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AUTHOR Malaney, Gary D.; Shively, Michael
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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relative stability and change in ethnic students' (Asian, Black, and Hispanic) social and academic expectations during their first year at the University of Massachusetts. The paper investigates how students' expectations were met by their actual experiences and whether students of different racial or ethnic categories differ in both their expectations and experiences. Given that the quality of students' first-year experience is an important factor in retention, this study provides further data to assist in the understanding of the phenomenon. Results of interviews (n=377) are provided from random samples of first-year students of six racial/ethnic categories early in their first semester of college and again at the end of their second semester. Analysis suggests that students of different racial backgrounds arrive at college anticipating different levels of academic success and levels of fitting in socially, and that, by the end of the first year, their expectations change in response to experiences. Contains 53 references. (Author)

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Academic and Social Expectations and Experiences of First-Year Students of Color

by

Gary D. Malaney

Director, Student Affairs Research, Information, & Systems (SARIS)

Assistant Professor, Center for the Study of Higher Education

Michael Shively

Research Associate, SARIS

Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Sociology

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Texas A&M University
Department of Educational
Administration
College Station, TX 77843
(409) 845-0393

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Academic and Social Expectations and Experiences of First-Year Students of Color*

Abstract

This study examines the relative stability and change in students' social and academic expectations during their first year at the University of Massachusetts. The paper investigates how students' expectations were met by their actual experiences and whether students of different racial or ethnic categories differ in both their expectations and experiences. Given that the quality of students' first-year experience is an important factor in retention, this study provides further data to assist in the understanding of that phenomenon. Random samples of first-year students of six racial/ethnic categories were interviewed early in their first semester of college and again at the end of their second semester. Analysis suggests that students of different racial backgrounds arrive at college anticipating different levels of academic success and levels of fitting in socially, and that by the end of the first year, their expectations change in response to experiences.

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Introduction

A student's academic and social integration into a particular college or university are integral parts of Tinto's (1975, 1987) model of student persistence. The model assumes that the likelihood of a student remaining at a particular college partially depends upon the student's level of integration into the college. In turn, the level of integration is dependent upon the expectations and perceptions a student has about the college as well as college experiences. While students' expectations, perceptions, and experiences change throughout their collegiate tenure, the first year is a crucial time. Several researchers have offered evidence that student persistence is greatly determined by their first-year college experiences (Christie & Dinham, 1991; Noel, Levitz, & Saluri, 1985; Tinto, 1987; Upcraft & Gardner, 1989).

While satisfaction with early social and academic experiences is important to students in general, students of color, particularly those attending predominantly White universities, face the additional challenges of racism and discrimination (Suen, 1983; Allen, 1985; Pascarella, 1985). In discussing campus atmosphere, Crosson (1988) noted that "negative racial climates can adversely affect prospects for minority degree achievement" (p.366). Students of color at predominantly White universities, simply by virtue of their smaller numbers, "are forced to make considerable cultural and social adjustments" (Mow & Nettles, 1990, p. 78). They find it more difficult to meet people with similar backgrounds and interests, and generally they encounter social isolation in addition to problems related to cultural adjustment, racism, and academics (Allen, 1988).

While there have been many studies of student departure, including several which investigated the first-year experience, specific ethnic groups, and the quality of campus life, "most of the studies stopped short of investigating how students' experiences, such as feelings of alienation and isolation, are related to persistence and performance" (Mow & Nettles, 1990, p. 77). This paper addresses Mow and Nettles' concern, but not by looking at departure specifically. Instead, this study focuses on students' expectations and experiences because they affect students' level of social and academic integration. Specifically, the

research examines (1) the stability and change in students social and academic expectations during the first year of college, (2) how these expectations have been met by actual experiences, and (3) whether students of different racial or ethnic categories differ in their expectations and experiences. While the study is a single institution study at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the results should prove to be useful to institutions of similar size, make-up, and mission.

Literature

As Tinto (1987) noted, student departure is one of the most widely researched issues in higher education, generating numerous theories which he classified into five types: psychological, societal, economic, organizational, and interactional (Tinto, 1986). Tinto's (1975) model, which is interactional, has probably become the most cited, as well as the most tested, model of student departure (e.g. Aitken, 1982; Cabrera, Stampen, & Hansen, 1990; Nora, Attinasi, & Matonak, 1990; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1979, 1983; Pascerella & Chapman, 1983; Terenzini & Pascerella, 1980). Pascerella and Terenzini (1991) review the literature addressing Tinto's model in more detail.

Tinto's original model and the subsequent research it has generated have firmly established academic and social integration as important constructs in the theories of student success and persistence. Tinto and others (see Upcraft & Gardner, 1989) have also written much explaining why the first year of college is so important in building the levels of academic and social integration necessary for students to succeed. This section of the paper analyzes in more depth some of the literature related to academic and social integration, the first-year experiences of college students, and factors related to minority student persistence.

Academic and Social Integration

Most students withdraw voluntarily from college, and their departures represent in part the low levels of social and academic integration into college (Tinto, 1987). As Tinto notes, the more integrative their experiences, the more likely students will persist until degree completion. Less integration means

a greater likelihood of withdrawal before degree completion. Tinto suggests that lack of integration can be caused by two sources: incongruence and isolation. Incongruence results when "individuals perceive themselves as being substantially at odds with the institution . . . [therefore promoting a] mismatch or lack of fit between the needs interests, and preferences of the individual and those of the institution" (Tinto, 1987, p. 53-54). Incongruence produces interactions which are unpleasant, thus students' satisfaction with their college experience is greatly diminished.

