & Rallis, 2012, p. 97). As previously articulated, storytelling is particularly powerful with marginalized populations because this process provides participants with a voice to define and make sense of their own experiences and reality. While the "power of storytelling," as a CRT tenet, did not necessarily guide the creation of interview questions per se, rather, participants were encouraged from the onset, and throughout the interview, to share stories whenever relevant. Furthermore, participants' non-verbal cues and reactions were recorded as field notes throughout each of the interviews. Body language (and any other noticeable elements) was also documented in correlation to the questions/topics addressed at that given moment when applicable. Field notes proved extremely useful for they helped to start the initial coding process and formed some potential themes. Thus, when interviewing, if a participant shared an idea, feeling, or thought that resonated with a few of the other interviews, that connection was shared with the participant.

Lastly, upon completion of the individual interviews and initial data analysis, a focus group was held in the fall 2015 semester. The focus group examined the dominant CRT sub-themes that emerged from the individual interviews and "member checked" some of the initial findings. The complete focus group scrip utilized can be found in Appendix C on page 183. During the focus group, notes were also taken to observe non-verbal responses and any significant occurrences, like moments of synergy across participants. The focus group was selected on a volunteer basis—all remaining participants (those who had not graduated in May 2015) were contacted and asked if they would like to participate. While 7 participants agreed to participate in the focus group, ultimately only 5 attended.

The focus group was slated to run for approximately one hour, as communicated in advance to students when soliciting participants for the focus group. Ultimately, the focus group script proved to be overly ambitious, for within the one-hour time frame, only half of the talking points were addressed. Participants were unable to stay longer; however, they offered to review the focus group script and provide written feedback. The script was sent to the five individuals who were physically present, as well as the two who originally said they could attend. In the end, only two participants provided any type of written feedback on the focus group. Both the transcript of the focus group and the written feedback provided were coded utilizing the same codes from the individual focus groups.

Pilot study. A pilot study with three undergraduate SOC from a Boston area PWI was completed in February of 2014 to assess the validity and credibility of the interview protocol. The goals of the pilot included: assessing approximate interview length, the appropriateness and clarity of questions, examining how participants responded to interview questions (e.g. if questions generated responses or created confusion), and determining the appropriateness of the protocol's format (if changes needed to be made by way of re-ordering of questions, addition of new questions, and/or elimination questions). Furthermore, the pilot provided the opportunity to further refine my interviewer skills and practice developing a rapport with participants. Upon analysis of the three interviews for the abovementioned items—length, clarity, responses, and format, I learned that most of the questions generated rich responses, and approximate interview length averaged around an hour and fifteen minutes. However upon further review, it was determined that the protocol was too lengthy, required some restructuring in order to better capture the flow of responses as we moved through the various CRT themes, and needed to center more specifically on questions that focused on the participant and their self-perceptions

(eliminating questions in which they were commenting about institutional structure). In addition, the protocol was restructured to begin with questions regarding personal identification (racial/ethnic identification, whether or not students identified as a SOC, and so forth), as well as questions that further explored the racial climate at Pembroke (question such as—"how do you think students at Pembroke would describe SOC on campus," or "describe a time you felt very aware of your race on campus.") By first establishing a sense of the racial climate, applying CRT tenets to leadership principles seemed like a more natural transition. Ultimately, a fair number of questions were completely eliminated, a couple questions were re-worded, and the order restructured to better capture flow as described above.

Data Analysis

Prior to data analysis, all of the interviews were transcribed, and from the transcribed interviews, the researcher created a brief narrative summary ranging from 2-3 pages in length for each individual interview. One of the primary features of qualitative research is to provide rich and vivid description of the phenomenon studied, without "being limited to fitting data into predetermined categories" (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997, p. 519). As Hill et al. (1997) further state, qualitative research "stresses the emergence of concepts from data rather than the imposition of data into existing theory" (p. 520). However, the challenge then falls onto the shoulders of the researcher(s) to ensure they are examining the data carefully to: (a) notice relevant phenomenon, (b) collect examples of those phenomena, and (c) analyze those phenomena to find "commonalities, difference, patterns, and structure" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 29). Therefore, given the highly subjective nature of data interpretation, Anfara, Brown, & Magione (2002) suggest directly addressing internal/external validity and reliability to assess

qualitative research for both quality and rigor, which will be described in further detail later in this chapter.

In order to find commonalties, patterns, differences, and so forth within the interviews, coding occurred within each participant interview to examine for individual CRT themes and patterns, and through cross-interview coding, in which themes from all of the interviews were compared. The coding process for the individual interviews utilized the following method: open coding, axial coding, and then selective coding. Anfara et al. (2002) utilize a similar data analysis technique, using three coding iterations (initial codes/surface content, pattern variables, and application to data set), referring to the process as "code mapping." Furthermore, interviews were coded utilizing the same CRT tenets that structured the protocol (such as racism as normalized, the social construction of race, and so forth), as well as some leadership themes that emerged from the literature review regarding student leadership in general along with the leadership preferences of SOC. However, a great deal of new codes and themes emerged across interviews—examples include the way in which participants described "typical" Pembroke students and SOC on campus, the culture of leadership at Pembroke ("everyone is a leader"), references to cultural capital, differences or similarities in the opportunities for leadership for SOC versus White students, and so forth. The fleshed out findings of significant codes and themes will be reviewed in depth in Chapter Four.

After some pruning and consolidation of codes that upon further reflection seemed too similar (e.g. defining one's race ethnicity differently then how other defined their race ethnicity, versus being mistaken from the wrong race/ethnicity, were collapsed into one category), 77 codes emerged within 13 groups of codes. For example, "role models" became a group code, with 6 sub-codes such as: faculty/admin (no), faculty/admin (yes-White), faculty/admin (yes-

SOC), student (no), student (yes-White), and student (yes-no). "Definition of student leadership and qualities" became another code group, with variables such as commitment, passion/enthusiasm, vision, practical skills, and such listed as sub-codes. While 77 codes were ultimately yielded, not all proved significant in documenting a particular phenomenon due to the low numbers in which they were recorded across interviews. In the section below, more information will be provided regarding how validity and reliability were regulated and assessed in terms of data analysis, thus determining what codes/themes proved significant or non-significant.

Validity and Reliability

Internal validity and reliability. To address internal and external validity and reliability, various techniques were employed per the guidelines of Anfara et al. (2002). To begin, internal validity was addressed through prolonged engagement in the field (lengthy interviews with a sizeable number of participants), the triangulation of data, and the utilization of member checks. For instance, member checking was employed in two different instances. First, each participant was sent their narrative summary—an objective overview of their individual interview without any subjective interpretation. Participants were sent these narrative summaries to ensure that their thoughts and sentiments were adequately captured and categorized appropriately. Participants were able to provide feedback if they wished to do so; and for those that did submit feedback, changes were made directly to their individual narrative summary. The completed collection of narrative summaries can be found in Appendix D, beginning on page 186. Additionally, the focus group provided another member checking opportunity, as participants reflected upon and shared their reactions to some of the in initial themes that emerge from the

coded interviews. By in large, the focus group responses yielded a great deal of synergy among participants, and the majority of their responses resonated with the data presented to them. Frequently the focus group members concurred with the initial thematic observations from the individual interviews, and often the collective discussion of one point lead organically into other prepared themes from the focus group script. However, times when focus group members disagreed with initial findings will be shared in Chapter Four under "analysis and interpretation" of the data. In sum, the member checks were vitally important because, "If qualitative research is to gain the acceptance of a broad audience…individuals engaged in qualitative empirical research must begin to make all phases of their investigations open to public inspection" (Anfara et al., 2002, p. 260).

Furthermore, in assessing internal validity, interview data was triangulated with other sources of data (such as the interview field notes and narrative summaries) to ensure consistent evaluation and representation of the participants. Moreover, the "stability check technique" proposed by Hill et al. (1997) was also utilized when undertaking the cross interviewing coding to make certain that the "results generally explain the phenomenon for a defined group" (p. 552). Using this technique, the data was collected for all of the cases, but preliminary analysis (axial and selective coding) only occurred for the first eight participants. After the first eight interviews were coded, the coding process paused to revisit, clean up, and potentially consolidate the codes that had emerged, and engage in inter-rater reliability (to be explained under external validity). After those two processes occurred, "the remaining cases [were] then examined to see if new domains, categories, or relationships among categories emerge. If the remaining cases do not change substantially, the finding can be considered stable" (Hill et al., 1997, p. 533). Furthermore, to assess the representativeness of the sample, a category that applied to half or

more of the cases was considered "typical," a category that only applied to two to three cases was considered "variant," and any category that only applied to one or two cases was dropped because they will "not be considered descriptive of the sample" (Hill et al., 1997, p. 551). As such, a frequency analysis of the codes was also run before data analysis and interpretation began. Codes were then clustered by the strength of their application across interviews, and codes that only applied to 5 or fewer participants were considered "non-significant," with only "typical" categories considered significant enough for reporting and analysis purposes.

External validity and reliability. To ensure external validity, the researcher engaged in purposive and snowball sampling, but also provide thick description of the participants' responses. Thick description occurred through verbatim transcription of the interviews, the narrative summaries, and further supplemented via field notes of the interviews and narrative summaries. Additionally, the assistance of a doctoral student colleague was enlisted to code 2 interviews after the first 8 interviews had been analyzed in order to check for inter-rater reliability and ensure the accuracy of my interpretation of the data. Reviewing my colleagues coding helped to draw my attention to particular codes I had unintentionally overlooked (while they were in my codebook, I failed to employ them as frequently as needed). Examples of these particular codes included: (a) interest convergence, (b)systemic racism, (c) White privilege, and (d) hyperconsciousness. Finally, as mentioned in the researcher positionality section, I took field notes during and after interviews to note non-verbal cues throughout the interview, any potential patterns emerging across various interviews, as well as my own reactions and assumptions to participants and their interview responses.

Ethical Considerations

Due to the highly personal and potentially sensitive nature of topics discussed during the interviews (such as encounters with racism), the main ethical concern involved touching upon experiences that were difficult for the participant to think about and/or discuss. Therefore, before the start of every interview, I reminded participants that they could stop the interview at any point, withdraw from the study at any point, or chose not to answer any questions during the interview that they did not want to answer. In addition, at the conclusion of the interview, the researcher verbally acknowledged the sensitive nature of the interviews and made an appropriate counseling center referral so that participants knew they possessed the ability (and opportunity) to discuss their thoughts/feelings further post-interviews. The language concluding the interviews was constructed as follows: *"I know some of what we discussed may be personal for you. If anything that we talk about brings up experiences that are painful or difficult for you to remember, please know that there are resources on campus, such as the counseling center, which can help you process some of this information further."* Additionally, participants were also offered the opportunity to follow up with the researcher at any point if they so desired.

Another ethical concern involved whether I failed to capture and/or portray participants properly due to the influence of preconceived notions, or simply through misinterpretation of the data. To assist with this concern, member checks were utilized to allow participants to partake in the data analysis process. As outlined in the in the Validity and Reliability section, upon the completion of the initial transcription, participants were sent narrative summaries of their interviews and allowed the opportunity to respond, share their thoughts, and/or make suggestions. Participants were also encouraged to participate in the data analysis process through volunteer involvement in the focus groups. Hopefully through the utilization of member checks,

participants felt empowered and valued throughout the process, allowing me to ensure that the representation of the data and the participants themselves occurred as accurately as possible.

Somewhat aligned with capturing and portraying participants accurately, involved my concern in reducing this potentially diverse population of SOC into one group—either by defining them through one label vis-à-vis the research questions, and/or by using the group label to imply that they all share identical traits and experiences. Gutiérrez & Rogoff (2003) have underscored this notion stating, "Scholars from a wide range of disciplines have called attention to the problems of 'essentializing' people on the basis of a group label and have underlined the variability that exists within groups and their practices" (p. 20). I am very aware that the population for this study is a very diverse group of individuals who possess different and complex racialized backgrounds. Subsequently, I addressed the concerns proposed by Rogoff and Gutierrez (2003), by keeping at the forefront of my attention the cultural forces and context in effect that may have influenced certain practices and/or beliefs held by my participants, particularly any metanarratives employed. In addition, I tried to remain very intentional about taking into account, and acknowledging, the nuanced differences of the individual participants—their unique experiences and perceptions—aside from analyzing the traits and themes shared by the participant group through their collective experiences as SOC on a predominantly White campus.

CHAPTER 4. Campus Climate Analysis and Interpretation

The following two chapters will highlight the analysis and interpretation of the individual interviews completed along with the focus group and written feedback used to member check the major themes that emerged from the interview data. While the interviews centered on participants' perceptions and experiences around student leadership, the CRT framework used to structure the interview questions also brought to light additional shared themes regarding their lived experiences as SOC at a PWI. These themes paint a vivid picture of the racial landscape at Pembroke. Exploring the racial campus climate at Pembroke is crucial to understanding how the campus environment directly impacts students' perceptions and experiences with student leadership. In talking with participants about their experiences as a SOC on campus, and in particular, describing the times they felt very aware of their race/ethnicity, two major CRT themes emerged: (a) the social construction of race; and (b) how racism continues to be normalized on campus. Table 3 highlights the two major themes and various sub themes examined in this chapter on Pembroke's campus climate:

Table 3

Themes and Sub Themes for Chapter Four

CRT Themes	Sub Themes
1. The social construction of race	1a. Perceptions of others versus self-identification 1b. Racial and ethnic stratification
2. Racism as normalized	2a. Lack of diversity on campus 2b. Encounters with microaggressions 2c. Negative racial climate at Pembroke 2d. Racial segregation at Pembroke

The Social Construction of Race

Early into the interview process, participants were asked to identify their racial and ethnic affiliation. Students typically selected well-known racial and ethnic categories (such as Black, Latino, African, Mexican, Chinese, etc…), with only a few participants selecting alternate social categories. However, two major themes in relation to the CRT tenet, "the social construction of race," emerged. Both of these themes seemed to highlight important issues tying into the overall campus climate. For participants, what seemed most salient when discussing their race and/or ethnicity, involved how frequently others labeled them differently versus how they self-identified and their perceptions of the racial and ethnic stratification occurring on campus.

Perceptions of others versus self-identification. While some participants almost nonchalantly dismissed the incongruity between how others in the community identified them racially and/or ethnically versus their self-identification, for many this mismatch created a sense of tension and frustration. Some participants recounted their irritation in having to repeatedly explain their identification to others, particularly when individuals insisted on labeling them in a particular way. The following excerpts are good examples of that tension:

- My friends who are American *American*, like their parents are American, they call me foreign. They're like you're not Black, you're foreign. I'm like, I'm Black. They're like no, you're foreign. I'm like okay. It's weird. I don't like it because I am Black. I'm American. At the end of the day I'm American. And it's like I'm not foreign. My parents are foreign, but I'm not foreign. I don't like it, and I try to tell them to stop, I'm Black (Danielle).
- A lot of people make the assumption that I'm African American because a lot of people make the mistake and think that African American is just a politically correct way to say

> Black and they're very distinct things and for me. I refuse to identify myself as that because I was born in Nigeria, and I have a different kind of historical and cultural identity than someone of African American ancestry and I always have to explain that (Isosa).

Both Viva and Patience shared similar frustrations to Isosa in that they took offense to being labeled as African-American or Black-American because they strongly identified with their African heritage.

Across all of the examples, however, it was clear that participants were perplexed by others' (both their White and non-White peers) need to label them through their own epistemological lenses. For example, Eric, who identifies as Mexican, noted how his roommates were adamant that because he was "born here," and racially appeared "White," he was American, not Mexican. Or Jacqueline, when joining the Japanese club, was questioned on how truly Japanese she actually was (even though the club is technically open to anyone and everyone) because she did not "look" Japanese and is "only a quarter" Japanese. Or, Nanci, who was nominated to attend a summit for Latinas based on the assumption of a Pembroke faculty member who believed she racially identified as Latina, when in fact, Nanci is "mixed" (White & Southeast Asian) with no Latino roots. Or for Alisha, who is frequently approached and asked what she is "mixed with" because from the viewpoint of others, "African American isn't enough for people of color to hear because oh no, you don't just look like African American." Through these examples, it appears the manner in which participants view the social construction of race on campus is complex with no clear-cut lines. This perception of how race/ethnicity is socially constructed on campus is perhaps the biggest takeaway form listening to participants explain

their racial and ethnic identification, particularly in juxtaposition to how they are often defined or labeled by others within the Pembroke community.

Racial and ethnic stratification. The concept of racial and ethnic stratification addresses how different racial and ethnic groups are ranked above one another based on the societal metanarrative of what races/ethnicities are deemed as superior or optimal. Curtis' quote perfectly highlight this concepts of racial and ethnic stratification, "In America you have to be White to be American, and if you're not, if you have any kind of pigmentation you're something else." When discussing what the term "SOC" meant to them, what they believe SOC means to the larger Pembroke community, and their perceptions of racial and ethnic groups on campus, a few prominent trends emerged from participants' responses, providing additional insight into the campus climate at Pembroke.

The example of racial and ethnic stratification that resonated the most among participants involved the definition of the term SOC as it pertains to the inclusion of specific racial and/or ethnic groups. A great deal of unanimity existed across interviews in which participants, including Asian participants, stated their belief that the SOC label did not include Asian students. A few students further attributed the dichotomy to the stereotypes that exist for Black/Latino students (predominately negative) versus Asian students (predominately positive as the "model minorities"). As such, when describing their perceptions of whom the SOC label applied to, for Emily, Isosa, Katie, and Jonah, that term did not include Asian students. Emily's response resonated with the other answers, "The general sense that I get is SOC does not include Asians. Whether they be international students or American Asian students, I get the sense that they [the SOC label] normally are only for African American students or Hispanic students." However,

numerous participants limited the definition of the SOC label even further to share their perception that the term actually only applied to Black students:

- I think to most of the student population student of color mainly means African American (Joshua).
- When I think of students of color, I think of African Americans primarily (Mashaunda).
- I think in their perception they don't really think about the other students of color like the Hispanics and the Asians, they think of student of color and they just focus on Black or those who are close to Black descent (Patience).
- Black people. I think is what they [the larger Pembroke community] think of as person of color. Because for so long Black people were called colored people. So I think that's what comes to mind. Not even Asians or Hispanics, just Black people (Rowan Decker).

The impression gathered from these participants' responses is that there is something inherently negative attached to the label "student of color" or "person of color." Thus, it seems unsurprising that the term would identify Black students as the most stigmatized group of students on campus, for as research indicates, the racial group that tends to have the most negative campus experience, due to greater perceived racial hostility and encounters with racism, are Black students (Ancis et al., 2000; Harper & Hurtado, 1997). Participants' responses that SOC implies only Black students also ties into the second trend under racial and ethnic stratification: the perception that heightened prejudice and racism exists for students who are Black, with that same racism amplifying for those students who appear darker on the racial spectrum.

A second component of the racial and ethnic stratification that participants perceived occurred on campus involved the heightened racial experience for Black students on campus. Nearly every single participant identified moments when they felt very aware of their race and/or

ethnicity at Pembroke, often with numerous examples of microaggressions they encounter. However, unprompted by the researcher, non-Black participants noted that their encounters with racism and prejudice did not match the experiences of their Black peers. In examples provided, participants shared their perception that if they were Black, the believed the challenges they faced would be greater. As Frank pointed out, "Now, that doesn't mean I have the Black experience. Because if you look at me I'm Latino for sure. Whereas my roommate, you look at him, he's Black. So it's like he has to carry the burden of the Black experience, whereas I have the luxury of not." Nanci also articulated this distinction clearly when describing how her racial appearance awards her more privileges than others, "I also wonder if I was a Black woman as opposed to a mixed woman, I think that it could be very different… Because I think that there's a lot more negative stigma associated with different races, but particularly Blacks." Rowan Decker took this explanation one step further to share her belief that Black males encounter more challenges than Black females, "Black males have a more...people see them in a more stereotypically negative way in which they're angry all the time and lazy, rude, you know?" Due to time constraints, the heightened racial experience of Black students at Pembroke was not addressed in the focus group. However, focus group participants did have a change to provide additional written feedback. When asked about this topic, T.M. astutely wrote, "I think there's some truth to that, although I would add an additional component. "Colorism" is rooted in world history; dark is bad and light is good." Had there been more time in the focus group, this observation on "colorism" would have certain been explored in greater detail.

As an extension to the topic of colorism, a handful of multiracial participants interviewed also discussed their campus experiences as "racially ambiguous" and the privileges their lighter complexions awarded them. Chance explicitly observed this advantage, "I think it's easier being

biracial than it is just being a Black student, and this has been how it is all my life. I can easily fit in with any racial group or anything because I'm half White, I'm half Back, and I look Spanish. So it's perfect." Nanci (who identifies as mixed) also shared a similar experience in being more accepted by the "White" community, but also struggling with wondering where she truly fit:

> I think that being mixed has allowed me almost a fluidity within both the White community particularly because of my very White upbringing, as well as within the SOC community. At the same time I feel like my mixed status sometimes limits me from both and that I can't fully be this because I'm also [a SOC] and I can't fully fit into the SOC community because I'm also White. So it's like a double-edged sword.

Viva, who identifies as biracial—Black and White, also shared her experiences, noting her greater sense of fluidity in comparison to her Black peers, "I don't really fit into one category. So my friends who are Black, and are darker than me, are getting looked at differently if they're kind of one of three other black people in a classroom. Whereas I tend to sort of blend in."

Summary: The social construction of race. While other elements on the perceived social construction of race emerged from the interviews (such as dislike of certain racial/ethnic terms, the "pressure" to select a racial/ethnic category, exploring racial/ethnic identity more at college, and such…) these themes appeared more particular to each individual, rather than shared collectively by all participants as a whole. For example, the themes of self-identification versus the perceptions of others and racial/ethnic stratification emerged much more strongly and consistently across participants. Interestingly, both of these themes involve and require a societal component, an interplay involving the individual participant and the larger campus community, or SOC as a group versus other campus community members. Ultimately, exploring the CRT "social construction of race" tenet demonstrates a profound difference in how SOC believe that

they are perceived at Pembroke in opposition to the larger campus community. When placed in a situation in which they are minoritized, discussing and thinking about their race and ethnicity appeared inevitable for participants in this study. Additionally, this frequent pressure to articulate and/or defend their racial identification, or cope with the racial stratification on campus, as shared by participants, may impact their overall perceptions of the campus climate, their campus experiences, and perhaps event their sense of belongingness. These experiences, coupled with the way in which racism remains normalized within higher education, do paint a powerful picture of the racial landscape and campus culture at Pembroke.

Racism as Normalized

As outlined in Chapter Two, PWIs often espouse White dominated values and perpetuate "embedded benefits" that tend to favor the majority student group on campus (Hurtado et al., 1998). As such, normalized racism often manifests itself in two different ways: through macro-level, systemic forms of racism, and through micro-level forms that are more subtle, often unknowing, forms of everyday practice. Specifically, participants highlighted:

1. The lack of diversity on campus.
2. Their encounters with microaggressions.
3. Personal examples of how Pembroke institutionally perpetuates a negative racial climate.
4. The noticeable racial segregation on campus.

Lack of diversity on campus. Pembroke University is comprised of an undergraduate student body that is 72% White, and 28% SOC—persons with a racial/ethnic affiliation of African American/Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, or Multiracial. The majority of

participants in this study articulated that the lack of diversity on campus exists within the student body, the staff/administration, and within student leadership. One participant noted this observation the moment he arrived to campus, "As a student of color going through orientation, when you see a sea of White people, that from the jump doesn't make you feel comfortable" (Geo). Viva, another participant shared a similar reaction to transitioning into Pembroke, "You look around and you're the only person that looks different from everyone else." Likewise, another female participant, when asked to describe a time she felt very aware of her race, also responded that awareness occurred early in her Pembroke education, "I guess my first big lecture class when there were literally two kids out of 300 that were [SOC]" (Mashaunda). Multiple participants echoed Mashaunda's sentiment, noting the lack of diversity most pointedly in the classroom setting—whether in small discussion groups or large lecture courses. Along with the lack of diversity in the classroom, participants highlighted how the faculty also mirrored the predominately White student body, and at times, struggled to connect with and/or approach faculty. As one participant shared poignantly during the focus group, "I feel like not being able to call upon a diverse pool of AHANA faculty and staff gets at an institutional issue" (focus group member).

Participants also acknowledged how the lack of diversity impacted their leadership experiences and their perceptions of other student leadership groups. For example, as one participant reflected upon assuming his role as a Resident Assistant, "I realize that I kind of fell into that trap of feeling that Pembroke is really that diverse because when I got in as an RA, and I looked at my resident roster, it was all White guys" (Jonah). Another participant highlighted her desire to assume a particular leadership opportunity specifically due to the fact that the group historically selected predominately White students, "So after freshman year I was convinced. I

was like, I totally want to be an [Orientation Leader], they need diversity" (T.M.). Conversely, an additional participant recalled her struggle to apply for a prestigious service trip because of its reputation in attracting and selecting predominately White students. As Victoria recalled, "So when I wanted to go to the [service group] meeting, I wanted to take some friends with me because I knew I'd be scared if I was the only Asian person going." Ultimately, Victoria did not have the courage to attend the meeting. Victoria also noted the lack of diversity when applying for various leadership positions, "I interviewed for different position on campus, like the electoral committee and [student government] and stuff. There was a table of interviewers, but they were all White…males." Another participant, Alisha, shared Victoria's observations, "I think that if you look at a lot of the clubs and stuff on campus, even just walking through the activities fair, the Presidents and Vice Presidents [of the clubs] aren't students of color."

Perhaps most salient to participants involved feeling like a "minority" within "the minority"—meaning, that when further reducing the SOC population into subdivisions (Black, Latino, Asian, and so forth…), students realized how small of a percentage of the overall population they "belonged" to and felt even more underrepresented. As expressed by participant Isosa, when explaining what she disliked as a SOC at Pembroke University, she replied,

> I think one is just not feeling represented on campus. Like we are a minority. Especially Black students of color are such a huge minority, are such a small minority at Pembroke, and sometimes that gets so frustrating because you're just like, this school is so huge…why aren't there more Black students on Pembroke's campus?

Yvonne shared similar sentiments to Isosa, in that she recognized how small of a percentage of the overall student population her ethnic group represented. In explaining how students tried to form a specific culture club on campus Yvonne disclosed, "they couldn't even call it Taiwanese

Student Association because there's not enough Taiwanese people to make an association." Another participant, Patience, summarized this feeling of being the "minority within the minority" as part of the reason racial/ethnic clustering (to be explained in more detail later in this chapter) within the SOC umbrella occurs on campus. As Patience clarified,

> I think people often try to stick to their comfort zone, and that's what's in their own race or those who look like them. That's a defense mechanism as well because we're in a predominately White community where we often feel like we're the minority, so within our minority, we create the majority.

Ultimately, it appears that the lack of diversity within the student body and staff/administration at Pembroke (unsurprising as the institution is a PWI) sets the stage for the other "normalized racism elements" participants recounted, such as their experiences with White Privilege, sense of hyperconsciousness on campus, and so forth.

Encounters with microaggressions. Overwhelmingly, participants responded that they had not experienced overt racism at Pembroke. When asked directly if they had experienced "prejudice, discrimination, or racism" (Interview Protocol) at Pembroke, the vast majority replied, "no." An opinion shared by a few participants is that they believe community members at Pembroke to "know better" then to be blatantly racist in public settings. As described by Isosa,

> I think Pembroke students are too politically correct to really say straightforward their thoughts. Because, I mean, I'm not shocked at all if there are Pembroke students that have these views. But I think that they're kind of trying to be politically correct or stop themselves before they say something that sounds ignorant.

Other participants agreed, noting that often the only overt displays of racism they witnessed (and not necessarily directed at them individually) occurred when peers were under the influence of

alcohol. Instead, when asked if they experienced palpable racism on campus, participants, like Jacqueline, replied, “I mean, maybe subtle. I don’t think they were intentional though.” Or like Alisha, “People here aren't outwardly racist. It's the little things they say unconsciously that make you realize, okay, we do have a little bit of a problem here on campus.” Essentially, participants consistently shared examples of microggressions, or “commonplace indignities” that “communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group,” occurring on an everyday basis (Sue et al., 2007, p. 273).

Participants also described how their encounters with microaggressions, whether direct or indirect, often left them feeling unsettled, self-conscious, uncomfortable, frustrated and/or angry. For example, one common microaggression that frequently occurs in college classrooms is when persons of color are singled out to speak on the behalf of their entire race when discussing a topic that might pertain to a specific race (e.g. slavery in the United States). As captured powerfully by Isosa:

> I sometimes feel like I have to be the voice of African people, the voice of Nigeria at Pembroke, and it's frustrating because I don't want to be the voice of an entire continent or country or race you know? I'm just one individual. That's something that frustrates me too. Like non-students of color will be like oh, do Black people feel this? Or do Black people think this? And I'm like dude I don't know. I'm one Black person. I can't speak for the whole race of Black people.

Examples were abundant—ranging from peers repeatedly asking male students of color “what sport do you play?” (interpretation: you were only admitted to Pembroke as a SOC because you must be an athlete), having their names mixed up with the one other SOC in their class (interpretation: if you are a person of color then you all look alike), or being told, “you’re not

really Black because you don't talk Black" (Isosa) (interpretation: if you are a particular race, there are specific assumptions of how you will talk, act, dress, etc…which are not the optimal way to talk, act, dress, etc…as defined by White culture and standards). While the examples varied from participant to participant, the tone and tenor of their examples remained the same. These examples consistently highlighted how frequently microaggressions occurred on campus and demonstrated the deeply embedded nature of microaggressions within our culture, both Pembroke itself, and society at large. For as articulated by Curtis, Pembroke is "a microcosm of the real world." Moreover, as a direct result of their encounters with microaggressions, participants cited their struggles combating racial stereotypes, feelings of hyperconsciousness, and often, a profound sense of "onlyness" due to being one of a few faces of color in a variety of settings on campus. Similarly, in the focus group, participants agreed that while SOC may not face blatant racism on a daily basis at Pembroke, they often struggled with feelings of hyperconsciousness and onlyness.

Perhaps the most commonplace microaggression participants encountered in their Pembroke experience at the time of these interviews involved combating racial stereotypes. As outlined in Chapter Two, SOC frequently encounter preconceived racial or ethnic stereotypes (such as a lack of academic ability because of their race/ethnicity) and/or pressures to minimize personal racial/ethnic characteristics that differentiate them from their White peers (Ancis et al., 2000). Participant Jonah, when asked why he felt like he had to control his emotions, ensuring he did not come across as "too angry," while making sure he remained articulate, recounted a powerful example that highlights both elements above:

> …it's very difficult to feel comfortable speaking any kind of way with a White audience. It's very difficult for me to imagine White students taking me seriously if I'm speaking to

> them with the same vernacular that I use back home in Dorchester. Even if they did understand what I'm saying, in my mind it still adds up [to] them passing a judgment on me in terms of my intellect or in terms of my belonging.

Participant T.M. shared similar thoughts to Jonah, "In a classroom setting you might be more careful about how you're articulating things and what exactly you're articulating, how you dress, because you don't want to portray a negative stereotype that goes with whatever ethnicity you're a part of." Believing community members doubted their intellect strongly emerged as a theme in the participants' responses. Other responses shared included feeling the need to prove they deserve to be Pembroke (Alisha), combating beliefs they only attended Pembroke because of affirmative action, not because of their merit (Geo), and/or having to work harder in general to get where they want to go in life (Bryce). Participant Curtis captured many of these themes:

> It was hard at first, I would say especially freshman year because…you come on campus, you're meeting people, [and] the first thing they say to you is oh, are you an athlete? Are you a football player? No. Are you a basketball player? No. Then later on it goes to are you on [the predominately Black male step team]? No. So basically it's like well, who the hell are you? What's your purpose here basically? If you're not serving those two purposes where we see Black men in this school, you can't be here for academic reasons.

It is important to note that in this study, the Asian participants did not necessarily face the same racial stereotypes as the Black, Latino, or Multiracial participants. Instead, participants faced variations of the "model minority" stereotype. When asked how others would describe her race or ethnicity, Katie (who identifies as Asian) replied, "Socially awkward, smart, good at math, quiet, timid." Yvonne, who also identifies as Asian, concurred, "As an Asian I felt like there's a lot of stereotypes that all you do is work, you're very stiff, or you don't know how to

party. Or all you do is go to the library and you sleep at the library because that's all we do. There's that stereotype." These two examples illustrate the palpable difference in the stereotypes Asian students in this study faced versus the other participants who identify as Black, Latino, Multiracial, and so forth.

In addition to combating racial stereotypes, participants also acknowledged acute Feelings of hyperconsciousness. As outlined by the findings in the Smith et al. (2007) study, often SOC, especially in leadership positions, experience feelings of unwarranted scrutiny and pressure. Frequently, these feelings of hyperconsciousness lead many participants to experience moments of self-doubt, moments where they question their confidence, and moments when they fear speaking out in a public setting due to the judgment they might face when they do. As outlined similarly in the above section on combating racial stereotypes, examples of hyperconsciousness also varied from participant to participant, but ultimately hinged on individuals experiencing these feelings because they identify as a SOC on a predominately White setting. As explained by Patience, "I always feel like there's a pressure to do better because subconsciously I always feel like I'm looked down upon. There are many instances where I feel like a teacher misjudged me before they knew my capabilities, and I'm ranked one of the highest in the class." Or as shared by Jose when describing a time he felt very aware of his race:

> I just got very hyperaware of my race and very aware of what people might be thinking of me. I feel like some people see me as a Black kid. I'm not going to fight anyone; I'm not going to jeopardize my education, my potential degree, over someone making a stupid comment. I'll educate you. I'll tell you why this matters to me. I think I've been very aware of the fact that I'm Black on campus in the past couple weeks. I've always

> been aware of that. But, I think the past couple weeks have been the only time that I've felt drained…and drained because of who I am.

Other common examples shared by participants included a fear of speaking in class and sounding unintelligent (thus adding 'fuel' to the racial stereotype 'fire' regarding intelligence), feeling as though they have to "work ten times harder to prove" themselves (Mashaunda), or simply, their frustration in being identified first by their race/ethnicity before any other personal attribute.

On par with feelings of hyperconsciousness, and sometimes intertwined, participants expressed their sense of onlyness in many academic, social, and even leadership settings on campus (particularly if the group demographic was predominately White). While these feelings are also directly connected to the lack of diversity on campus, they warrant their own section due to the fact that this sense of "onlyness" also contains psychosocial and emotional dimensions that impact participants' sense of self. In conjunction with observing that often they are the only SOC in an academic class, in a particular group, or on their residence floor, participants also stated how the lack of diversity also breeds feelings of isolation and inferiority leading them to frequently feel like "outsiders" (Alisha). As Emily expressed, "because Pembroke is predominately White, sometimes there's a sense that I can't assimilate." When asked what it was like to be Indonesian at Pembroke she replied, "It can feel kind of lonely sometimes." Isosa, similarly struggled with this sense of loneliness as a Black female on campus, "It's still hard sometimes, because, it is hard being one of the only Black girls in the classroom. We're not really seeing other Black students all the time. I think that part makes me kind of sad." In addition, Victoria possessed a similar reaction to being the only Asian student in a predominately White singing group, "I was the only person in the minority, of color, which made me feel uncomfortable."

Participants also acknowledged feeling "different" than the "average" or "typical" Pembroke student. As expressed by Katie, "you step onto this campus and the first thought is…I'm different." Similar to Katie, Viva recounted attending a popular (and often predominately White) retreat on campus and longing to see other SOC, "You look around and you're the only person that looks different from everyone else and I think it's just a subconscious thing...it's almost impossible to not look around and see who is in your group and [ask], do they look like me?" Similarly, Geo, when describing his wish to partake in a prestigious campus summer opportunity remarked, "I go to the info session last week [and] I want to say I'm the only person in the room that looks like me, you know? And I don't know why that is."

Ultimately, these encounters with racial and ethnic stereotypes, along with feeling of hyperconsciousness and onlyness, stem from the variety of microaggressions participants face on campus. However, as previously mentioned, these microaggressions directly influence the climate as a whole at Pembroke. Although most participants expressed their overall satisfaction with Pembroke, frequent encounters with microaggressions intimates that historically, and inherent within its institutional structures, Pembroke in many ways continues to perpetuate a negative racial climate for racially and ethnically minoritized populations.

