

The Emergence of African-American Leaders in American Society

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Introduction

Since the study of leadership and the development of leadership theories began in the mid 1800s and the early 1900s, the primary focus was on Caucasian males. The Great Man Theory, Situational Theory, and many other leadership theories are surrounded by white men; they are written by white men; and they are based on white men. Until the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, there were very few minority leaders in the forefront. However, in recent decades there has been an emergence of minority leaders. Using history, prominent figures, and early theories, this paper will examine the manifestation of African-American leaders. This writing will also discuss the salient theories and leadership styles that may typically be associated with African-Americans. At the conclusion of this paper, the reader should have a better understanding of how African-American leaders are strong, effective, and are contributing greatly to society.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this study was to conduct a thorough review of the literature related to leadership theory and models from the African American Perspective. The objectives were as follows:

1. To examine the historical perspective of the development leadership theory
2. To consider the influence current theory has on the African American Population
3. To discuss different African-American leaders and their contributions to American society. Contributors include WEB DuBois and Booker T. Washington.

Procedures

Data for this study was gathered through a library search at Texas A&M University. An internet search was also conducted with the same search terms. The databases and most articles were accessed online. Books and additional materials were collected through the library print resources.

Findings

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The history of African-Americans in the United States of America is fascinating, yet full of complexities. Originally brought from the continent of Africa by European settlers, African-Americans began their tenure in the U.S. as slaves. However, over time, with the assistance of noted strong-willed African-Americans and the more liberal white American citizens, African-Americans began to realize their value and intellect. This realization brought about a change in the mind-set of blacks in America. Having a new frame of mind, African-Americans began to take a stand against the prejudices and injustices that beleaguered them. Leadership in the African-American community emerged, despite the hardships the minority group faced. Although not seriously studied in leadership theories until after the Civil Rights movement of the

1960s, African American leaders have brought much to American society through education, business, politics, and arts and entertainment.

This paper will focus on the emergence of leadership of African-Americans. However, before an in-depth discussion of leadership can begin, a definition of leadership needs to be identified. Different theorists have attempted to define leadership over the years. “There are almost as many different definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept” (Bass, 1990, p. 11). Northouse (2004) says the following about the definitions of leadership:

Despite the multitude of ways that leadership has been conceptualized, the following components can be identified as central to the phenomenon of leadership: (a) Leadership is a process, (b) leadership involves influence, (c) leadership occurs within a group context, and (d) leadership involves goal attainment. Based on these components, the following definition of leadership will be used in the text. Leadership is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal (p. 3).

For the purpose of this paper, Northouse’s (2004) definition of leadership will be used.

EARLY LEADERSHIP THEORIES

Many of the early leadership theories and leadership styles excluded African-Americans. One of these theories is the Great Man Theory. “The Great Man Theory was studied as early as 1869. Influenced by Galton’s study of the hereditary background of great men, several early theorists attempted to explain leadership on the basis of inheritance” (Bass, 1990, p. 37).

Prior to the mid twentieth century, the Great Man Theory held sway in the minds of those seeking to define that most elusive quality: leadership. Because there was consensus that leaders differed from their followers, and that fate or providence was a major determinant of the course of history, the contention that leaders are born, not made was widely accepted, not only by scholars, but by those attempting to influence the behavior of others (Cawthon, 1996, p. 44).

The Great Man Theory supports the notion that humans cannot develop talents they do not have (Cawthon, 1996). “No matter how great their desire to learn, unless they possess certain extraordinary endowments—unless they possess a talent that can be nurtured and developed—they will not be successful in their attempts to lead” (Cawthon, 1996, p. 45). During the time when the Great Man Theory was initially developed, mid-1800s, racial tensions were running rampant. The thought that a Negro could be a great man, a leader, was almost inconceivable.

For many commentators, history is shaped by the leadership of great men (Bass, 1990). Consequently, the great men that are named in history, articles and studies are Caucasian. Bass (1990) contends that:

For the romantic philosophers, such as Friedrich Nietzsche, a sudden decision by a great man could alter the course of history (Thomas Jefferson’s decision to purchase Louisiana, for example). To William James (1880), the mutations of society were due to great men, who initiated movement and prevented others from leading society in another direction. The history of the world, according to James, is the history of Great Men; they created what the masses could accomplish. Carlyle’s essay on heroes tended to reinforce the concept of the leader as a person who is endowed with unique qualities that capture the imagination of the masses. The hero would contribute somehow, no matter where he was found. Dowd

maintained that “there is no such thing as leadership by the masses. The individuals in every society possess different degrees of intelligence, energy, and moral force, and in whatever direction the masses may be influenced to go, they are always led by the superior of few” (p. 37).

