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The Impact of Cross-Racial Interactions on

Black Male Undergraduate Perceptions of Campus Climate

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Education

by

Teresa Neighbors

2016

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Impact of Cross-Racial Interactions on

Black Male Undergraduate Perceptions of Campus Climate

by

Teresa Neighbors

Doctor of Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Tyrone C. Howard, Co-Chair

Professor Linda P. Rose, Co-Chair

This study used a mixed-methods approach to investigate how participation in a

diversity program based on intergroup contact theory and critical race theory, influences

Black male undergraduate perceptions of campus climate, compared with their peers. The

methods employed enabled the researcher to measure changes in campus climate

satisfaction both before and after a two-quarter cross-racial student-empowerment

diversity program using surveys, interview, and document analysis. A comparison group

made up of students from the general student population and a control group made up of

students who had indicated interest in participating in such a diversity program but had not yet participated in the treatment took the surveys at the beginning and the conclusion of the two quarters. Qualitative and quantitative data sources were analyzed to determine if reasonable conclusions could be made about campus climate perceptions, cross-racial comfort, and cross-racial interactions of the students who had engaged in the intervention versus the students in the control and the comparison groups.

The data suggested that the intervention serves to mitigate disparities in campus climate satisfaction between Black students and other participants: whereas the intervention positively impacts Black male campus climate perception, it negatively impacts campus climate for non-Black participants. The findings from the study affirm the positive impact of meaningful intergroup dialogue on campus climate perception for Black male undergraduates.

Implications for higher education administrators and faculty are addressed. Institutional agents need to work to change the culture on their campuses by taking a clear stand against racism, stereotypes and implicit bias. While faculty must commit themselves to mentorship of Black men on their campuses, both faculty and staff must seek ways to implement intergroup dialogue into their classrooms and programs. All of these things must happen if places of higher education are to become spaces where all students thrive and learn across and in spite of differences.

The dissertation of Teresa Neighbors is approved.

Mark Kevin Eagan

Darnell Montez Hunt

Thomas Parham

Tyrone C. Howard, Committee Co-Chair

Linda P. Rose, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2016

DEDICATION

To my family mother JoAnn and my father Robert

whose love and encouragement has provided me

the courage to take on all of my dreams.

To my son, Christopher

who has been the impetus for most of

the good decisions I have made.

To Kylah, King, and Kaden

my perpetual inspiration to continue this work.

And, to my brother Rod and his wife Debbie

who have continuously supported me, loved me,

and kept me sane with our many adventures.

Words cannot express how much I love each of you.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Neighbors, T., (2016, May). *The Impact of Cross-Racial Interactions on Black Male Undergraduate Perceptions of Campus Climate.* Paper presented at the UCLA School of Education and Information Studies Research & Inquiry Conference. Los Angeles, CA.

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Neighbors, T., (2014, October). *The Impact of a 16-week Campus Climate Student Empowerment Program on Undergraduate Perceptions of Campus Climate*. Paper presented at the Educational Policy Institute Conference on Student Success and Retention. San Antonio, Texas.

Neighbors, T., (2014, May). *The Impact of a Campus Climate Student Empowerment Program on Undergraduate Perceptions of Campus Climate*. Poster presented at the UCLA School of Education and Information Studies Research & Inquiry Conference. Los Angeles, CA.

Neighbors, T., (2009, June). *The Effects of Societal Support on Addiction Recovery.* Round table presentation, the National Drug Court Conference in Washington, D.C.

Neighbors, T., (2009, March). *Servant Leadership.* Seminar presented at the Cross Cultural center at UC Irvine, for the Center for Service in Action.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study investigated Black male undergraduate perceptions of campus climate

before and after participating in a cross-racial student-empowerment diversity program.

The program focused on topics of equity, inclusion, and campus racial climate through

presentation, cross-racial dialogue, and written reflections. The impact participation had

on campus climate perception among Black males, compared with other students, was

measured using survey, interview, and document analysis. The survey and interview

instruments assessed changes in perception and were administered both before and after

the intervention.

Background and Previous Research

Background of the Problem

While college access expands across the U.S., retention and degree completion rates

have stagnated for underrepresented groups, with Black males achieving the lowest

completion rates (NCES, 2010). According to the U.S. Census (2010), Whites and Asians are

earning bachelor degrees at rates that exceed their proportions of the total U.S. population

compared to Blacks. Whites make up 60% of the population, yet earn 71% of all bachelor's

degrees in the U.S., and Asians, who make up four percent of the population, earn seven

percent of bachelor's degrees. Conversely, Blacks make up 15% of the population but only

earn 10% of the bachelor's degrees while Latinas/os make up 16% of the population and

earn just nine percent; Native Americans are earning degrees at an equivalent percentage

of their portion of the U.S. population – one percent (The Society Pages, 2014). Looking at

bachelor's degree attainment in terms of within-group rates of achievement for persons age 25 and older in the U.S., 52% of Asian/Pacific Islander adults and 33% of White adults have at least a bachelor degree, compared to 20% of Black adults, 13% of Latina/o adults, and 15% of American Indian adults. Twenty-nine percent of all U.S. adults 25 years of age or older have at least a bachelor's degree (Frey, 2013).

Despite increased enrollments and completion between 1990 and 2010 (U.S. Census data, 1990, 2000, 2010), there has been no significant change in the college achievement gap between Black and White students (Frey, 2013). Nationally, less than 50% of all Black college students complete their degree in six years or less (Carey, 2008). In terms of six-year graduation rates for first-time bachelor degree students in the U.S., White students graduate at a rate of 62.5%, Asian/Pacific Islander students graduate at a rate of 70.1%, and Latina/o students graduate at a rate of 51.9% compared to 40.2% of Black students and Native American students; the overall six-year graduation rate for all students is 59.2% (NCES, 2015; U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2014).

As seen in Table 1-1, the achievement gap is exacerbated when viewed in terms of gender. While women in all ethnic groups have made gains over previous generations, minority men have fallen behind their predecessors in college degree attainment compared with White and Asian men (Kim, 2011). The gender gap between male and female college degree achievement of Black students is double that of all other students (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2014).

**Table 1-1   National 6-Year Degree Attainment by
Race and Gender**

	Total	Degree Completion % by Gender	Gender Gap
White	62.5		
Male		59.8	5.1
Female		64.9	
Asian	70.1		
Male		67.4	5.2
Female		72.6	
Latina/o	51.9		
Male		47.7	7.2
Female		54.9	
Black	40.2		
Male		35.2	8.4
Female		43.6	
All	59.2		
Male		56.5	4.9
Female		61.4	

Prior Research

Researchers have struggled to explain the disparity in college degree attainment
between Black students and their peers. Traditional focus has been on demographic
factors such as age, transfer status, and first-generation status (Astin, 1993; Tinto, 1993).
However, more recent research disputes previously accepted correlations between
individual demographic background variables and academic success, showing them to have
little to no significance for either Black or White male students (Strayhorn, 2008). Although
there is a disproportionate number of students of color who live in poverty (Milner, 2013),
even when controlled for socioeconomic status, sizable gaps persist in educational
attainment across racial lines (Frey, 2013; Howard, 2010). Other research has shown that

commonly emphasized predictors of academic "readiness" as measured by standardized test scores (SAT/ACT) are also inadequate predictors of success for Black male students (Howard, 2010; Young & Rogers, 1991).

Several contributing factors have emerged in the research explaining Black male college student attrition, with one of the most pervasive being negative perception of campus climate (Cabrera et el., 1999; Hurtado et al., 1998). Black students perceive a more negative, unwelcoming campus climate than their White, Asian, or Latino counterparts (Harper & Hurtado, 2007), which leads to sense of alienation and self-doubt (Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Fischer, 2007, 2010; Hurtado et al., 1998; Pascarella et al., 1996; Reid and Radhakrishnan, 2003). Fischer (2007, 2010) found that Black students' perceptions of a negative racial climate have a significant negative impact on satisfaction and correlate with dropping out. Factors shown to influence negative perception of campus include racial incidents and discrimination (Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Hurtado & Carter, 1997) and stereotypes and stereotype threat (Chavous, et al., 2002; Fischer, 2007, 2010).

While many studies have focused on a deficit-informed framework, there is a significant amount of research that focuses on factors contributing to successful persistence among Black male college students—one of the most important being sense of belonging (Astin, 1993; Astin, 1999; Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996; Hoffman et al., 2002-03; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Kinzie, Gonyea, & Kuh, 2008; Kuh et al., 2010; Maestas, Vaquera, & Zehr, 2007; Sáenz, 2010; Strayhorn, 2008). The literature highlights campus climate perception, a correlate to sense of belonging, as a strong contributor to persistence (Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Cabrera, et al., 1999; Fischer, 2007, 2010; Hoffman et al, 2002-2003; Hurtado et al., 1998; Pascarella et al., 1996; Reid and Radhakrishnan, 2003). Several

factors contributing to sense of belonging and positive perceptions of campus climate emerge from the research, including campus involvement (Kuh, 1993, 1994; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991; Strayhorn, 2008) and diverse interactions (Astin, 1993; Pascarela, Et el., 1996; Sáenz, 2010).

Sense of belonging is directly correlated with campus involvement (Adan & Feiner, 1995; Astin, 1993; Astin et al., 2010; Chang, 2001; Chavous, Rivas & Green, 2002; Flowers, 2004; Hurtado, 2001; Kuh, 1993, 1994; Maestas et al., 2007; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991; Strayhorn, 2008). According to Kinzie et al. (2008), there should be a sense of urgency to get Black students engaged and involved because many perceive the college environment as less supportive, and student involvement has been shown to be positively correlated with perceptions of campus support and satisfaction.

The literature points to campus involvement that particularly results in diverse interactions (cross-racial interactions and interactions with peers of different backgrounds) as a significant predictor of sense of belonging, college satisfaction and positive perception of campus climate for Black male college students (Astin, 1993; Byron, Ferry, Garcia, & Lowe, 2013; Chang, 1999; Chang et al., 2004; Chang et al, 2006; Hurtado, 2001; Maestas et al., 2007; Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, & Kinzie, 2008; Kuh et al., 2010; Locks et al., 2008; Pascarela, et el., 1996; Sáenz, 2010; Steward, Jackson, & Jackson, 1990; Strayhorn, 2008). Laird, Engberg, and Hurtado (2005) found that enrollment in a diversity course had a significant effect on positive interaction with diverse peers, social action engagement, and campus climate for students of color, which supported findings from a previous study by Chang (2002). Muthuswamy, Levine, & Gazel (2007), studied the effect of cross-racial interaction through the Multi-Racial Unity Living Experience (MRULE) program at

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Michigan State University. The program was created in 1996 to promote integration among students by building a multi-racial community of students from diverse backgrounds. Volunteer participants engaged in weekly non-threatening, round table dialogues to discuss, learn, and debate racial issues, and to relate those issues to their own lives. The program also involved monthly socials and one community service event per semester, to help build community and trust. The researchers found that students who participated in the program held significantly more positive attitudes about the campus climate, interacted cross-racially more often, and displayed more accurate knowledge about race issues compared to control groups.

Gaps in the Research

These studies have shown perception of campus climate as well as quality and amount of interaction with diverse peers (cross-racial interaction) to be strongly correlated with sense of belonging (which is correlated with persistence). However, very few studies focus on how specific types of programs that incorporate meaningful cross-racial interactions affect perception of campus climate and persistence for Black male college students. Of the few studies that do, most collapse all non-White-only students into one group, "students of color" when, in reality, students of color who are from different racial backgrounds have very different experiences from each other. Strayhorn (2010), for example, found that Black males differ from their Latino male counterparts in a number of important ways with regards to what motivates them to persist and achieve in college. Additionally, many of these studies are either qualitative or quantitative, but do not utilize both methods effectively to inform one another.

Scope of the Study

The need for this study is highlighted in the evidence of proportionately lower levels of educational attainment for Black male college students compared with other students at traditionally White institutions. While the literature has revealed cross-racial interaction as a predictor of campus climate satisfaction for Black males (Astin, 1993; Chang et al, 2006; Kuh et al., 2010), this study addressed a gap in regards to the impact of intentional cross-racial interaction programming on mitigating the consequences of race-driven campus events and the broader campus climate. Further, driven by Critical Race Theory, this study addresses the exclusion of Black voices in the literature on Black undergraduates through the presentation of qualitative data (Harper et al., 2009).

Thus, grounded in theory – particularly, Astin's theory of involvement, Allport's theory of intergroup contact, and Critical Race Theory—this study utilizes qualitative as well as quantitative methods to study the impact of cross-racial interaction on Black male undergraduates' campus climate satisfaction. In order to test theories about the correlation of cross-racial interaction and campus climate satisfaction, I studied participation in a diversity course that incorporated student-driven cross-racial dialogue as a major component of learning across differences. This course created a space for students to share their perspectives on race and the campus racial climate, and sought to empower students to collectively improve the campus climate.

Problem in the Local Context

The study site was selected for its relevance to the study, seeing that the institution's graduation rates closely mirror national rates for Traditionally White Institutions. According to The Campaign for College Opportunity (2013a), at California

public 4-year institutions, there is a gap between Black students and their White and Asian counterparts of 15.8% and 24% respectively (an increase since 2003). Black males are more likely than any other subgroup to go to college but not earn a degree.

Similar gaps exist along racial lines at the selected study site. Black students graduate at rates below their non-Black peers. Disaggregated by gender, the gaps are disturbing. Black men have the lowest graduation rate among their peers of any race or gender (10% lower than White males and 15.5% lower than Asian males). The gender gap for Black students is three times that of White students and twelve times that of Asians. 24 Black men for every 100 Black women graduate from this institution (The Campaign for College Opportunity (2013b).

Beyond graduation rates, the institution's history has illustrated a need for an intervention to improve the campus climate satisfaction for Black students. The history of racial incidents and racial tensions at this institution includes publicized incidents involving cultural appropriation, discrimination, or racism, directed mostly toward Black and Latino students. As evidence, in Spring 2013, a Black student campus organization released a public statement in which they cited many incidents that occurred persistently over the past several years. In Winter 2015, members of the same Black student organization released another public statement with a list of demands for campus leaders to increase resources and to improve the experience for Black students on campus. The results from a recently published Campus Climate Survey found that minority students were less satisfied than non-minority students with the climate on the campus, with 23% of all respondents reporting having been subjected to discriminatory or racist treatment (note: the survey results do not delineate by race). Despite the emergence of this data,

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there were no formal student programs implemented to address the campus climate for

marginalized students at the time of this study. There were several programs aimed at

improving success for students of color, but definitions of success typically range from

eligibility and matriculation to graduation. In addition, the success of these programs has

not been scrutinized beyond a simple program evaluation, if any. The study I conducted

was based on a pilot program I previously designed and implemented at this institution.

Table 1-2   Study Site 4- and 6-year Degree Attainment

		4-Yr Completion %			6-Yr Completion %		
		Total	by Gender	Gender Gap	Total	by Gender	Gender Gap
White		69.4			85.4		
	Male		61.6	14.1		83	4.4
	Female		75.7			87.4	
Asian		71.9			89.2		
	Male		67	8.8		88.2	1.8
	Female		75.8			90	
Latina/o		55.7			81.9		
	Male		48.5	12.3		77.7	7.1
	Female		60.8			84.8	
Black		59.4			81.3		
	Male		45.5	25.7		72.7	12.8
	Female		71.2			85.5	
All		68.2			86.5		
	Male		62.1	10.8		84.4	3.8
	Female		72.9			88.2	

    This study investigated the intersections of perceptions of campus climate with

race, gender, and cross-racial interactions for undergraduates. To do this, the following

research questions were investigated:

1. What are the perceptions of the campus racial climate among Black males, compared with other students?

    a. According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences that contribute to their perceptions of campus racial climate?

2. What is the association, if any, between reported frequency of cross-racial interactions and perceptions of campus racial climate for Black male undergraduates, compared with other students?

    a. According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences that contribute to their frequency and quality of cross-racial interactions?

3. What is the impact of participation in a cross-racial campus climate student empowerment program on Black male undergraduate perception of campus racial climate, cross-racial comfort, cross-racial interaction, and awareness of other student perceptions, compared with other students?

    a. According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences on the campus and in the course that impact their perceptions and decisions to persist, if any?

Study Design

Specifically, the research evaluated the impact of a two-quarter cross-racial campus climate student empowerment course on Black male undergraduate perceptions of campus climate, compared with their peers at a highly-selective, traditionally White, public research institution on the West Coast. The participants included 29 undergraduates of diverse racial backgrounds, overrepresenting for Black males in order to provide a favorable atmosphere for Black males to openly share about their perceptions and

experiences. Participants were students enrolled in the Student Empowerment Program course.

The course, which was offered for credit over two academic quarters, occurred over a period of two academic quarters. For the first quarter of the course, students were introduced to a new topic related to equity, diversity, and inclusion each week via guest speaker, video, and/or article (see Appendix F Brief Course Outline). After 30-45 minutes of topic introduction, students wrote about their perceptions on the topic; they were then split up into small groups of four-to-five, where they spent 30-45 minutes in dialogue, sharing their perspectives with each other. Following small group discussion, the students spent 20-30 minutes in dialogue with the entire class. Each week, students were assigned a journal prompt to reflect on the class and to begin thinking about the topic for the following week. Journals were due two days prior to the next class. Toward the end of the first quarter of the course, students began to explore their interest, if any, in addressing the campus climate. At the last class meeting, students self-selected into one of three project groups intended to address the campus climate: Policy, Programming, or Research. The second quarter of the course devoted equal time to the pursuit of group project proposals and dialogue on current events related to racial climate on college campuses.

A mixed-methods approach was employed, consisting of surveys and semi-structured interviews, journals, and observation notes. This approach provided for triangulation and complementarity, thus promoting clarity and accuracy of findings. Initial surveys collected demographic information and measure perceptions of campus climate, awareness of differing perceptions, cross-racial student involvement, and student motivation to address the campus climate. Post-surveys and written documents measured

changes from initial surveys, twenty weeks after the onset of the intervention. Students

participated in qualitative interviews to gather data on persistence and gain richer detail to

support survey and document data.

The pre- and post-surveys were also administered to a control group to support

findings in regards to the impact of the intervention. Additionally, to try and control for

self-selection bias, the surveys were administered to a comparison group of students who

applied to be in diversity training programs but had not participated in those programs.

Significance of the Study

The majority of strategies aimed at improving the satisfaction and success of Black

undergraduates have focused on correcting or changing Black students rather than

leveraging the experiences of Black students through institutional-based, student-centered

solutions. This study addresses gaps with regard to the use of intergroup dialogue to

facilitate education and stimulate positive change in campus student communities, testing

intergroup dialogue theory more stringently through utilization of a mixed-methods

approach. While qualitative findings address a gap in the literature on Black males with

regard to depth of data collection and giving voice to the subjects, the combination of all of

the data analysis identifies how participation in a cross-racial student empowerment

program can positively impact Black male campus climate satisfaction, while

simultaneously increasing majority student awareness and empathy for minority student

experiences. Overall, the study outcomes add new information to further the

understanding of key professionals and should be an impetus for change toward improving

the experience and success for Black male undergraduates.

Study results have been reported to the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, and I ultimately hope to present the findings to other campus administrators and committees charged with campus climate and retention. Recommendations will highlight the need for permanent course offerings that have a focus on cultural learning across differences through cross-racial dialogue.

In addition, findings may be reported at conferences with a focus on retention, diversity, and student affairs. Recommendations may inform institutional agents of the importance of intergroup dialogue and to need to learn across differences to improve campus climate, specifically for Black male college students. I hope to encourage faculty and administrators to take an active role in engaging students across race in their classrooms and programs.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The college degree attainment gap between Black males and their peers has attracted much scholarly attention focusing on the persistence of Black male college students (for example Astin, 1993; Catching, 2009; Chavous et al., 2002; Fischer, 2010; Frey, 2013; Furr & Elling, 2002; Harper, 2006; Ogbu, 1984; Strayhorn, 2010). Consequently, the literature points to several factors that affect persistence among Black male undergraduates, the most pervasive being perception of campus climate. This literature review asks what factors contribute to the persistence of Black male college students. After a description of the historical context and data outlining the achievement gap between Black male students and their peers, I outline the research on factors that contribute to low achievement as well as factors that contribute to persistence among Black male college students, with a specific focus on perception of the college campus climate. Finally, I explore implications for higher education institutions interested in increasing the success of Black male college students, highlighting relevant theories as well as college programs that have succeeded in increasing Black male student achievement.

Historical Background

Although Black students have realized mediocre gains since the civil rights movement, persistent legal, historical, and structural disadvantages thwart improvements sufficient to eradicate the socioeconomic advantages associated with college degree attainment (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009). Blacks in America have been largely

excluded from education for the majority of our history, since 1526 when they were first brought to America as slaves (Humphries, F., 1995). Three centuries later, the 1820's mark the earliest access to education for Black Americans, and in 1823, Alexander Lucias Twilight was the first to be awarded a college degree (Bennett, 1988; Ranbom & Lynch 1988; Rudolph, 1990). Two others graduated three years later from Amherst and Bowdoin. But 1835 marked the first time that an institution would openly begin to admit Blacks: that institution was Oberlin College (Roebuck & Murty, 1993; Rudolph, 1990).

In 1837, one of the first Historical Black Institutions, Cheyney State Training School (now Cheyney University) began as a primary and secondary school for Blacks (Bennett, 1988). In 1854, Ashmum Institute (now Lincoln University) became the first all-Black institution of higher education (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). A third institution was established in 1856 specifically for freed slaves and their children—Wilberforce University. This institution was owned and operated by Black Americans, and it's president, Daniel Payne, became the first American University president in history. These three early Black institutions propelled the movement toward opening up education to Black Americans and the establishment of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (Bennett, 1988; Roebuck & Murty, 1993).

Most Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU's) got their start in 1860, after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. After the Civil War, only 28 of America's four million freed slaves had received a college degree (Roebuck & Murty, 1993). As a result of the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, Alcorn College in Mississippi was the first land-grant institution for Blacks. The Morrill Land Grant Act provided funds and land for the establishment of public institutions in all states (Bowles & DeCosta, 1971). The second

Morrill Act of 1890, mandated the just and equitable distribution of funds to Blacks in 17 states (Bowles & DeCosta, 1971), which led to 17 Black state-supported institutions being added to the mounting catalogue of private Black colleges and 54 other Black institutions founded under the first Morrill Act (Rudolph, 1990). But the Act also legalized the separation of Black and White public institutions and emphasized lower-quality vocational-focused curricula for Blacks, thus promoting the idea that Blacks were less intelligent than Whites (Davis, 1998; Wilder, 2013). These Black institutions were most often governed by white administrators and teachers who also maintained strict control over the curricula (Allen & Jewell, 2002; Franklin, 1961; Gasman, 2007; Roebuck & Murty, 1993). Curricula focused on White, European and Westernized values and culture. Roebuck and Murty (1993) argue that public HBCU's were created specifically with the intent of limiting Black education to vocational training and prevent Blacks from attending White colleges.

The passage of the Thirteenth Amendment (1865) abolished the practice of slavery and led to two additional Black institutions of higher education (Virginia Union and Shaw). It is also noted that the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment led to a movement by northern churches and white missionary groups (such as The American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Freedman's Aid Society) to invest time and money into the training of Black teachers and preachers and the establishment of more than 200 private schools for Blacks in the South (Drewry & Doermann, 2001); Franklin, 1961; Gasman, 2007). Many of the religious groups that provided assistance did so because they aspired to help the Black "hapless victims of a corrupt society" and viewed as their God-given mission to civilize and educate the freedman (Allen & Jewell, 2002, p. 243). Although many of these schools held

titles of "university" or "college," they were virtually no more than elementary and secondary schools, and many ceased to operate after 1900 (Roebuck & Murty, 1993, p.25).

The importance of the emergence of those schools is that it helped alter the racial makeup of higher education, albeit with opposition from White Southern conservatives who viewed the education of freed slaves as a threat to white supremacy (Allen & Jewell, 2002). According to Humphries (1995), from 1865 to the early 1900's, only 1,195 Blacks in the U.S. had received bachelor degrees. It was during the first half of the 20th century that historical black colleges became national institutions that attracted students from all over America who traveled to the North because they were prohibited from attending universities in the South. Shortly after the end of World War II, these institutions began to offer more college courses than high school courses. Approximately 40 of the HBCU's established between 1865-1890 have survived to today, such as Howard, Fisk, Morehouse, and Spelman College (Drewry & Doermann, 2001).

One of the earliest attempts to address the inadequacies of Black-serving educational institutions was the passage of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896, which established a "separate but equal" policy—that schools could be segregated so long as the facilities were equal (Anderson, 1988; Franklin, 1971). However, even after Plessy v. Ferguson, Black-serving institutions remained disproportionately underfunded: funding for Black institutions was approximately one-fourth that of White institutions (Bowles, & DeCosta, 1971). In the 1954 case, Brown v. Board of education, the Supreme Court ruled against separate but equal and called for the desegregation of schools, stating that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" (Brown, 2001). However, this did not immediately end segregation, and the court set down an additional ruling one year later for

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"all deliberate speed." Even still, it was not until the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a decade after

Brown v. Board of Education, that White institutions of higher education began to become

accessible to blacks in the U.S. (Brown, 2001). Two policies that came after 1964 to help to

further access to educational opportunities for Black Americans include Title III of the

Higher Education Act of 1965 and Executive Order 11246. Title III of the Higher Education

Act provided subsidies to developing institutions, such as HBCUs, which facilitated their

survival (Alger et al, 2000; Roebuck & Murty, 1993), while Executive Order 11246, signed

by President Johnson in 1965, established affirmative action and drastically increased

access to institutions of higher education for Black Americans. (Alger et al, 2000; Brown,

2001).

It is clear that policy efforts in the late 1960's helped open the doors for Black

American students in higher education. However, "to characterize the current status of

African Americans as inequitable would be a gross understatement" (Harper, Patton, &

Wooden, 2009). According to Harper, Patton and Wooden, over a century of policy gains

have been undermined by an overreliance on racially-biased entrance exams, increased

college admissions standards without accompanying advances in K-12 schools, racism and

negative Black student experiences at White institutions, decline of need-based federal aid,

and consistent attempts to dismantle affirmative action. Just a few of those attempts

include Bakke v. University of California in 1978, Grutter v. Bollinger in 2003, Schuette v.

BAMN in 2014, Fisher V. University of Texas in 2013, Prop 209 in California, and Prop 2 in

Michigan (Biegel, 2012).

Thus, though students of color have enrolled at greater rates in higher education

institutions across the U.S. since the 1960's, and despite increased enrollments and

completion over the last two decades (U.S. Census data, 1990, 2000, 2010), there has been

no significant change in the college achievement gap between Black and White students

(NCES, 2010; Frey, 2013). According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Whites and Asians earn

bachelor degrees at rates that exceed its percentage of the total U.S. population, compared

to Blacks. The achievement gap is exacerbated when viewed in terms of gender. The gender

gap between male and female achievement is double for Blacks than for Whites—22

percent compared to 12 percent (U.S. Department of Education, Digest of Education

Statistics, 2012).

These gaps are not explained solely by socioeconomic status. Even when controlled

for socioeconomic status, sizable gaps persist in educational attainment across racial lines

(Frey, 2013; Howard, 2010). Black and Latino students are less likely to enroll in college

than their more affluent peers who tend to come from more educated households (typically

White). Those who do enroll tend to be concentrated in two-year or less-selective and less-

resourced four-year colleges with significantly lower success rates (Moore & Shulock,

2010; Perna et al., 2008). Society and the education system play a huge role in the

perpetuation of these inequalities through a culture which "advantages students who are

generally already advantaged" (Milner, 2013; Park & Eagan, 2011, p. 2369). Disadvantaged

Black students who do reach the college campus struggle with how to make up for the

"educational deficits resulting from years of systemic discrimination and blocked

educational opportunities, while meeting the daily challenges of rigorous academic

programs that make no allowances for the cumulative, debilitating effects of historic and

continuing racial discrimination" (Allen & Solórzano, 2001, p. 240). As a result, Black

students are the most likely to enter and not complete college (Frey, 2013). The cycle of

inequality is that students "who have been excluded from educational opportunities over the past centuries… continue to be at or near the bottom of the achievement gap" (Howard, 2010, p. 11).

Pre-college Factors Contributing to Low Achievement

For decades, researchers have struggled to explain the disparity in college degree attainment between Black students and their peers. Traditional focus has been on demographic factors such as age, transfer status, and first-generation status (Astin, 1993; Tinto, 1993) or on deficit narratives that focus on inadequacy, underperformance, and instability (Harper, 2015), using standardized test scores as evidence of those presumptions (Harper, 2013; Fleming & Garcia, 1998; Fleming & Morning, 1998).

However, newer research disputes previously accepted associations between individual demographic background variables and academic success, showing them to have little to no significance for either Black or White male students; even after controlling for pre-college characteristics and within college experiences, differences remain with underrepresented students of color persisting at much lower rates than their peers (Astin & Oseguera, 2004; Oseguera, 2006; Strayhorn, 2008). Further research has shown that commonly emphasized predictors of academic "readiness" as measured by standardized test scores are also inadequate predictors of success for Black male students (Fleming & Garcia, 1998; Fleming & Morning, 1998; Howard, 2010; Young & Rogers, 1991).

According to Strayhorn, a student's demographic background alone does not indicate propensity for academic success in college, but it is rather a combination of pre-college factors and college-level factors, such as family cultural capital, academic

preparedness, family and community expectations, access to resources, and sense of belonging on the college campus.

Under-preparedness and College Eligibility

Black males have much lower college eligibility rates than all other groups (Kirst, 2008). When Black males do make it to college, they are comparatively less prepared for the rigors of college level academic work (Bonner II & Bailey, 2006; Lundy-Wagner & Gasman, 2011; Palmer, Davis, & Hilton, 2009). Inequitable school systems, inadequate college counseling, and a disconnect in the K-16 pipeline contribute to the underpreparedness of Black students, as well as the low eligibility rates.

Insufficient College Counseling

Adding to the issue of lack of preparedness is lack of adequate college counseling. College counseling has long been known to be a critical force in the college-decision process for high school students. However, there are "severe structural constraints on the availability of high school counselors in public schools to provide college counseling" (Perna et al, 2008, p. 132). Student-to-counselor ratios exceed the American School Counselor Association's ratio of 100:1, sometimes reaching numbers as high as nearly 500:1. To add to this, counselors are often pulled in other directions, such as focusing on helping low-performing students graduate high school. Counselors do not have time to reach out to students or to spend sufficient time providing information and direction, and instead rely on students or parents to approach them. This lack of cultural capital is a real problem for first-generation students, whose parents often do not know what to ask, who to ask, when to ask, or if there is even anything to ask. Students who are not aware or

confident to seek help will be left out. Thus, students with the "greatest need for college

counseling will probably face the greatest structural barriers to receive it" (Perna et al,

2008, p. 154). Conversely, more affluent students have cultural capital that provides

knowledge and advantages such as family "expectations of attending...highly selective

institutions that offer early admissions programs... and high quality (private) counseling"

(Park & Eagan, 2011, p. 2351).

The effect of insufficient college counseling on Black and Latino students is evident

in the college admission process, especially in the early action and early decision programs

of highly selective institutions. These early admissions programs disadvantage low-income

(typically Black and Latino) students because students who apply to college under these

programs have a substantial advantage equivalent to 100 SAT points (Park & Eagan, 2011).

Yet, minority students are not receiving college counseling that encourages them to take

advantage of these programs. These students are lucky if they get any college counseling at

all. Meanwhile, their affluent peers, who can afford private counseling, are receiving this

valuable advice. Additionally, according to Park & Eagan (2011), students who take

advantage of these early admissions programs tend to be more affluent, are "less likely to

be minorities and (are) more likely to be legacies" (p. 2349). These students tend to be

cash-payers, and do not need to compare financial aid packages, which enable them to

participate in early admissions programs whereas few Black students have that luxury. In

this way, the early admissions programs exacerbate inequalities by adding to the cultural

capital already enjoyed by more affluent White students.

Disconnect in the K-16 Pipeline

In spite of insufficient preparation and college counseling, many underrepresented students are getting to college. But, getting to college is just the first hurdle. Getting them to complete is another, and according to Kirst (2008), low completion rates have shown that this is indeed an area of concern. The 60% remediation rate for first-time college attendees is a strong indicator of lack of preparedness. Kirst attributes this lack of preparedness to the disjuncture between K-12 and higher education (112). "America's high school students have greater aspirations than ever before for higher education, yet these aspirations are being undermined by a disconnected educational system" (Venezia and Kirst, 2005, p. 284). Students are told that they need to earn a college degree, yet they are not prepared for what is required for them to succeed in college. Information is not disseminated clearly, and the students who are hurt the most are underrepresented and first-generation students, and particularly Black and Latina/o students. Comprehensive community partnerships, described by Domina and Ruzek (2012) as educational movements for change, have great rewards over a sustained period of time, and can yield great improvements in student preparedness for college, thus reducing remediation.

College-Level Factors Affecting Low Achievement

But, college success is not determined by preparation alone. In fact, college-level factors may contribute even more strongly to decisions to persist than do pre-college factors. According to the literature, several contributing factors have emerged explaining the high rate of Black male college student attrition, including economic stress and negative perception of campus racial climate (Cabrera et el., 1999; Hurtado et al., 1998).

Economic Stress

Economic stress plays a significant role in college students' persistence. Research suggests that the stress associated with difficulties financing college is much more significant for Black students than their White peers, and negatively affects performance and satisfaction (Fischer, 2007; King, 2002). The vast majority of White students come from households making more than $75,000 a year, while only about 40 percent of Black students come from families making that amount of money (Fischer, 2007). King (2002) points out that low-income students often must work to support their own education because their families cannot afford to pay for college; as a result, their studies suffer.

According to Furr et al. (2002), "Financial factors related to retention include family income, need for financial aid, intention to work more than 20 hours per week, and inaccurate perception that work does not interfere with academic performance" (p.196). Young, et al. (1994) reported that Black students from working-class households were present-time oriented because they are focused on meeting immediate needs, while college is future-time oriented; this difference in orientation requires a greater adjustment to college for these students.

Although it has been noted that on-campus jobs work similarly to campus involvement by often allowing students to interact with other students and with faculty (Astin, 1977, 1984), Black men are typically underrepresented in paid student leadership roles and resident assistant positions that come with free room and board (Harper, 2006, 2012; Harper et al., 2011; Kimbrough & Harper, 2006). These men are forced to find jobs off-campus and, as a result, their studies suffer (Harper, 2006). Additionally, off-campus employment hinders a student's ability to get involved in co-curricular activities; thus, they

fail to connect to the campus culture, and they are unable to develop a strong sense of belonging (Hurtado, 2001; Strayhorn, 2008).

