

BLACK STUDENTS/WHITE CAMPUS THE Pervasiveness of Racism

Until emancipation, African Americans were legally barred from higher education, and, in many states, from education all together. Statutes made the teaching of reading and writing to slaves a crime. After emancipation, Black Americans struggled to educate themselves and their children. Black colleges such as Howard, Wilberforce, Morehouse, Lincoln, and Shaw, were established in the years immediately after the Civil War. Until the 1960s, most of black students were educated in these institutions. As a result of the Civil Rights struggles and importantly, federal programs financially supporting African American students, the 60s and 70s saw a tremendous influx of black students in predominantly white colleges. This trend continued until these institutions because the primary educators of black students with 3/4 of all black students now attending primarily white institutions (Allen 1991 27). Despite hope for equality in these desegregated educational institutions, the early promises in both opportunities and attainment in higher education for Blacks has withered away through erosions in enrollment and retention.

Currently the figures are bleak, although somewhat improved from the mid 80s. African Americans are enrolling in colleges at rates below the highs of the late 70s (Condition 1992 32). In addition to falling enrollment rates, and despite efforts to improve retention rates, only 44% of black students complete 4 year degrees compared to 54% of white students (D'Augelli 67).

Studies conducted in the 1970s and 1980s have identified several factors implicated in the poor retention rates of black students. Major components include financial stress, academic preparation, the living/learning environment and faculty/student interaction. One theme common to all the identified factors, although not always stated or acknowledged, is institutional and individual racism. As Love states "...there has been little institutional recognition of White racism, little discussion of how it is manifested on campus, and little attention to how it affects black students, even in the absence of overt intent to discriminate" (29). Racism is the underlying bedrock upon which rest the conditions leading to lower educational attainment by black students.

Finances. The financial status of black families is directly linked to historical job and pay discrimination patterns. The black unemployment rate is 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 times the white unemployment rate at the same educational levels. Black four year college graduates have 2 times the unemployment rate of comparable whites. Earning power is similarly skewed. A Black with under 4 years of college makes less than a white high school graduate and little more than a white high school dropout (Condition 93 303). The medium family wealth for Blacks in 1991 was \$4,604 compared to \$44,408 for white families (Vital 36). Black students come to college with fewer financial resources backing them than white students. Although the total number of black students increased in the 80s, the number who dropped out of college because of financial reasons almost doubled (Lang). "Parental assistance is still the primary source for payments of college tuition yet black parents have one tenth the wealth, 60 percent the income, are twice as often unemployed, and are three times as likely to be poor as white parents" (Vital 37).

Because black students, in general, come from families with lower incomes than white students, black students are more dependent on financial aid to fund their college education. Indeed, it was the influx of federal aid programs in the 60s that fueled the initial wave of black students into white campuses. The decline of federal aid for education, particularly in the 80s, disproportionately

impacted black students. Black students are left doubly disadvantaged financially with lack of earning power and lack of access to financial aid (Hughes).

Academic preparation. Many black students, because of historical housing patterns caused by segregation, attend predominantly black primary and secondary schools. The percent of black students in predominantly minority schools has increased since 1973 (1973 - 63.6%, 1992 - 66%) (Vital 42). These schools are characterized by crowded classes, less qualified teachers, under-funding, and disrupted learning environments (Pounds). The tax structure of school financing, largely based on property tax, guarantees that schools in poor neighborhoods will be grossly under-funded compared to affluent suburbs. This under-funding leads to poorer facilities, low teacher salaries, and all the educational disadvantages these imply. Students emerge from these schools with lower scores on achievement tests and inferior preparation for their college experience.

It is important to note that many black students enter college academically well prepared. It is also significant that these students still succeed at lower rates than comparable white students. Allen (1985) studied black students with a background of high achievement (over half were in the top 10% of their class), "mainstream" family backgrounds (65% from 2 parent households) and relatively high family incomes. He found even these students, who seemingly fit the profile for success, received college grade point averages well below what their high school averages would predict. Other studies resulted in similar findings (Nettles). Academic preparation seems to be less predictive of college success for black students than for white students.

Studies comparing student performance at traditionally black institutions versus traditionally white institutions have found that students in black colleges perform better academically and report greater social and academic satisfaction (Alan 1992; Fleming; Braddock; Hughes). These and similar findings have led many to propose that factors related to the educational institution may be of equal or more significance to the success of black students than traditional measures of academic preparedness.