All of the aforementioned “great men” are white. Current proponents of the Great Man Theory of Leadership point to Lee Iacocca, John F. Kennedy, and Douglas MacArthur as examples of great men whose innate abilities have been connected somehow with situational forces (Cawthon, 1996). These men are also white. However, in more recent studies of leadership, there are African-Americans that are said to have been great men who impacted the nation and the world by their leadership. These men include Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Nelson Mandela (Cawthon, 1996).

The later inclusion of black men as being representative of the Great Man Theory stimulates the flaws that can be associated with this theory. According to David L. Cawthon’s (1996) article Leadership: The Great Man Theory Revisited,

Many, of course, scoff at the theory. Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus consider the proposition that leaders are born, not made to be myth. They note that leadership is a learned skill and has little to do with natural forces: Biographies of great leaders sometimes read as if they had entered the world with an extraordinary genetic endowment, that somehow their future leadership role was preordained. Don’t believe it. The truth is that major capacities and competencies of leadership can be learned, and we are all educable, at least we do not suffer from learning disorders. Furthermore, whatever natural endowments we bring to the role of leadership, they can be enhanced; nurture is far more important than nature in determining who becomes a successful leader (p. 45).

Proponents of the Great Man Theory also believe that regardless of the innate talents potential leaders might possess, without the timely emergence of situational forces they will not become leaders: “Without chaos in the Roman Catholic Church, would Lutheranism exist today? Without Hitler, would Churchill have continued rambling his way through life” (Cawthon 1996, p. 46)? This leads to another of the early leadership theories that did not necessarily include blacks: the Situational Leadership Theory.

As the name Situational Leadership implies, it focuses on leadership in situations (Northouse, 2003). In the Bernard M. Bass’ *Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, & Managerial Application*, Bass (1990) ascertains that:

Situational theorists suggested that leadership is all a matter of situational demands, that is, situational factors determine who will emerge as leader. Particularly in the United States, situationalism was favored over the theory that leaders are born, not made. According to situationalism, the leader is the product of the situation, not the blood relative or son of the previous leader (p. 38).

Northouse (2003) summarizes the situational approach to leadership the following way:

Situational leadership is a prescriptive approach to leadership that suggests how leaders can become effective in many different types of organizational settings involving a variety of organizational tasks. This approach provides a model that suggests to leaders how they should behave based on the demands of a particular situation. Effective leadership occurs when the leader can accurately diagnose the development level of subordinates in a task situation and then exhibit the prescribed leadership style that matches that situation (p. 106).

Many believed that blacks could not be effective leaders because they did not have the intellectual competence to accurately analyze and assess the various situations that could arise in a given circumstance where they would be called upon to lead. “Lower rates of achievement and leadership for blacks can be attributed to possible personal in-born deficits or to educational or cultural deprivation; or they may be due to blocked opportunities because of cultural conflict and discrimination” (Bass, 1996, p. 740). Many also contribute the lack of leadership of African-Americans due to the fact that blacks have been inferior in the educational settings due to test scores and socioeconomic status. However, Bass (1990) says that the educational gap between blacks and whites has narrowed considerably since 1970. By the 1980s, blacks were actually entering college in greater number and obtaining more years of education than were whites of the same level of intelligence (Bass, 1990).

There are several African-Americans who proved their leadership abilities through the situations with which they were presented. “Without racial tensions in the south, would Martin Luther King, Jr. have remained an obscure minister in the South” (Cawthon, 1996, p. 46)? Without apartheid, would Nelson Mandela have ever become the president of South Africa? Or without being fired because of ethnic features, would Oprah Winfrey be the media mogul she is today? These questions signify flaws that can be associated with studies of Situational Leadership Theory whose subjects were only whites. Excluding African-Americans from studies cannot validate the leadership of the American Society since African-Americans are indeed part of this said society. “Overall, the Situational Leadership Theory’s theoretical robustness and pragmatic utility are challenged because of logical and internal inconsistencies, conceptual ambiguity, incompleteness, and confusion associated with multiple versions of the model” (Graeff 1997, p.153).