Negative Perception of Campus Climate

Though it is well decided that campus climate can have profound effects on student success, there has yet to emerge a single agreed upon definition of campus climate (Reason, 2013). According to Tierney (1990), climate is often challenging to understand because it seems "to defy precise definition and measurement…but just because variables are difficult to determine does not mean that we should ignore them" (p. 1). Campus climate has been defined in different ways throughout the literature. However, there are shared characteristics among those definitions, a widely agreed upon understanding being that campus climate is "multifaceted, includes people's attitudes and behaviors, is more malleable than culture, and interacts with organizational policies and practices (Peterson & Spencer, 1990; Reason, 2013). Compounding the difficulty in defining campus climate more narrowly is in the manner in which it is measured: through perceptions of, attitudes about, and experiences within an environment (Glisson & James, 2002; Peterson & Spencer, 1990; Rankin & Reason, 2005). It is the product of culture, but is different from culture in that it is concerned with "current perceptions and attitudes, rather than deeply held meanings, belies and values" (Peterson & Spencer, 1990, p. 7). Nevertheless, researchers have identified campus climate as a critical factor in understanding the experiences of marginalized students that are related to sense of belonging (Hoffman et al, 2002-2003; Fischer, 2010; Hurtado et al., 1998).

Perceptions of a poor campus climate can have a negative effect on students' ties to

the academic and social arenas of college life (Sáenz, Marcoulides, Junn, & Young, 1999).

For Black students, satisfaction with college life and persistence are strongly correlated

with perceived racial climate (Fischer, 2010). Yet, Black students perceive a more negative

campus climate than their White, Asian, or Latino counterparts (Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr,

2000; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado et al., 1998; Rankin & Reason, 2005; Schwitzer, et

al., 1999). These negative perceptions lead to a sense of alienation and self-doubt (Fischer,

2007, 2010; Hurtado et al., 1998; Pascarella et al., 1996; Reid and Radhakrishnan, 2003).

Sedlaceck (1999) found that Black students at Predominantly White Institutions (PWI's).

describe their experiences as inhospitable (stemming from the inability to get

straightforward information from faculty members), being excluded from dialogs amongst

their White classmates, and being discounted in class discussions. And, according to

Schwitzer, et al. (1999), as many as two-thirds of Black freshmen describe difficulties

adjusting due to campus climate.

   Although Fischer (2007) found that Black students' perceptions of a negative racial

climate do not appear to have a negative impact on grades, they do have a significant

negative impact on satisfaction, and correlate with dropping out. Fischer's 2007 study

used data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen, randomly selecting equal

numbers of Black, Hispanic, Asian, and White students from each of 28 institutions. The

resulting oversampling of minority students was essential for making within group

comparisons. The survey, conducted in a series of waves, began with a lengthy computer-

assisted personal interview survey to collect detailed information on each student's family,

neighborhood, and school conditions. Follow-up surveys conducted in the spring of the first

year, and each spring thereafter, asked students about their courses, grades, contact with

faculty, experiences with other students, involvement in activities, and perceptions with racial discrimination on campus. 88% of the original respondents participated in the first three waves of survey data collection. The study found that minority students reported perceptions of negative racial climate, with Blacks having by far the highest average perception of negative campus racial climate. However, where these perceptions had a negative impact on grades for Hispanics, the effect was the opposite for Black students. Fischer also discovered that, especially for Black students, ties to other students strongly correlated with college satisfaction, but off-campus ties tended to be negatively correlated, whereas ties to one's own group for minorities did not have any relationship to campus satisfaction. Finally, the data substantiated earlier research findings that racial climate mattered significantly—perception of negative campus climate correlated directly with lower levels of satisfaction with college. According to Fischer, heightened perceptions of negative climate increase the likelihood of leaving college (2007).

Factors shown to negatively affect perception of campus climate include racial incidents and discrimination (Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Hurtado & Carter, 1997), stereotypes and stereotype threat (Chavous, et al., 2002; Fischer, 2007, 2010); and economic stress (Fischer, 2007; Furr, et al., King, 2002; Young, et al., 1994).

Racial incidents and discrimination.

Students of color are more likely to describe the campus racial climate as hostile and report more encounters with racial incidents and discrimination in both classes and social settings than all other student groups (Allen &, 2001). Black students report more experiences of hearing derogatory remarks about their race, receiving unfair grades because of their race, and being discouraged from taking a course or pursuing a course of

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study because of their race (Fischer, 2010). Experiences with racial discrimination and

negative racial campus climate complicate Black students' transition to college (Hurtado &

Carter, 1997), causing them to frequently feel misunderstood or devalued by the

predominantly White culture (Allen, 1992; Kuh, 2001; Museus, 2011). The prominence of

stereotypes, microaggressions, and racism causes Black students to perceive their culture

is not respected, valued, or seen as relevant to the larger university experience (Rogers &

Summers, 2008). The ongoing experiences of racial incidents by students of color result in

tense racial climates that discourage students from succeeding and persisting at the

institution (Allen & Solórzano, 2001).

Stereotypes and stereotype threat.

Stereotypes result from inherent racial attitudes and perceptions and often manifest

themselves in differential treatment and derogatory remarks that negatively affect

perception of campus climate (Pierce, 1974). Black male college students encounter

administrators and teachers who expect them to be disengaged, disrespectful, unprepared,

underperforming, and violent (Charles & Massey, 2003; Harper, 2012). Stereotypical

perceptions by teachers and administrators towards Black males negatively impact

institutional programming and policy strategies, resulting in differential treatment (Kim

and Hargrove, 2013; Ogbu, 1984).

Black men have long been one of the most feared group in society, long portrayed as

dysfunctional, hyper-sexual, violent, non-intellectual, athletes (Cuyjet, 2006; Gordon, 1999;

Guiffrida, 2003; Ogbu, 1991). These negative views largely stem from environmental

undercurrents that demarcate how Black male identity and masculinity is perceived

(Noguera, 2002). Circumscribing Black male identity to homogeneous negative labels

ignores the within-group variability that exists and perpetuates the stigmas that marginalize Black men in society (Gordon, 1999).

Minority students' satisfaction is intrinsically linked to the racial climate they perceive and the performance-based pressures they feel to not confirm negative group stereotypes held by the majority group on campus (Fischer, 2010; Steele, 1997). Smedley, Myers, and Harrell (1993) found that racial conflict and stereotypes resulted in stress beyond that generally associated with attending college and negatively affect perception of campus climate among Black students. Black student responses to racist treatment are often self-defeating—not only is there a distrust of White institutions, but also a distrust in successful Black representatives who are seen as having abandoned their community (Ogbu, 1994; Strayhorn, 2008). Successful Black male students often face chastisement from their Black peers when they are viewed as "acting White" in order to succeed, with "being Black" meaning performing poorly on majority standards (Harper, 2006; Strayhorn, 2008).

Stereotype threat (the fear of confirming negative stereotypes) may result in academic underperformance due to the fear and anxiety felt to not confirm stereotypes (Fischer, 2007; Steele, 1997). In fact, Fischer found in a 2010 follow-up study of the 2007 data set that students under greater pressure to perform (such as those suffering from stereotype threat) may respond by studying less, thus resulting in academic underachievement. Over time, this fear and underperformance can result in the student disidentifying from the institution from which the threat is felt (Steele, 1997).

Microaggressions.

Racial microaggressions are one way in which stereotypes are manifested. Racial

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microaggressions are defined as the every-day, commonplace, often subtle forms of racism faced by people of color (Pierce, 1974; Sue, 2007). According to Solórzano and Yosso (2002), Black students attending PWIs frequently encounter microaggressions. These (often) unconscious racist acts negatively impact the success of Black students (Fries-Britt & Grififin, 2007).

Sue et al. (2007), asserts that microaggressions create race-related stress. "These [racial] assaults to black dignity and black hope are incessant and cumulative" (Pierce, 1974, p. 515). Sue identified three types of microaggressions: Microassaults, Microinsults, and Microinvalidations. Microassaults are conscious and intentional actions or slurs. These include racial epitaphs and derogatory language, displays of racist symbols, mocking or telling racist jokes, and deliberately serving White customers before persons of color. Microinsults communicate rudeness and insensitivity toward someone based on their race. These can seem like compliments to the person saying them, but the statements imply an unconscious deep-seeded view of someone because of their race. Examples include, acting surprised that a Black student knows the answer to a difficult question in class, crossing the street or clutching your bad when a Black person approaches, or telling someone they are a "credit to their race." Microinsults take away a person's dignity and sense of self-worth (Sue, 2007).

Microinvalidations subtly exclude or negate the feelings or experiential reality of a person of color. An example is asking a non-White person where they were born (this sends the message that they are a perpetual foreigner, not accepted as part of the norm or dominant group). Another example includes the idea of color blindness—insisting that a person of color is incorrectly assuming that their experiences are racialized. The victim

may feel insulted, but they often do not understand why they feel the way they do, while the perpetrator does not acknowledge that anything has happened because they are not aware they have been offensive. If the victim does confront the perpetrator, the perpetrator will deny having done anything wrong. As a result, the victim is left confused and angry. Franklin (2000) calls this the "invisibility syndrome," a result of the inner struggle with feeling that one's worth is not valued or recognized because of racism.

Microaggressions are closely linked to perception of campus climate. When Black students experience microaggressions in their campus environments, they feel academically and socially alienated (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). For Black males, repeated experiences of microaggressions result in their disconnecting from the campus (Museus, 2011; Rogers & Summers, 2008).

Factors Contributing to Persistence and Success

Some researchers have abandoned antiquated deficit-based research in favor of a more positive model that focuses on solution (Harper, 2009; Howard, 2010; Howard & Terry, 2010; Milner, 2013). These researchers have focused on numerous factors that contribute to the resilience and success of Black males in college, such as family support, mentorship, social support, positive sense of belonging, and campus involvement. Resilience is defined as an ability to withstand, recover, or sustain a force that jeopardizes stability (Sapienza & Masten, 2011).

Family Support

Tinto (1993) argued that students must separate themselves from their families in favor of the college community in order to fully integrate and be successful. While this may

be true for White students, more recent research has shown that minority students'

support networks may lie outside of the college community (Eimers & Pike, 1997;

Gonzalez, 2002; Guiffrida, 2004, 2005; Nora & Cabrera, 1996; Swail, Redd, & Perna, 2003;

Rendón et al., 2002). In fact, research has illustrated a positive association of family

support and psychological development, racial identity, resilience, and success for Black

students (Allen, 1992; Cuyjet, 2006; Fleming, 1984; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991;

Rodriguez, Mira, Myers, Morris, and Cardoza, 2003; Wilson & Constatine, 1999).

According to Guiffrida (2004), Black families provide emotional and academic

support to students, which helps to facilitate their success. Oftentimes, this support

transcended their immediate families; it included their extended families (Sue & Sue,

2008). When Black students retreat from the college environment due to feelings of

isolation and alienation, they look to their families as a defense mechanism that aids in

their persistence (Fries-Britt, 1998). Family, with its unique ability to translate talent and

promise into achievement, plays a powerful role in the academic success of Black students

(Ford, 1996).

Positive Sense of Belonging

Despite criticisms depicted in the literature, researchers continue to endorse

antiquated paradigms, frequently disregarding alternative theoretical frameworks that

speak to the experiences of students of color, such as sense of belonging and validation

theory (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Rendón, 2002; Rendón et al., 2000). Yet, there is a

significant amount of research that focuses on factors that contribute to successful

persistence among Black male college students—one of the most pervasive being sense of

belonging (Astin, 1999; Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996; Hoffman et al., 2002-03; Hurtado &

Carter, 1997; Kinzie, Gonyea, & Kuh, 2008; Kuh et al., 2010; Maestas, Vaquera, & Zehr, 2007; Sáenz, 2010; Strayhorn, 2008). According to Hurtado and Carter (1997), sense of belonging reflects the extent to which students feel connected to and a part of the campus.

The construct of sense of belonging has been defined as an individual's sense of identification within a community that influences their success. Anant (1966) asserts that sense of belonging characterizes an individual's feeling of indispensability within a social system—that they are accepted as a member. Hurtado and Carter (1997) extended the notion of sense of belonging to the college setting as a unidimensional construct, noting that measuring sense of belonging could be a useful means of understanding of an array of relationships that contribute to a students' sense of belonging to the larger community. Hoffman et al. (2002) asserted that as a multidimensional construct, sense of belonging reflects specific relationships among students and between students and faculty as well as classroom interactions.

Factors that help create sense of belonging include social support (Kessler & McLeod, 1985; Laurence et al., 2009), mentorship (Museus & Neville, 2012; Strayhorn & Terrell, 2007), positive campus climate (Hoffman et al., 2002-2003; Strayhorn, 2008), and positive diverse interactions (Locks et al., 2008). According to Pan et al. (2008), in order to create a sense of belonging, students must build connections to groups and to other members of the campus community. Tinto's more recent research emphasizes the relationship between sense of belonging and student perceptions about their interactions in the campus community (2012)

Social support.

The literature has well documented that positive social support (participation in peer social activities, student organizations, and study groups) facilitates adjustment to college, sense of belonging and persistence (Gloria, Robinson-Kurpius, Hamilton, & Wilson, 1999; Kessler & McLeod, 1985; Kim, 2007; Laurence et al., 2009; Kuh & Hu, 2001; Townsend, 2011). A strong social support network is critical to the success of Black students (Adan & Felner, 1995; Allen, 1992; Harper, 2015; Fleming, 1984; Nasim et al., 2005). Students with high perceived levels of social support were less likely to feel lonely and reported higher levels of commitment to completing their degrees (Kuh & Hu, 2001; Townsend, 2011).

Yet, availability of social support opportunities for Black students is often restricted (Fleming, 1984; Negga, Applewhite, & Livingston, 2007). Black students report inadequate dating opportunities, social isolation, alienation, prejudice in both the immediate college environment and the surrounding neighborhood (Fleming, 1981, 1984). Fleming (1984) found that while Black students experience less social support than White students, Black females reported slightly more availability in social support than black males. Fleming further found that perceived availability and greater adequacy of social support was associated with greater well-being.

Mentorship.

Faculty-student interaction powerfully impacts Black student success (Museus, 2011). In fact, mentorship is one of the key interventions through which positive attitudes can be shaped by positively affecting sense of belonging (Fischer, 2007; Kezar & Kinzie, 2006; Museus & Neville, 2012; Santos & Reigadas, 2005; Salantrini, 2005; Strayhorn &

Terrell, 2007). Mentorship refers to the relationship between a student (mentee) and an

individual (mentor) where the mentor provides guidance to help the mentee succeed by

overcoming various institutional and personal barriers; specifically, faculty mentoring

relationships that involve research, sharing of social capital, providing holistic support,

humanizing the educational experience, and adopting proactive attitudes and actions

(Museus & Neville, 2012). They serve as role models for continuous life-learning (Santos &

Reigadas, 2005; Yearwood & Jones, 2012). According to Astin (1984), frequent interaction

with faculty is more strongly related to satisfaction with college than any other type of

involvement or student or institutional characteristic. Students with high levels of

interaction with faculty reported higher levels of satisfaction with friendships, courses,

intellectual environment, and even the administration (Fischer, 2007).

Research has demonstrated strong need for mentoring due to its connection to

student success, specifically for marginalized students (Salantrini, 2005; Santos & Reigadas,

2005). Santos & Reigadas (2005) found that minority students who participated in faculty

mentoring programs at a California state university were reported to experience significant

increases in college adjustment measures. And, in another study, low-achieving students

who were paired with faculty mentors at a Canadian university showed marked

improvements in persistence compared to control groups (Salantrini, 2005).

For Black students, faculty mentoring is shown to be one of the strongest factors

contributing to persistence for Black male college students (Fischer, 2007; Strayhorn,

2007). Kezar & Kinzie (2006) found that successful Black students benefit from frequent

student-faculty interactions (Kezar & Kinzie, 2006). Establishing relationships and

maintaining engagement on campus presents unique difficulties for Black students

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compared to their White peers at PWIs (Allen, 1992; Cabrera, et al., 1999; Hurtado et al., 1998). Yet, Black students who interact frequently with faculty report much higher college satisfaction than those who do not engage with mentors (Strayhorn & Terrell, 2007). Black students who interact often with faculty are more likely to be more engaged in active and collaborative learning as well as enriching educational experiences, and are thus likely to integrate into the campus environment (Fischer, 2007; Yearwood & Jones, 2012).

Culturally relevant pedagogy.

Recent research has begun to focus some attention to culturally relevant pedagogy as a method to improve the educational outcomes of marginalized students (Gay, 2000). Culturally relevant pedagogy is "situated in a framework that recognizes the rich and varied cultural wealth, knowledge, and skills that diverse students bring to schools" (Howard & Terri, Sr., 2011, p. 346). Instructors who engage in culturally relevant pedagogy validate students' cultures and nurture students' academic, social, emotional, cultural, and psychological well-being (Ladson-Billing, 1995). Connecting the cultural wealth students bring with them from home with the subject content in classrooms improve the overall experience and can improve sense of belonging for culturally diverse students (Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Pierce, 2005).

Pre-College Diversity

Racial segregation is the norm in American neighborhoods and K-12 schools (Orfield & Gordon, 2001; Massey, Charles, Lundy, & Fischer, 2003). White students attend schools that are 80% or more White, while Blacks and Latina/os attend schools where more than half of students are in their own group. This lack of exposure to diversity prior

to college inhibits students from having experiences to challenge myths about other racial groups; as a result, stereotypes flourish that perpetuate patterns of cross-racial interaction (or segregation) in college (Sáenz, 2010).   However, pre-college diversity experiences predispose students toward seeking out specific diversity-related activities (Sáenz, 2010; Locks et al., 2008).

Locks et al. (2008) found that White students who grew up with racially and ethnically diverse peers were more likely to interact with such peers in college and thereby had a greater sense of belonging. Students of color who interacted with diverse (White) peers were also more likely to do so in college and thereby had a greater sense of belonging at PWIs. Once in college, diverse college campuses provide the environment needed to challenge students' views of the world and improve their ability to see multiple perspectives (Hurtado, 2003). In fact, participation in diverse activities could interrupt student beliefs and behaviors built on stereotypes (Laird, Engberg, & Hurtado, 2005). Yet, Chavous (2005) found that pre-college diversity was only minimally related to perception of racial climate or to diverse interactions for Black males. Instead, institutional racial climate seemed to have the largest influence on their diverse interactions.

Campus Climate Satisfaction

The literature has identified campus climate as a critical factor in developing sense of belonging and persistence (Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Fischer, 2007, 2010; Hoffman et al, 2002-2003; Hurtado et al., 1998; Pascarella et al., 1996; Reid and Radhakrishnan, 2003). According to Allen and Solórzano (2001), an inclusive climate helps to create a sense of belonging for students of color. And, for Black students, it has been shown that campus

racial climate is intrinsically connected with their sense of belonging at their institutions (Hoffman, et al., 2002-2003; Strayhorn, 2008).

Although Fischer (2007) found that Black students' campus climate perceptions do not appear to have an impact on grades, they do have a significant impact on satisfaction, and correlate with persistence. In a follow-up study, Fischer concludes that minority student satisfaction is intrinsically linked to the racial climate they perceive (2010). Several factors contributing to sense of belonging and positive perceptions of campus climate emerge from the research, including campus involvement (Kuh, 1993, 1994; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991; Strayhorn, 2008) and diverse interactions (Astin, 1993; Pascarela, Et el., 1996; Sáenz, 2010).

Campus involvement.

Students who are actively engaged in educationally purposeful activities are more likely to persevere through graduation than are their disengaged peers (Harper & Quaye, 2009, p. 4, Harper, 2012). A widely recognized benefit of college student engagement is an increase in sense of belonging (Astin, 1993; Chang, 2001; Chavous, Rivas & Green, 2002; Flowers, 2004; Hurtado, 2001; Kuh, 1993, 1994; Maestas, Vquera & Zehr, 2007; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991; Strayhorn, 2008).

Astin (1984) describes involvement as "the amount of physical and psychological energy that the student devotes to the academic experience" (p.297). According to Astin, students who live on campus, join fraternities, participate in sports and co-curricular activities are much more likely to persist and succeed. According to Pascarella and Terenzini (1991), the impact of college is largely determined by the student's quality of effort and level of involvement in academic and non-academic activities. Kuh (2009)

emphasizes two major facets of involvement—in-class (or academic) engagement and out-of-class engagement in educationally relevant (or co-curricular) activities—both of which are important to student success. Astin identifies several forms of co-curricular involvement: participation in honors programs, athletic involvement, student government, research, and student-faculty interaction, all of which have a positive effect on student persistence (1984). Astin and Tinto each conducted studies of college dropouts and concluded that, despite race, sex, ability, or family background, involvement was the strongest predictor of student success (Astin, 1977, 1984, 1993; Tinto, 1975, 1993).

For underrepresented students, campus involvement yields larger payoffs in terms of grades and retention, relative to otherwise comparable peers (National Survey of Student Engagement, 2009). According to Kinzie et al. (2008), there should be a sense of urgency to get Black students engaged and involved because many perceive the college environment as less supportive, and student involvement has been shown to be positively correlated with perception of campus support and satisfaction. Decades of research suggest that student involvement has a significant impact on persistence and retention for Black college students (Astin, 1993; Astin et al., 2010; Flowers, 2004; Kuh, 1993, 1994). Kuh (1994) and Astin (1993) suggest that student involvement positively mitigates the relationship of pre-college characteristics with measures of success for Black college students. Flowers confirmed that involvement has a positive impact on academic and social integration, student development, and persistence for Black students (2004).

Counterspaces.

Students of color have become involved in meaningful ways. One of these is the creation of counterspaces that foster their own learning and provide supportive

environments where experiences are valued and validated (Allen & Solórzano, 2001).

These safe spaces challenge the dominant deficit notions of people of color (stereotypes)

and promote a positive racial climate. Counterspaces have been identified as essential for

the academic survival of Black students (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Black students

who talk to others about their racial experiences had higher grade point averages than

those who did not talk with others (Powell & Jacob Arriola, 2003).

Cross-racial interactions.

Although counterspaces are valuable, they often limit valuable cross-racial

interactions between White students and students of color (Harper & Hurtado, 2007).

Chang (2001) and Strayhorn (2008) built on Astin and Tinto's earlier findings to show that

regardless of race, first-generation status, or year in school, college satisfaction was

positively influenced by cross-racial interactions. Chang noted that socializing with

students of other racial groups is positively associated with self-concept and resulted in

higher retention and satisfaction.

For Black males, positive diverse interactions mitigate the effects of perceived racial

tension and improved sense of belonging for Black males (Hurtado, 2001; Locks et al.,

2008; Maestas et al., 2007; Sáenz, 2010; and Strayhorn, 2008). According to Strayhorn

(2008), socializing with peers whose race differs from one's own is more significant a

predictor of Black males' sense of belonging than background or grades. Black students

who are comfortable interacting with Whites adjust better to college, and thus have more

success (Chang, 1999), while strong Black identity is a protective factor for the well-being

of Black students at PWI's (Chavous et al., 2002; Parham & Helms, 1985). Thus, campus

involvement which results in diverse interactions, cross-racial interactions, and

interactions with peers of different interests are particularly significant predictors for sense of belonging and success for Black college students (Chang et al., 2006; Kuh et al., 2008; Kuh et al., 2010; Locks et al., 2008; Maestas et al., 2007; Sáenz, 2010; Steward, Jackson, & Jackson, 1990; Strayhorn, 2008).

Research has also shown benefits of diverse interactions for all students, including majority students. Several findings have shown cross-racial engagement to be beneficial for undergraduates on multiple levels, such as improved cognitive development (Astin, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Hurtado, 2001), positive self-concept (Chang, 1999; Sáenz, 2010), development of leadership skills and cultural awareness (Astin, 1993; Jayakumar, 2008), increased civic engagement (Hurtado, 2001), college satisfaction (Astin, 1993, Chang, 1999;), improved campus climate perceptions (Byron, Ferry, Garcia, & Lowe, 2013), and long-term increased pluralistic orientation (Jayakumar, 2008). Chang (2001) and Strayhorn (2008) built on Astin and Tinto's earlier findings to show that regardless of race, first-generation status, or year in school, college satisfaction was positively influenced by cross-racial interactions. Chang (2001) noted that socializing with students of other racial groups is positively associated with self-concept and resulted in higher retention and satisfaction. Additionally, Nelson Laird, Engberg, and Hurtado (2005) found a significant effect for enrollment in a diversity course on positive interaction with diverse peers and social action engagement, which supported findings from a previous study by Chang (2002).

College students who have interactions with diverse peers (race, perspectives, and interests) show greater openness to diverse perspectives and willingness to challenge their own beliefs (Pascarella et el., 1996). Diverse interactions in college could actually interrupt

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long-standing segregation trends in society, reducing biases, stereotypes, and anxiety toward racially different people (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 2001; Sáenz, 2000).

Locks et al. (2008) found that the positive effects of cross-racial interaction were held even when the interaction was controlled. Sáenz (2010) argues, drawing on Allport's (1954) model of positive intergroup contact, that cross-racial interactions "create opportunities for social contact in a shared environment, where the groups have equal status, cooperate on a common task, perceive that they are working toward a common goal, and where the contact is sanctioned by the institutional authorities" (p. 7). According to Sáenz, these interactions provide invaluable opportunities for all students and begin to pave the road for a positive campus racial climate. Thus, to feel a sense of belonging, it is not only important to interact frequently with one's peers but also to engage with a diverse range of peers in a substantive manner. This finding is consistent with previous research emphasizing that the quality of interactions with diverse peers—not merely the presence of diverse peers—is important (e.g., Chang, Denson, Sáenz, & Misa, 2006; Gurin, Lehman, & Lewis, 2004; Hurtado, 2003; Sáenz, Ngai, & Hurtado, 2007).

In terms of cross-racial comfort, though some researchers have asserted that positive diverse interactions improve cross-racial comfort (Locks et al., 2008) and that Black students who are comfortable interacting with White students experience better adjustment to the college environment (Adan & Feiner, 1995; Fordham, 1988), others have shown that Black students respond differently than White students to level of social comfort. For Whites, less social comfort with Blacks was correlated with higher adjustment. And, for Blacks, higher social comfort with Blacks and less comfort with

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Whites was correlated with better adjustment, as was higher comfort with Whites. The effects of social comfort, overall, were greater for Blacks (McDonald, 2007).

Racial Identity Development

Racial identity attitude is associated with emotional and academic success (Campbell & Fleming, 2000; Parham & Helms, 1095). Tatum (2003) defines racial identity development as "the process of defining for oneself the personal significance and social meaning of belonging to a particular racial group," (p. 16) and Helms & Cook (1999) assert that racial identity is an internalized psychological process through which individuals move toward a healthy racial self-concept despite the prevalent experiences of racism and oppression around them. Helms (1993) explained racial identity as a sense of collective identity based on an individual's perception that they share a common racial heritage with a particular racial group. So, it is not about skin color, but about the perception of belonging to a particular racial culture (Campbell & Fleming, 2000). There are at least three models considering black racial identity: double consciousness (W.E.B. DuBois, 1903), self-hatred (Clark and Clark 1939), and Nigrescence (Cross 1971; Parham and Helms 1985; Cross and Vandiver 2001).

As a result of racialized experiences, stereotypes, and stereotype threat, Black students suffer what W. E. DuBois coined a "double consciousness." In his 1903 work, *The Souls of Black Folk*, DuBois described double conscious as a situation where Black people are effectively forced to take on two identities as they are compelled to see themselves through the eyes of White people. Their souls are at war between their African-rooted culture and the dominant White culture. In the words of DuBois, "It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of

others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (1903, p. 5).

Early research on Black identity began around 1939 with Clark & Clark's thesis on self-hatred. Their self-hatred model was founded on two studies of Black preschooler doll choice (1939, 1940). When presented with the option of a Black doll or a White doll and asked to choose the one that represented their race, some selected the White doll. Clark & Clark concluded from this that Black children had developed a hatred for their own race after experiencing long-term racism and discrimination, resulting in a desire to be White.

Cross (1991) and then Helms (1995) saw these early studies had ignored the important role that personal identification and reference group orientation plays in the development of Black identity. According to Cross, racial identity is a "psychogenic process." Thus, Cross developed a Nigrescence Model to explain the healthy progression of Black identity development. Cross (1991) defines Nigrescence as a "resocializing experience [that] explains how Black adults are transformed by a series of circumstances and events into persons who are more Black or Afrocentrically aligned" (p.190). Although the original model includes five stages (Cross 1971), the revised model includes four (Cross 1991). Through these stages, individuals become well adjusted in society and learn to fully embrace and appreciate their Blackness by transforming from pro-White toward Pro-Black attitudes. The four stages are: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization.

The Pre-encounter stage is associated with anti-Black, pro-White ideology. The individual in this stage is consumed with assimilating and with being accepted by White

members of society. A pre-encounter individual may deny that race has any impact on their life and may be confused as to why they cannot connect better with White people.

The Encounter stage highlights the importance of an encounter with racial discrimination in the process of black racial identity development. This "encounter can be 'a single event' or a 'series of small, eye-opening episodes" (Vandiver et. al. 2002, p. 168). These experiences are then associated with the onset of the Immersion-Emersion stage. In this second stage, individuals immerse themselves in a pro-black ideology as a response to the experienced event(s) of racial discrimination. The emersion part of this stage involves a completely pro-Black, anti-White ideology, where the individual completely surrounds themself with everything Black and avoids or isolates from anything White.

Eventually, the individual will "emerge" from the Immersion-Emersion stage and move into the Internalization stage, which is comprised of three possible orientations: Black Nationalist, Bi-culturalist and Multi-culturalist. All of the orientations similarly represent the individual being well adjusted in their racial identity. They are comfortable being Black in society.

It is difficult to tell from the literature what is more important for the success of Black students at PWIs: positive attitude toward Whites or toward one's own racial/ethnic group (McDonald, et al. 2007), but the application of the Nigrescence Model to research examining Black college students illustrates the important influence that racial identity may have on perception of racial climate. Thomas Parham and Janet Helms (1985) developed the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS), which is used to measure the racial attitude identity development of Black individuals according to the Nigrescence model. Research has supported the construct validity of the RIAS scale (Fischer et al. 1998).

Successful Programs Aimed to Improve Black Male Achievement

A number of success stories support what the research has found about the effects of mentorship, involvement, and sense of belonging on persistence for Black college students at PWI's. Shaun Harper highlights the successes of individual Black male college students, pointing out that campus involvement and mentorship played huge roles the success of these men (2007, 2012). But, beyond these individual stories of success, there are a number of exemplary programs and initiatives for educators to draw upon that have shown promising results in improving Black male student achievement (Harper, 2012). PWI's that succeed today in retaining underrepresented students are innovative and clear in their approach, paying attention to students' backgrounds, needs, and expectations (Brotherton, 2001).

Two programs that have been very successful at improving the retention of Black male undergraduates include The University of Alabama's (UAB) BMEN program and the University of Maryland's Student Success Initiative. The UAB BMEN program provides both academic and social support. BMEN accepts students from all ethnic backgrounds, but is designed to provide academic and social support to Black male students entering UAB. BMEN's overall goal is to improve the quality of life for the new student by partnering a new student with a returning student and staff, who provide information on navigating the collegiate experience inside and outside the classroom. BMEN touts a graduation rate of 57% among its BMEN retention program for Black males (compared to 34%, nationally). The University of Maryland at College Park's Student Success Initiative has also shown significant gains in its Black male student graduation rate—from 65.0% to 72.4% over the past four years. For Black male first-year students in the fall of 2013 who had a 2.3 grade

point average or better, 100% returned for the spring semester. More than 89% of the Black male students who had a grade point average lower than 2.3 also returned for the spring semester (How the University of Maryland Boosted Black Male Retention, 2015).

One of the most successful mentoring initiatives resulting in marked results for underrepresented students is the San Diego State University's Faculty/Student Mentoring Program. The program, which was awarded the Retention Excellence Award at the National Conference on Student Retention in 2001, pairs 700 underrepresented students with older student mentors and faculty mentors. Mentors meet with their mentees weekly to help them adjust to the campus and college life by completing 21 competencies that focus on university resources and requirements, in addition to academic and personal success. Participants in the program have consistently higher retention rates than non-participants, and report a higher sense of satisfaction and belonging (Brotherton, 2001).

Mentoring is only one factor leading to persistence for Black college students. Involvement has been shown to be significant and is clearly illustrated in the Black Men's Collective (BMC) at Rutger's, New Jersey. An intra-university initiative created in 1992 to address the high attrition rate of Black males, BMC offers a way for Black males to become involved on their campus in several meaningful ways. The program was originally designed to create a forum to connect with other Black men, and specifically to interact with students of diverse economic, political, cultural, and social perspectives in order to cultivate awareness and understanding of others, but it has grown into something much bigger. The program now provides a number of involvement and leadership development opportunities—coordinating projects and activities for the group, mentoring other students, working with alumni and faculty, or serving in formal leadership roles. Some of

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the events BMC sponsors include the annual Cultural and Academic Bonding Workshop for first-year Black male students and concurrent parents' workshop, the Black Men's retreat, a Kwanzaa celebration, and peer mentoring. Although there is no formal research on the success of this program, participants have expressed satisfaction and sense of belonging, and it is notable that several of the current staff and faculty at Rutger's were former participants of this program (Catching, 2009).

Just as mentoring and involvement are clearly correlated with persistence, creating a sense of belonging is intrinsically important. The University of California, Irvine School of Social Sciences' Summer Academic Enrichment Program (SAEP) provides a model for fostering sense of belonging for underrepresented students. This program was designed to serve underrepresented students who were traditionally seen as "at risk" and to prepare them for successful admission and completion of graduate school. The program is a five-week intensive residential program where students receive an orientation to graduate education, meet and learn from prominent faculty about current research, receive instruction in research methods, statistics and communication skills, and complete the program with an original research proposal that is presented to an open audience. Participants are mentored closely throughout their college careers and beyond. They are strongly encouraged to participate in research and other co-curricular activities and to take advantage of all campus resources. Participants have reported a significantly improved comfort with and sense of belonging to the campus, which has directly affected their persistence. More than 95% of participants earn their bachelor degree and more than two-thirds have graduated from or are currently enrolled in graduate programs, many at the most prestigious colleges and universities across the country.

Very few programs have focused on creating meaningful cross-racial interactions and diversity training. However, one stands out in the literature, The Multi-Racial Unity Living Experience (MRULE) program at Michigan State University. Created in 1996, and still running today, the program promotes integration among students by building a multi-racial community of students from diverse backgrounds. MRULE is based on three pillars: social justice, human agency, and action research. Volunteer participants engage in non-threatening, round table dialogues held in their dormitories once per week for one hour. The dialogues allow participants to discuss, learn, and debate racial issues, and to relate those issues to their own lives. The program also involves monthly socials and one community service event per semester to help build community and trust. Researchers found that students who participated in the program held significantly more positive attitudes about the campus climate, interacted cross-racially more often, and displayed more accurate knowledge about race issues compared to control groups (Muthuswamy, Levine, & Gazel, 2007).