Negative racial climate at Pembroke. As abovementioned, participants, provided examples demonstrating how in many ways Pembroke continues to perpetuate a negative racial climate at Pembroke. One salient theme that emerged was a heightened sense of race segregation on campus and feeling more minoritized upon arriving to Pembroke, even if the same participants came from a predominately White high school or community at home. Some participants articulated that they felt Pembroke did not make enough of a concerted effort for SOC to feel like they too belonged. As Erik questioned on the behalf of his SOC peers, "How do

I fit into the bigger Pembroke community? Am I part of this [community]? I think Pembroke especially doesn't do a good job." Jonah shared similar sentiments:

> It's not uncommon to feel out of place here at Pembroke as a SOC. So understanding that you do belong here is something that I struggled with, and I know that a lot of SOC that I've spoken to as underclassmen are struggling with [the same] upon entering Pembroke.

Jonah's beliefs resonated with a comment by OJ, who shared his belief that SOC face certain challenges that the rest of the student body (White students) do not face. As an example of those differences SOC face, Isosa explained how she believed that often SOC more frequently drop out or transfer from Pembroke, due to the fact that many do not feel welcomed on campus. As she describes,

> …a lot of the Black students that started at Pembroke didn't finish, aren't finishing with me and that's also frustrating…I know that there's a gap between the [SOC] GPA and the Pembroke GPA…I'm like why is there such a gap in educational achievement and success at Pembroke? It's so hard, because as a student who is doing pretty well academically it makes me so frustrated that other students of color aren't doing well academically. Or they're complaining all the time that they don't like Pembroke, or they want to leave Pembroke, [that] they don't feel welcomed at Pembroke. Those are the things that kind of suck. You don't know what you can do to change their experiences.

Perhaps most salient across interviews involved the belief that a general sense of apathy existed among the larger student body regarding issues of race, ethnicity, and overall, diversity. Participants gave numerous examples of feeling dismissed, devalued, and at times, non-existent. As Curtis shared, "I feel like a lot of them [White students] don't even take the time to really care or find out more about students of color." Jacqueline agreed when she shared, "At the end of it,

it's maybe an ignorance issue. Like I said, the topic of race is often put under the table and we don't do enough to address it."

Frank perceived the challenges SOC face in a different light, describing how apathy around race and ethnicity at Pembroke places an undue burden on the shoulders of SOC, "You shouldn't have this burden. You shouldn't be burdened with the fact that you have to convince this campus to realize that you exist." Geo also explained how he believes, as a Latino, he remains devalued at Pembroke due to systemic institutional actions that view him as a insignificant. He described,

> I feel like different events that Pembroke puts on don't necessarily cater to me. I feel like an event, or a weekend like parent's weekend, doesn't necessarily think of me and my family. Maybe because we're not of the same socioeconomic status as the majority of Pembroke students, or because my parents are both immigrants from Mexico. I feel like I wasn't in Pembroke's original picture.

Another, more specific example students provided regarding the racial apathy on campus involved the lack of response by the larger Pembroke community to the Ferguson unrest (the protests and riots that began after the fatal shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri), and the death of Eric Garner (a man who died via chokehold by an NYPD officer), as well as the silent protests occurring on campus in solidarity of these two movements. One student, Jose, recounted how he, along with some of his peers, taped his mouth in retaliation to the "no indictment" for the NYPD officer responsible for Garner's death. He recalled how a White student passed by him on campus and verbally responded, "There are so many people with that shit on their face. They're taking this way too serious." Jose shared his perception in how that particular student was not alone in his beliefs, but in fact, representative of the larger Pembroke

community. Numerous participants noted their impression that White students often take the mind set of "this issue is not my issue," or "this issue does not apply to, or impact, me because I am not a SOC," to which Jose sorely disagreed. He remarked, that it was "absurd" to him that "they think it doesn't directly effect them in every way, shape or form. It does." Isosa also shared her perceptions of the larger Pembroke community reaction (or lack there of) to Ferguson,

> It reminds me that we're not all kind of concerned about the same things. Because to me that was all the news was talking about and all everyone was talking about on social media. Literally my whole entire world was being wrapped around what was going on there. Then I realized that not everyone is aware of what's going on and not everyone is concerned.

Overall, the majority of students felt like race, and dialogues on race, were not a priority at the college, by the administration, but especially among the majority of the student body, because it did not impact them as White individuals (as highlighted by Jose's example). Jonah explained how he preferred his High School environment (also predominately White) to Pembroke, because the student body felt compelled to discuss topics about race,

> ….as opposed to coming here where not only are you the minority by numbers, but nobody wants to talk about the elephant in the room. Nobody is discussing it, and it's only the students of color that are discussing it because we're the only ones that are being affected by it so outwardly.

What Jonah and the other participant quotes in this section are capturing head-on in their examples are the notions of White privilege and a subset of White privilege known as "Whiteness as property."

As defined in Chapter Two, White privilege involves White individuals defining social norms to further benefit their privileged status. However, this privilege is rarely seen or acknowledged by the privileged group (Wildman & David, 2000). As an extension of privilege, "Whiteness as property" affords members of the privileged group additional advantages, such as the right to "use and enjoy" the liberties awarded them by virtue of their Whiteness, and the "absolute right to exclude" non-White others (Harris, 1995, p. 282). Danielle articulated her perception of White privilege at Pembroke when describing her experience discussing race in a predominately White class her freshman year:

> They [her White peers] never realize how we [SOC] look at Pembroke because they live their life…they're the majority. They never thought about it from a minority's perspective. So there were like three—it was me and this other boy—who were the minorities in the class. And I guess after we spoke about our experience and how we notice that we're different from them, they never thought about it like that because they never had experienced it.

Frank repeated Danielle's sentiments with even more passion when describing why SOC seek leadership positions to promote change on campus, versus the White students who he believes do not need or want to seek change. Because in his words, "this campus is theirs. For lack of a better term it's theirs. It belongs to them."

Participants listed countless examples of White privilege and "Whiteness as property." Nanci shared her belief that when a SOC leader is voicing an issue it is "taken less seriously" by the larger community because they are a SOC. Or how the larger community will "write off the concerns" of SOC due to the fact that the majority of Pembroke's community has never had to experience or deal with the same racial and ethnic concerns as SOC, so thus, it does not impact

them (Nanci). Participants challenged whether or not predominately White groups, like the student government, value the needs of minoritized campus members. Other participants, like Katie, stressed how often she felt dismissed by community members who were unwilling to interact and engage with her (at orientation, in social settings, and so forth…) because she did not fit the Pembroke mold in terms of her race. Another participant (Joshua) noted how even the student portal perpetuates the "absolute right to exclude" function of "Whiteness as property," due to his observation that the vast majority of the time the students featured on the student portal and college website are White students.

In terms of "Whiteness as property," numerous participants also addressed the fundamental issues surrounding the diversity requirement in the curriculum as well as the Eurocentric bias of the curriculum at Pembroke. They articulated their perception that often students believe that they are suddenly educated or experts on diverse matters after completing the one course diversity requirement. As Isosa stated,

> I think Pembroke needs to do more in kind of pushing people to get involved in cultural activities. I think there needs to be more of a push to get involved with learning about other cultures, not just music and dance and food, which is great, but the struggle and the history and what's going on at Pembroke's campus.

Furthermore, and similar to Nanci's comments, participants also noted the lack of investment by the larger community to the student organizations (like culture clubs) that attract and celebrate the identity and cultures of SOC on campus. They commented how the only individuals who attend events hosted by the culture clubs are other students of color. Isosa, in observing this trend commented on how "the mass group" of students at Pembroke are "so oblivious to their surroundings and the other cultures around them." Mashaunda honed in on how White privilege

at Pembroke is a systemic issue that remains reinforced by the history and culture of the institution:

> I don't think Pembroke is ever going to change because the alumni that pay for students to essentially come here and change the school and make the school what it is, are the people who grew up in a time where things were very racially biased. Once those people die off, Pembroke might have a better outlook. But as long as those very prejudice, old White men are still paying for this school to be run, Pembroke is not going to change.

In summation, the perceived perpetuation of White privilege on campus left many of the participants feeling ostracized at times and that they did not truly belong at Pembroke in the same way that their White peers do. On a similar note, a majority of participants also recounted similar feelings and experiences when discussing their access (or lack there of) to cultural and social capital in relation to their White peers. Because the dominant group determines what "capital" is valuable, in many ways the capital valued in higher education may also be considered an extension of White privilege.

As such, the findings of this study strongly suggests that a clear divide exists on campus regarding the way in which specific types of cultural are social capital are valued. Scholar David Schwartz (1997), in summarizing the work of Pierre Bourdieu, observed that educational system is the "principle institution controlling the allocation of status and privilege in contemporary societies" (p. 189). Furthermore, as Schwartz (1998) continues, higher education continues to reproduce the "unequal distribution of cultural capital" by "privileging certain cultural heritages and penalizing others" (p. 199). As mentioned in Chapter Two, scholars have well documented the fact that the capital belonging to minoritized student populations remains undervalued by higher education. Moreover, the acquisition of cultural capital, and prowess to navigate the

higher education systems, directly connects to a student's ability to form "relationships with institutional agents and the networks that afford access to resources and information for social progression and the accomplishment of goals," otherwise known as social capital (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 1033).

In speaking with participants about some of the challenges they faced as a SOC on campus, numerous students discussed inequities in regard to social and cultural capital due to their cultural upbringing as tied to their racial/ethnic background. Some participants, like Erik, discussed the challenge in simply navigating the college landscape as a first generation SOC, noting how the majority of students at Pembroke have parents (and even grandparents) that attended college, so "they know what to look for." Others discussed the challenges they faced in the classroom due to cultural capital inequities. For example, Katie, when sharing her struggles to participate in class:

> In terms of the classroom setting, when people start to speak up it's a lot of that…I don't know how I would describe it, but kind of like talking [with] more bantering. More witty. I don't know. But it's not something that I grew up with so I'm not really sure how to participate in the class where even the humor is kind of different. And I'm not saying that's true for all Asian Americans because some people do grow up with very outgoing parents. But I would say they are the exception.

Or Frank's story in trying to build relationships with faculty by merely introducing himself:

> A lot of thoughts are racing through your head. I remember sitting down in the front row, I forgot what class it was, but I remember sitting down in the front row and I wanted to ask my professor for something. I was so nervous. I didn't know what to do. All of a sudden I just see this White kid come up and say hi, my name is yadda yadda yadda and

> [have a] friendly conversation. I was like how did you do it? How did you do it? I can't do it.

Other participants, like Geo and Mashaunda, pointed out the imbalance in competing with their White peers at Pembroke due to the inherent differences in the capital they possessed. In Geo's words, "…to a student of color, or anyone who isn't familiar necessarily with the culture that Pembroke promotes, they might feel a pressure to change something about themselves, or this sense of not belonging can persist and develop." Geo further commented, when in a co-curricular activity with predominately White peers, how he felt uncomfortable connecting with them. Even something as simple as the music they played on the radio when traveling to their volunteer site did not resonate with Geo, "Not because I don't like it per se, just because I haven't had the exposure that they have to it. I don't know, I can't sing a Beatles song." Mashaunda also expressed some of her discomfort in terms of the advantages many of her peers possess,

> In this setting I'm going against people who already have the upper hand in the race between us. They already had a head start and they're running 10 miles, and I'm just starting. So I have to think of it that way. Whereas if I was in a group of more mixed people I feel like I would be more relaxed. I'd still have to work hard because it's Pembroke, but not as much to prove.

Other participants, like Patience, discussed the "stigma" of not wearing what is "in style" and looking different. Similarly, Yvonne shared her realization that how she dressed and what she wore impacted people's perceptions of her. In order to be on par with her peers she noted,

> I just feel like there's a tall order for people of color to be professional because you have to overcome all these stereotypes. It's important to get a nice suit, to act professional, be

articulate. I'm working on that. But it's all things that you have to learn to overcome so they [her White peers] have nothing to say about you basically.

These feelings of polarization generated through White privilege and inequities in terms of cultural and social capital certainly seemed to impact the transition into Pembroke and sense of belonging for participants in this study. While some students, like Patience, acknowledged that they possessed an advantage in "coping" during their transition because of the capital they were exposed to and acquired by attending a predominately White high school, they also acknowledged that the majority of SOC at Pembroke did not possess this advantage. Furthermore, the sense of otherness in lacking the capital valued in higher education may also contribute to the noticeable patterns of racial segregation that also occur on campus, which will be addressed in the next section.

Racial segregation at Pembroke. As an amalgamation of the lack of diversity on campus, perpetuation of microaggressions, and the negative racial climate, the fact that the majority of participants provided ample examples of racial/ethnic segregation or the "divide" (Alisha) at Pembroke seemed unsurprising. Participants expressed their dismay that a lack of unity existed across racial/ethnic groups on campus. Yvonne pointed out how very "exclusive" the divisions appeared among particular races and ethnicities. As OJ also remarked, "There is not much unity between all the different racial groups on campus and I feel like there's a need for more collaborations within cultural groups and just within programming in general to foster the relationship between different racial groupings." Patience agreed with OJ when she shared, "I honestly believe that there's a lack of solidarity. I don't think that we're as together as we should. There's a lot of segregation in it's own self with how we each identify in different groups and we

stick to those groups." Participants also imparted their belief that this division tends to occur pretty quickly upon their assimilation to Pembroke.

- I think for students of color, the initial niche they fall into is this racial or ethnic category (Geo).
- You know that book 'Why Are All the Black Students Sitting Together?' I mean it's true. Especially in a freshman year. It's just so much easier to go to people who look like you freshman year instead of branching out because that can be scary. And I understand that especially if you come from a place where you're not used to seeing that many White people. It's overwhelming and scary (Rowan Decker).
- My dad always emphasized that [a diverse racial/ethnic friend group], cuz in his workplace, he would probably be one of the only Korean people there, and [he would say] 'I think it's important for you to make a lot of diverse friends.' I'm like okay, yeah, I totally agree. So I wanted to do that here, but [emphasis] I just remember that was really hard to click or get close to students of other ethnicities or races (Victoria).

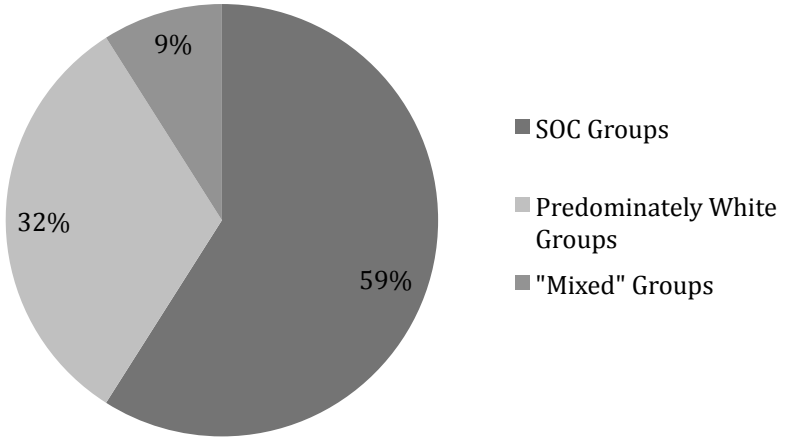
The majority of participants agreed that they found a sense of comfort in connecting with individuals who shared a similar background. As Victoria further explained, "it's easier to stick to people that you understand, you don't have to like feel like you have to tip-toe around a little more or explain yourself a lot of times." However, participants also noted their dissatisfaction with the racial clustering occurring on campus, and in particular, the further segregation occurring within racial groups by ethnic background. Examples included the division within the Asian community by ethnic group such as Korean, Chinese, Japanese, and so forth (also further compounded by specific Asian culture clubs). Or the clustering that occurs within the Black community by African-American students, African students, and Black Caribbean students.

While the ethnic segregation emerged strongly in this study for the Black and Asian students, the same sentiment was not as strongly expressed as the Latino participants. This may be largely due to the wide racial and ethnic variability for Latino students and because they are a very small portion of the overall population on campus.

Summary of racism as normalized. The lack of diversity on campus, encounters with microaggressions, negative racial climate, and racial segregation all impact they way SOC view themselves in relation to their environment, impacting both their perceptions and sense of identity. Interestingly, in thinking about their connection to their co-curricular environment, participants were asked to list their leadership and co-curricular involvement (both in the pre-interview survey and during the interview). Some noticeable trends emerged in their responses that seem to mirror the overall racial segregation occurring on campus. The numbers provided are a close estimation of involvement but may not be 100% accurate as students may not have disclosed all of their involvement, or specific roles/positions within certain groups, in either the survey or interview. Below are two charts outlining their involvement/student leadership patterns.

Figure 2

Co-curricular Involvement by Group Type

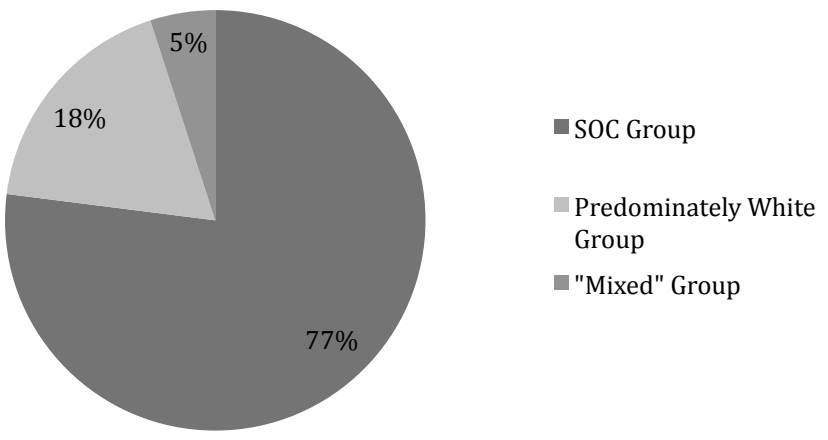


In Figure 2, across the 25 participants, students participated in 110 student groups. Of those 110 groups, 59% of participant involvement occurred in SOC groups, 32% in predominately White groups, and 9% in racially/ethnically "mixed" (per the description of the participants—participants were asked to categorize the groups in terms of racial/ethnic affiliation). However, it is important to note that of those ~35 predominately White groups, approximately 12 of the groups/organizations listed actually serve racially and/or ethnically underrepresented populations (such as volunteering at an urban charter school, or attending a service trip in a geographical location with a limited population of White individuals). In addition, a bulk of the "predominately White" involvement groups involved attending university led retreats, in which student attendance and student leadership often reflects the overall racial/ethnic breakdown of the undergraduate student population (roughly 70% White, and 30% SOC).

Moreover, when solely examining formalized leadership roles as disclosed by participants (such as: president or vice president of a group, retreat leader, executive board member, resident assistant, and so forth), participation again heavily gravitated towards SOC groups as demonstrated in the figure below:

Figure 3

Leadership Expression by Group Type



The numbers in Figure 3 demonstrate a clear trend in which participants elected to participate, and more specifically, express leadership, in groups that attract SOC versus groups that are predominately White, which aligns with previous research findings (Harper, 2006; Harper, 2008; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Rooney, 1985; Sedlacek, 1999; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001; Sutton & Terrell, 1997). Whether or not this gravitation towards SOC groups involves self-selection, an environmental push due to the racial climate on campus, or a combination of the two, is a topic that will be addressed in the following chapter.

However, it is important to note that although a smaller percentage of participants in this study elected to participate and/or express leadership within predominately White groups, they did share some commonalities in their experiences, much of which ties into the "racism as normalized" sub-themes. What participants often did experience in these predominately White groups, similar to their experience in academic settings on campus and in general at Pembroke, were feelings of hyperconsciousness or onlyness. For example, many participants have attended, and even served as leaders for, one of the many student retreats Pembroke offers. These retreats are incredibly popular, but typically attract participants that reflect the overall racial and ethnic breakdown of the larger student body, meaning that they are predominately White. Overall, participants spoke very highly of their retreat experiences, however, they described how inevitably, feeling different or a sense of "other" crept into their experiences.

Jonah recalled his experiences on a "cool" freshman retreat. Being one Black student in a small group of eight, his group leader attempted to talk about her racial struggles on campus, but then changed the subject to a generic topic of adjusting to college life at Pembroke, because she saw that the majority of individuals in the group could not relate to her story. But Jonah

struggled with the fact that she needed to change the topic of conversation because he wanted to talk about it, but he realized in looking around his group that he had “no one else to speak with, or no one that wants to speak about it.” Curtis also shared a similar perception of his experiences on various retreats. Again, he remarked that while he very much enjoyed the retreats in which he partook, at times these heightened feelings of onlyness persisted:

> Even the retreats, there wouldn't be too many students of color on them. I'd be the only one in the group. Hearing other experiences, like do you want to share your stories, they [other students] expect me to have the most dramatic and tragic story. I feel like they always had a pity party for me or for students of color.

Frank honed in on these feelings of isolation that simply are inherent in settings on campus when one of only a few faces of color, applicable to student organizations as well. “I feel like if a student of color ventures, like I did, into an organization that is predominately White, then all of a sudden it’s like you’re that one person [of color] in a class of 200. It’s just like I gotta represent, I got all the burdens that come with it” (Frank).

Alisha shared perhaps the most poignant example of hyperconsciousness in a predominately White leadership experience, based on her lived experiences as a Black Resident Assistant among a fairly White residential life staff, but a very White residential community. In a powerful memory, Alisha recalls:

> I had one incident where I had 40 residents get stuck in an elevator and I had to help them get out and tell the police department and fire department and all that. They left a sticky note in the elevator like, “to the Black RA, I'm so sorry.” But it wasn't like they took the time to figure out, what was her name? It was like “oh well, there's only one female Black RA on our staff, she'll know it's her.” And I didn't even see the note,

> someone else saw it and was like, "oh this must be you," and they thought it was so funny. And at first I laughed…and then I started thinking about it and I was like well, I have a name, I'm not just "the Black RA." So it's just things like that where I'm very hyper aware that people are seeing me for my race first, and not me, or that I'm Alisha or I'm a person. It's like oh, she's black and she's a black RA. That's her marker and that's how we're going to differentiate her from the other RAs.

Alisha went on to further explain how experiences, like the one she recounted above, impact her leadership identity in a negative fashion, in that she has been paralyzed by her fear of being racially stereotyped and her feelings of inferiority. She also explained how these feelings have also impacted her work as an RA:

> I know they [residents] are going to talk a little bit more harshly because I am a Black RA, and that's always in the back of my mind and it makes me second guess myself. But at the same time, I don't want to do my job any differently. So it's like balancing that I don't want this to happen, but I still need to do my job and not think about it, definitely has affected me as an RA… It's not so much what they'll say to my face as what they'll say when I leave the room because they don't realize we can still hear them when we leave. People have had some pretty nasty things said about them and it is a general consensus. I know there are some very insensitive residents who are going to make a comment about my race and that bothers me. I don't know how I'm going to react in the situation and that makes me nervous. And then the fact that I live in the building with them for a whole year knowing that they made a comment about my race, [that] they don't like me because of my race. But I have to see them every time I'm on duty or every time I walk through the building I think that's what makes me the most nervous.

These feelings of onlyness or hyperconsciousness seemed to resonate across many participants' stories of their experiences in predominately White groups. However in terms of their experiences in SOC groups, the same feelings did not materialize.

Interestingly, while participants provided numerous examples of how their racialized identity intertwined with their leadership identity (Alisha's example above is a powerful example), very few participants discussed how intersectional elements of their identity, such as their race and their gender combined, impacted their leadership perceptions and/or experiences. In fact, when asked directly if they believed other elements of their identity in conjunction with their race (for example being a "black female") impacted their access to or experiences with student leadership, the majority of the participants replied "no." Although moments of identity intersectionality salience did surface for participants, those moments were linked more closely to their experiences with the negative campus culture at Pembroke (such as combating racial stereotypes) versus their experiences with, or access to, student leadership opportunities.

Campus Climate Summary and Connection to Student Leadership

In sum, as a predominately White (and historically White) institution, Pembroke remains a microcosm of the larger society in that it continues to perpetuate normalized racism as a product of inherent (and biased) structures. These biases impact campus culture and the lived experiences of SOC as highlighted through the numerous examples provided in this chapter. In addition, the figures above on co-curricular and leadership expression by group type, which visibly highlight a gravitation towards SOC groups, seem to suggest that the campus racial climate may play a powerful role in students' decision making around co-curricular involvement and leadership expression. Some of the environmental factors perhaps explaining this gravitation

towards SOC may stem from participants' experiences in predominately White groups (when applicable). Students shared feelings of hyperconsciousness and onlyness while in predominately White groups, highlighting a seemingly unintentional perpetuation of "Whiteness as property" within the campus culture. Therefore, it seemed integral to first explore the racial campus climate at Pembroke in order to better understand how students view themselves in relation to their peers on campus, as well as how the campus culture impacted their decision making, campus involvement, and personal leadership identity. As such, the next chapter will seek to further analyze how participants perceive, define, and enact student leadership in relation to the racial climate on campus.

CHAPTER 5. Student Leadership Analysis and Interpretation

As suggested in the previous chapter, participants' racialized experiences as SOC on campus certainly framed the way in which they engage with and perceive student leadership. Utilizing a CRT lens to analyze their perceptions/experiences with student leadership, four primary themes emerged from their interviews, with various sub-themes for each category. These primary themes include: (a) student leadership identity; (b) personal student leadership involvement; (c) leadership role models; and (d) leadership opportunities and experiences for SOC at Pembroke. A succinct overview of the dominant student leadership themes is as follows:

1. Leadership identity: Counter to the findings in the Arminio et al. (2000) study which highlights the tension SOC often face in embracing the "leadership" title and the view that leadership is a shared, communal process (Sedlacek, 1999; Stewart et al., 2008), the majority of participants (18 of 25) in this study self-identified as a student leader.
2. Leadership involvement: The vast majority of participants in this study assumed leadership roles, and sought general co-curricular participation in affinity groups for minoritized students, such as culture clubs, "step" dance teams, and community service trips that historically attract SOC participants. Participants acknowledged that a combination of self-selection and campus climate impacted their decision to seek leadership roles within SOC affinity groups and/or affinity based activities.
3. Leader role models: Participants consistently identified other SOC student leader role models (and often more than one), which counters literature on SOC and leadership. Both Arminio et al. (2000) and Harper et al. (2011) note that SOC typically lack racially and ethnically diverse role models on campus. This phenomenon was not the case with the

majority of participants in this study. However, aligned with previous research, participants noted a glaring lack of leader role models within the faculty and administration, especially staff/faculty role models of color.

4. Leadership opportunities and experiences for SOC at Pembroke: Participants perceived distinct differences in the leadership opportunities and experiences of SOC versus their White peers. Although the majority believed encounters with racism or microaggressions did not impact their leadership opportunities, they still chose to express their leadership mainly within SOC groups. Furthermore, participants also believed the campus community's perception of SOC groups versus predominately White groups differed greatly. White groups were perceived as being valued over SOC groups by the participants. These perceptions also impacted the way in which participants viewed and expressed student leadership.

In addition, many of the major themes for this chapter also contained sub-themes. The following table below highlights those sub-themes:

Table 4

Themes and Sub Themes for Chapter Five

Main Theme	Sub Themes
1. Leadership Identity	1a. The culture of leadership at Pembroke 1b. Participants embracing the leadership label 1c. Participants' description of student leadership qualities
2. Leadership Involvement	2a. Seeking involvement with individuals of similar racial/ethnic backgrounds 2b. Responsibility to give back to, or promote needs of, their racial/ethnic group 2c. Participating in SOC groups affirmed participants' sense of identity 2d. SOC groups as family 2e. Perceptions of predominately White student groups 2f. Self-selection or campus culture? Further exploration within the focus group

3. Leader Role Models	3a. Student leader role models 3b. Faculty/staff role models
4. Leadership Opportunities and Experiences: Perceived Differences	4a. Access to leadership opportunities versus leadership expression 4b. The hierarchy of student groups on campus.

Leadership Identity

In evaluating how participants thought about their leadership identity, and in particular, the sociocultural influences at Pembroke that impact the expression of identity, it appeared the distinct "everyone is a leader" culture at Pembroke influenced both participants' description of what student leadership meant to them, as well as their self-identification as a student leader.

The culture of leadership at Pembroke. From individual interviews, and reiterated in the focus group, participants easily noted the student culture of leadership at Pembroke. Aside from participants' ability to quickly list "tons" (OJ), "endless" (Jose), or "too many" (Joshua) involvement opportunities on campus, students frequently also shared their observation that "everyone is a leader" (Yvonne) at Pembroke. Some participants expressed their belief that the prevalence of student leadership on campus exists because Pembroke values high school applicants who demonstrate leadership aptitude. For example, as Isosa shared, "We obviously got into Pembroke for a reason, and most of us are probably involved in 50 different things and in charge of 100 million things." Other participants were quick to point out, like Isosa, that student leadership is the norm at Pembroke. When asked, "What does student leadership mean to you," Alisha replied, "Well, I think at a different school it may have a different meaning because here everybody's leading something." Or Curtis' response to the same question, "I feel like it's hard to say here at Pembroke, because I feel like we're all leaders." Katie also shared her bewilderment at the pervasiveness of student leadership at Pembroke, "I thought it was weird

that everyone was a leader. Everyone who introduces him or herself, or speaks, is like oh yeah, I'm the Vice President of this, I'm on the board for this. And I was like, how can everyone be a leader?" Other participants noted the distinct emphasis on leadership at Pembroke, but also attributed this emphasis to the competitive nature of the student body as well. T.M. shared her insights:

> I remember in freshman year talking to other people and it just felt like it's competitive to do something extra curricular…. There's also limits [to available spots] because of application processes, and everyone's good enough. We're all in the same level in a sense. In high school it was more [that] we had a superior edge to some degree. Like oh, we're smart, we're very involved, and then [some] people don't care about that. But at Pembroke, everyone cares about it, so it's limited.

Additionally, in the focus group conducted to member check various interview themes, students agreed upon the pervasiveness of leadership on campus, commenting, "There's this mentality of confidence, and everyone wants leadership positions." As one focus group member further explained:

> The fact that students at Pembroke confidently and proudly say that they are leaders is most likely a product of the environment and climate of Pembroke. At Pembroke, it is manifested two-fold where they try to make it seem that all students are leaders due [to] its [religious] ideals, but also from student involvement. In digging deeper, within the student involvement, there exists a very dominant competitive nature alongside the feeling of needing to be involved that students aspire to and compete for leadership positions (Curtis).

Participants embracing the "leadership label." Counter to previous research on SOC and leadership identity, the majority of participants believed themselves to be student leaders. Of the 25 participants, 18 students responded "yes" in some variation, including a participant with limited student involvement at the time at the time of his interview. In fact, of those 18 participants, close to half also acknowledged actively seeking out "leadership" positions. When asked to describe why they viewed themselves as student leaders, most articulated that they matched the qualities they believed student leaders possess (to be explained in greater detail in the next section sub-theme of this section), because they held specific leadership titles as nominated or selected by their peers, or because they believed others would categorize them as a student leader. As one participant shared after he self-identified as a student leader without prompting, "I feel like people notice me. People know if I say something. People are aware of things that I do" (Jose). Another participant confidently replied after being asked if he identified as a student leader, "Oh definitely. Not to sound cocky actually, when you said think of a [leader] friend, I was thinking of myself at first. I was like, stop, stop, let me think of a friend" (OJ). While yet another participant noted how she has "tried very hard to be a student leader" (Viva).

For the participants who did not fully embrace the leadership label (again, only 7) most followed previous research findings in appearing very hesitant and/or uncomfortable with defining themselves as a student leader, but not necessarily because they possessed a preference towards communal leadership (Greene et al., 2008; Stewart et al., 2008). Instead, they shared their belief that they were still in the process of developing as a student leader. For example, participants commented that they still had "a lot to learn" (Jonah), or that they were a "growing leader" (Patience). One hesitant participant even talked herself into embracing the leadership title

after further reflection, " I don't know why, but when I was describing it [student leaders] to you, I was kind of like 'those people' or whatever, but I just realized I am one of those people" (Victoria).

Interestingly, the focus group conversation on this topic took an interesting twist. After the "embracing the leadership label" theme was shared, participants were quick to respond that they personally felt more hesitant to see or define themselves as leaders. However, as students began to discuss the subject, participants (4 seniors and 1 junior) described how they believe they have grown in their leadership identity—their abilities, their skills set, their desire to mentor others, and/or on what they want to "leave behind." In addition, as they majority of focus group participants were seniors, they noted that they were in the highest "official" leadership roles (by title) that they could or would achieve during their time at Pembroke. Ultimately, even though the conversation began on a more hesitant note regarding the leader label, as students settled deeper into conversation, and reflected upon their student leadership journey at Pembroke, it appeared they did indeed consider themselves to be student leaders. In fact, it seemed they understood their leadership strengths and capacities, or their leadership identity, more profoundly as upperclassmen.

Participants' description of student leadership qualities. In their interviews, participants were asked to describe what student leadership means to them; how participants defined student leadership later set the stage for their self-identification as a student leader or non-leader. Overwhelmingly, the majority of qualities participants listed centered more squarely on the "industrial" approach to leadership, or egocentric qualities—in which leadership is the property of the individual, versus the post-industrial relational model emphasizing a communitarian approach (Komives et al., 2005; Shertzer et al., 2005), or community based

leadership that is rooted in culturally derived beliefs, values and norms (Sedlacek, 1999; Stewart et al., 2008). While individuals did note that leadership involved a focus on others, that incorporation did not necessarily mean a shared or communal approach to leadership. The top six elements participants listed for student leadership qualities (in order of coding frequency) included:

- practical or personal skills;
- caring/kindness/empathy;
- creating change/vision;
- passion;
- motivation;
- possessing an important title/role.

The majority of participants quickly, and most frequently, provided examples of practical or personal skills as indicators of effective student leaders. Common examples included, confidence, personable, outgoing/charismatic, strong attention to detail, organized, responsible, hardworking, and effective time management skills. Next, participants described elements of student leadership in which individuals displayed caring, kindness, or empathy through skills such as good listening, concern for or interest in others, openness and warmth, and understanding. Sam's response illustrates this well, "[He] always makes sure to ask how people are doing and how their day is going and if there's anything he can do to help out and just being genuinely interested with other people." In terms of creating change or possessing a vision, the common thread seemed to center on being able to identify the impact SOC want to have on campus, or particular goals for the student group they are seeking to lead. As Frank commented, "With student leadership comes great responsibility. I think it also means you have to stand up for

something…. To me it means you care about change. That sounds cliché, but I think if you are being a leader it's because you want something to happen." Jonah shared similar sentiments when he remarked, " To me student leadership is students recognizing an issue or identifying a goal of theirs and taking the necessary steps, whatever that may entail, to make those goals a reality or to solve that issue."

In terms of passion, participants shared the view that student leaders possess individual passion for a specific goal, a vision, or a platform. However they also believe that student leaders instill this passion into others and/or inspire others to pursue their own passions. Often when describing why they believed themselves to be student leaders, passion rose to the top of the list for participants. Jacqueline captured this sentiment when she shared her experience as co-president for the Japanese cultural club at Pembroke, "I am so passionate about our mission statement, about our vision, and I'm so passionate for the people that we work with. And at the end of the day, I thought to myself that is what a student leader is." Similarly, "motivation" often went hand in hand with passion and vision for participants. According to the participants, possessing a passion for a particular vision is typically followed by the motivation to see that vision through. Patience described all of these elements when asked to reiterate her definition of student leadership:

> Somebody who is willing to rise to the occasion. Somebody with a determination for change. Someone who is ready to impact the lives of others through impacting the greater community. Someone who is willing to sacrifice, and someone who is willing to motivate others to become better.

Lastly, to round out the top qualities listed, a bulk of participants described student leaders as individuals who sought involvement on campus beyond being a "general member" of an

organization (Viva). Just being involved on campus did not seem to be enough. Instead student leadership involved having "a pretty big role in a club" (Erik), being the "face of whatever organization you represent" (Frank), being a "prominent figure on campus" (Jose), or possessing "positions of power on campus whether that be through a club, a cultural organization or in [student government]" (Mashaunda).