Tinto notes that a key factor promoting incongruence is a student's perception of not fitting into the institution. This perception can be stimulated by a variety of factors. For instance, lack of adequate academic preparation can make a student feel out-of-place academically (Getzlaf, et al. 1984). Not being academically challenged at the institution can also be a factor (Tinto, 1987). Other factors include the perceived quality of campus life (Mow & Nettles, 1990), lack of participation in appropriate extracurricular activities (Upcraft, 1985), being a non-traditional student (Chapman, 1989; Copland, 1989; Hameister, 1989; Rice, 1989), or being from a non-majority culture or ethnic background (Allen, 1988; Justiz & Rendon, 1989; Mow & Nettles, 1990; Pounds, 1989). The individual personalities of the students and their abilities to "fit in" also play an important role. As Tinto (1987) notes, "some degree of incongruence will be experienced by most students" (p. 57), but when it is too great and goes unchecked departure from the institution is likely.

Isolation, on the other hand, is different from incongruence. Tinto defines isolation as "the absence of sufficient interactions whereby integration may be achieved" (p. 53), meaning that the students are simply not involved to any great extent with the campus community. With incongruence, students may have many interactions with others but feel these interactions are mismatched. On the other hand, with isolation, interaction is sparse. Fewer student interactions with other students and faculty members lead to a greater likelihood of voluntary departure (Astin, 1975; Bligh, 1977; Munroe, 1981; Pascarella, 1980; Terenzini & Pascarella, 1977; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1977, 1979, 1983; Pascarella and Wolfle,

1985). As Tinto notes, the various studies of Pascarella and Terenzini show that "voluntary withdrawal is much more a reflection of what occurs on campus after entry than it is of what has taken place before entry. And of that which occurs after entry, the absence of contact with others proves to matter most" (Tinto, 1987, p. 65). Tinto also notes that the first year of college is a key time for students to establish contacts.

The First Year of College

At the University of South Carolina, John Gardner has devoted much time to studying undergraduates' first-year college experiences. In addition to hosting an annual conference where scholars from across the country present papers and discuss issues pertaining to the first year of college, the University of South Carolina houses the National Center for the Study of the Freshman Year Experience, which Gardner directs. Much of the foundation for a student's success in college is laid in the first year of enrollment, and Gardner and his colleague Lee Upcraft have detailed many of the issues and factors related to that success in their book *The Freshman Year Experience* (Upcraft & Gardner, 1989).

Upcraft and Gardner cite "overwhelming evidence that student success is largely determined by experiences during the freshman year" (p. 1), and they note that "success" encompasses more than just graduating. It includes establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships, deciding upon a career and life-style, and developing competencies, identity, and an integrated philosophy of life. Upcraft and Gardner discuss several factors related to this definition of success, including (1) pre-enrollment variables such as personal, demographic, and cultural characteristics, (2) institutional characteristics, and (3) institutional climate. And citing a report from the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (1973), which sounds very similar to Tinto, Upcraft and Gardner note that "when there is congruence between a freshman and the campus climate, that freshman will be happier, better adjusted, and more likely to achieve personal and educational goals" (p. 9).

Upcraft and Gardner argue that the academic and social integration of first-year students into a

particular college or university is crucial for the students' success. They believe that peer interactions are very important, and research has supported their claim (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1983; Terenzini & Pascarella, 1977). Along with Pascarella and Terenzini (1977) and Pascarella (1980), Alexander Astin (1975, 1977), who has been studying first-year students for over two decades, has noted that student-faculty contact both within and outside of the classroom contributes to the success of first-year students.

Upcraft and Gardner believe the best way to assist first-year students in their academic and social integration with their institution is through new-student orientation programs or seminars. Through group settings and courses, faculty, administrators, and returning students can do much to help first-year students adjust to their new life on campus. But Upcraft and Gardner are quick to point out that these courses can only go so far in helping the diverse populations of many institutions. Most of the research relating academic and social integration to the first-year experience has not focused specifically on the many diverse groups within higher education, including women, athletes, disabled students, commuter students, honor students, and various ethnic minorities such as Asian-Americans, Black, Hispanics, and Native Americans.

Persistence of Ethnic Minority Students

Mow and Nettles (1990) have published an extensive review of the literature related to the enrollment, persistence, and performance of undergraduate minority students. They noted that most of the research on minority students has pertained to Black students, with a recent increased interest in Hispanic students, and there has been little research on Native or Asian American students. They also noted that most studies fail to compare more than two groups, usually a single minority group and the majority group.

Existing research on minority persistence and performance generally references Tinto's work on academic and social integration (Allen, 1985; Braddock, 1981; Carroll, 1988; Mallinckrodt, 1988; Mannan, Charleston, & Saghafi, 1986; Nora, 1987; Nora & Rendon, 1990). And in recognition of the importance

of the first year in college, many studies focus on first-year students (Carroll, 1988; Hamby, 1988; Mallinckrodt, 1988; Mannan, Charleston, & Saghafi, 1986).

Many of these studies examine Black students attending predominantly White institutions because the isolation and alienation of Black students on such campuses has concerned the higher education community for many years. Allen (1981, 1985, 1988), as well as others, has shown that Black students on White campuses definitely experience more isolation and alienation as well as general dissatisfaction relative to White students.