Though these inspiring models may be difficult to replicate to achieve the exact same results (Harper, 2012), other institutions can learn from them the importance of institutional dedication to retention, mentorship, and faculty involvement (Strayhorn and Terrell, 2007).

Gaps in the Research

The literature on persistence among Black male undergraduates has shown perception of campus climate, as well as quality and amount of interaction with diverse peers (cross-racial interaction), to be correlated with sense of belonging (which is correlated with persistence). However, few studies focus on how diversity programs that

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incorporate meaningful cross-racial interactions around race affect perception of campus climate and persistence for Black male college students. Of the few studies that do incorporate these interactions, most collapse all non-White-only participants into one single group, "students of color," when, in reality, students of color who are from different racial backgrounds have very different experiences from each other. Strayhorn (2010), for example, found that Black males differ from their Latino male counterparts in a number of significant ways in terms of what motivates them to persist and achieve in college. Additionally, many of these studies are either qualitative or quantitative, but do not utilize both methods effectively to inform each other.

Since it is apparent that campus racial climate and sense of belonging are strong indicators of persistence, much more detailed analysis of factors contributing to positive perceptions for Black males is needed to recognize the underlying patterns. Strayhorn (2008) suggests that qualitative approaches might help to show how Black male students negotiate cross-racial interactions, while surveys will contribute to understanding what it is about these interactions that contribute to positive educational outcomes. Additional studies should focus on whether involvement in certain types of activities matter more in terms of improving perceptions of campus climate.

Conceptual Framework

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory provides a valuable framework for this study as it links the effects of microaggressions on student involvement. Critical race theory, though initially emerged in legal studies, extends to a broad range of disciplines such as education (Ladson-

Billings, 1995; Solórzano, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Tate. 1997). According to

Solórzano, critical race theory challenges dominant ideologies and centers race and racism

in the analysis of interactions. It is committed to social justice through transformative

responses to oppression and it identifies experiential knowledge as appropriate and

legitimate for students of color. Finally, critical race theory stresses an interdisciplinary

perspective that demands an analysis of race and racism in education through both a

historical and contemporary context (2000). Critical race theory advocates for the

leveraging of the experiences of students of color through counter-story- telling narratives.

Counter-story telling brings voice to students of color (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995;

Harper, 2009; Solórzano & Yosso, 2009).

Critical race theory provides an important model for studying race issues. Studies

with a critical race focus benefit from providing a lens through which to apply involvement

theory in more meaningful ways by placing race and racism as central issues. Further, this

focus provides a means for students to leverage their experiential knowledge, thus

validating those experiences and allowing us to learn directly from them and with them.

Anti-Deficit Achievement Framework

Harper's (2010) Anti-Deficit Achievement Framework "inverts commonly pursued

research questions about Black male students' pathways to and through college" (p.142).

The framework is intended to alter traditionally conceived notions and approaches to

Black male achievement by focusing on the institutional practices and policies, and the

individual and communal capital that facilitates Black male success in education. This is an

important framework to help researchers find solutions to Black male success that validate

existing resources, both institutional and individual, and call into question institutional

responsibilities and behaviors (Harper, 2012).

Positive Intergroup Contact and Theory of Intergroup Dialogue

Intergroup dialogue theory draws upon Allport's (1954) model of positive

intergroup contact, which asserts that cross-racial interactions that create opportunities

for social contact in a shared environment where the groups have equal status and work

toward a common goal would provide invaluable opportunities for all students and begin

to pave the road for a positive campus racial climate (Sáenz, 2010). The benefits of positive

intergroup contact are well documented in the literature (Chang, Denson, Sáenz, & Misa,

2006; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2003; Locks et al., 2008; Sáenz, Ngai, & Hurtado, 2007).

Intergroup dialogue is the facilitated face-to-face interaction aimed to cultivate

meaningful engagement between members of two or more identity groups that have had a

history of conflict (Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron, 2007). The objective of intergroup

dialogue is to provide a safe space for students to learn across differences, with a particular

focus on examining structures of power and privilege, equity and social justice. Intergroup

dialogue is distinguished from traditional pedagogical styles in the following ways: (1) the

course structure is designed for active and engaged learning; (2) the structure is balanced

between content (instruction and reading) and process (critical reflection and dialogue);

(3) it provides structured interaction through small groups of students with equal

representation, and that interaction is facilitated by trained peers-leaders (Nagda, Gurin,

Sorensen, & Zúñiga, 2009; Zúñiga et al., 2007). Sustained interaction facilitates the

development of relationships for more meaningful engagement. The critical-dialogue

approach is often used to promote discussions about controversial topics through collaborative learning across differences (Schoem, et al., 2001; Zúñiga & Nagda, 2001).

Though the interactions are structured and facilitated, communication is organic—it flows in different directions as feelings and perceptions are shared around prompts. In this manner, participants develop critical analytical perspectives on power structures and the societal norms and environments that influence their interactions and positionalities. Through critical analysis, participants are encouraged to take action to change structures and improve their environments in order to improve their relationships across groups. Participants reflect on the extent to which they feel prepared to take action for social justice by identifying avenues for change and the support they would require (Zúñiga, 2004). Kuttab and Kaufhian (1988) found that members of oppressed groups are "generally ready and eager for dialogue" (p. 84). This finding, combined with findings of other researchers around the efficacy of intergroup dialogue in improving relations across race, demonstrates the emergence of intergroup dialogue as a vital intervention to explore in resolving campus climate concerns.

Theory of Involvement and Validation Theory

Rendón's Validation Theory (2000) confirms Astin's assertion that students who are more involved experience higher levels of academic success. However, her study revealed that, for students of color, "when external agents took the initiative to validate students, academically, and/or interpersonally, students began to believe they could be successful" (40).

Though Rendón agreed with Astin on the importance of involvement, she argued that Astin's theory fell short for students of color in its implication that getting involved is

something students are supposed to do on their own. Instead, Rendón advocated for an active role in the institution to encourage and motivate student involvement. In this way, Rendón render's Astin's theory accessible to students of color who have traditionally involved themselves at lower levels than their White peers.

Psychosociocultural Model

Gloria and Rodriguez (2000) present a model by which to understand the psychological, social, and cultural dimensions of a student's college life that impact success. The psychosociocultural (PSC) model is a framework with combined measurements using a cultural congruity and institutional environment scale (Gloria & Robinson Kurpius, 1996) and has been used in studying racial ethnic minority (REM) college-aged students (Castellanos & Gloria, 2007; Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000).

The PSC model investigates three factors leading to student adjustment and persistence among racial-ethnic minority college students: psychological (self-esteem, motivation, and self-efficacy in the personal adjustment of the students), social (family, peer, and faculty/staff mentorship which are vital sources of support for students), and cultural (ethnic identity, acculturation, and cultural congruity which leads to a positive campus climate experience) (Castellanos & Gloria, 2007; Gloria & Castellanos, 2003; Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000). Though this model has rarely been applied to studies around Black male college student success, the model provides a holistic approach to understanding the experiences that lend themselves to the success of Black students.

Conclusion

Although there is some dispute over the necessity of obtaining a college degree in order to be successful, it is widely accepted that a high school diploma is not sufficient to live a comfortable lifestyle that surpasses that of one's parents. Low rates of baccalaureate attainment for minorities pose negative consequences for students, institutions, and broader society (Baum & Payea, 2005; Swail, 2004). For individual students, this includes "foregone wages, accrued debt from unsuccessful educational endeavors, and lower lifetime earnings" (Museus & Neville, 2012). According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (2010), a person with a high school diploma earned about half that of someone with a bachelor degree. Stiff-Williams (2007) cites that average Black unemployment rates for college graduates are less than half of that for Blacks with only a high school diploma. The only parity in annual wages between Blacks and Whites is when Blacks are college graduates (King, 2002). As Milner (2013) points out, "educational attainment matters" (p. 172).

Beyond individual benefits, the benefits of higher education attainment to broader society are worth over a billion dollars in savings due to increased tax revenues, greater productivity, increased consumption, increased workforce flexibility, improved health, decreased reliance on government support, reduced crime, increased charitable giving, increased quality of civic life, social cohesion, and appreciation of diversity (Stiff-Williams, 2007). It is evident that there is a strong individual and societal need for improving policies and developing best practices around retention, particularly for Black males (Museus & Neville, 2012). In light of the impact to society of an undereducated population,

it is imperative that all young persons today have equal opportunity to achieve higher education.

Yet, gaps in degree attainment remain persistent along racial lines. Even after controlling for pre-college characteristics and within college experiences, differences remain; underrepresented students of color persist at much lower rates than their peers (Astin & Oseguera, 2004; Dey & Astin, 1993; Oseguera, 2006). Less than half of all Black students who start college at a four-year institution graduate in six years or less (Carey, 2008). The majority of strategies to address this issue have been aimed at correction or changing Black students, while failing to look at what institutional agents must do (Harvey-Smith, 2002).

Institutions of higher education have done a pretty good job of increasing the diversity on their campuses. However, representational racial diversity is insufficient by itself in eliminating longstanding issues of equity and providing meaningful ways for students to develop interaction skills across race. As neighborhoods become increasingly segregated in our society, students' pre-college experiences are also segregated. Oftentimes, college is the first opportunity for students to interact with diverse peers and colleges play an increasingly prominent role in preparing students for engaging in a pluralistic society (Jayakumar, 2008; Sáenz, 2010). As segregated pre-college experiences predispose students to seek out same-race peers and activities in college, institutions must deliberately seek to provide opportunities for cross-racial interaction for undergraduates. Universities must productively utilize interactional diversity, with an emphasis on issues of power, privilege, and social justice, to realize its intended benefits (Gurin, 1999; Gurin, Lehman, & Lewis, 2004; Gurin & Nagda, 2006;Hurtado, 1999).

Institutional agents are in a position to help Black students succeed (Fleming, 1984). Creating more opportunities for students to interact cross-racially on college campuses has been shown to be an effective way of not only improving sense of belonging, which would in turn improve persistence, but these cross-racial interaction would also benefit majority students. Higher levels of cross-racial interactions in college better prepared majority students for work in a diverse professional environment by increasing their comfort and likelihood to interact across race post-college. Therefore, higher education institutions "have a critical role to play in promoting diverse and pluralistic experiences despite the persistence of residential and educational segregation" (Jayakumar, 2008, p. 15).

While the works discussed in this literature review have studied the impact of a number of factors (i.e. involvement, campus climate and cross-racial interactions) on the sense of belonging and success of students of color in a variety of models, not one single study has been published to date attempting to study the impact of an institutional-initiated cross-racial diversity program on Black male perception of campus climate, from their perspective. The review of the literature highlights a need to contribute anti-deficit framed research around Black male college degree attainment. Moreover, there is a great deal more to still be understood about the experiences of Black males at traditionally White colleges—particularly, those experiences that lend themselves to success—and about what institutional agents can do to facilitate positive experiences. Given the reported benefits of involvement (Astin, 1993; Rendón, 2000), particularly those that facilitate positive intergroup contact validated and facilitated by institutional agents (Allport, 1954; Rendón, 2000; Locks et al., 2008), research should seek to understand how those interactions might improve persistence among Black males.

This study helps to fill these gaps in the research and generate more knowledge about the experiences of Black students on White campuses. Through the application of critical race theory, this study gives a voice to Black males, allowing them to teach us about their resilience in the face of racialized experiences. Further, this study applies a multi-faceted approach to understanding a multi-faceted problem: utilizing a psychosociocultural lens, this research highlights a triangle of factors that work together to shape the experiences and perceptions of Black males in college.   Most importantly, this study offers a model for institutional agents to take responsibility to improve the experiences of Black males on their campuses.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study investigated the intersections of perceptions of campus climate with race, gender and cross-racial interactions for undergraduates. This research addressed the following questions:

1. What are the perceptions of the campus racial climate among Black males, compared with other students?

   a. According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences that contribute to their perceptions of campus racial climate?

2. What is the association, if any, between reported frequency of cross-racial interactions and perceptions of campus racial climate for Black male undergraduates, compared with other students?

   a. According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences that contribute to their frequency and quality of cross-racial interactions?

3. What is the impact of participation in a cross-racial campus climate student empowerment program on Black male undergraduate perceptions of campus racial climate, cross-racial comfort, cross-racial interaction, and awareness of other student perceptions, compared with other students?

   a. According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences on the campus and in the course that impact their perceptions and decisions to persist, if any?

Research Design

Guided by a psychosociocultural (PSC) framework, grounded in theory –

particularly, involvement and validation theories, as well as positive intergroup theories,

and informed by evidence of the gap in college degree attainment for Black male college

students compared with other students, my dissertation examined the impact of a cross-

racial, campus climate student empowerment course on perceptions of campus racial

climate among Black male undergraduates, compared with non-Black male

undergraduates. Specifically, Gloria and Rodriguez' (2000) psychosociocultural (PSC)

model directed the study's aim to understand the interaction of participation in a cross-

racial campus climate empowerment course and students' psychological (self-beliefs and

self-efficacy), social (perceived social support), and cultural dimensions (perceived factors

that facilitate or hinder one's comfort in the university environment) with campus climate

satisfaction.

Further, Critical race theory and Anti-Deficit-Frameworks guided this study in its

intent to gather deeper data from Black males about their specific experiences and

perceptions related to campus racial climate. Critical race theory presents a framework to

understand the experiences of students of color within the educational system (Howard,

2014). Critical race theory asserts that race and racism are appropriate critical lenses with

which to study the high attrition rates of students of color within higher education,

examine racism and racial microagressions, and understand campus climate (Ladson-

Billings & Tate, 1995). Thus, this study sought to understand how Black males experience

and perceive the campus racial climate and how cross-racial interactions influence those

perceptions. Secondary findings revealed the impact of participation in the intervention on non-Black student awareness and sensitivity to the experiences of marginalized students.

This study focused on undergraduates from a highly selective, traditionally White public research institution on the West Coast. The course used for this study is part of an action research pilot program, the Student Empowerment Program, I previously designed and conducted at this institution. The main focus of the course was to create a space for students to share their perspectives on race and the campus racial climate, and to empower students to collectively improve the campus climate. The instructor selected class participants with the intent of creating a racially diverse cohort of 30-35 to be enrolled in the Student Empowerment course. Anything larger would prove difficult to engage in meaningful and difficult dialogue. Participants were recruited via e-mail, fliers, and word of mouth. Black students were overrepresented in order to create an environment of equal status (Allport, 1954; Sáenz, 2010) that would lend itself to a more comfortable space for Black students to openly share about their perceptions and experiences.

The goal of the course is best explained by Sáenz (2010) who argues, drawing on Allport's model of positive intergroup contact, cross-racial interactions that "create opportunities for social contact in a shared environment where the groups have equal status, cooperate on a common task, perceive that they are working toward a common goal, and where the contact is sanctioned by the institutional authorities" (p. 7) would provide invaluable opportunities for all students and begin to pave the road for a positive campus racial climate. Gordon Allport (1954) has offered perhaps the most widely recognized theory about the benefits and dynamics of cross-racial interaction or contact (intergroup contact).

The course occurred over a period of two academic quarters. For the first quarter of the course, students were introduced to a new topic related to equity, diversity and inclusion each week via guest speaker, video, and/or article (see Appendix F, Brief Course Outline). After 30-45 minutes of topic introduction, students wrote about their perceptions on the topic; they were then split up into small groups of four-to-five, where they spent 30-45 minutes in dialogue, sharing their perspectives with each other. The small groups are selected by the course instructor prior to the beginning of class, with the primary goal of creating racial diversity. Following small group discussion, the students spent 20-30 minutes in dialogue with the entire class. Each week, students were assigned a journal prompt to reflect on the class and to begin thinking about the topic for the following week. Journals were made due two days prior to the next class. Toward the end of the first quarter of the course, students began to explore their interest, if any, in addressing the campus climate. At the last class meeting, students self-selected into one of three project groups intended to address the campus climate: Policy, Programming, or Research. The second quarter of the course devoted equal time to the pursuit of group project proposals and dialogue on current events related to racial climate on college campuses. The three project areas offer options for students to pursue a project of their interest. Additionally, participants were able to access the experience of faculty and administrators who regularly engage in the three areas as they sought their guidance in the preparation of their proposals.

Grounded on Allport's intergroup theory that groups should not simply be diversified without educationally purposeful interventions to improve intergroup relations, the second section of the course devoted equal time to the pursuit of group project

proposals aimed at addressing the campus climate and dialogue on current events related

to racial climate on college campuses. The group projects served what Sáenz (2010) refers

to as a common goal among participants. Students were offered assistance to carry out

their projects under the direction of a faculty member or administrator, if they so chose,

which added what Allport refers to as "institutional sanctioning."

A mixed-methods approach was used. Mixed research involves the mixing of

quantitative and qualitative methods that have complementary strengths and

nonoverlapping weaknesses (Brewer & Hunter, 1989; Johnson & Turner, 2003;

Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2004; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998, 2003). This mixed-methods

approach was the most optimal for several reasons: 1) the methods provided for

triangulation and complementarity (putting together different approaches, methods, and

strategies in multiple and creative ways) thus promoting the accuracy of findings; 2)

qualitative methods would have been very difficult to administer to a sample of over 500;

and 3) quantitative methods, alone, would not have answered the research questions

specific to Black males providing their counter-story. As Howard (2014) states, "Though

many studies have articulated the need for…stronger approaches to African American

males at Predominately White Institutions (PWIs), many have not engaged the qualitative

arena that provides the voices of the students themselves in providing their own critique of

University experiences" (p.7). Critical race theory explains the importance of counter-

story- telling narratives as it brings voice to students of color (Ladson-Billings & Tate,

1995, Harper, 2009, & Yosso, 2009). Based on that framework, this study used a mixed-

methods approach centered on the experiences of Black males in investigating their

perceptions of campus climate and their experiences at a traditionally White institution.

This mixed-methods study consisted of surveys (see Appendix A), semi-structured interviews (see Appendix B) and journals. At the first class meeting, students in the class were informed about the study, given a study information sheet (see Appendix H) and were provided the opportunity to decide whether or not they wished to participate. All 29 students enrolled in the course agreed to participate.

Initial surveys were administered after the first class meeting to those who chose to participate and were due before the second class. These surveys collected demographic information and measured perceptions of campus climate, awareness of diverse perceptions, cross-racial interaction, cross-racial comfort, and pre-college diversity exposure. Surveys also measured group identity; Black participants were administered the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black (RIAS-B). All students who opted to participate agreed to allow the researcher to analyze their weekly journals and in-class writings, which were collected and redacted by the instructor.

Post-surveys were administered after the last class of the program via google docs and were due prior to the end of finals week for that academic quarter. These surveys, along with the journals, measured changes from initial surveys in four areas: perceptions of campus racial climate; frequency of cross-racial interactions; awareness of diverse student perceptions and experiences; and cross-racial comfort.

Students who agreed to participate were also interviewed—once during the first two weeks of their participation in the course and again during week following the final class. The qualitative interviews gathered data about the students' experiences related to campus racial climate, their cross-racial interactions, and their participation in the course.

Strategies of Inquiry

Rationale for Study Site

I conducted this study at a highly selective research university on the West Coast. Though this institution is a traditionally White institution, the current student demographic make-up is mixed-race. This institution was selected because of it's appropriateness for the study. The gaps in graduation rates closely mirror gaps reflected in national rates for similar institutions. This institution's total student population is between 25,000-30,000, of which 20,000-25,000 are undergraduates. White undergraduate students make up approximately 15% of the student body, while Asians make up 56%, Latinos 24% and Blacks 3% (the remainder includes one percent Native American, and 1.3% other). Four-year retention rates for Black undergraduate students fall more than 10% below the White students and 12% below Asian students. The gender gap is 25% for Black students, while only 9% for Asian students, 12% for Latina/o students, and 14% for White students. Though six-year graduation rates are better for Black students at this institution, compared with the national data (only 4% and 9% below White and Asian students, respectively), the gender gap is astonishingly greater. Where the gender gap for Black students is double that of Whites and Asians nationally, it is triple that of Whites and twelve times that of Asians at this institution (see Tables 1-1 and 1-2).

Further, there is a long history of racial incidents and racial tensions at this institution. Most of the publicized incidents have involved cultural appropriation, discrimination, or racism, directed toward Black and Latino students, as noted in news reports and student proclamations. Beginning in Fall 2012, the institution implemented a survey on campus climate. Results were not released for nearly a year. The report, finally

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released in March 2014, was vague at best, with inconsistent reporting of results. Some of the reported findings were inclusive of all respondents (faculty, staff, graduate students and undergraduate students) while a few findings were reported separately for students and staff. Where results were specific to marginalized communities (transgender, disabled, LGBQ, for example), specific statistical results were avoided in lieu of general statements about the findings. Although the report indicated that a majority of all respondents were comfortable with the climate, more than 20% of respondents reported having been subjected to discriminatory or racist treatment, with minority respondents reporting this at a higher rate than White respondents. Gaps in the survey and weaknesses in the report include: a) lack of delineation by race; b) lack of delineation by position on campus (staff, faculty or student); and c) failure to gain information from respondents about what needs to change in order to improve the campus climate, or what is being done well. As Hurtado, et al. state (2008), a valuable use of climate assessments would be to also understand the impact of campus-facilitated experiences intended to address campus climate concerns. Though the gaps make it difficult to know what is really going on, it is clear that there are areas of improvement.

Despite the emergence of campus climate data indicating poor perceptions among minority respondents, there has been no formal student program implemented to address the campus climate for marginalized students at the study site. There are several programs that existed previous to the survey, aimed at improving success for students of color. But, definitions of success for these programs typically range from admittance to graduate school to completion of research projects. In addition, these programs are not studied in depth. This was the primary justification for designing the pilot course and study last year.

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Since the implementation of my pilot program last year, the campus created a mentoring program for Black male undergraduates though its goals and measures of success are unclear to the campus-at-large. And, there is some resistance to the program among some of the Black faculty and staff. Also since the design of the pilot study, campus administration implemented several campus climate committees as their chief method of addressing issues raised by the campus climate survey. The goal of these committees is to improve the campus climate through development and implementation of community events to build community and promote equity. Yet, the scope of authority and measure of accountability for these committees is ambiguous.

In Spring 2013, a Black student campus organization released a public statement (the second within a year), through which they cited many such incidents of racism and micro-aggressions that had occurred over the past several years at California University. In January 2015, another public statement was released by representatives of the same organization with a list of demands for the campus administration to improve the experience for Black students on the campus. As a result of those demands and a public "teach-in" where student representatives voiced strong frustrations of being disregarded, a task force was instituted by campus administration to specifically address the student demands. However, tension still exists between and among administrators, faculty and students on the subject and in January 2016, the Black student organization released another set of demands for campus administrators.

It is important for minority groups to feel comfortable in order to ensure their success, and to ensure that our institutions are racially and culturally diverse (Astin, 1993; Chang, 1999; Hurtado, 2001; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Sáenz, 2010). One student

recently proclaimed to a local news reporter, "As a student — as a Black student — I have a right to feel safe and protected on my campus." Black and Latino students have had the lowest retention and graduation rates, compared with Whites and Asians. This could be at least partially attributed to perceptions of campus climate.   According to Fischer (2007), persistence for Black male college students at PWIs is affected by their perception of campus climate.

Study Population

There were three groups of undergraduates in this study: the treatment group, a comparison group, and a control group. The purpose of these three study groups was to improve the validity of the findings. Participants were recruited from the campus via email, fliers, and word of mouth (snowball sampling). Participants self-identified their race by how *others* view them. This is because their experience is often most associated with how others identify them. For purposes of this study, there were four options, as I am looking at a comparison between the four main racial groups: Black, White, Latina/o, and Asian/API. Native Americans were not included because of sheer lack of numbers on the campus. Of all 508 respondents, 7.7% were Black, 27.8% were Latina/o, 48.1% were Asian, and 16.4% were White.

Treatment Group.

The treatment group consisted of 29 undergraduates. Per the design of the course, the students were selected with the intention of creating a racially diverse cohort, as previously discussed. Of the 29 students, eight (28%) were Black males. Specific

demographics are discussed in detail in the next chapter. To strengthen validity, a control and a comparison group were also studied.

Control Group.

Pre- and post-surveys were administered to a control group of 393 undergraduates who completed both the pre- and the post- surveys. Of the 393 respondents, 40% respondents were male and 60% were female. 2.5% were Black male. The surveys were administered to this group on the same schedule as the treatment group. Participants were recruited via campus-wide e-mail, fliers, Facebook announcements, and snow-ball recruitment. Students were also recruited via an on-campus research lab. Students were guided to a link to the survey and incentives were offered in the form of an entry into a drawing for one of three iPods (see Appendix I).

Comparison Group.

To control for self-selection bias, a comparison group was studied against the treatment group. According to Locks, et al. (2008), students who say they are likely to engage in diverse activities have less anxiety about cross-racial interaction and are often predisposed to multicultural competencies that drive their interest. Therefore, this group of students who had expressed interest in participating in a diversity program but had not yet done so took pre- and post-surveys on the same timeline as the treatment group. Participants were included in the same incentive program as the control group. Of the 85 participants in the comparison group, 30% of respondents were male while 70% were female. 4.7% were Black male.

Data Collection Methods

Since the goals of the study included comparing groups of undergraduates, as well as to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of Black male undergraduates, a mixed-methods approach will be used, consisting of survey (Likert scale), semi-structured interview and written document data. Surveys provided breadth of data and covered a larger sample, while journals and interviews provided greater depth to the data collected in the surveys. Additionally, the qualitative data provided the platform for the voices of Black male participants. Additionally, this approach provided for triangulation and complementarity, thus promoting clarity and accuracy of findings.

Quantitative Data Collection.

Pre-surveys collected demographic information and measured perceptions of campus climate, awareness of differing perceptions, cross-racial student involvement, and pre-college diversity exposure. Post-surveys and written documents measured changes from initial surveys to examine the impact of the intervention. The surveys were administered to three groups: the treatment group, a control group, and, to control for self-selection bias, a comparison group, as described above. The surveys were administered to each of the three groups simultaneously. All surveys were anonymous: participants were issued a unique code that was the first letter of their last name and the last four numbers of their student ID number.

Qualitative Data Collection: Interviews.

Intervention participants partook in semi-structured interviews to gather gain richer detail on student experiences and to support survey and document data. Post-

interviews measured changes in perspectives, if any. In addition, the interviews gave a voice to the counter-stories of Black male undergraduates. All interviews were conducted during the same time period, as described above. Each interview was recorded using a digital recorder. Notes were also taken and kept by the interviewer. Interviews were transcribed and names were redacted in lieu of the participant's unique identifier code.

Qualitative Data Collection: Documents. Weekly journals and in-class writings of all intervention participants were analyzed to gain further information on student understandings, perceptions, and impact of the intervention, if any. The journals were anonymized upon receipt: names were blacked out and unique codes assigned.

Data Analysis Methods

Survey data was analyzed to measure changes in perception of campus climate as well as levels of cross-racial interaction and cross-racial comfort. Latent variables (scales) measured campus climate satisfaction, cross-racial comfort, and cross-racial interaction. These scales were created by calculating the average of a set of questions. Scales included: Campus Climate Satisfaction Scale (CCSS), which measured perception of campus climate; Cross-Racial Interaction Scale (CRIS), which measured level of cross-racial interaction on campus; Cross-Racial Comfort Scale (CRCS), which measured level of comfort one feels interacting cross-racially; and the Pre-College Diversity Exposure Scale (PCDS), which measured level of pre-college diversity exposure.

The quantitative data was analyzed using STATA. Analysis included use of simple regression and multiple regression analyses to look for significant predictor variables and significant differences across race, sex, or other variables. Interviews were studied to gain further insight into Black male experiences on the campus, compared with other

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participants. Both interviews and collected documents (journals) were analyzed to

measure changes in perceptions of campus climate and levels of cross-racial interaction

and comfort after participation in the intervention and to understand how the intervention

influenced those changes. Qualitative data was analyzed using unitizing and categorizing

methods adapted from Lincoln and Guba's (1985) qualitative inquiry methodology and

coded for themes (see Maxwell, 1992, 1996). The qualitative data sources were coded for

themes related to the research questions and analyzed to determine if there were changes

in perceptions and understanding of others' experiences after participation in the

intervention.

Much of the qualitative data will also be used as checks and support for quantitative

data to ensure accuracy of the data (Cresswell, 2003). Finally, The qualitative data will add

to the quantitative data by providing depth of detail about Black male student experiences,

compared with their peers. This mixed-methods approach utilized triangulation of several

data points provides for complementarity, thus strengthening validity and reliability.

Access & Role Management

My role at the site provided me with insider knowledge about issues faced by

students of color, because these students share their concerns with me—a trusted advocate

and mentor. Additionally, this role provided me access to campus data and reports. My

unofficial role as a mentor, advocate, and collaborator for students of color provided me

with insider knowledge about administrative focus on the issues (or lack, thereof).

Colleagues across the campus have often shared openly with me the institutional structures

that block their efforts to help students of color feel welcome and to succeed. Through

these conversations, it bcame apparent to me that there was an issue on the campus with

regards to the campus climate, especially for the most marginalized students, oftentimes Black students.

There are several committees and centers and departments on campus that have been "attempting" to address the issue. I was cognizant of the "political elements of the system" (Coghlan & Brannick, 2007, p. 95) I would encounter as I continued to pursue this topic. As a result, I chose to establish collaborative relationships with those who have ownership of the forces driving change.

Ethical Concerns

There are a number of ethical concerns with research that involves human subjects, especially when studying sensitive issues such as race. The first of these is the potential harmful impact of sensitive topics on individuals participating in the treatment for the study. To minimize the potential for feelings of distress from re-victimization of participants, the following steps were taken: 1) participants were completely informed prior to the start of the study about the potential impact and given the option to opt out at any time; 2) time was made available to the participants to meet one-on-one with myself or with the course facilitator at any time to discuss concerns; 3) participants were made aware of counseling center staff members, should they need to talk with someone else.

Another potential ethical concern regards anonymity and confidentiality. To ensure anonymity, all participants were assigned a unique code (as discussed earlier). All students were informed of the confidentiality of their participation, except in cases of suicide or violence. To ensure confidentiality in reporting, no participants are identified I this report by name or by description. The lead researcher was the only person who had access to participant names and assigned codes. To further protect confidentiality in the dialogues,

no visitors were allowed who were not in the program and participants were given

guidance to maintain confidentiality of their fellow-participants.

A third potential ethical issue is related to undue influenced related to positionality

of the researcher to the participants. To limit undue influence due to my dual roles as an

administrator at the site as well as the lead researcher, as well as potential conflict of

interest and data contamination, I did not facilitate or teach the course. The course was

taught by a faculty member and facilitated by a student assistant. Students were informed

that their grade in the course was completely unrelated to their decision to participate in

the study, and the information sheet clarified that there was no penalty to the student for

choosing to opt out of the study at any time (see Appendix I).

A fourth potential ethical concern in conducting this study is the methodology. It is

important in the study of race experiences to use culturally sensitive methodologies.

Guided by a Critical race theory framework, I encouraged counter-story telling in my

methodology in order to actively involve the community being studied. Additionally, I

worked to ensure that my interactions with participants remained unbiased and non-

judgmental.

Reliability and Validity

Although the small sample size of treatment group could limit generalizability it

would be difficult, if not impossible, to conduct the course in the way it is designed (small

inter-group dialogues) if the treatment group had been any larger. Furthermore, given the

nature and purpose of the data collected, the findings should be transferable and thus user

generalizability and external validity should be strong (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell,

1992; Merriman, 1998). Finally, the addition of survey administration to the entire

population (the control group) served to minimize this weakness and to improve reliability, while the administration of surveys to a comparison group helped to control for potential self-selection bias and thus further increased reliability and trustworthiness of findings.

As original instruments, the survey and interview instruments have not been widely tested. However, the instruments were revised multiple times in consultation with expert reviewers (substantive and methodological). Subsequently, cognitive interviews were conducted with several students, resulting in further revision to both instruments to improve understanding of questions. Following those revisions, the survey was pre-tested with several students to further test for understanding and ease of completion and a final test was the administration to participants in the pilot year and the following year. The survey took approximately 20-30 minutes to complete.

The interview protocol was not tested prior to the pilot study, but the pilot study served as the test for that instrument, resulting in subsequent changes. After completion of the pilot, the survey and interview data were successfully analyzed and compared against each other, as well as against data gathered from documents to verify accuracy.

In order to strengthen the validity of findings, the data was triangulated across data sources and methods. Triangulation is a "validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). Several questions in the survey were combined to create Scales (see Addendum, Cross-walk), while other questions on the survey were compared against scale results. Finally, qualitative data was analyzed and compared to the survey results. This mixed-methods approach utilized triangulation of several data points to

provide for complementarity, thus strengthening validity and reliability (Cresswell, 2003).

Summary

College student persistence has been an important topic in education for years. However, the focus of research on the topic has shifted from emphasis on cognitive factors (academic ability or achievement) and demographic factors (e.g., race) to noncogitive factors (sense of belonging and perception of campus climate) as critical to the persistence of underrepresented students (e.g., Gloria & Rodriguez, 2000; Sedlacek & Brooks, 1976; Tinto, 1982). While the negative effects of a hostile climate have been confirmed, opportunity for students to engage in meaningful interact across race improves sense of belonging and satisfaction in the climate (Hurtado et al., 2012). Studies on diverse interactions on campuses suggest that students may not necessarily engage with diverse others in formal academic surroundings, but may choose to do so through informal programs that offer more relaxed environments to cross racial boundaries (Sáenz, Ngai, & Hurtado, 2007). Yet, even in controlled environments, the positive effects of cross-racial interaction have been proven and indicate an opportunity for institutional agents to improve the sense of belonging for Black students (Locks, et al., 2008). This study examined the impact of a program that facilitated meaningful diverse interaction on Black male campus climate satisfaction. By giving voice to Black male undergraduates, We may begin to understand more deeply how their experiences, positive and negative, impact their level of satisfaction with the campus climate. By unveiling the impact of controlled environments providing positive diverse interaction, institutional agents can begin to focus efforts toward improving the sense of belonging, and thus the success, of Black male undergraduates.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Overview

This study utilized a mixed-methods approach to examine the impact of a cross-racial campus climate student empowerment course on Black male undergraduate perceptions of campus climate, compared with their peers at a highly-selective, traditionally White, public research institution on the West Coast. The methods employed allowed the researcher to measure the intersections of perception of campus climate with race, gender, cross-racial interactions, and cross-racial comfort. The following research questions guided the study:

1. What are the perceptions of the campus racial climate among Black males, compared with other students?

    a. According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences that contribute to their perceptions of campus racial climate?

2. What is the association, if any, between reported frequency of cross-racial interactions and perceptions of campus racial climate for Black male undergraduates, compared with other students?

    a. According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences that contribute to their frequency and quality of cross-racial interactions?