In addition, participants were asked whether they identified as a student leader based on their description of student leadership. Thus, the way in which they described student leadership seemed significant since that definition prompted their self-identification as leaders or non-leaders (ultimately reflecting whether or not they believed they possessed the attributes they listed). Again, the majority of participants did self-identify as student leaders. However, the focus group provided an interesting, and opposing, viewpoint to their perceptions of student leadership. When sharing with focus group members that participants in the interviews identified more traditional individual leadership qualities, versus shared, communal qualities, focus group members quickly disagreed. Instead, focus group members fully believed leadership to be a community-oriented process. Focus group participants shared their beliefs that student leadership involved giving back to their racial and ethnic communities at Pembroke and a palpable responsibility to leave some type of legacy for their group/organization before graduating. As one focus group member mentioned, "This year as a president of the club…my whole mind set is like, what can I leave behind rather than what can I accomplish right now? It's kind of like me setting it [the club] up for future generations of students of color here." However, one focus group member shared an interesting and pointed response to her perception as to why participants may have listed egocentric qualities during the interviews:

I feel like because a leader is an individual, it's going to have those kind of definitions

> [individual qualities], and I think it's true. But I think the point of difference is when you're saying, are they a good leader or a bad leader, that's when you bring the community in. So you can have all those [individual] traits [but] you'd be a good leader if you're impacting the community, and making changes, and working with people, and showing that you care about them. Whereas if you're just getting things done, and you have those [individual] qualities, that might make you a bad leader in the eyes of the community (T.M.).

While it may seem surprising or contradictory that the focus group participants felt so strongly drawn to a communal approach to leadership, the individual interviews actually revealed an interesting pattern on where participants chose to express their leadership. For this study, the majority of participants held leadership roles within groups geared towards SOC, often explicitly because they were drawn to the community aspect of the group. One of the main reasons they described wanting to join groups that either historically attract SOC, or are established affinity groups for SOC (like culture clubs), was because they felt a responsibility to "give back" to their racial and/or ethnic group. So while the majority of participants may not have listed community-oriented qualities in their definition of student leadership, the communal aspects of leadership powerfully transcended their rationalization of where and how they chose to express their leadership on campus.

Leadership Involvement: Participation and Leadership Expression in SOC Groups

Based on the responses of the participants, the student leadership experiences and co-curricular involvement for participants interviewed largely occurred in groups and organizations for SOC. In this section, the reasons why participants seek and express leadership within SOC

groups will be explored. Primarily, five principle themes emerged. They are presented in the following order given the code frequency of the theme:

1. Participants actively sought involvement with groups/individuals of similar backgrounds (Rooney, 1985).
2. Participants felt a responsibility to give back to, or promote needs of, their racial/ethnic groups (Arminio et al., 2001; Harper & Quaye, 2007).
3. Participating in a SOC group affirmed participants' sense of identity (Hurtado et al., 1998).
4. Participants referred to SOC groups as "family," or were drawn to SOC groups because they emulated their view of "family."
5. Participants found predominately White student groups to be intimidating and/or unwelcoming (Sutton & Terrell, 1997).

In addition, whether this leadership expression in SOC groups is due to organic self-selection or the campus climate will be addressed at the end of this section.

Seeking involvement with individuals of similar racial/ethnic backgrounds. The most frequent code that emerged from participants' involvement responses involved their inclination to seek participation in a group with individuals who shared a similar racial and/or ethnic background. SOC felt most comfortable and most welcomed in those spaces and consequently, they were attracted to those particular groups. As Victoria states, "I think a part of it [is] it's easier to stick to people that you understand. You don't have to like feel like you have to tip-toe around or explain yourself a lot of time." Geo shared a similar reaction to Victoria:

> I just felt welcomed by the people who were in [references predominately Latino organization on campus], whether it was through them saying 'hi' when we saw each

> other around campus or being invited to a party on the weekend. I just felt welcomed, and I felt as though I could relate to them.

Jonah also provided a response that resonated with Victoria and Geo's explanations, "Working with the Haitian Association was an amazing process because we were working with other students who knew exactly how you kind of grew up, the kind of foods you ate, and what kind of languages you speak, and that was a whole different kind of dynamic." Rowan Decker shared a response almost verbatim to Jonah's when sharing her experience with the Cape Verdean student group, "I wanted a place where I thought I could feel more comfortable. And where better than a club with people who could speak Creole as well [as] people who understood and appreciated my culture because they had the same culture?" On a slightly different note, alluding to the racial climate, Patience provided an interesting spin on her perception of SOC seeking involvement with groups that would provide a sense of welcome, acceptance, and comfort:

> I think people often try to stick to their comfort zone and that's what's in their own race or those who look like them. That's a defense mechanism as well because we're in a predominately White community where we often feel like we're the minority. So within our minority we create the majority.

Participants also felt drawn to SOC groups because it created a sense of solidarity and a space in which they could discuss the issues they faced as SOC in a predominately White environment. Alisha commented on the reason she chose to join the leadership council for SOC, "I just wanted an inclusive community where I could kind of talk about the problems that I was going through as a student of color." Danielle cited issues more specific to her race and gender for joining a particular all-female, Black, group on campus:

> It's just like a nice place to reflect…like your day, different issues going on in the Black female community. We talk about a lot of different problems, like body image, how the media portrays Black women…and women in general…and how we get perceived at Pembroke, and interracial dating, stuff like that. How we feel when we see a Black guy with a White woman, or we see a Black girl with a White boy, things like that. And just talking about issues of being a minority female on campus.

Jose provided the male perspective to Danielle's viewpoint on why students tend to stick to their "cultural bubble" at Pembroke. He responded, "…it's easy to seek solace in those who look like you. I know if I see a Black man they're going to go through relatively the same experiences I'm going through. They know what it's like to be a Black man in a PWI." Quite a few participants, like Jose, also talked about the SOC "bubble" on campus. As T.M. explains,

> So the SOC bubble is like a collective comfort zone if you will. You have your own comfort zone but this is a collective one in which you can, it's like a niche. You're with people who are like you. And there are so few of you that you kind of know everyone, so it just becomes one bubble. You see the same people; you're sitting with the same people; you're talking to the same people.

Responsibility to give back to, or promote needs of, their racial/ethnic group. Aside from seeking membership within SOC groups, another major reason participants sought out SOC groups, especially in terms of leadership expression, stemmed from an overwhelming sense of responsibility to give back to racial/ethnic communities. Although reasons varied across participants, for some the sense of responsibility appeared innate. For others, their sense of responsibility seemed fueled by their belief that if they did not give back to their communities, and provide a voice for the needs of their racial/ethnic group, who in the Pembroke community

would do so? For others, the responsibility resulted from a need to pay forward the generosity they received from upperclassmen peers or other individuals who helped them along the way. Below are a variety of snippets from participant responses highlighting this theme:

- Since coming to Pembroke I've discovered this sort of duty to kind of share my Latino experience, so that's why my involvement has been with things like the Latino Organization [pseudonym] or helping out with Hispanic Heritage Month and things like that you know? (Geo).
- I'm a firm believer in giving back. All of my services, you'll see that I give back to the underrepresented and undeserved community. So I love giving back, and I just felt because that was done for me, I should be able to do that for others (Patience).
- The whole idea of giving back to students of color drives me, and you can just see it across my interests (OJ).
- I think that for me, as a student leader, it's about expressing my culture. Almost forcing it down your throat a little bit. Like making sure you're aware we exist…we're here on campus (Isosa).
- I loved working with other students of color. It's like a group of students of color working towards the same goal. And it's a very powerful feeling (Jonah).

In multiple interviews, upon hearing the various responses from students, it became quite apparent they possessed a compelling desire to give back to particular communities at Pembroke. Danielle, for example, spoke about her need to help recruit other SOC to Pembroke and host them for the OMSP (Office of Multicultural Student Programs) weekend in April (after being admitted to Pembroke) so she could share her experiences as a "minority female at a PWI."

Additionally, it seems this feeling of responsibility to give back to their racial/ethnic communities is one of the primary reasons why participants in this study chose to predominately express their leadership in SOC groups. This finding was also validated when member checked in the focus group. When asked if they believed their opportunities to access student leadership was the same or different than their White peers, the majority of participants answered that they believed their opportunities were identical, however, as the numbers demonstrate, participants often choose to express their leadership in SOC groups. This observation was shared with the focus group; collectively the group agreed that the principal reason they chose to express their leadership in SOC groups (like culture clubs) was because they felt responsible to contribute to their racial/ethnic communities. As one focus group member shared, "The Black community is really small, so who is going to run those clubs if you're not in it? I can't speak for everyone, but I feel like there's some pressure to help those groups."

Participating in SOC groups affirmed participants' sense of identity. In addition, participants felt drawn to SOC groups because these groups affirmed their racial/ethnic identity. As Katie expressed, "…it's easier to join a club where you have that sense of cultural identification." In these groups participants were able to learn more about their race/ethnicity and/or develop a stronger sense of their identities. Victoria shared her perspective on culture clubs at Pembroke, "That's really the aim of culture clubs. Yes, it's to explore your cultural identity and learn about you and your background." Jacqueline noted similar feelings to Victoria, "I think while I was here I surrounded myself and made friends mainly within the Asian community. I've always kind of…I just felt the desire to learn more about myself and to learn more about my culture that way." Frank also disclosed his desire to understand his racial/ethnic

identity when joining the major Latino organization on campus, "So what drew me to it was just kind of the thought of 'I need to figure out who I am' type deal. And I need to find my people."

SOC groups as family. Participants described actively seeking "family" on campus. They saw their SOC groups as family or gravitated towards a particular group because of the "family" feel of the group. Participants frequently used words like "sisterhood," "brotherhood," and "family" when describing the connection to a particular SOC group. This theme also emerged in the focus group. As one participant offered, "It's that sense of feeling at home and feeling comfortable in the small communities and knowing that you have that body of people that essentially can be your family if you allow them to and if the situation presents itself." However, it appeared that this theme seemed to resonate most strongly within specific culture clubs on campus. For example, when Geo shared why he chose to join the major Latino student cultural group on campus he replied,

> Latinos have this attribute of being really close knit, especially among family members… I can honestly say that joining [the Latino student organization] made an upwards shift in my feelings towards Pembroke, and just my experiences as a student here, because it definitely brought that sense of family that I really like just from being back home or just from being Latino.

Frank also had a similar outlook on Latinos and the major Latino organization on campus, "…another thing with Latinos on campus is we're very family oriented…so for example, with [the Latino student organization], my stand is we are a family and we're actually going to practice that."

Likewise, Asian participants also described various cultural groups (under the Asian umbrella) with familial descriptors. Jacqueline described the Japanese cultural club as her,

"home away from home." Katie provided an elaborate description of the Chinese cultural club and their creation of "families" on campus, "We have actual family systems set up, but even just with people, it feels like a family and people say that [the Chinese cultural club] is always going to be the home that you can come back to no matter what you choose to do with your four years at Pembroke." Victoria, who identifies as Korean, also participates in the Chinese cultural club and the families the group creates, "I'm like a family head. So every year we create families, like two upper classman will be parents. I have a husband and then we have like six underclassmen children. We call it family." She also shared how vested she felt in her family, and how much time she dedicated to her co-parent and underclassmen "children."

Additionally, some participants also described certain performing groups (again with a predominate SOC membership) with family descriptors as well, in particular the male and female step teams on campus, and the a capella group that performs R&B and soul music. These three groups in particular tend to draw greater Black student participation. Joshua described coming into Pembroke knowing he wanted to join the all-male step team because he wanted a "brotherhood" experience. Now, as the vice-president, he describes how his relationships within the group have continued to grow, "Yeah, it has been amazing. I got even a stronger bond with my brothers, close with the alumni, as well as the ones who are still here. We look out for each other. It helps me out a lot with discipline as well and I love it so much." Danielle also joined the all-female step team in her freshman year seeking a "sisterhood" experience. As she recalled,

> My best friend, her sister, was on the team. She went to Pembroke and was like, 'try out.' I always wanted to be in a sorority, and Pembroke doesn't have Greek life so I was like this is the closest thing to a sisterhood, so I tried out… I really cherish friendships and building strong relationships. So yeah, sisterhood.

Perceptions of predominately White student groups. Unlike the previous sub-themes that outlined why participants felt an affinity towards SOC groups, this sub-theme reflects students' disenchantment with predominately White student groups on campus. The major reasons several participants did not feel comfortable in various predominately White groups included the following: finding the groups to be unwelcoming to SOC; finding they could not connect to the norms and culture of these groups; and feeling uncomfortable by the lack of diversity. Geo explained that he choose not to join some predominately White groups because he did not believe he felt a sense of belonging to particular groups or see himself "reflected" in their programs. Two different participants shared their experiences leaving a predominately White group due to their sense of discomfort. For Nanci, she highlighted how much more uncomfortable she felt attending the meetings for the school's venture club, chiefly due the very White composition of the club, in comparison to the majority of her other groups which are much more mixed racially. While for Jose, he could not adapt to the culture of the predominately White all male a capella group he initially joined. As he recalled:

> They were very into that bro culture in terms of just like, hooking up with girls, drinking beers all the time…it was just stupid to me. It just wasn't my cup of tea. I feel like being a Black man on there, I just did not belong. Who I am as an individual, who I am racially, I just couldn't do it.

Victoria, similar to Nanci, shared why she chose not to join a predominately White volunteer group because of her overwhelming feeling of "onlyness." In fact, she could not even muster the courage to attend the information session for this group. In her words,

> If it was a room full of, I don't know, like Asians, I think I would have had more courage to walk in. But because I was like two minutes late, everyone was already there, so it

> seemed like everyone was being like being friendly already. So I felt like…yes there was a room full of White people. It was a very big room, very many people. I was thinking it's going to take me more effort, even more effort, that it would to be friendly with these people, so like I just walked back out.

Curtis shared his experiences with discrimination and feeling excluded when interacting with predominately White student groups on campus in two examples:

> One time I went to join the investment club. They looked at me like, "I hope you know this is the investment club." And then I even took my mentee, who is a freshman here now, I took him to the Club Lacrosse table they were like, "you know this is the Lacrosse table, right?" He was like, "yes, I came to this table personally because I want to play Lacrosse." [The Club Lacrosse member] was like "oh, well, the sign in sheet is somewhere on the table, you can go find it." It was just a group of White guys. I was like, wow. They didn't even want to interact with him... I asked him if they [ever] emailed him. He said no.

Jonah also articulated this sense of exclusion he believes many of the student groups on campus perpetuate:

> It's very difficult to get involved in things that are not necessarily, wouldn't necessarily be attributed to Black culture. So for example, doing a culture club here is easy for students of color. You can just sign up. They expect you to sign up. But if I go to the volunteer service-learning center [table], they do great work but there's no Black people standing at that table at the activities fair you know? It's not like I have other Black students and Hispanic students inviting me to their tables trying to get me to sign up for their groups, whatever their initiative is. And there's 1,000 other tables out there, and I never get the

same kind of invite, or desire for me to walk over there and sign up for that table.

This tension surrounding the campus racial climate in connection to student leadership and participation warranted further exploration. Consequently, focus group participants were asked whether they believed their involvement in SOC groups occurred because of organic self-selection or due to the campus culture and racial climate as a PWI. Their perceptions will be shared in the next section.

Self-selection or campus culture? Further exploration within the focus group. While most participants never felt personally limited in their leadership opportunities (due to their race or ethnicity), believing their access to leadership opportunities to be the same as White students on campus, participants did acknowledge that the bulk of their leadership experiences resided predominately in SOC groups. When asked if this pattern occurred because of self-selection or campus culture, resoundingly, focus group members attributed the pattern to a combination of both phenomena at play. Participants again stressed the feelings of responsibility they possess to cultivate their race/ethnicity on campus. However, they feel the need to provide a voice and space for minoritized student groups on campus because the racial climate continues to perpetuate the divide between White and non-White groups on campus. As one focus group member shared:

> I would say that a lot of the things that I've been involved with in which I've had the best experiences have been organizations or efforts that have to do with a similar culture as mine or a similar identity. Because I have had volunteer opportunities that aren't traditional to what is usual or common for SOC to get involved with. It was cool and all but I didn't…I wouldn't rave about it the same way I would about my involvement with [the Latino organization] because it definitely caters to my wants and needs I think.

Another focus group member also shared her experiences in feeling different in predominately White groups than in groups for SOC.

> …it's a lot different than interacting with peers who are White for some reason. I think when you put yourself in those spaces you open yourself up. You're going to have to be more vulnerable. There's kind of the question of is this a liability? Because not only are you trying to figure out what common ground you have with people who are different from you, but then you're worried about the perceptions of the community you're leaving.

Both of these focus group members raised a very interesting point as they communicated their responses, a point that had not been articulated in any of the individual interviews. Their reflections raised the question—if as a SOC they elected to join a predominately White group, how would they then be perceived by members of their racial/ethnic group on campus? Would they be viewed as a "sell-out" or a "traitor" to their group? This theme evolved from the focus group and will be explored further later in this chapter.

Leader Role Models

The third leadership theme that emerged from the interviews with participants involved their perception of leader role models, particularly individuals of color, for both students and staff/faculty within the Pembroke community. Their perceptions and experiences differed greatly when discussing their student leader role model versus role models within the staff/faculty.

Student leader role models. Without difficulty nearly every participate easily named other students on campus they viewed as student leader role models, identifying the bulk of those individuals as SOC. These observations were shared with the focus group members who agreed

with the observations and provided additional insights into the data that surfaced from the individual interviews.

Contrary to the research findings suggesting that SOC struggle to find racially and ethnically diverse role models within the student body due to being one of a few student leaders of color on campus (Arminio et al., 2000; Harper et al., 2011), the data that emerged from this study indicates the opposite occurs at Pembroke. As previously mentioned, the fact that the majority of participants identified as a student leader seemed surprising, but after further investigation into the culture at Pembroke, it appears that student leadership is a dominant aspect of the culture. Thus, while racial and ethnic diversity remains low at Pembroke, within the SOC community there appears to be a greater number of students assuming leadership roles than may be the case at other elite PWIs. Subsequently, within this study 23 of the 25 participants interviewed identified a SOC student leader role model (with some listing more than one individual). In addition, when describing these student leader role models, the deep appreciation and respect participants possessed for these students became evident. Participants described feeling mentored and/or valued by these individuals, "looking up" to or "admiring" them, and in some cases, hoping to emulate the same qualities they possessed. As OJ shared regarding his student leader role model, "She's one of a kind…she's the most confident person I know. She instills a sense of confidence in me that I can't get from anyone else at this campus." Patience also shared the impact of her student leader role model,

> [She] helped me see the world from a different point of view. And that encouragement of knowing there are going to be people that tell you that you can't, but just know that you can and hold your head up high, stand with respect, stand with dignity and integrity, and there's nothing that you can't do.

Interestingly, a few participants actually listed one of the other participants in this study as a student leader role model, particularly because of his passion and dedication to raising campus awareness on the issues SOC (particularly Black students) face as students at Pembroke and in the larger society.

When sharing this information with the focus group regarding the ability of participants to quickly and easily name fellow SOC peers as student leader role models, focus group members became extremely animated and a great deal of synergy surfaced from their responses. Focus group members shared their belief that attending a predominately residential campus helps SOC to connect and form relationships with one another more easily. As a result, as one focus group participant explained, "I feel like with [SOC] we have more interaction with one another. We have a lot more access to one another." In addition, focus group participants shared how often the student leader role models they admired shaped their paths towards pursuing their current student leadership roles as well. For some, they also realized how the pendulum had perhaps swung, in which previously they were admiring other student leaders on campus, but now they might be the student leaders other SOC on campus admired. As one focus group member shared, "I feel like as a freshman had you asked me who some of the student leaders that I admired were…I feel like now I might be in their role. I think it's always crazy to think about how I admired someone and how I'm potentially in a position where I can be admired."

Staff/faculty role models—A mixed response. Unlike the responses regarding student leader role models, responses regarding their staff/faculty role models appeared much more mixed. Fifteen of the 25 participants listed persons of color within the staff/administration, 13 of the 25 participants listed White individuals as role models, and five could not list any leader role models within the staff/administration (in particular individuals with the same racial or ethnic

background). Moreover, often when non-White staff/faculty role models were listed, participants named the same handful of individuals (staff members in the OMSP office, a Jesuit who leads an international service trip that typically attracts SOC participants, a senior administrator in the school of education, the director of undergraduate advising, and the director of an office on campus that serves low-income, first generation students). The fact that a lack of variability existed among the persons of color listed as staff/faculty role models definitely intimated that a systemic issue might be responsible.

When sharing these finding with the focus group, students were quick to note the obvious lack of racial and ethnic diversity within the faculty and administration at Pembroke. Furthermore, focus group members named the lack of diverse role models within the faculty and administration as an institutional and systemic issue (again drawing to mind the pervasiveness of normalized racism within institutional structures). As one focus group member explained, "I feel like not being able to kind of call upon a diverse pool of SOC faculty and staff gets at an institutional issue because if there was an abundance of professors or administration of color I feel like it would be a piece of cake to nominate someone or a few people." And another focus group member shared similar thoughts:

> To give a concrete example I'm in [the school of education] but I'm thinking of all the professors I've had in the past, especially from my methods course and major of applied psych, most of them are White professors. They're great people, but if you look at it demographically they're mainly White professors. There's more female professors in [the school of education], which is good in that sense, but it's mostly White. I'm mainly exposed to White professors.

Another focus group participant (who provided written feedback on the focus group protocol) also highlighted the systemic issues around diversity within the administration and faculty:

> To start, there isn't many faculty, staff, or administrators of color on campus as the ratio is 20:1, whereas for the White population on campus, that is 8:1. Most of the people of color we see work in the dining halls and in facilities, or staff that work in pockets of the university where they have no interaction with students (Curtis).

Overall, while focus group members found the lack of diversity with the staff/faculty to be problematic, those that did possess faulty/staff role models truly valued those relationships. Most remarked how their role models took an active interest in their education, their psychological well-being at Pembroke, and their overall development. Students described how these individuals tended to genuinely understand the needs of SOC on campus, and displayed strong listening skills, demonstrating to participants that they really cared. For those who did not possess role models with in the faculty/administration, as the Arminio et al. (2000) study indicated, participants articulated actively desiring a role model or mentor. As Alisha shared, "That's one thing I've kind of lacked at this school was an administrative kind of mentor, someone I'm really close with…. That's something I wish I had, but something I don't really have." Danielle felt very similarly to Alisha, "I wish I had a mentor. I wish I had someone I feel I could just come talk to about life."

Leadership Opportunities and Experiences: Perceived Differences

The last major theme to emerge from the interviews involved whether students perceived inherent differences in leadership opportunities and experiences as SOC. As participants explained their perceptions of their leadership opportunities and their experiences, patterns

materialized that reflected differences for SOC versus their White peers. These patterns included their beliefs on their "access to" versus "expression of" leadership on campus and their perceptions of how the larger campus community receives and values predominately SOC groups versus predominately White student groups. In addition, these patterns very much align with the Sedlacek (1999) findings as outlined in Chapter Two.

Access to leadership opportunities versus leadership expression. Interestingly, the majority of participants in this study believed they possessed equal ability to access the same leadership opportunities as their White peers. As Mashaunda shared, "I feel like we're on the same level. If you're a leader you're a leader. I don't think your color makes anything different." Participants also seemed to share the mindset that if they wanted to pursue membership or a leadership role in a particular group, they did not feel deterred by their race or ethnicity. Furthermore, while most articulated the very real and pervasive nature of microaggressions at Pembroke, participants did not feel that these encounters impacted their leadership opportunities.

And yet, in this study, participants did not elect to express their leadership in predominately White groups (or even racially/ethnically mixed groups) as frequently as they did in groups with a predominately SOC membership. Once more, participants were four times more likely to engage in leadership in a SOC group than a predominately White group. Participants also noted this pattern in their individual interviews, commenting on how SOC noticeably choose to pursue leadership positions within affinity groups for SOC, like culture clubs, over other groups. For example, Isosa shared, "I think that a lot of the student leaders I know end up being leaders of things that are more related specifically to a part of their racial or ethnic identity." Jose also provided the same observation as Isosa, "I feel like students of color, student leadership

more-so, tends to relate to holding executive board positions in culture clubs and then being a figure in the [SOC] community."

This theme, when shared with the focus group, immediately prompted participants to reiterate their sense of responsibility to give back to their racial and/or ethnic communities on campus, especially since the "communities of color" on campus are "so small." One focus group participant provided a very in-depth response:

> There's a couple of layers to it. The first I think goes back to the community, the communal mindset, because very similar to what [other focus group member] was saying, who knows how to best serve a community than the people who live that experience? So I think it's very intentional that students of color choose to serve organizations or causes that resonate to their experience. I've done the same thing. I think it comes to a point where you feel like it's a responsibility, like you owe it to keep it going but also improve it, and that's kind of how you give back and pay it forward. I also think leading an organization that's accessible to all 9,000+ students is going to be a much larger challenge than if I have to compete against 50. So I think we're very strategic, or at least I'm very strategic because to where I'm going to choose to exercise access points to leadership opportunities. And then lastly…students that I've spoken to just don't like the idea of being the only Black student to go to Mexico or on a service trip. You already get enough of that in your classroom.

Moreover, the focus group also raised a point not previously mentioned in the individual interviews—the feeling that they would be abandoning their racial/ethnic group, or forced to adopt White standards, or viewed as a "sellout" by their peers if they sought out leadership opportunities in a predominately White group. As one focus group member shared,

> I think one thing that we haven't brought up here is how do those [SOC] communities view those students? So if I'm the only Latino student going on [a predominately White service trip], how does the Latino community view me? Do they view me as a sell out? Do they view me as a person who has had to kind of assimilate to a certain culture? Like did I start wearing certain brands in order to relate to these students who are going on this trip? If I'm the only Latino Orientation Leader for a given year, did I have to buy a whole different wardrobe in order to make some common ground with the students at orientation? Do I have to like certain things now because I'm spending a whole summer with these students who are usually White or from prep schools that have kind of fostered and cultivated White culture and White interests into these students? I think it's a very complicated issue.

Other focus group participants agreed, with visible head nodding from all in the room. Unfortunately the focus group time ran out, however, one participant did stay behind a little longer to share how she has received criticism from her Indonesian peers for choosing to be involved in predominately White groups. And while this particular participant, Emily, is perhaps an anomaly in that her involvement in SOC groups remains limited, she affirmed what the other focus group members postulated—that if one steps out of their ethnic/racial group, they may face unwarranted scrutiny from their peers who believe they may not be truly "Asian" or "Latino" or "Black" enough.

Hierarchy of student groups on campus. Similar to the discussion on White privilege and Whiteness as property in Chapter Four in which certain capital is favored within higher education (typically the capital possessed and enacted by the majoritarian culture), participants observed a noticeable difference in how the campus community at Pembroke values SOC groups

versus White groups. In particular, participants articulated three different phenomenon in regard to the differences in perception and treatment of student leadership groups on campus: (a) the value awarded to different groups; (b) apathy towards the platform of SOC groups; and (c) racial clustering and stratification. This overarching theme on the "hierarchy" of student groups connects strongly to participants' perceptions of student leadership. The way in which participants view the "worth" of their students groups in which they participate and hold leadership roles, appears to directly impact their student leader identity (their qualities) and their leadership style (actions, decisions, and so forth). Furthermore, their perceptions of the student group "hierarchy" also seemed to be another factor contributing to where they chose to express leadership. These perceptions, as noted earlier in the chapter, again tie back to the sense or responsibility they feel to serve their communities and provide their racial and ethnic groups with a voice on campus.

Most participants, whether stated directly or indirectly, detected a discrepancy in how certain clubs were promoted, endorsed, and supported by the Pembroke community. As participants pointed out, groups officially funded and run by the college (like the student government, orientation leaders, and so forth…) were historically White, selected predominately White members, and received the most institutional support. Geo observed that the student government (the largest institutionally backed student organization) has the "image of being run by White students" while also sharing his belief that SOC are not on "the same level as the stereotypical Pembroke kid." Furthermore, as T.M. squarely pointed out:

> I think culture groups are definitely valued amongst [SOC] especially because we run them; however, I don't think the institution really cares. They care about [the student government and [first year experience] opportunities (etc.) because they are university

> funded and affiliated. Their name is on so they can say this is what Pembroke is *really* about.

Multiple students acknowledged the weight and pull of the student government as the most visible and prestigious group on campus due to its close affiliation with the university. As the most powerful student group at Pembroke due to its financial and symbolic sponsorship by the college, the student government, through its partnerships, can set the tone as to what groups are and are not valued on campus. Many participants alluded to the fact that the student government did not partner with all student groups on campus equally, often overlooking culture clubs on campus. As Jonah remarked:

> I feel like Pembroke's [student government], plays a huge role in how successful a lot of the student organizations are in getting their message out because they have so much pull. They have all the resources available to them and so there are certain communities that are automatically going to feel excluded from that just based on how the [student government's] politics go.

Other university groups, with a direct university sponsorship (e.g. financially backed and/or led by campus administrators), versus student lead groups, were also listed as receiving more attention from the campus community—groups such as the orientation leaders, specific service organizations, and so forth. This attention manifested in ways such as, representation on the college website or student portal, through the exclusivity of the selection process for membership in these groups, and through student attendance at events promoted by these groups (when applicable). Moreover, according to participants, these university-sponsored groups have been, and continue to draw predominately White student participation. Ultimately, whether because of the value inherently placed in some student leadership groups over other student leadership

groups, participants also acknowledged feeling, overall, like the larger campus community often dismissed the efforts of SOC groups on campus (for example, SOC branches of the student government or culture clubs). Furthermore, students in this study also noted some highly visible (university led) rebranding of SOC specific events and/or groups. These examples highlight clearly the power of the CRT tenet "interest convergence" at work.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, interest convergence is the conception that White individuals only tolerate or encourage racial advances when said advances also promote White interest. Thus, the primary example multiple participants shared involved the college rebranding the [SOC acronym] ball, the "Heritage Ball," to try and confront some of the racial segregation on campus. Historically, this event attracted predominately SOC. According to participants, the administration aimed to create an event that would be more inclusive and welcoming to all students. However, by rebranding this event participants felt infuriated, robbed, and devalued. Not only was something "taken away" that was once "theirs," but instead of creating an event that truly fostered racial and ethnic integration, students felt the rebranding set the tone that this ball now belonged to the larger Pembroke community, meaning White students. And by rebranding this event, White students felt more comfortable attending, while the opposite occurred for SOC—they felt more unwelcomed. As Danielle shared:

> We have the SOC boat cruise and the SOC ball. They were like okay, we are going to get rid or the SOC Leadership Council event. It's going to be some "Heritage" craziness. And it's kind of taking away what was ours kind of. Not ours, because everyone was invited, but it was something you could kind of unite with, and that was gone. So I feel like they don't think about it. But when we have something that has SOC on it, it was a problem. They [White students] felt excluded but it's like how do we feel when

> we are the minority and there is something that kind of was ours and now it's gone because you felt this way and because of the [SOC acronym] label?

Aside from the name change of the SOC Leadership Council ball, the undergraduate student government also decided to change the name of the SOC Leadership Council, again in hopes of creating more "inclusivity" for the entire community. However, participants felt that name change actually promoted greater inclusivity for White students who were already the majority and most welcomed group of students on campus. One participant, Alisha, as a member of the Leadership Council, shared her sense of dismay in the attitude and reaction of the larger student government to the SOC Leadership Council and remarked how multiple times she came close to quitting the group due to her frustrations. Curtis, in evaluating the focus group talking points, wholeheartedly agreed with the observation that a distinct difference exists in how predominately SOC groups versus predominately White groups are viewed on campus. In addition, he agreed and how certain advances, touted as larger advances for the community as a whole, really only served the White student population. As he shared,

> …[there is] nothing, more I can say other than true…and many White students played victim indicating they always feel secluded, so there have been pushes to remove labels like [SOC acronym at Pembroke], and the SOC Leadership Council, and other related names from things so that White students can feel comfortable in attending.

Although the interview protocol focused more directly on individual perceptions and experiences with student leadership, this shared perception across numerous participants regarding the inequities student groups face on a campus (with a clear distinction between predominately White groups and racially/ethnically affiliated groups) bubbled up organically, particularly when students reflected upon their perceptions of discrimination impacting their

leadership experiences. In addition, aside from sharing the imbalance they perceive among various student groups, participants also shared their beliefs that the student body, overall, possesses a general sense of apathy towards the needs of SOC.

Multiple participants pinpointed this sense of apathy from the student body towards SOC groups as a byproduct of White privilege and Whiteness as property. Apathy seemed to manifest through students devaluing the needs of SOC groups and/or a lack of attendance at events sponsored by SOC groups. Jose shared his thoughts on the culture of apathy at Pembroke when discussing the racial protests on campus and how the majority of the student population seemed unaffected by these deliberate demonstrations that called for community unity and recognition:

> I feel like a lot of people are apathetic and just don't show interest or they remain silent. But it's either you're passionate in a good way or you're passionate in a negative way and that's what's going to get expressed. The dichotomy [then] is that's what's going to get expressed, not the in between, so. A lot of people say apathy is often worse than hate.

Alisha also articulated her frustration, as a member of the SOC branch of the student government, on how diversity and inclusion did not seem to be a genuine platform item for the student government as a whole. Instead, only the SOC leadership council seemed concerned about the needs of SOC on campus. As Alisha shared, “we shouldn’t be the only ones concerned.”

Moreover, participants shared numerous examples of their White peers deliberately stating that they would not attend a specific event or join a specific club because they did not identify as a SOC. Either they felt uninterested in the goals/aims of the group or believed the groups’ interests did not pertain to them as a White student. The following excerpts provide different participants’ perceptions on this issue:

- People have been like oh well, I'm not going to go to that because I'm not a student of color. I'm not Black. I don't want to be with all those students. And that kind of hurts. Like oh, okay, you could come. It's not just for students that identify as [a SOC] it's anybody. People say stuff like that and it really bothers me (Alisha).
- There was one incident where we were promoting our club for the student involvement fair. I made eye contact with this boy who was Caucasian I believe…but anyway, [I] made eye contact with him and he kind of just laughed at me. And I said "oh, you should join the Japan club if you're interested in Japan." And he goes "what, do I look Japanese to you?" And I was kind of just like "no, you don't, but I'm not either. I mean part of me is, but for the most part I'm not, but it doesn't matter." In the very beginning, when it happened, it made me feel kind of, almost silly for even trying to bring other people into our club even though I know that our club is very welcoming to anyone…to everyone (Jacqueline).

Furthermore participants shared their frustrations in trying to promote awareness of their group's needs and feeling like they were simply unable to reach the larger population of students at Pembroke due to their apathy:

- I feel when you're trying to raise awareness or educate or even discuss issues relating to being a person of color on campus, as a person of color it's a lot harder to engage people who don't think about those things in that conversation. So I feel like a lot of the time if a student who is a student leader is saying this is an important issue, we should care about this, it's taken less seriously because they're a SOC… I think it's a privilege thing to be honest. I think it's easy to write off their [SOC] concerns, because students of color are

the minority, when 70% of the population is White and never had to, has never experienced these concerns because they live in a place where it's 70% White (Nanci).

- Culture clubs…they'll do advertisements, they'll post flyers, they'll do a lot of different things, but if you don't think that you need it, then you're not going to stop and listen. So it's like we can be here as much as we want and express our culture and educate people and have all these activities and general meetings and everything, but if only the people that are already interested in learning about different cultures show up then it's like I think the battle hasn't really been won at Pembroke (Isosa).

Although these encounters with apathy towards SOC group and the issues they face at a PWI left participants feeling frustrated, angry, and/or sad, these same experiences also seemed to fuel their commitment to leadership and to leadership within SOC group in particular. As one focus group member stated:

> I feel like it's almost essential for people of color here to be leaders of groups that fall under the SOC bracket. Because like T.M. was saying, our SOC communities are small… I feel like it's better for me to be involved in a group that's going to service me directly. And if there are times when I'm on this campus and I don't feel like I have that support group, it's good to know there are leaders that look like me that can help me in those situations.