Self-Esteem. As researchers began to explore non-academic factors, some speculated that self-esteem may be significant. The logic was that because blacks live in a society that devalues them, they internalize that message and have low self-esteem, which in turn negatively impacts their academic performance. Research has, however, consistently measured black self-esteem to be as high or higher than of whites, and not related to academic performance (Staples; Demo; Spaight; Lay).

Living/Learning Environment. Several researchers examined the influence of "environmental" factors on black student retention. These factors are called several names - institutional fit, alienation, racial climate, student support - but all have to do with the interaction between the student and the institution. As Clark and Crawford state, "the greater the compatibility between the student and the institution, the higher the probability that the student will complete all degree requirements" (60). And because predominantly white institutions were obviously not created with black students' needs and culture in mind, black students are particularly at risk of not "fitting" the institution. To quote one student interviewed in Feagin's study, "To integrate means simply to be White. It doesn't mean fusing the two cultures; it simply means to be White, that's all" (552).

The studies comparing black student performance in predominantly black vs. predominantly white institutions bear this out. Allen reports that "students...who attended historically Black

universities reported better academic performance... greater social involvement, and higher occupational aspirations than Black students who attended predominantly White institutions" (1992 39). These conclusions were supported by studies done by Fleming, Braddock, and Hughes.

One body of research focused on alienation experienced by black students, usually measured by an instrument such as the University Alienation Scale or similar tools. In over 20 years of testing, black students consistently scored significantly higher on alienation scales than white students and usually higher than other minority groups such as Hispanics and Asian Americans. These results were consistent in tests done in the east and west coast, and northern and southern campuses (Bennett; D'Augelli; Fleming; Hughes; Loo; Nettles; Oliver; Suen). The only institutions at which this was not true were the predominantly black institutions. The literature is filled with quotes from students expressing their dissatisfaction. "I have adjusted socially, but I am not happy. My satisfaction with the environment has diminished after 4 years of racism." "I have decided to tough it out. I will resurface and continue my life when this sentence is over" (Hughes 540).

There is some debate as to the significance of this feeling of alienation to retention rates. Studies such as Suen's report a definite correlation between feelings of alienation and retention. Other studies, such as Bennett and Okinaka, found that the longer Blacks (and Asians) remained on campus, the more alienated they became. In Bennett and Okinaka's study, students who did not persist to graduation reported less alienation than those who did. This is open to different interpretation. It may be that those who didn't persist were unable to develop coping mechanisms for the alienation that they did feel, and that continuing exposure to the institution would have increased levels of alienation.

Racism/Discrimination. Certainly part of the cause of this feeling of alienation by black students is the experience of racism these students face at predominantly white campuses. Many black students come from neighborhoods and high schools that are mainly black and their college experience is their first major contact with personalized white racism. According to Allen, in a study of black students attending 6 major universities, 60% of the students experienced at least one episode of racial discrimination (1988). D'Augelli and Hershberger found that only 11% of the African American students in their study reported never having heard disparaging remarks about Blacks on campus. 89% of those students reported hearing such remarks occasionally, often, or frequently, 59% had been verbally insulted and 10% threatened (75).

Other studies examined the effect of racism on performance and retention. Nettles found that "feelings of racial discrimination ... have a negative effect upon both the progression rates and college grade point average of Black students" (28). Clark and Crawford also found "a positive racial environment on a campus is associated with good academic performance and persistence" (62).

Perhaps the most shocking finding of these studies is the identification of faculty as a significant source of racial conflict for black students. 36% of black students in D'Augelli and Hershberger's study reported being verbally harassed in a racial manner by faculty (76).

Faculty/Student Interaction. Faculty obviously has a significant role in the educational life of all students. While social, psychological, and other factors can play a major role in a student's educational life, the faculty is at the core of the academic experience. "...the education of any student ultimately rests and falls on the teacher-student relationship inside and sometimes outside the classroom" (Kobrak 515). This influence is not limited to formal acquisition of knowledge, but

permeates the academic environment. As Bennett and Okinaka's study shows, "students who feel most positive about their college instructors feel most satisfied with the universities' social environment, administration and classes" (55).