3. What is the impact of participation in a cross-racial campus climate student empowerment program on Black male undergraduate perceptions of campus racial climate, cross-racial comfort, cross-racial interaction, and student awareness of other student perceptions, compared with other students?

a. According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences on the campus and in the course that impact their perceptions and decisions to persist, if any?

A total of 507 subjects participated in the study. The participants were studied in three groups: the treatment group (29 subjects); the comparison group (85 subjects); and the control group (393 subjects). The treatment group took part in a 16-week intervention—a student empowerment course that focused on race issues affecting students through intense cross-racial dialogue and group projects. The comparison group comprised of students who had expressed interest in participating in this program or a similar diversity-training program but had not yet participated. The control group comprised of students from the general student population. Data was triangulated between surveys (Likert scales), interviews, and journals. All three groups completed pre- and post-surveys. Additionally, the treatment group completed pre- and post-interviews and weekly journals. Both quantitative and qualitative data sources were analyzed to determine if reasonable conclusions could be made about the impact of the intervention. The findings are presented in two chapters. This first chapter will highlight descriptive comparisons of the three study groups as well as statistical comparisons across race around the research questions. The next chapter will focus on the impact of the intervention.

Descriptive Statistics

Race and Gender Identification

Participants were asked to self-identify their race (Black, Latina/o, Asian, White, Other). Those who selected more than one race were asked to distinguish the primary race in

which they identify (Black, Latina/o, Asian, White). All participants were also asked to distinguish the race in which they believe others most identify them (Black, Latina/o, Asian, White). In all cases of the treatment and comparison groups, students' self-identified race or primary race matched the race in which they believe most other identify them. This was also true for all but one of the 393 control group respondents. In that one case, the race in which the student believed others identified them was used. Of all 508 respondents, 7.7% were Black, 27.8% were Latina/o, 48.1% were Asian, and 16.4% were White. Compared to the campus, as a whole, there were more Black students represented in the sample than the general population. Otherwise, the groups represented the campus demographics (3% Black, 40-60% Asian, 15% White, and 24% Latina/o).

In addition, participants were asked to self-identify their sex/gender (male, female, other). Those who answered "other" were asked to identify the sex/gender in which they believe others most identify them (male, female). In all cases but two, students' self-identified sex/gender matched the sex/gender in which they believe most other identify them. In those two cases, the sex/gender in which the student believed others identified them was used because gendered experiences (micro-aggressions, sexism, and discrimination) are most often associated with how one is perceived. Of all respondents, 61% were female and 39% male.

Control group.

The control group was recruited via e-mail, flier, and the campus Human Subjects Lab. Respondents participated either through the Human Subjects Lab for extra course credit or through the direct survey link to be entered in a drawing for an iPod (174 from the HS Lab and 304 from the link for the iPod drawing). Of the 393 respondents, 40% respondents

were male and 60% were female. 2.5% were Black male (see Chart 4.1). This closely

represents the campus demographics.

Figure 4.1 Race & Gender
Control Group
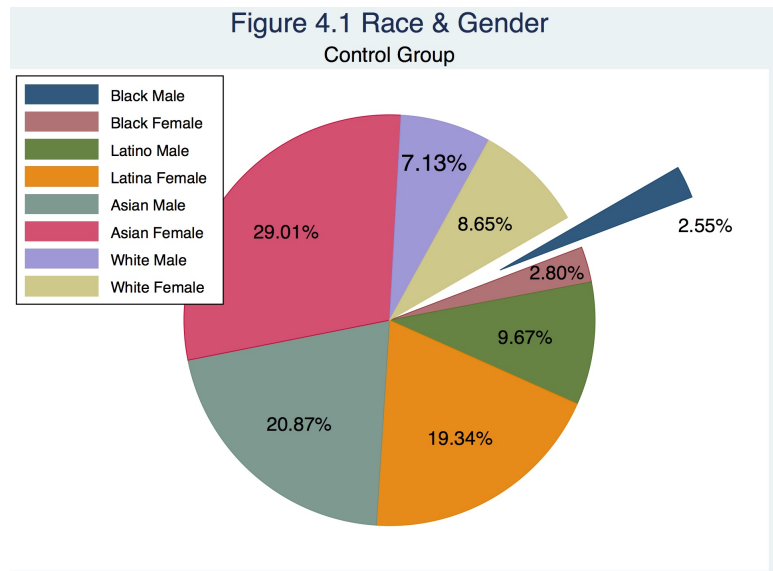
Comparison group.

The comparison group was recruited via e-mail, flier, and the Human Subjects Lab

(through which students could take the survey for extra course credits). Participants took

part either through the Human Subjects Lab for extra course credit or through the direct

survey link to be entered in a drawing for an iPod. The comparison group consisted of 85

respondents. 30% of respondents were male while 70% were female. 4.7% were Black

male (see Chart 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Race & Gender
Comparison Group
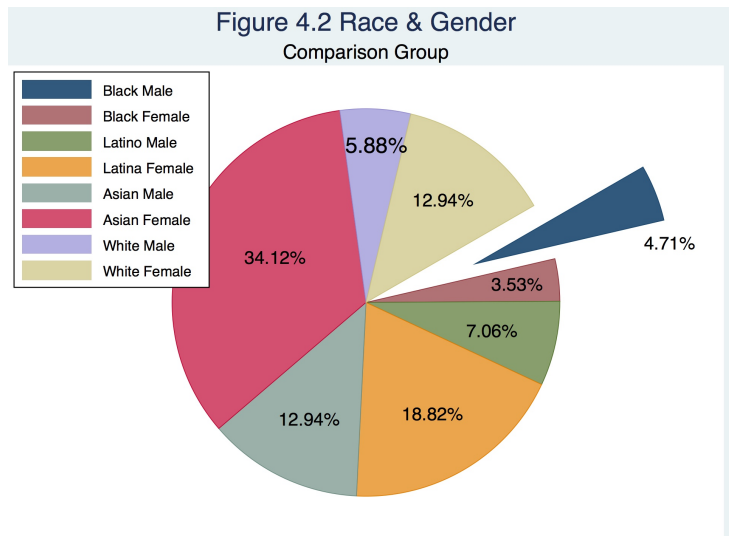
Treatment group.

Treatment group participants were recruited via e-mail, flier, and word of mouth. Black students were intentionally over-sampled in the treatment group to increase their comfort level for the race-related dialogues. The group consisted of 29 students. 11 were Black, six were Latina/o, seven were Asian, and five were White. Seventeen were male while 12 were female. 28% were Black males (see Chart 4.3).

Figure 4.3 Race & Gender
Treatment Group
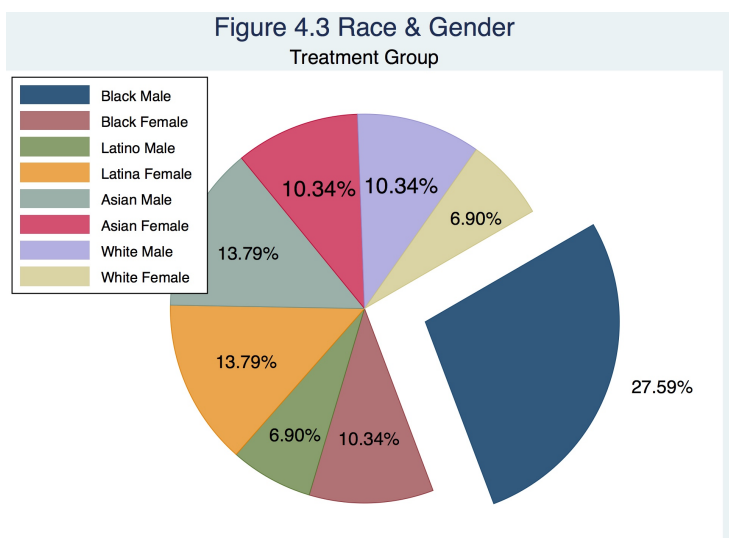
Major

Students were asked to identify which of the 11 Schools they were majoring in (Arts, Biological Sciences, Business, Education, Engineering, Humanities, Information & Computer Sciences, Physical Sciences, Social Ecology, Social Sciences, or Other). The least represented School was Arts (8 respondents). The Schools with the largest representation were Social Ecology and Social Sciences (116 respondents each). Although these are the largest Schools on the campus, these are still over-represented, a result of recruitment efforts being focused in Social Sciences and Social Ecology, notably through the Human Subjects Lab. The distribution of majors was similar among the control and comparison groups, excepting for Arts (more than double in the comparison group vs. the control), Engineering (about 2/3 in the comparison group vs. the control), and Information & Computer Sciences (almost 2/3 in the comparison vs. the control). However, there were no Arts or Biology majors in the Treatment group. Social Ecology as well as Information & Computer Sciences was represented ½ as often as the control group. On the other hand, Engineering and Humanities was represented twice as much. This could be attributed to the snowball recruitment efforts for the Treatment group. The two students that were facilitating for the course recruited heavily from classmates within their majors (Engineering and Humanities). Black students also tend to be more heavily concentrated in the humanities (5% of the students enrolled in the Humanities), whereas they represent only 2% of the students in Engineering (see Table 4-1).

GPA

Of all 508 respondents, the average GPA was approximately 2.8. Only 4% of respondents had a GPA below 2.0. It is not surprising that so few respondents had a GPA

below 2.0 because students are only allowed to remain enrolled for one quarter with a GPA below 2.0. Looking at the respondents with a GPA over 2.0, 24% had a GPA between 3.5-4.0; 36% had a GPA between 3.0-3.5; 24% had a GPA between 2.5-3.0; and 12% had a GPA between 2.0-2.5.

The control group very closely mirrored this. In the comparison group, only 1% of the respondents had a GPA below 2.0. The average GPA was slightly higher, at approximately 2.85. None of the treatment group participants had a GPA below 2.0. The average GPA of the treatment group was approximately 2.87. 10% had a GPA between 2.0-2.5; 34% had a GPA between 2.5-3.0; 28% had a GPA between 3.0-3.5; and 28% had a GPA between 3.5-4.0 (see Chart 4.4 and Table 4-1).

Figure 4.4 Average GPA by Group
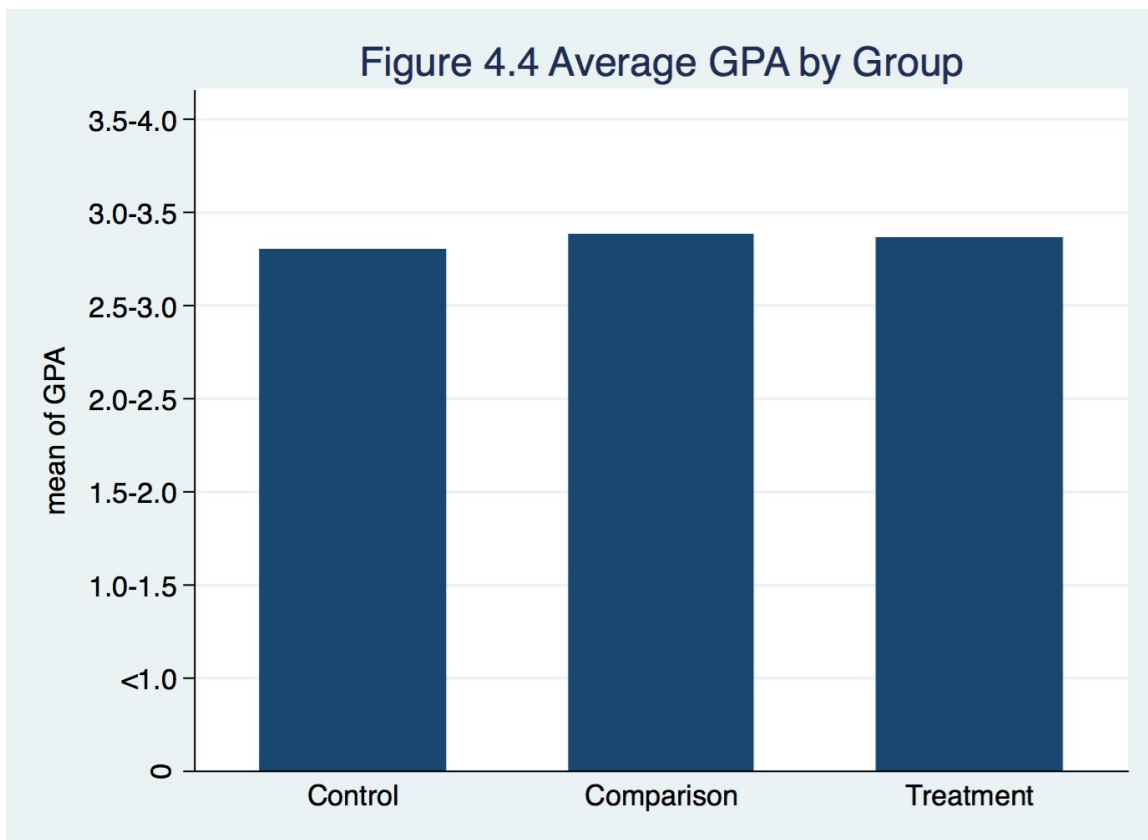
Transfer Status and Year

Of all respondents, 23% identified as transfer students, compared to 22% of the control group, 27% of the comparison group; and 17% of the treatment group (see Charts 4.5–4.7 and Table 4-1).

Of all 508 respondents, freshmen and seniors participated at much lower rates than 2nd and 3rd year students. 16% identified as freshmen, 43% identified as sophomores, 35% as juniors, 5% as seniors, and 2% as 5th years. The control group nearly mirrored this. The comparison group had more freshmen and sophomores (26% and 47%) and fewer juniors (20%). The treatment group had very few freshmen (only 3%) and no 5th year students. Most of the participants were sophomores (55%) and juniors (28%), and then seniors (14%).

Figure 4.5 Year Control Group	Figure 4.6 Year Comparison Group	Figure 4.7 Year Treatment Group

Figure 4.5 Year Control Group: 1.527%, 4.58%, 14.5%, 38.17%, 41.22%

Figure 4.6 Year Comparison Group: 2.35%, 4.71%, 25.88%, 20%, 47.06%

Figure 4.7 Year Treatment Group: 3.45%, 13.79%, 27.59%, 55.17%

Legend: Freshman, Sophmore, Junior, Senior
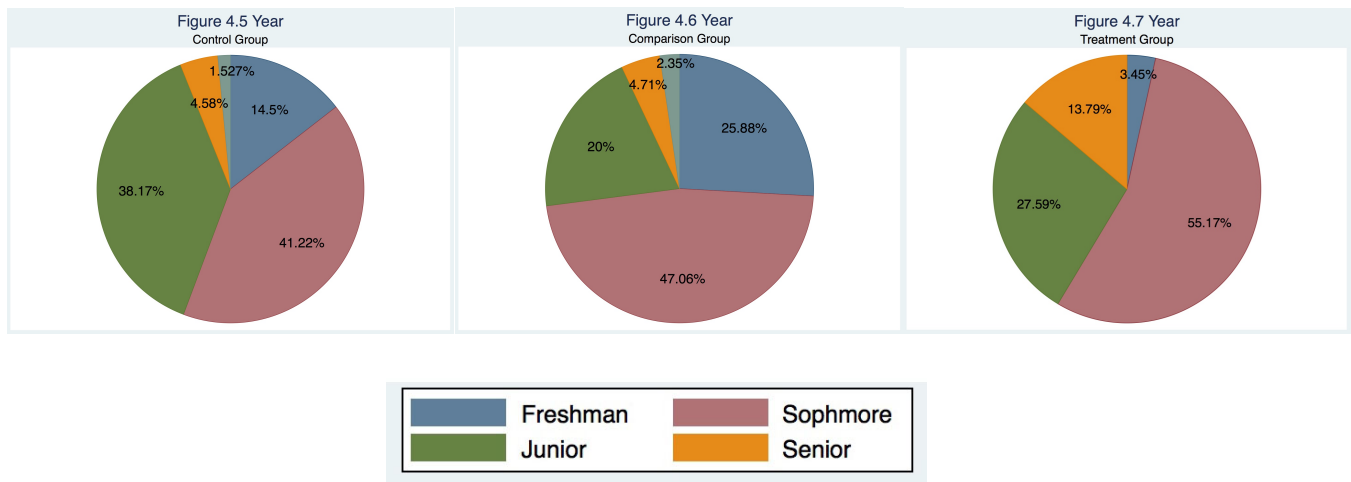
Table 4-1 Descriptive Statistics (Black Male/All others) [mean ± SD or n (%)]

Black Male		Control Group		Comparison Group		Treatment Group		Group Comparisons	
		Black Males	All others	Black Males	All others	Black Males	All others	Black Males	All others
	n (%)	10 (2.6)	382 (97.5)	4 (4.7)	81 (95.3)	8 (27.6)	21 (72.4)	22 (4.34)	485 (95.66)
Year in College	Range	3-5	3-5	3-5	3.5	2 - 4	2-4	2-5	2-5
	mean ±SD	3.60 ± .70	3.62 ± .85	4.00 ±1.15	3.9 ± .92	2.38 ± .75	2.57 ± .81	3.23 ±1.02	3.62 ± .89
GPA	Range	0.50-4.00	1.00-4.00	2.00-3.49	2.00-.4.00	2.00 - 4.00	2.00-4.00	0.50-3.49	1.00-4.00
	mean ±SD	2.75 ±1.76	2.90 ±1.78	2.81 ± .96	2.95 ±1.13	2.85 ±1.06	2.97 ± .96	2.85 ± 1.37	2.85 ± 1.59
Transfr	*n (%)*	2 (20.0)	85 (22.3)	-	23 (28.4)	2 (25.0)	3 (14.3)	4 (18.2)	111 (23.0)
Major [n (%)]	Arts	-	4 (1.0)	-	4 (4.9)	-	-	-	8 (1.7)
	Bio	1 (10.0)	28 (7.31)	-	6 (7.4)	-	-	1 (4.6)	34 (7.0)
	Bus	-	19 (4.96)	-	8 (9.9)	-	1 (4.8)	-	28 (5.8)
	Educ	-	8 (2.09)	-	1 (1.2)	1 (12.5)	-	1 (4.6)	9 (1.9)
	Engin	1 (10.0)	49 (12.79)	2 (50.0)	6 (7.4)	3 (37.5)	5 (23.8)	6 (27.3)	60 (12.4)
	Hum	1 (10.0)	12 (3.13)	-	5 (6.2)	-	2 (9.5)	1 (4.6)	19 (3.9)
	ICS	-	34 (8.88)	-	3 (3.7)	1 (12.5)	-	1 (4.6)	37 (7.6)
	Phys Sci	1 (10.0)	18 (4.70)	-	5 (6.2)	1 (12.5)	3 (14.3)	2 (9.1)	26 (5.4)
	Soc Ecol	2 (20.0)	98 (25.59)	-	13 (16.1)	2 (25.0)	1 (4.8)	4 (18.2)	112 (23.1)
	SocSci	3 (30.0)	83 (21.67)	2 (50.0)	20 (24.7)	-	8 (38.1)	5 (22.7)	111 (22.9)
	Other	1 (10.0)	30 (7.83)	-	10 (12.4)	-	1 (4.8)	1 (4.6)	41 (8.5)

Findings

Each of the 507 participants completed a 100-question pre- and post-survey
measuring attitudes and behaviors regarding race and group identity as they relate to
campus climate satisfaction. Twenty-nine participants (the treatment group) also
completed pre- and post-interviews and submitted weekly journals that were analyzed for
broader and deeper understanding of measurements along the research questions. Six
major findings emerged from both the qualitative and the quantitative data. Through these
findings, it was discovered that all undergraduates acknowledged an increase in campus
diversity when compared to their high schools; however, Black male undergraduates were
least comfortable interacting outside of their race, and they were, overall, less satisfied
with the campus climate than non-Black students. The contrasting stories of RJ and Tim
illustrate this best.

Tim, an Asian male in his junior year, has had a great experience on the campus—an
experience very typical of most majority students. A first-generation Chinese-American,
Tim had spent time in two different states during high school – both Texas and Florida. At
both schools, Tim was a stark minority (most of his fellow students were White). Tim
described his experience coming to the campus as a freshman as "scary at first." He had
never seen so many different types of people…"Asians, Latinos, Middle-
Easterners…Muslims who pray outside on the ground." But, he quickly adapted to campus
life, joining several Asian cultural clubs, and said was very happy:

> *This is the greatest place. I am so happy I came here! I have lots of*
>
> *friends and there is always someone to help. I will be sad to leave when*
>
> *I graduate next year.*

Tim believes that his experience is the norm. When asked how other students feel on the campus, he said, "I think everyone is really happy here." The only thing that Tim said he would like to change is the diversity in his friendships:

> *I would really like to meet more different students—not White or*
>
> *Asian. I mean, like to meet more Black students, because I really feel I*
>
> *have missed out on that. In my country, it is mostly Asian. Although I*
>
> *had many White friends in high school, it was because I was one of the*
>
> *only two Asian students. Here, I have mostly Asian friends. We tend to*
>
> *segregate into our own cultural groups here, but I would like to break*
>
> *out of that.*

When asked why he had not sought out more opportunity to befriend others outside his race, Tim said that he was unsure why, nor was he sure how to go about it. He claimed it was just "easier to stick with [his] own kind."

RJ, a Black male in his junior year, had a very different story to tell. Much like Tim, he found the transition from his high school scary. However, he did not quickly adjust to life on the campus. RJ found it quite difficult to fit in, and did not feel that there were many other students, staff or faculty he could relate to experientially. His high school was mostly Black and Latino, and he felt vastly underrepresented on this campus, where only 2% of the students looked like him. From the day he arrived on the campus, RJ stated that he felt as though he didn't belong:

> *I felt very out of place here. I didn't expect it to be this way. My high*
>
> *school was mostly Black and some Mexicans. I knew that there might be*
>
> *fewer Blacks here, but I didn't know it would be almost none! I wonder*

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> *if I'm supposed to be here and if I'm only here because I'm Black. And I*
>
> *know everyone else thinks that too.*

What RJ suffered from was imposter syndrome. RJ's feelings of discomfort were compounded by negative interactions with non- Black peers. Despite these experiences, he found support and a sense of belonging through his friendships with other Black students on campus. When asked about his interactions with non-Black students, he says,

> *I prefer to hang out with other Black people. It's just easier because I*
>
> *can be myself and I know that they understand what I'm going through*
>
> *each day. I was so depressed before I joined the Black student club, and*
>
> *I thought I was going to leave. No one wanted me in their study groups*
>
> *and White and Asian students don't ask me to their parties. I still don't*
>
> *love it here, but I also don't think it's the worst place….and it's no*
>
> *different from the real world. The only way I could have had a more*
>
> *comfortable college experience would be to go to an HBCU.*

RJ's story is characteristic of the other Black males in the study, and both Tim's and RJ's stories support the six major findings, which are presented here.

1. Black male undergraduates are less satisfied with the campus racial climate than non-Black students.

> *"My experience here? It's like….ewww. But, being a Black male, I don't*
>
> *expect to have the best experience on this campus."*

Darren's statement in an interview is descriptive of the experience of many Black students on the campus. According to Darren, Black students experience "a lot of micro-aggression but people are not aware of it, and no one talks about it." The primary outcome

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measure, Campus Climate Satisfaction Scale (CCS), was a latent variable that represented

satisfaction with the campus climate. CCS was indicated by 18 items (ie: "I feel valued at

this institution" and "racism is prevalent on this campus", see Appendix E), each of which

was scored on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = "strongly disagree" to 5 = "strongly

agree"). Means and standard deviations are shown in Table 4-2 for each of the three study

groups by Black males and all other students; tests of significant group differences are

included.

Multiple regression was used to predict campus climate satisfaction based on two

demographic characteristics: race and sex. Model 1 included one dummy variable

representing whether students identified as Black and another dummy variable

representing whether students identified as male. Results indicated that Black students are

significantly less satisfied with campus climate than non-Black students. Although men

tended to be less satisfied with the campus climate than women, the difference was not

significant. The model explained 9% of the variance in students' campus climate

satisfaction. Model 2 tested an interaction term between race and sex, but the interaction

term was not significant and did not improve overall model fit.

Although survey analysis did not reveal gender to be a significant predictor in

campus climate, an analysis of interview responses did illustrated a gap in Black male

satisfaction with the campus climate, compared with all other participants. When asked to

describe the campus climate, 80% of all students, regardless of race, noted that the campus

was segregated into many different cultural clubs and social groups. While 92% of Asian

and White students responded very positively with statements like, "It's so much fun here,"

"Everyone is so nice and friendly and helpful," and "I just love it here so much," Black

Table 4-2

Means and Standard Deviations of Pre-College Diversity, Cross-Racial Interaction, Cross-Racial Comfort, and Campus Climate Satisfaction Variables (by Black Males and Non-Black Males) and T-tests

Variable	Control Group Black male (n = 10)	All others (n = 383)	Grp Comp	Comparison Group Black male (n = 4)	All others (n = 81)	Grp Comp	Treatment Group Black male (n =8)	All others (n = 21)	Grp Comp
Pre-College Diver[a]									
Mean / t	2.45	2.98	1.26	2.88	3.17	0.42	1.88	2.95	1.84
SD /df	±0.96	±1.32	391	±1.31	±1.4	83	±1.09	±1.51	27
Cross-Racial Interaction[b]									
Mean / t	3.30	3.51	1.07	3.11	3.55	1.72	3.38	3.51	0.47
SD /df	±0.87	±0.61	391	±0.19	±0.51	83	±0.65	±0.71	27
Cross-Racial Comfort[c]									
Mean / t	3.21	3.49	1.68	3.38	3.55	0.68	3.16	3.17	0.05
SD /df	±0.17	±0.03	391	±0.36	±0.05	83	±0.26	± 0.07	27
Campus Climate Satisfaction[d]									
Mean / t	3.12	3.51	2.5*	2.29	3.62	4.21***	2.54	3.48	3.61*
SD /df	±0.80	±0.61	391	±0.36	±0.62	83	±0.59	±0.63	27
Campus Climate Satisfaction Single Question									
Mean / t	2.60	3.62	3.16**	1.50	3.64	4.27***	2.25	3.43	2.75*
SD /df	±1.35	±0.99	393	±1.00	±0.98	85	±0.87	±1.08	29

$*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$

[ab]Five-point scale: From "less than 25% were of a race other my own" = 1 to "more than 75%... " = 5.

[cd]Five-point scale: From "strongly disagree" = 1 to "strongly agree" = 5.

Table 4-3
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis, Campus Climate Satisfaction
Black, Male, Black Male

Model	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>t	F	df	p	R^2
1					24.90	2	0.000	0.0899
_cons	3.55	0.04	100.68	0.000				
Black - Yes	-0.71	0.10	-7.00	0.000				
Male - Yes	-0.01	0.06	-0.21	0.831				
2					17.22	3	0.000	0.0932
_cons	3.54	0.04	98.99	0.000				
Black - Yes	-0.56	0.15	-3.71	0.000				
Male - Yes	0.01	0.06	0.17	0.862				
Black Male - Yes	-0.27	0.21	-1.34	0.181				

students responded very differently. Nine (82%) of the 11 interviewed Black students

spoke of the campus as being "hostile" and "isolating" while only one of the three Black

females used similar descriptives. Seven of the 8 Black males interviewed used words such

as, "tense" or "not fun." When speaking about his feelings on coming to campus, James

reported:

> When I first come on the campus it feels like everyone is staring at
>
> me. I feel kind of nervous when I come to the campus. I'm not going to
>
> lie. They might not be staring at me but I feel they are perceiving me a
>
> different way.

James was not the only one who felt this way. All of the Black males interviewed iterated

similar feelings, as exemplified in the words of Dallas:

There's not too many people that look like me on campus and so

people are like 'Whoa. There's one of them right there!' They're

looking at the way I act to see if I fit a certain image.

These young men struggle with stereotype threat, microaggressions, and racism every day

that they walk onto the campus. Often before they even have experiences of their own, they

obtain a perception of the climate as being racist from a longstanding oral history—a

history of events passed on from year to year through the stories shared among Black

students. As described by Thomas:

I've heard of lots of incidents of racism here. One student received a

letter that said 'go back to Africa slave.' Two other students had things

thrown at them when they were walking to the gym. Another student

was harassed by the police...they pointed their guns at him...for nothing.

And, other students have been spit on while walking to class. I heard all

this at a student org meeting. It does make me on edge.

The first two incidents that Thomas refers to occurred two and three years ago. It is

unclear when the other two incidents might have occurred, but this oral history has a

strong impact on student views of the campus and their sense of belonging.

Qualitative data shows that social life is not easy for Black males. Six of the eight

Black male interviewees discussed unwelcoming, racist, and even threatening

experiences. As Marcus described the role race plays for Black students:

Race plays a huge role here, especially if you are the minority. It affects

everything you do...the people you get to hang out with and the

activities and organizations you get to be a part of. Even in class, race

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matters. No one sits next to me. I call it the Black-Man-Bubble.

When they attend parties, the Black males stated that they feel they are expected to dance or act in certain ways, as though they are on stage for the entertainment of everyone else. According to two of the Black males interviewed, if they try to attend parties with their Black female friends, they are almost always turned away, especially if the girls are "dark-skinned girls." RJ recounts,

> *Three different times, we went to go to a party and we were told*
>
> *we couldn't come in because they said they were already at capacity for*
>
> *Black girls. If the girls are light-skinned, they will sometimes let us in.*
>
> *The closer you are to Whiteness here, the more access you have to*
>
> *parties and things with other students.*

These types of microassaults—being excluded because of race—were common. All of the 11 Black students interviewed said they were regularly excluded from recruitment to student organizations, Greek life, and social activities. Six individual Black males described walking around campus as an isolating experience. According to Dallas,

> *They (other students) don't hand me fliers. They give them to my friend*
>
> *but not me. They only want people that look like a certain way….like*
>
> *they will relate to them…and I don't fit their mold.*

Three other Black males reported being "stared down" and one reported being deliberately shoved with a shoulder by non-Black students when walking alone on the campus. Two of the Black males described more volatile experiences involving non-Black students who had yelled at them from inside their cars. When asked why they felt other students had done these things, all said that they believed it was in due to the color of their

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skin. Darren said that he felt that [non-Black] students were "testing" him to "see what [he] would do." Darren recounted one such experience, which happened at night on his way home from class:

> *I was just walking and minding my own business, and this car came*
>
> *really close to me and I thought they were going to hit me. Then I*
>
> *heard one of them yell out at me 'you're lucky nigger that we have*
>
> *lights so we don't run you over.' And I heard the others laugh. Like*
>
> *they were saying I'm so dark they could have hit me, but it was really*
>
> *well lit.*

Though Darren could not see them clearly, he could make out that they were White and Asian students.

In the daily experiences of Black males, comments directed at them and their culture stung—comments such as "you're not really Black" or "you're cool...you're not like a regular Black person." These microinsults made them feel that their culture was not valued or understood. They were either left angry or feeling further isolated and even guilty: "I don't know why I feel bad, but it makes me feel like I should be more Black or something. But, at the same time, I want to fit in" (Jordan).

Black males reported equally unwelcoming academic experiences. These young men described feeling uncomfortable when they came to campus, experiencing isolation, exclusion, and stereotype threat. Of the 11 Black students, 10 told stories that detailed these feelings and experiences. Dallas and RJ describe what it's like dealing with stereotype threat and microinsults in the classroom. According to Dallas, "*when I answer questions, everyone looks at me either in shock or disbelief. They usually try to challenge my*

answer but they don't do that to anyone else." Three other Black males described feeling

judged when they participated in class. Dallas explained why he often chose not to

participate at all:

> *When I answer a question, if it's the right answer, or if I say something*
>
> *intelligent in class, they're shocked, like they can't believe I would know*
>
> *that. It's like they don't think I should be that smart because I'm Black.*

All but one of the interviewees reported having difficulty finding study groups or study

partners, despite efforts to connect with students in their classes. Nelson reported having

difficulty finding students to study with, in spite of efforts on his part:

> *In class, there are cliques. Last year, I needed help in Physics. I reached*
>
> *out and got no response. I thought, 'what's wrong with me?' I try to be*
>
> *nice and to show people that I'm doing work and not just leaning on*
>
> *them but I don't know…My experience in class is isolated. I just keep to*
>
> *myself. I'm afraid of those experiences…of being rejected.*

RJ's story echoed Nelson's. Repeated efforts to connect with other students proved

fruitless:

> *It's really hard to find study groups. They don't want me because they*
>
> *think I will just be dead weight. They think I got here just because I'm*
>
> *Black. What's funny is that, I'm several levels above most of them.*

The microassaults these young men face every day are not uncommon. All but one of the

young men reported similar challenges finding study groups, and all of those that did, have

ceased efforts. The only time RJ could recall working with other students was in assigned

group work. RJ described his experiences in assigned groups as "stressful." Despite doing

his best to "prove" his intelligence to the other students, he felt a lack of faith in his abilities, conveyed through the minimal or simplistic work they would give to him:

> *They all think we are athletes...that the only reason we are here on this*
>
> *campus is because we must be an athlete or something...not because we*
>
> *are intelligent. I don't even play ball.*

The Black as athlete stereotype is pervasive, according to three of the Black males who told of being regularly asked, "What sport do you play?"

Non-Black students had very different stories from these young men. Not one of them reported having trouble connecting with others to study or do group projects. In fact, almost half of them said that they could not imagine having troubles because everyone was so nice and helpful. Two of the Black males even expressed a serious longing to connect with other students—not just for social purposes, but because they understood the positive impacts of study groups on academic success. Interestingly, four of the eight Black men seemed to doubt whether they belonged on the campus just as much as they perceived others to question. They believed that their race had played a role in their admission. Marcus, for example, believed that he had been allocated "extra points" during the admission process.   Facing stereotype threat may have impacted their self-perceptions.

The regression model was applied separately for each of the three study groups (treatment, comparison, and control) on the single question, "I am satisfied with the campus climate" to test the consistency of the finding across the groups. The analysis yielded the same results as with the analysis on the scale score: the significant negative predictability of Black identification on campus climate satisfaction was consistent across the three study groups ($p < 0.01$ for all).

Black males had a significantly lower campus climate satisfaction than any other race-gender subgroup, except for Black females. Though there was no significant difference between Black males and Black females, Black females were slightly more satisfied with the campus climate than Black males. Of the non-Black students, White male scores were higher than all other subgroups, followed by Latino males, Latino females, Asian females and then Asian males (see Table 4-4).

It is worth noting that Black males' mean scores were slightly higher on the latent variable, Campus Climate Satisfaction Scale, than on the single question, "I am satisfied with the campus climate," while there was no difference in scores for non-Black males. Because the scale includes questions about support of faculty and staff, this could be an indication that Black males are receiving positive mentorship on the campus that somewhat mitigates their overall feeling on the campus. In fact, several of the Black males interviewed affirmed that, despite the insensitive behaviors of fellow-students, staff and faculty "made an effort to get past their biases and provide support" (RJ). More than half of the Black male interviewees talked about the support network in the School of Engineering. They directly and specifically attributed their success to the support of staff, faculty, and fellow Black students in that support network.