Similar to the attitude of "your issues are not my issues," participants shared their experiences with the very clear segregation on campus in terms of who attended various events hosted by particular clubs and organizations. As leaders (or heavily involved members) of many of these SOC groups, participants shared their frustrations in how White students shy away from events sponsored by SOC groups, especially if the event contains an acronym in its title

pertaining to SOC. Emily noted that there is a profusion of cultural shows on campus, and yet, the majority of students do not attend these shows because they view them as "minority clubs and events." As a result, among her (predominately White friend group), attending these events do not even cross their minds—"I tell my friends, "oh you guys should come to this show, you guys should come to that show." And they're like, "I've never heard of this club…I didn't know that was happening" (Emily). Or as Rowan Decker unequivocally noted,

> …when White students hear [the SOC acronym] they shy away from it because they don't think that they're included in it. That they can't participate, which is so interesting because nothing is geared towards people of color. They just shy away from leaders of color, or working with leaders of color.

Isosa also echoed Emily's and Rowan Decker's beliefs that the events hosted by SOC organizations did not seem to reach the larger community but instead seemed lost in translation. As she commented, "…the one thing that's unfortunate is that a lot of people that attend them or come to these events are also SOC, and sometimes we're not even reaching that mass group of Pembroke students that are so oblivious to their surroundings and the other cultures around them" (Isosa). Although these observations and experiences did seem to carry a tone of powerlessness at times, participants were not defeated. Instead, participants often appeared even more compelled, as student leaders, to advocate for their groups and create change on campus.

Student Leadership Summary

Overall, the student leadership findings in this chapter, particularly in relation to the campus racial climate, provided some predictable and some surprising findings. Perhaps what was most surprising was the frequency with which students identified strongly as student leaders.

But as participants described the student culture around leadership at Pembroke, the rationale behind this pattern became more apparent. And although previous research has demonstrated that SOC tend to gravitate towards and express leadership in SOC groups, better understanding why that may specifically be the case at Pembroke yielded some rich responses from participants that tied directly into racialized aspects of their student leadership identity.

It was clear that many participants struggle regularly to make the voice of their student group heard and to raise awareness on the issues their racial/ethnic groups face as minoritized students on campus. These struggles have certainly impacted the way in which they perceive, define, and enact leadership on campus. Moreover, the challenges participants face also speaks volumes regarding the campus racial climate at Pembroke, which as noted in Chapter Four, remains profoundly impacted by normalized racism embedded within the institutional structures. Subsequently, normalized racism may the crux as to why participants so frequently sought to express their leadership in predominately SOC groups—in a community where they feel alienated as minoritized students of color on campus, what would compel them to seek leadership in predominately White groups? Especially when feeling like if they did not provide the voice and vehicle to express the needs of fellow peers of color, would anyone within the larger community do so? These questions, along with additional data points from this chapter (and Chapter Four) will be explored in the final chapter of this study discussing the implications of these findings along with recommendations for practice.

CHAPTER 6. Discussion and Implications

The goal of this research was to explore how SOC at a PWI understood, conceptualized, and actualized student leadership using a Critical Race Theory (CRT) lens. An additional goal was to better understand how the perspectives of SOC may, or may not, challenge the metanarratives of the dominant culture in terms of defining student leadership and student leadership identity. As noted in the introductory chapter, part of what makes this study unique is that while studies examining the experiences of SOC leaders have increased in recent years, most of these studies have not been interpreted through a CRT lens. In addition, this study considered participants' perceptions and understanding of leadership, aside from their subjective experiences, in relation to their racialized experiences as students on a campus where racial and ethnic diversity is lacking. This area of research, as noted by Harper et al. (2011), is "rarely explored" (p. 180).

Thus, the aim of this study involved taking a first step towards filling gaps in the existing literature. The CRT lens utilized provided a rich framework for understanding how students' racialized identity impacted their perceptions and leadership involvement on one PWI campus. While some of the findings reaffirmed the preexisting literature on SOC and leadership, there were a variety of findings that either contradicted established research, or charted new ground that countered the way in which student leadership, or student leadership identity, has traditionally been defined. Ultimately, CRT as the theoretical lens for this study highlighted the fact that Pembroke University, as a PWI and microcosm of society at large, maintains a campus culture that perpetuates normalized racism enacted at both at the systemic and individual levels. This campus culture appeared to significantly impact the experiences and perceptions of

participants in this study, and seems to suggest that the campus culture plays a powerful role in students' decision making around co-curricular involvement and leadership expression. Therefore, the connection between the campus culture and student leadership will be explored in this chapter, along with a more in-depth discussion of the student leadership analysis (both the previously affirmed and unexpected findings). In addition, this chapter will offer some suggestions on the implications for practice for similar institutions to Pembroke as an outcome of the findings from this study. This study does possess limited generalizabiliy since only one research site was examined. The limitations to this study and areas for further research will also be presented here.

The Connection Between Campus Climate and Student Leadership at Pembroke

This study suggests that institutional structures, like institutions of higher education, perpetuate normalized racism as a product of inherently biased structures, a major tenet of the CTT framework. In particular, PWIs, as historically White institutions, continue to espouse embedded White dominated values that tend to favor particular students on campus (Hurtado et al., 1998). Pembroke, as a PWI, is no exception to the rule. Participants, whether knowingly or unintentionally, highlighted two CRT tenets that profoundly impacted the view of the campus climate: their perception of how race is socially constructed on campus and numerous examples of the ways in which racism is normalized on campus. The biases embedded at Pembroke, and the profound difference in how participants believe (as SOC) that they are perceived at Pembroke in opposition to the larger community, impacted their lived experiences. Most notable was the impact on their decision-making, campus involvement, and personal leadership identity. In the end, the impact of the campus racial climate on students' tangible and subjective

experiences was a major contributing factor as to why participants overwhelmingly gravitated towards SOC groups, both for general participation and leadership expression.

In terms of how participants perceived the social construction of race on campus, when placed in a situation in which they were minoritized (one of a few faces of color in a classroom, or a predominately White student group), discussing and thinking about their race and ethnicity appeared inevitable for participants in this study. The majority of participants noted how frequently others labeled them differently than how they self-identified. Additionally, participants often felt pressured to articulate and/or defend their racial identification, or cope with racial stratification on campus. As highlighted in Chapter Four, even when involved in a predominately White student group that they enjoyed, participants described how inevitably, feelings of "otherness" or "onlyness" crept into their experiences.

For example, participants articulated finding it difficult to connect with peers within these groups regarding their racial and/or ethnic struggles on campus. Participants also shared their encounters with "stereotype threat" in which other group members expected that they would talk only about their race and/or share "dramatic" stories as a SOC on campus (Curtis). Other participants, like Alicia, shared reoccurring feelings of hyperconsciousness around her race in direct relationship to her role as a student leader. Because of an incident in which students left an anonymous note thanking their "Black RA" for her help with a situation, Alisha reflected on how the incident created an overwhelming sense of anxiety and self-doubt. She recounted her fear of being racially stereotyped by her residents, often resulting in second-guessing herself, and even paralysis to take action, because of her worry those students would judge her as "the Black RA," and not as simply, "Alisha."

These internal battles and pressures are very much linked to participants' views of the campus climate, which also directly connects to their sense of belonging and campus experiences. As noted by Stewart et al. (2008), the messaging students receive on whether they are "valued and vital members" within the community impacts their perception of student involvement opportunities (p. 15). And at Pembroke, participants noted a weighty difference in how they believed the overall community perceived SOC on campus. Furthermore, they believed that difference became more profoundly heightened the darker-skinned individuals appeared on the racial spectrum. In addition, their perception of the racial/ethnic stratification at Pembroke is very much linked to the fact that the campus overall lacks racial and ethnic diversity. Subsequently, Chapter Four also highlighted numerous examples of the racial segregation on campus, encounters with microaggressions, and perceptions of the negative racial climate at Pembroke due to the lack of diversity that exists. All of these elements, clustered under the "racisms as normalized" theme and major CRT tenet, impacted how participants' view themselves in relation to the campus environment. As a result, this environmental "push" on participants, certainly influenced their sense of self, and subsequently, their leadership expression.

The data on the types of groups participants chose to join, as well as where they expressed their leadership, while relatively unsurprising, was still profound. Overwhelmingly, both co-curricular involvement and leadership expression fell heavily under the SOC category. This trend in how SOC at Pembroke elect to join and express leadership in groups geared towards SOC is very much aligned with previous research findings (Harper, 2006; Harper, 2008; Harper & Quaye, 2007; Rooney, 1985; Sedlacek, 1999; Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001; Sutton & Terrell, 1997). Once more, what this undeniably strong gravitation towards SOC groups seems to

suggest is that the campus racial climate does play a large and powerful role in students' decision making on involvement and participation in leadership opportunities on campus. This is very much on par with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, which posits that personal development, and identity "is a function of the interaction of the person and the environment" (Renn et al., 2010, p. 160). Countless examples of how normalized racism remains embedded within the campus climate (elements of the exosystem at Pembroke) were shared by participants; examples such as: combating racial stereotypes, feelings of hyperconsciousness, and profoundly experiencing the lack of diversity on campus. And these feelings and experiences overwhelmingly occurred when placed in situations in which their race and ethnicity became more salient—meaning, when they were in a predominately White context, such as during orientation, or on a retreat, or during rounds in their residence hall.

However, it is important to remember that environmental influence is not the only "push" influencing an individual's decision-making. Their sense of self, thoughts, reactions, and actions, are the result of the interplay between the environment and the individual themselves, including the psychosocial dimensions they already possess. These psychosocial dimensions, as articulated by Bronfenbrenner (1979), are also known as their "developmentally instigative characteristics" (Renn & Arnold, 2003, p. 268) and are comprised of elements such as: how individuals elicit certain responses from those around them based on their personal characteristics, how they choose to respond to their environment, and even, how they view themselves in relationship to their environment known as their directive beliefs (for example, do I belong here?). Thus, it is unsurprising that participants in this study actively sought out, and *chose* to be involved in predominately SOC groups (their self-selected microsystems). They chose these groups because of an overwhelming sense of, 'this is where I belong.' As highlighted in Chapter Five,

participants noted that these groups, like culture clubs, fostered a sense of "family," due to the fact that their peers in these groups often possessed similar racial and/or ethnic backgrounds. In addition, these SOC groups also created spaces that affirmed participants' sense of identity. So although normalized racism may have contributed to participants frequently choosing to express their leadership in SOC groups (the influence of the exosystem on participants microsystems), the psychosocial elements that drew participants' to SOC groups were an equally powerful contributor (their developmentally instigative characteristics). This relationship between the environment (particular Pembroke's racial landscape via the exosystem) and participants' developmentally instigative characteristics (their identity and sense of self) intensely influenced their perceptions of, and involvement in, student leadership. Thus, in referring back to the methodological framework model in Chapter 3, one can see how environmental influence occurs in both directions, both the elements within each system (such as the meso- and exosystem) influencing individual participants, while in turn, individual participants were impacting and shaping their environment through their beliefs and decision making around student leadership, such as their leadership expression in predominately SOC groups (their Microsystems).

Student Leadership: Perceptions and Preferences for SOC at Pembroke

As abovementioned, the perceptions and preferences around student leadership for participants in this study were often influenced by both environmental and psychosocial factors. In addition, this section of the chapter will address the research findings as they pertain to the two sub questions of this study, while still employing the CRT lens: How do SOC understand college student leadership (what does it mean to them)? And, how do SOC actualize/achieve student leadership? While the complete list of findings will not be discussed in detail, the ones

that seemed particularly salient, and/or warranted further explanation, will be explored in this chapter. These findings include:

- The culture of leadership at Pembroke;
- The private versus group definition of leadership—a dichotomy;
- Participants' affinity towards SOC groups (and disenchantment with predominately White groups);
- Participants' perceptions of the student leadership/student group hierarchy on campus.

The culture of leadership at Pembroke. Overwhelmingly and often unprompted, participants' shared their perception that student leadership is inculcated in the very fabric of student life at Pembroke. Participants believe that not only is student leadership everywhere on campus, but that "everyone is a leader" (Yvonne). Some students chalked it up to admissions standards, stating that Pembroke looks for students who display leadership aptitude and behaviors while in high school as part of the application process. According to Isosa, they "obviously got into Pembroke for a reason." Others insinuated that leadership appeared to be an institutionalized and core value at Pembroke, as if the college as a whole (including staff and faculty) required this type of behavior from students. Alicia shared feeling this acutely when she observed her belief that student leadership would mean something very different at another institution, and that her answer was particular to the culture at Pembroke.

Obviously as this is all self-reported information from the student perspective, it would be interesting to explore whether or not this student leadership expectation is as an institutionalized core value at Pembroke. For instance, do admissions counselors specifically look for traditional leadership aptitude and expression among its applicants? Do staff and faculty tout the value of leadership inside the classroom and co-curriculum? Is leadership a core value

that is communicated through symbolic and/or direct messaging to the student body? Would staff and faculty agree with these student observations? Institutions of higher education do indeed create cultures that are often driven by the mission and values of an institution. However, the individuals within an institution also very much play a role in shaping the culture that exists; subsequently, this culture is often perpetuated time and time again. Individuals may be drawn to particular colleges and universities because of how the culture they perceive the institution holds, feeling on some level that the culture is the right fit for them.

Furthermore, when students shared their perceptions on the student leadership phenomenon at Pembroke an interesting dichotomy emerged. Through listening to the tone of their voice, and watching their body language, one could noticeably see and hear both their automatic, almost offhand acquiescence that student leadership was an inevitable path for them. But at the same time, I could not help but notice the simultaneous underlying current of pressure participants felt to conform to this culture. It was as if students believed that if they did not assume a student leadership role, then they would not meet the standards of what it means to be a model Pembroke student, or rather, a model SOC on a predominately White campus. And if they did not assume a student leadership role, then they had somehow failed.

An example of this palpable "pressure" to identify as a leader was most clearly demonstrated by Eric when asked if he believed himself to be a student leader. Even though he did not hold any type of formal student leadership role (he was a general member in a couple of student groups), he resolutely believed himself to be a leader. When pushed a little further and asked *why* he believed he was a leader, he referenced the fact that he was a student leader in high school. He then further explained that he believed he possessed the attributes of a student leader— motivated, passionate, and always striving to always be better. Eric's response, while

somewhat unique as he was the only participant to identify as a student leader without a formal leadership role, demonstrates how strongly he felt he needed to identify as a leader. Furthermore, Eric was not alone in his belief that he was a student leader; in fact, the vast majority of participants in this study strongly identified as a student leader.

Counter to prior research on SOC and leadership identification, 18 of the 25 participants considered themselves to be student leaders. In comparison to the findings of the Arminio et al. (2000) study, this study found the opposite to be true—instead of resenting or rejecting the leadership label, that the majority of participants willingly embraced the leadership title. Furthermore, for many, their answer in the affirmative was also quick and without hesitation. And while participants' responses were initially quite surprising given previous research findings, upon further understanding and reflecting upon how pervasive the leadership culture appears to be at Pembroke, their responses to an extent made sense a great deal of sense. In addition, the high levels of leadership participation in this study is also counter to other research findings which articulate that typically, SOC seem relatively uninvolved on campus with diminished levels of leadership participation (Flowers, 2004; Sutton & Terrell, 1997). Furthermore, aside from the high levels of participant leader self-identification and leadership participation, participants also cited ample examples of SOC student leader role models, which again counters previous research (Arminio et al., 2000; Harper et al., 2011). Although student leaders of color often struggle to find role models within the student body, particular at a PWI (Arminio et al., 2000), this study did not validate those findings. In fact, participants were often able to name more than one SOC leader role model. Moreover, participants were unprompted to specify the race/ethnicity of their student role models when initially asked if they had student leader role model. Only after they answered and described the person in question were they asked for the

race/ethnicity of the individual(s). Once more, this finding, contradictory to prior research, may be attributed to how omnipresent the student leadership culture appears at Pembroke.

However, in revisiting previous research, part of why SOC shy away from (or rebuke) the leadership label is because SOC typically possess a strong group orientation towards leadership (Arminio et al, 2000). Often SOC seek leadership roles specifically to benefit the group and not themselves personally. This approach challenges traditional leadership literature in which leadership is motivated by individual aims and thus, the property of the individual; instead SOC often view the leadership process as a communal one (Greene et al., 2008; Shertzer et al., 2005; Stewart et al., 2008). In this study, however, when interviewed, students did not often describe their own personal identification as a leader, and the qualities they believed a leader possessed, within a group oriented framework; instead they chose more egocentric qualities. Interestingly, when presenting this information in the focus group, their responses supported a communal approach. This dichotomy of how leadership was presented differently in the two contexts (individually and group setting) will be explored in the next section.

Private versus group definition of leadership: A dichotomy. As mentioned above, an intriguing shift occurred in the way in which students described student leadership qualities and their own personal leadership identity when in a one-on-one context versus in a group context. For example, when alone in the individual interview, the majority of participants self-identified as student leaders and used very individualist qualities to describe student leaders such as having practical/personal skills (confidence, charisma, responsible, hardworking), passion, motivation, and so forth. While many participants also described student leaders as caring for those they were leading, and a desire to create change for the better, they ultimately did not speak of leadership as fitting a communal/relational model (Komives et al., 2005). Additionally,

participants were asked whether they identified as a student leader based on the attributes they listed when describing student leaders. When asked "why" they considered themselves to be a leader, most individuals echoed their earlier sentiments of the attributes *individuals* possess that make them a good leader. Rarely, if all, when speaking squarely about leadership characteristics and their leadership identity, did participants share their perspective that leadership was a communally oriented process.

Thus, this pattern seemed extremely surprising and a bit perplexing, as this finding very much countered previous research on the leadership preferences of SOC. As a result, exploring this topic became a top priority during the student focus groups. Two data points on this topic were shared with the focus group participants—the first that most participants embraced the student "leader label," and the second that participants listed more egocentric qualities when describing leadership. Almost immediately, focus group members disagreed on both counts, with the energy in the room brimming over as they fed off each other in unanimity. To start, focus group members were quick to respond that they "personally" felt more hesitant to see or define themselves as student leaders. And then, quickly after, focus group members largely negated the individualist qualities of student leadership, fully endorsing their belief that leadership is indeed a community-oriented process. They stated that student leadership was fully about giving back to their racial and ethnic communities.

The individual interviews versus the focus group member checking revealed an interesting dichotomy—participants' definition of student leadership, and their self-identification as leaders, took on a different guise when in private versus when in public. This observation and finding around the private versus public view of leadership was both unexpected and unanticipated. However, this dichotomy implies that a "peer effect" of some sort is impacting

how students shape their responses and the way in which they present themselves in front of their SOC peers. It is almost as if when in private, they can admit to egocentric leadership characteristics, but when in a group setting, the expectation is that being a SOC on campus is to be communitarian, especially in terms of leadership expression. This observation feels somewhat similar to the pressure students felt to identify as a leader based on the campus culture; a similar "pressure" or expectation seems to exist in the SOC community that as a student leader you possess a communitarian responsibility to your racial/ethnic groups(s). Participants actually shared a very similar sentiment of this noticeable peer pressure a bit later during the focus group when they described their concern that they would be viewed as a "sellout" if they sought leadership positions in predominately White groups. They also shared feeling personally guilty that they would be abandoning their racial/ethnic group and/or adopt (or appear to adopt) White standards, making them feel and seem less Latino, or Asian, or Black, both to themselves and to others. Again this fear of abandoning their racial/ethnic group also correlated with their fear of being viewed as a "sellout." This "peer effect" variable is certainly extremely salient in the context of understanding how other environmental factors, other than campus racial culture, can impact the leadership identity and attitudes of SOC. And although this finding only emerged quickly, as this particular variable was not the focus of this research study, this phenomenon certainly warrants a great deal more consideration and would be a very noteworthy research endeavor.

Participants' affinity towards SOC groups. Even though participants may not have listed relational or communal qualities when defining student leadership and categorizing their own leadership, ironically, the communal qualities became the most important factor as to what groups they joined and what context they chose to express their leadership at Pembroke. As

demonstrated earlier, the majority of participants in this study held leadership roles within SOC groups. The predominate reason they decided to do so was because they were drawn to the communal aspect of the group or organization—individuals in the groups shared similar racial and/or ethnic backgrounds, the group affirmed their sense of racial/ethnic identity, and they felt welcomed by the group akin to "family." Additionally, the responsibility participants felt to "give back" was a huge factor they cited for choosing to express their leadership predominately in SOC groups.

This sense of responsibility to give back ties into both the subtle (or perhaps not so subtle) pressure from their peer group towards communal leadership, but also to the overall racial climate at Pembroke. The overwhelming majority of participants in this study articulated that they believed they had the same access to leadership opportunities as their White peers, but they chose SOC groups as the predominate vehicle for their leadership expression. Again, given the underlying current of normalized racism at Pembroke, where students often do feel minoritized, what would compel them to seek leadership in predominately White groups? Additionally, participants shared countless examples of the apathy they perceive exists on campus around the needs and issues of SOC on campus. Thus, if they did not provide the voice to communicate and advocate for the needs of SOC on campus through their leadership of these groups, would anyone else within the larger community do so? Some participants used similar language to describe how important it was to them to provide voice for their student group, or to prove to the larger Pembroke community that they "do exist" (Isosa).

Aside from their affinity towards participating in and leading SOC groups, many participants also shared how they felt disillusioned with predominately White groups. Consistent with prior research, many participants viewed these groups as "exclusive and insensitive to their

social needs" (Sutton & Kimbrough, 2001, p. 31). Participants found they felt the groups were unwelcoming to SOC and struggled to connect to the norms and culture of these groups. In addition, participants felt uncomfortable by the lack of diversity within the groups. Thus, because many participants found the predominately White groups unwelcoming on campus, and because the majority possessed a strong affiliation for the SOC groups, further supports why it is unsurprising that most of the participants elected to express their leadership in SOC groups.

It is also important to note that after collecting the interview data during the 2014-2015 academic year, the racial climate at Pembroke experienced a sizeable shift. The bulk of the interviews occurred during the fall 2014 semester, just prior to the late November "no indictment" ruling for Ferguson. While the campus community began to react to the Ferguson ruling, with commentary articles in the student newspapers and an "explosion" of "inappropriate commentary" on Yik-Yak (as noted by participant Jose), it appeared that student protests did not gain momentum until the spring semester when these interviews were wrapping up. In reaction to the way the university responded publically to the Pembroke community in regard to the peaceful demonstrations by students protesting police brutality, SOC and allies "noticed that the university was only locating racism in individuals and not in systems-level policies and procedures, which not only perpetuates racism but silence voices of dissent" (Eliminate Pembroke Racism Website). Subsequently the group "Eliminate Pembroke Racism" was formed in the spring 2015 semester. The group's mission is to "dismantle systems of oppression" and create change to policies and procedures that unfairly impact SOC in "adverse ways" (Eliminate Pembroke Racism Website).

Almost immediately after conducting the last few interviews for this study, racism became a focal point within the campus community. Given that historical context plays a role in

both shaping the environment and shaping perceptions/experiences (an additional CRT tenet offered by Solórzano (1997) in terms of CRT applicability to educational institutions), one must wonder how different the findings in this study would have appeared if the interviews had occurred after these events.

Student leadership and student group hierarchy on campus. For this finding, numerous participants shared their perception that a hierarchy existed in terms of student leadership and student groups on campus—meaning that some groups were more respected, received more resources, and/or held more power versus other groups. In essence, the core of this finding centers on CRT's tenet of embedded institutionalized racism, how the historical precedence and systems in place continue to benefit particular groups of student leaders. This finding is also unique in that prior research had not examined how different SOC and White leadership groups are perceived and received on campus. Under the umbrella of the "hierarchy of student groups on campus," participants noted a distinct difference in the value awarded to predominately White groups versus SOC group, a culture of apathy towards SOC groups by the larger community, and even, a general sense of condescension towards SOC groups by the larger community.

Overall, participants' observed a clear difference in how SOC groups are valued on campus by the larger community. Stewart et al. (2008) discussed the importance of student involvement for SOC on campus, noting that the sponsorship of student involvement opportunities, and the way those opportunities are structured, should be critically evaluated to understand if students receive the message that they are "valued and vital members" to the larger community (p. 15). In critically evaluating the perceptions of participants in this study, SOC groups, and subsequently SOC leaders, do not receive the message from Pembroke that their

groups are valued and vital to the community. Participants shared examples such as: how the groups officially funded and managed by the college were historically White, received the most institutional support, and possessed the most perceived "power" on campus. Or how Pembroke decided to make some changes to the names of events or organizations that either historically attracted SOC, or were aimed at SOC, to make them more "inclusive" to the entire community. These events are now largely attended by White students, while SOC on campus, in turn, feel disempowered and displaced. These changes, instead of benefiting SOC by truly creating a more inclusive environment, or an environment where the larger community acknowledged the value of SOC on campus, instead benefitted their White peers (an example of the CRT "interest convergence" tenet).

These examples of systematized racism and interest convergence in how student groups are valued on campus also highlight a noticeable mismatch between the Jesuit and social justice mission of Pembroke and what actually occurs on campus. Pembroke's mission calls for campus members to "live justly together" with "a deep concern for all members of its community" and "a recognition of the important contribution of a diverse body" (Pembroke website). Furthermore, a main objective of Jesuit education is to produce "men and women for others" (Pembroke website). While Pembroke appears to fully embody these principles through its external partnerships and social justice work off-campus—Pembroke's service trips abroad and community service partnerships in urban areas near campus—these principles do not appear to be enacted within the community, particularly for SOC. Participants provided countless examples of how they believed the student body displayed an overwhelming sense of apathy towards the needs of their racial and ethnic groups on campus, demonstrating a clear divergence from the Jesuit tenet of "men and women for others."

Furthermore, as participants in this study intimated, the institutionalized racism connected to student groups and student leadership should no longer go ignored. While only a few participants danced around this topic, given the substantial shift around race and racism on campus after the completion of these interviews, it would have been interesting to see how the tone and tenor of participants' responses would have also shifted. A year after the "Eliminate Pembroke Racism" group came into existence, it would be equally interesting to discern if any changes occurred to the "hierarchy of student leadership" on campus, or whether student leadership at Pembroke has been examined more fully as a vehicle that perpetuates systematized racism. While the answer to these queries are unknown, a follow up qualitative study, or Participatory Action Research (PAR) study, seems incredibly apropos given the current racial landscape at Pembroke. Furthermore, given that PAR is grounded in creating change, the PAR approach very much aligns with an integral CRT tenet, which is the "commitment to social justice" in order to eliminate racism (Solórzano, 1997).

These observations calling for further research, assessment, and action within the Pembroke community utilizing a CRT lens highlights some interesting phenomena at play within the landscape of higher education in terms of student leadership. Although this study examined one particular institution, viewing participants' leadership through a CRT lens has demonstrated that the traditional leadership experience is not a 'one size fits all' process and appears to largely exclude SOC. Furthermore, it is clear the way in which SOC perceive and enact student leadership at Pembroke is very much impacted by their experiences as racialized and minoritized students on campus.

Implications for Practice: A Call for Action

An essential tenet of CRT, as briefly highlighted above, is the commitment to social justice—meaning that there is a call to action for educators, practitioners, and policy makers to create positive change aimed at eliminating institutionalized racism (Solórzano, 1997). Predominately White, or historically White, institutions are often heavily susceptible to normalized racism embedded within their structures. Thus, although the results of this study are most generalizeable to similar institutions to Pembroke, the call for action offered in this section may still be relevant and applicable to other colleges and universities. In addition, this call to action, while recommended for all campus community members alike, is most heavily aimed at student affairs practitioners who typically oversee the co-curricular planning, development, execution, and assessment for students on campus.

The recommendations for institutions of higher education in this section very much follow a Participatory Action Research approach—a commitment to assessment, experimentation, and change. Institutions should *assess* the racial landscape on their campus in terms of perceived and actualized student leadership, be willing to engage in *experimentation* on different practice that will foster a greater sense of inclusivity within student leadership, and take active steps towards creating permanent inclusive *change*. To begin, a racial and ethnic audit of student leadership practices needs to occur on campuses. Institutions must honestly assess what their participation rates look like (both co-curricular involvement and formalized leadership expression) for SOC on campus and note any noticeable trends. Questions to consider during this assessment include: How many SOC are involved in co-curricular activities? What types of groups are they joining? How many predominately White groups exist on campus? What is the approximation of SOC student leaders on campus? Where are SOC choosing to express their

leadership (in what types of groups—SOC, predominately White, and/or mixed racially/ethnically)? Are there specific types of groups on campus that receive greater institutional support, either financially and/or symbolically? What is the demographic breakdown of students in those groups? In addition, talk to SOC. Similar to the methods in this study, ask students about their experiences, about their perceptions, and about any barriers they believe may exist that prevent them from participating in leadership experiences. Taking the time to do a thorough audit of the racial and ethnic landscape of student leadership at one's respective institution will hopefully paint a compelling and realistic snapshot of what student leadership looks like through a critical lens that may challenge previously held metanarratives.

The next step, and similar to the mission of the "Eliminate Pembroke Racism" group, is to have the courage as an institution to name the reality that you see. Honestly assess if "systems of oppression" in terms of student leadership exist, and name that oppression. Senior level administrators and student affairs practitioners in particular must name that oppression by sharing findings with the larger community—students, staff, and faculty, and have the courage to not just say that these practices should change, but that these practices *must* change. Subsequently, institutions must next take tangible steps towards creating that systemic change through leadership recruitment and selection practices and by challenging racist narratives that influence the way in which institutional value is placed on different student groups. Another extremely vital CRT tenet centers on challenging the dominant ideology, meaning refuting liberal claims that educational institutions are objective, meritocratic, color-blind, or provide equal opportunity for all students (Yosso, 2005). Instead, these ideologies, in actuality, further the advances of Whites, rather than all people of all races/ethnicities equitably (very much aligned with the CRT tenet of interest convergence).

Thus, challenging the dominant ideology and fostering institutional change should occur on two levels. To start, examine how the recruitment and selection practices for student leadership occur on campus. For example, are all groups (particularly predominately White groups) recruiting all students equally? Or are groups fostering patterns that systemically privilege and disadvantage certain students? For example, numerous participants in this study reflected upon their experiences at the organization fair at Pembroke and noted how infrequently they were called over to the tables of groups and organizations with predominately White student members. SOC recounted their experiences with microaggressions when they ventured over to a predominately White student group table, like Curtis' experiences with his mentee approaching the club lacrosse table and students asking them, "you know this is the lacrosse table, right?" Curtis' immediate interpretation of the tone and tenor of their statement led him to believe that as persons of color, club lacrosse was simply not for *'them.*' Thus, more targeted training within the campus community, especially with students, must occur to raise awareness of normalized racism (topics such as power/privilege, stereotyping, microaggressions, and so forth…) and how it is perpetuated both intentionally and unintentionally.

In addition, as noted in the findings of this study, the student groups that receive the most institutional financial support and are perceived to have the most "power" on campus are groups that have historically attracted White students. Thus, it is the institutions responsibility (staff and students alike) to break down these barriers and foster a true sense of inclusivity in which students are welcomed into any group or organization. Not only should SOC feel welcomed into any group, but also they should be encouraged to seek involvement and leadership roles in all types of groups, including groups that might initially push them outside of their comfort zone. Moreover, if more predominately White groups begin to reflect a greater level of diversity within

its student membership, then perhaps SOC may feel more inclined to seek leadership positions within those groups.

Furthermore, although participants provided ample examples of student leader role models, participants greatly struggled to list leadership role models within the faculty and administration who were persons of color. When they did list particular staff/faculty role models of color, they listed the same few individuals who served as the advisor or supervisor for just a couple of the co-curricular and/or leadership groups on campus (such as the Jamaica service trip or the men's leadership group through the Office of Multicultural Programs). While the staff/faculty already lacked a great deal of diversity, it seems that staff and faculty of color who served as mentors or advisors to student groups were few and far between. As the research by Arminio et al. (2000) suggests, student leaders of color actively desire and value diverse staff/faculty role models, but struggle to find those connections due to the lack of diversity that often exists in faculty and administration. Numerous participants in this study vocalized their belief that the lack of staff and faculty of color on campus was a systemic problem, thus leaving them with few 'adult' role models with whom they could potentially share an affinity, perhaps conquering some of the 'onlyness' for SOC that permeates the campus culture. Thus, it seems the responsibility of institutions to also examine their hiring practices to foster a more diverse faculty and administration and to also encourage staff and faculty of color to serve as advisors for a breadth of student clubs and organizations. A greater representation of advisors of color for student groups could also foster a greater sense of inclusivity that all students are welcomed into any group or organization.

In the end, the expectation should not be placed on students alone to dismantle the metanarratives that guide their decision-making and the lens through which they view their

campus community. An institution that espouses and *enacts* a commitment to diversity of all kinds must actualize this value in every facet of the university and at every level. However, it is extremely imperative that inclusive behavior starts from the top of the organization by those that that actually *lead* the institution—the president and other senior leaders of the college. While embracing a commitment to diversity and inclusive practices can occur from the ground up (student led), the impact will be so much greater if the president of the college, and the senior level administrators (both faculty and staff), individuals who are viewed as the *leaders* of the institution, champion the college's or university's commitment to diversity through intentional thought and action. In Kouzes & Posner's (2014) work on the practices that exemplary leader's display, "model the way" is one of the key qualities. As explained, "Leaders stand up for their beliefs. They practice what they preach. They show others by their actions that they live by the values they claim" (Kouzes & Posner, 2014, p. 21). Credibility is the underpinning for leadership, and to be credible means that you 'walk the talk' by "consistently aligning your actions with your behaviors" (Kouzes & Posner, p. 46). In summation, exemplary leaders display a commitment to setting the example by living the shared values of their community and teaching others to model those same values (Kouzes & Posner, 2014). Ultimately, ensuring that diversity becomes a central institutional value means understanding the racial and ethnic landscape of one's institution and taking concrete steps to making sure that climate becomes more racially and ethnically inclusive through exemplary leadership practices. Aligned with prior research, the findings of this study also strongly suggest that higher education must be more purposeful in genuinely creating institutional conditions that are more supportive of SOC and foster authentic inclusion (Fischer, 2007; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Hurtado et al., 1998; Maramba & Velasquez, 2010; Phillips, 2005). Hopefully following a PAR model as described above will allow

institutions to be more purposeful in genuinely creating conditions that foster authentic inclusion for SOC on campus, particularly within student leadership activities.

Areas for Further Study

Pembroke is an institution that appears to possess a culture that emphasizes student leadership—participants viewed themselves as leaders, believed everyone around them was a leader, and noted the ample leadership opportunities that existed. Thus, the first recommended area for further research is to duplicate a similar study (or a variation of this study) at similar types of institutions where perhaps the culture of leadership does not appear as pervasive. Would the findings more closely follow previous research indicating that feelings of social and cultural isolation lead to diminished leadership participation for SOC (Sutton & Terrell, 1997)? Findings from this study contradicted the Sutton & Terrell (1997) findings. Instead of diminished participation, participation rates were remarkable. Thus, is it the institutionally specific culture of leadership at Pembroke that is accounting for these elevated participation rates? In addition, further research on this topic should occur at other types of institutions. Exploring this topic and these questions at public universities, community colleges, larger institutions much smaller institutions, etc. also seems worthwhile. Conducting a similar study at other types of institutions would allow scholars and practitioners to better understand how institutional "type" may impact students' racialized experiences on campus in relation to student leadership. If racial salience decreased (at a more racially/ethnically diverse institution) would their perceptions and experiences change? Or would that not matter, and are experiences common across institutions?

An unexpected finding in this study involved the "peer effect" on how participants described their leadership identity and perceptions of student leadership. This observation begs

further investigation how the peer effect, as an environmental factor, also impacts the attitudes of SOC. A student's peer group "is the single most potent source of influence on growth and development during the undergraduate years" (Astin, 1993, p. 398), influencing cognitive, affective, and personal development (Foubert & Grainger, 2006; Stanford, 1992). Not only do peer groups influence growth and development, but they also impact the socialization process, affecting students' attitudes and behaviors through norms that are communicated to members (Hurtado et al., 1998). As demonstrated through the focus group, participants' attitudes and behaviors greatly shifted through a group "norming" process that occurred. Thus, this phenomenon warrants a great deal more attention.