Unfortunately, study after study found the relations between black students and white faculty to be problematic at best. Black students reported less contact with faculty outside of the classroom than white students (Nettle), found the faculty "emotionally, socially, and academically unavailable to them" (Love 31), and felt that faculty had difficulty relating to them because of race (Allen 1988).

In the classroom, students frequently reported being treated as representatives of their race and not as an individual (Feagin). Instructors seemed to expect them to know everything there is to know about African Americans and assume particular behavior because of race (i.e. assuming black students are all Baptists or come from urban areas or have specialized knowledge about street crime).

Outside of the classroom students felt faculty avoided them, minimized social contact, and in general, felt uneasy or uncomfortable in their interaction with black students (Nettles; Allen 1992; Love; Fleming; Feagin; Bennett; D'Augelli). This perception by the student definitely contributes to their sense of alienation and negatively impacts their chance for academic success. "The findings suggest that academic achievement is highest for students...who report positive relationships with faculty" (Allen 1992 35).

Intervention Efforts. Given the significance of the impact of racism on retention rates of black students, Barbara Love did an interesting review of retention improvement efforts by colleges. According to her analysis, the primary focus of these efforts is on changing the student through programs such as tutoring services, academic skills training, etc., not on changing the institution to better serve the student.

"Clearly, students are held individually and personally responsible for overcoming whatever odds get placed in their way by faculty, administration and students in the institution. The burden is placed on Black students to overcome over 100 years of institutional exclusion and figure out how to make the institution work for them " (Love 33).

Study Purpose. This study was designed to examine the issue of faculty prejudice and its impact on African American students at a small, rural, upstate college. Because the institution is relatively isolated (an hour from the nearest city with a sizeable black population), located in an overwhelmingly white community, and with few black students, it seemed probable that the faculty is less comfortable with black students and may be more prejudice than the national norm. In the design of the survey three questions were posed: 1) Is the faculty prejudice and to what degree, 2) Does this prejudice color their perception of the black student experience on campus, and 3) Is that prejudice reflected in the black students' perceptions of the faculty and the campus?

Prejudice Measurement. Sociologists have been trying to measure prejudice since at least the 1920s when Emory Bogardus first developed and administered what became known as the Bogardus scale. It was developed to quantify social distance and has been used to chart the change in the American view of race over time. Social distance, as defined by Owen, Eisner, and McFaul, is "the amount of understanding and intimacy which characterizes personal and social relations" (81). The scale has seven different statements ranging from "would marry into the group (1)," "would

have as a friend (2)," to "would bar from my country (7)." Respondents are asked to check which statement most accurately reflects their feelings for a variety of ethnic, religious, and national groups. The lower the rating, the greater the acceptance for the group. Variables that have been examined include overall mean score, mean scores of specific groups, and rank order.

Bogardus conducted his surveys at intervals from 1926 to 1966 and the research has been continued by other researchers since then.

	1926	1946	1956	1966	1977*	1984	1990*	1994*
# surveyed	1725	1950	2053	2605	1488	945	415	128
Overall mean	2.14	2.14	2.08	1.92	1.93	2.73	@	@
AA* mean	3.28	3.60	2.74	2.56	2.03	2.49	2.45	2.08
AA* rank	26	29	27	29	17	@	12	5

*AA African American

*1977 Owen, et al.

*1984 Crull & Bruton

*1990 Sparrow & Chretien

*1994 Nix

@ not reported

In general, acceptance and rank of African Americans has steadily improved over the years. Some differences in the survey methodology between the surveys conducted after 1977 and the previous surveys make generalization problematic. The 1926-77 studies were nation-wide studies done with significantly more participants. These studies showed marked regional differences of mean scores with the south scoring between .27 and .33 points higher than the national mean. The 1990 and 1994 studies were done in the south with fewer respondents. It could well be that the higher ratings for African Americans in the later studies were reflections of regional variation rather than indicators of generalized increased intolerance.

Other studies reinforce an interpretation of continued reductions in expressed bias toward African Americans. Analysis of numerous surveys conducted since 1941 (The Gallup Poll 1961,72, 78, 79, 81; The National Opinion Research Center 1950, 54, 55, 63, 64, 65, 73; The Survey Research Center 1956, 60, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74; Roper 1948, 49, 74, 78, 79, 76, 80, 82, 83, 88, 90; Opinion Research Corporation 1941; Louis Harris 1976; ABC News/Washington Post 1981) and similar analysis of extensive surveys (Ransford) confirm a generalized trend toward reduced expression of prejudice toward Blacks and other minority groups.