RJ explained how important his support network has been for him, "the staff and faculty in the [Engineering Student Org] really support me, and I think they are the reason I've stayed here…they are like my rock…my family away from home." Thus, it seems that for these young Black men, having a strong support network including mentorship of staff and faculty are critical in countering negative perception of campus climate.

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Table 4-4
Means and Standard Deviations
Campus Climate Satisfaction Scale and Single Question by Race and Gender

	Campus Climate Satisfaction Scale[a]			Campus Climate Single Question[b]			Comparison		
	Mean	*SD*	*n*	*Mean*	*SD*	*n*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Black males	2.72	±1.62	22	2.71	±0.71	22	1.52	42	
Black females	2.76	±0.90	17	2.98	±0.71	17	0.76	32	
Latino males	3.65	±0.87	46	3.61	±0.53	46	-0.25	90	
Latina females	3.51	±1.04	96	3.58	±0.64	96	0.59	190	
Asian males	3.71	±0.99	97	3.49	±0.60	97	-1.92	192	
Asian females	3.75	±0.89	146	3.53	±0.57	146	-2.53	290	*
White males	3.52	±1.21	36	3.64	±0.58	36	0.50	70	
White females	3.51	±1.04	47	3.49	±0.70	47	-0.12	92	

*p < .05
[a]Five-point scale: From "strongly disagree" = 1 to "strongly agree" = 5.
[b]Five-point scale: From "strongly disagree" = 1 to "strongly agree" = 5.

2. While Pre-college diversity exposure does not predict cross-racial comfort, it does predict cross-racial interaction and campus climate satisfaction.

> *I was used to being in a diverse environment before college, so I already*
>
> *knew how to navigate the environment here more than some of my*
>
> *friends.*

Some students are not as lucky as Leonor. What she describes above is very atypical for college students. Students tend to come to college from very segregated neighborhoods and they experience a "culture shock." Those students are often at a disadvantage because they do not have much experience working with, studying with, and socializing with students outside of their own race. Things like stereotype, microaggressions, and implicit bias often interfere with their ability to quickly adjust. As one Asian female participant, Julie, explained,

> *When I came here, I was scared to talk with Black students. I didn't*
>
> *know if I had to talk a certain way, and I wasn't sure if the Black boys*
>
> *would hit on me. I know that I had a lot of biases due to the media, like I*
>
> *even thought they were all athletes. I even asked a Black guy once what*
>
> *sport he played and he didn't even play any sport!*

What Julie described is a story that was reiterated by nearly all of the participants. Even students that had exposure to higher levels of pre-college diversity, such as Black students, there was still a level of discomfort engaging across race. But, those students who did have that pre-college experience seem to have gained some navigational skills that others lacked. For example, Thomas describes his ability to move in and out of various racial groups:

I went to a high school that was a lot like this campus—it was really

diverse but not many Black people—I learned how to talk with

everyone. I'm not always comfortable, but I get along fine.

A simple linear regression was calculated to predict cross-racial comfort based on pre-college diversity exposure. Results indicated that pre-college exposure to diversity was not a significant predictor of cross-racial comfort.

A simple linear regression was calculated to predict cross-racial interaction based on pre-college diversity exposure. Results indicated that pre-college exposure to diversity was a significant negative predictor of cross-racial interaction for all students. The model explained 1% of the variability in cross-racial interaction. A multiple regression analysis revealed that the predictability was slightly stronger for Black students, compared with non-Black students. The model explained 3% of the variability. The interaction of race and sex was not significant.

Further analysis tested the relationship between pre-college diversity exposure and campus climate satisfaction for Black students, compared with non-Black students. I used multiple regression to predict climate satisfaction based on one latent variable, pre-college diversity, and one demographic characteristic: race. Model 1 included all students. Results indicated that pre-college diversity is a positive predictor of campus climate satisfaction for all students. The model explains 3% of the variability in students' campus climate satisfaction. Model 2 included a dummy variable representing whether students identified as Black.   The model explained 11% of the variability in students' campus climate satisfaction. Gender was not a significant predictor.

Model	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>t	F	df	p	R^2
Table 4-5								
Regression Analysis Campus Climate Satisfaction								
Pre-College Diversity, Black								
1					15.23	1	0.001	0.0293
_cons	3.26	0.07	47.42	0				
Pre College Diversity	0.08	0.02	3.9	0				
2					29.82	2	0	0.1058
_cons	3.36	0.07	49.41	0				
Pre College Diversity	0.06	0.02	3	0.003				
Black - Yes	-0.67	0.1	-6.57	0				

3. While all participants experienced culture shock due to low levels of pre-college diversity exposure, the demographics of the student body proved isolating for Black males.

Coming to this campus was a shock to me. I had never been in such an

environment before. My high school was nowhere near this diverse.

RJ's comment was not atypical. Nearly 80% of interviewees talked about coming from neighborhoods and high schools that looked nothing like their college campus. Analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data indeed revealed that many of these undergraduates come from very segregated pre-college neighborhoods and schools. Pre-college exposure to diversity was measured using the mean of a set of survey questions about the demographics of participants' high school, neighborhood, and social groups (Pre-

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College Diversity Scale).

The measure, Pre-College Diversity Scale (PCDS) was a latent variable that represented the level of diversity exposure experienced prior to college. PCDS was indicated by three items about the diversity in the participants' friend, high school, and neighborhood demographics (see Appendix E), each of which was scored on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = "less than 25% were of a different race" to 5 = "more than 75% were of a different race"). Means and standard deviations are shown in Table 4-1 for each of the three study groups by Black males and all other students; tests of significant group differences are included.

As seen from Table 4-1, all participants had similarly low levels of reported pre-college diversity exposure. Further analysis of mean scores indicated that White students had the lowest reported pre-college diversity exposure (mean score, 2.9) followed by Black students (mean score, 2.4). Latina/os reported the highest levels of pre-college diversity exposure (mean score, 3.22). There were no real differences across gender. A simple linear regression revealed that race and gender were not significant predictors of pre-college diversity exposure. All students experienced low levels of diversity in their high schools and neighborhoods.

Students in the study reported experiencing culture shock when they arrived on campus, because they had attended school and lived in neighborhoods that were highly segregated. All interviewees except for one described experiencing some level of "culture shock" when they first matriculated. For the two Chinese international students, this was the first time they had ever experienced any diversity, as Cat explains:

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> *At home, everyone is Chinese, so we don't have any of these issues. So, I*
>
> *don't understand what is all this with race. I am confused by it.*

For Black students, the newfound diversity exposure proved to be an isolating experience. On a campus where only 3% of the student population is Black, the appreciation for diversity can be lost. Six of the eight interviewed expressed feelings of isolation because they "never see anyone that looks like [them]." But, two Black males experienced a culture shock because they had always been the only Black students at their perspective schools. They described seeing "so many Black people" as a shock.

4. While cross-racial comfort predicts cross-racial interaction for all participants, Black males reported lower levels of cross-racial comfort compared with other participants.

> *I'm totally comfortable around everyone and anyone and I actually*
>
> *enjoy having a diverse set of friends.*

Undergraduates who reported higher levels of cross-racial comfort also reported higher levels of cross-racial interaction. Josh's statement above, taken from a journal entry, perfectly exemplifies this. Statistical analysis was performed to determine how cross-racial comfort and cross-racial interactions were related. The primary outcome measure, Cross Racial Interaction Scale (CRIS) was a latent variable that represented positive interactions across race. CRIS was indicated by 10 items (i.e.: "I had meaningful and honest discussions about race with others not of my ethnic/racial group" and "I've had tense, and somewhat hostile interactions with other students not of my ethnic/racial group," see Appendix E), each of which was scored on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = "seldom" to 5 = "very often").

Additionally, the variable, cross-racial comfort scale (CRCS) was a latent variable that represented the level of comfort student felt with interacting across race. CRCS was indicated by eight items (i.e.: "I like meeting and getting to know others from ethnic/racial backgrounds different from my own" and "I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic/racial groups from my own", see Appendix E), each of which was scored on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = "strongly disagree" to 5 = "strongly agree"). Responses to a single stand-alone item, "I am comfortable interacting with students that are of a different racial/ethnic background from my own" was measured and analyzed for consistency with the scale scores (see Table 4-2). Means and standard deviations are shown in Table 4-3 for each of the three study groups by Black males and all other students; tests of significant group differences are included.

I used simple linear regression to predict cross-racial interaction based on cross-racial comfort. As can be seen in Table 4-6, results indicated that cross-racial comfort was a significant positive predictor of cross-racial interaction. The model explained 42% of the variance in students' cross-racial interactions for all participants.

Table 4-6
Regression Analysis, Cross-Racial Interaction
Cross-Racial Comfort

	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	$P>t$	F	df	p	R^2
					369.69	1	0.0000	0.4227
_cons	0.89	0.14	6.45	0.0000				
Cross-Racial Comfort	0.75	0.40	19.23	0.0000				

Alex, a Latino male, provides a great example of the relationships between cross-racial comfort and cross-racial interactions. Here, he describes his frequent experiences on the campus with other racial groups as "fun:"

I have so many friends from different races. I'm totally comfortable with

them all. We lived together in my freshman year and we've stayed

friends for three years. We study together, we hang out together, and

we eat together...well, the eating thing is sometimes hard because we all

like different foods and we don't all like each other's ethnic foods

[laughs]. These guys are what make is great here.

Linear regression showed this to be statistically significant across the three study groups ($p < .005$ for all). But, how does this relate to the variance in campus climate satisfaction scores and are there differences between Black males and other students? Further analysis was performed to see if students' cross-racial interactions and cross-racial comfort varied along racial lines. Mean score analysis for cross-racial comfort revealed that Black males were less comfortable than all other students (see Table 4-2).

Although Black students have more opportunity to interact cross-racially, their cross-racial comfort level was lower than that of White students. James described a level of discomfort with cross-racial interactions. All of the Black male students expressed some level of discomfort. They spoke of making conscious choices about their own behavior or what they said in these situations. Marcus said that he lowers his eyes and crosses to the other side of the street if he sees a non-black female approaching, because he does not want to make her uncomfortable. Nelson, said that he "thinks" his interactions with others of different races are "okay"...he "tries to be funny and smile a lot." And Darren said he has to

adjust his language when he is around non-Black students, because "they won't understand...and they might think less of me." Each of these men made behavioral choices based on the comfort of those around them rather than their own comfort.

Six of the eight Black males interviewed mentioned the Black Lives Matter movement when they spoke of their discomfort with non-Black students. They talked about repeatedly having to answer questions like "how does it make you feel?" But, it is the distrust that most of them talked about. As Marcus explained:

We see all over the TV that we are not safe, and that White

people are killing us every day. When I look at a student that's not

Black, I always have to wonder...would they kill me if they were in a

certain situation?

Marcus and others said that they "tried not to judge all people the same" but that they found it difficult to trust anyone outside of their race. Their experiences, combined with what they saw on the news and on social media made it difficult to get past their own stereotypes about others.

5. All students reported average-to-low levels of cross-racial interaction.

Most students just hang out in their own racial groups. No one really

goes out of their comfort zone.

Larissa's statement is representative of nearly all interviewees who, regardless of race, commented on the self-imposed segregation of students on the campus. Many of the majority students (Asian and White) expressed having never even thought about it prior to being asked to consider how often they spend time with others outside of their own race. Several students proclaimed a desire to make friends across racial lines, but had not

put much thought or effort into it. Two Asian students said that they felt that people of different races should not mix. It is notable that these were the only two international students in the treatment. It is possible that this rationale is related to a culture outside of the U.S.

Despite the opportunity for increased cross-racial interaction afforded by the lack of critical mass, Black males report low levels of interaction with non-Blacks because of their discomfort. Their feelings of isolation and perception of unwelcoming attitudes on the campus hinder their interactions across race. James, discussed the challenges of fighting stereotype threat when interacting cross-racially.

> *There really aren't that many of us, so we are always in a situation to*
>
> *mix with other races. Even if we didn't want to, we don't have a*
>
> *choice. But, really, sometimes it's just easier to hang out with other*
>
> *Black students. I prefer it, because they know what I'm going*
>
> *through….they understand….we connect on that level, and I can just*
>
> *relax and be myself.*

When students spoke of their lack of comfort interacting cross-racially, they referenced their experience coming from a neighborhood and high school that looked very different from the demographics of the campus.

6. Cross-racial interaction is the strongest single predictor of campus climate satisfaction.

> *Being a Black man, I don't get to have the best experience on this*
>
> *campus.*

Marcus, just like all but one of the other Black male interviewees, expressed a keen awareness of a disparity in experiences along racial lines...an expression that supports the statistical analysis of quantitative data. I used multiple regression to predict campus climate satisfaction based on the following variables: race (Black: Y/N), sex (Male, Y/N), pre-college diversity exposure, cross-racial interaction, cross-racial comfort, transfer status, year, major, prior diversity courses taken, and group identification. Major, year, transfer status, sex, and prior diversity course taken were not significant.

Next, I used multiple regression to predict campus climate satisfaction based on the significant predictors. Model 1 included the following variables: pre-college diversity, cross-racial interaction, and cross-racial comfort. Results indicated that students who had higher levels of pre-college diversity as well as higher levels of cross-racial comfort and cross-racial interaction were more satisfied with the campus climate. The model accounted for 20% of the variance in students' campus climate satisfaction. Model 2 included a dummy variable that represented whether students identified as Black or not. While race (Black identification) was a negative predictor, this model explained 25% of the variability in students' campus climate satisfaction. Neither sex nor the interaction term between race and sex were significant.

Regressions using each of the three variables alone revealed that cross-racial interaction was the strongest single predictor of campus climate satisfaction. Cross-racial interaction explained 15% of the variability in campus climate satisfaction. When the dummy variable for whether or not the student identified as Black was added into the model, it explained 21% of the variance in campus climate satisfaction (see Table 4-8).

Results were consistent across the three study groups (treatment, comparison, and control). So, it can be concluded that, while true for all students, for Black students in particular, higher levels of pre-college diversity exposure combined with higher levels of cross-racial comfort and cross-racial interaction in college, will yield higher levels of campus climate satisfaction.

Table 4-7 Regression Analysis Campus Climate Satisfaction Cross-Racial Comfort, Pre-College Diversity, Cross-Racial Interaction, Black								
Model	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	$P>t$	F	df	p	R^2
1					42.24	3	0.0000	0.2012
_cons	1.43	0.19	7.42	0.0000				
Cross-Racial Comfort	0.17	0.06	2.71	0.0000				
Pre-College Diversity	0.10	0.02	5.26	0.0000				
Cross-Racial Interaction	0.33	0.06	5.89	0.0000				
2					42.12	4	0.0000	0.2513
_cons	1.65	0.19	8.66	0.0000				
Cross-Racial Comfort	0.17	0.06	2.64	0.0080				
Pre-College Diversity	0.08	0.02	4.38	0.0000				
Cross-Racial Interaction	0.30	0.05	5.58	0.0000				
Black - Yes	-0.55	0.10	-5.79	0.0000				

Table 4-8								
Regression Analysis, Campus Climate Satisfaction								
Cross-Racial Interaction								
Model	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>t	F	df	p	R²
1					85.63	1	0.0000	0.1450
_cons	0.40	0.04	9.25	0.0000				
Cross-Racial Interaction	2.07	0.16	13.36	0.0000				
2					67.74	2	0.0000	0.2119
_cons	2.23	0.15	14.76	0.0000				
Cross-Racial Interaction	0.37	0.04	8.83	0.0000				
Black-Yes	-0.20	0.10	-6.54	0.0000				

In this chapter, findings around the three study groups were discussed. Findings revealed that, though there were differences across race, there were no statistical differences in the major findings across the three groups in pre-intervention campus climate satisfaction, pre-college diversity exposure, cross-racial interaction, and cross-racial comfort. In the following chapter, findings around the impact of the intervention will be discussed.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

Impact of the Intervention

Marcus and Jun were among 29 undergraduates who enrolled in a cross-racial campus climate empowerment course in the fall. They had never met before, but over the next six months they would engage in intense dialogue about personal experiences and perceptions related to race—dialogues that they would later describe as some of the most thought-provoking dialogue they had had in their time on the campus. Their experience in the course, as outlined here, affected each of them in unique yet similar ways.

Marcus, a Black male in his second year on the campus, had his first experience on the campus during a high school student recruitment weekend for prospective Black students. As he describes that experience,

That was one of the greatest weekends of my life. It was so much fun.

There were so many Black students and staff there. It really felt like

there was a strong community of Black people on this campus. I was

totally sold.

When Marcus arrived on the campus the following September, he had a very different experience:

When I got here, it was like, wow. I rarely saw any other Black people.

I didn't have any Black professors. I knew of one Black staff member

because she worked in my academic advising office. It was a total

culture shock and a disappointment. I really struggled that year.

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Marcus had a difficult time adjusting to the campus. Although some of his housemates

were "cool" with him in the house, they excluded him from their activities:

> *I had a Mexican roommate and an Indian roommate. They were cool,*
>
> *but they never invited me to hang out or go to parties. My Asian*
>
> *housemates seemed cool, too, at first. They would high-five me and act*
>
> *like they liked me. But, they would invite each other to cook together and*
>
> *eat together and I was never invited, even though I was right there.*

In classes, Marcus struggled. He struggled with the work load, and he struggled to find the

resources and support to help him succeed:

> *I didn't know it was going to be this hard here. I was one of the best*
>
> *students in my high school, but I wasn't prepared for this. And, I didn't*
>
> *know where to get help. I couldn't afford tutoring and it was virtually*
>
> *impossible to find study groups.*

Marcus was so unhappy that he thought about leaving during the Spring quarter of that

first year until he found a few friends that became the beginning of his support network:

> *I really wanted to leave. But I kept saying 'I have to make it. I have to*
>
> *make my parents proud. If I leave, where am I going to go? It's going to*
>
> *be the same wherever I go in this world.' So, I decided to try and make*
>
> *the best of things and I started to look for ways to get involved and meet*
>
> *people like me...other Black students. I attended a meeting for a club for*
>
> *Black males and I met a couple of guys there. They are really close*
>
> *friends now. Making that decision to go to that meeting was the turn-*
>
> *around for me. They introduced me to more students, as well as faculty*

and staff around the campus that could help me and support me. I finally

didn't feel alone.

Though Marcus began to have a better experience on the campus, he still often questioned whether he really belonged there. Though he had a place on the campus (in the two Black organizations he had joined), he still dealt with incidents of racism, stereotype threat, and microaggressions on a daily basis. He perceived the campus to be highly racially hostile, and considered students to be extremely ignorant and insensitive:

People stare at me all the time. It's like they've never seen a Black person

before. Girls usually cross to the other side, but guys sometimes

deliberately bump me or just come up and stand in front of

me…like…with their chest out…like they want to see what I will do.

These microinsults Marcus experienced told him that female students were afraid of him, while male students wanted to antagonize him, based on the stereotype that Black men are violent. When describing how stereotypes impact his social experiences, he told a story of when he went to a party on campus:

They're always looking to see how I will act. No matter where it is. At

parties, for example…that is, if they even let us in to the party…as soon as

I walk in, everyone stops and looks at me. A lot of times, they will change

the music to rap and stare at me, like they are waiting for me to put on a

show for them or something. Sometimes I give them what they want and

just act all crazy and dance all around.

Marcus' story is a perfect example of what DuBois coined "double conscious"—the need for

Black people to develop two identities, one for fitting in with the dominant culture. Marcus

described other ways that he adjusted his language and behavior around non-Blacks—

something that often results in being accused of not being truly Black:

> *I try to talk really clearly. I can't use too much slang because they won't*
>
> *understand me. Plus, I want them to know that I'm smart. But, I also*
>
> *try to be really nice, smile a lot, and be a little funny. Sometimes, they*
>
> *tell me that I'm not really like other Black people. That kind of*
>
> *hurts...when I'm at a store, I know that I am being followed or watched.*
>
> *I make sure to take out my wallet and put it in my pocket so that I can*
>
> *leave my backpack on my back. I don't want them to think I'm stealing*
>
> *something. I just get in, get what I need, and get out. I don't linger*
>
> *around and spend time looking at things.*

Although he didn't acknowledge that he was doing this, his stories indicated that he was

more concerned with the comfort of non-Blacks than for his own. For example, he told of

how he would cross the street if he saw a non-Black female approaching, or when on the

campus shuttle, he would not sit in a seat next to a non-Black female, even if it meant he

had to stand. "I know that I'm seen as threatening, as a big dark black man."

In class, Marcus deals with stereotype threat in several ways. First, he feels that he

has to get to class early so that he can "scope out" a seat that will cause the least friction.

He likes to get there early to choose a seat on the end rather than arrive and have to sit

between two students who might be uncomfortable with him next to them. Second, Marcus

rarely answers questions in class:

I don't like to speak up in class. Sometimes I give an answer and

everyone acts like I'm dumb, but then a White guy gives the same exact

answer and everyone is like 'yea, that's right.' Other times, if I give an

answer and they think it's a smart answer, they are all shocked. They

say, 'wow, you know that? That' was really smart.' I'm not expected to be

smart. I'm expected to be a ball player, a dancer, or a singer. I don't fit

the mold, and they don't know how to react to that.

The stereotypes about Black males makes it hard for Marcus to find study groups. Most

non-Black students don't respond to his requests to stay together. And, when he is assigned

to a mandatory group project, he perceives that he is always given a simple task—

something the other students know he won't mess up. These microassaults chip away at

his self-esteem and sense of belonging.

These are all of the experiences that Marcus brought with him to the class that Fall.

Over the course of six months, he shared these experiences as well as his perspectives on

topics related to campus racial climate, through intergroup dialogue and then in written

self-reflection. His weekly journal reflections exemplify impact of his participation in the

intergroup dialogue on the perceptions he had brought with him. The first of these

exercises was a discussion about the campus racial climate. Students were asked to talk

about their experiences and how satisfied they were with the campus climate. Marcus

wrote about that dialogue in his journal reflection:

I was not surprised to hear that other students were having such a great

experience here. Especially White and Asian students. I knew that they

had the best experience. They are the majority and there are so many

more ways for them to find resources and friends to get them through.

They even have an edge on us because they have years of tests saved up

that they share with each other so that they can get the best grades. I

wasn't even surprised at the one White student who kept trying to argue

with me and the other Black student—she kept trying to tell us that we

were just looking for negative things. She even thought that we were the

ones being too hard on ourselves! Anyway...I was surprised to see that

most of the White and Asian students wanted to hear what we were

saying. They were surprised to hear that we have those experiences, but

they genuinely seemed to care. I don't know if they were being for real,

but that felt good.

One of the weekly topics was stereotypes and microaggressions. The speaker talked about

stereotypes in theory and application, and discussed how stereotypes played out in the

form of microaggressions. This is what Marcus had to say about the presentation and the

small croup dialogue:

I had never heard of microaggressions before. I always knew that there

was something wrong about some of the things people did or said, but I

never knew how to put it to words. I just knew that those things made

me feel yucky or strange. It feels good to know that I'm not crazy and

that there's a word for what I've been feeling. And, now I'm also aware

that I sometimes do microaggressions on other people, too. I'm going to

try and work on that.

Marcus was not unusual in his prior inability to put to words what he had experienced through microaggressions. Four of the eight Black students interviewed indicated that they had experienced these feelings of being invalidated but hadn't previously known there was a term for it—microinvalidations. In the weekly journals, they indicated how good it felt to know that they could identify microassaults, microinvalidations and microinsults. Marcus described what it felt like to be able to talk about these experienced with a new vocabulary.

I really liked the dialogue on this topic. All of us were talking about

microaggressions and the things that people say and do toward us and

how it makes us feel. I was finally able to talk about these things.

But, Marcus also spoke of his surprise at how he learned that the other students could empathize or wanted to understand:

I was surprised at how much the other students had experiences too.

Like, this Mexican girl. She said that a lot of times, her dad was mistaken

for a janitor at his own job...and he's an engineer. Well, maybe not the

White guy. I don't think he could think of any one time he had

experienced microaggressions or stereotypes. But, he was actually very

interested in the topic.

Toward the middle of the second quarter of the program, students began to work in groups to design project proposals to address the campus climate. Student projects fell into one of three categories: programming, research, or policy. Each group presented their proposal at the concluding class meeting. Marcus, who had selected a policy project, wrote

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about his experience working in a diverse team toward a common goal of improving the campus climate:

> *I surprisingly enjoyed working on the group project. Most everyone carried their weight. We worked together well, and I was proud of our presentation. It really was nice to work on this project because it was one of the only positive experiences I had working with non-Black students on a class project. I'm not sure if we will implement our proposal, but I hope that someone does. I think that turning this class into a general elective requirement for all students could really do something to change things here because we would reach larger numbers of students.*

After participating in the program for six months, Marcus described how the program had impacted him:

> *This was a cool class. I've never really experienced anything like this, and I'm so glad I took the class. I'm not sure that my perceptions have really changed that much. I still see that the campus is great for Asians and Whites, and it's still not so great for Black students. I still think that the majority of students are insensitive and ignorant... But, I think that maybe it's not as bad as I had thought. Maybe all students aren't racist, but they are just ignorant. I think I see now that some of them want to learn and actually care about our experience. I really never thought that before.*

Marcus described a change of perception about his non-Black peers after

participating in the intervention. He no longer felt that all White students

were racist. Marcus spoke about a newfound hope but also articulated

benefits for students to take the course:

> *I think if everyone had to take a class like this, they might be able to come*
>
> *out of their shells more. It really helps you to be more comfortable*
>
> *talking with other races, and it makes you more aware of how others are*
>
> *thinking. Yea, I'd say that this class did give me some hope. Maybe things*
>
> *won't change today, or even tomorrow, but I think maybe over time with*
>
> *this kind of class, things could change.*

Though all of the Black males in the study were impacted in varying levels, Marcus' story is

a clear and strong example of how the intervention had a positive impact on their

perceptions. Jun's story, though similar, is a little different. When Jun, an Asian female in

her 3rd year, joined the class, she brought with her a very positive experience on the

campus:

> *I just love it here. The campus is supportive, friendly, and helpful. There*
>
> *is a lot to do and it's easy to find resources. I have a lot of friends that are*
>
> *Asian, which is nice. The only thing I would change is that I would like to*
>
> *be able to meet more students that are not Asian or White. I never really*
>
> *get a chance to see them or meet them.*

Throughout the program, Jun reported in her journal reflections that she was learning a lot:

> *I was surprised to hear what some of the other students said that they*
>
> *are experiencing. I've never seen that and I was just shocked….I'm*

surprised to learn about what that was called...microaggressions... The

speaker was really interesting but I never heard of that. Now, I know I

need to be more careful about what I say, but I think it's going to be

hard, because I never saw anything wrong with those things, and I'm

afraid I will make a mistake.

Many of the non-Black participants echoed what June described: a fear that they will make a mistake. Some said that they were afraid to speak at all now, and they hoped that this class would give them practice so that it didn't prevent them from having cross-racial interactions. By the end of the program, Jun reported that her perceptions had changed about the campus:

I was so surprised by everything I heard. I would never have learned the

things I learned in a regular class. I was totally unaware, and it's honestly

hard for me to completely understand. But, I don't think that anyone

should have to experience such negativity—it's not fair. I want to do what

I can to help, but I'm still trying to figure out what that is. I know that, for

now, I can continue to talk with my friends about the class and try to

educate them what I've learned.

Marcus' and Jun's stories are indicative of what was found in the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data. Where Jun's experience mirrors that of majority (White and Asian) participants, Marcus' experience exemplifies the strongest example of how the intervention positively impacted perceptions of campus climate.

Each of the 29 participants completed pre- and post-questionnaires in addition to interviews and weekly journals to reflect on the material presented and discussed in cross-

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racial dialogues. The collected data was analyzed to draw reasonable conclusions about the impact of the intervention, particularly with regard to Black males' satisfaction with the campus climate. Findings indicate that participation in the intervention predicts campus climate satisfaction differently across racial lines in that it serves to mitigate disparities in satisfaction levels. While pre-college diversity exposure and group identity were strong factors contributing to the impact of the intervention, the intervention positively impacts cross-racial comfort and interaction. The following is a summary of the major findings.

1. **While participation in the intervention positively impacts Black males' campus climate satisfaction, participation had a negative impact on campus climate perception for all non-Black students. Thus, the intervention served to mitigate disparities in campus climate satisfaction along racial lines.**

> *The talks with other students gave me a new perspective on campus*
>
> *climate, on race issues, and on other student experiences.*

Christie's account was echoed by nearly all participants. There was a general agreement that **participation in the intervention had an effect on campus climate perception among all students, regardless of race.** A multiple regression analysis was performed to predict campus climate satisfaction (CCS) based on participation in the intervention. The model included one dummy variable representing whether students had participated in the intervention. Results indicated that participation in the intervention significantly positively predicted campus climate satisfaction. The model explained 85% of the variability in students' post-intervention campus climate satisfaction. Multiple regression analysis on the single question, "I am satisfied with the campus climate" yielded

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even stronger results. The model accounts for 95% of the variability in post-intervention campus climate satisfaction.

Analysis of qualitative data supported this finding. Twenty-three of the twenty-nine participants said "yes" when asked in interviews if their perception of the campus climate had changed as a result of their participation in the course. When students were asked what it was about the program that changed their views, all students attributed it to the small group cross-racial dialogues. In these dialogues, students shared their perspectives and their personal experience on the issues presented. Through the sharing of individual perspectives, students learned about the racial experiences of other groups. Alicia, an Asian female participant, said, "My eyes were opened a little; I don't see the campus quite the same anymore" while RJ stated, "hearing from the other students was so eye opening. It really affected how I see things here."

To better understand how the intervention impacted Black males in the intervention, a multiple regression was performed to determine the impact of the intervention on Black male campus climate satisfaction, compared with the other students. Results indicated that **participation in the intervention significantly positively predicts campus climate satisfaction among Black males compared with other participants.** Model 1 included a dummy variable for whether students identified as Black.

Model 1 included one dummy variable representing whether students identified as Black and another dummy variable representing whether students identified as male. Results indicated that participation in the intervention significantly improves campus climate satisfaction for Black students. Although men who participated tended to be less satisfied with the campus climate than women, the difference was not significant. The

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model explained 85.7% of the variance in students' campus climate satisfaction. Model 2 tested an interaction term between race and sex. The interaction was significant. This model explained 85.9% of the variance in students' campus climate satisfaction. Therefore, it is concluded that participation in the intervention significantly positively predicts campus climate satisfaction for Black males, compared with other participants.

Participation in the intervention resulted in an increase in mean campus satisfaction scores for Black students. In his final interview, James said, "Although I think it's still easier for some students than others, I do feel like there is a place for me here…more so than before." Though James recognized an inequality in experiences along racial lines, he expressed an increased sense of belonging compared to how he felt prior to the intervention. Though participation resulted in higher campus climate satisfaction for Black males, participation reduced satisfaction scores for all other respondents, as indicated by mean scores (see Table 5-1). Latina/o perceptions dropped slightly (change score of -0.2), Asian scores dropped (changed score of -0.1). White scores dropped more (-0.6). Contrariwise, Black student scores rose (change score of +0.6).

Analysis of post-intervention interview transcripts showed that six of the eight Black males felt more positively about the campus climate than they had previously. In his first interview, Marcus spoke of how he did not have a lot of hope for things to change on the campus, and didn't believe that students cared. In his final interview, he reiterated what he had written in a journal of how he experienced a change in his perception of non-Black students and their aptitude for becoming more sensitive:

I was surprised to learn that other students could relate to my

experiences. So, now I don't think it's necessarily just an anti-Black

thing. I mean, I still think that it's much harder for Black students, but I

think maybe it's more about lack of awareness…going both ways. I have

a little more hope now, because of what I heard in this class.

Seven of the eight Black males expressed similar feelings in their final interviews.

I think that after all our group talks and working together that we are

kind of starting to have a more collective perception.

Christie's statement above most clearly exemplifies what was found in the

quantitative analysis. Prior to the intervention, majority (White and Asian) students had

the most positive perception of the campus climate. Asian students had a mean campus

climate satisfaction score of 3.9 and White students had a mean score of 3.8 on a Likert

scale of 1 to 5. Latina/o students scored just slightly below that of majority students with a

mean score of 3.3. But Black students, with a mean score of 2.4, had a less positive

perception of the campus climate than the other students (see Table 5-1). When broken

down by gander, Black males had the lowest mean score (2.25), followed by Black females

(2.66), and Latinas (3.25). Latinos and Asian males both scored 3.5, while White males

scored 3.66. Asian and White females scored highest (4.33 and 4, respectively).

It is not surprising that Asian students reported being the most satisfied with the

campus climate. Asian students make up the vast majority of the student body (40% if

counting only Asian-American students; 54% if also counting Asian international students),

which gives them a majority experience on the campus. It is also not surprising that,

despite only making up 15% of the student population, White students still have a majority

experience because of their majority position in society, as well as the fact that the majority

of faculty and staff are White. So, there are easily found mentors and role models to

substantiate their own belonging on the campus. Latina/o students are quickly gaining critical mass on the campus (24%) and there has been much attention given to the fact that the campus is becoming a Hispanic-serving Institution, which could explain their more positive perception. However, Blacks make up a stark minority of the student population (less than 3%). This lack of critical mass on the campus, in combination with their experiences of discrimination, micro-aggressions, and stereotype threat would explain their significantly lower perception of the campus climate.

However, post-intervention tests revealed less polarized scores between racial groups. All groups had a mean score of between 3.0 and 3.7 (see Chart 5.1). So, it can be concluded from an analysis of both the quantitative and qualitative data that participation in the intervention improves campus climate satisfaction for Black males and that the impact, though still significant, was the opposite for non-Black students. In that way, it was found that **the intervention serves to mitigate disparities in campus climate satisfaction along racial lines.**

Table 5-1				

Means and Standard Deviations of Campus Climate Satisfaction (Pre- and Post-) and Change Scores, by Race

	Campus Climate Satisfaction (Pre)[a]		Campus Climate Single(Post)[b]		CCS Change Score
	Mean	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	
Black	2.36	± 0.31	3.00	± 0.27	0.636
Latina/o	3.33	± 0.42	3.17	± 0.40	-0.167
Asian	3.86	± 0.34	3.71	± 0.18	-0.143
White	3.80	± 0.37	3.20	± 0.20	-0.6

[ab]Five-point scale: From "strongly disagree" = 1 to "strongly agree" = 5.