In addition, similar to the impact of SOC peer groups, which was an unintended finding in this study, this study also did not focus on other Microsystems, such as academics, or participants' academic identity, in connection to their leadership experiences. In fact, when asked to describe their student leader role models, many participants described the way their student leader role models could 'do it all'—being involved in numerous leadership experiences while still excelling in their academics. However, did participants know for certain that their student leader role models were indeed excelling academically on top of a very busy co-curricular schedule? This is uncertain. Thus, an additional area of research would be to better understand the connection between academic identity and student leadership for SOC leaders. Is there a positive or negative correlation between hours of involvement/leadership and academic performance for SOC leaders? What are their perceptions on being heavily involved (either on or off campus) and managing their academics? Very little exists on this topic, however. Understanding this connection would be incredibly powerful and provide greater insight to other

environmental factors that may (or may not) influence SOC and their perceptions and/or involvement in student leadership.

Furthermore, while this study critically examined participants' racialized experienced in connection to their perceptions and involvement in student leadership, this study did not directly assess participants' developmental positions in terms of their racial/ethnic identity progression and how that might impact their perceptions and/or involvement patterns in student leadership. I did note a wide breadth in how participants thought about their race, with those appearing to have a more advanced understanding of their racial/ethnic identity also providing richer more complex insights to many of the interview questions. Thus, another unexplored research area is to explore the connection between racial identity development for SOC and their leadership identity development.

Lastly, this study hoped to find a balance of non-leaders and self-identified leaders for this study, for at the time data collection began, no studies existed examining leadership perceptions of uninvolved SOC. Seeking out uninvolved students centered on understanding if their racialized experiences at a PWI impacted their perceptions and actions towards student leadership, or if there were other compounding factors influencing their decision to remain uninvolved. For example, high-achieving, low-income SOC who do not possess substantial scholarship rewards, tend to be less socially engaged (because of needing to work, focusing more heavily on their academics, and so forth) (Hu, 2011). However, locating uninvolved students for this study proved challenging. Nonetheless, exploring the perceptions or uninvolved SOC in relation to student leadership remains unexamined, and would be a noteworthy area of scholarship to further explore.

Limitations to the Study

As is the case with most research, no study can account for all extraneous or compounding variables that may impact either the findings or generalizability of the study. For this study, three important limitations are worth discussing. First, finding uninvolved students proved persistently challenging. Again, when asking participants, staff, and faculty for recommendations of uninvolved students, many struggled to think of individuals to recommend. For the few recommendations I received, the majority did not respond to my outreach emails. However, the initial intention of this research endeavor was to recruit a balance of leaders and non-leaders; that intention did not come to fruition. Thus, this imbalance in the distribution of student leaders versus non-student leaders may be considered a limitation to my study.

Secondly, although there were numerous "member checking" opportunities built into this study (students narrative summaries of their interviews which they could review and edit), participating in a focus group, and reviewing the focus group prompts to provide written feedback, the focus group came with a few set of challenges. Ideally, the timing of the focus group should have occurred at the end of the spring 2015 semester (the same academic year the interviews were collected). However, the interview data needed to be thematically analyzed first, before sharing initial findings with focus group members for feedback. Unfortunately, this analysis was unable to occur at the end of the spring semester. Instead, the analysis occurred in the following semester (fall 2015). Thus, some of the original participants had graduated already from Pembroke and were no longer on campus. While the rest of the participants were contacted, and an optimal number of students agreed to participate in the focus group (seven students), only five came on the day of the focus group. Additionally, the focus group script proved to be overly ambitious. Within the one-hour time frame, only half of the talking points were addressed. In

hindsight, closer to an hour and a half to two hours should have been requested of participants for the focus group. Although the feedback received from the focus group proved insightful, modifications to the timing and length of the focus group would of proved beneficial to extract more timely and perhaps detailed information.

Lastly, this study does possess limited generalizabiliy since only one research site was examined. Thus, the observations noted in this study may be very particular to Pembroke and institutions similar to Pembroke. While the findings that emerged were indeed significant and may resonant with scholars and practitioners, further research to explore the leadership perceptions, aptitudes, expression of SOC through a CRT lens at other institutions is very much necessitated.

Concluding Thoughts

In light of the heightened racial climate across college campuses in the United States calling for a critical analysis of institutionalized racism and greater focus on the challenges domestically diverse students face, employing a CRT framework to examine the perceptions and experiences of SOC seems particularly timely and relevant. Moreover, a primary goal of this research endeavor was to more deeply understand the influence of students' racialized identity on their perceptions of and involvement in student leadership, as well as the connection between perceptions/encounters with normalized racism and the impact on the leadership identity development for SOC. Ultimately, access to campus leadership opportunities may reflect the larger societal disadvantages and inequities on campus for SOC, and in some ways, that certainly appeared to be the case at Pembroke.

While this study provided an in-depth examination of the student leadership perceptions and experiences of twenty-five SOC at one particular PWI, more research and action must occur in this area of scholarship both through qualitative and quantitative methods. SOC at institutions of higher education across the nation are and claiming their voices and employing campus community members to critically examine the embedded practices that continue to minoritize SOC. However, SOC should not be carrying that burden alone; their voices should not be the only ones fighting to be heard. As scholars and practitioners of higher education, it is our responsibility to continue to use critical theory to understand systems of oppression and ensure that all students have the ability to equally garner the positive developmental opportunities that are fostered by higher education, especially opportunities such as student leadership.

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APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

Interview Consent Form: Adult Consent Form

Informed consent for participation as a subject in: Student Interview & Focus Group
Boston College: Lynch School of Education
Investigator: Michele Brown Kerrigan

Introduction:

- I am a doctoral candidate currently working on completing my dissertation in the Higher Education program in the Lynch School at Boston College.
- You are being asked to be in a study examining undergraduate students of color and their perception of student leadership at Pembroke University.
- The study will also examine your experiences attending a Predominately White Institution and possible encounters with racism/discrimination and how this may impact your perceptions of and/or involvement in student leadership.
- You were selected as a possible participant because you self-identity as: African American/Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, Multiracial, and/or Multiethnic undergraduate student at Pembroke University.
- I ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in this study.

Purpose of Research Project:

- The purpose of this study is to gather information on undergraduate students of color at Pembroke University and their perception of and/or involvement in student leadership, particularly within the context of a Predominately White Institution. This study will also explore possible encounters with racism and or discrimination, and how these encounters impact perceptions of and/or involvement in student leadership.

Description of the Study's Requirements:

- If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things: fill out a brief pre-interview survey, conduct an interview for one hour to an hour and a half, be recorded during the interview, and be available via email for follow-up questions (if needed). I will also send you a narrative summary of you interview for you to review for accuracy. Lastly, there will be an opportunity to participate in an hour-long focus group in the fall of 2014 if you are interested and willing. These focus groups will also be recorded.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in this Study:

- The study has the following risk: Interview and/or focus group questions and responses might remind you of uncomfortable or difficult memories.

Benefits of Being in the Research Project:

- Assist a doctoral candidate in gaining a deeper understanding of students of color at Pembroke and their perceptions of and/or experiences with college student leadership at Pembroke University.
- Participation in this study may remind you of positive memories and may assist you in continued self-awareness and development.

Payments:

- A $15 gift card upon completion of the individual interview.

- Food and beverages will be provided at the voluntary focus group.

Costs:
- There is no cost to you to participate in this research interview.

Confidentiality:
- The records of this study will be kept private on my personal laptop.
- In my dissertation I will not include any information (such as your name) that will make it possible to identify you as the participant. Instead, a pseudonym of your choice will be used. The dissertation, however, may contain personal information such as: your academic year, your major, your gender, campus involvement, and/or personal experiences.
- Access to the audio files for transcription purposes will be limited to the interviewer and a transcription services. Your pseudonym will be used to identify your audio file.
- Only I, the interviewer/researcher, will be able to link your real name to your pseudonym, which will be kept on a password-protected document on my laptop.
- Transcribed interviews and focus groups, utilizing your pseudonym, may be shared with the dissertation committee and 1-2 fellow doctoral students for coding purposes.
- Mainly just the researchers will have access to information; however, please note that a few other key people may also have access. The Institutional Review Board at Pembroke University and internal Pembroke auditors may review the research records.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:
- Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, it will not affect your current or future relations with the University.
- You are free to withdraw at any time for whatever reason.
- There is no penalty or loss of benefits for not taking part or for stopping your participation.
- The researcher may dismiss you from the study at any time for the following reasons: (1) it is in your best interests (e.g. side effects or distress have resulted), (2) you have failed to comply with the study rules, or (3) the researcher decides to end the study.

Contacts and Questions:
- The researcher conducting this study is Michele Brown Kerrigan.
- For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact me at: **brownhl@bc.edu**

Copy of Consent Form:
- You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.

Statement of Consent:
- I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates:

Study Participant (Print Name) _____ Date:_____

Participant Signature: _____

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Introduction: Thank you again for agreeing to participate in this study. As I previously mentioned in previous correspondence, I am conducting these interviews for my dissertation at Pembroke University, in which I am speaking with students of color to better understand their perceptions of student leadership. In particular, I will also be asking you to think about your experiences at Pembroke University as a student of color, and perceptions/involvement in leadership in connection to your experiences as a student of color, including any experiences with prejudice, discrimination, and racism. I also am hoping to hear some stories of your experiences—so if any questions make you think of a good story, please share that with me. As we previously discussed, I will be recording this session, and during the interview, you will also see me taking notes—I just wanted you to be aware that I would be doing so. In addition, after this interview you name will be kept confidential—your identity will only be known to me; I will make sure to use a pseudonym of your choice, which you selected as [INSERT PSEDUDONYM], when discussing elements of this interview with my dissertation chair and/or committee, and in the actual written product of my dissertation. Furthermore, if at any point you feel uncomfortable and either do not want to answer a question, or stop the interview, please let me know as that is your right to do so. This interview will last between an hour to an hour and a half. Do you have any questions before we begin?

QUESTIONS:

1. If you were to use three words to describe yourself, what would they be and can you give me examples?

2. How would you describe students at Pembroke? Can you give me an example?
    a. **Prompt:** Use five words to describe a typical Pembroke student.

3. What does "student of color" mean to you?

4. What do you think "student of color" means to the larger Pembroke community?

5. How would you describe students of color at Pembroke?
    a. **Prompt:** Use five words to describe students of color at Pembroke

6. How would you describe your race/ethnicity?
    a. **F/U:** Do you consider yourself to be a student of color? Explain why.

7. How do you think others in the Pembroke community would describe your race/ethnicity?

8. What's it been like to be [insert race/ethnicity] here on Pembroke's campus?
    a. **F/U:** Can you tell me a story when you were really aware of your [insert race/ethnicity] while here at Pembroke?

TRANSITION INTO STUDENT LEADERSHIP:

9. What types of opportunities are there to "get involved" on campus?

10. What types of outside of class activities are you involved in either on campus or off-campus?

11. [INVOLVED]: What factors influenced your decision to become a part of [insert different groups]?
    a. **F/U:** Do you enjoy your experiences in [insert different groups]?
    b. **F/U:** What do you enjoy about each activity?

12. [NOT INVOLVED]: What are the reasons you chose NOT to become involved in activities outside of classes? Is there a story you can share?
    a. **F/U:** Would you like to be more involved? What would that look like?

13. When I say the words, "student leadership," what does that mean to you?

14. What qualities does a student leader possess?
    a. **F/U or PROMPT:** Pick someone who you think is a student leader—describe them to me.

15. How would you describe student leadership at Pembroke?
    a. **Prompt:** Can you give me an example of the types of students are involved in student leadership at Pembroke? And what are they involved in?

16. Using the definition you provided earlier on student leadership, would you consider yourself to be a student leader?
    a. Note: Can push here if student says NO but is involved in "leadership"

17. Is leadership different for a student of color versus a White student? How so?
    a. **F/U:** What five words would you use to describe a student leader of color?

18. Do you think the opportunities to get involved in student leadership are different for White students vs. students of color at Pembroke?
    a. **F/U:** How are they different? How are they the same? Can you give me examples?

19. Do you think these opportunities have been different for YOU as a student of color at Prembroke?
    a. **F/U:** How have these opportunities been different? The same? Can you give me an example or share a story?
    b. **Note:** If involved in only affinity groups, this might be a good place to probe.

20. How about as a [INSERT GENDER] and [INSERT RACE/ETHNICITY]—do you think your gender and race/ethnicity together has impacted the leadership opportunities available to you?
    a. **F/U:** Or your leadership experiences?

21. **[IF APPLICABLE]** What have your experiences been like in [**insert NON-AFFINITY group]** as someone who identifies as [insert race/ethnicity]?
    a. **F/U:** Do you think there are differences in how you are treated versus your White peers in [insert non-affinity group]?

22. Can you think of a time when you were treated differently in (pick student leadership activity OR campus experience in general if not involved) that you believed was because of your race/ethnicity?
    a. **F/U:** Can you give me an example or tell me a story when this occurred? Who were you treated differently by?
    b. **F/U:** How did this experience make you feel?
    c. **F/U:** [IF APPLICABLE] Did you have similar experiences in your other student leadership activities?

23. Do you believe that you have experienced prejudice, discrimination, or racism here at Pembroke?
    a. **F/U: [IF NO] SKIP TO 26**
    b. **[IF YES]** Can you give me an example (or examples) of a time when this happened?
    c. **F/U:** How did these experiences make you feel?

24. [**IF APPLICABLE]** Do you think your experiences with discrimination or racism at Pembroke has affected your leadership opportunities or participation?
    a. **F/U:** Can you give me an example?

25. **[IF APPLICABLE]:** Do you think your experiences with discrimination or racism at Pembroke have affected your experiences in your leadership activities (pick a leadership activity they are involved with)?
    a. **Probe:** Can you think of a time when you felt different from your peers in (pick activity) because of your race/ethnicity?
    b. **F/U:** Can you give me an example or tell me a story of when of when this occurred?

26. Do you have (or had) student leader role models on campus?
    a. IF YES: Can you describe more specifically how they have been (or were) a role model to you?
    b. IF YES: Are they the same race/ethnicity as you?
    c. IF NO: What are some of the reasons you believe you haven't had a student leader role model?

27. Do you have any leader role models within the administration or faculty that are of the same race/ethnicity as you, or is a "person of color?"
    a. If YES: Can you tell me more about this person? How are they a role model?
    b. If NO: What are some of the reasons you believe you do not have a role model within the administration or faculty that is the same race/ethnicity as you, or a person of color?

TRANSITION INTO ENDING:

28. I want to circle back to a question that I asked you earlier…but in light of our chat today, I wanted to ask you again—what does student leadership mean to you?

29. Is there anything that we discussed earlier that you want to talk more about?

30. Is there anything that we didn't talk about that's on your mind that you would like to share?

Conclusion: Thank you so much for agreeing to this interview and sharing your experiences with me. I know some of what we discussed may have been really personal. If anything that we discussed brought up experiences that were painful or difficult for you to remember, please know that there are resources on campus, such as counseling services, which can help you process some of this information further. Again, I truly thank you for your time and value your participation in this study. I will be in touch in the near future with some follow up information and to see if you have any interest in participating in a focus group. If you have any follow up questions, do not hesitate to be in touch with me.

APPENDIX C: Focus Group Script

Focus Group Protocol: MBK Dissertation
November 2015

Introduction: Thank you again for completing an interview with me last year and now for participating in this focus group. As a refresher, for my research study, I interviewed students of color here at Pembroke to better understand your perceptions of student leadership, and in particular, how potential experiences with racism/microaggressions/discrimination and so forth may impact your leadership experiences and perceptions. And so now, for the next layer of my research, I am circling back with participants to share some of the initial themes that have emerged from my study to gather your feedback. As a side note, if at any point you feel uncomfortable and either do not want to answer a question, or leave the focus group, please let me know as that is your right to do so. This focus group will last approximately an hour. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Discussion Point 1: In the literature I read prior to starting my study, the research indicated that often students of color struggle with the leader label, meaning the title made them feel uncomfortable, particularly because often these same students viewed leadership as a communal process. However, among the students I interviewed, when I asked, "do you consider yourself to be a leader," the majority stated confidently that they considered themselves to be a leader. In fact many participants acknowledged actively seeking out a "leadership role." What are your reactions to why this may be the case with my participants here at Pembroke unlike the research I have read?

Discussion Point 2: In addition, when asking students to describe the qualities of student leaders, many listed very traditional individual elements such as: motivation, passion, vision, cognitive abilities, concern for others, instead of qualities that are more community or relationally oriented. Again I am curious to hear your thoughts on this topic.

Discussion Point #3: I also asked participants to list any student leader role models and faculty/staff leader role models. The bulk of participants were able to list a student leader role model that was also as a student of color, however, participants were often either unable to list a staff/faculty leader role model…or when they did they were often White. If a staff /faculty leader role model was listed, it was often Fr. Michael who leads the Jamaica service trip. Thoughts?

Now, switching gears here to talk more about the leadership involvement and experiences of participants….

Discussion Point #4: Most participants indicated that there are ample leadership opportunities at Pembroke. And while most never felt personally limited in their opportunities (due to their race or ethnicity), meaning that participants believe their access to leadership opportunities are the same as white students on campus, participants acknowledged that often most individuals of color ultimately choose to join and assume leadership roles within groups that specifically attract students of color, such as culture clubs, certain dance groups, specific service trips (like the

Jamaica service trip). The bulk of leadership experiences for participants resided in groups that were predominately students of color. Initial reactions?

- Follow up: Do you think this "clustering" into groups that are predominately students of color happens organically due to self selection, or due to the campus culture, or both?

Discussion Point #5: For participants who were involved and/or held leadership roles in groups that were predominately students of color, the largest factor that drew them to that particular group was because they actively sought a group with individuals of a similar culture or background, often referring to their group as a "family," or because the group affirmed their sense of identity. Do you agree or disagree?

Discussion Point #6: For participants who were involved in leadership groups that were predominately white (for example Orientation Leader) and/or held a leadership role in a predominately White group, these individuals typically expressed that they did not believe they were treated any different than their White peers, by either their peers or faculty/staff. Reactions?

Discussion Point #7: Most participants acknowledged feelings of hyperconsciousness within the larger community, being really aware of one's race and/or ethnicity, particularly in the classroom, but in terms of leadership involvement, the majority of participants did not have the same sense of "onlyness" or feelings of hyperawareness of their race within their leadership experiences. Thoughts? Reactions?

Discussion Point #8: Most participants also acknowledged that have not personally experienced blatant racism, but more subtle forms of insensitivity (known as microaggressions), however they didn't feel like these microaggressions impacted their access to leadership opportunities or experiences. Thoughts?

Discussion Point #9: While participants didn't believe racism impacted their leadership experiences, or that they were treated differently then their white peers within their leadership experiences, they did notice a distinct difference in how predominately student of color groups were received or perceived by the larger Pembroke community. For example…

- Participants said that there is a larger culture of apathy in terms of race on campus, such as "your issues are not my issues," as a result often the only students attending events put on by culture clubs etc…are other students of color. Hearing comments like…"why would I go to that event, I'm not Korean?"
- In addition, some participants felt that in general, the needs of culture clubs weren't as valued as predominately white groups…like the student government, Orientation Leaders, etc… For example, someone said, every time you look at the Pembroke webpage, or student portal, what groups are featured? Typically white students from groups that are predominately white.
- Or how events that were for SOC were now taken away and re-named and branded (e.g. the "Heritage Ball")

Discussion Point #10: Lastly, I've noticed a very distinct shift in the culture around racism on campus since I conducted my interviews last year (predominately in the fall). With everything that's been happening on college campuses and around the US (for example Ferguson, and the

racial tensions at the University of Missouri), it seems like things have bubbled up at Pembroke as well. For example, sitting at graduation this past May, I saw the airplane flying overhead with the banner "Eliminate Pembroke Racism." So I wonder if I had done the interview now…how would my study look different?

Wrap up: Anything you want to add or ask?

Additional questions if needed/time:

Discussion Point #11: Many participants also commented how even among the groups that attract students of color, additional clustering occurs by race/ethnicity. Such as, the groups under the Asian Caucus are predominately Asian students, the major Latino group, mostly Latino students, etc… So that there weren't a ton of groups that fostered a mixing of races/ethnicities. The groups were often racially and/or ethnically segregated. Again, thoughts/reactions?

Discussion Point #12: Although this may not seem like it directly pertains to leadership, when asked about the term "students of color" or to describe students of color on campus, many participants acknowledged that they recognized differences in the experiences of students based on their race and/or ethnicity. For example, some participants were hesitant to include "Asians" as students of color, or said they thought the larger community would only consider Black or Latino students as "students of color."

- Follow-up: Many participants also acknowledged that they believed the day-to-day experiences differ by race, and even within races, that the darker one appeared the more potential encounters with racism or microaggressions they might experience.

APPENDIX D: Narrative Summaries

Narrative Summary for: "Alisha"
Interview Completed: September 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Would describe self as type A, extroverted, and shy.
- Would describe typical Pembroke student as extroverted, type A, over-involved, perfect, and happy.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- Student of color (SOC) to Alisha means individuals who are AHANA, but often people use a tone "stigmatizes" the term AHANA. People make comments like, are you an athlete? Or "oh well Pembroke had to make its numbers."
- Feels like there is an "us/them" mentality at Pembroke with the larger Pembroke community.
- Would describe SOC at Pembroke as over involved, happy, perfect, motivated, and outsiders.
- Alisha describes her race as African American, but is also Native American and Jamaican. But predominately Black African American is how she identifies.
    - Considers herself to be a student of color.
    - Believes other individuals in the Pembroke community would simply identity her as "Black." However, had to explain to a non-black friend, that not everyone is just Black—there are many ethnicities that differentiate people.
- When asked what it's been like to be Black/African American at Pembroke, described that it's been really difficult. Feels self conscious at parties; is hyperaware that race matters to some; is often the only Black student in class and feels like people look to her to defend her race or position.
    - Also an RA, and has this thought about her work, *"It's awful but my first thought is are they going to mind having a Black RA? I do think about that and then I'm like you know what? Whatever I'm their RA, they'll have to deal with it but the thought still crosses my mind."*

Student Leadership:

- In terms of opportunities to get involved on campus, there are "too many."
- For her involvement, Alisha has been an RA for two years, and is the Manager of the Diversity & Inclusion Program Board for the student government, and was in the SOC Leadership Academic (SOCLA).
    - Joined ALA because had heard about it from her sister and wanted to join an inclusive community—felt a sense of comfort when she joined. This lead her to the SOCLA—wanted to around *"like-minded people"* who felt like there was a stigma towards SOC. And then that lead her to the Diversity & Inclusion program board.
    - Also knew she wanted to be involved in leadership.
    - Became an RA because her sister has been an RA and had a positive experience.

- Student leadership to Alisha means involved; takes initiative to see change. Also noted that everyone at Pembroke "is leading something."
    - More specific qualities a student leader possesses: high organizational skills, committed, drive.
    - When asked to describe a student leader, person she picked is very caring, organized, has drive and ambition to make a difference. She is passionate about working on *"diversity and inclusion and I think she wants to see people get more educated in terms of what being an AHANA student means."*
- When asked what "type" of student is involved in leadership at Pembroke, noted that everyone is involved in leadership; but noticed among her friends more females are taking leadership positions than males.
- When asked if she considers herself a leader, replied yes, but commented that she still has "a lot to learn." She is a "student leader in training."

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if student leadership is different for SOC vs. White students, said in some aspects yes. For instance, walking through the activities fair, most Presidents and VPs are White, while SOC are very prominent in culture clubs.
    - However, doesn't think there is a difference in *opportunities* for involvement—have access to the same clubs.
    - Also, doesn't think her opportunities have been different as a SOC at Pembroke. She has *"really tried to go out there and definitely do things that I want to do and not stick with what I felt comfortable with."*
- When asked how being a "Black female" has impacted her leadership opportunity or involvement, responded that would not have joined ALA if not a black female; she notices things differently as a Black female and it has made her more "hyper aware."
    - However, being a Black female led her to have some hesitations over being an RA. Wondered what residents would think if they had a *"Black female RA."* Leads her to feeling self-conscious and these feelings impact her confidence.
- The RA's, in general, are predominately White. Explained some of the struggles she's had in her positions. For example, students label her as the *"Black RA;"* know her by her race, and not just as an RA. When she helped a group of students get out a stuck elevator, they left a thank-you note to the *"Black RA;"* didn't take the time to figure out her name. Hyperaware that people see her for her race first, and not as "Alisha." Noted that it has given her a little bit of a "complex" because she second-guesses herself.
    - However, doesn't feel as though she's been treated differently b/c of her race by the RA staff. But does feel hyperaware in an academic setting (in class), such as, being looked at to defend her entire race, or speak on the behalf of her entire race (e.g. when talking about slavery, a peer commented that she "would know more about this" then he would). She noted, *"It's little things that build up where I feel like I'm being treated differently. But it's all the little things that I notice and they kind of build up and it just makes me very hyper aware that I am a student of color."*
- Definitely feels like she's experienced racism/discrimination/prejudice on Pembroke's campus, although it hasn't been blatant. More in the form of microaggressions—things people say. *"People here aren't outwardly racist. It's the little things they say*

unconsciously that make you realize, okay, we do have a little bit of a problem here on campus."

Role Models:

- Had a student leader role model/mentor in ALA (also African American female). Shared a lot of similar experiences in their background and could talk to her on a personal level; also had similar leadership styles. Helped "Alisha" navigate through the leadership ranks.
- In terms of faculty/administration, does not have any role models or mentors, but noted that she wish she did.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- When asked her to again define what student leadership means to her, responded: awareness, confidence, initiative/drive, and **inclusivity.**
    - Alisha noted that inclusivity was the biggest addition to her answer and said inclusivity in terms of *"what you're doing and making sure that what you're doing is benefitting everybody and working towards including everybody."*

Anything to Add?

- Wanted to bring up her feelings towards the diversity and inclusion groups as part of SOCLA. For a while these groups (ALC and GLC) were "on their own," especially the first two years. She commented, *"that it started bothering me more that other people weren't making everyone in SOCLA's problems their problems and I kind of addressed this at our training this year and that we all need to respect each other even if you don't think that SOC issues or GLBT issues are your issues."* Thought about quitting the SOCLA because felt like people did not care about the diversity and inclusion groups' initiatives (weren't coming to programs, etc…).
- Feels like there is still this us/them divide on campus.

Narrative Summary for: "Bryce"
Interview Completed: November 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Bryce described himself as outgoing, caring, and selfless.
- Describes typical Pembroke students as stuck up, better than everybody else, act like they are owed something, assume they know what's going on in other people's lives but don't.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked what student of color (SOC) means to him, Bryce says he takes it as an "honor." It's not often a SOC can go to a university and succeed. *"I think being a student of color, especially at a PWI, really shows that there is more out there than what you just grew up around."*
- Believes to the larger Pembroke community, SOC doesn't mean anything to them. In our society, SOC have to work harder—they are doubted more so they need to work harder.
- Bryce described SOC at Pembroke as a "closed," close-knit group—study, eat, and party together. Feel like the only people that can relate to them are other SOC.
- Described his race as African-American; said others in the Pembroke community would also describe his race as such.
- When asked what it's been like being African-American at Pembroke, replied that it's been hard. In some classes he's the only African-American student present—finds that he holds his tongue because he is afraid to say the wrong thing.
    - Doesn't want to be labeled the *"dumb Black kid."* Although he's never been judged in class for something he's said, Bryce noted, "*I think it has more to do with my own mentality that I'm afraid of that time when it does happen I guess. I try to avoid being put in a situation where I am judged so I just decide not to say anything at all."*

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities there are to be involved on campus, replied, *"A lot. Which I'm just now finding out."* Started learning about clubs/organizations like AHANA, BSF, mission/service trips
- Bryce's involvement at Pembroke has solely been with the Football team. When asked what football means to him: "*It's my life. My whole family plays sports. When I play football it's my only chance to actually be me. It was my time, it was kind of my safe haven because it was a place I feel most comfortable. It was a place where I knew I could make a mistake and right that wrong at any point. Football's kind of just been one of my true loves in life is just being able to step out on a field and whether it's helping a little kid, or throwing a football, it's been the best way for me to touch somebody else's life because people look up to you, people see you out there and they see you doing something that you love and you're able to just touch somebody's life because you play a sport and you're able to do what you love so when you're doing something you love you're just giving everybody a chance to see that, see the passion, see the camaraderie and see the brotherhood you create when you're playing that and that's how football's been for me."*

  - Note: At the time of this interview, Bryce had no longer been on the Pembroke football team for ~3 weeks. This fact is/was something with which Bryce was really struggling. Commented that he was feeling, "*disappointed at the fact that I put everything I've worked for in my life in jeopardy because of a time where I was being selfish, I thought about myself more than I thought about my family,"* and he has to live with that every day.
- Bryce commented that he never really looked into doing any other type of activity at Pembroke because football has kept him so busy.
- When asked what student leadership meant to him, Bryce replied that he didn't know.
- When asked what qualities a student leader possess, replied: respected, strong, and selfless.
- Bryce described student leaders as individuals who maximize everything Pembroke has to offer.
- Bryce considers himself to be a student leader, *"because I think I care about other people excelling more than just myself I guess. Because I want to see other people get better. I want other people to learn from me. When freshman came in this year I would take freshman under my wing just to show them the ropes or help them adjust to what we do and I'm not a vocal leader. I'm more of a lead by example. I'm going to do what I have to do, and when you see that hopefully you follow. So when I think of me being a leader, that's more of how I am. It's just leading by example."*

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Skipped questions on if leadership is different for White students vs. SOC.
- When asked if he felt like he was ever treated differently on the football team because of his race, replied not really because, *"at the end of the day we were a team. We went out together and we hung out together, we went out to parties together. We were a family. We did everything as one. We talked about everything, no matter what it was, no matter how stupid the topic we talked about everything and I don't think there were many times when you can think like this happened because I'm black. No, nothing was ever like that."*
- When asked if he's experienced racism/prejudice/discrimination at Pembroke in general, replied he didn't know. The only thing he could really think of is when people wouldn't really make eye contact, or say hello, when passing him by on campus, ***"look away"*** instead.
- Skipped questions on whether racism/discrimination has impacted his leadership experiences or opportunities.

Role Models:

- A student role model for Bryce was an upperclassman on the football team (Haitian male); showed him the ropes when he got to Pembroke and he did everything *"the right way. People loved him not matter what their race was, white, blacks, Asians, everyone loved K. Pierre and they looked up to him and they kind of used him as an example of what it is to be a Pembroke guy and to really use Pembroke for everything that it was."*
- Didn't really have any role models/mentors within the faculty or administration—he said he has yet to make that type of relationship.
  - However, when his situation arose with the football team, the Chaplain of the team (Father Jack) really helped him through the situation.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership: N/A

Anything to Add?

- Replied this is the most he's ever opened up to a stranger.
- *"I don't like wearing my emotions on my sleeve. I kind of just try to put stuff behind me and move forward. Sometimes to a fault where maybe I should tell somebody, I should get it off my chest. A lot of times I just try to depend on myself and like I said, I'm closed off. When things happen with my friends back home I've never been good with expressing myself. Mine is more so just hide everything and don't let anybody see any weakness in you because if they see weakness that's a point where they can attack you."*

Narrative Summary for: "Chance"
Interview Completed: November 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Chance described himself as determined, mildly funny, and studious.
- Described Pembroke students as friendly, open to meeting new people, studious, and hard working.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- To Chance, student of color (SOC) means anyone in the minority.
- When asked what SOC means to the larger Pembroke community, Chance replied, *"I wouldn't say a whole lot. I think they try to incorporate it, like on a statistical level, I wouldn't say filling quotas or anything, but trying to get more people to come here, but then when it comes down to actually incorporating them into the community I don't think they do a good job like that."*
- Describes SOC at Pembroke as dissatisfied with the administration at Pembroke, particularly how they handle things in terms of SOC at Pembroke. Also described SOC as a "family" that sticks together.
- In terms of his race/ethnicity, described it as follows: *"I'm Cape Verdean and Italian, so I consider myself African American and European American I guess. I embrace both of them but I always, for applications and stuff I always use African American."*
    - When asked why he only checks of African American, said, *"It's easier to get into places. It's bad to say, but I want to use it to my advantage if I can. Sometimes I'll even put Hispanic because I look 100 percent Hispanic."*
    - Believes the larger Pembroke community would describe his race/ethnicity as Spanish.
- When asked what it's been like being biracial at Pembroke, replied that he thinks it's easier being biracial then if he was solely Black. Can easily fit in with any racial group.
    - However, described an event he was at on-campus that was mostly Black students, and the cops came to break it up. Now most of the culture clubs have to go through an intricate process to host social events on campus.

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities there are to get involved on campus, replied "a lot;" can find niche. Also noted that Pembroke students tend to take on way too much.
- Chance's involvement includes 1) E-board for Cape Verdean Student Association (joined at start of freshman year; considers the group to be a family), 2) General Manager of Club Basketball (joined his sophomore year), 3) Investment Club (did only briefly his Freshman year)
- To Chance, student leadership means students who take on a leadership role for any group, someone that peers look up to.
    - Chance believes student leaders posses the following qualities: determination, role model, and passionate.
- When asked if he considers himself to be a student leader, replied for the most part, yes. Tries to exhibit leadership in the groups of which he is a part.

- Chance believes leadership is a bit overrated at Pembroke because everyone tries to be a leader to get things on their résumé.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if he thinks leadership is different for SOC vs. White students, replied no.
    - Also doesn't believe that the opportunities to be involved in leadership is different, except for the fact that many SOC are involved with culture clubs rather than other types of activities (like the undergraduate student government).
    - Chance also doesn't think his opportunities have been different as a SOC at Pembroke.
- When asked if his gender combined with his race/ethnicity has impacted his leadership experiences or opportunities, replied, *"Well, first off I think being a male is a lot easier than being a female especially in leadership because people tend to listen to men more than women so it's much harder for females to get a leadership role and have people listen to them. I think it's much harder."*
- When asked if he ever felt as though he was treated differently as a SOC in any one of his activities, replied more so a group level than at the individual level. For example, the starting team for Club Basketball was predominately SOC his sophomore year, and felt like the group was refereed differently than other, more predominately White teams.
- On a different note, Chance does not believe he has experienced prejudice, discrimination, or racism at Pembroke.
- We revisited the example he provided on the culture club's party being shut down on campus. He believes the way culture clubs vs. non-culture clubs isn't equitable. Students are angry—especially with the new rules/policies that have been implemented to host social events on campus.

Role Models:

- For a student leader role model, named the president of the club basketball team who created the team from scratch (Asian male). Described him as passionate, determined, and accomplished academically.
- Within the faculty looks up to his anatomy professor (White female)—views her as a mentor. She has a passion for anatomy, she is funny, and has a lot of experience to share.
    - Noted that he hasn't encountered any faculty of color within the sciences.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"Student leadership would be a student that is very open-minded, passionate, determined to do whatever it takes to get whoever they're guiding to reach the goals of the group or whatever they're aspiring to do. So someone that exemplifies what needs to be done as well as leads everyone to do what needs to be done. I think that's probably most important that you show what you need to do, be that role model."*

Anything to Add?