Even though early situational leadership theorists did not voluntarily study blacks, the theory does have a number of positives. Northouse (2003) recognizes these:

There are four major strengths to the situational approach. Foremost, it is an approach to leadership that is recognized by many as a standard for training leaders. Second, it is a practical approach that is easily understood and easily applied. Third, this approach sets forth a clear set of prescriptions for how leaders should act if they want to enhance their leadership effectiveness. Fourth, situational leadership recognizes and stresses that there is not one “best style of leadership; instead, leaders need to be flexible and adapt their style to the requirements of the situation (p. 106).

These strengths not only apply to white leaders, but also the African-American leaders that have proved their ability to lead by their assessments and reactions to situations that presented them the opportunity to lead. These black leaders include the previously mentioned King, Mandela, and Winfrey. However, there are others such as James Weldon Johnson and Marcus Garvey. James Weldon Johnson, who became dissatisfied with racial stereotypes propagated by music, was a noted educator and songwriter who later became a United States Diplomat to Puerto Cabello, Venezuela (1999, <http://www.sc.edu/library/spcoll/amlit/johnson/johnson1.html>). Marcus Garvey, a leader in 20th century Harlem, was a publisher, journalist, entrepreneur (Satter 1996). Garvey was also a crusader for black nationalism, and the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Community Leagues (Satter, 1996).

EARLY BLACK LEADERSHIP PARADIGMS

In the early 1900s, there were two prominent figures who were considered to be great leaders within the African-American community. These two men were Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. Although Washington and Du Bois had contrasting views on how to produce black leaders, their contributions to the African-American community were and continue to be very influential.

Louis Harlan (2005) gives an account of Booker T. Washington's life on the University of North Carolina's web site, *Documenting the American South*:

Booker Taliaferro Washington was born in 1856 and was the foremost black educator of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He also had a major influence on southern race relations and was the dominant figure in black public affairs from 1895 until his death in 1915. Born a slave on a small farm in the Virginia backcountry, he moved with his family after emancipation to work in the salt furnaces and coal mines of West Virginia. After a secondary education at Hampton Institute, he taught an upgraded school and experimented briefly with the study of law and the ministry, but a teaching position at Hampton decided his future career. In 1881 he founded Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute on the Hampton model in the Black Belt of Alabama (<https://docsouth.unc.edu/washington/bio.html>).

“Washington, from 1895 until his death in 1915, was the most powerful black man in America. Whatever grant, job placement, or any endeavor concerning Blacks that influential whites received was sent to Washington for endorsement or rejection” (Hynes, 2002, <https://www.duboislc.org/html/DuBoisBio.html>). The Atlanta Compromise Address, delivered before the Cotton States Exposition in 1895, enlarged Washington's influence into the arena of race relations and black leadership (Harlan, 2005). Washington argued that Black people should temporarily forego “political power, insistence on civil rights, and higher education of the Negro youth. They should concentrate all their energies on industrial education” (Hynes, 2002, <https://www.duboislc.org/html/DuBoisBio.html>). Kilson (2000) contends that “Washington's Atlanta Compromise Address was an event that would shape the metamorphosis of African-American leadership processes—and thus the processes of black political incorporation in American life—for the first four generations of the twentieth century” (p. 302). In short, Washington's address rejected the guidance type or mobilization type leadership model, favoring instead the social organization type leadership model (Kilson, 2000). Washington was favored with white Americans.

Washington kept his white following by conservative policies and moderate utterances, but he faced growing black and white liberal opposition in the Niagara Movement (1905-9) and the NAACP (1909-), groups demanding civil rights and encouraging protest in response to white aggressions such as lynchings, disfranchisement, and segregation laws. Washington successfully fended off these critics, often by underhanded means. At the same time, however, he tried to translate his own personal success into black advancement through secret sponsorship of civil rights suits, serving on the boards of Fisk and Howard universities, and directing philanthropic aid to these and other black colleges. His speaking tours and private persuasion tried to equalize public educational opportunities and to reduce racial violence. These efforts were generally unsuccessful, and the year of Washington's death marked the beginning of the Great Migration from the rural South to the urban North. Washington's racial philosophy, pragmatically adjusted to the limiting conditions of his own era, did not survive the change (Harlan, 2005, <https://www.docsouth.unc.edu/washington/bio.html>).