Figure 5.1   Campus Climate Satisfaction Change
By Race
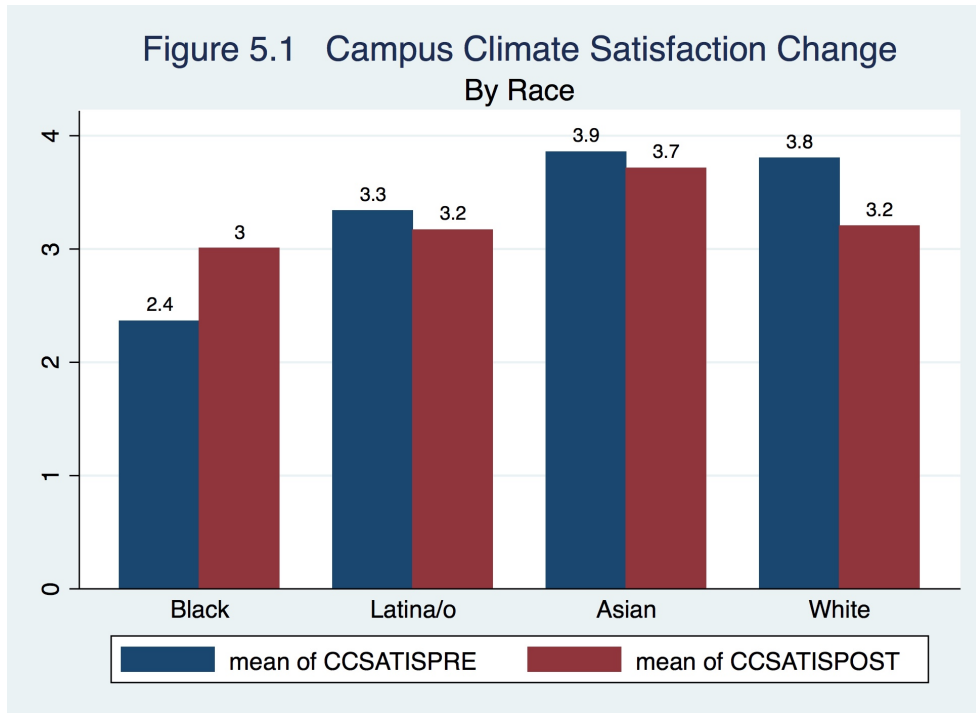
Because it was already shown in the previous chapter that cross-racial interaction and cross-racial comfort predicts campus climate satisfaction, further statistical analyses were run to test whether the intervention impacted those variables.

2. The intervention positively impacts cross-racial interaction and cross-racial comfort.

A simple linear regression was calculated to predict cross-racial interaction based on participation in the intervention. Model 1 included a dummy variable representing whether students had participated in the intervention. Results indicated that participation in the intervention significantly positively predicts cross-racial interaction. As seen in Table 5-2, the model explained 94% of the variance in students' cross-racial interaction. Models 2 and 3 included dummy variables for race and sex. Neither was significant, and they did not improve the overall fit.

Table 5-2
Regression Analysis, Cross-Racial Interaction
Treatment, Black, Male, Black Male

Model	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>t	F	df	p	R^2
1					3753.52	2	0.0000	0.9371
_cons	0.13	0.04	3.33	0.001				
Treatment - Yes	0.10	0.29	3.49	0.001				
3					1500.63	5	0.0000	0.9374
_cons	0.13	0.04	3.26	0.001				
Treatment	0.30	0.16	19.37	0.000				
Black - Yes	-0.05	0.19	-2.42	0.016				
Male - Yes	-0.001	0.01	-0.21	0.836				
Black Male - Yes	0.11	0.03	4.25	0.000				

A simple linear regression was calculated to predict cross-racial comfort based on participation in the intervention. As seen in Table 5-3, Model 1 included a dummy variable representing whether students had participated in the intervention. Results indicated that participation in the intervention significantly positively predicts cross-racial interaction. The model explained 97.6% of the variability in students' cross-racial comfort. Model 2 included dummy variables for race and sex. Neither was significant, and they did not improve the overall fit.   However, Model 3 tested an interaction term between race and sex. The interaction term was significant. Results indicated that participation in the intervention significantly positively predicts Black male campus climate satisfaction,

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compared with the other participants. The model explained 97.7% of the variability in

students' camps climate satisfaction.

Model	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>t	F	df	p	R^2
Table 5-3								
Regression Analysis, Cross-Racial Comfort Change								
Treatment, Black, Male, Black Male								
1					446.90	2	0.0000	0.4695
_cons	-1.39	0.00	0.00	0.050				
Treatment - Yes	0.32	0.02	21.14	0.000				
2					149.08	3	0.0000	0.4721
_cons	-0.004	0.004	-0.88	0.380				
Treatment – Yes	0.31	0.16	19.87	0.000				
Black - Yes	0.01	0.14	0.99	0.320				
Male - Yes	0.010	0.01	1.17	0.240				
3					120.84	4	0.0000	0.4905
_cons	-0.01	0.01	-0.10	0.921				
Treatment – Yes	0.31	0.02	19.68	0.000				
Black - Yes	-0.05	0.19	-2.37	0.020				
Male - Yes	0.000	0.01	-0.04	0.970				
Black Male - Yes	0.11	0.03	4.26	0.000				

It should be noted that all racial groups, except for Asians, reported an increase in

post-intervention cross-racial interaction. Asian students reported a decrease in cross-

racial interaction and cross-racial comfort after participation (see Tables 5-4 and 5-5). It is

possible that the score was skewed by the two international students who became more aware of racial segregation but less inclined to change their behaviors. Both of the international students indicated in final interviews that they either "do not understand and do not care" or that they believed "different races should not mix."

Contrary to the two Asian students referred to, five of the eight Black male participants expressed that they felt more comfortable seeking out cross-racial involvement opportunities than they had previously, and that through the new connections they had made in the class, they hoped to participate in more diverse activities on campus.

	Cross-Racial Interaction (Pre)[a]			Cross-Racial Interaction (Post)[b]			CRI Change Score
	Mean	SD		Mean	SD		
Black	3.24	± 0.19		3.40	± 0.18		0.16
Latina/o	3.23	± 0.30		3.53	± 0.27		0.3
Asian	3.60	± 0.18		3.34	± 0.16		-0.26
White	4.11	± 0.31		4.35	± 0.17		0.24

Table 5-4

Means and Standard Deviations of Cross-Racial Interaction (Pre- and Post-) and Change Scores, by Race – Treatment Only

[a]Five-point scale: From "seldom" = 1 to "often" = 5.
[b]Five-point scale: From "seldom" = 1 to "often" = 5.

Table 5-5
**Means and Standard Deviations of Cross-Racial Comfort (Pre- and Post)
and Change Scores, by Race – Treatment Only**

	Cross-Racial Comfort (Pre)[a]		Cross-Racial Comfort (Post)[b]		CRC Change Score
	Mean	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	
Black	3.31	± 0.88	3.41	± 0.08	0.10
Latina/o	3.54	± 0.04	3.55	± 0.04	0.01
Asian	3.40	± 0.03	3.41	± 0.03	0.01
White	3.68	± 0.06	3.71	± 0.06	0.03

[a,b]Five-point scale: From "strongly disagree" = 1 to "strongly agree" = 5.

As Darren explained, "I think [this experience] made me a little less uneasy about just being myself around non-Black people." This effect was exemplified in the pre- and post-interviews with six of the eight Black males. Nelson, for example, remarked in his first interview that he felt that his interactions with students of different races were "good...I think they like me. I'm a nice guy. I try to be funny." Although Nelson says that his interactions are good, he focuses on what he has to do to try and make others comfortable with him. In his post-interview, he was more aware of this:

> I used to be so concerned about what they would think of me...I was
>
> careful about how I talk and tried to be nice and funny. I used to laugh
>
> at the things they said that were racist or just wrong. Now, I just act like
>
> myself. And, I'm not afraid to let people know when they're wrong.

Nelson attributed this change to the dialogues in the class. The dialogues provided him with more comfort and confidence with cross-racial interactions.

3. The intervention impacts student awareness of the experiences of other student groups, outside of their own.

> *I'm more aware now that it's not so happy-go-lucky for everyone here.*

In this statement, Julie, an Asian-American female described her new awareness of the experiences of other students, particularly Black students—a new awareness that nearly all students acquired as part of their participation. Regression analysis supported what the students said in interviews, revealing that the intervention was a significant predictor of student awareness of other perceptions outside their own.

Prior to the intervention, all students tended to believe that other students felt the same about the campus as they did. When asked how satisfied other students are with the campus, student responses matched their response to their own satisfaction. However, after the intervention, student responses indicate an awareness of varying experiences and perceptions. On a single post-intervention survey question, "participation has made me aware of other student perceptions and experiences different from my own," the mean score for all participants was 4.21 and ranged from 4.0 to 4.29 measured on a 5-point Likert-scale). White students scored the highest (mean: 5). In post-interviews, all of the White and Asian participants expressed that they had become aware that not all students were having the same positive experience as theirs. According to Kevin,

> *Before taking this program, I thought everything was so great here. I*
> *can see things now...of things people do that might make others*
> *uncomfortable. I can see that it might be great for me, but it's not always*
> *great for everyone.*

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Additionally, five of the six Latina/o participants expressed a deeper awareness of other experiences that impacted their own perceptions. They talked about their own experiences as students of color and being aware of stereotypes that all students of color face, but they described a new level of awareness of the more negative experiences that Black students face, even compared to Latina/os. The words of Leonor best exemplify this:

> *My perception changed a little. I was already kind of aware because I experience stereotypes as a Latina----a person of color, but I was surprised at how much harder it is for Black students. And, I was surprised that some students were clueless. I think I was most surprised about Asian students, because they are students of color, too.*

Black students were also affected by a newfound awareness of the perspectives of non-Black students. Nine of the 11 Black students expressed surprise that other (non-Black) students experienced various forms of discrimination or feeling excluded, as well as a surprise in the aptitude for others to "care" or empathize. As Dallas explains, "I was surprised to see that other students cared and wanted to help change things for minority students. It made me feel better about being here." Marcus also talked about what he learned from the non-Black participants:

> *I didn't know that other (non-Black) students had felt the same way I did; that they also experienced some of the same things. I still think it's a lot harder for Black students, but now, I kind of see it different – like maybe it's not just because I'm Black that I feel isolated.*

It can be concluded that all participants became more aware of the perceptions and experiences of students outside their racial group.

4. Racial identity attitude and campus climate have a reciprocal relationship: while racial attitude identity development is a strong predictor of campus climate satisfaction, the experiences of Black male undergraduates may trigger cycles through various phases of Nigrescence.

> *I used to think it was just me....like I wasn't funny enough or*
>
> *something, and I used to try so hard. Now, I see that it's other people*
>
> *and how they view me. I can't do anything about them.*

Jordan is a perfect example of how a Black student might move from one stage to another in their racial identity. Jordan's quote above indicates that his identity was once primarily situated in the Pre-encounter stage—the first of four stage of nigrescence. In that stage, he was defensive about issues of race and preoccupied with showing others (non-Blacks) that he is "just another human being" (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991).   In his pre-interview, he denied that race had anything to do with his persistent struggles to find study groups. He saw that everyone else was welcomed in study groups, but he was not:

> *I don't know why I have troubles making friends and study buddies. I*
>
> *smile a lot and I try to be as friendly as possible. I try to show that I am*
>
> *smart and know the material. I really don't think race has anything to do*
>
> *with it. I just think that maybe it's something about me...I don't know.*

He even tried to show the other students how smart he was by answering lots of questions in class. Nothing worked, yet he could not figure out why. In his post-interview, it was apparent that he had moved into the Encounter stage. In this interview, Jordan articulated a new perspective about his racial identity. He had begun to see that, no matter how hard he tried, he was not going to be able to convince people to like him. It did not

matter how smart or how funny he was. At this point, he had given up trying so hard. He said, "It's not worth my effort any more. I just study alone." He also indicated that he had recently enrolled in his first African-American studies course—an indication of the "decision to start the journey toward a new identity (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991).

In order to understand the relationship between racial identity development and campus climate satisfaction, survey data was analyzed and compared with interview data. A multiple linear regression was conducted to predict campus climate satisfaction based on racial identity attitude. Racial identity attitude was identified through the Racial Identity Attitude Scale – B (see Appendix G). Black males took the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-B (RIAS-B) survey twice: once prior to the intervention and again at the end of the intervention study term.

In the pre-test, five scored primarily in the Internalization stage, two in the Encounter stage, and one in the Pre-Encounter stage. Post-test scores revealed that the majority of Black males who scored primarily in the Internalization stage at the beginning of the study, remained in that stage. Both of the students who had initially scored in the Encounter stage had shifted to the Internalization stage, and the student who had initially scored in the Pre-Encounter stage had shifted to the Immersion-Emersion stage. No one scored in the Pre-Encounter stage in the post-test.

The student who fell in the Pre-Encounter stage before the intervention, had the lowest pre-intervention campus climate score. However, he experienced the largest gain in campus climate satisfaction of all the Black males. This would be expected, based on the research, because the Pre-encounter stage is focused on pro-White ideals and a negative view of black people, whereas the Pre-Encounter stage is a stage of awareness and

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curiosity about Black culture and identity. This stage is moving toward a black identity that

is very Pro-black—the Immersion/Emersion stage.

Similar to Jordan in his final interview, other students that spoke of a burgeoning

interest in learning more about their racial and cultural identity were indicative of the

encounter stage. One such interviewee said that, although he had never really thought

about it before, being on the campus was bringing more awareness to him about his

culture, and the he was in the process of seeking out Black organizations on campus to get

more involved. Another student said:

> *I'm really just starting to get interested in my culture and my Black*
>
> *identity. I'm taking some Af-Am classes and starting to meet a lot of*
>
> *other Black students on campus who are teaching me a lot, especially*
>
> *about our condition on campus and in this country.*

Three students described a perspective representative of the Immersion-

Emersion stage. These students described negative experiences with White

people as the norm. One student, RJ, said that he didn't hang out with non-Blacks

because they don't understand him. He had become very active in one of the Black

student organizations and was active in demonstrating on campus with that

organization. He explained his approach toward non-Black students:

> *I just don't really associate much with White people. Or, even Asians for*
>
> *that matter. This way, I don't have to deal with getting mad at the*
>
> *dumb things they might say. I really prefer to just be around other*
>
> *Black people because we really appreciate and understand each other.*

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When asked about White people who are allies to Black communities, he replied, "it is impossible for White people…anyone…to truly be an ally for Blacks." It was clear that there was little trust in White people for RJ.

Those who began the intervention in the Internalization stage had the highest pre-intervention satisfaction scores and the lowest change scores. This is because they began the program having more confidence in their identity than other Black males. As James explained, "I'm very confident in my own identity, as a Black man, and I think that makes me less susceptible to negative influences around me." James' assertion here about the relationship between the confidence he has in his identity and his ability to persist in spite of negative experiences is indicative of someone in the Internalization stage of attitude development. In this stage of racial identity development, the individual has established healthy relationships with non-Blacks and worked out any previous incongruence between their own self-identity and their perception of world-views about their identity (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1998). Students in the Internalization stage described having pride in who they are…in being Black. Yet, they value and appreciate friendships and interactions with a diverse set of friends and colleagues. As Dallas said,

> I used to avoid White people all the time, and I was angry about them all
>
> the time. Now, I have some White friends and study partners. I still
>
> really value my Black friendships and support network, but I also value
>
> my non-Black friendships. I also realize that I need to be able to work in
>
> a diverse world. This is the real world, and I have to work with all kinds
>
> of people, especially White people. I can't go around being angry all the
>
> time.

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According to the Cross' Nigrescence model, Black individuals go through a series of racial identity developmental stages over their life. Parham (1989) expands on this in his assertion that individuals do not just cycle, but recycle through four stages as a result of events that cause them to re-evaluate their identity in relation to the world around them. This could explain why one of the Black males who had scored in the Internalization stage on the pre-test, scored in the Immersion/Emersion stage on post-test. In his post-interview, Thomas recounted two recent experiences that had changed his perspective about non-black students. The first was an incident when non-black students yelled racial epitaphs at him. The other was the response from students to the Black student demands that had recently been published. On Facebook, Twitter and other social media outlets, Black students were subjected to microassaults by White and Asian students. Thomas explained how this all affected him:

> I used to think this was a pretty good place. I wasn't affected much by the rare incidents of racism or bias. I had a nice diverse set of friends who never made me feel less than. But, the things I've heard this past quarter have made me stop to think....maybe my non-Black friends just aren't being honest. I was shocked to hear some of my non-Black friends chiming in, as well, and now I think maybe it's not possible for non-blacks to not be racist. I just can't hang out with any non-black people right now. I'd rather not be friends than to have to wonder if they are closet racists.

Multiple regression analysis was conducted to predict change in campus climate satisfaction based on racial attitude identity (RIAS-B) for Black males. Results indicated

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that racial identity attitude predicts campus climate satisfaction change for Black males. The model explained 66% of the variability in students' change in campus climate satisfaction. Results were consistent when the model was applied both before and after the intervention. At each point of survey, racial identity attitude predicted campus climate satisfaction.

With the combination of the statistical findings with the qualitative data, it is concluded that the impact of the intervention interacts with racial identity attitude influenced to impact campus climate satisfaction for Black males, but that the impact was varied depending on the stage of racial attitude identity upon beginning the intervention. Therefore, it could be postulated that this intervention might influence the racial identity development of Black male participants.

5. Data was inconsistent regarding the relationship of pre-college diversity exposure to cross-racial comfort.

I was used to talking with a lot of non-Black people but I really

wanted to have more serious talks. Now, I feel I can.

While pre-college diversity exposure was not found to be significant in the survey data, qualitative data indicated that Black males with higher levels of pre-college diversity exposure were more comfortable interacting in the campus' diverse environment. In Thomas' statement above, he described an atypical pre-college experience from his peers. Although nearly all of the Black males report some level of pre-college diversity exposure, Thomas's experience was rare, in that he was nearly the only Black student at his high school. Seven of the eight Black male participants all expressed having come from a high

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school that did not mirror the campus demographically. Six of them came from schools with very few White and Asian students. One came from a school that was almost entirely White, but had few Asians. All seven spoke of their arrival to the campus as a "culture shock." According to RJ, who came from a high school that was almost entire black, he has struggled to learn how to relate to most of the students on the campus:

Coming from a mostly Black high school and neighborhood, it's been a huge adjustment for me here. I have a really hard time relating to the other students, especially Asians and Whites. I never had to deal with so many of them before. It's definitely awkward.

Jordan, on the other hand, came from a high school that was almost entirely White. He talks about his experience coming to the campus as very similar to what he was used to:

Most of my high school experience, I've had classmates, neighbors and friends that weren't Black. There weren't that many Black people near me. I've become very accustomed to interacting with them. But, I've never been able to really have certain discussions with them. I guess, because I never knew how to bring them up, and I never thought they would understand. I always just brushed off the dumb things they would say. So, when I heard about this class, I thought it would be a great chance for me to get some experience having these tough conversations. I definitely feel that I can have some of those talks with my non-Black friends, now, and even with just any student.

6. Participants, particularly Black males, perceived a lack of institutional commitment to an inclusive diverse environment.

According to the qualitative data analysis, all Black males and 76% of all the other participants perceived the campus to lack commitment to an inclusive diverse environment (see Table 5-6). When asked if they felt the campus was commitment to an inclusive diverse environment, most students were unaware of anything being done by the campus to specifically address diversity and inclusion. Nine students thought that it was not the responsibility of campus officials. Seven said that the campus provided opportunities to engage and become educated across differences through cultural student groups. Black males and females felt more strongly about the campus' responsibility in the area. Six of the eight Black males said that the campus was doing nothing at all and was not committed at all, while two Black males cited administrative efforts administration, including a workgroup for Black student experience. Several Black students spoke of the administrations' past failures to address racism on the campus, claiming that institutional behavior did not go beyond recruitment.

According to these participants, many of their Black friends left after their freshman year due to the negative experiences they encountered once they arrived on campus. The overall negative experience was somewhat unexpected, when their only prior experience was a recruitment weekend that gave them the false presumption that there was a large Black presence on the campus. As RJ explained:

> *The campus deliberately recruits a diverse student body. Along with that*
> *comes responsibility to ensure that the diverse student body can function*
> *together and that faculty and staff are providing equitable resources.*

You can't just bring a bunch of Black students here who are not prepared

to succeed in a majority culture, and not provide the resources for them

to succeed. And, you can't keep saying that incidents of racism are

isolated events...every...single...time. Those things need to be addressed.

Though Black males were critical of the institution, they also recognized that the campus

was making recent efforts to address and improve the experience for Black students.

Darren described two initiatives that he was invited to participate in:

The campus is trying. It's reactive to Black student demands, but they are trying. This

year they started two workgroups to help improve things. One is for mentorship for Black

males and the other is focused on Black experience on campus. I hope those workgroups can

do some good things. I enjoy being on the committees, and so far I've found the mentorship

really helpful. I have a great mentor. But, I don't know if we are reaching enough students.

Table 5-6			
Lack of Institutional Commitment to an Inclusive Diverse Environment			
	Number of Students		
	Black	**Others**	**Total**
Phrases indicating lack of institutional commitment	*n*=11	*n*=18	*n*=29
I don't think they are doing anything	0	10	15
Maybe but not that I'm aware of	0	5	5
It's not administration's job/It's up to students	0	9	9
Other than occasional class group work, nothing	4	5	9
Administration isn't doing anything/They don't care	6	6	12
The campus provides opportunities through student groups	0	7	7
The campus is making efforts	2	5	7

7. Black male persistence was primarily fueled by the resilience built through the support of social support systems--family, friends, and mentors.

During final interviews, all Black males spoke of the reasons why they persisted in light of the negative experiences they encountered as students. Many of them had friends who had left, and nearly all of them had considered leaving at some point. But, they all had persisted through at least 2 years. When questioned about their decisions, they reported that it was their social support networks that helped them to build resilience. That, these networks helped them work through the hard times. They talked of three main support networks: family, friends, and mentors. Table 5-7 reports factors of persistence and resilience, as reported by these young men.

Family support network.

When Black males talked about their families as support networks, they also talked about a sense of duty. As RJ explained: "I'm the first of all my siblings to attend college. I have to make it to be an example to them." James echoed RJ's sentiment: "All of my cousins have dropped out of college. I need to make it…for the rest of my family. They are really looking to me to be the one." Thomas spoke of making his parents proud: "I want to make my parents proud of me. They have put so much support and effort into my success. I can't let them down." And, Marcus explained that he had no other choice: "My parents told me that I have to finish. They always tell me I have to finish what I start. They won't support me if I leave, and where else would I go?" These young men all found motivation from their families in varying levels. And that motivation helped them to persevere.

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Campus community.

Black males also spoke of their friends on the campus. They described how finding a community among other Black students had a tremendously positive effect on their experience. As shown previously, Marcus found help and support through his Black friendship groups on campus…as a result of establishing that network, he now felt "part of something on the campus" and was "not alone anymore." RJ also talked about the importance of his friendships with other Black students on campus: "They help me get through. They understand me, and I can be myself around them." It was noted that four of the Black males expressed some frustration with the attention drawn by one of the Black student organizations, and in particular, Black females leading the organization. As RJ explained,

> "It's a little frustrating because they put out these demands and it's
>
> like everyone keeps asking me about it. It's embarrassing because I
>
> automatically get associated with it, even if I don't agree with it."

RJ did make a point to say that, although he and some of the other Black males get frustrated, they also feel an obligation to support the "women who are doing all the work" for their benefit. Overall, black males felt very positively about their relationships with other Black students. As Darren proclaims, "I would never have made it without them. They are my rock. They support me through everything. They get crazy with me and make me laugh when I really need it." According to their stories, these within-race support systems are vital for their survival.

Mentorship.

Mentorship is another incredibly important factor in the persistence of Black males.

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All but one of these young men spoke of personal relationships they had developed with faculty and staff members through which they received support and guidance. These relationships often sustained their resilience in times of struggle. Dallas was particularly grateful to the staff member who supported him in a time when he needed it most:

> *She was really there for me. I was really struggling academically and I wanted to give up and she called me out of the blue and took me to lunch. We talked about everything going on in my life…my family problems…and she explained to me that it wasn't any lack of intelligence that was causing my academic problems, but it was all of the stress related to my personal life. She encouraged me that I deserved to be here and that I could succeed. Then, she told me where to get help…how to get free tutoring, and connected me with a group of Black students in my major. I will never forget that. I talk to her all the time, now. She is a huge reason I'm still here.*

James also spoke of the importance of faculty mentorship in his resilience:

> *I just happened to hear about this faculty member from a friend. I went with my friend to meet him, and my life changed. I was so down on this place. I thought I should just leave and find a job. My mentor told me that he understood how I felt because he had gone through it too. But he said that, just like him, I was one of the few lucky ones to have gotten here and that I should hold my head high and be proud of my success. When I heard that, I was like…hey…. he's right. I should be proud. And, I'm going to make it. Since then, he's written me several letters that*

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have gotten me scholarships and an internship. I'm so glad he's here.

Black males iterate that it is through the support of these social networks that they have been able to build resilience. These positive influences in their lives counter the negative experiences and motivate them to move forward. Further, Black males ascertain that by moving through the difficult times, they build strength. RJ calls these difficult experiences "learning life lessons." Here, he explains what he means:

What doesn't kill me, makes me stronger...stronger to face the real

world. This isn't any different than the real world. I may as well learn

how to deal with it now, so that it's easier later.

Darren reiterates RJ in that he claims to have grown a "thicker skin" as a result of working through adversity on the campus. He doesn't "let things bother [him] so easily, anymore." These young men have learned to turn negative experienced into strength-builders, with the support of their varied social networks. This ability to transform negativity has given them the resilience to persist.

Table 5-7
Factors of Persistence for Black Males

Reasons for Persisting	Number of Students (n=8)	
Campus friendships		8
Same-race friendships	7	
Cross-racial friendships	1	
Family		6
Duty to parents	4	
Set an example	2	
Mentorship		5
Faculty mentors	2	
Staff mentors	5	
Prove to self	2	2

Program Evaluation

Because the dialogues can at times be difficult, it is important to evaluate the efficacy of the program for future iterations. It is critical to understand whether the students found it to be beneficial, despite the difficulty. To try and answer this, all participants completed a program evaluation that was triangulated between a survey, journal entry, and interview. Findings indicate that 88% of participates found the program to be meaningful and productive, and would not only recommend it to other students, but felt it should be a requirement for all 1st or 2nd year undergraduates. The following is a summary of the four major findings.

1. Participants found the intervention to be meaningful and valuable.

This was definitely valuable—something I had never experienced in any other course.

Program participants reported that they found their participation to be meaningful, with a mean score of 4.38 for the group. Black male participants scored slightly lower than non-Black students (4.25 vs. 4.29) but the difference in scores between Black males and other participants was not found to be statistically significant (see Table 5-6). Seven of the eight Black males and both Black females responded that the program was a valuable experience. As Lisa, a Black female participant, explained in a journal entry:

It's nice to have this space where students can finally speak up about

these issues. Having so many Black students in the class really helped me

to feel more comfortable with the talks. I learned a lot and I was able to

tell my story too.

Darren, a Black male participant, described his experience in the class as one of mutual learning and teaching:

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Starting the program, I was very skeptical about what the class would be.

A lot of the learning that's happened has been through my interactions

with other students in the class. The class provides for me a space which

allows me to indulge in learning and teaching about race in a way that I

cannot in my other major courses. The education provided by the class is

one that I wish was provided by my other classes.

Josh, a White male participant, said that he found value in the "experience of learning from others and learning how to navigate differences in conversation…a skill I will take to the professional realm."

All of the Asian-American participants (not counting the two international students) and all of the White and Latina/o participants described their experience as meaningful, even if at times a little uncomfortable. White students, in particular said that they had been completely unaware of the experiences that Black students and other students of color face every day, and that they are now "more careful" about what they say and how they act. The two Asian international students did not find the program valuable to them. In interviews, they stated that they "didn't understand what the big issue was" and that "races just shouldn't mix."

2. Participants would recommend the program to friends and fellow students.

I tell all my friends to try and take this class. It's about learning…about

opening ourselves to learn what, really, cannot be taught. You can't just

read an article on race issues and expect to understand the narrative

behind it.

Program participants reported that they would recommend the program to other students and friends, with a mean score of 4.34 for the group. Black male participants scored slightly lower than non-Black students (4.25 vs. 4.43) but the difference in scores between Black males and other participants was not found to be statistically significant (see Table 5-6). In interviews, all participants said that they would recommend the program to others. As Jessica explained above, participants viewed this program as a valuable experience that they wanted their friends to have. Adam describes why he would recommend the program to other students:

This is an excellent educational experience that only a select few will be

able to witness in their time in college. Although, the experience was

extremely heavy at times, the impact of such an experience has already

been translated into my job as well as my service work. As one of the

speakers put it, true progress will occur not through simply spamming

everyone's Facebook wall but rather leaders taking the opportunity to

recognize any form of discrimination and put an end to it.

3. Participants were comfortable with the dialogues. They found the dialogues productive, and wanted more time for cross-racial discussions, especially related to current national events, as highlighted by the Black Lives Matter movement.

The kind of conversations that we have been able to have far exceed

any expectations that I had, and despite the gravity of our subject area

everyone has been supportive and empathetic.

Program participants reported that their participation in the class dialogues was a comfortable experience (mean score, 4.34). Black male students had a higher mean score

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(4.625 vs. 4.048) but the difference was not statistically significant. Further, program participants reported that class dialogues were productive and informative (mean score, 4.31). Black male students had a higher mean score (4.38 vs. 4.29) but the difference was not statistically significant (see Table 5-8). Program participants reported that they would have liked more time for dialogues with students of a different racial background from their own (mean score, 4.24). Black male students had a slightly lower mean score (4.12 vs. 4.29) but the difference was not found to be statistically significant. In interviews, all students stated that the dialogues were the most impactful part of the program, as exemplified by Lou, a Latino male participant:

> *There is so much you can learn from the perspective of another person that you cannot learn by reading. A person's narrative can only translate so far through text. Although it is nearly impossible to fully see someone's story through their eyes, hearing the story page by page from their voice is far different from reading about it.*

RJ explained that, despite some of the discomfort, he felt "safe" and was "comfortable having these discussions with non-Black students." He also explained that having a large representation of Black students was partially what made this a more comfortable experience for him.

Nine of eleven Black males, and two of the three Black females, said that they had looked forward to the class each week, especially when there was a recently publicized national event that had troubled them. According to James, "the class provided an outlet to process these events and to see up-close how non-Black people felt about the incidents and about the Black Lives Matter movement."

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Table 5-8
Means and Standard Deviations of Campus Climate Satisfaction (Pre- and Post-)
and Change Scores, by Race

	More Meaningful[a]		More Dialogue[b]		Recommend[b]	
	Mean	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*
Non-Black	4.43	± 0.16	4.29	± 0.18	4.38	± 0.18
Black Male	4.25	± 0.31	4.13	± 0.23	4.25	± 0.31

[abc]Five-point scale: From "strongly disagree" = 1 to "strongly agree" = 5.

4. Participants advocate to have this program be a requirement for all 1st or 2nd year students.

All students really need to take this class.

When asked how they believed campus climate could be positively impacted, 19 of the 29 participants suggested in interviews and journals that a course similar to this be a required course for all 1st or 2nd year students. Many described it as a unique and critical experience that they never got in any other classes. Specifically, participants referred to the experience with intergroup dialogue. Perhaps best said by Kevin:

As an engineering student, I have not been required to take classes

examining the ways society interacts with each other or how it is

constructed. As a result, the material covered in this class has been

new, fresh, and interesting as such topics in the world of engineering

are usually never discussed in full. Overall, it has proved to be an eye

opening experience that has allowed me to step out of my comfort zone

and get a fuller understanding behind "diversity." I think all students

should be required to take such a class in their first year here.

Kevin went on to talk about how he had thought that he was pretty aware, as an

Asian student that is often referred to as a "person of color." He was surprised at

how "ignorant" he had been. Larissa, a Latina female, also shared his surprise at

what she was able to learn that she had not already known as a woman of color,

and one that has taken diversity courses in the past:

During my time at UCI, I have taken part in a large variety of diversity

trainings. However, with this class, I have realized these trainings only

scratched the surface and did not really go into why it is important to

study diversity. Moving forward, I intend on using the experience I have

gained to challenge others to really think about such topics and what

measures that can they can take to reduce the challenges faced by

minority populations here. I would never have known how important

this is. If this class was required of all students, maybe that's how

things could get better.

Participants expressed that they were able to navigate the challenges of the difficult

dialogues in order to gain an understanding that they saw as deep and meaningful—not

just for themselves, but for the campus. They viewed the experience as so meaningful, that

they strongly recommended it as a permanent, required course. One of the project

proposals that proceeded from the class was a policy change to implement such a

requirement.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented findings from quantitative data as well as qualitative data. While qualitative data supported survey findings, they brought to light deeper understandings of Black males' experience in their own words. Further, they surfaced additional findings, particularly related to persistence among Black males.

Along the lines of racial differences in perception of campus climate, the findings of this study support what has already been revealed in the literature: Black students have a significantly lower perception of the campus climate than do majority students (Allen & Solorzano, 2001; Fischer 2010; Schwitzer et al., 1999). Further, the findings support the literature about the impact of intergroup contact. As the findings indicate, increased cross-racial interactions that are not merely casual encounters, but involve sincere dialogue about difficult issues, result in improved campus climate satisfaction among Black students, in particular.

Black male students experience discrimination, microaggressions and exclusion from social and academic activities. They face stereotype threat every day in ways that impact their thought patterns, decisions and behavior when interacting and navigating diverse settings. These young men describe secluding themselves among other Black students as a retreat – a relief from the daily stress of having to be "something you are not" and having to "prove" themselves of being worthy of their place at the institution. There is a feeling of disconnect with other students outside of their racial group because of their racial experiences.

Findings in this research indicate that Black students are significantly less satisfied with the campus climate than all other students. Further, all students, but particularly

Black students, perceive a lack of institutional commitment to an inclusive diverse environment and noted areas of improvement for the campus to facilitate better student relations. The results of the study reveal that there are ways that institutional agents can significantly impact the experience for Black males. Moreover, it is clear that programming that facilitate meaningful intergroup dialogue and cross-racial interaction has benefits for all students. In the next chapter, I will not only discuss a summary of the findings and how this research adds to the literature, but I will outline a call to action for institutional agents, providing recommendations drawn from the findings presented.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

The central purpose of this study was to examine the impact of a cross-racial campus climate empowerment program on Black males' perception of the campus racial climate as well as their comfort with cross-racial interaction. In this chapter, I summarize the key findings from both the quantitative and qualitative data and explore the implications of those findings leading to recommendations for practitioners and administrators of higher educational institutions. Finally, I consider the limitations of the study and ways that it informs future research.

Summary of Findings

Three groups (treatment, control and comparison) were studied to improve validity and increase reliability. There were no significant differences found between the three groups in pre-intervention data. However, there were significant differences between the treatment group and the other two groups in post-treatment scores around campus climate satisfaction and cross-racial comfort.