Madrazo-Peterson & Rodriguez (1978) found that Native American and Hispanic students also experienced isolation and alienation as well as racist incidents. Munoz (1986) noted that Chicano students face more adjustment problems than White students, as well as general stress. Several factors may be associated with adjustment problems: low socioeconomic backgrounds, lack of understanding of the higher education system, language problems, and poor academic preparation (Justiz & Rendon, 1989). Munoz (1986) found that Chicano students perceived themselves as less prepared academically. Olivas (1986) stated that "marginality" is a primary factor negatively impacting on Hispanic student persistence. He noted that generally Chicano students do not take part in mainstream student activities which in turn aggravates their feelings of marginality and leads to lower expectations and performance.

Asian-American students have not been studied to the extent of Black and Hispanic students regarding performance and persistence. Part of the reason may be that studies have shown that Asian-Americans have higher rates of access, persistence, and performance than the other groups; therefore the perceived need for research is not as strong (Mow & Nettles, 1990). In fact, grades and graduation rates are higher for Asian-Americans than their White counterparts at some institutions. In Upcraft and Gardner's (1989) book, the section on helping diverse populations failed to include a chapter on Asian-Americans while including chapters on Hispanics, Blacks, women, adult learners, commuters, athletes, disabled students, and honors students.

While it may be true that the academic performance of Asian-American students is better than other minority groups, they can still suffer from problems of cultural adjustment and racism, especially on predominately White campuses (Asamen & Berry, 1987; Chew & Ogi, 1987; Loo & Rolison, 1986). Mow & Nettles (1990) also note that the Asian-American students generally have lower English language proficiency and higher quantitative skills than White students. This fact of course leads to stereotyping of all Asian-American students, another problem which individual Asian-American students must face.

Mow and Nettles (1990) noted that the research on the experiences of minority students often highlights the poor fit between an individual group and the institutional environment, but they also allude to the point that the poor fit is not realized until after the students have been on campus for awhile. They mentioned one study that showed first-year minority students were more satisfied than upperclass students with campus life. This point seems to provide evidence of optimism among new students which fades as they probably have more unpleasant experiences throughout their collegiate careers.

The Present Study

Background and Purpose

Considerable research exists in the area of academic and social integration of first-year students, some of which focuses on the special concerns of students of color. However, a review of the literature points out some areas of needed research. As Mow and Nettles (1990) indicate, there is a need for more attention on different minority groups, because the vast majority of studies focus on Black students. While more research is being devoted to Hispanic students due to their increasing enrollment in higher education, there is still very little research on Asian Americans and Native Americans. Studying Native Americans is problematic due to their low enrollment numbers, especially at institutions where research is conducted routinely. Asian Americans, on the other hand, have been neglected because "their overrepresentation and overachievement in some areas of higher education mask the need for concern" (Mow and Nettles, 1990, p. 47).

Mow and Nettles also note that there is a need for more comparative studies of minority students. Too often studies making comparisons between groups focus on a single minority group compared to the majority group. With enrollments increasing for different minority groups on single campuses, the need for group comparisons is continuing to grow in importance. Different groups can and do respond differently to a common campus environment, and administrators need to know the extent of the group differences and why the differences occur so individual groups can be addressed separately.

Mow and Nettles also note the need for more longitudinal studies. Tracking student cohorts over time can provide valuable data pertaining to changes in student perceptions and experiences. Longitudinal studies are crucial in the effort to understand how expectations are influenced by actual experiences and in turn change due to those experiences. The purpose of this study is to investigate student expectations and experiences over time for four different groups of students: Asian American, Black, Hispanic, and White.

Method

On September 26 and October 3, 1990, the Student Affairs Research, Information, & Systems Office at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst conducted a telephone survey exploring expectations and opinions of first-year students. A random sample of White students was surveyed as were the entire populations of students of the following racial/ethnic categories: Asian, Black, and Hispanic. Interviewers attempted to contact a total of 611 first-year students, and interviews were completed with 377 students for an overall response rate of 61.7%. The breakdown of response rates for each ethnic group is provided in Table 1.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

A follow-up survey was conducted on May 1 and May 8, 1991, with another random sample of first-year White students and the entire population of first-year students of color. Interviewers attempted to contact 812 students, and 407 respondents completed interviews for a response rate of 50.1%. Again,

the breakdown of response rates for each ethnic group is provided in Table 1.

In the initial survey, students were asked a series of questions exploring their expectations prior to coming to the University of Massachusetts, and how well their experiences during their first month had met their expectations. For example, students were asked questions assessing how well their academic expectations had been met, such as whether their courses were more or less difficult, time consuming, and interesting than expected, and whether they were satisfied with the quality of their courses. Students were also asked to estimate the likelihood that they would graduate from the University, to estimate their grade point average at the end of the academic year, and to judge the accessibility and helpfulness of academic advising services. Students also were asked questions about their social life and their involvement in extracurricular activities. In addition, there was a question about students' prior knowledge of highly publicized incidents of racial harassment and discrimination at the University.

In the follow-up survey the same questions were repeated to provide bases for comparison between the Fall and Spring surveys. In addition, the follow-up survey asked whether the students personally had witnessed, experienced, or heard about racial harassment or discrimination occurring at the University during their first year.