Are Americans really becoming less biased or is something else going on? Careful analysis of prejudice survey results has identified two pertinent trends. Surveys other than the Bogardus scale have included statements attempting to measure the respondent's acceptance of programs designed to reduce the economic gaps resulting from years of discrimination (such as Affirmative Action programs and EOP programs) and statements assessing who or what the respondent feels is responsible for the disparity between the races (blaming the social structure or the individuals caught in that structure). "On the one hand, white Americans increasingly endorse racial equality in principle... On the other hand, whites show little or no support for policies and programs aimed at

alleviating racial inequality" (Kluegel 512).

There are two analyses of this phenomenon. Some sociologists question the validity of surveys such as the Bogardus scale. They argue that decreasing scores are merely a reflection of the decreased social acceptance for expressing certain bias, rather than a true reduction in bias. In other words, people are much more reluctant to state, even on an anonymous survey, that they wouldn't have an African American as a friend. Since it is no longer acceptable for people to directly express those feelings, they express the same negative feelings through opposition to programs, such as Affirmative Action. This opposition becomes the symbol, or indirect expression, of traditional feelings of racism.

Another critique uses dominant/subordinate group analysis to explain the split between expressed bias and support for social programs. An excellent overview is presented by McClelland and Auster.

"When subordinate groups do not overtly challenge the dominant group, dominant group ideologies tend to justify subordinate group position based on fundamental differences between the two (for example, cultural or biological superiority/inferiority). Such was the case with "traditional" racism. But when subordinate groups begin to challenge the dominant group directly, the dominant group responds by developing a more subtle and sophisticated ideology to legitimate their privileges; advantages are no longer defended on the basis of the intrinsic superiority of one groups over another, but the status quo is still supported by an avowal of the intrinsic value and importance of certain basic principles that underlie it. In contemporary America, these basic principles include most importantly the supremacy of individualism and the "meritocracy."... Such an ideology has the effect of shifting attention from the still-present inequalities between groups to the principle of individual rights and in so doing helps to protect the advantages of those who are in the best position to exercise these rights" (610).

There is a significant difference in the importance of individual racism in these two analyses. One sees traditional, hidden, individual racism behind the lack of support for programs to alleviate the conditions of racism. Reducing individual prejudice would presumably increase support for such programs and lead to social change.

Group dominance theory does not rely on individual racism to support the acceptance of privilege. Rather, group ideology supports whatever philosophy is needed to continue the position of privilege, be it racism or the ethos of individualism. If you believe in the creed of individualism and perceive yourself as not prejudice, it becomes easy to dismiss racism as no longer important in American society. "...Whites, to the extent that they adhere to the dominant group ideology, are likely to see themselves as rejecting prejudice and discrimination in any form in their embracing of the rights of the individual...The dominant group ideology precisely denies the existence of this [ethnic] conflict; thus, this tension is likely to be far more visible, and more keenly felt, by minorities than by whites" (McClelland 613).

These two analyses are not mutually exclusive. Certainly there is plenty of hidden racism out there that can explain much "symbolic" opposition to programs of change. What that doesn't begin to explain is why it is so hard for so many whites to "see" racism, and why, even when

individual racism is lowered, do the same old conditions of racism continue. Group dominance theory does begin to clarify these problems and has serious implications on the long term impact of current prejudice reduction training.

Study Design. For this survey a combination of approaches was used. The Bogardus scale was selected because of its long history of use and extensive data. The scale was modified (see appendix) with the European American categories of the original survey collapsed into one category - U.S. Whites. This was done both to reduce the number of categories and because the distinctions between European immigrant groups has become so small.

Also included were a series of questions, selected from survey literature that researchers have used as measurements of symbolic racism. They elicit the respondent's level of support for social change programs and look at who or what the respondent blames for social inequity (the system or the individual). These questions were designed to give respondents an opportunity to express racism in a more acceptable, "symbolic", manner. They do not reflect an endorsement of these attitudes.

The last three questions examined the respondent's perception of the level of prejudice that the black student experiences in the classroom, the campus, and the community.