Washington's social organization type black leadership greatly differed from that of W.E. B. Du Bois. William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B.) Du Bois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts on February 23, 1868 (Franceschi, 2000). Growing up in the north, Du Bois did not experience some of the hardships that other blacks in the country were experiencing at the time. Although the Civil War had recently ended and the Emancipation Proclamation had passed, many African-Americans were having a difficult time. Poverty, racism, and inequalities in the educational systems were just a few of the hardships that African-Americans were facing. very influential in their time. Both of these men had their own following, and their philosophies have impacted the type of leaders that have been cultivated within the African-American community.

THE EMERGENCE OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS

Although the most popular black leaders, those studied during Black History Month, did not emerge until the Civil Rights Movement, there were several African-Americans who were considered to be leaders of their time, prior to the movement of the 1960s. George Washington Carver, Frederick Douglas, and Andrew Young Great Barrington had perhaps 25, but not more than 50, Black people out of a population of 5,000. Consequently, there were little signs of overt racism there (Hynes, 2005).

“While in high school Du Bois showed a keen concern for the development of his race. At age fifteen he became the local correspondent for the New York Globe. And in this position he conceived it his duty to push his race forward by lectures and editorials reflecting up on the need of Black people to politicize themselves” (Hynes, 2005, <https://www.docsouth.unc.edu/washington/bio.html>).

Du Bois received his bachelor's degree from Fisk University in 1888, and won a scholarship to attend Harvard University. Harvard, however, considered his high school education and Fisk degree inadequate preparation for a master's program. He was registered as an undergraduate student. He earned his second BA in 1890 and then enrolled in Harvard's graduate school. He earned his master's degree and then his doctoral degree in 1895, becoming the first black to receive that degree from Harvard (Franceschi, 2000, <http://www.nl.edu/academics/cas/ace/resources/webdubois.cfm>).

Du Bois contended that traditional black progress could be achieved through a grounding in arts and sciences education which would result in the development of a black intellectual elite (Kilson, 2000).

The mainstream black leadership as we know it today (what Kilson calls the pragmatic activist strand among the African-American professional class as represented in the leadership of black professional organizations and especially black civil rights organizations) owes a lot—maybe everything—to W.E.B. Du Bois. What Du Bois did between the early 1900s and the 1940s in the leadership realm of African-American life was to put substance into the guidance type or mobilization type black leadership paradigm. Du Bois thereby helped to correct the devastating flaws in Washington's social organization type black leadership paradigm. Du Bois, in challenging the accommodationist leadership paradigm, revolutionized what became the mainline African-American leadership methodology in three special respects:

- He articulated the core attributes of a mobilization type leadership process for African-Americans;
- He fashioned an intellectual discourse that propelled arguments and thinking along mobilization type leadership lines, and thus encouraged thinking that critiqued the sell-out attributes of Washington's accommodationist leadership—its surrender of blacks' citizenship and human rights; and
- He fashioned an intellectual discouragement that upheld and defended black honor, which fervently challenged the presumption of most white Americans that defaming African-Americans' cultural presence in American society was their natural privilege as whites—a defamation mania that often resulted in loss of African American lives (Kilson, 2000, p. 305).

Du Bois did not only become a role model of an exemplary persevering black student but also led the way for others to pursue education, equality and ultimately encouraged blacks to fight for civil rights in a society which was then so infested with racism and segregation (Franceschi, 2000).

While these two men, Washington and Du Bois, had very opposing views on the subject of African-Americans and which type of leadership formation blacks should take, they both were just a few blacks who contributed to the development of African-Americans as leaders. These leaders contributed to the fields of science, education, and politics.

As black leaders are becoming more popular, the need to cultivate their skills as leaders is necessary. There are several predominantly African-American organizations that focus partly on the development of leadership skills. These organizations include African-American fraternities and sororities and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Historically Black fraternities and sororities began to emerge in the early 1900s. There are nine recognized Black Greek Letter Organizations: Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc., Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc., Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc., Zeta Phi Beta Sorority Inc., and Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Inc., and Iota Phi Theta Fraternity (Kimbrough, 1995). The positive effects of fraternity and sorority affiliation on African-American undergraduates have been well-documented by a host of scholars (Cuyjet, 2006).

In *African American Men in College*, Michael Cuyjet (2006) contends that:

Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLOs) have historically served and continue to serve as valuable social support outlets for African-American students, especially on at predominantly White institutions. This support is especially valuable for African American male collegians, as undergraduate fraternities encourage unity among members and offer early opportunities for leadership, which increases retention. Furthermore, predominantly Black student organizations, including BGLOs, afford African Americans students a sense of belonging, cultural connections, and numerous opportunities to gain transferable leadership and communication skills (p. 136).