The analysis of student responses and other data helped to show how Black students view their experiences and interactions, providing a window from which to begin to understand how they experience the racial climate. An analysis of institutional data revealed not only how Black students fare on the campus, but also shed light into how the institution imagines itself. Quantitative data reflected the broader collective of Black student satisfaction, while qualitative data provided a deeper understanding of Black student perceptions through their own voices. The results of this study supported each of

three research questions that were investigated. Additional and unanticipated findings

emerged, as well. The following is a summary of the findings.

Key Findings

Campus Climate Satisfaction

The 22 Black males in the three study groups were significantly less satisfied with

the campus climate than non-Black participants due to experiencing microaggressions,

stereotypes, and overt racism. These experiences were prevalent in classrooms, co-

curricular activities, and social activities. While this finding supports the literature in that

cultural challenges, racism, and microaggressions negatively impact Black student

perception of campus climate (Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007; Fischer,

2007, 2010), the qualitative data from this study provides a deeper understanding of these

findings—the how and the why—as told by Black males.

Microaggressions and stereotypes.

Black males in the study faced stereotype-driven microaggressions as a regular part

of their campus experience. These experiences spanned both academic and social settings.

In class, microinsults manifested themselves in the surprised reaction of faculty and

students when Black males demonstrated their intelligence. As Dallas explained, it is as

though "they don't expect us to know things." RJ said that he and his other Black male

friends were almost always assumed to be athletes or token admits: "Most people think we

are here because we are athletes. Or, that we were admitted just because we are

Black…not because we are smart." Sometimes, the fear of proving positive the stereotype

regarding Black intellectual inferiority prevented these young men from speaking up in

class at all.

Microaggressions and the stigma of these negative stereotypes caused these young Black men to suffer stereotype threat, wherein they question their personal identity as well as their self-efficacy and whether they belonged at the institution. More than half of them believed that their race had played a larger role in their admission than their academic performance in high school, and that completing their degree was more due to luck and social perseverance than anything else.

The struggle to define their masculinity in spite of societal images of Black men as rappers, dancers, drug dealers, and generally aggressive men with excessive sexual appetites, has resulted in the development of conflicted identities for these young men. Microinvalidations directed toward them left them feeling as though they were an anomaly—an object of awe and entertainment for others—not belonging in either Black culture or the predominant White college culture. Black men were often told they "aren't like other Black people" because they don't "act Black," "talk Black," or "dress Black." These microinsults and microinvalidations not only made them feel as though their culture was misunderstood and not valued, but left them feeling isolated and guilty about their perceived abandonment of their community (Ogbu, 1984; Strayhorn, 2008).

Racism.

Consistent with the literature, Black males described the campus racial climate as hostile and reported more encounters with racial incidents and discrimination in both classes and social settings than all other student groups (Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Fischer, 2010; Hurtado & Carter, 1997). Black men reported that their community faced incidents of racism on the campus and they perceived these incidents to be quite common. They were

excluded from parties because of the color of their skin; they were yelled at as they walked to and from class; and they were the targets of a variety of other racial incidents. Thomas described an incident where a note was placed on a Black student's dorm room door that said "go back to Africa, slave." Several Black males recounted incidents where, while walking or skateboarding on campus, they were yelled at by White or Asian students as they passed by in their cars. These men perceived the incidents to be racially motivated. Darren described an incident when a group of young men yelled at him one night as they nearly ran him over. "You're lucky nigger that we have lights so we don't run over your Black ass."

It was noted during the small group dialogues that many racial incidents were only reported and discussed by some Black males after hearing others detail their experiences with racism on campus. It could be that some Black males were still processing these incidents or that they had chosen not to think about the incidents. It could also be that these students were not comfortable, at first, sharing their experiences, but that having a large representation of fellow Black students who were talking about similar experiences allowed them to feel more comfortable to open up.

Though the existence of incidents of microaggressions was not surprising—these incidents are common in the every-day-life of a person of color—the widespread pervasiveness of those incidents in the college experiences of Black males, and the extent to which they created a negative racial climate for them was somewhat surprising. Even more so, the reported frequency of occurrences of outright racism was alarming. Cross-racial Interaction

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Although all students reported average-to-low levels of cross-racial interaction, positive cross-racial interaction was found to be the strongest predictor of campus climate satisfaction. In fact, for Black males, that variable alone explained 21% of the variability in students' campus climate satisfaction. This was consistent with the literature in that cross-racial interaction "mitigates the effects of perceived racial tension and improves sense of belonging" (Locks et al., 2008).

Cross-Racial Comfort

The second key finding supported the hypothesis that cross-racial comfort was a very strong predictor of cross-racial interactions. In fact, it explained 42% of the variability in cross-racial interactions. However, most students reported discomfort interacting cross-racially, and Black males were significantly less comfortable than all other students. They frequently felt misunderstood or devalued in the predominant [non-Black] culture. This was consistent with the literature (Allen, 1992; Kuh et al., 2010; Museus & Neville, 2012).

The Black men in this study referred to their cross-racial interactions as "strained" and "awkward." When they interacted with non-Black students, they altered the way they spoke and modified their behavior so that those students would not misunderstand them. Black males also made every-day decisions in consideration of the comfort of non-Blacks, such as crossing to the other side of the street, avoiding eye contact, or not sitting in a seat on the campus shuttle—to avoid making others uneasy. At parties, Black males were considered "cool" and other students expected them to act in certain ways—dance, rap— they were constantly "on stage." On campus, it was another story—Black behavior was not respected. The result of conflicting expectations and the need to fit into the dominant culture at times, while transversely interacting in Black culture at other times, resulted in a

"double consciousness" (DuBois, 1903).

As a result of the strained and uncomfortable interactions outside their race, Black males preferred to interact with other Black students—students who understood them, their culture, and shared similar experiences. Around other Black students, they did not have to play a role or be on stage; they could be themselves.

It was noted that the Black Lives Matter movement seemed to have a pronounced impact on students, particularly Black sdtudents. Several times during the course, national incidents of racism and the response of Black Americans became a source of discussion. The Black Lives Matter movement seemed to have made Black students more aware of their "condition" and less trusting of White people, while the movement brought many questions by Non-Black students.

Level of cross-racial comfort did not differ across the three study groups. This was a finding that contradicts the literature, which has found that students who participate in a diversity course are "predisposed to a unique set of multicultural competencies" that reduce anxiety about cross-racial interactions (Locks et al., 2008). All students reported low levels of cross-racial comfort, regardless of having participated in a diversity course or having articulated an interest in participating.

The significance of this finding is clear. Since cross-racial comfort is such a significant predictor for cross-racial interactions (and cross-racial interactions are a very strong predictor of campus climate satisfaction), we should find ways to improve the cross-racial comfort of students.

Impact of Participation in the Intervention

The third key finding supported the hypothesis that participation in a program

designed to provide an opportunity for meaningful cross-racial interaction would improve

Black males' campus climate satisfaction, which is consistent with the literature (Kuh et al.,

2010; Harper & Hurtado, 2007).

The quantitative data revealed that participation in the intervention had a positive

significant impact on both cross-racial comfort and cross-racial interaction. In fact,

participation explained 94% of the variability in cross-racial interaction (race did not

improve the model). Participation explained 47% of the variability in cross-racial comfort

for all participants and 50% for Black male participants. This very strong prediction has

enormous implications for the intervention on improving the campus climate and diverse

interactions among students. The qualitative data in this study provided insight into how

this happens. Through meaningful intergroup dialogue, Black males began to perceive that

non-Black students could sympathize with their experiences. Dallas found that, while he

was not surprised at the lack of awareness among non-Black students, he was surprised to

see that, once informed, "many did seem to care" about improving the campus

environment, as well as their own behaviors and implicit biases. Marcus showed surprise

that other "[non-Black] students had shared some similar experiences" that enabled them

to empathize.

Black males also gained some confidence in their cross-racial interactions as a result

of participating. This is most likely explained by the nigrescence model of racial identity

development, as these students moved into or toward the stage of Development. The

Internalization stage is characterized by confidence in one's own identity and healthy

cross-racial relationships. Jordan explained that after participating in the dialogues he

became "less concerned with what others think" and felt freer to act like himself. James

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said that, after speaking with the other students, and hearing what they had to say, he felt more like there "might be a place for him" on the campus; that maybe it "wasn't as bad as he had thought."

What was not anticipated was the negative impact that participation had on non-Black students' perception of the campus climate. After participation, non-Black students reported less satisfaction with the campus climate. However, this finding should be seen as a positive outcome. According to interviews, this change in perception was due to a new awareness of experiences different from their own. Thus, this change illustrates the ability for non-Black students to sympathize, and perhaps even empathize, with the campus experiences of Black students.

The Decision to Persist

Black males that persisted were successful due to their social support networks. That is, their families, friends on campus, and staff or faculty mentors (Davis, 1991; Katz, 1991; Museus, 2011). Additionally, these young men also gained strength through adversity with tremendous resilience (Levister, 2001; Sapienza & Masten, 2011).

Family.

Black males persisted out of a sense of duty and commitment to family. Their family had influenced their persistence in two ways—through both motivation and through support. RJ and James talked about being "an example" for younger siblings and cousins. They felt they needed to persist so that others would follow behind them. Meanwhile, Thomas and Marcus relayed the importance of making their parents proud. They felt obligated to showing their appreciation for all of their parents' support in getting them this

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far, and did not want to let them down. These men, despite their negative experiences, made conscious decisions to stay because of their commitment to their families. This finding was congruent with the literature (Cabrera et al., 1999; Guiffrida, 2004, 2005; Harper, 2008; Rendón, et al., 2000).

Campus community.

Black male participants described the importance of finding a community among other Black students in impacting their trajectory and their decision to persist. Despite some frustration with activist Black female students, Black males asserted that these communities provided social support to help counter the effects of negative academic and social experiences (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Laurence et al., 2009). As RJ explained, "my Black friends help me get through. They understand me…we share common experiences. And, we can relax and be ourselves. I would not have made it without them."

Mentorship.

Black males attributed their persistence in part to the support and mentorship from faculty and staff (Astin, 1993; Katz, 1991; Museus, 2011; Museus & Neville, 2012). These young men had developed personal relationships with s few specific members of the faculty or staff and these relationships were an important piece of their support network on campus. Dallas described the support he got from faculty and staff as "uplifting…There were times when I thought I was going to leave and they were there for me. Knowing that they care about my success has helped me to stay."

Resilience.

Despite negative influences, Black males experience "counterbalancing of positive

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forces" that helped them to withstand, recover and sustain themselves through resilience—

the ability to withstand and recover forces that threaten stability and persistence (Levister,

2001; Sapienza & Masten, 2011). Black males in the study reported that they gained

strength from their challenging experiences on the campus. RJ described persevering

through the daily challenges faced by Black students as an "important life lesson."

According to him, "this campus is no different from the real world, so we may as well get

used to it now." Darren explained that these experiences made him "stronger." He said

that, because of persevering through isolation and racist treatment, he has learned to

"grow a thicker skin" and not let little things bother him so much.

For many of these young men, learning to persevere through the adversity of

isolation empowered them to seek out resources, support networks, positive mentors, and

develop strength. Not surprisingly, this finding is not found in the most widely referenced

literature. Much of the literature is focused on deficit-frameworks, or on what the

institution can provide to improve persistence for Black males. However, recent literature

investigates persistence and success (Brotherton, 2001; Harper, 2007). Moreover, the

literature on Black psychology looks at resilience, especially in the face of adversity, and

how Black persons find ways to gain and build strength from their adversity (Parham,

Ajamu, & White, 2010). This is not actually a trait unique to Black individuals – all humans

learn to build strength through adversity (thus, the phrase, "no pain, no gain"). However,

Black persons face an inordinate amount of adversity every day, beyond the rest of society.

And, in college, these young men deal with issues unique to them each and every day—

issues and concerns that require a plethora of cognitive energy that should be directed

solely toward their studies. It is clear to see how these young men see that their perseverance makes them "stronger" and "ready to face the real world."

Secondary Findings

Pre-college diversity

Results indicated that pre-college diversity was not a predictor of cross-racial comfort (CRC). Although it was found to be a negative predictor of cross-racial interaction (CRI) for all students, it only explained 1% of the variability in students' cross-racial interaction. While pre-college diversity was a positive predictor of cross-racial interaction (CRI) for non-Black males, it was again weak, as it only explained 3% of the variability. For Black males, pre-college diversity was a negative predictor of campus climate satisfaction (CCS) and it explained 14% of the variability. These findings are incongruent with much of the prior studies that have indicated a positive effect of pre-college diversity on Black males' sense of belonging and diverse interactions (Locks et al., 2008; Sáenz, 2010; Zúñiga et al., 2007). Only one study found that pre-college diversity was only minimally related to perception of racial climate or to diverse interactions for Black males (Chavous, 2005).

Perceived Institutional Commitment

Black males perceived a lack of institutional commitment to diversity and to improving the experience of Black students on the campus. Several of the Black males recognized very recent attempts to address the campus racial climate, but they perceived these efforts to be defensive in nature, resulting from repeated protests and demands made by Black students of campus authorities.

Though the campus works to intentionally recruit a diverse student body, these

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students perceive that more could be done to increase the numbers of Black students, faculty, and staff on campus. Further, there was a general feeling of unmet expectations among a majority of the Black males. Their actual experience once they arrived as freshmen was very different from what was presented to them during recruitment events. As a result of this dichotomy and the unanticipated negative environment they encountered, many of their Black friends had left during their first year. James explained how difficult it was to be an ever-decreasing minority on the campus: "Several of my friends left in freshman year. They hated it here. Many of us don't survive."

Darren spoke of the perceived lack of attention given to incidents of racism, when he said, "Administrators continue to ignore these incidents. They keep telling us that they are isolated events. Every time something happens, they say it's isolated." The prominence of stereotypes, microaggressions, and racism on the campus and the lack of institutional action to address these incidents left them feeling as though their culture and even their very existence was neither respected nor valued or seen as relevant at the institution (Allen & Solórzano, 2007; Fischer, 2010; Rodgers & Summers, 2008).

Racial Identity Attitude Scale

Racial identity attitude was a very strong predictor of campus climate perception for Black males in this study. As Black males progressed through the stages toward internalization, their campus climate satisfaction scores increased. The study further revealed that there is a reciprocal relationship between the campus environment and racial identity for Black males. While the environment influences identity development, racial identity also impacts reported satisfaction with the campus environment.

The impact of the intervention was stronger for Black males who entered the

intervention in the Pre-Encounter stage. As they began with the lowest satisfaction scores, there was much room for improvement in campus climate satisfaction. Conversely, men who began the intervention in the internalization stage had the highest pre-intervention campus climate satisfaction and experienced the least change in campus climate satisfaction. Some of the students cycled forward through the stages of development while one re-cycled through the stages. Interviews helped explain the survey data and substantiated Cross, Parham & Helms (1991).

Tertiary Findings

International Students Lack of Interest in Diverse Interaction

The few international students in the study were disinterested in interacting across racial lines and were not concerned with the campus racial climate. Each of the two international students, who apparently misunderstood the course topic to be about climate control, expressed their belief that "races should not mix." This finding was not born in the literature review and it is unclear if these students were anomalies or if their beliefs are cultural-based.

Value of the Intervention to Participants

Participants in the intervention found the intervention to be meaningful and valuable to them, as it provided the only classroom (and arguably the only campus) experience of its kind. Although there was some moments of discomfort due ti the challenging topics, participants, on a whole, said they were comfortable with the dialogues. Participants were pleased with the opportunity to dialogue across race and to learn from their diverse peers. In fact, all but one of the participants said they would recommend the

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course to a friend or fellow-student. Finally participants advocated to have the course be a requirement for all students.

Surprisingly, Black students also reported that no one had ever taken the time to talk with them about their persistence. Further, no White faculty or staff had every asked them about their experiences on the campus.

Value of the study to administrators and instructors

This research illuminates the need to improve the experiences of Black males at institutions of higher education. Through this study, we heard directly from Black males about their experiences—experiences that pose challenges for them and experiences that have supported their success. But, this study does more than simply highlight information about a problem—it offers a model for institutional agents to improve those experiences and thus close the gap between Back males and other students. By intentionally creating and supporting meaningful opportunities for students to interact across race, institutional agents will begin to break down the biases and prejudices that students bring with them to college, and to help students build positive relationships across race. But, in order for these efforts to be successful in improving the experience for Black students, these interactions must be focused on learning about equity, power, and privilege. Students must be empowered to learn and teach across race. As this study shows, such deliberate efforts will help improve Black male satisfaction. And, improving campus climate satisfaction is critical to the success of Black males.

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Limitations of the study

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There are several limitations of this study. The first is the sample size of the

treatment group. Although the inclusion of a control group attempted to mitigate this limitation and improve generalizability, expanding the size of the treatment group could strengthen the study. However, the nature of the research design limited the ability to increase the number of students in the treatment. A second limitation is with regards to the generalizability to other institutions. It is difficult to say whether the impact of the intervention would be the same at another institution, given the variable environment and demographics.

A third limitation concerns longitudinally. With a study that only spans the scope of six months, it is difficult to say whether the measured impact is long lasting, whether it fades, grows, or stays constant across time. Finally, a limitation related directly to the researcher-participant relationship was the researcher's lack of active presence in the classroom; especially group dialogues and class reflections limited the trust between researcher and participant. As a result, the researcher was unable to observe first-hand the participants' cross-racial interaction. Further, it was more challenging to establish trust between the researcher and the participant, which made interviews more challenging.

The measurement instruments also play a limiting role. First, with a focus on cross-racial interaction and cross-racial comfort, the survey instrument was limited in the variety of factors influencing persistence and success. Although a broader understanding was sought through interviews, it was not possible to gather the same breadth of data from the larger control group. Additionally, the large number of questions combined to create the campus climate satisfaction latent variable limits breadth of data and creates the potential for conceptual overlap, just as there is potential confound between measures. Separating out sense of belonging from perceived racial climate could provide a more thorough

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understanding of what is going on. More detail could have been asked about pre-college diversity in terms of choices of friendships and interactions. And, the socioeconomic status of participants could have been enlightening.

A noteworthy limitation regarding the survey instrument was the forcing of respondents into particular response categories of race and gender. Though there was a question that allowed participants to identify their race/ethnicity among many options, including mixed race and Native Americans, and some delineation between Asian groups, the study focused on how others perceive the students. Thus, participants were forced into one of four main racial groups, Black, Latina/o. Asian, and White.   Although this grouping is consistent with racial grouping in campus data, as well as national data, it ignores the unique experiences of mixed-race students and "Asian" students, among whom there is tremendous diversity.

A final limitation is the reliance on self-reported data. Though self-reported data can be unreliable, this study attempted to mitigate this limitation by the triangulation of survey, interview and journal data.

Future Research

This study provides valuable information to administrators, but is just a beginning. To improve generalizability, future research needs to expand to include a larger study population as well as multiple campuses. It would also be interesting to expand the study to other climate topics such as gender and gender identification, religion, and citizenship status in order to understand how the intervention impacts students on those issues.

Future studies could utilize procedures to better investigate within group variability. Though an investigation into the racial identity development of participants

began to do this, there is more to be done. First, deeper qualitative investigation into the variance between Black males and Black females might begin to shed light on the large gaps in achievement. Further, future research could seek to reflect the multiplicity of identities through delineation of race categories, such as "Asian." Moreover, because mixed-race students have a very unique experience, and the information about their racial identity development is limited, future research should investigate how those students experience the campus with a focus on factors that help them persist and succeed. Finally, a study of international students should also be conducted, to understand how international cultural differences might affect the impact of the intervention.

Faculty and staff perceptions are another area of study that could add to this research and to the overall understanding of the campus climate. Understanding where faculty and staff stand on issues of diversity and inclusion would help administrators determine what changes need to be made to educate faculty and staff, and also perhaps to improve their experience.

In terms of the persistence of Black males, more research should be done to inform administrators for the best allocation of resources. A study of the services accessed by Black males who have persisted could shed more light on this matter. Also, a study of the impact of recently implemented institutional efforts to improve campus climate will be critical in determining if the institution is on its way to improving things for Black students. Administrators should seek to understand the impact from the students' perspectives.

Aside from racial identity attitude, this study did not look at specific individual characteristics of Black males that may interact with the intervention to improve climate satisfaction. Future research could shed better light on specific personality and identity

characteristics and investigate how they might influence the impact of the intervention.

Finally, further research should test the long-standing impact of the treatment. It would be valuable to try and determine whether the treatment impacts perceptions and behavior, across time. It would be equally important to look at whether participation in the intervention has the power to mitigate individual and campus-wide events.

Implications

Findings from this research present important implications, particularly related to diversity and intergroup dialogue.

Implications for Policy Makers

While increasing the numbers of underrepresented minorities is seen as good for campuses, representative diversity is not enough. At this prime moment in the identity development of young men and women, universities must also productively utilize interactional diversity, with an emphasis on issues of power, privilege, and social justice, to realize its intended benefits (Gurin, Lehman, & Lewis, 2004; Hurtado, 1999; Tatum, 2003). We cannot continue to pretend that we are a post-racial society or that racism no longer exists. We must face this before our negligence leads to unforeseeable problems. We must work to understand how our students are experiencing the campus, and working to improve those experiences.

Based on the data analysis, although cross-racial comfort explains a marginal portion of the variability in campus climate satisfaction for Black males, because cross-racial comfort is such a strong predictor of cross-racial interaction, and cross-racial interaction is such a strong predictor of campus climate satisfaction, it is crucial that

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institutions seek to find methods of increasing the cross-racial comfort of Black students.

And, in light of the information revealed in terms of the achievement gap between male and

female Black students, policy makers must seek to better understand the underpinning

issues. Though all women of all races are outperforming men in college degree attainment,

the implication of a gender gap that is three times or even twelve times that of other racial

groups is that something greater is going on that needs to be addressed.

Additionally, policy makers should consider the implications of the rapidly growing

rate of international student matriculation and how it is changing the campus environment.

While international students can contribute to a diverse campus, it is important to also

understand that large numbers of students from the same cultural backgrounds bring their

own cultural norms with them. And, if they are matriculating in critical mass, there is no

need for those students to assimilate, as they are able to maintain a miniature version of

their home culture on the campus without consequence. Administrators should be

cognizant of the potential impact this might have on efforts to create an inclusive diverse

environment and to consider the roles that international students may play in campus

diversity.

Implications for Program Directors and Faculty

This study reveled important information regarding the relationship between racial

identity and campus climate. This new information provides implications for the creation

of programs that focus on identity development, as well as efforts to improve the

environment for Black males.

Further, the significance of cross-racial interactions and racial identity to campus

climate satisfaction provides implications for faculty and program directors to facilitate

meaningful cross-racial interactions. The findings from this study support the literature in

that providing opportunities for intergroup dialogue around racial differences increases

the satisfaction of marginalized, particularly Black, students at predominantly White

institutions. Institutions must seek ways to include these dialogues in classes and

programs. Further, students must be encouraged to talk about differences through critical

dialogue and allowed the opportunity to develop and act on solutions for the problems they

discover through that process.

Change the Culture, Change the Climate:

Recommendations

The objective of this study is to aid student affairs administrators and policy makers

in development of programs to help improve Black college students' college experiences.

Participants expressed hope that the findings would be shared with campus authorities and

administrators to help improve the campus racial climate, particularly for Black students.

Though some express doubt that these changes could happen, or that they could not

happen with any relative speed, many felt favorably about their opportunity to share their

experiences as a part of the study.

Most efforts to improve the success for Black students have been insufficient or

misdirected because they focus on deficit frameworks, college readiness, or demographic

factors. Very few address the responsibility of institutional agents to increase the

satisfaction among Black male undergraduates. Although no single initiative on its own

will be enough to eradicate all of the factors that collectively undermine Black male student

success, institutional agents can work to provide a more welcoming campus climate that

fosters a sense of belonging for all students. The following is a series of recommendations that have come from this study.

If we are to close the educational and economic gaps that have persisted for generations along racial lines, we must change the culture throughout the institution—we must be willing to challenge the status-quo and to commit the resources necessary to stop perpetuating inequality.

Investigate and Acknowledge a Problem

Institutions can improve the success of Black students if they acknowledge there is a problem and allocate adequate resources to address those problems (Dey & Astin, 1993b; Hurtado, 2007; Lynch & Engle, 2010). Institutional agents must stop asking "what's wrong with these kids" and instead focus on what the institution is not doing. By focusing on what the institution can do puts the power (and the responsibility) in the hands of administrators.

This study found that there was a lack of focus on properly seeking and disseminating information about success and climate perceptions. Graduation and retention rates should be disaggregated by race and gender, to provide a clearer picture of what is really going on. Also, campus climate survey results should be fully and openly disseminated and completely disaggregated by race and positionality. Institutions cannot hide behind statistical guiles if they intend to fully commit to creating a community that strives for equity and inclusion. Leaders need to work to conquer deficit cognitive frameworks, to become "equity-minded," and to seek out the root causes for inequity so that action can be taken.

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Commit to creating an inclusive environment

An inclusive environment, free of racial bias and microaggressions is critical to the success of all Black males. To this end, institutions should work to change stereotypes and implicit bias. One approach to begin to change perceptions is to create the campus culture through artifacts that celebrate Black culture and history. As Harper (2015) pointed out, visual counterstories can help to disrupt the negative narratives about Black persons. Further, students that are exposed to positive images of themselves, particularly in an environment where those are nonexistent among a plethora of affirming images of the dominant culture, will develop healthier identities and a better sense of belonging (Spencer, Noll, Stolzfus, & Harpalani, 2001).

Institutions should clearly communicate and disseminate a campus mission that is focused on equity and inclusion. Administrators should be very clear about the consequences for intolerance, racism, or biased behavior. Consequences might include, at minimum, required training or re-training or required counseling, and should include notations in their personnel record for consideration during review periods. Moreover, administrators should be swift in addressing issues when they arise.

Communication

Campus authorities should make a concerted effort to meet with Black students and to understand their needs. They should make an effort to establish open communication and to include those students in solutions to issues faced by the Black student community. Individual attention and demonstrating genuine concern could build trust between administrators and students and help improve perceptions of the climate. But, beyond just talking, it is critical for administrators to listen and to act. As the president of the

University of Missouri recently learned, failure to take seriously the complaints of students and to take action to implement change, can pose serious consequences.

Education for the Entire Campus Community

Training and education for faculty, staff and students should be implemented into the culture of the campus. In fact, training focused on the elimination of race-based behaviors and biases should be a requirement for all campus members. Staff and faculty should be required to complete training prior to being considered for promotion. Institutional agents must see this as beneficial not just for students but for the organization.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Black males perceived the majority of faculty members as making an effort to "try to address their own biases." However, their attempts at inclusivity in the classroom often resulted in further isolation, especially where they perceived faculty looked to them to be representatives for their entire race. Culturally relevant pedagogy is the use of cultural characteristics of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching them more effectively they would have a more positive academic experience (Gay, 2002; Howard & Terri, Sr., 2011). Providing cultural competency training to faculty might significantly improve the classroom experience for Black males. And, encouraging culturally relevant pedagogy could help Black males feel more comfortable with classroom material.

Increase Black Faculty and Staff Presence

Prior research underlines the importance of Black faculty for the success of Black students, particularly at traditionally White institutions   Already faced with stereotype

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threat, Black students that come to campuses with few Black faculty or staff to look to suffer from imposter syndrome (the feeling of being an imposter or not belonging). And, the few Black faculty and staff are left burdened and overworked, asked to sit on more committees and mentor more students than their White colleagues.

When there is a lack of substantial presence of Black faculty and staff, all students suffer. An absence of Black staff and faculty diminishes the level of diversity in research and academic activities on campus, but "their presence, influence and contribution…can help students achieve intercultural competence" (Madyun et al., 2013). Also, White faculty tend to ignore issues of race, which often leads to unequal treatment toward Black students. For these reasons, institutions should focus recruitment and hiring efforts toward increasing their Black faculty and staff population. Further, careful attention must be given to retaining those Black faculty and staff that are hired.

In order to improve retention of Black faculty and staff, institutions must pay careful attention to the climate to ensure a safe, non-racialized environment. Institutions should also support affinity groups for faculty and staff to facilitate support and a sense of community. Mentorship is another important factor in retention—not just for students but also for faculty and professional staff. As discussed below, mentorship should be institutionalized as part of the campus culture.

Reward Faculty Mentorship

Faculty-student interaction powerfully impacts Black student success (Fischer, 2007; Museus, 2011; Museus & Neville, 2012). Because most campuses do not have sufficient numbers of Black faculty to take on all of this responsibility themselves, institutional agents should encourage non-Black faculty to fulfill these roles. These faculty

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should be provided training or suggestions for meaningful mentoring relationships. They should be trained to be culturally conscious, to be aware of their implicit biases, and to help Black students to recognize and utilize the value in their culture as it relates to academia.

Incentives and public recognition for faculty that mentor should be the norm, not the exception. One incentive could be to include mentorship in the review process. Just as campus service is rewarded in the tenure process, mentorship should be rewarded, specifically. Further incentives could include monetary support for research, especially in the form of monetary support to pay a student to be a research assistant or intern for the faculty mentor. A website or a center could be established where students would be able to connect with faculty seeking research mentees. To make mentorship successful on a wide-scale, a professional staff person should be hired to be in charge of faculty-student mentoring programs. This staff person would organize events and online systems to connect students with faculty, track mentorship relationships, evaluate the efficacy of these relationships and coordinate reward systems for faculty who get involved.

Facilitate Identity Development

As this study has shown racial identity to be intrinsically connected with perceptions of the campus climate, institutional agents should focus on providing programs to help facilitate the development and crystallization of racial identity for Black males.

Counseling staff trained in Black Psychology should also be provided on college campuses. Given the importance of racial attitude identity on campus climate satisfaction for Black males, administrators might consider, for example, hiring professionals fluent in Helm's and Parham's racial identity development theory. Such professionals might help Black students identify where they are developmentally. Although not all barriers to

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success can be addressed psychologically, identity development counseling may provide the education, support and guidance necessary for these young men to successfully navigate their college experience.

Create Opportunities for Intergroup Dialogue

Jayakumar (2008) warns that an institutions ability to effectively create an environment where quality cross-racial interactions can occur on a regular basis relies on its ability to increase the number of students of color on its campus. However, representational racial diversity is not enough. Higher education institutions must intentionally seek to create opportunities for intergroup dialogue around racial differences. Only by deliberately doing so, does the institution begin to fulfill its role in promoting equity while preparing students to work in a global market.

Faculty and staff should be trained and encouraged to implement intergroup dialogue where appropriate, taking into consideration the demographics of their classrooms as it relates to the comfort of disenfranchised students. These efforts should focus on the education of all students to eliminate stereotype threat, microaggressions, and implicit bias. And, the impact of increasing enrollments of international students should be watched with special attention given to help those students embrace that campus' commitment to an inclusive diverse environment.

<p align="center">**Clarifying and Adding to the Research**</p>

Most attempts to address equity and access for Black students have focused on deficit frameworks, college readiness, or demographic factors (Astin, 1993; Tinto, 1993; Young & Rogers, 1991). Very few address the need to improve the satisfaction and sense of

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belonging among Black male undergraduates. However, there is a significant amount of

research that focuses on improving the experiences of Black male undergraduates through

social support, mentorship, and positive diverse interactions (Astin, 1999; Harper &

Hurtado, 2007; Kuh et al., 2010; Maestas, Vaquera, & Zehr, 2007; Reid and Radhakrishnan,

2003; Sáenz, 2010).

In fact, current researchers have called for institutional agents to address the

stereotypes, microaggressions, and overall negative climates impeding the success of Black

college students (Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Sáenz, 2010).

Institutions can begin to do this by deliberately Higher levels of cross-racial interactions

has been shown to improve sense of belonging and persistence for Black males (Chang et

al., 2004; Harper, 2012; Hurtado, 2007; Strayhorn, 2008). Beyond benefits to Black males,

higher levels of cross-racial interaction are good for all students, as these interactions help

prepare them for work in a diverse professional environment (Astin, 1993; Muthuswamy,

Levine, & Gazel, 2007; Jayakumar, 2008; Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, and Cytron, 2007).

This research put to test Allport's theory of intergroup contact, which asserts that

creating opportunities for meaningful intergroup dialogue provides valuable opportunities

for college students to learn across differences and improve satisfaction for marginalized

students (Sáenz 2010). The study adds to the literature evidence for the efficacy of

institutional-based, student-centered cross-racial efforts in improving campus climate

satisfaction specifically for Black male undergraduates.

Further, this study not only investigates between group comparisons, but begins to

look at the within group variability of Black student identity and how those differences

relate to perceptions of campus climate. Particularly, guided by critical race theory, adds to

the literature the voices of Black males, for we cannot truly understand their experience

without seeing it through their lens (Howard, 2014; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Concluding Thoughts

In looking back, conducting this research posed several benefits and challenges. It

required navigating politics, establishing collaborations, building trust and maintaining

self-care.

Collaborating and Networking

In the early stages of the development of the project, I was concerned about over-

stepping my territory. Because I was seeking to work with a very specific community, I

decided to network, to seek out and to cultivate collaborative relationships with relevant

staff and faculty already working with this community (Bolman & Deal, 1991).

Collaborations can often pose difficulties with regard to competing agendas, and the best

way to ensure successful collaborations was to maintain autonomy for this project. By

maintaining autonomy for my project, I found my collaborative relationships to be

mutually beneficial. While I relied on my collaborators to provide some of the course

material through their service as guest lecturers, I was able to provide resources to them in

their programmatic efforts. In the beginning, I relied heavily on my collaborators for

recruitment. After the first year of this program (before the dissertation research), I was

able to rely on my participants to recruit for following iterations, as well as to share back

with my collaborators access to my participants.

Navigating Politics

It should be noted that there was some resistance to this work. One institutional

agent was particularly adverse to the project. Navigating institutional and racial politics became critical, and I quickly sought out the support among faculty and administrators in positions of authority, to help substantiate the significance of the research at a very early stage in the project. I learned to talk about this research in ways that conveyed the importance of the research while addressed the concerns of major stakeholders (Bolman & Deal, 1991).

Building Trust

Perhaps one of the most challenging considerations when conducting this type of project as a non-Black researcher and practitioner is gaining trust from the community. As an outsider, there were times when my interest in the topic and my agenda in conducting this project, was questioned. In the earlier stages of the project, I felt this most strongly. Sometimes, I told them of my passion for equity, being sparked by my experience with family and friends over the years, and further fueled by my hope to change things for my grandchildren—the hope that they might not have to struggle in ways that others have before them. However, I believe that it is through my cultivation of collaborative relationships, by meeting with and including my colleagues from within the community, that I was able to build trust.