A second survey was given to African American and other students of color from the campus. The intent was to see if there was a relationship between the faculties' level of prejudice and the students' response to that same faculty. Both sets of surveys asked for the respondent's division. The question posed was did students in divisions with a lower level of prejudice report more positive responses to the faculty and feel more accepted by the campus and community. Unfortunately, the response rate by the black students was too low for any meaningful comparison (16 African American students out of a possible 82, a 19% return rate). Each student of color was mailed a questionnaire with a return envelope. The EOP office was also recruited to solicit student response.

Seventy seven faculty did respond to the survey sent to them. On the Bogardus section, the faculty had an overall mean score of 1.5 and a mean score of 1.6 for U.S. Blacks. This is well below the mean scores reported in other Bogardus surveys (see page 11). U.S. Blacks received a rank order of 9 out of 13. Rank order results from the survey are not directly comparable to other Bogardus studies because of the reduction in the number of groups to be rated. The results of this Bogardus survey would indicate an enlightened group compared to other studies. It should be noted that the other surveys used student populations, rather than faculty. It is predictable that a more educated group would return a lower Bogardus score. It is particularly unacceptable for teaching faculty to express blatant racism.

The second part of the survey showed a different picture than the relatively enlightened results of the Bogardus scale. Almost 30% of the faculty selected "because more Blacks don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves out of poverty" as one of the explanations for inequities between the races. 57% felt that the government did enough or too much to improve conditions of Blacks, 44% feel Affirmative Action programs "undermine fair competition for jobs by unfairly promoting Blacks not necessarily qualified for the job," 40% felt "lack of ambition," and 78% felt "the disintegration of the Black family" contributed to drug abuse in the African American community.

It is interesting to note the relationship between the score on the Bogardus scale vs. the

symbolic racism score and the perception of the faculty about the prejudice experienced by African American students. I divided the respondents into three groups - those that gave U.S. Blacks a Bogardus score of 1, 2, and 3 and above 3. The lower Bogardus scores (reflecting less social distance) had an average lower symbolic racism score and a lower average score for the perception of the amount of prejudice black students experience (a lower score indicating a greater feeling that students experienced prejudice). The symbolic racism score was calculated by assigning a low value for either support for programs or assigning blame to the system, and assigning a higher value for lack of support and blaming the individual. i.e. for question 4 a value of 1 was assigned for checking "help make for previous discrimination," and a value of 2 for "undermine fair competition...".

U.S. Black Bogardus score (low=less distance)	1	2	3->
Symbolic racism (low=less racism)	8.9	12	17
Prejudice experience (low=greater perception of prejudice experienced)	5.5	6.2	6.7

The faculties' perception of the African American students' experience and the student's report of their experience show some interesting similarities and contrasts. Both surveys contained a parallel question "At this college, in general, do you feel Black students experience prejudice in the classroom" (faculty), and "Did you experience what you consider to be prejudice on the part of teaching faculty?" (student).

	Never	Occasionally	Frequently
Faculty	3%	74%	10%
Black students	19%	62%	19%
Student of color	32%	58%	10%

Student response to other questions that examine the student's experience in the classroom reflect serious problems with the student/faculty interaction. 69% of black students disagree or strongly disagree that teaching faculty are sensitive to students from different cultures. 69% reported some special expectation or behavior by the faculty toward the black student (expected special knowledge from me because of my race, not expected me to know the material because of my race, not held me to the same standards because of race, etc.). 40% selected faculty when asked what group they had experienced discrimination from.

Conclusion. The black students expressed feelings about the faculty on this campus similar to feelings expressed by black students in many other studies. "Well I feel it's not every teacher, but a good majority don't understand that everyone is equal, and it's sad when you hear a teacher often referring to people of color as if we are not on the same level" (student comment on the survey). The students voiced a great deal of discomfort in their feelings of acceptance by faculty (31% did not feel respected as a person), by the campus (58% did not feel welcomed and accepted), and by the

community (100% did not feel welcomed and accepted).

While the faculty paid surface homage to equality, there runs a large undercurrent of racism expressed through resistance to programs addressing change and in a willingness to blame the victims of racism. The black students' response to the faculty and campus is then not surprising.

Until the campus begins to address the issue of the faculties' ability to provide emotionally health classroom environments, and until black students feel included and respected by the faculty and the larger campus, the campus will not improve its ability to successfully educate and graduate African American students.