- Chance replied, *"I think I'm just an interesting person to interview because I identify with a lot of different races and I have a different perspective than the common Black student or the typical Black student that probably feels more prejudiced against in this community. So I kind of see it from both ways you know?"*

Narrative Summary for: "Curtis"
Interview Completed: October 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Curtis described himself as reliable, determined, and radical.
- Described typical Pembroke students as homogenous: White, affluent, have stay at home moms, and put on façade.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- To Curtis, student of color (SOC) means someone who has roots not from America, or you're not White. "*So here, in American I am starting to realize that, and Pembroke still applies that to me, that in America you have to be White to be American."*
- Believes that to the larger Pembroke community, SOC means AHANA—a secluded group they cannot join.
- When asked to describe SOC at Pembroke, said that they are "changing." Before most SOC at Pembroke were diverse, more connected, and had a lot more that were low-income, from urban areas*, "with potential"* as someone said. *"That is what I had and got into Pembroke."* Now many come from private high schools, and more socialized to White environment so they'll be more complacent.
    - Believes the larger community would describe SOC as a secluded group; they don't take the time to get to know them.
- When asked to describe his race and ethnicity, replied, *"I really identify just as a Black man, but if I were to break it down in terms of ethnicity I'm Jamaican American, African American, and Native American. But I identify mainly with the African American/Jamaican American."* Identifies as a SOC.
    - Believes the larger community would describe his race/ethnicity as black or African American.
- In talking about what it's been like to be Black at Pembroke, commented that it was hard at first—especially his freshman year. People would automatically ask if he was an athlete and didn't believe that he was there for academic reasons.
    - Felt particularly aware of his race at orientation. *"Well, one guy said to me you're the first Black I met at orientation I don't know if that's a good thing or a bad thing. And so, though it was very subtle, the fact that you even said that to me, why even think that? And say it was a good thing or a bad thing?"*

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities there are to get involved, replied that there are lots of opportunities—can see all of them at the involvement fair.
    - But faced some challenges in joining groups—gave example of the looks he received when he wanted to join the investment club…or when he brought his mentee (Black male) over to the Lacrosse Club table and they students there were like, *"you know this is the Lacrosse table, right?*"
- Curtis' involvement includes the following: 1) Black student organization (Director of Political and Social Activism; joined as junior)—experiences mixed: *"I feel like they no longer served the needs for black students as which they once did,"* 2) Co-chair for programming for Black History Month (joined as freshman), 3) Bystander Intervention,

4) Student Admission Program—SOC outreach (joined freshman year), 5) Dedicated Intellectuals of the People (DIOP—SOC men, recruited as freshman), 6) Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity (men of color who are about achievement), 7) McNair Achievement Program
    - Committed to building community within the black community at Pembroke.
- When asked what "student leadership" means to him, Curtis replied, one who makes things happen on campus; passionate; organized. Uses these skills to motivate others to truly execute a common goal.
- When asked if he considers himself to be a student leader, Curtis replied "yeah*"—"mostly of course everyone else would say I'm a student leader, I would say I'm very passionate about certain topics on campus."*
    - However, not thrilled with Pembroke (although thankful for the experience), mainly because he doesn't feel comfortable "here," even after almost three years. *"I can never say I love Pembroke. So the passion aspect and the fact that I'm actually trying to rally against what Pembroke, not stands for, but what they're failing to do or they're hiding, or putting under the rug."*

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Doesn't feel comfortable at Pembroke, particularly in the classroom. Feels many faculty members make inappropriate comments or connotations. Simply does not feel accepted at Pembroke.
- Believes that leadership is different for white students vs. SOC—says that as White student can join anything, while SOC are more confined to groups for SOC, *"confined to your own environment."*
- Feels like his opportunities have been different as well, because has felt unwelcomed by certain groups (financial club, Pembroke Venture Club).
- Asked Curtis if he felt as though he was treated differently because of his race in certain groups—felt that way on the retreats he attended. Felt like students expected him to have a *"tragic story"* to share.
- Also believes there is a difference in how SOC groups/organizations vs. predominately White groups/organizations are treated and viewed on campus, especially in terms of support—people on campus less likely to care what they (SOC groups) are trying to promote.
- When asked if he's experienced racism/discrimination campus, replied yes. Believes it's embedded everywhere. And Pembroke is just a microcosm of the larger world—with racism being innate. *"I actually think racism will never disappear."*

Role Models:

- Has had numerous student role models (all SOC)—they are passionate about what they do, and provide a support network for Curtis.
- Within the administration his biggest role modes are 1) Director from LTL office (Black man), 2) Dean of UG Advising (Black female), 3) Professor Nakazato (Japanese-American), and 4) Assistant Dean in School of Education (White female).
    - Said of these mentors: *"So they are always there to listen to me. That's the biggest thing. They're always willing to help whether they have a busy schedule they're open to making themselves available to me regardless. They also have a certain*

kind of mentality and spunk about them that makes me want to succeed even further and they're also helping me to succeed and achieve. They also want to help me attain exactly what I want to attain."

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"Student leadership more-so are students who are passionate and driven about certain discipline topic, field, who want to see it succeed, grow, leave a legacy and serve a purpose and a community."*

Anything to Add?

- Wanted to talk more about the off-campus fraternity he is a part of. *"Joining the fraternity has open my horizons, eyes, and network to people so it has maximized the city of Boston though I still feel like it's very dull and boring and stuff, but it has I would say, bettered my experience as a student here."*
- Also added that participated in the Jamaica service trip as a freshman. Drawn to the trip because he is Jamaican, and because of Father Michael (also a mentor of his). The trip was very impactful. *"Though it was only a couple weeks, it was very formative for me. It was definitely a way to end my first year in college--I mean Pembroke, and lead into more experiences that helped foster and guide my growth."*
- The researcher commented to Curtis that lot of his involvement involves wanting to give back to his community on campus, especially things like revitalizing United Front, and helping to get the Black Student Organization *"to the platform it once was."* Wants to give back to the community and make the Black community more cohesive and more visible on campus and create a better experience for students. Curtis 100% agreed with that observation.

Narrative Summary for: "Danielle"
Interview Completed: October 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Danielle described herself as outgoing, responsible, and open-minded.
- Described typical Pembroke students as predominately White, from suburban towns, preppy, and not very cultured.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- To Danielle, student of color (SOC) means someone who identifies as Black, Hispanic, or Asian.
- Danielle believes that to the larger Pembroke community, SOC means students who are Black.
- Described SOC at Pembroke as being two groups—those who come from diverse backgrounds and have been around White people, and those who have been with/stuck with predominately members of their own race. So there are people who are more closed-minded and those that are more open-minded.
    - When asked how the larger community would describe SOC, Danielle paused and said she wasn't sure. Believes that it's not something they think about, and SOC feel excluded from Pembroke events (e.g. taking away the name of the SOC boat cruise).
- Danielle describes her race as Black, her ethnicity as Caribbean-American (Trinidadian & Grenadian). Identifies as a SOC.
    - When asked how the larger community would describe her race/ethnicity, replied *"Black."* Or they might think she is mixed because she is light skinned—or *"foreign."*
- When asked what it's been like being Black at Pembroke, replied that when she came to Pembroke she thought about race a lot more, even though she came from a predominately White high school and had predominately White friends there.
    - A time she was particularly aware of her race was at the student leadership dinner—she was one of very few minority students present.
    - Also feels like Pembroke is very racially "split" between White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, etc…students.
    - When reflecting on being a Black *woman* on campus replied, *"I would sit in the back of class and just kind of chill in the background and then I realized I need to just be on top of my stuff and not be afraid to speak up in class and just put myself out there in different things that I do on campus and stuff like that. I don't think it's hard, but it is different being a black female on campus because we're portrayed as weak you know? Or you're portrayed as a B-word."*

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities there are to get involved on campus, replied "a lot." There is a club for everything—singing/dancing, service, sports, etc…
- Danielle is involved in 1) President of female step time), 2) Student Admissions SOC outreach (a part of since freshman year), 3) Sisters Let's Talk (since freshman year), 4) Leader for Mississippi Delta service trip, 5) Jamaica service trip (sophomore year)

  - Is really passionate bout step team (also participates in service). Identifies the group as the closest thing to a *"sisterhood."*
- When asked what student leadership means to her, Danielle replied someone who is proactive and speaks up, but also listens.
  - Other qualities: thinks on feet, acts as a role model, is someone others can trust, easy-going, and non-judgmental.
- Danielle considers herself to be a student leader—thinks individuals elected/selected her for positions because she possesses the leadership qualities she mentioned.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if leadership is different for White students vs. SOC, replied, *"I don't think so. I don't think your race has to do with how you are as a leader or how you're portrayed as a leader."*
- However, does think that certain clubs attract certain people—for example culture clubs attract SOC. Although race doesn't limit people from joining clubs, their social and cultural capital may impact the types of clubs they pick (e.g. she didn't play chess or ski growing up, so wouldn't join those clubs).
  - There is a difference in the student population that is attracted for service trips if it's sponsored by the larger Pembroke community (like Arrupe or Appa—attracts more White students), or through the Office of Multicultural Programs or LTL office—attracts more SOC.
- When asked if her opportunities have been different in terms of student leadership as a SOC, replied, *"No, I think because I'm a student of color it gives me a better chance to be a leader especially if say I wanted to be a leader for Arrupe trip."*
  - When asked if adding her gender in (along with her race) impacted her leadership experiences or opportunities, said she had never really thought about it on that level. But did say she thought vying for leadership positions was more competitive for Black females than Black males, since more Black females tend to be involved.
- Noted that she doesn't believe she was ever treated differently in any one of her activities because of her race or ethnicity. It has been an interesting experience for her—particularly on certain service trips (Jamaica service trip and Mississippi service trip) were SOC were in the majority, *"So it's kind of like I get to see the perspective of White people in an uncomfortable situation."*
- When asked if she's experienced racism or discrimination at Pembroke, Danielle replied, *"no, not myself."* However, has experienced some forms of stereotyping when teachers would mix up her name with the one other Black female in class.

Role Models:

- For student leader role models, the president of step team (female SOC) when she was a freshman was a role model. Danielle described her as someone you could talk to, on top of her academics, responsible, and provided mentorship.
- Also an upperclassmen male (SOC) was a role model (leader of Mississippi service trip)—he as very confident in himself and told Danielle to stay *"motivated and never back track."*

- Within the administration, looks up to Fr. Michael (man of color), who made her realize what's important in life. But really wishes she had more of a mentor within the administration, someone she could go to, reach out to and talk to about life.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"Being a role model, confidence, someone people could come to and look up to. Responsible. Easy going but also serious at the same time when things need to get done."*

Anything to Add?

- When asked if she had anything to add, replied, *"I guess just to sum the purpose of the study up kind of thing. Like for me, I didn't let my race control what I wanted to do. I didn't think, it didn't cross my mind that I'm Black, I can't do this, I can't do that. I was like I want this, I'm going to do it, but there's people who do let their race defer them and not want to reach out and be a part of different things because they feel like they're going to be judged or they're not going to get it. So I feel like for me it's like because I am Black and I am a black female, I need to succeed. I need to be a part of these things, to be that voice, to be that face of a Black female who is in charge, like I'm a part of things on campus. You know, kind of represent, not necessarily, you can't represent your race, but just represent my race."*

Narrative Summary for: "Emily"
Interview Completed: February 2015

Initial Descriptors:

- Emily describes herself as contemplative, bubbly, and trusting.
- Described typical Pembroke students as hardworking and ambitious…and always appearing perfect, happy and polished. But it seems as though there is an air of superficiality—everyone is "good" or "fine" even if that may not be the case.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- Described students of color (SOC) as any non-White student. However, the sense she gets is that does not necessarily include Asian students—more-so African American or Hispanic students.
    - Believes that historically, Asians are known to have an easier time, although acknowledges that their struggles are simply less visible than the struggles of other SOC due to their "minority model" image.
    - When asked if she believes SOC includes Asians, replied no. Believes it is three categories—Whites, Asians, and SOC (which is predominately Black and Hispanic).
        - Then said there might be "four bubbles" because there are also Middle Eastern individuals, who wouldn't fit into any of the other three categories.
    - Then Emily, after further discussing her thoughts, believes that since Asians are technically non-White, they should also be under the SOC umbrella.
- When asked to describe SOC at Pembroke, replied that they have a stronger sense of community than White students—particularly with all the culture clubs. Also believes SOC are more in tune with religion and culture.
- Also commented that because Pembroke is predominately White, SOC may feel like they cannot assimilate in the community. Most of the culture clubs are thought of as "the minority," and their events are not often attended by diverse groups of people or the larger community. There is a divide between the culture clubs and the larger campus events.
- In terms of her race/ethnicity, says that she is born and raised Indonesian, but has never fully identified as Asian, although believes others would identify her as Asian. Also feels pretty "Americanized" now, having lived in the states since coming here for boarding school. But ultimately would identify as Indonesian.
- When asked what it's like being Indonesian at Pembroke, replied, "*it can feel kind of lonely at times."* Has felt particularly aware of being Indonesian (and non-American) when classmates talk about things they did growing up, American customs, holidays etc…because had different experiences growing up. Additionally, her perception of adults and authorities is very different than most American students (e.g. struggles to call Professors by their first name).

Student Leadership:

- When asked what opportunities there are to get involved, replied that there are a lot: performing arts, sports, service, student admissions program; *"you can definitely keep yourself busy."*
- Emily's involvement includes: 1) Shaw Leadership Program through residence life (predominately White), 2) Women's Ultimate Frisbee group (predominately White), 3) Liturgy Arts Group (predominately White), 4) Campus School Creative Kids (predominately White), and 5) Southeast Asian Student Association (SEASA, SOC).
    - Noted that her experience in all of them has been largely positive—gained many friends, and a way to relax and take a break from work.
    - Joined the Shaw Leadership program because of the residential component (rather than the leadership component), for the opportunity to live in a smaller community with only 19 other students.
    - More involved in SEASA this year because the two freshman from Indonesia joined as well. Also recently joined the e-board.
- When asked what student leadership means to her, replied that it varies—could mean taking charge of a group project all the way to being a leader of a club.
    - Qualities student leaders possess are: accountability, honesty, down to earth, and hardworking.
- When asked what types of students are involved in student leadership at Pembroke, replied, *"This is going to sound silly, but I would say super-humans because I honestly don't really fathom how they could balance between the number of meetings and coordinations that they have to do and their school work and other clubs they're involved in."*
- When asked if she considers herself to be a student leader, Emily replied that she is a leader on a "smaller scale." Will step up and take on a leadership role, but doesn't see herself as a president of a club yet. People tell her she has leadership qualities, but she isn't comfortable embracing that just yet.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Wanted to separate herself from the Asian community at first; *"I didn't want to be that girl who moved to college and only hung out with Asians."* But has since changed her perspective: *"But yeah, this year I know more Asian friends and I'm meeting more and more Asians and everyone else and I realized it was a silly decision on my part to separate myself from the Asian community, but that's a lesson learned there."*
- When asked if leadership is different for SOC vs. White students at Pembroke, noted that most of the activities she is involved in are predominately White groups, so most of the leaders are White. But on the flip side, cultural club leaders are SOC. *"So I don't think that there's a lack of opportunity, I think it's just the fact that different clubs attract different race and ethnicity that it seems like there are a lack of opportunity and I'm assuming not all clubs are as welcoming so that might be hard."*
    - Noted that although most groups can be easily separated by race, there are some (mostly dance teams or a capella groups) that have a mix of races.
    - Also noted that it may be more difficult for a SOC in any club to obtain a position/leadership role if the majority of the club is White.

- Does not believe her leadership opportunities or experiences in activities have been different as a SOC.
    - Also believes she has not been treated differently than her White peers in the groups she is involved with that are predominately White (also noted that she doesn't believe she looks traditionally Asian).
- Does not believe she has experienced racism/prejudice/discrimination at Pembroke—but acknowledged she could be missing microaggressions that occur.

Role Models:

- For students, noted that the two Frisbee captains and Frisbee president are role models for her. All three really care about other people and building connections/nurturing relationships.
    - Frisbee captain #1 (White female): Very welcoming, cares about others, always smiling, and makes others feel comfortable.
    - Frisbee captain #2 (White female): Very involved, big personality, very caring.
    - Frisbee president (Asian female): "Super-human."
- For faculty/administration, the faculty member she works for (White female) is a role model. Very busy, but incredibly caring and understanding.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *Student leadership is fellow students able to, it's kind of, not step up, but be someone to take care of other students. That's why like I said, it's easy for me to lead the Shaw freshman this year in their service trips because it's easier for me to take care of an underclassmen than my own friends because they're the same age, we're going through the same thing. Someone who, I never thought of leaders or even student leaders as the President of [the student government] or anything like that, I actually don't associate student leaders with that. It's more people who are able to make every day differences with their friends, with their peers. It normally is underclassmen just because you always look up to someone who's older than you are. I think student leaders are someone who is willing to take the time for other people and lead by example.*

Narrative Summary for: "Eric"
Interview Completed: January 2015

Initial Descriptors:

- Eric described himself as motivated, hardworking, and a free-thinker.
- Described typical Pembroke students as smart, sheltered, from similar backgrounds (upper-middle class, suburbs), homogenous in terms of personalities and attitude, motivated, well-dressed, and career-oriented.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked what student of color (SOC) means to him, Eric replied, "*that's a complicated one for me."* Says in the US people often think of physical color, but can include ethnicity… So it can be *"not necessarily physical color, but I guess it's supposed color."*
- Eric believes to the larger Pembroke community, what SOC means depends. *"I think it's different for me since I'm not necessarily what I should be. When people think of Mexican they think of a brown Mexican which is not necessarily true because Mexicans are all colors."* So people often see/associate SOC with physical color.
- Describes SOC at Pembroke as hardworking and also motivated, but for different reasons and because of a different mindset (they want to have/create a better life for themselves and family).
- When asked to describe his race/ethnicity, replied, *"That's a hard one for me specifically just because I'm always constantly flip-flopping because I always have these identity crisis things where I'm like am I Mexican, or am I?"* Gave examples from his childhood and throughout his lifetime. But often says *"Mexican."*
    - Says most people in the larger Pembroke community, who do not know him, assume he is White, a "*typical American Pembroke student*."
    - When asked if he considers himself to be a SOC, he says he does, even if it's not physical, he is in terms of ethnicity.
- Eric described being Mexican at Pembroke as not too hard (thankfully). Says he does miss elements of his ethnicity on campus—like the food. So experienced some degree of culture shock when he first arrived. Freshman year was the toughest in terms of the transition when deciding if he fit in. He wondered, *"am I part of this?"*

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities there are to get involved on-campus, replied that there were tons—no matter what you want to get involved with, there is a club for it.
- His involvement has included: 1) Latino Organization (the first group he joined and wanted to be around more Hispanic students), 2) Latin American Business Club (joined sophomore year), 3) Pembroke Radio (joined freshman year; loves music), and 4) No Labels (recruited by a senior student, it's a Political Science club).
- When asked what student leadership means to him, Eric replied students that they have a big role in a club—president or vice president.
    - Said that student leaders possess the following qualities: passionate about club/organization, care about their members, and think of activities that bring people together.

    - Said that many people who are usually involved in student leadership at Pembroke are overachievers—people who go above and beyond and want to better themselves.
- When asked if he considered himself to be a student leader, said *"sure."* Although he presently doesn't hold a leadership role in a club/organization, said he was a student leader in high school. Says he also possesses the attributes of a student leader—always striving to be better, motivated, and passionate.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if student leadership is different for White students vs. SOC, replied he didn't think so. If you have the attributes, you have the attributes. Also believes the opportunities to get involved are the same. It depends on how active you are in the club/organization, not your race.
- Also believes as a Mexican student, he has had the same opportunities as other students. If he really wanted to invest in a club, he would.
- When asked if he was ever treated differently in non-affinity groups (like No-Labels or Pembroke Radio), replied no because their interests were the same. And often are doing shows individually.
    - However, in the Latino Organizations, initially members may of treated him differently because they are surprised that he is Mexican. But feels very embraced by the community because the number of Mexican/Latino students at Pembroke is so small. At home, didn't feel like he was always accepted/embraced—because he is White and has lighter colored eyes.
- In terms of racism/discrimination at Pembroke, does not believe he has experienced either. Says that people are curious—like with some of the foods he eats, but not being discriminatory. But he has seen people make inappropriate comments to others (like towards his Indian roommate).

Role Models:

- For a student leader role model, picked a junior student (Egyptian male), who is in a leadership role, but remains humble. He is very involved, and is affluent, but he is down to early. He cares deeply about his relationships (person to person).
- For faculty, listed two people:
    - Dean of UG Advising (Black female): Had her for a 1-credit class and his freshman advisor. Says he really cares—she is warm, open, and "cool."
    - Professor Epstein (White male): A professor he had for a class and stays in touch—cares about Eric's development.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"Is being involved in more than just, just being very involved on campus. Actually, I would say it's that but also giving off, leading by example kind of thing. I think it's also a good example of it, where even if you're necessarily not a club leader, you're also just giving off basically practicing what you would like people to see in a leader or whatever. So I think that's another aspect of being a student leader I think."*

Narrative Summary for: "Frank"
Interview Completed: October 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Frank described himself as determined, passionate, and loving.
- Frank describes the typical Pembroke student as follows: White, privileged, intelligent, driven, and a little ignorant.
    - When asked to explain "ignorant" a bit more, said the following: *"I feel as though everyone on this campus is intelligent. I can't deny that when it comes to classes, knowing of economics, politics, and what not, everyone is very intelligent. When it comes to just knowing reality for example, just like when it deals with cultures, race, just people who are different, people are very ignorant about that in a sense that they don't want to learn about it or they think that it's a waste of time."*

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- To Frank, student of color (SOC) means: Asian, Black, Hispanic, Native American, and International students. Also noted, *"I feel like student of color also is at least to me, a positive term. I hate the term minority. I mean the word minor is in it so it's already belittled, little not too important. So when it says student of color it's not something people are used to."*
- When asked what SOC means to the larger community, hesitated and said he didn't know [took some time to think on this question]. Then responded, different people, people not like me, people not privileged.
- Described SOC at Pembroke as loud, energetic, strong, motivated, driven, and treat each other like family.
- When asked to describe his race/ethnicity, replied that he doesn't like the term Hispanic. Describes himself as Latino. Also acknowledged that he is also racially Black due to the historical roots of slaves in the Dominican Republic as part of the African Diaspora. For ethnicity he is Dominican.
    - When asked how the larger Pembroke community would describe his race/ethnicity, believes many would be confused and challenge the fact that he considers himself Black.
- When asked what it's been like as a Latino on Pembroke's campus, replied, *"it's been interesting,"* largely due to the fact that the campus is mostly White.
    - His freshman year there was a large barrier with his roommate, felt like they couldn't relate. But had a turning point when he performed a number from "In the Heights" at the culture show—really embraced who he was.
    - Described his journey as a Latino at Pembroke as follows—freshman year he was juggling, "who am I?" Sophomore year, he processed his identity. Junior year he felt confident saying, "this is me." Senior year, he's become a mentor for others.

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities are there to get involved on campus said: culture clubs, student government, business clubs, comedy groups, leadership programs.

- Frank's involvement includes: 1) President of Latino Organization (member since freshman year), 2) A student newspaper 3) Service trip to the Dominican, 4) SANKOFA, 5) Co-chair of Hispanic Heritage month programming.
    - In commenting about some of his activities—for the Latino Organization, he really wants to facilitate change; his vision is to be open to everyone (can just join and not have to apply or try out for) and celebrate Latino heritage. Also going on the Dominican service trip was important to him because he gave back to his home country. Lastly, joined SANKOFA because he wanted tangible leadership skills—also described the group as a "brotherhood."
    - Noted that "exclusivity" is a problem in terms of many clubs on campus, in that you have to apply for them or try out.
- To Frank, student leadership means that you are the face of the organization you represent. You are a mediator. Also, your attitude is contagious. And being a leader involves responsibility and possessing a stand on something.
    - Qualities include: possessing understanding, accountability, and charisma.
- Frank commented that student leadership at Pembroke is very "position oriented"—people want a specific position of to fill something on their resume. Also noted that believes the student government at Pembroke does not represent the voices of SOC.
- When asked if he considers himself to be a student leader, Frank replied, "I do." He is very passionate and determined.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if leadership is different for SOC vs. White students replied, "yes" with no hesitation. *"With students of color in leadership, I feel like all students of color on this campus try to get into a leadership role because they want change, whereas the majority of campus, the white students don't really need that because this campus is theirs."*
    - Feels strongly that it is a constant battle to have your voice be heard for students of color that, that the majority of the student body is apathetic to the needs and issues of SOC because it "doesn't pertain to them."
    - SOC also constantly battle stereotypes every day.
- In terms of involvement, SOC primarily involved in culture clubs where their voices can be heard and they can celebrate culture. Whereas for White students involvement is clustered in the undergraduate student government, business clubs, and service strips.
    - *"You might have some like me join a publication like [named two student newspapers] but you still feel that little uncomfortability because it's predominately White. So I feel like if a student of color ventures, like I did, into an organization that is predominately White then all of a sudden it's like you're that one person in a class of 200 in Devlin. It's just like I gotta represent, I got all the burdens that come with it."*
- When asked if being a male SOC has impacted him leadership opportunities or experiences replied, *"I think it has. I think that being a male in this campus you are privileged. I will say that that's kind of the privilege I have is that I am a male on this campus, and so as a male you have some sort of power on this campus. I think being a male on this campus and with student leadership it helps because you're seen as strong, you're seen as reliable. You're just seen as secure and it's unfair to be honest."*

- When asked about his involvement in more predominately White groups, like the student newspaper, acknowledged that it can be a little uncomfortable. Still worries during board meetings that (when surrounded by White people) he'll say something stupid—wants to sound smart and say something smart.
- In terms of experiencing racism, prejudice, or discrimination at Pembroke, Frank replied he thinks there has been prejudice. Felt uneasy around his roommates' friends freshman year. At a football game freshman year, a peer made a comment implying that he was surprised Frank went to Pembroke. He has experienced microaggressions.

Role Models:

- Described his roommate as a student leader role model. Is really committed to the Black Student Organization (the culture club he is a part of) and wants to create change on campus for the Black community. This has inspired Frank and his work with the Latino Organization.
- Within the administration, said the entire staff in the OMSA office is role models/ mentors, but in particular Joanna (Latina female)—she is very accepting, passionate, and parental ("mom" on campus). *"Whenever I have a problem I go to her. If I have a problem with [the Latino Organization], classes, personal life it's always her. So it's like she's always accepting of any of my shortcoming, any of my accomplishments. She's always been there for everything and so I think without a person like that, especially in college you need that so it's just been a blessing for me."*

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"To me it means you care about change. That sounds cliché but I think if you are being a leader it's because you want something to happen. You want to see something occur good or bad. You want to see something, and so student leadership to me, we're all stressed on this campus already with our academics, we have a work hard, play hard attitude but you take the time to devote yourself to a position on this campus and so with that devotion, as I've said, comes responsibility. But I know that if you're taking this role it's because you want some change and that definitely separates the authentic student leaders from the not so authentic because if you see change occur whether it's organization-wise or whether it's an event that has changed the landscape of this campus, whatever spectrum it is, people see it, people recognize it, and they respond to it."*

Anything to Add?

- Described some of his struggles interacting with faculty on campus who are predominately White; feels a sense of being unwelcomed.

Narrative Summary for: "Geo"
Interview Completed: February 2015

Initial Descriptors:

- Geo described himself as reflective, family oriented, friendly, and humble.
- Described typical students at Pembroke as White, upper-middle class, from a privileged background *"raised with the formula for success."*

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked what "student of color" (SOC) means to him, acknowledged that he has some issues with the phrase[6], but defined SOC as "anyone who doesn't fall under the white spectrum."
- In terms of what SOC means to the larger Pembroke community, replied there are two different answers based on whether the student is "informed" or not.
    - The uninformed view SOC stereotypically as athletes or affirmative action students, do not view them on the same level as the "stereotypical" Pembroke student (White, upper-middle class background).
    - To the informed Pembroke student, a SOC is just like any other student—intelligent, educated, high achiever in high school…
- When asked how he would describe SOC, Geo replied that tend to fall into an initial niche based on race or ethnicity. Acknowledged that for SOC who attended elite high schools (similar to Pembroke in nature) have an easier transition to Pembroke then those who do not. For *"a student of color or anyone who isn't familiar necessarily with the culture that Pembroke promotes, it might be, they might feel a pressure to change something about themselves or this kind of sense of not belonging can persist and develop, you know?"*
- Geo noted that since he has come to Pembroke ne has had a difficult time answering how he would describe his race or ethnicity. Does identity as Latino and Mexican-American, but commented: *"It wasn't until coming to Pembroke that I felt Latino. It wasn't until I came to Pembroke that I felt to be Mexican or Mexican American, you know? Just because I come from a neighborhood where that's the majority of people so I don't think I've ever had to question it or I've never been threatened to lose it. Upon coming to Pembroke I found this sort of duty to kind of promote it and kind of wear it like a badge in a sense."*
    - Also noted that, *"My first semester was definitely my roughest at Pembroke socially and academically just because I think I wasn't comfortable voicing my thoughts and just finding that I could voice my thoughts and my feelings and share my story which I consider the other story."*
    - Believes that Pembroke does not value, or welcome, "things" that deviate from "Whiteness" or a "patriarchy." Additionally, believes as a whole, Pembroke doesn't consider the non-stereotypical student: *"I feel like an event or a weekend like parent's weekend doesn't necessarily think of me and my family maybe because we're not of the same socioeconomic status as the majority of Pembroke*

[6] Asked if there was a term he preferred other than SOC, but said he could not think of one.

students or because my parents are both immigrants from Mexico. Things like that. I feel like I wasn't in Pembroke's original picture."

- Noted that people in the larger Pembroke community would identify him as Latino or Mexican.
- Described a time his freshman year in his "Courage to Know" class when he felt very aware of his race/ethnicity. The class did a "privilege line," he was the only Latino male in the class, and by the end of the activity he was all the way in the back of the group. While many of his classmates commented that they felt bad and were unaware of their privileges, Geo didn't share his thoughts. *"I felt pressure to talk because I think I, well, I know I would have contributed a very different perspective but I just didn't feel confident enough to do so."*

Student Leadership:

- Noted there are many different ways to get involved on campus: culture clubs, dance teams, e-board for a club, sports, on-campus jobs, orientation leader, OTE preceptor…
- Geo's involvement includes: OTE preceptor (largely SOC), facilitator for Dialogues on Race (mixed group), former creative director for the Latino Organization (SOC), participant on the DR trip (largely SOC), former member of intramural soccer (predominately White), former columnist for the student newspaper (predominately White), and Prison Arts Outreach (predominately White).
    - Joining the Latino Organization was pivotal for Geo, commented, *"I can honestly say that joining [the Latino Organization] made an upwards shift in my feelings towards Pembroke and just my experiences as a student here just because it definitely brought that sense of family that I really like just from being back home or just from being Latino. I think Latinos have this attribute of being really close knit especially among family members and I was just, I just felt welcomed by the people who were in [the Latino Organization]."* But he also believes that the sense of social activism and "doing things of substance" for the club has dissipated, so wants to run for co-president to change the direction of the club.
    - Saved talking about OTE for last—the program seemed significant for him. Wanted to become a preceptor to give back to the program that had given him so much.
- When asked what qualities student leaders possess, included: time management, the ability to balance school work with their passions, taking the initiative to do something through innovation, hard work, collaboration, and inspiration. Leadership isn't *"restricted by the boundaries of a club or organization."* Student leaders are not afraid to voice an unpopular opinion.
- When asked if he considers himself to be a student leader, said that conflicted with being "humble." But believes in some ways he is a student leader, even if he doesn't want to admit it (publically or to himself). But believes people "respect" his "voice;" has a *"gift to word things in a way that move people*;*"* when he speaks, people listen.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if the opportunities to get involved, or the way leadership is expressed, is different for White students vs. SOC, replied yes, when it comes to certain things. For example, Orientation Leaders on campus are not very representative of the SOC

population. Same with the student admissions program—noted that no one in the room looked like him. Commented that the *"more tied with the university"* the role is, *"the more scare the opportunities are for SOC."*
    - Believes student leadership for SOC is clustered predominately within culture clubs, or an *"alternative version of a predominately White student program."*
    - Believes his leadership opportunities have been different at Pembroke as a SOC; when decided not to apply or "go" for something, it's because he doesn't see himself "reflected in these programs."
- When asked if his gender combined with his race/ethnicity have impacted his leadership opportunities, replied "maybe." For example, a member of the admissions team was excited he wanted to become involved with the Student Admissions program, because wanted more male Latino involvement (viewed this in a mixed light). Was also encouraged by a high level administrator to pursue higher education because there aren't many Latino males in Higher Ed (viewed this positively).
- When asked if he ever experienced discrimination compared to his peers in predominately White groups, replied no. But did say he did occasionally feel uncomfortable with those peers because he hasn't been *"bred in their culture."*
    - Also believes that the role of the preceptor in OTE, does not get as much "shine" as being an Orientation Leader or a SAP member, because isn't the "face of Pembroke" so it's not thought of as valuable.
- Has not experienced blatant racism/discrimination on-campus.

Role Models:
- Students: 1) A preceptor when he was in OTE—was very relatable and exposed his to a new outlook (African American male), and 2) his freshman year RA who was also a male Latino (very involved on campus in Latino associated activities).
- Administration: 1) Erin (White female)—looks out for him, sees his potential. 2) A professor in the English department (White female)—also looked out for him.

Follow up to defining student leadership:
- *"I think simply put, just acting, and not in the theatrical sense, but in the sense of taking the initiative to do something that you see there's a lack of or that you want to maintain or that you want to develop. And I think the special thing about student leadership is there's that academic component, you know? I think extra-curriculars can serve as a stress releaser even though when you pick up student leadership positions it's hard to say you're not more stressed picking up certain things, but I also think that academics can serve as an entry level to something. So if I had never taken intro to theater my freshman year I don't know if I would have been so open to joining prison arts. So I think they kind of work hand in hand and they can definitely inform one another, and I think that's the special thing about student leadership. I think getting that sort of duality in leadership or whatever it may be is special to the college in particular."*

Anything to Add?
- Discussed his time abroad—particularly as a SOC (a Latino) in Ecuador. His host father considered him a "gringo" with Mexican ancestry. Although he is fluent in Spanish, realized he still felt uncomfortable speaking Spanish while in Ecuador.

Narrative Summary for: "Isosa"
Interview Completed: October 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Isosa described herself as passionate, versatile, and hardworking.
- Described typical Pembroke students as White, high SES, and with a private high school education.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked what "student of color" (SOC) means to her, Isosa replied—anyone who isn't White.
- Isosa believes that to the larger Pembroke community, SOC means Black individuals. *"I think a lot of times student of colors are looked at as mostly black or maybe even Latino. People kind of focus on that and forget that it's a lot more than just those two ethnicities or races."*
- Isosa described SOC at Pembroke as very diverse with a range of backgrounds. They also display perseverance; SOC *"are definitely putting themselves in a situation or environment that they're not used to and still trying very hard to be successful here at Pembroke so I definitely think that a lot of them are trying very hard and they're persevering through a lot of their individual struggles."*
- In terms of race, Isosa identifies as Black. Her ethnicity is Nigerian. Identifies as a SOC.
    - She believes that most in the Pembroke community would assume she is African American, because they think it is the *"politically correct"* term, but she is not. African American often means black American descended from African slaves. She was born in Nigeria and moved to the US. It also angers her when people contest or argue with her about her identity.
- When asked what it's been like being black Nigerian at Pembroke, replied that she was lucky she went to a predominately White high school, because she believes this gave her better coping abilities. However, noted that it's still hard sometimes being the only Black female in a class.
    - Also described a time she was right by campus, by the main entrance, driving with her mom and some passerby's used the "N" word to comment on the car they were driving.

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities are there to get involved—described that there are "a million opportunities." Dance teams, culture clubs, everything.
- Isosa's involvement includes: 1) An African dance team (joined freshman year as a way to embrace her culture that she was ignoring), 2) Brazilian club (did her junior year because she wanted to try something new and experience a new culture), 3) Jamaica service trip (sophomore year), 4) Pembroke Half-Time retreat (went sophomore year as student, senior year as leader).
- To Isosa, student leadership means going beyond simply participating in a group—you make decisions and implement ideas.
    - Describes student leaders as organized, patient, and possessing the ability to step back and listen to what people need.