For students in the program (before the dissertation), the first year was critical for me to build trust within their community. One of the ways that I did that was to tell them about my research and what I hoped to accomplish. I also believe that in this first year, it was critical to have an active presence in the classroom and during dialogues. In those times, I was able to illustrate to participants that I had an interest in what they had to say— that I wanted to learn from them and that I was committed to positively impacting their

overall campus experience. During interviews with Black participants, I listened carefully

and illustrated empathy when they shared difficult experiences. Over time, I was able to

build trust. This trust was passed to future participants who knew students in that first

group. During the year that this study was performed, I did not have an active presence in

the classroom to try and eliminate any potential undue influence. If some of the

participants had not been informed by previous participants, it is possible that I would not

have easily gained their trust during interviews. As it was, I believe that the interviews

were not as easy as in prior years where I had more of a presence, and I would recommend

for future researchers and practitioners that more of a presence be implemented.

Recommendations for Successfully Implementing the Course

There are several recommendations for implementing this program successfully.

These include: guest speakers (versus a single professor lecturing each week); flexibility in

the direction of each class and in weekly topics; adequate time for intergroup dialogue in

diverse groups; and a strong facilitator. Bringing in guest speakers each week proved

successful for several reasons. One, it allowed the facilitator and instructor to engage with

students on a more personal level. With the facilitator and instructor out of a "lecturer

role," students seemed to feel less intimidated. Also, bringing in speakers who were fluent

on the topics presented created validity for the participants. Students were able to hear

about issues of race, diversity and inclusion in a variety of styles ad foci. Finally, bringing in

multiple speakers allowed for other institutional agent across the campus to be included

with the project and brought with it opportunities for collaboration—not only between the

speakers and the instructor, but also the students. Students were able to connect with

faculty and staff for potential mentoring relationships.

Instructors and facilitators should be flexible in the direction of the class each week. Sometimes, guest speakers cancel. The instructor and facilitator should always be prepared for some dialogue topics in such events. Sometimes, an event happens on the campus or elsewhere that should be discussed in the class. For example, during the class this past year, there was a highly publicized event related to campus racial climate at another university. We were able to work with the guest speaker to center the topic of the week on that incident. As a result of recent events and the Black Lives Matter movement, there were several occasions to discuss current issues and events. Two years ago, there was a national incident of racism that resulted in protests around the country. It was a hot topic for students in the class and they naturally started talking about it, so we were flexible in the direction of the class that week in order to be sensitive to the needs of the students.

It is important that this type of intervention includes opportunities for students to take action on the campus, and to connect with other campus initiatives, and to disseminate information across campus community constituencies. This is not only important for the participants but for the campus community. The course, itself, can only reach a limited portion of the student body, so finding ways to outreach further is important to affect change on a wide-scale.

Managing the small intergroup dialogues is an integral piece of successfully implementing the course. First, at least one hour should be integrated into the schedule for students to discuss their experiences and perceptions each week. Students need adequate time to share, process, listen, and discuss. Second, each week, the facilitator should ensure that students are groups such so that there is as much diversity in the small groups as

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possible. It is up to the facilitator to ensure that the students are engaging in diverse dialogue. Small dialogue groups should have no larger than five to six students. And, the facilitator should encourage all students to participate. The facilitator should walk around the room to see if any issues arise that need facilitating.

The final piece is the facilitator. The issue of trust is critical when it comes to the class facilitator. The facilitator is the main point of contact for participants. As such, selection of this individual must be taken very seriously. A successful facilitator will be knowledgeable on the topic(s), culturally competent and sensitive to the nature of the experiences of black students, able to appear unbiased while maintaining a classroom climate of respect, and able to re-focus dialogue that has digressed. Kranz, Ramirez & Steele (2006) add flexibility, openness, patience, high frustration tolerance, non-defensive, courage, and tenacity to the list of optimal qualities of an instructor or facilitator.

Confliction

In the course of this research, I have often found myself conflicted regarding whether the ends justify the means. Although all of the Black participants have indicated that they found this experience worthwhile and would recommend it to other Black students, I am acutely aware that the experience also causes some stress. Through the dialogues, Black students are not only asked to re-live their painful experiences, but they are asked to do so in front of others who may completely reject them. So, we are asking these students to voluntarily put themselves at risk for further injury—all for the benefit (the education) of non-Blacks. This concern is not new to this project, and has been a topic of debate among researchers and practitioners. Some argue that we should avoid inflicting this trauma on Black students. In intergroup dialogue, disadvantaged group members are

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made to feel responsible to educate privileged members (Zúñiga et al., 2007). However, intergroup dialogue around issues of difference and inequality yields deeper understanding and sympathy for the struggles of disadvantaged participants (Hurtado, 2003; Tatum, 2003; Zúñiga, 2004). Thus, invariably, the weight is always on Black individuals to educate others, until some alternate way of transmission is discovered—or, until we achieve the elimination of inequity and racism.

If this type of work is to continue, in research or in practice, the best we can do is to try to mitigate or compensate for the potential stress Black students might encounter. One method is to over-sample for Black students to try and create a more comfortable environment and supportive for Black participants. Though, in most cases, this often presents the first experience that majority (particularly, White) students, experience being a minority, and it is not necessarily representative of the demographics of the institution, this level of diversity is critical. Not only does it create an environment where Black students are for once on equal ground, but it also helps to create a space of greater respect for Black students and their culture. To add, a facilitator that is fluent on the topics will be able to support an environment of respect and openness.

Final Reflection and Call to Action

Upon final reflection, this project has given me great optimism. It has greatly influenced my own perspectives and shown me how collaborative cross-racial efforts in education can impact perceptions in positive ways. My sincere desire is to see these efforts used to give pause to the exacerbation of inequity that marginalized students bring with them when they arrive on our campuses. With the sharing of personal experiences, we can learn to recognize the deficiencies in our campus environments as well as our own

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understandings. When we come to accept our obligation in creating an environment of

inclusion, we will be able to improve the success of Black males. Through cross-racial

education initiatives, we seize the opportunity that has been given us to educate the young

minds of our students and tomorrow's leaders—to empower them to make a difference not

only on our campuses but beyond. Marcus put it best, when he said,

"I have hope that things can change. Maybe not today. Maybe not while

I am here. But, I think that it can happen someday, if we work to educate

everyone on the campus."

Appendix A   **Survey Protocol**

Campus Climate Perceptions Survey
* Required

1. **Please type in your Unique Identification Code.** *

   ……

Campus Climate
The following questions are about your experience on your campus.
Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = neither agree nor disagree
4 = agree
5 = strongly agree

2. **I see myself as part of the campus community.** *
   Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

3. **Faculty show concern about my progress.** *
   Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

4. **There is a lot of racial tension on this campus.** *
   Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

5. **Faculty empower me to learn.** *
   Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

6. **If asked, I would recommend this university to others.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

7. **I have felt discriminated against at this institution because of my race.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

8. **At least one staff member has taken an interest in my development.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

9. **I feel valued at this institution.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

10. **Faculty believe in my potential to succeed academically.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

11. **Staff encourage me to get involved in campus activities.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

12. **In class, I have heard faculty express stereotypes based on race/ethnicity. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

13. **Staff recognize my achievements. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

14. **Faculty encourage me to meet with them outside of class. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

15. **I feel a sense of belonging on this campus. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

16. **At least one faculty has taken an interest in my development. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

17. **I feel I am a member of this university. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

18. **I am satisfied with the campus climate (the level of comfort, feeling of acceptance, and sense of belonging).** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

Campus Climate

The following questions are about your campus.
Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = neither agree nor disagree
4 = agree
5 = strongly agree

19. **This campus, as an institution, illustrates a commitment to diversity and inclusion.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

20. **This campus promotes my knowledge about my own and other cultures.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

21. **This campus promotes interaction among students of different backgrounds.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

22. **Students are respected on this campus regardless of their race or ethnicity.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

23. **Racism and/or discrimination is common on this campus. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

24. **This campus does a good job of admitting a racially diverse student body. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

25. **This campus does a good job of hiring a diverse faculty and administration. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

26. **Students on this campus are culturally conscious. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

27. **Students are satisfied with the campus climate (the level of comfort, feeling of acceptance, and sense of belonging), regardless of their race. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

Cross-Racial Interactions
To what extent have you experienced the following with students from a racial/ethnic group other than your own?

1 = Never
2 = Rarely
3 = Sometimes
4 = Often
5 = Very Often

28. **Dined together/had a meal** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Never	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Very Often

29. **Had meaningful and honest discussions about race/ethnic relations outside of class** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Never	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Very Often

30. **Had guarded, cautious interactions** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Never	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Very Often

31. **Shared personal feelings and problems** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Never	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Very Often

32. **Had tense, somewhat hostile interactions** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Never	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Very Often

33. **Had intellectual discussions outside of class** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Never	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Very Often

34. **Felt insulted or threatened because of your race/ethnicity** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Never	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Very Often

35. **Studied or prepared for class** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Never	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Very Often

36. **Socialized or partied** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Never	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Very Often

37. **What percentage of students in your HIGH SCHOOL were of the same ethnicity/race as your own?** *
Mark only one oval.

◯ Less than 25%

◯ About 25%

◯ About 50%

◯ About 75%

◯ More than 75%

38. **What percentage of the neighborhood you grew up in were of the same ethnicity/race as your own?** *
Mark only one oval.

◯ Less than 25%

◯ About 25%

◯ About 50%

◯ About 75%

◯ More than 75%

Participation in Diversity Courses/training

39. **Prior to this survey, did you have an interest to participate in a diversity course that focuses on race and campus climate but were UNABLE to take the course?** *
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No

40. **Have you completed a diversity course or training program of at least 10 weeks/50 hours at UCI?** *
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No   *Skip to question 44.*

Participation in Diversity Courses/training

41. **Diversity course(s) I have taken previously on campus have increased my awareness of campus racial climate issues.** *
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Strongly Disagree
- ( ) Disagree
- ( ) Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ( ) Agree
- ( ) Strongly Agree

42. **Diversity course(s) I have previously taken on campus have given sufficient opportunity to engage in meaningful dialogue with students from different ethnic/racial backgrounds from my own.** *
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Strongly Disagree
- ( ) Disagree
- ( ) Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ( ) Agree
- ( ) Strongly Agree

43. **Diversity course(s) I have previously taken on this campus have increased my sensitivity to racial diversity and inclusion.** *
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Strongly Disagree
- ( ) Disagree
- ( ) Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ( ) Agree
- ( ) Strongly Agree

Demographic Background

Demographic Background

44. **School of your major** *

In which school is your primary major?
Mark only one oval.

( ) Arts

( ) Biological Sciences

( ) Business

( ) Education

( ) Engineering

( ) Humanities

( ) Information & Computer Sciences

( ) Physical Sciences

( ) Social Ecology

( ) Social Sciences

( ) Other (Pharm Sci, Pub Health, Nursing Science)

45. **What is your major?** *

Please type in your major(s)

....

46. **What is your overall GPA?** *

Mark only one oval.

( ) 3.5 - 4.0

( ) 3.0 - 3.49

( ) 2.5 - 2.99

( ) 2.0 - 2.49

( ) 1.5 - 1.99

( ) 1.0 - 1.49

( ) below 1.0

47. **What year do you plan on graduating?** *

Mark only one oval.

( ) 2016

( ) 2017

( ) 2018

( ) 2019

( ) 2020

48. **Are you a Transfer Student?** *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Yes

◯ No

49. **With which race/ethnicity do you identify (choose all that apply)** *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Asian/Pacific Islander

◯ Black/African American

◯ Latino/Hispanic

◯ White/Caucasian

◯ Native American Indian

50. **With which race/ethnicty do you PRIMARILY identify?** *

choose ONE
Mark only one oval.

◯ Asian/Pacific Islander

◯ Black/African American

◯ Latino/Hispanic

◯ White/Caucasian

◯ Native American Indian

51. **With which race/ethnicity do OTHER students most identify YOU? (Select ONE)** *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Asian/Pacific Islander   *Skip to question 84.*

◯ Black/African American

◯ Latino/Hispanic   *Skip to question 84.*

◯ White/Caucasian   *Skip to question 84.*

Demographic Background

52. **With what gender do you identify?** *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Female

◯ Male

◯ Other: ....

53. **With what gender do other students most identify you?** *

Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Female
- ( ) Male

Identity

This section includes a number of questions specific to the racial identity you previously indicated. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Uncertain
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

54. **I believe that being Black is a positive experience.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	Strongly Agree

55. **I know through experience what being Black in America means.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	Strongly Agree

56. **I feel unable to involve myself in White experiences, and am increasing my involvement in Black experiences.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	Strongly Agree

57. **I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	Strongly Agree

58. **I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

59. **I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

60. **I feel comfortable wherever I am.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

61. **I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

62. **I feel uncomfortable around Black people.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

63. **I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

64. **I often find myself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pig, etc.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

65. **I believe that to be Black is not necessarily good.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

66. **I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me, and others do not.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

67. **I frequently confront the system and the man.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

68. **I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (art shows, political meetings, Black theatre, etc).** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

69. **I involve myself in social action and political groups even though there are no other Blacks involved.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

70. **I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which are similar to White people. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

71. **I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

72. **I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Black people. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

73. **I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

74. **I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

75. **People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations. ***
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

76. **I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

77. **I feel guilty and /or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

78. **I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become a part of the White person's world.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

79. **I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g. being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger).** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

80. **I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black activities.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

81. **I am determined to find my Black Identity.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

82. **I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

83. **I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly Agree

Skip to question 92.

Demographic Background

84. **With what gender do you identify?** *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Female

◯ Male

◯ Other: ....

85. **With what gender do other students most identify you?** *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Female

◯ Male

Group Identity

For the following set of questions, refer to the PRIMARY racial/ethnic group with which you identify. Indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

86. **I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic/racial group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

87. **I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic/racial group.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

88. **I have a clear sense of my own ethnic/racial background and what it means for me.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

89. **I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic/racial groups other than my own.**
*
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

90. **I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic/racial group membership.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

91. **I am happy that I am a member of the ethnic/racial group I belong to.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

Program Evaluation

For the following set of questions, please consider your participation in this class/program (the Student Empowerment Program). Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3= Neither agree nor disagree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

92. **Participation in the Student Empowerment Program (SEP) has exposed me to other student perceptions and experiences with regard to the campus climate.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

93. **My view of the campus climate changed as a result of my participation in the Student Empowerment Program (SEP).** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

94. **Participation in the SEP course gave me space to share openly about my experiences.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

95. **I found class dialogues to be productive.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

96. **I felt comfortable participating in class dialogues.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

97. **I would have preferred more class time for dialogue with students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds about their perceptions of the topics presented and campus climate.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

98. **My expectations for participation in the class were met or exceeded.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

99. **Overall, the guest speakers were informative and added value to the course.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

100. **The class facilitator(s) provided useful guidance for small group dialogues.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

101. **Participation in this program was meaningful to me, as a student.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

102. **I would recommend the program to friends/fellow students.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

Appendix B   Interview Protocol

1. Please tell me about your interest in participating in this program.
2. Can you use one word to describe the student population at this institution?
    a. Would you say that it is diverse? Why or why not?
3. What role does race have at this institution for undergraduates?
4. Please describe what the term campus climate means to you. (probe – how so? Why?)
5. What is the campus climate at this institution? Is it desirable? (probe – how so? Why? Why not?)
    a. What are the elements that help you determine the quality of campus climate at this institution?
    b. What or who has shaped your perception about the campus climate at this institution?
        1) Have any pre-college experiences helped shape your perception? (probe: How?)
        2) Have your social experiences at this institution helped shape your perception? (probe: how?)
        3) Have your academic experiences helped shape your perception? (probe: how?)
    c. What things do you feel affect the climate on campus? Explain…
    d. Do you feel the climate needs to be changed? If so, why and what would you like to see different?
6. Do you believe that campus climate influences a student's ability to succeed academically and socially? (probe – explain...how?)
7. Do you think students have different perceptions about this institution's campus climate? How do they differ? Why? …
8. Do you think students experience this institution campus climate differently? (probe – if so, how? Why do you think this happens?)
9. How do you feel on campus—do you feel that you belong—are you happy? Why or why not?
10. Tell me about your support network on campus.
    a. Are you involved in any student organizations? Which ones?
11. Does this institution promote your cultural knowledge about yours or other cultures?
    a. Are there ways in which this institution encourages students to interact with other students that come from a ethnic/cultural background different than their own? (Probe – if yes, in what ways? If no, why not?)
    b. How culturally sensitive do you think this institution students are?

12. Tell me about your engagements with other students that are from different racial or cultural backgrounds than your own.
    a. Are you comfortable engaging with students of different backgrounds?
    b. Are students of different backgrounds comfortable engaging with you?
13. Please tell me what has helped you decide to stay at this institution.
14. Do you have anything further thoughts you would like to tell me about culture, race, or anything else important to you as a student?

Post-interview additional questions
15. Tell me about your experience as a participant in this program? (Probe: was it comfortable? Valuable?)
16. Did participation in the Student Empowerment Program for Campus Climate have an effect on you? Explain…
17. Did this program provide an opportunity for you to share your experiences and beliefs as well as learn about the experiences and beliefs of others about the campus climate?
18. Do you believe that your perceptions of the campus climate have changed as a result of participation in this program? (Probe)
19. Would you recommend this program to a friend? (Probe)
20. Has participation in this program provided you with incentive and/or confidence to address campus climate issues at this institution? (probe: Has it provided you with the tools to do this?)
21. Do you have any further thoughts that you would like to tell me about culture, race, or anything else related to campus climate? (Probe)

Appendix C   Logic Model

Action Research Theory of Action: Campus Climate Perceptions

Inputs	Activities	Outputs	Outcomes/Goal

Inputs:

Evaluator

Facilitator

Room

Students

Syllabus

Speakers

Activities:

Cross-racial interaction

Instruction on microaggressions and stereotypes

Instruction on university policy implications and considerations for CC

Instruction on research implications and considerations for CC

Outputs:

Increased comfortability and trust level/ Increased ability to participate in difficult

Increased awareness and understanding of other perceptions and campus racial climate issues

Increased awareness of own influence on campus climate ways to address

Increased level of empathy and understanding of campus racial issues

Change in perceptions of campus climate & incentive to affect change in CC issues

Outcomes/Goal:

Improved Campus Climate

Improved retention for underrepresented students

Assumptions
Students will be open to hearing other perceptions; students will be motivated and moved by hearing other experiences/perceptions; increased awareness will result in incentive to affect change. Improved CC perceptions will result in increased retention rates.

External Factors
Friends; other student involvement; student background; student focus (grades/job).

Appendix D   **RQs and Protocol Crosswalk**

RQ1	What are the perceptions of the campus racial climate among Black males, compared with other undergraduates?
RQ1.a.	According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences that contribute to their perceptions of campus racial climate?
RQ2	What is the association, if any, between reported frequency of cross-racial interactions and perceptions of campus racial climate for Black male undergraduates, compared with other students?
RQ2.a.	According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences that contribute to their frequency and quality of cross-racial interactions?
RQ3	What is the impact of participation in a cross-racial campus climate student empowerment program on Black male undergraduate perceptions of campus racial climate, cross-racial comfort, and student awareness of other student perceptions, compared with other students?
RQ3.a.	According to Black male undergraduates, what are the experiences on the campus and in the course that impact their perceptions and decisions to persist, if any?

Survey	RQ1	RQ1a	RQ2	RQ2a	RQ3	RQ3a	Check CCS Scale	Prog Eval	Demo
1-17; 19-21	X				X				
18							X		
22-27	X				X				
28-36			X		X				
37-38			X						
39-40	X		X		X				
41-43									
44-53									X
54-83; 86-91			X		X				
84-85									X
92-102								X	
Interview									
1 - 9	X	X	X	X	X				
10			X	X	X	X			
11-14						X			
15-20					X			X	
Journals	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	

Appendix E   **Scale Questions**

Campus Climate Satisfaction Scale Questions*

      I see myself as part of the campus community.
      Faculty show concern about my progress.
      There is a lot of racial tension on this campus.
      Faculty empower me to learn.
      If asked, I would recommend this university to others.
      I have felt discriminated against at this institution because of my race.
      At least one staff member has taken an interest in my development.
      I feel valued at this institution.
      Faculty believe in my potential to succeed academically.
      Staff encourage me to get involved in campus activities.
      In class, I have heard faculty express stereotypes based on race/ethnicity.
      Staff recognize my achievements.
      Faculty encourage me to meet with them outside of class.
      I feel a sense of belonging on this campus.
      At least one faculty has taken an interest in my development.
      I feel I am a member of this university.
      Students are respected on this campus regardless of their race or ethnicity.
      Racism and/or discrimination is common on this campus.

---

*all questions, five-point Likert Scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree)

Cross-Racial Interaction Scale Questions*

    Please answer to what extend you engage in the following with those that are from a DIFFERENT ethcnic/racial background from yours:

  Dined together/had a meal
  Had meaningful and honest discussions about
  race/ethnic relations outside of class
  Had guarded, cautious interactions
  Shared personal feelings and problems
  Had tense, somewhat hostile interactions
  Had intellectual discussions outside of class
  Felt insulted or threatened because of your
  race/ethnicity

Studied or prepared for class
Socialized or partied

---

*all questions, five-point Likert Scale (1 = Seldom to 5 =Very Often)
Cross-Racial Comfort Scale

I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic/racial
    groups other than my own.
I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic/racial
    groups didn't try to mix together.
I often spend time with people from ethnic/racial groups
other
    than my own.
I don't try to become friends with people from other
    ethnic/racial groups.
I am involved in activities with people from other
ethnic/racial
    groups.
I enjoy being around people from ethnic/racial groups other
    than my own.
Students on this campus that come from different
ethnic/racial
    backgrounds from my own are comfortable engaging with
me.

---

*all questions, five-point Likert Scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree)

Pre-College Diversity Exposure Questions*

What percentage of students in your HIGH SCHOOL were of the same ethnicity/race as your
own?
What percentage of the neighborhood you grew up in were of the same ethnicity/race as your
 own?
What percentage of friends during high school were of the same ethnicity/race as your own?

---

*all questions, five-point Likert Scale (1 =less than 25% to 5 = more than 75%)

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Appendix F   **Brief Course Outline**

Meeting 1	**Ice-Breakers**	**Syllabus Review; Orientation; Community Agreements**
Meeting II	**3:00 – 3:45pm Guest speaker Having difficult dialogues**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue— Campus racial climate**
Meeting III	**3:00 – 3:45pm Guest speaker Race and racism**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue**
Meeting IV	**3:00pm – 3:45pm Guest speaker Microaggressions & stereotypes**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue**
Meeting V	**3:00pm – 3:45pm Guest speaker Research options**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue**
Meeting VI	**3:00pm – 3:45pm Guest speaker Programming options**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue**
Meeting VII	**3:00 – 3:45pm Guest speaker Policy Implications**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue**
Meeting VIII	**3:00 – 3:45pm Guest speaker Power mapping**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue**
Meeting IX	**3:00 – 3:45pm Guest speaker Recognizing inequity/taking action**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue; Identify project preferences**
Meeting X	**3:00 – 3:45pm Dialogue/reflection CC – in and out of the classroom**	**3:45 – 5pm Group project meetings**
Meeting XI	**3:00 – 3:45pm Guest speaker Privilege**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue**
Meeting XII	**3:00 – 3:45pm Guest speaker Allyship**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue**
Meeting XIII	**3:00 – 3:45pm Dialogue/reflection Current topic-TBA**	**3:45 – 5pm Group project meetings**
Meeting XIV	**3:00 – 3:45pm Guest speaker Economic inequity & education**	**3:45 – 5pm Reflection/dialogue**
Meeting XV	**3:00 – 3:45pm Dialogue/reflection**	**3:45 – 5pm Group project**

	Cross-racial comfort	meetings
Meeting XVI	3:00 – 3:45pm Dialogue/reflection Current topic-TBA	3:45 – 5pm Group project meetings
Meeting XVII	3:00 – 3:45pm Dialogue/reflection Current topic-TBA	3:45 – 5pm Group project meetings
Meeting XVIII	Proposal Presentations	

Appendix G   RIAS Permission and Short Scale

UCI University of California, Irvine

Thomas A. Parham, Ph.D.
Vice Chancellor, Student Affairs

Teresa Neighbors
Director, Student Activities
Director, Summer Academic Enrichment Program Undergraduate Studies
1507 Social & Behavioral Sciences Gtwy
Irvine, CA 92697-5100

Dear Teresa,

This letter constitutes my permission to use the racial identity scale for your research. I only ask that you keep   me posted on your results as they become available.

Good luck!

Sincerely,

Dr. Parham

Office of the Vice Chancellor, Student Affairs
405 Aldrich Hall, Irvine, CA 92697-5180
(949) 824-4804 | (949) 824-2763 fax | vcsa@uci.edu

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RACIAL IDENTITY SCALE
"SHORT FORM A"

THOMAS A. PARHAM, Ph.D.
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE
AND

JANET E. HELMS
BOSTON COLLEGE

The Racial Identity Scale is a 30 item scale that measure attitudes associated with the various stages of Black identity development as described by the Cross (1971) model of psychological nigresciense. The stages of identity, ranging from insecurity with one's Blackness to security with one's Blackness, are as follows: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion, and Internalization.

This instrument is designed for use with the Black populations and should not be given to members of other ethnic groups.

RACIAL IDENTITY SCALE
"SHORT FORM A"

THOMAS A. PARHAM, Ph.D.
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE
AND

JANET E. HELMS
BOSTON COLLEGE

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. On you answer sheet, please blacken the appropriate box corresponding to each statement as follow:

1 Strongly agree	2 Disagree	3 Uncertain	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree

1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience.
2. I know through experience what being Black in America means.
3. I feel unable to involve myself in White experiences, and am increasing my involvement in Black experiences.
4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.
5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.
6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.
7. I feel comfortable wherever I am.
8. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks
9. I feel uncomfortable around Black people.
10. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.
11. I often find myself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pig, etc.
12. I believe that to be Black is not necessarily good.
13. I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me, and others do not.
14. I frequently confront the system and the man.
15. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (art shows, political meetings, Black theatre, etc).
16. I involve myself in social action and political groups even though there are no other Blacks involved.

| 1 Strongly agree | 2 Disagree | 3 Uncertain | 4 Agree | 5 Strongly Agree |

17. I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which are similar to White people.
18. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective.
19. I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Black people.
20. I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.
21. I believe that Black people came a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.
22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.
23. I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.
24. I feel guilty and /or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.
25. I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become a part of the White person's world.
26. I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g. being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger).
27. I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black activities.
28. I am determined to find my Black Identity.
29. I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks.
30. I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.

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RACIAL IDENTITY SCALE
"SHORT FORM A"

THOMAS A. PARHAM, Ph.D.
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE
AND

JANET E. HELMS
BOSTON COLLEGE

Scoring Procedures

SCALE	ITEMS
Pre-Encounter (PRE)	**4,8,9,12,17,21,25,29**
Encounter (ENC)	**1,2,18,24,28,30**
Immersion (IMM)	**3,5,11,14,15,19.20.23.26.27**
Internalization (INT)	**6,7,10,13,16,22**

Persons respond to each item by using a 5-point scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) to indicate the extent to which each item is descriptive of them.

In order to determine a person's mean scale score, you divide by the number of items per scale. Once the scale scores have been obtained, persons are classified as follows:

If PRE > ENC and IMM $\leq$ ENC and < INT, stage= Pre-Encounter

If ENC > PRE and IMM $\leq$ ENC and INT < ENC, stage= Encounter

If IMM > PRE and ENC $\leq$ IMM and INT < IMM, stage= Immersion

If INT > PRE and ENC $\leq$ INT and IMM < INT, stage= Internalization

RACIAL IDENTITY SCALE
"SHORT FORM A"

THOMAS A. PARHAM, Ph.D.
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE
AND

JANET E. HELMS
BOSTON COLLEGE

Summary of Scale Reliabilities and Scale Intercorrelations based on the Sample of Rural Black College students.

SCALE	RELIABILITY	1	2	3
1. Pre-Encounter	.67			
2. Encounter	.72	-.46		
3. Immersion	.66	-.42	.62	
4. Internalization	.71	-.17	.64	.39

_____

Note: N=54

Appendix H   Study Information Sheet Treatment Group

STUDY INFORMATION SHEET

Undergraduate Campus Climate Perceptions

You are being asked to participate in a research study. Participation is completely voluntary. Please read the information below and ask questions about anything that you do not understand. A researcher listed below will be available to answer your questions.

RESEARCH TEAM
Lead Researcher
Teresa Neighbors
XXXXXXXXXXXX
Doctoral Student, UCLA School of Education

Faculty Sponsor
XXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXX

Research Assistant
XXXXXXXXXX

WHY IS THIS RESEARCH STUDY BEING DONE?
The purpose of this research study is to better understand factors contributing to undergraduate perceptions of the campus climate at XXXXX and to evaluate the effectiveness of a student empowerment program.

WHAT PROCEDURES ARE INVOLVED WITH THIS STUDY AND HOW LONG WILL THEY TAKE?
1. This study involves your participation in two surveys. Each survey will take approximately 20-30 minutes (for a total of 40-60 minutes). The second survey will take place approximately 16-20 weeks after the first.
2. This study also involves your participation in two audio-recorded interviews. Each interview will take approximately 30 minutes.
3. This study also involves the analysis of some of your assignments (weekly journals) in the Student Empowerment Class. This requires no additional time on your part and the journals will be redacted prior to my receiving them in order to protect your confidentiality.
4. Participation in the study will include two surveys and two interviews and will take a total of about 1 hour 20 minutes to three hours over a period of 20 weeks.

You must meet the following requirements to be in the study (in this study group): be an undergraduate student at XXXXXXX over 18 years old and enrolled in the Student Empowerment course.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE DISCOMFORTS OR RISKS RELATED TO THE STUDY?
There are no known harms or discomforts associated with this study beyond those encountered in normal daily life. The possible risks and/or discomforts associated with the procedures described in this study include: a potential for breach of confidentiality. However, the researcher will take every

precaution to ensure your confidentiality will not be breached, such as assigning you a unique identifying number to be used in place of any directly identifying information.

ARE THERE BENEFITS TO TAKING PART IN THE STUDY?
Participant Benefits: You will not directly benefit from participation in this study.

Benefits to Others or Society: Greater understanding of student perceptions of campus climate and the impact of a campus climate empowerment program on those perceptions.

WHAT OTHER CHOICES ARE THERE IF I DO NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?
You may choose whether or not you want to be in this study, and you may withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time, with no penalty to you.

WILL I BE PAID FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?
You will not be paid for your participation in this research. However, should you complete both surveys, you are eligible to be entered into a drawing for one of three iPods. The odds of winning one of the iPods are 1/8176 or less. Should you decide to withdraw prior to completing both surveys, you may contact the Lead Researcher to inform her and your data will not be used toward the analysis.

HOW WILL MY PERSONAL INFORMATION BE KEPT?
Subject Identifiable Data: No identifiable information will be collected about you for this study. You will be assigned a unique identifying code to be used and any collected course materials will be redacted prior to the research team receiving them. To be entered in the drawing for one of the iPods, your information will be collected at a separate location and will not be connected with your survey responses.

Data Storage: Research data will be stored electronically on a flash drive that is kept in a locked, off-campus location.

Data Retention: Interview recordings will be kept for up to three months after capture. Your interview will be transcribed during that timeframe and destroyed thereafter. The researchers intend to keep the research data (survey responses, interview transcriptions, and documents) until analysis of the information is completed and will be destroyed thereafter.

WHO WILL HAVE ACCESS TO MY STUDY DATA?
The research team, authorized XXXX personnel, affiliated academic institutions, and regulatory entities such as the Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP), may have access to your study records to protect your safety and welfare.

Any information derived from this research project that personally identifies you will not be voluntarily released or disclosed by these entities without your separate consent, except as specifically required by law. Study records provided to authorized, non-XXXX entities will not contain identifiable information about you; nor will any publications and/or presentations without your separate consent.

While the research team will make every effort to keep your personal information confidential, it is possible that an unauthorized person might see it. We cannot guarantee total privacy

WHO CAN ANSWER MY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY?
If you have any comments, concerns, or questions regarding the conduct of this research, please contact the research team listed at the top of this form.

Please contact XXXX's Office of Research by phone, XXXXXXX, by e-mail at XXXXXXXX or at XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX. if you are unable to reach the researchers listed at the top of the form and have general questions; have concerns or complaints about the research; have questions about your rights as a research subject; or have general comments or suggestions.

Appendix I   Study Information Sheet Survey Only

Study Information Sheet

Undergraduate Campus Climate Perceptions

RESEARCH TEAM
Lead Researcher
Teresa Neighbors
XXXXXXXXXXX
Doctoral Student, UCLA School of Education
XXXXXXXXXXXX

Faculty Sponsor
XXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXX

Research Assistant
XXXXXXXXXX

This study seeks to understand student perceptions of campus climate and the impact of certain interactions on those perceptions. In order to do this, you will be surveyed about your perceptions of the campus climate and certain experiences as an undergraduate at XXXXX. This data will ONLY be reported in aggregate as the average of a large group of students. No personal or identifiable information will be published or available outside of this course or research project. All XXXX undergraduates 18 years or older are eligible to participate. Participation is completely voluntary. Total time commitment is approximately 40-60 minutes to complete two surveys (20-30 minutes per survey).

You will not be paid for your participation, however, there are two possible methods of compensation:
- If you complete the surveys though the SSHSP Lab, you are eligible to receive a ½ unit of course credit for each ½ hour of participation in this study. Total amount of credit you may earn is 1 credit
- If you participate in both surveys through the outside link not associated with the XXXXXX Lab, you are eligible to be entered into a drawing for one of three iPods. Odds of winning one of the iPods is 1/8176. Should you choose to withdraw before completing both surveys, you may contact the Lead Researcher to notify her and your data will not be used toward the analysis.*

There is a potential for a breach of confidentiality. However, the research team will make every effort to protect your confidentiality by not collecting or maintaining any identifiable data about you. All data will be destroyed upon completion of the study analysis.

There are no direct benefits to you from participation in the study. However, this study may better help us know how to improve the student experience on campus.

There is no cost to you for participating. You may refuse to participate or discontinue your involvement at any time without penalty.

The researcher, affiliated academic institutions, and regulatory entities may have access to your study records to protect your safety and welfare. Any information derived from this research project that personally identifies you will not be voluntarily released or disclosed by these entities without your separate consent, except as specifically required by law.

If you have any comments, concerns, or questions regarding the conduct of this research please contact the researcher listed at the top of this form. If you are unable to reach the researcher listed at the top of the form and have general questions, or you have concerns or complaints about the research, or questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact XXXXX's Office of Research Administration by phone, XXXXXXX, by e-mail at XXXXXXX or at XXXXXXXXXXXX.
*Research participation is not required to be eligible for the iPod drawing. Winning a prize is not guaranteed.

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