Results and Analysis

Academic Expectations and Experiences

Course difficulty. Students were asked a series of questions exploring their expectations prior to coming to the university and how well their experiences had met these expectations. First, students were asked whether their courses were more or less difficult than they had expected prior to their coming to the University. They responded on a four-point scale: "much more difficult," "somewhat more difficult," "somewhat less difficult," "much less difficult." ANOVA was used to determine significant differences in the responses of those in the four racial/ethnic groups, with the four-point scale as the dependent variable. Table 2 presents the proportion of students in the Fall 1990 and Spring 1991 surveys who said

their courses were either much more or somewhat more difficult than they had expected, and the ANOVA results comparing the responses of those in the different racial/ethnic categories the Fall and Spring surveys. In addition, Table 2 lists the changes from Fall to Spring in the proportions of students in each category who said their courses were more difficult than expected. While there was some variance in the proportions of students from each of the different racial/ethnic categories giving this response, their responses were not significantly different ($p \leq .05$) in either of the surveys. The Difference of Proportions test (Blalock, 1979) was used to assess the significance of the variance in the proportions of students in the Fall and the Spring surveys who said that their courses were more difficult than expected. The changes from Fall to Spring in the proportion of students in each category giving this response were not statistically significant ($p \leq .05$).

[Insert Table 2 about here]

The Differences of Differences test (Blalock, 1979) was used to assess the significance of the Fall to Spring changes between two different racial/ethnic categories. For example, the proportion of White students saying their courses were more difficult than expected fell nearly seven percent from the beginning to the end of the academic year, while the proportion of Hispanic students giving this response rose nearly four percent during this period. In this case, the statistical test shows that the difference in the White and the Hispanic students' changes from the Fall to Spring survey were not statistically significant.

Course Time Requirement. Students also were asked whether their courses require more time than they had expected, responding on a four-point scale from "much more" to "much less" time than expected. As seen in Table 3, from 58 to 71 percent of the students said their courses took more time than expected. However, the responses of the students in each of the different racial/ethnic category were not significantly different from one another at $p \leq .05$ in either the Fall or Spring surveys. The proportions of Hispanic and Black students saying that their courses required more time than expected rose, while the proportion

of White and Asian students fell slightly from Fall to Spring. These changes were not statistically significant, nor was the difference between the eleven percent increase of Hispanic students and the two percent decrease of Asian students.

[Insert Table 3 about here]

Course Interest. Students were asked whether their courses were more or less interesting than they had expected prior to coming to the university. Their responses were recorded on a four-point scale from "much more" to "much less" interesting. As seen in Table 4, students of different racial/ethnic background surveyed in the Fall differed significantly ($p \leq .01$) from one another in their assessment of their courses being more interesting than expected. Asian and White students surveyed in the Fall were more likely to find their courses more interesting than expected than were Hispanic or Black students. These racial/ethnic differences were not found in the Spring survey.

There was a significant ($p \leq .05$) decline from Fall to Spring in the proportion of White students finding their courses more interesting than expected. This was the only racial/ethnic group showing a significant change from the first to the second survey.

[Insert Table 4 about here]

Satisfaction with Course Quality. Table 5 shows the proportion of students saying they were either satisfied or very satisfied with the quality of their courses. Across all groups, over 80 percent of the students in both surveys expressed satisfaction with their courses' quality. The racial/ethnic differences were significant in the Fall, with Asian students expressing the lowest and White students the highest levels of satisfaction. Racial/ethnic differences were not significant in the Spring survey, nor were the declines in student satisfaction from Fall to Spring. The difference of differences test showed the variation in the proportional changes from Fall to Spring among the different racial/ethnic groups not to be statistically significant.

[Insert Table 5 about here]

Anticipated and Obtained Grades. Students in both the Fall and Spring were asked to provide the Grade Point Average (GPA, on point scale) they anticipated having for their first year. Table 6 presents the mean anticipated first-year GPA of students as of the time of the Fall and Spring surveys. Students surveyed in the Spring were also asked what GPA they obtained Fall semester. As seen in this table, first-year GPA expectations as of early Fall and late Spring and obtained Fall semester grades vary significantly by racial/ethnic category. White students expected to have the best first-year GPA in both the Spring and Fall surveys, and report having the highest Fall semester GPA. Asian and Black students report the lowest expected GPA in the Fall, and report obtaining Fall grades similar to those they expected early in the year. However, while Asian students initially expected grades lower than or equal to Black and Hispanic students their obtained Fall GPA was higher than students of either of those racial/ethnic groups. Hispanic students report obtained Fall grades lower than students in the other categories.

[Insert Table 6 about here]

Chances of Receiving Bachelor's Degree from University. Students were asked to estimate their chance (from 0 to 100%) of eventually receiving their Bachelor's Degree from the University. The mean estimated probability of students in each racial/ethnic group is presented in Table 7. Fall racial differences were statistically significant, with Hispanic students indicating that they had the highest probability (85 percent) of receiving their degree, followed by White (78 percent) and Black (72 percent) students. Asian students indicated the lowest probability (71 percent) of receiving their degree from the University. Differences among the racial/ethnic groups were not significant in the Spring survey, nor were the Fall to Spring changes for White, Black, and Asian students.

[Insert Table 7 about here]

Changes from Fall to Spring were significant for Hispanic students: While Hispanic students began the year with the highest expectations, by the end of the year they had the lowest expectations of receiving their degree. The difference of differences test suggests that the proportional Fall-to-Spring

change of Asian students, a two percent increase, is significantly different than that of Hispanic students, which fell fifteen percent.