  - Described typical student leaders at Pembroke as passionate and/or individuals looking for résumé builders.
- When asked if she considers herself to be a student leader, replied yes, especially due to her involvement in the African dance team. She is always willing to help younger students *"figure their way out"* at Pembroke.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Isosa does believe that leadership is different for SOC vs. White students at Pembroke (although commented that was a "loaded" question). Noted that many of the SOC leaders she knows are leaders specifically within culture clubs, while White students are more actively involved in opportunities outside of culture clubs.
  - Also believes from the very beginning SOC are *"tailored"* to certain activities that are promoted, for example, over OMSA student weekend.
- When asked if her opportunities/experiences in student leadership have been different as a SOC, replied yes. All of her experiences, with the exception of Half Time, have been situated within "minority" student groups, expressing a culture that is not really represented at Pembroke.
  - Commented: *"Pembroke culture is predominately White and a lot of them, you know, the few that do go out of their way to learn about other cultures are the ones that are already have that open mind but a lot of Pembroke culture is close minded, to realizing that there's so many other small minorities at the school and so we kind of have to make our voice heard a little bit and have these groups on campus. But the one thing that's unfortunate is that a lot of people that attend them or come to these events are also students of color and sometimes we're not even reading that mass group of Pembroke students that are so oblivious to I guess their surroundings and the other cultures around them."*
- Also noted that the experiences for black women and black men are very different. Black females at Pembroke can sometimes be *"the bottom of the barrel. We have the same struggles that most females feels sometimes living in a male dominated world, competing with, you know, males and having all the stereotypes of the female, and then we have the stereotypes of also black people so it's like a double minority and I think sometimes that is more of an emotional or mental kind of struggle but I don't think it actually affects actual opportunities. I don't feel like as a black female I have less access to opportunities than a black male. I think there's just more of that emotional and mental kind of wear and tear that happens on campus to some black females. I think there's a lot of self esteem sometimes issues that occur but I don't think that actual access to opportunities are different."*
- When asked if she felt as though she was treated differently because of her race in a predominately White student group (Half-Time), replied no. However, there were many moments when she was reminded that SOC and white students are often not concerned about the same things.
- When asked if she's experienced racism/discrimination at Pembroke, Isosa replied that it's been indirect because often Pembroke students are too PC to say true thoughts. However, when they are drunk they will say things they wouldn't normally say.
  - *"So you get those kind of comments where they're not being outlandishly racist or you know, cursing you out but they're just saying things where I think they slip up*

for a second and then when you question them it's like oh, no I don't mean that at all. And I get that a lot, like the whole you don't talk black or oh, I listen to more hip hop than you, I'm more black than you. It's like, whatever. So I get little things like that. Those little things they get frustrating but it's like, I don't know, you kind of have to just deal with it."

Role Models:

- For a student leader role model listed a friend who was her leader on the Jamaica service trip (she is a Black female student). Described her as blunt, won't hold back about being a SOC at Pembroke and vocal about how to change experiences as a SOC. Also listed another friend of hers who is similar to this first student where she "doesn't hold back" and speaks openly about being a SOC at Pembroke.
- Within the administration, a professor of hers, Kerry (White female) is a role model to her. She is her advisor and treats her like a "normal student."

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"I think as a Nigerian black female on campus student leadership means having to be the voice of someone, of a whole group of people maybe when you don't want to be because it's necessary. Yeah, I think that for me as a student leader it's about expressing my culture, about almost forcing it down your throat a little bit, like making sure that you're aware we exist, we're here on campus. So I think for me student leadership is being that reminder to people that the world is not just black and white. There is more to it. There's so many cultures and I think that for me is what student leadership is."*

Anything to Add?

- Wanted to add that believes talking about race is more of a hot topic for SOC at Pembroke. For the larger community, believes they don't value, or feel comfortable, talking about race issues.

Narrative Summary for: "Jacqueline"
Interview Completed: September 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Described herself as: reliable (she's there for other people, e.g. her siblings), empathetic, and persistent—failure does not get to her.
- Describes "typical" Pembroke students as: good, men and women for others, involved, socially active, and passionate.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- To Jacqueline, student of color (SOC) means people who come from a different background.
- Believes that to the larger Pembroke community, SOC means students with OMSP affiliation, although she isn't quite sure the larger community has really thought about it.
- Describes SOC at Pembroke as: involved, aware that diversity could be improved on campus (this is often spearheaded by the cultural clubs)
- Describes herself as Asian—3/4 Chinese and ¼ Japanese.
    - Didn't identify as a SOC until she came to Pembroke (came from NYC at went to a predominately Chinese elementary and middle school; high school was also largely Chinese).
- When asked what it's been like being Asian on Pembroke's camps, noted a few things:
    - She grew more interested in her culture(s) because her race became more salient.
    - Never felt too discriminated against—said that people at Pembroke have a good heart.
    - Made friends mainly within the Asian community specifically because she wanted to know more about her culture, in particular, Japanese culture.

Student Leadership:

- Jacqueline noted that there are so many ways to get involved on campus—culture clubs, student government, academic clubs, and service trips.
- At Pembroke, she was involved in the Japanese culture club (really wanted to explore Japanese culture to feel closer to her grandmother). By junior year she was co-president.
    - Although a smaller club within the Asian culture clubs, everyone in the club is very interested/passionate about Japanese culture.
- To her, student leadership means taking on the ability to bring forth an idea—make sure people are on task and make a vision possible.
    - Student leaders possess the following qualities: balance between listening and making executive decisions, hear other people's ideas, help people grow.
- When asked if she considers herself to be a student leader—hesitated. Admitted that she struggled with this notion "so much" at first, but by her junior year realized that she was so passionate about the Japanese culture club and the vision—acknowledged that is part of what a leader is.
    - When asked why she hesitated to describe herself as a leader, noted that she's always been "very unsure" of herself.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Agreed that there is a great deal more fluidity between the Asian cultural clubs on campus; they encourage interaction/participation between clubs.
- When asked if the opportunities to get involved in student leadership are different for SOC vs. white students, noted that the opportunities are not different. However, on the surface level, easier for SOC to get involved because there are many culture clubs.
- Jacqueline commented that the Asian Caucus has worked on getting members of the Asian clubs involved in other facets of Pembroke life.
- When asked if Jacqueline believed her leadership opportunities have been different as a SOC, she believes they have because she took the "obvious" route. There are times when she wishes she had become involved in certain service groups.
    - Commented that she didn't become involved in other things because she tried to engage in self-care—had a demanding schedule as pre-med; also often used breaks to visit her ex-boyfriend.
- When asked if her gender/race/ethnicity combination impacted her leadership opportunities or involvement, replied no—never saw being a woman as, *"something that should affect where I go or what happens to me."*
- Jacqueline noted that she never felt like she was treated differently in the Japanese culture club because of the fact that she is "mainly" Chinese (the Japanese culture club community is diverse). However, she felt like she was treated differently by her family and community back home—often didn't understand why she was in Japanese culture club.
- When describing differences between culture clubs and non-culture clubs, noted a few things:
    - Often very few Caucasian students in culture clubs (described time she asked a White student to join Japanese club at the org fair and he just laughed and said, "what do I look Japanese?"); although the club is open and welcoming of all.
    - Noted there were some struggles/differences in funding opportunities from SOFC.
- When asked if she's experienced racism/discrimination at Pembroke, replied that perhaps subtly out of ignorance.
    - Doesn't believe her subtle encounters with racism/discrimination have impacted her leadership participation, however, commented she wish she had pushed outside of the Asian community at Pembroke: *"I think, just after seeing everything it made me realize that I should have taken my title as a student of color and really explored that, you know, in different settings with different people."*

Role Models:

- The president of JCVC when she was a freshman was a role model to her—he took it as a priority to get to know the people they worked with (Japanese male).
- Within the faculty, has a role model in terms of "character" rather than leadership—looked up to Fr. Clark who taught "Asia and the World;" really inspired "men and women for others" (White male).

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- Fighting for something; fostering leadership and cultivating the next generation; finding new ways to carry out your vision.

Anything to Add?

- Nothing to add, but was curious to hear more about my study and responses from other participants.

Narrative Summary for: "Jonah"
Interview Completed: October 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Described himself as: dedicated, hardworking, and funny.
- Described typical Pembroke students as: involved, smart, and a kind group of people.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked what student of color (SOC) means to Jonah, he replied anyone who doesn't identify as White or as part of the majority. They have to deal with the ramifications of not being part of the majority (discrimination and racism).
- Believes that the larger Pembroke community would identity SOC as anyone who isn't White, but more specifically Black and Hispanic, not Asian.
- Describes SOC at Pembroke as very involved; they also stick and work together—sense of community. "In this together." "Push each other." However, easy to feel out of place.
    - *"It's not uncommon to feel out of place here at Pembroke as a student of color, so understanding that you do belong here is something that I struggled with and I know that a lot of students of color that I've spoken to as underclassmen are struggling with upon entering Pembroke."*
- Jonah described his race, as "I'm a black man." His ethnicity is Haitian American.
- When asked for a specific story of being black at Pembroke, recounted his experiences on a retreat—was the only Black student in his group. His leader was also Black, but he could tell when she was relating to her group her experiences with racial awareness, it was lost on his predominately White peer group.
    - Also, went to Pembroke High, which he says is a "microcosm" of Pembroke—but felt like embracing racial diversity and talking about race was more accepted at Pembroke High as opposed to Pembroke where, *"not only are you the minority by numbers, but nobody wants to talk about the elephant in the room."*

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities are there to get involved, responded "too many." Retreats, campus ministry, culture clubs, etc…
- Jonah is involved in the following: 1) VP of Black Student Organization (oldest culture club—joined as a sophomore), 2) Resident Assistant, 3) SANKOFA as a freshman, 4) Vida de Intensa (a dance team), 5) Haitian Association Executive Board, and 6) Leader of Jamaica service trip.
    - Described both Vida and Haitian Association as "family."
    - When asked why he joined the BSO, replied, *"I'm not going to sit here at Pembroke and kind of just wait for somebody to make the campus better. I'm very, if you can do it, why not do it."*
- To Jonah, student leadership means students who recognize an issue or identify a goal of theirs, and then they take steps to make those goals happen.
    - Qualities student leaders possess include: good communication skills, drive, self-motivation, and recognizing that they are not alone but need to work with other people.

- Described the types of students at Pembroke who are involved in student leadership as "very authentic"—student who care about the organization/group they are representing.
- When asked if he considers himself to be a student leader, Jonah replied, *"yeah. I consider myself a student leader with a lot left to learn."*

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if leadership is different for SOC vs. White students, responded perhaps in the types of things they are involved with.
    - Noted that it's difficult for SOC (particularly Black students) to get involved in things that are not attributed to Black culture, like the undergraduate student government or volunteer service learning.
    - Jonah does believe his opportunities to be involved in leadership have been different as a SOC—for example, he doesn't feel out of place signing up for BSO or Jamaica service trip.
- When asked if being a Black man on campus has impacted his experiences, replied yes. *"I mean the things is being a Black male at Pembroke, I'm automatically standing out. I'm at Pembroke. I'm already defying the so-called odds…with that being said, me doing everything that I do on campus just pushes that even further. Like at the end of the day people can't deny the fact that I'm here. They can't ignore it. They can't imagine me away and that proves very helpful in my search for a more defined sense of leadership because whatever I'm doing now needs to have purpose. I'm so, you can't ignore a black man on this campus."*
- In thinking about his involvement in some of the more predominately White groups as a Black, Haitian-American man, such as being an RA, Jonah replied that it's had its ups and downs.
    - In other predominately white activities, like Leader Shape, believes he is treated differently, or looked at differently, because people seem impressed by all he's doing since his is "Black." Also feels like people change, or conversation changes when he walks into the room.
- Believes he has experienced racism/discrimination at Pembroke. For example, believes he can't come across as too angry, like he has to control his emotions, and has to be articulate. . This is something where you have to speak as if you're a politician. *"You have to watch everything you're saying, how you're saying it and then make sure you're saying it for the right reasons without losing your initial point."*
    - Other examples include times when BSO having an event, and invite off-campus students, and White Pembroke students complain because there are too many Black people. Heard a female White student say, "I pay $65,000 a year not to see these people."

Role Models:

- Has had numerous student leader role models, and in fact, student mentorship is what made him feel included at Pembroke. His mentors have been predominately SOC.
- Within the administration has had two role models (both Black individuals): 1) Dean of UG advising—she helped him identify opportunities available to him and wants him to be the best he can. 2) Director of First Gen office—very direct and honest. Tells it like it is.

- Feels like he can have fuller, more honest conversations with him because they too are black and understand his experiences better.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"It's students who can identify an issue or a goal of theirs and make that goal a reality or solve their issue of choice, and I might add that at least making their communities aware of that issue or inspiring the same kind of passion in that issue or goal that they have in other people. Making people really care about the things that they care about."*

Narrative Summary for: "Jose"
Interview Completed: December 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Jose described himself as genuine, involved, and quirky.
- Described typical Pembroke students as White, but since he does not identify as White, said he didn't really know how to describe them because isn't close with many White students. Said it's a very segregated community. He said for the White students he does know, believes they are good people, but they aren't concerned about issues of people of color because "it doesn't matter to me."

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked what student of color (SOC) means to him, said identifying as Black or Hispanic. Hesitated in terms of whether Asian students would be SOC—and then specified only some (like Cambodian, Thai, Vietnamese) but not others (like Chinese, Korean, and Japanese) because they have access to social and cultural capital.
    - Jose believes the larger Pembroke community view SOC as "Black;" if your skin is dark then you are a SOC.
- Described SOC at Pembroke as separated—do not interact with other groups; they are content to stay in their cultural bubble. *"It's easy to seek solace with people who look like you."*
- Jose describes his race/ethnicity as Black and Latino. Overall, prefers the term Afro-Caribbean. Noted that he did not identify as Black before coming to Pembroke, but knows that he has Black roots (African ancestry), as he is Dominican.
    - Believes others in the Pembroke community would describe him as Black if they didn't know him, Latino if they do know him.
- When asked what it's been like being Afro-Caribbean at Pembroke, replied, *"I think initially it's like I'm kind of just meant to conform to being in the [SOC] bubble and sticking to what I was supposed to be doing like dancing and culture clubs and that's what it is. But I just, yes, my closest friends are of color and its just because again, I can relate to them easiest."* But does believe he's stepped outside of the "bubble."
    - Also noted that he's felt hyperaware of his race the past few weeks, especially with the high-profile media coverage of Ferguson and the decision not to indict. There's been an explosion of inappropriate commentary on yik-yak, and commentary articles in student papers…and so wonders what people think of him when they see him. Said, *"the past couple weeks have been the only time that I've felt drained and drained because of who I am."*

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities there are to get involved on campus, Jose replied that they were "endless"—leadership programs, culture clubs, service, anything really.
- Jose's involvement has included: 1) Male a capella group (only did freshman year), 2) Fuego dance team (joined as sophomore; enjoys it, but doesn't view it as his family), 3) Jamaica service trip (did summer going into sophomore year), 4) Freshman League Captain, 5) Kairos retreat (did sophomore year), 6) Latino Organization (did for first two years), 7) Dominican Association (did first two years).

    - Described the male a capella group as *"really White boy frat-y,"* and not the right fit.
    - Jose mentioned that he is not a fan of many of the culture clubs, the Latino Organization in particular, because tend to solely focus on food and dancing, and do not emphasize all of Latino culture.
- To Jose, student leadership means a notable figure in the Pembroke community. Qualities a student leader possesses includes: service, involved on campus, embody men and women for others, when they say things they are known, and they don't have to hold a formal leadership title.
- Jose believes that he is a student leader, *"not just because I'm hyper-involved but I feel like it's just like people notice me. People know if I say something people are aware of things that I do."*

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if student leadership is different for SOC vs. White students, replied he believes so. Noted that SOC tend to hold executive position in culture clubs and in the SOC community, while more White students hold positions in the undergraduate student government.
    - However, believes in some ways his opportunities have been easier as a SOC*: "I think it's just been easy for me because I don't have a hard time branching out. So it's like if I'm applying for something they're like wow, he's the only Black kid that we have. I feel like it's just like you need this token Black kid. Other times it's just because of who I am, my character, like the Jamaica [service trip], I got that because of who I am. The other things I feel like I get because I'm a Black guy. Yeah, I feel like I still get a lot of things. I think I'd still get a lot of things if I was white, but I feel like me being a Black male helps a lot."*
    - Also commented that being a Black male has helped him because many of the "active" people of color in the community tend to be women.
- While Jose doesn't believe he's been treated differently in student leadership activities as a SOC, did comment that the male a capella group was not the right fit for him because of the "bro culture." However, also acknowledged that most of his involvement has been in groups with SOC.
- Jose does believe that his' experiences prejudice/discrimination/racism at Pembroke—while it hasn't been "outright" prejudice, described some of the "little" things—like comments on the Ferguson situation, comments made behind his back, or professors looking to him to be the spokesperson of the Black community.
- Jose does not believe his experiences with microaggressions have affected his leadership opportunities/experiences because he has no problems speaking his mind or calling people out. But also noted that nothing has been said directly to him; *"I feel like everything that I've always experienced in terms of racism or some kind of aggression has always been said behind my back and it just somehow gets relayed to me and I never know a name, I just hear things."*

Role Models:

- For a student leader role model, listed his roommate (Black male) who is very proactive on campus, organized, and really knows what he wants.

- Within the administration, Father Michael (Black male) because, *"He's taken the time out to get to know me as an individual, my story. He's interested in my academic success and social success. He's just taken the time out to play a role in my life and be someone I can talk to and be a resource for me so that's why he's my mentor."*

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"I feel like student leadership is the ability to act in a noble way. Being a prominent figure on campus for good reasons and being able to just collectively gather the student body for some type of cause because I feel like there are a lot of students in positions of leadership that doesn't necessarily make them a student leader. So I feel like the ability to gather people, the ability to get together for a cause, I think that kind of justifies a student leader."*

Narrative Summary for: "Joshua"
Interview Completed: October 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Joshua described himself as: smiley, hard working, and dedicated.
- Described typical Pembroke students as: smart academically, involved, boys dressed in Sperry's and button downs, girls dressed in hoodies and spandex, and preppy.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- To Joshua, student of color (SOC) means anyone identified in a minority group.
- To the larger Pembroke community, Joshua believes the administration would identify SOC the same way he does—anyone in a minority group. To students, however, he believes they would identify SOC as primarily African American.
- Describes SOC at Pembroke as diverse, involved in what their parents want (e.g. pre-med), and involved in campus.
    - Believes the larger Pembroke community would describe SOC as follows: *"They would always describe the sports players and a lot of them aren't, but that's always the first. Oh do you play sports? What sport do you play?"*
- Joshua describes his race as Black/African American, and his ethnicity as Jamaican-American. He identifies as a SOC.
    - Believes to the larger Pembroke community, people would describe him as Black or African American.
- When asked what it's been like to be Black American at Pembroke: "*I think first coming it definitely was sort of a, I wouldn't say I feel like an outcast because there's others who identify like you, but you're a very small minority and a lot of the students are preppy so you definitely feel kind of left out. In terms of now, I've gained a strong bond with actually a Jesuit priest which is pretty big on Pembroke campus, who is also a Jamaican so because of that that's sort of diminished as the years have gone by."*
    - A time he felt really aware of his race was when trying to go to a friends birthday party on campus—they guys at the door let everyone in, but then stopped him and his friends and didn't let him in.
    - Also is always asked if he is a football player.

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities are there to get involved on campus, replied *"too many."* There are dance teams, culture clubs, sports, academic clubs, & service clubs.
- Joshua's involvement includes: 1) VP of male step dance team (joined as a freshman—views the group as a "brotherhood"), 2) Trip Coordinator for Jamaica service trip, 3) 48 hours (did freshman year, point guard sophomore, and leader senior year), 4) Half-Time (did as junior, led as senior).
- To Joshua, student leadership means being a leader on campus, being in-charge, running something and in an administrative role.
    - Qualities student leaders possess include: discipline, power, coordination, organization, and outgoing.
- Describes typical leaders at Pembroke as mostly White because Pembroke is a PWI.

- When asked if he considers himself to be a leader, Joshua hesitated. But then said, *"As much as I wouldn't want to…I do, yes."* He's recommended for things, and to lead things, but doesn't always have to be the leader. Also he's ok with getting things done, but *"still being in the background."*

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Joshua does believe that leadership is different for White students vs. SOC at Pembroke. While the qualities they possess are the same, the way they are acknowledged are different—e.g. if you look on the student portal the majority of student "leaders" on there are white, not SOC. Also, SOC groups are not given the same weight or attention like predominately White groups.
    - Additionally, SOC tend to lead groups geared towards SOC, instead of predominately White groups.
- Believes that his opportunities have been different as a SOC at Pembroke because he is often recommended for things by administrators—they like the qualities in him. As a result, he tends to get opportunities and jobs that many other SOC do not know about. So tends to do things that many SOC do not get the opportunity to do.
- When asked how being a Black American *male* has impacted his leadership opportunities or experience, noted that often the perception of black men is negative (included the reputation of the male step team). But he believes as a student leader, he is changing that image (for the better) in people's minds.
- Joshua was asked to think about his involvement in groups that were predominately White (Halftime and 48 hours)—does not believe he was treated differently than his White peers. Says he was *"shown a lot of love."*
    - In terms of other activities, does not believe he was treated differently because of his race/ethnicity.
- When asked if he experienced prejudice, or discrimination at Pembroke replied that he did his freshman year, but not in later years. But does not think this impacted his leadership involvement.

Role Models:

- For student leader role models—had one his freshman year—the president of male step team the time. Described him as: intelligent, did well academically, a leader, won awards, changed the image of African American males on campus, and did a great job post college.
- Within the administration, has had two role models: 1) Fr. Michael (the Jamaican priest), and his supervisor in the Alumni Center (White male). Described both as leaders in their field, provide a lot of support for him, and are both like *"father figures."*

Follow up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"Student leadership to me definitely means being, as a student being in charge in an administratively way of other students, guiding them, being a role model to them. I don't think I mentioned that the first time, but as we talked I definitely brought that up. And having the organization and discipline to I guess lead what needs to be led and do what needs to be done."*

Anything to Add?

- Joshua didn't have anything specifically he wanted to add, but did have a question—why is it that SOC tend to go towards SOC groups, while White students tend to go towards predominately White groups?

Narrative Summary for: "Katie"
Interview Completed: September 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Described herself as spontaneous, analytical, and perceptive.
- Describes typical Pembroke students as driven (although the source of drive varies), involved, and a stereotypical student (White, catholic, lack of SES awareness, from a homogenous high school—private, catholic).

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- To Katie, student of color (SOC) means a more diverse background, more in-depth understanding of their and others' cultures, and tolerant to differences.
- When asked what SOC means to the larger Pembroke community, her response: I'm not sure actually because again, with what I said about people not really wanting to talk about it, I think there are certain images that would come to mind but nobody would want to say disadvantaged."
- Describes SOC at Pembroke as self-aware, and more hyperaware of skin color. When they step onto Pembroke's campus, first thought is "I'm different." Aware that they are a "minority."
- Describes her race as Asian American—driven by family and values. Ethnicity is Chinese. With hyphenated identity (Asian-American), sometimes wonders where she stands.
    - Does identify as a "SOC," but also acknowledged that often the term is used for Hispanic and African American students.
    - Thinks others in the Pembroke community would describe her as "Asian"—and meaning socially awkward, timid, good at math, awkward.
- When asked about times she felt really aware of her race at Pembroke:
    - When taking her first CSOM class, class was much more stereotypical Pembroke—preppy, homogenous, dress/talk a certain way. She said there was a lot of wit and banter in the classroom, and in her culture, that wasn't a communication style she really grew up with. Asians, as a whole, tend to be quieter.
    - Noted she knew some people in the class, but they "*did not seem very interested in getting to know me. And I think a lot of people, of minority students would tell you that they know when they feel like it has to do with race and it's not directly racist. I think it's just people who want to be popular and then it's like what's not popular and then it's like Asians aren't popular. So it's not like anyone's being racists but that's kind of how it goes."* Feels like people automatically categorize Asians in a classroom setting.

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities are there to "get involved" on campus—answered "a lot." Many culture clubs; can do anything really.
- Her involvement includes: 1) Chinese Student Association (CSA-Freshman Rep; friend from HS encouraged her to apply), 2) Korean dance group, 3) OMSA caucus rep (wanted a position on CSA, so is the rep for CSA), 4) Teaches music through Music Outreach
    - Most of her involvement situated in groups that are largely SOC.

- When asked what "student leadership" means to her: becoming active in a student group in a role that's more than just attending meetings.
    - Qualities of a student leader: passion, compassion, and driven.
    - Lots of different kinds of leaders at Pembroke, but feels in a way that almost "everyone is a leader."
    - When asked to describe someone she thinks is a student leader used the word compassionate. *"He is very concise and organized so not any of the, he doesn't exclude any of the things that I talked about but he has a very clear vision for what he wants to see out of Pembroke and pursues it through interpersonal relationships and things like that. Just a lot more understanding. Very open."*
- Considers herself to be a student leader. Believes through her Freshman Rep position on CSA was mentored to foster the leadership in her. Finds CSA very familial, feels like "home."

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Doesn't think leadership is different for SOC vs. white students at Pembroke; however, the opportunities are different. Thinks there are MORE opportunities for SOC, because of all the culture clubs.
    - Within the Asian culture clubs there is a great deal of mixing and mingling across the Asian community, regardless of ethnicity.
    - In other types of groups, like certain service learning organizations and the undergraduate student government, there is less racial diversity, but probably mirrors overall diversity of the campus (so less than 30% students of color).
- Doesn't think her gender/race combination has impacted her leadership opportunity/involvement: *"I don't think it has. I think that gender is not the predominate issue at Pembroke. So I'm going to say minimal impact, not enough that I would notice at least."* Race is the predominant issue.
- Her only involvement where participants are predominately White is "Music Outreach," but serve a very diverse population that is largely students of color. But still receives some stereotyping (by the students) because she is Asian.
- Katie couldn't really think of a time she was treated differently in a leadership/co-curricular activity (because of her race), due to the fact that most of her involvement is in Asian groups.
- Does believe she has experiences racism/prejudice/discrimination at Pembroke—but often in more subtle forms. People making preemptive judgments; the lack of willingness to talk to her because she is Asian and for folks trying to be popular, Asians are "not cool" (this stereotype, according to Katie, is also perpetuated by the media).
- Also believes that sometimes culture clubs are viewed differently by larger community than other groups—sometimes some animosity towards the groups because of the funding they receive. Also culture clubs do not fit into "typical" Pembroke.

Role Models:

- For student leader role models, listed both of her co-presidents, and one of the Asian Caucus presidents.
- No role models within the faculty/administration, but there are people she respects…like her chemistry professor. Does not really know many people within the administration.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"I think it, the biggest thing is having an impact on other people and contributing to your organization in a way that contributes to others and enriches their experience at Pembroke and helps them in some way or even by just being a friend or giving something fun to do or something by providing real mentorship and yeah, I think that is also tied into what I said about redefining leadership because in my old view, what I call the hard shell of leadership I would only consider people in the [undergraduate student government] leaders because they're the biggest organization and they're all go-getters trying to go for really big things to do like initiatives. But I would say that very few people on those committees make an impact on someone else's life in a very direct way so I think that's something that's changed about my opinion of student leadership. It is about the people that you affect."*

Narrative Summary for: "Mashaunda"
Interview Completed: November 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Mashaunda described herself as eccentric, family-oriented, and a dreamer.
- Described typical Pembroke students as posh, dress the same (north face, lulus, boat shoes), engage in the drinking culture, and smart.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked was student of color (SOC) means to her, Mashaunda replied in general, the *"OMSA branch." "But as it pertains to me when I think of students of color, I think of African Americans primarily."*
- To the larger Pembroke community, Mashaunda thinks SOC means mostly African-American, sometimes Hispanic. Essentially the "darker" end of the spectrum. Believes they do not view Asians as SOC.
- Mashaunda described SOC at Pembroke as "split up"—noted that there is "colorism" within the Black community where individuals separate by skin color. *"We're also different in terms of we have conscious black students and then not so conscious black students. I like to consider myself one of the conscious ones."*
    - When asked how the larger Pembroke community would describe SOC, replied, *"I feel like a lot of times on campus White people will pick people, like African Americans that are the "good" ones. So the lighter skinned people who don't make a big fuss about race, who don't really talk about race relations on campus, who don't make a point to make things that are uncomfortable known, those people are seen as okay."*
- Describes her race as Black, her ethnicity as of Caribbean descent.
    - Believes the larger Pembroke community would describe her race/ethnicity as a stereotype. Because she is Black, would assume she is a dancer or athlete…or admitted to Pembroke because of affirmative action.
- When asked what it's been like being Black at Pembroke, replied that she thinks about her appearance, particularly her clothing—does she look too urban? Also remembers how in her first big lecture class, she as one of 2 students who were SOC in appearance. Noted that she feels like she has to work ten times harder at Pembroke and doesn't know why. Mentioned she is the only African-American from her high school to go to Pembroke, and her Dad didn't go to college.

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities are there to get involved on campus, replied there are a lot of sports and dance groups—and some singing groups.
- Mashaunda is involved in: 1) Musical Director an a capella group, joined freshman year, 2) Voices (gospel choir on campus, did for one semester freshman year—didn't feel the connection), 3) United Front (joined this semester; kick-starter group to unite the black culture clubs on campus), 4) Pembroke Slam (a slam poetry group that just became official this year), and 5) Dialogues on Race (did for one semester sophomore year—didn't feel comfortable with the lack of awareness of some of the White students in the group), 6) Jamaica service trip (went freshman year).

- To Mashaunda, student leadership means students at Pembroke who have position of power on campus—in a club, culture club, undergraduate student government, etc…
    - Believes student leaders possess the following qualities: hardworking, not afraid to step on heads, passion, and want to make a chance at Pembroke.
    - Noted that there are lots of opportunities to be involved in leadership on campus.
- When asked if she considers herself to be a student leader, replied yes. In the a capella groups she helps to preserve the culture of the group and makes sure everyone stays on track. She is passionate about he group.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Does not believe leadership is different for White students vs. SOC—they are on the same level. *"If you're a leader you're a leader. I don't think your color makes anything different."*
    - However, does think the opportunities to get involved, the types of activities people are involved in, are different for White students vs. SOC. For example, White students can't hold leadership within culture clubs, but SOC can join other groups.
- When asked if her leadership opportunities have been different as a SOC, replied *"not necessarily,"* but noted that she is nervous about putting herself into an uncomfortable position, which restricts her participation at times. For example, loves *"everything Korean,"* but won't join the Korean club because would feel like an outsider due to the fact that she is Black.
- When asked if her gender and race combined have impacted her leadership opportunities replied, *"No, I feel like if other people were to answer this question they'd be like yeah because as a black woman you're on the lower ranks, but for me personally, everything that I tried to be a part of and I was proactive about being a part of it, I was fine. So I don't think that has any impact on it."*
- Mashaunda commented that did not believe she's been treated differently than her White peers in her activities that were either predominately White or more mixed racially.
- When asked if she's experienced racism or discrimination at Pembroke, replied not directly, but on a more broad sense (e.g. comments students make on Yik Yak).
    - Was also "nervous" for Halloween *"because there have been parties on campus that have themes like pimps and hoes, and people will come into lower with chains and thug life written over their heads and I just feel like oh god, this is really uncomfortable."*

Role Models:

- Listed a peer (Black male) as a role model because he is super involved, but still committed to his academics. He's made many connections across campus with staff and faculty.
- Within the faculty/administration has two role models: 1) Professor Braman (White male) who taught one of her classes and his her advisor—tells her like it is. 2) Her mom (Black female) who people call Ms. Smiley. She helps students find their path and passion.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"Students on campus who have positions of power that are able to make connections through those positions, who are able to change the meaning of Pembroke for themselves and other students while at Pembroke, through their passions and efforts in their particular group or organization."*

Anything to Add?

- Added some more on the differences between groups that attract SOC and more White students. And certain groups that are predominately White, SOC shy away from. *"There are people within the [SOC] community that love that stuff, but just wouldn't join and some reasons are because there are too many White people."*
- Also wanted to add: *"I guess just that Pembroke is, I don't think Pembroke is ever going to change because the alumni that pay for students to essentially come here and change the school and make the school what it is, are the people who grew up in a time where things were very racially biased. Once those people die off, Pembroke might have a better outlook but as long as those very prejudice, old White men are still paying for this school to be run, Pembroke is not going to change."*
- The "last thing" she wanted to add: *"I feel like even though there are these racial divides, and sometimes tensions on campus, Pembroke is what you make it at the end of the day. I can sit here and talk about all the things that I hate about Pembroke and how White girls get on my nerves sometimes because they look at me funny, but at the end of the day, if I don't choose to be happy and find people that make me happy despite the foolishness that's going on, I'm never going to enjoy my Pembroke experience so while I'm here, while I'm busting my tail and my parents are busting their tails to pay my tuition, I have to make it what Mashaunda wants it to be."*

Narrative Summary for: "Nanci"
Interview Completed: September 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Described herself as: empathetic, open-minded, and hypercritical.
- Described typical Pembroke students involved, spiritual in some way, high achieving, and many put on a façade of some sort (feel need to be the best or better than others).

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked what student of color (SOC) means to her: *"A student who identifies as AHANA or whose family or cultural/ethnic backgrounds, etc., come from the Diasporas of anything that's not European or White."*
    - Believes that "SOC" means the same thing to the larger Pembroke community.
- Describes SOC at Pembroke as involved—often in clubs related to their race or culture. Noted that many SOC who aren't involved is often because of other obligations—studying or work.
- Nanci describes her race as "mixed"—she is half White, half Indian or half Italian, half Indian. Before she came to Pembroke described herself as "bi-racial." But mixed feels like it makes more sense to her.
    - Believes others in the Pembroke community would identify her as AHANA, especially after she ran for the undergraduate student government.
    - Identifies as a SOC, although often others tell her that she's not because she grew up in a predominately White area—when she was growing up, thought she was 90% White and 10% Indian.
- When asked if the AHANA acronym includes her: *"Freshman year I wasn't sure. I think I wasn't sure if I could identify as AHANA because half of me was not AHANA, not White. I mean that it was white and so it was something I kind of stayed away from but also was interested in and wanted to learn more about. I think I like to say that it includes me but I also recognize that I don't have the same experiences as many AHANA students in terms of discrimination."*
- When asked what it's been like being "mixed" at Pembroke, commented that she is asked all the time, "What are you?" Individuals often make assumption about her race/ethnicity: 1) spoken to in Spanish at a mod party, 2) a faculty member recommended her for a Latina Summit.
    - Also when asked how being mixed is different than other AHANA students, she replied, *"I think that there's a lot more negative stigma associated with different races, but particularly Blacks and Asians in different ways, but I think that being mixed has allowed me almost a fluidity within both the White community particularly because of my very White upbringing as well as within the AHANA community. At the same time I feel like my mixed status sometimes limits me from both and that I can't fully be this because I'm also AHANA and I can't fully fit into the AHANA community because I'm also white. So it's like a double-edged sword. It has both sides to it."*

Student Leadership:

- Nanci indicated that there are many ways to get involved at Pembroke: service, leadership, culture clubs, interests, work-study, pre-professional groups.
- Her involvement includes the following: 1) Undergraduate student government (currently the president—a part of the student government all four years), 2) FACES (all four years), 3) Did Arrupe as a sophomore, 4) Appalachia as a freshman, 5) Pembroke Venture competition as a sophomore/junior, 6) Orientation Leader (going into senior year).
    - Going into the interview, did not specify on her pre-interview form that she was the president of undergraduate student government; noted during the interview that, *"My exec council always makes fun of me because I, and this probably has to do with women and leadership roles and stuff, but I don't really own that term as much as I should."*
- Student leadership to Nanci means: *"students in roles in which they lead and mentor other students and also are liaisons to administrators and faculty generally."*
    - Added that they are someone who takes initiative, hold other people accountable, listens to others, builds own vision but builds that vision with others.
- When asked if she considers herself to be a student leader, responded, "I guess I would" (with some hesitation). Explained that she cares a lot about the things she is committed to.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if leadership is different for SOC vs. White students, replied "yes," especially depending on the organization involved in.
    - Acknowledged she believes the issues posted by SOC leaders regarding race or ethnicity are not taken as seriously by the larger Pembroke community.
    - Also does not believe that SOC and White students participate in the same types of clubs equally.
- Does not believe her opportunities/experiences in student leadership have been different as a SOC, but wonders if her experiences would have been different if she were, say, Black, and not mixed.
- When asked about her experiences as "mixed" in predominately White groups (undergraduate student government, Appa, Pembroke Venture competition, etc…)
    - Pembroke Venture: Acknowledged that it is very predominately White and did not feel as comfortable in that environment. Felt like she wasn't taken seriously (not sure if b/c a woman or SOC, or both), wasn't really mentored. Also didn't share many of the same values as the other members of the group.
    - In the undergraduate student government, Arrupe, and Appa—often feels like she is the one bringing up discussions of "race" and pushing other people to think about these issues.
    - Said that in these others groups, she sometimes feels as though she is treated differently than her peers, but not to the extent that others may be.
- Nanci noted that she has experienced racism/discrimination at Pembroke, but more so in the form of microaggressions. Often feels like she is "written off" before she can make her point when she brings up issues of diversity.
    - Also explained that her experiences with microaggressions have impacted her leadership experiences, in the sense that it "drove" her to speak out more.