SOCIAL DISTANCE SURVEY – RESULTS

1. Please give your first feeling reaction in every case. Give your feeling reactions to each ethnic group in terms of the chief picture or stereotype you have of the entire group. Mark each group even if you do not know it. Check as many of the seven columns in each case as your feelings dictate. Work as rapidly as possible. [would marry into group, would have as close friend, would have as next door neighbor, would work in same office, have as speaking acquaintance only, have as visitor only to my country, would debar from my country]

U.S. White	1
Protestant	1.1
Catholic	1.2
Jews	1.3
Hispanic	1.3
Native American	1.3
Japanese	1.4
U.S. Black	1.6
Hindu	1.8
Moslem	2.0
Iranian	2.1
Arab	2.1

2. On the average, Blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing than White people. Do you think these differences are ...

63.6%	Mainly due to discrimination
3.9%	Because most Blacks have less in-born ability to learn
74.0%	Because most Blacks don't have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty
28.6%	Because most Blacks don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves out of poverty

3. Is the Government doing ... to improve the conditions of Blacks (choose one)

14.7%	Too much
42.7%	About right
42.7%	Too little

4. Affirmative Action programs ...

57.5%	Help make up for previous discrimination
43.8%	Undermine fair competition for jobs by unfairly promoting Blacks not necessarily qualified for the job.

5. EOP programs ...

65.8%	Help make up for previous discrimination
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- 21.1% Undermine academic standards by unfairly promoting Blacks not necessarily qualified for the school
- 13.2% Both of the above

6. Would you have any objection to sending your children to a school in which half of the children are Black?

- 17.6% Yes
- 82.4% No

12. Drug abuse in the African American community is due to ... (please answer yes or no to each one)

- 93.4% Conditions of poverty/sense of hopelessness
- 39.5% Lack of ambition
- 77.6% Disintegration of the Black family
- 92.1% High unemployment and lack of job prospects

13. If you belonged to a social organization would you try to change the rules so that Blacks could join?

- 88.3% Yes
- 11.7% No

14. At this college, in general, do you feel Black students experience prejudice in the classroom... (please choose one)

- 23.3% Never
- 74.0% Occasionally
- 2.7% Frequently

15. At this college, in general, do you feel Black students experience prejudice on campus ... (please choose one)

- 8.0% Never
- 80.0% Occasionally
- 12.0% Frequently

16. In this community, in general, do you feel Black students experience prejudice ... (please choose one)

- 9.3% Never
- 58.7% Occasionally
- 32.0% Frequently

RACIAL EXPERIENCE SURVEY RESULTS

[first question result - black students, 2nd question result - students of color (including black students)]

5. In general, on this campus, teaching faculty are sensitive to students from different cultures.

Black Students	Students of Color	
19%	9.6%	strongly agree
12%	29%	agree
50%	48%	disagree
19%	9.6%	strongly disagree

6. Did you experience what you consider to be prejudice on the part of teaching faculty?

Black Students	Students of Color	
19%	32%	never
62%	58%	occasionally
19%	9.6%	frequently

7. In general, in the classroom, my teachers have

Black Students	Students of Color	
6%	22.5%	been sensitive to my needs
25%	22.5	challenged me intellectually
43%	29%	expected special knowledge from me because of race
31%	19%	not expected me to know the material because
25%	16%	not held me to the same standard (either higher or lower) because of my race
38%	25.8%	expressed racial stereotypes
13%	13%	used inappropriate racial language (racial slurs)
25%	22.5%	none of the above

8. I have experienced discrimination on this campus from

Black Students	Students of Color	
40%	27%	faculty
60%	61.5%	students
53%	38%	college staff
25%	27%	no one

9. In general, I feel that the faculty respect me as a person.

Black Students	Students of Color	
6%	8%	strongly agree
60%	58%	agree
25%	19%	disagree
6%	4%	strongly disagree

10. In general, I feel welcome and accepted on this campus

Black Students	Students of Color	
0%	4%	strongly agree
47%	43%	agree
33%	30%	disagree
25%	19%	strongly disagree

11. In general, I feel welcome and accepted in this community

Black Students	Students of Color	
0%	4%	strongly agree
0%	19%	agree
66%	54%	disagree
33%	23%	strongly disagree

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