Social Life

Difficulty Making Friends at University. On a four-point scale from "much more difficult" to "much less difficult" students were asked to assess how they found making friends at the University compared to their expectations. As seen in Table 8, the differences among racial/ethnic groups were not statistically significant in either survey. The five percent decline in the proportion of White students saying they found it somewhat or much more difficult than expected to make friends was statistically significant ($p \leq .05$). The difference between the 5 percent decline in White students' and the 9 percent increase in Hispanic students perception of difficulty from Fall to Spring was significant at $p \leq .05$.

[Insert Table 8 about here]

Difficulty Meeting People with Similar Interests. Students were asked whether it was more or less difficult than expected to meet people at the University with interests similar to their own (on a four-point scale from "much less" to "much more" difficult). As illustrated in Table 9, the differences among students in the four racial/ethnic categories were statistically insignificant. Black and Hispanic students surveyed near the end of their first year were significantly less likely than those surveyed at the beginning of the year to say that they had difficulty meeting people with similar interests. The difference of differences test showed the variation in the proportional changes from Fall to Spring among the different racial/ethnic groups not to be significant.

[Insert Table 9 about here]

Extracurricular Activities or Organizations. Students of different Racial/ethnic groups were not found to differ significantly in their engagement in extracurricular activities or organizations (Table 10). However, White and Black students showed significant Fall to Spring increases in the proportions engaging in such activities, while Asian and Hispanic students showed statistically insignificant declines.

The differences between the 24 percent decrease of Black students and the 5 and 7 percent decreases of Asian and Hispanic students participating in organized extracurricular activities are statistically significant ($p \leq .05$).

[Insert Table 10 about here]

University Assistance and Integration

Proportion who have spoken with academic advisor. Students were asked whether they had spoken to an academic advisor since coming to the University, and the results are presented in Table 11. The chi-square statistic shows that the racial differences are significant in the first but not the second survey. In the Fall, less than one-fifth of White students said they had spoken to an academic advisor, while closer to half of students in the other racial/ethnic categories said they had. Hispanics were the most likely to say they had seen an advisor, with half doing so during their first month at the University.

[Insert Table 11 about here]

It is clear from Table 11 that between the first and last months of the school year there are significant increases in the proportion of students consulting an academic advisor. The increases in the proportion of students in the different racial/ethnic categories ranges from 31 to 51 percent, and are statistically significant. Whites are least likely to see an academic advisor but show the greatest increase during the year. White students showed significantly greater increases than both Hispanic and Asian students (both at $p \leq .05$).

In addition to the above questions, students were asked to assess both the accessibility and the helpfulness of academic advising at the University. Since there were no significant intergroup differences or significant changes from Fall to Spring the results are not presented here.

Feeling a Part of the University Community. Students were asked the extent to which they feel a part of the University community, responding on a four-point scale: "not at all," "not much," "to some extent," and "to a great extent." The differences among the racial/ethnic categories were not significant

in the Fall survey but were in the Spring (Table 12). Hispanic students were the most likely to say they felt a part of the University community, and Asian students were the least likely, with less than one-eighth saying they felt a part of the community to a great extent. The proportion of Asian students saying they felt a part of the University community also declined significantly ($p \leq .05$) during the course of their first year. The difference between the 13 percent decrease of Asian students and the 2 percent increase of White students saying they are a part of the University community is statistically significant ($p \leq .05$).

[Insert Table 12 about here]

Feeling they "Fit In" at the University. Students were asked the extent to which they feel they fit in at the University, responding on a four-point scale: "not at all," "not much," "to some extent," and "to a great extent." The differences among the racial/ethnic categories were not significant in the Fall survey but were in the Spring (Table 13). White students were the most likely to feel they fit in at the University (with over 50 percent saying so "to a great extent"), followed by Hispanic (44 percent) and Black (42 percent) students. At the end of their first year, Asian students apparently felt they fit in less than students of other ethnicities, with only one-fourth saying they felt so to a great extent. The changes from Fall to Spring were not statistically significant for any of the racial/ethnic groups. The difference of differences test showed the variation in the proportional changes from Fall to Spring among the different racial/ethnic groups not to be significant.

[Insert Table 13 about here]

Adequacy of University efforts to make students feel comfortable. Students were asked whether they felt the University had made an adequate effort to make them feel comfortable. Intergroup differences were not significant in the Fall but were in the Spring (Table 14). In the Spring, Asian students were most likely to say the University's effort was adequate (93 percent), followed closely by Hispanic and White students (both at approximately 91 percent). Black students in the Spring survey were significantly less likely than the other groups to say the University's effort to make them feel comfortable

was adequate (76 percent), and were the only group to show a significant ($p \leq .05$) decline from Fall to Spring. The difference between the 2 percent increase of White students and the 13 percent decrease of Black students saying they feel the University makes an adequate effort to make them feel comfortable is statistically significant ($p \leq .05$).

[Insert Table 14 about here]

Racial Climate

Knowledge of Racial Incidents Prior to Coming to the University. In the Fall survey students were asked whether they had heard about incidents of racial harassment or discrimination at the University prior to their attending. Readers should note that several incidents had occurred, such as the well-publicized fight after the 1986 World Series. As seen in Table 15, there were significant differences among the racial/ethnic groups. Prior to coming to the University, over 80 percent of Black students said they had heard about incidents of racial harassment or discrimination at the University. About half of the Hispanic and Asian students said they had prior knowledge of such incidents. White students were the least likely to have heard of racial incidents prior to their attending the University.