Kimbrough (1998) notes that evidence suggests that Greek-letter organizations offer Black students special opportunities for involvement and leadership during their collegiate years. The author also observes that surveys of Black leaders indicate that a large percentage hold memberships in Greek-letter organizations. It is not at all coincidental that many of the most celebrated and influential African-American male leaders—Dr Martin Luther King, Jr., Jesse

Jackson, Johnnie Cochran, Tavis Smiley, W.E.B. DuBois, and Cornel West, to name a few—have been affiliated with one of the five Black Greek-letter fraternities (Cuyjet, 2006). “Black Greek-letter fraternities and sororities provides an important means by which to enhance student involvement and leadership development for Blacks in College and beyond” (Kimbrough, 1998, p. 97).

The National Association for the Advancement of Color People (NAACP) is another predominantly African-American organization that supports the leadership development of blacks. “Founded in 1909, the NAACP was a result of the Niagara Movement, a movement which grew out of 29 black leaders who gathered to discuss segregation and black political rights” (Franceschi, 2000, <https://www.nl.edu/academics/cas/ace/resources/webdubois.cfm>). To this day, the NAACP continues to assist the African-American community in leadership development, civil rights, and educational issues that may face. It is one of the cornerstones of African-American History.

AMERICAN LEADERSHIP STYLES

Many black leaders have been described as being charismatic—motivators. This type of leadership is called transformational. Northouse (2003) defines transformational leadership as the process whereby an individual engages with others and creates a connection that raises the level of motivation and morality in both the leader and the follower. Northouse (2003) also contends that this type of leader is attentive to the needs and motives of followers and tries to help followers reach their fullest potential.

Bass (1990) gives an explanation for the use of transformational leadership in the African-American community:

The needs and experiences of the black population may dictate a great emphasis on transformational leadership. Jesse Jackson illustrated these charismatic and transformational tendencies in the 1984 and 1988 presidential election campaigns. Leaders of black movements are characterized by their satisfaction of mutual problems and the resulting injustices. They focus much on group identity and the need for a sense of community. While leaders in the white mainstream more often direct their attention to conserving resources and the status quo, leaders of minorities, such as the blacks, must more often be transformational in their concern for social change, as well as for unmet social needs for inequalities in the distribution of opportunities (p. 745)

Although the transformational leadership style is one more readily associated with African-Americans, blacks can also be connected to the early leadership theories as well. As stated previously, black leaders such as Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Nelson Mandela can be considered to be “great men” which links their leadership to the Great Man Theory. Others, such as Oprah Winfrey, George Washington Carver, Harriett Tubman, Condoleezza Rice, and Marcus Garvey, can be linked to the situational leadership theories. These individuals faced difficult situations in their lives where their reactions and analysis of the situations reflected their significant leadership abilities.

CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS

While many of the black leaders emerged during the Civil Rights Movement, there have since continued to be an outpour of African-American leaders in American society. *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (2000) lists several prominent black leaders in America:

Franklin D. Raines, former director of the federal Office of Management Budget, was appointed to the CEO position of Fannie Mae Corporation, which ranks thirty-third overall on the Fortune 500....It was announced that Kenneth I. Chenault would become the next CEO of American Express....Lloyd D. Ward was named CEO of Maytag....Shirley A. Jackson, former head of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, was appointed president of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, a highly prestigious university in Troy, New York....Donna Brazile was named director of Al Gore's presidential campaign, the first black woman to direct a major party presidential campaign...Vernon Jordan, presidential confidant and attorney at Washington's prestigious law firm Akin, Gump, accepted a position with the Wall Street firm Lazard Freres for a reported annual salary of \$4 million (p. 39).

These African-Americans, along with others, continue to show how the black community can and does produce highly effective leaders.

CONCLUSION

The early leadership theory, the Great Man Theory, and the leadership model, Situational Leadership, traditionally excluded African-Americans from studies. Since the initial theoretical foundations of the Great Man Theory and the studies leading to the Situational Leadership Model, Blacks have emerged as leaders in the U.S. and can be connected to both the Great Man Theory and the Situational Leadership Model.

Theorists have pointed to Winston Churchill, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and even Moses as great men, leaders—all white men. More recently Lee Iacocca, Douglas McArthur and John F. Kennedy have been connected to the Great Man Theory. Great leaders are known to have the ability to speak in poetic prose, inspiring and motivating followers to share in their vision and produce the results the leaders want. The aforementioned men did this. However, there are black leaders who are also known as “great men”, and whose leadership styles have helped followers transcend and be transformed.