Role Models:

- Student leader role models were both Asian females—confident, warm, and welcoming.
- Within the administration, the director of the women's center is a role model—really listens, knows what to do in difficult situations (White woman).
    - Noted that within the faculty/administration there are not many faces of color.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- An experience for students to pursue own passion but develop others as well. An opportunity to listen and can learn from what existed but also grow their organization…and to do all this while balancing role as a student.

Anything to Add?

- At the end of the interview, Nanci realized she hadn't listed her experience as an Orientation Leader as a "leadership experience," so we explored her experiences in that position a bit.
    - Decided to become an OL b/c she didn't love her orientation experience. Wasn't sure she would be a good fit as an OL because she doesn't possess many of the personality traits the OL's possess—but really wanted to "be there" for "students like" her at orientation.
    - Frustrated about many things regarding orientation…1) How the OL's are selected, 2) Many OL's do not know how to talk about race—and for many, not an issue they think about nor particularly care about, 3) Diversity training for OL's wasn't enough, 4) Many SOC after orientation question if Pembroke is the right place for them—orientation can be a very "excluding" experience for SOC and low SES students.
    - Said if she wasn't graduating, would be an OL again, but would "fight harder" to make some changes.

Narrative Summary for: "OJ"
Interview Completed: September 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Would describe himself as: determined (FGCS), eclectic, open, and strong in interpersonal skills.
- Describes typical Pembroke students as: White, upper-middle class (more towards upper), friendly, competitive, and cliquey.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- Student of color (SOC) means the following to OJ: Someone who has been through a struggle; putting themselves in an environment that may not foster their culture. Also driven to make something of themselves.
- Thinks that to the larger community, SOC often means athlete. Also means "privileged" because, *"you got here in a certain way that you wouldn't if you weren't a student of color. If you were White, excuse me, if you were White you wouldn't get here."*
- Describes SOC as "divided." Particularly between groups such as African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians—not much unity between these racial groups. There is also even division within the Black community based on interests (athletes vs. non athletes, involved in clubs vs. not involved).
- OJ describes his race as black American. His ethnicity is Haitian-American or Afro-Caribbean. Considers himself a student of color.
    - Believes others in the Pembroke community would describe his race/ethnicity as Black.
- Has described being black-American at Pembroke as a *"source of motivation"* and a *"source of pride."* However, there are challenges. Only a small number of SOC in classrooms. And has difficulty relating to White students. He does, *"particularly hang out with other students of color, particularly black students because they have my interests, not because they are Black."*

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities are there to "get involved," replied "tons," but "competitive."
- OJ's current/previous involvement: 1) Leader of Jamaica service trip, 2) Pembroke Bigs Program (is a "big brother" for a young student), 3) CEO/Director of Community Outreach for the Black Student Organization (common interest in helping the black community), 4) OMSP student advisory board, 5) Director of OMSP student outreach in admissions.
    - Noted about his involvement: *"Everything I'm involved in goes back to serving underserved populations. Literally everything I've done in the last four years is related to that."* It's his opportunity to "give back."
- Student leadership to him means an organizer, someone who has a voice to unite and organize people, and someone that brings people together.
    - When describing a student leader on campus: Great speaker and sense of presence, well known, gets things done, people go to him for comfort and advice, and fosters trust and comfort.

- Describes leadership at Pembroke as very important. People have a *"great sense of passion and value to what they do."*
- When asked if he considers himself to be a student leader, replied *"oh definitely."* Very passionate about his community.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if there is a difference in leadership opportunities for SOC vs. White students, said yes—in terms of their interests in clubs and the types of programs they put on. Self-select into certain groups.
- Doesn't believe his access to leadership opportunities has been different as a SOC, believes he could get into anything he wanted, however, thinks it would be tough to get into certain organizations (like business groups).
- When asked if being a Black-American man has impacted his leadership involvement/opportunities, said yes. Replied: *"As a senior at Pembroke I am way ahead of a majority of Black males in America and just knowing that. I tell you I use my race as a source of pride and motivation. I am breaking through barriers just by being here."*
- When asked what his experiences have been like in a predominately White environment with the admissions program: Finds working in the admissions office (as director of SOC student outreach) very difficult. Feels really aware of his race. Noted, *"the actual student admissions program in itself is just very, for lack of a better term, White, upper middle class and I just felt weird. Didn't feel welcomed."*
- Has also experiences times that he believes he was treated differently on campus because of his race—primary example was the way his family was treated when trying to enter the Pembroke BOP concert. Had never felt so embarrassed in his life. Was a very painful experience for him.
- Believes he's experienced racism/prejudice/discrimination at Pembroke, but uses it as a *"source of strength."* In terms of how it's impacted his leadership, it *"makes me better. It make me want to do more. I will never belittle myself because of someone. I would never say, I would never take something negative to heart. I just use it as a source to do something better or to make better of myself."*

Role Models:

- Student role model: Upperclassman student (Black female) who was pivotal in deciding not to transfer and remain at Pembroke; *"She's very real and it's very rare to get in this society nowadays especially at our age group where everyone is so fake and doesn't want to hurt feelings or would hurt feelings blatantly just to make you feel bad."*
- A role model within administration: Fr. Michael, the Jamaican Jesuit—helps him, provides him with resources.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"In the face of whatever challenges or circumstances you place in the front of the person they still have the sense of strength and communication and fortitude to lead a group of students to a greater purpose or goal. That's definitely it. In light of everything, nothing was, personally nothing was done easily but in light of that still getting the job done and still organizing. It's so hard to get a group of people together on one thing and to have a*

sense of leadership or sense or presence to direct a group of people in the midst of everything that you're dealing with it's something to be commended I would say."

Anything to Add?

- OJ commented at the end: *"Overall I feel like every student's experience is different but similar at the same time. There's just so many different experiences but other than that it's a struggle. Overcoming that struggle to make better of yourself and they're still here. That's the main point. We are breaking barriers by still being here. With each ticking second that passes we are a better person."* (Speaking specifically about Black students).

Narrative Summary for: "Patience"
Interview Completed: November 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Patience described herself as determined, optimistic, and energetic.
- Described typical Pembroke students as very uniform; it's hard to find true diversity in terms of how they think and their lifestyle. Noted that there is a "stigma" for wanting to be different.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked what student of color (SOC) means to her, Patience said students with a history and/or background. People often think "Black" when they think SOC, but she said it's all difference races, ethnicities, skin colors.
- Believes the larger Pembroke community would describe SOC as minorities, but mainly Black individuals.
- Described SOC at PEMBROKE as possessing a lack of solidarity—with a great deal of segregation in their community. Commented that people tend to stick to their own race and comfort zone, to create a "majority" within the "minority."
    - Patience believes the majority within the PEMBROKE community possess a fear of SOC. Perhaps they are uncomfortable, and as such, are not as willing to dive into culture of SOC.
- Patience described her race as African (Liberian) American, and her race as Black. She said that her race and ethnicity go hand in hand. Emigrated with her family from Liberia in 2000, and although she feels like she has assimilated into US culture, also acknowledges her roots.
    - Believes others would describe her race/ethnicity as "Black" based on what she looks like.
- When asked what it's been like being African American at PEMBROKE, replied, *"I've had good times and I've had bad."* Said there is pressure to succeed academically, always with the pressure of being the "minority." Replied, *"I always feel like there's a pressure to do better because subconsciously I always feel like I'm looked down upon. There are many instances where I feel like a teacher misjudged me before they knew my capabilities and I'm ranked one of the highest in the class."*

Student Leadership:

- When asked what types of opportunities are there to get involved on campus, replied that there's always something; many different organizations.
- Patience's involvement includes: 1) Nursing Peer Advisor (joined Junior year), 2) MLK Junior Scholar (received her Junior year; awarded to student who makes an impact on the African American community either on or off campus), 3) UG Research Fellow (works with an African American faculty member), 4) "Let's Get Ready" (Tutor at urban high school, Sophomore year), and 5) Peer Health Exchange (Junior year—health educator for high school students).
    - Patience noted that she if firm believer in giving pack to underrepresented students and the community. Believes that education is the foundation to make change—for herself and others.

- When asked what student leadership means to her, Patience replied someone who is willing to rise to the occasion and make a difference/make an impact, someone who is influential to their peers, and is also always willing to follow. Student leaders are also understanding and can "take criticism."
- When asked if she considers herself to be a student leader, Patience replied, *"I don't want to sound hubris, but definitely a lot of leadership potential and leadership abilities definitely through my work and my recognition of some of the things that I do. I do exhibit leadership skills but there's always room for improvement. There's always room to take a step back from my reality and see other's reality and that's how you become a better leader. So I'm a growing leader I would say but I'm not that idolized leader or the leader, but I'm a growing leader."*

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if student leadership opportunities for SOC vs. White students, replied definitely. Noted that she possess a shyness and fear of obtaining leadership roles because she is afraid of bias and discrimination. Said other SOC may feel a similar fear—where the audience select the "leaders" will be predominately White. As such, many SOC clustered in culture clubs.
- When asked if her opportunities have been different, acknowledged that on occasion her fear has stopped her from applying for a couple of things—like the nursing senate. But feels more confident now.
- Doesn't believe her gender and race/ethnicity combined have really impacted her opportunities because she is in nursing which is predominately female.
- Patience also does not believe she has been treated differently that her White peers in any of her leadership activities because of her race/ethnicity.
    - However, on campus in general, noted that, *"there's some underlying ignorance in a lot of the things that's done at Pembroke and a lot of the things that I said, there's been times when I had to educate people about what it means for me as a Black student because people don't often recognize that and they don't acknowledge the struggles that come with that."* She's also often the only Black student in her classes, and while there isn't blatant prejudice, there are sub-conscious actions and feelings. For example, as the only Black student in class, the professor would notice if she wasn't there.
- When asked if she's experienced racism/discrimination/prejudice at Pembroke, Patience replied that while it hasn't been blatantly in her face, she still fear racism. People try to be color blind, but make little comments that have discriminatory undertones.
- Patience does not believe her encounters with microaggressions has impacted her leadership opportunities replied, *"I think that and ignorance are fuel for my determination."*
    - However, in terms of her leadership experiences, replied that she does fear being judged at Pembroke. But interestingly, in the *"outside world,"* she is *"more courageous."*

Role Models:

- For a student role model listed her best friend who graduated (Black female from Ghana). Said she is an inspiration. Introduced her to Pembroke, was an MLK scholar, and was well known in the nursing community.
- Within the faculty/administration, listed the faculty member she does research with (African American female); described her as accomplished, encouraging, wise, and provides Patience with guidance—both social and emotional support.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"Somebody who is willing to rise to the occasion, somebody with a determination for a change. Someone who is ready to impact the lives of others through impacting the greater community. Someone who is willing to sacrifice and I guess someone who is willing to motivate others to become better."*

Anything to Add?

- Commented that it was nice to talk about these topics because there is so little dialogue on race on campus.
- *"Knowledge is power."*

Narrative Summary for: Rowan Decker
Interview Completed: August 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Described self as sassy, hardworking, and a princess.
- Described typical Pembroke students as intelligent, White, privileged, entitled, and low self-esteem.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- Described students of color as anyone "not White."
- Believes the larger Pembroke community views students of color as Black students.
- Described students of color at Pembroke as "cliquey." Branching out can be "scary" especially freshman year.
- Describes her race as Black, her ethnicity as Cape Verdean. But difficult to pinpoint her ancestry as Cape Verdean. Considers herself to be a student of color and proud to be so.
- Believes people at Pembroke would describe her race or ethnicity as Dominican or bi-racial.
- When asked what it's been like being Black/Cape Verdean at Pembroke, noted that people seem impressed or surprised that she speaks well, and surprised that she attends Pembroke (stereotypes).

Student Leadership:

- Indicated that there are many ways to get involved on campus. However, volunteer opportunities are really competitive and can be rejected from some volunteer opportunities. But always can get involved in something.
- During her time at Pembroke, Rowan was involved in Nativity Prep as a volunteer through the Pulse program, and in the Cape Verdean Student Association (OMSA caucus rep her junior year, co-president as senior), the Mayes Mentoring Program as a freshman, and as an OTE preceptor.
    - Joined CVSA as a freshman because wanted a place where she could feel more comfortable and interact with people who could speak Creole and understood/appreciated her culture. Really enjoyed CVSA.
- "Student leadership" to Rowan means someone who raises awareness on something and is passionate about the position they are holding.
    - Described someone she though was a student leader, described them as super nice and everyone knows who he is.
- When describing student leadership at Pembroke differentiated groups like the undergraduate student government from culture clubs. Said for the undergraduate student government it's a popularity contest; not sure how much power leaders of the undergraduate student government have. But for culture clubs, leaders really know the members of their group, know what they want, make decisions and delegate.
- Qualities that make a student leader include: diligence, vision, working with a team, delegating, and making decisions.
- When asked if she considers herself to be a student leader, Rowan replied yes. Was co-president of CVSA—required patience and motivating people.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Felt unsure if leadership is different for students of color vs. White students at Pembroke, however, believes she hasn't yet come across a White student that she would consider a *"real leader."*
- Believes students of color are more involved on campus that White students, but that leadership for SOC is predominately within culture clubs.
- Noted that white students at Pembroke do not really attend culture club events. But also noted this lack of investment in the SOC community as a *"Pembroke thing"*—institutionally, have changed names of things like the SOC (ALC) ball to the "heritage ball"—getting rid of the OMSA acronym. Her response, *"I mean it would be nice in history to get something that's ours. We can't have an acronym now? That's frustrating to me."*
- When asked if her experiences as Black female have impacted her leadership opportunities or experiences, responded no. But noted that Black males would be more impacted—people often see them in a more stereotypically negative way.
- Believes she has definitely experiences racism/discrimination at Pembroke. Gave example of time the Swing Kids were trying to recruit participants, but they dismissed her because of her appearance. Also believes faculty members have gone easier on her in class if she is having trouble with something, as if they "expected" her to have trouble with it.
- However, doesn't believe her experiences with racism/discrimination have impacted her leadership participation because usually gets all that she applies for. But did note that wasn't sure if at times programs were trying to *"fill a quota."*

Role Models:

- Noted that her mentor from the Mays Mentoring Program, the director of the women's resource center (a White female) is a role model to her. She is open to everyone, willing to help people however she can; she's also a *"bad ass mother who takes charge"* (mom of two, works hard.)
- Another mentor is a Dean (a Black female) in the Lynch school. She is funny and helpful; knows the answer to every question. She takes the time to get to know people.
- Within the student body, did not have a student leader role model.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- When asked Rowan to re-define what does student leadership mean to her, her response: *"While I recognize that leaders can take different forms depending on who they're leading and what their vision is, for me it's being decisive, knowing how to work within a team, being able to motivate, being involved in all that your club does, not just your position, and having answers."*

Narrative Summary for: "Sam"
Interview Completed: September 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Would describe himself as: empathetic, strong, and happy.
- Describes typical Pembroke students as: 1) Competitive (due to the high-pressure environment), 2) Nice, and 3) Understanding.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- "Student of Color" (SOC) means anything under the OMSA umbrella (broadly) to Sam.
- Sam believes that SOC means "minority" to the larger Pembroke community.
- Describes SOC at Pembroke as more noticeable than others—more exposed. There is more pressure on students of color, and that can be challenging coming to Pembroke, especially in the first year.
- When asked to describe his ethnicity, said Dominican-American. Did not identify a race, says he feels more strongly about his ethnicity. Identifies as a SOC.
    - When asked how the average person in the Pembroke would describe his race or ethnicity, he replied "Mexican," and that he's gotten that "a lot."
- When asked what it's been like being Dominican-American at Pembroke, replied that when he first arrived, felt like he needed to be a part of the Latino Organization and the Dominican Association, but as he reflected upon, and understood, his identity more deeply, found that he didn't necessarily need the connection to those groups.

Student Leadership:

- Noted that there are a variety of opportunities to "get involved" on campus: SANKOFA, ALA, on-campus jobs, and clubs.
- His major involvement includes: 1) SANKOFA Mentor (recruited by peer), 2) DOR Co-Facilitator (recommended by individual in OMSA office), 3) FACES Facilitator (recommended), 4) 48 Hours Point Guard, and 5) Freshmen League. (Is also on the list-servs for the Latino Organization and Dominican Association)
- Student leadership to him means getting out of comfort zone to organize a group of people in a specific direction. It is a *"function of confidence in one's ability."*
    - Qualities a student leader displays: confidence, empathy, and attention to detail.
- Describes student leadership at Pembroke as *"inaccessible sometimes."* Hard, especially at first, to figure out exactly how and what to get involved in. Also leadership at Pembroke is *"super competitive."*
    - Students involved in leadership are often the ones willing to go outside of that comfort zone.
- When asked if he identifies as a student leader: *"Yeah, I'd say at this point in my life I've definitely progressed a lot since coming here, so I'd like to think I am."*

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Responded "yes" when asked if leadership is different for SOC vs. White students. *"I think as a person of color at Pembroke your voice is that much louder and so whether you shrink under that responsibility or you use that to say to people hey, I'm here, this is*

what I'm thinking and stuff, people are going to listen, so I'd say a lot of times it's positive and negative in that sense because people could crack under that pressure."

- Explained that it's always impressive when a SOC of is a leader b/c of being in the minority.
- Also believes opportunities for SOC vs. White students (in terms of leadership) are different because it "might be harder to branch out to other groups" for SOC (from culture clubs).
    - Personally feels more intimidated when in a predominately White group, but will still go after and apply for whatever he is passionate about, regardless of the demographic of the group.
- When asked about his gender and ethnicity (Dominican-American male) have impacted his leadership experiences, said "yes." Allowed him to *"speak up for himself."* But doesn't think his experiences would be different if he were White. In fact, has allowed him to bring being Dominican-American *"to the table."*
- In the groups he is a member of that are predominately White, does not believe he's been treated differently than (or by) his peers because of his race/ethnicity.
- Believes he has experienced microaggressions on campus, but not necessarily in his leadership activities.
- A theme running through many of Sam's responses is the idea of "voice" in relation to SOC, when they do/do not have a voice.

Role Models:

- Had a student leader role model, the older peer who encouraged him to do SANKOFA (a Black male). He is vocal and confident in himself; also passionate about what he is doing and funny.
- Has a role model within the administration as well—administrator from the OMSA office (also a Black male). He's involved, talkative, interested in students.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- When asked to re-define student leadership: *"Acknowledging that your voice is as important as everybody else's and using that to say hey, I have these ideas, let's talk about them. Let's see what you guys want to do. Why not, let's go for it. How do you guys feel about it? And passion and confidence and empathy."*

Narrative Summary for: "T.M."
Interview Completed: October 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Describes herself as: perceptive, pensive, and hopeful.
- T.M. describes typical Pembroke students as involved, academically conscious, and prideful of attending Pembroke.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- To T.M. student of color (SOC) means anyone who fits into the OMSA acronym; possess an ethnicity that is a minority; literally, "*some shade of brown*."
- Believes that to the larger Pembroke community, SOC means, *"something that has nothing to do with me and they don't look further into it."*
- Describes SOC at Pembroke as diverse *"in terms of their personhood."* They possess the typical characteristics of Pembroke students (involved, academic, etc…) but they also thrive in a sense of community.
    - Noted that in class though, often SOC are role-playing—have to be careful; don't want to portray a negative stereotype. However, at home, they can be more comfortable because they don't have to think about how others perceive them.
- When asked how she would describe her race/ethnicity, T.M. commented that she didn't think about it at all until she came to Pembroke. Born to a Haitian mother, but raised by Black American parents—so identifies as American Black.
    - Believes others in the Pembroke community would describe her race/ethnicity as Black.
- When asked what it's been like being Black at Pembroke, T.M. replied that freshman year she was hyperaware of her race, *"I felt like there was a divide. I was walking through campus and I was just like this is so weird. I never knew how Black I was before."* Even though her high school wasn't that diverse, felt it more acutely aware of her race at Pembroke.
    - Things that helped her to feel more comfortable—going on retreats and transferring into the Lynch school (more comfortable talking in class now).

Student Leadership:

- T.M. noted that there tons of organizations that students can be involved in—but there are also limits. Often have to apply and compete for positions.
- Although she was not involved freshman year, is involved now. 1) President of Sister's Lets Talk (the board was recently created). 2) Let's get ready (a non-profit organization—she is the co-site director; started this year). 3) Mississippi Delta service trip (joined this year). 4) ASCEND (small group of women—run out of an office on campus), 5) Teachers aid at charter school, and 6) Point guard for 48 hours.
    - Most of her involvement is educationally focused and helping minoritized student populations.
- To T.M. "student leadership" means when a UG student fills a role of responsibility to lead a group of people; however, being a leader doesn't always mean getting things right. Also need to gauge needs of a certain group and provide those needs.

    - Qualities student leaders possess include goal oriented, the ability to speak to people in a certain way, passion, going outside of their comfort zone, experiences to share, and possessing a platform of some sort.
- When asked if she considers herself to be a student leader, responded that she didn't until this year—and some ways she still doesn't because she doesn't have a platform. She likes to help people and talk to them—she is about people.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- In terms of SOC vs. White students, does not think the qualities they possess are different, however, their opportunities for leadership are different (the roles they fill).
    - E.g. in student government, there aren't many SOC. SOC tend to cluster in activities for SOC (service trips, groups, culture clubs).
- For her involvement, does believe that she'd had the opportunity to do things (or at least apply for/audition for) that were more diverse and outside of the "OMSA bubble."
- When asked about her experiences in some predominately White groups—e.g. Ascend, replied that it was hard at first and a bit awkward.
    - However, never felt as though she was treated differently than her peers in any one of her leadership experiences as a SOC.
- In response to whether she's experienced racism or discrimination at Pembroke: *"I just don't know. I think I've definitely had the feeling, especially maybe in Freshman year, when it was all new, I've definitely overhear situations of people saying things that are not acceptable like in dining halls I remember sometimes they do ethnic food nights where they think it's cool to play Jamaican music and serve Jamaican dishes. I don't know how I feel about that. But I remember one time these guys behind me in line were just like saying some not nice things about it. I don't even know what they said. I just think I block out negative things like that."*

Role Models:

- When asked if she has/had any student leader role models, replied that she doesn't like to idolize people—but there are students she appreciates and appreciates what they've done.
    - Listed an older peer (Black female), who's very real and speaks her mind.
- For role models or mentors within the administration/faculty replied, *"Yeah, they're all always pushing me. Yeah, just everywhere, whether it's at LTL or the OMSA office or student affairs or res life, [the school of education], there is someone everywhere that I will go to and I can meet you in such a mundane way. Like I met you in the office and now I'll always keep in touch with you.*" They are predominately all female, and a majority are persons of color.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- *"Student leadership is just being able to take on a responsibility where you're needed and guide people towards a certain goal or outcome by offering your ability to group them together and listen to their experiences, listen in general, not just jump in and change things because sometimes you don't need to do that. Being able to make things flow. Flow is important."*

Anything to add?

- Discussed her experiences on a retreat as a point guard. Doubted herself at first because she's not super bubbly or extroverted; but also commented that that is not necessarily a bad thing. Also learned that sometimes being a leader means making things happen behind the scenes.

Narrative Summary for "Victoria"
Interview Completed: July 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Describes self as: social, introverted, and lighthearted
- Describes typical students at Pembroke as: self-critical, conversational, relational, academically motivated, and work hard/play hard.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- To Victoria, "student of color" feels "PC." Also means ethnic minority.
- To the larger Pembroke community, "student of color" means non-White, someone who looks a little different.
- In describing students of color at Pembroke: Two categories. 1) Very involved—"OMSA leadership." 2) Would like to be involved…but too stressed out with academics to be involved.
- Used "Korean American" to describe her race/ethnicity; considers herself to be a student of color.
- Believes others in the Pembroke community would describe her race/ethnicity as Asian or Asian American. Would also distinguish between international Asian and non-international.
- Described a time she was really aware of her race at Pembroke when she was a freshman at an Appalachia meeting. Felt like she couldn't say hi to anyone and afraid of an "all eyes on me" at the meeting. Also at orientation, felt as though other students were less willing to engage in conversation with her due to the fact she is Asian.

Student Leadership:

- Many opportunities to get involved on campus—culture clubs, student government, volunteer, charity, research.
- She is primarily involved in the following activities: 1) Asian Christian Fellowship (president), 2) Chamber Music, 3) Chinese Student Association (family head), 4) Korean Student Association.
    - Described her "family" with CSA.
    - Most of her involvement is centered within ethnic groups; indicated that it's hard to break out of the culture clubs. *"Not really encouraged"* to join/get involved in the larger community.
- Described student leadership as follows: Individuals who apply to be a leader in any type of club or student government—hold titles such as President, VP, Chair, etc…
- Described student leadership at Pembroke as competitive. Individuals who tend to assume leadership positions become leaders as upperclassmen, and have a deep fondness for Pembroke.
- When asked if she considers herself a student leader, her first reaction was "no." Then followed up with *"I guess…"* Described that she is more focused on thinking of others. Realized when she was describing student leaders, was describing "those people" or whatever, but then realized she is one of those people.
- Indicated that leadership for students of color differs than that of White students because are more focused on *"giving back to others."*

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if the opportunities to get involved are different for students of color (vs. white students), replied that *"factually"* from an "*institutional"* standpoint, the opportunities are not different. However students themselves self-separate into different types of activities (e.g. students of color tend to gravitate towards culture clubs).
- Described that there is a very different "vibe" between culture clubs and groups that are predominately White (like the undergraduate student government). In the Asian community said the clubs are very intentional, show love, support, connection among all students.
- In terms of her gender and race/ethnicity (Korean American female), has not felt as though this combination has impacted her leadership opportunities. Expressed that others are vocal about it (women and leadership), and also has experiences "microaggressions" as a woman, but does not feel her leadership opportunities were impacted.
- Described her experiences in the Chamber Music group in greater detail, as it is a predominately White group and she is the only Asian member. When she joined, felt as though everyone there were *"already friends."*
- Believes that in terms of her other involvement (ACF, CSA, KSA, etc…) doesn't believe she was treated any differently because of her race because she is a part of the majority in terms of her race/ethnicity.
- Responded *"sadly yes"* when asked if she's experienced prejudice, racism or discrimination at Pembroke.
    - Her least favorite day at Pembroke is "Marathon Monday" due to the numerous racial slurs she hears.
    - Also had an experience when a peer told her food smelled like *"cat shit."*
    - These experiences makes her feel *"powerless."* Her voice *"goes out."*
- When asked if her experiences with racism/discrimination at Pembroke have impacted her leadership opportunities, responded that she notices race. For example when she interviewed for the electoral committee noticed that the table of interviewers were all white males. And for the OTE program, she was the only Asian Preceptor (felt intimidated). Also, if trying to be involved in something that is predominately White (like Appalachia) believes it takes her even more effort to be friendly.

Role Models:

- Noted that she did not have any student leader role models per se, but did have a female upperclassman peer who she respected—she was a junior (also Korean) when she was a senior. Although she was incredibly busy, and a student leader, she would make time for people; she was very caring.
- Within the administration or faculty does not have any role models. Has had very few Asian professors (only one to be exact), and no Asian American administrator role models.

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- When asked to revisit what student leadership means to her: Often involves a title, passionate, relationally invested (e.g. willing to stop everything to have a 4-hr conversation with someone in the library).

Anything to Add?

- Wanted to point out/note that there is a divide, or it is very differentiated between international Asian students, and Asian American students. For example there is a divide between KSA and KISA (Korean International group). KISA is not really considered a part of the Asian community or Asian Caucus.

Narrative Summary for: "Viva"
Interview Completed: September 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Described self as determined, laid-back, and critical.
- In describing typical Pembroke students used the same three words as above, plus competitive and fortunate/privileged.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked to explain what student of color (SOC) means to her: it's an identifier. She identifies as a student of color based on her skin tone; but cannot be lumped in with all other SOC because her experiences have been different.
    - Also noted that she doesn't really fit into any category. And recognizes that her experiences differ, than a friend who say is darker skinned, because can *"blend in"* more. Believes she is both privileged and fortunate to be at Pembroke.
- Believes "SOC" to the larger Pembroke community means OMSA; but there is controversy over the acronym and can be used in a derogatory way.
- Response to when asked to describe SOC at Pembroke: Proud. Committed to raising awareness on diversity at Pembroke. But they are also exclusive.
    - Described how she sometimes has a difficult time *"fitting into either group"* (SOC and White).
- Would describe her race as bi-racial (dad African, move Australian), her ethnicity as African and Australian. Also prefers "Black American" because "African American" in the US often means individuals who descended from African ancestors ~200 years ago.
- Believes people in the Pembroke community would describe her race/ethnicity as "Black" or "Brown." But ultimately would be confused—*"what are you?"*
- When asked to describe what it's been like to be biracial at PEMBROKE: Believes she's "been made exotic." Doesn't blend in with any group; always sticks out.

Student Leadership:

- Students can get involved in anything at Pembroke (tons of clubs). There is leadership in undergraduate student government, general interest clubs, OMSA clubs (culture cultural groups).
- Viva is involved in: ALC (involved all four years; Chair as senior), Loyola Volunteers (president), Co-founder Network against Malaria, previous halftime leader, Appalachia volunteers.
    - Applied to ALC because she is passionate about increasing diversity on campus.
    - Had a *"desire to be in leadership"* as a freshman.
- When asked to describe "student leadership:" Being involved on campus; holding an executive position. Student leaders know when to listen, to incorporate others' ideas, and also when to pick your battles.
- Believes A LOT of students are involved in student leadership at Pembroke.
- Considers herself to be a student leader—has tried very hard to be involved.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- Believes there is a difference in student leadership for SOC vs. White students—not many SOC hold leadership positions in historically White groups. Additionally, SOC often do not feel comfortable in groups like undergraduate student government, Loyola Volunteers, 48 Hours, OL's. Also, White students aren't typically involved (particularly on the e-boards) for culture clubs.
- For her personally, has tried to be a part of leadership in both areas—groups that may be predominately SOC or predominately White—attributes this largely to how raised by parents.
- When asked about being a "woman" student of color, noted that it's rare for female SOC to hold leadership positions on campus. Mirrors society where women of color are at the *"bottom of the totem pole."*
- When asked if she ever felt she was treated differently b/c of her race in Loyola Volunteers (predominately White group): Felt like it was a positive experience. Connected with the population they serve.
    - Asked same question of Appalachia Volunteers: While never felt like she was treated differently per se, did notice that she was one of a few people of color in the group.
- Viva believes that as a student, she has experienced prejudice at Pembroke (not necessarily overt racism or discrimination). Noticed how White students distance themselves from Black students when coming back from parties on weekend nights. Also individuals being culturally insensitive.

Role Models:

- Had two student leader role models—were both of color (she just realized it). They were older than her, were well connected, and held leadership positions.
- For role models within the faculty administration listed the following:
    - Director of the OMSA office: strong woman and passion for changing climate at Pembroke.
    - White woman in an administrative office on campus.
    - Two male advisors (both White)

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- Holding a "leadership position;" the ability to recognize tension on campus and have a voice to bring issues to the administration or create change.

Anything to Add?

- Through our conversation Viva realized it's hard for her to conceptualize race and understand it; would like to spend her senior year exploring this some more.
- Also asked Viva to follow up on her perceptions of why OMSA students shy away from predominately White groups. Believes it has to do with the OMSA acronym and how it's used on campus. People migrate to groups they feel comfortable with—where you see people who look similar to you, whether it's conscious or not.

Narrative Summary for: "Yvonne"
Interview Completed: September 2014

Initial Descriptors:

- Described herself as loyal, a listener, and a "conflict resolution" person.
- Describes typical Pembroke students as: preppy, exclusive, relational, and polar opposites in terms of religion and spirituality.

Race/Ethnicity/Student of Color:

- When asked what "student of color" (SOC) means to her: Said she grew up in LA and went to a very diverse high school. Realized she was a SOC when she came to Pembroke, and realize how race affects your life. Not everyone accepts you.
- Wonders if people from the larger Pembroke community view SOC as more "disadvantaged."
- Describes SOC at Pembroke as 1) very diverse, 2) exclusive to race/ethnicity. SOC tend to connect to people who are similar b/c it's more comfortable.
- When asked how she would describe her race/ethnicity—first responded that no one every directly asks her that. Says she *"looks Asian."* But culturally, identifies as Taiwanese/Chinese, but more Taiwanese.
    - Considers herself to be a SOC.
    - Says others in the Pembroke community would describe her as *"oh that Asian girl."*
- When asked what it's been like to be Taiwanese at Pembroke: Very few Taiwanese students at Pembroke, often is mistaken for Korean. Within the Asian community, feels like the *"minority of the minority."* However, when she's with other "Asian" students, they don't really talk about race.
- Described a time she was really aware of her race at Pembroke occurred recently on a Saturday night after a Pembroke football game. Was on the Pembroke bus, on her way back from her clinicals at the hospital, so she was in scrubs. Another female student took a selfie with her in it; made her uncomfortable. Felt hyperaware of the Asian stereotype that don't know how to have fun, all they do is work, etc…

Student Leadership:

- In terms of getting involved on campus there are a lot of opportunities: 1) cultural clubs, 2) hobbies, 3) sports, 4) volunteer, and 5) student government.
- Her involvement includes: 1) Asian Caucus Freshman Formation, 2) Boston Cornerstone Pembroke small group leader, 3) Asian Christian Fellowship (also involved as a hospital volunteer and UG research fellow).
    - When joined Asian Caucus as a freshman, didn't know what was applying for (only did it freshman year). Boston Cornerstone is the church she goes to on Sundays, and ACF she goes to on Fridays (faith is very important to her).
    - Acknowledges that she is predominately involved in the Asian community because she feels more comfortable there (her faith and culture draws her towards the Asian community)
- Student leadership to Yvonne means having a passion in something; want to lead something.

  - Described qualities a student leader possesses as: humility, responsibility, and task delegation.
- When asked what types of students are involved in student leadership at Pembroke said that everyone at Pembroke is a leader in some way.
- When asked if she considers herself to be a leader…hesitated, and then said yes. Says it's been a natural progression, but never went into an activity wanting to be the leader.

Race/Ethnicity & Student Leadership:

- When asked if leadership is different for SOC vs. White students, responded that she wasn't sure. But she believes she sees more Asian students trying to get involved outside of the Asian community.
  - In terms of opportunities to get involved (SOC vs. White students) says it's unchartered territory, but doesn't think it's different.
  - Doesn't believe her opportunities have been different as a SOC, but also has elected to not get involved in a ton of things b/c she *"can't do everything."*
- When asked about being a female Asian and leadership, replied that she is in nursing where being a woman is the majority.
  - Is also involved in KILN (Keys to Inclusive Leadership in Nursing), one of her favorite programs at Pembroke—it's a scholarship program to develop nursing students professionally. She does not have an Asian mentor in this program
- Although she doesn't believe members of the Asian community have necessarily treated her differently, isn't always acknowledged as Taiwanese, referred to as Chinese.
- Doesn't believe she's directly experiences prejudice/discrimination/racism here at Pembroke, but it "hurts" her when others are discriminated against.
  - Acknowledge that there are a lot of stereotypes at Pembroke though, particularly towards Asians that the are the model minority—don't waste money, came to Pembroke only to study, etc… But she doesn't want to be stereotyped.

Role Models:

- Doesn't really think that she's had a role model either in the Asian or nursing community. Says there really isn't *"someone like me"* in either group; doesn't have as many common interests with people solely in the Asian community or in Nursing. Hasn't really found someone who shares similar characteristics: Asian, spiritual, and interested in nursing.
- Within the faculty/administration, there is a nursing faculty member who has been a mentor—she is very inclusive and involved in undergraduate research (this mentor is a White female).

Follow Up to Defining Student Leadership:

- When asked her to revisit definition of student leadership, said it involve making a difference, changing something, wanting to make a change.
  - Believes she's been working on change in the nursing community—trying to get more Asian students involved and be a mentor to others.