[Insert Table 15 about here]

Experiencing, Witnessing, and Hearing about Racial Incidents. In the Spring survey students were asked whether they had personally experienced, witnessed, or heard about incidents of racial harassment or discrimination during their first year at the University. There were significant differences in the proportion of students experiencing and hearing about racial incidents. As seen in Table 16, Black students (23 percent) were the most likely to have personally experienced racial harassment or discrimination, followed by Hispanic students (16 percent). Asian students were the least likely, even compared to Whites, to have experienced harassment or discrimination.

[Insert Table 16 about here]

Asians were the least likely to say they had heard about racial harassment or discrimination during

their first year. Black and White students were about equally likely, with approximately three out of every four saying they had heard about incidents. Hispanic students were by far the most likely to have heard about racial incidents, with practically all saying they had heard of them.

The differences among racial/ethnic groups in the proportion saying they had witnessed racial harassment or discrimination were not statistically significant. The difference of differences test showed the variation in the proportional changes from Fall to Spring among the different racial/ethnic groups not to be significant.

Adequacy of University Efforts to Fight Racial Problems. The students in both surveys were asked about their opinion of the adequacy of the University's efforts to deal with problems of racism on campus (recorded on a four-point scale from "very adequate" to "very inadequate"). As can be seen in Table 17, the differences among students of the various racial/ethnic categories were not significant in the Fall survey but were in the Spring. By the end of their first year, Blacks were the least likely to feel that the University's anti-racism efforts were adequate, with less than three-fifths saying they believed the efforts were adequate. Slightly more Hispanic students believed in the adequacy of the University's anti-racism efforts, while about four-fifths of White and Asian students gave this indication.

[Insert Table 17 about here]

From the Fall to Spring surveys the proportion of Asian students who believed the University's efforts were adequate rose over 12 percent, while the proportions for Black and Hispanic students dropped 13 and 14 percent, respectively. The differences between the 12 percent Fall to Spring increase of Asian students and the 13 and 14 percent decreases of Black ($p \leq .05$) and Hispanic ($p \leq .01$) students saying the University efforts to fight racism are adequate were statistically significant.

Student assessments of the University

Made Right Decision in Coming to the University. In both surveys, students were asked whether, based on their experiences thus far, they had made the right decision in choosing to attend the University.

They responded on a four-point scale: "definitely made the right decision," "probably made the right decision," "probably made the wrong decision," and "definitely made the wrong decision." There were significant racial differences in the Fall but not in the Spring survey (Table 18). In the Fall, Hispanic students were the most likely to say they definitely made the right decision in coming to this University, with about three-fourths saying so. Roughly half of the students in the other racial/ethnic categories said they definitely made the right decision.

[Insert Table 18 about here]

For White, Black, and Asian students the proportions saying they definitely made the right decision in attending the University did not change significantly from Fall to Spring. However, The proportion of Hispanic students believing they made the right decision declined sharply, from 74 to 44 percent ($p \leq .01$). In addition, the difference between the 31 percent Fall to Spring decrease in the proportion of Hispanic students and the small Fall to Spring changes in the proportions of White, Black, and Asian students were significant at $p \leq .01$.

Recommend this University to Students of Color. Students were asked whether they would recommend that a member of a racial or ethnic minority group whom they know well attend the University. The response categories were "yes," "no," and "not sure." Table 19 lists the proportions saying "yes." The differences in responses among the racial/ethnic groups were not significant in the Fall survey. In the Spring survey, White students were the most likely (90 percent) to say that they would recommend that a minority student attend, followed by Hispanics (86 percent), and Asians (83 percent). Black students were the least likely (72 percent) to say they would recommend the University to a minority student whom they know well. The proportion of Asian students saying they would recommend the University rose significantly from Fall to Spring.

[Insert Table 19 about here]

Discussion

The results of this research indicate clearly that the expectations and experiences of students at this particular institution varied by racial/ethnic background. Differences among groups were observed on most variables. To put the results in a different perspective, this section will discuss the results as they pertain to each ethnic group, drawing comparisons among groups and offering possible explanations when possible.

The White Majority Group

The data show clearly that the White, non-ethnic, majority group had the highest academic expectations and their actual experiences seemed to be more positive than those of other groups. At the beginning of the year, the majority group was most likely to find their courses more interesting than expected, and they were also most satisfied with the quality of their courses. The data also show that the majority group anticipated and achieved the highest grade point averages. They also were the most likely to feel they made the right decision to attend the University, and they were the second most likely to believe they would receive their degrees.

Regarding social activities, the majority group was the only group to show a significant change between Fall and Spring regarding the difficulty in making friends, with 5 percent fewer respondents in the Spring indicated more difficulty. Also, from Fall to Spring, White students showed a significant increase in their engagement in extra-curricular activities.

The University assistance and integration variables reflected positively on the majority group. At the end of the year, White students were the most likely to indicate that they fit in at the University, and the second most likely (behind Hispanic students) to indicate they feel a part of the community. They also believe strongly, along with Asians and Hispanics, that the University makes an adequate effort to make them feel comfortable. While Whites were the least likely group in both surveys to have spoken to an academic advisor, they showed the greatest increase in the activity between Fall and Spring.

Regarding academic advisement, the reader should note that all minority group students have special academic counseling programs in which most participate, so they are probably more likely to speak to an advisor.

As expected, the White, majority students had few problems with racial harassment at the University, and they were the least likely group to have heard about racial incidents before arriving at the institution. Following Asian students, they were also the least likely to have experienced or witnessed racial harassment or discrimination on campus. They indicated the University's efforts to fight racism are adequate, and they are the most likely group to recommend that minority students attend the University.