Martin Luther King, Jr. is an example of a great man and leader, whose leadership style inspired the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. The Civil Rights Movement, led primarily by Blacks, was an effort to establish the civil rights of individual Black citizens. King inspired and motivated followers to stand up for equality and justice through powerful, yet eloquent speeches. The *I Have a Dream* speech, given by King on the steps of the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C., was a pivotal moment in the Civil Rights movement. King's speech impelled not only Black Americans, but white Americans as well, to take action against the injustices that beset the United States. Boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides, and marches, leading to Congress passing the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, were direct results of King's leadership. Not only did King galvanize followers through charismatic, moving speeches, he also modeled the actions he inspired by participating in the marches, sit-ins, and boycotts. King's contributions as a leader were solidified in 1983 when President Ronald Regan signed into law the third Monday in January as Martin Luther King, Jr. Day. King's concerns and actions were prompted by the situations African-Americans faced. The situations included discrimination, segregation, and inequality. This leads to the Situational Leadership Model.

The Situational Model of Leadership contends that “leadership is all a matter of situational demands, that is, situational factors determine who will emerge as leaders...the leader is the product of the situation, not the blood relative of the previous leader” (Bass, 1990, p. 38).

Colin Powell exemplifies a black leader whose situation in the military allowed his leadership skills to emanate. Powell became the highest ranking African-American in the executive branch of U.S. government and was the highest ranking African American in the military in the history of the United States, Secretary of State. He was succeeded as Secretary of State by another African-American leader, Condoleezza Rice. Powell's military training and Rice's political studies enabled them to help lead our country in the War on Terrorism and the War in Iraq. The leadership of black leaders such as King, Powell and Rice was not merely a result of their educational efforts, but also from the residue of black leaders such as DuBois and Washington.

Early black leaders W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington, although they had opposing views of black leadership, affected the African-American community greatly with their leadership paradigms. Washington's model of leading blacks through advances in industry, coupled with DuBois' model of leading blacks through education in the arts and sciences contributed to the study and development of African-Americans as leaders. DuBois and Washington were both great, charismatic men who added much to the leadership styles of today's black leaders, and their legacies of leadership development among black people continue through the efforts of agencies such as the NAACP and African-American fraternities and sororities.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP, was founded to take on the issues of segregation. The NAACP has grown exponential since its incipiency in 1909. The organization has several programs such as the United Negro College Fund, legal assistance, economic engagement, and educational outreach. The NAACP is passionate about developing leaders in the African-American community. The leadership slogan of the NAACP is "Leaders are not born, they are developed" (2000, <http://www.naacp.org>). Each year the NAACP hosts conferences and leadership trainings such as the Leadership 500 Summit and the National Religious Leadership Summit. The Leadership 500 Summit is the NAACP's way of taking responsibility to develop a new generation of leaders. Leadership 500 "provides an opportunity to expose this new generation to leaders from diverse backgrounds and capacities. Participants can learn from the leaders' successes and failures, their inspiration and their perseverance to craft strategies for their own leadership destiny" (2000, <http://www.naacp.org>). Likewise, the National Religious Leadership Summit brings together religious leaders to educate pastors, churches and religious leaders on the history and programs of the NAACP, and present moral and ethical interpretations of the civil rights struggle and the church's relationship to the struggle for all denominations. Several leaders of the NAACP, black religious leaders and black political leaders started developing leadership skills in college through fraternities and sororities.

As Kimbrough (1998) notes, evidence suggests that Greek-letter organizations offer Black students special opportunities for involvement in leadership during their collegiate years. For example, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., the first black fraternity, has programs such as A Voteless People is a Hopeless People, which is an initiative to make sure African-Americans exercise the right to vote, given in the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Alpha Phi Alpha also has Project Alpha and Youth Institute. Both programs are geared at developing young men into leaders through community service, activism, and education—helping to ensure the continued emergence of black leaders.

Learning from the culmination of leadership paradigms of DuBois and Washington, the leadership style of "great man" Martin Luther King, Jr., and the efforts of black organizations such as the NAACP and African-American fraternities and sororities, black leadership continues to grow and be a strong force. African-Americans are and will continue to be highly effective

leaders in the educational, business, political, and the arts and entertainment industries of America.

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