Asian-American Students

Academically, at the beginning of their first year, Asian students were the least likely to be satisfied with the quality of their courses. They also began the year with the lowest (tied with Black students) anticipated first-year GPA, but had obtained Fall semester grades higher than expected and by the end of the year had expectations exceeded only by White students. Asian students also had the second highest obtained Fall semester grades and showed the greatest Fall-to-Spring increase in expected first-year cumulative GPA. The patterns of expectations and changes in expectations of the estimated likelihood of eventually receiving their B.A. from the university are similar to the patterns displayed with expected grades: They started the year with the lowest perceived chance of graduating, but they are the only group to show a Fall-to-Spring increase and ended the year second only to White students.

While the academic performance of Asian students is high, there is some evidence of problems in social integration. Asian students began their first year as the least likely group to feel a part of the university community, and the proportion feeling that way dropped significantly during the academic year. They also were the least likely of all students to say they felt they "fit in" at the university. However, there is some incongruence in the measures of integration: While Asian students obviously are among

the least comfortably integrated into the university community, they are the most likely of any racial/ethnic group to say that the university makes an adequate efforts to make them feel comfortable.

While Asian students are the least likely to feel they fit in, that feeling apparently has nothing to do with racial discrimination or harassment. The data show that students of Asian decent were even less likely than White students to say that they had experienced, witnessed, or heard about racial harassment or discrimination at the university, and they were the least likely of non-majority students to say they had heard about racial incidents at the university prior to their arrival at the institution in the Fall. Asian students were also the most likely of all students to say the university's efforts to fight racism on campus were adequate, and the proportion saying so increased significantly during their first year. They also showed the greatest increase in the proportion who would recommend the university to other racial/ethnic minorities.

Black Students

While there was little difference between the expectations and actual experiences of Black students relative to their courses, their academic performance and prospects for retention, relative to other students of color, are much more problematic. At the beginning of the year, Black students had the lowest expectations of eventually receiving their degrees. They also expected and received relatively low grades, and by the end of the year had the lowest expected cumulative GPA.

Regarding social integration, the data show that Black students have an interesting mix of experiences. The proportion of Black students who expressed difficulty in meeting people with similar interests dropped significantly between the Fall and Spring surveys, thus more Black students found it easier to meet people with similar interests. The data also showed a significant increase between Fall and Spring in the proportion of Blacks who engaged in extracurricular activities. However, the data also showed that Blacks were the second least likely (next to Asians) to feel a part of the University community.

It is likely that Blacks did not feel a part of the community in large part due to their negative race-related experiences at the institution. The vast majority of Black students had heard about the University's well-publicized racial incidents before they arrived at the institution, and they were the most likely to have personally experienced racial harassment or discrimination. Not surprisingly, they were the least likely to say that the University's efforts to fight racism were adequate and to say that they would recommend the university to a minority student whom they know well.

Hispanic Students

Academically, Hispanic students are similar to Blacks in their negative experiences. Hispanics had the lowest self-reported Fall GPA, and their expectations for Spring were the second lowest only to Blacks. While the Hispanics' expectations for graduation from the University were the highest in the first survey, they plunged to the lowest in the second survey, the largest drop by far of any group. This last point clearly shows the high level of concern Hispanics must have had about the institution.

For Hispanic students, the problem seems not to be that they were alienated from the university community. They were most likely to say that they feel a part of the University community by the end of their first year, and they were second only to White students in feeling that they "fit in" at the University. On the other hand, Hispanic students report great dissatisfaction with their social life. At the end of the year, they were the most likely group to report difficulty making friends, and the 9.4 percent increase from Fall to Spring was significantly different from the 5.2 percent decrease among the White students. At the end of the year, Hispanics also were the least likely to engage in extracurricular activities. Their disengagement in activities between Fall and Spring is especially noteworthy as they had a 6.8 percent drop as Blacks and Whites had increases of 24.0 and 9.2 percent, respectively.

Hispanics, like Blacks, also report high levels of racial harassment and discrimination at the University. Hispanics reported the second highest level (after Blacks) of personally experiencing racial harassment and discrimination. They also reported the highest level of witnessing and hearing about racial

harassment and discrimination. The reports of harassment may have been particularly troubling to Hispanics, especially relative to Blacks, because Hispanics were much less likely than Blacks to have heard about racial incidents at the University before attending the institution.

For whatever reasons, the data show that Hispanics became very disillusioned about the University during the course of the year. In the Fall, 74.2 percent of Hispanics felt they made the right decision to attend the University, but by the end of the year, only 43.6 percent felt they made the right decision. This drop of 30.6 percent represents a tremendous drop in satisfaction, especially considering the other groups basically held constant or increased. The drop for Whites was only 0.4 percent, and the figures for Asians and Blacks increased by 0.3 percent and 4.3 percent, respectively.

Conclusion

The data in this study highlight the many problems perceived by minority group students at this particular predominantly White institution. The results of this research indicate that the link between students' feelings of integration in the university and students' success (as measured by GPA and perceived likelihood of graduation) is highly dependent on racial/ethnic background. And these analyses suggest that differences between expectations and experiences exist which may have serious consequences for minority student performance and retention.

According to the institution's data regarding graduation rates, Blacks and Hispanics have substantially lower graduation rates than Asian and White students. In a study of retention at the institution, data showed that 59 percent of Whites and 56 percent of Asians graduated during a 5-year period (Harvey and McArdle, 1989). In contrast, Hispanics and Blacks graduated at a rate of 30 percent and 28 percent, respectively.

The actual withdrawal data for the populations used in this study show the following dropout rates between the Fall and Spring semesters: Asians, 10.5 percent; Blacks, 5.8 percent; Hispanics, 20.3 percent;

and Whites, 6.3 percent. These data emphasize the dissatisfaction felt by Hispanics, especially since virtually all of these withdrawals are voluntary, given that academic dismissal cannot occur until after the second semester.

To reiterate from the Introduction to this paper, the purpose of this research was not specifically to investigate the relationship between social and/or academic integration and student success and/or departure. Instead, the purpose was to examine the stability and change in students' social and academic expectations, how the expectations were met or unmet by actual experiences, and whether there were differences on these variables among students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

As the data show, there are vast differences in perceptions, expectations, and experiences of different ethnic groups at this particular institution. The data suggest that the initial expectations of student life at a university like this one vary considerably among Asian American, Black, Hispanic, and White students. The experiences of the different groups also seem to affect changes in expectations, integration, and academic performance dissimilarly.

This research provides further evidence of the need to study racial/ethnic minority groups separately whenever possible. Since clear differences were observed among different racial/ethnic groups, it is also probably important, as Mow and Nettles (1990) pointed out, to break down the Hispanic and Asian populations into their numerous subgroups. Mow and Nettles indicated that the Hispanic population includes Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and several Latin American constituencies, and they noted that the Asian population includes more than 20 subgroups.

This research also suggests a need for further research of the expectations and first-year experiences of students who dropout during their first year. Those students who dropout between the first and second semesters of their first year may be even more likely than those who stay to report dissatisfaction along the same variables.

More importantly, hopefully, this study will provide faculty and administrators with a better

understanding of the differences in expectations and experiences of students of color during their first-year in college. Perhaps campus officials can utilize this information to address some of the many problems highlighted in this study.

A basic policy question derived from this research is, "What can be done to improve the academic and social environments for students of color on predominantly White campuses?" This is certainly not a new question, but it is a question which has not been answered sufficiently at most institutions. Campus officials must work harder to teach acceptance of different cultures in an effort to decrease racist environments. Campuses should consider strongly putting more effort into faculty mentoring programs, recruiting more faculty of color to mentor students of color. Campuses should also consider year-long orientation programs for first-year students and mentoring programs which utilize upperclass students as advisors for first-year students. Such programs might improve the well-being and retention of all students, but may have a particularly positive impact on students of color who are obviously disadvantaged on predominantly White campuses.

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TABLE 1. Response Rates for Each Racial/Ethnic Group

	Fall 1990		Spring 1991	
White	54.8%	(132/226)	48.1%	(220/457)
Black	62.3	(76/122)	49.6	(57/115)
Asian	65.8	(100/152)	55.1	(75/136)
Hispanic	62.2	(69/111)	52.9	(55/104)
Total	61.7	(377/611)	50.1	(407/812)

TABLE 2. Proportion Saying University Course Are More Difficult Than Expected

	Fall 1990		Spring 1991		% change
White	45.8%	(131)	39.0%	(218)	- 6.8
Black	41.5	(73)	42.6	(57)	+ 0.9
Asian	53.6	(97)	49.4	(75)	- 4.2
Hispanic	43.6	(62)	47.3	(55)	+ 3.7
F	.33		1.32		
p ≤	.80		.27		

* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01

TABLE 3. Proportion Saying University Courses Require More Time Than Expected

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change
White	58.3% (132)	58.2% (218)	- 0.1
Black	63.9 (72)	70.2 (57)	+ 6.3
Asian	70.7 (99)	68.0 (75)	- 2.3
Hispanic	67.1 (61)	78.1 (55)	+ 11.0
F	1.49	2.40	
p ≤	.22	.07	

* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01

TABLE 4. Proportion Saying University Courses are More Interesting Than Expected

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change
White	64.9% (131)	55.2% (219)	- 9.7*
Black	49.3 (71)	47.4 (57)	- 1.9
Asian	65.7 (99)	58.1 (74)	- 7.6
Hispanic	59.0 (62)	60.0 (55)	+ 1.0
F	4.33	.49	
p ≤	.01	.69	

* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01

TABLE 5. Proportion Saying They Are Satisfied With The Quality of Their Courses

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change
White	94.0% (132)	90.4% (220)	- 3.6
Black	91.7 (73)	86.0 (57)	- 5.7
Asian	85.8 (99)	83.8 (74)	- 2.0
Hispanic	90.4 (62)	81.8 (55)	- 8.6
F	4.97	1.40	
p ≤	.01	.24	

* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01

TABLE 6. Mean Anticipated First-Year GPA at Beginning and End of First Year, and Obtained Fall GPA

	Expected Fall 1990	Obtained Fall 1991	Expected Spring	% Change Fall to Spring
White	2.7 (132)	2.6 (220)	2.9 (220)	+ .2
Black	2.2 (73)	2.3 (57)	2.5 (220)	+ .3
Asian	2.2 (100)	2.5 (75)	2.8 (75)	+ .6
Hispanic	2.3 (62)	2.2 (55)	2.6 (55)	+ .3
F	3.84	2.86	3.39	
p ≤	.01	.04	.02	

* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01

TABLE 7. Mean Estimated Chance of Receiving Bachelor's Degree From the University

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change ^a
White	78.1% (132)	76.9% (220)	- 1.2
Black	71.8 (73)	71.5 (57)	- .3
Asian	70.7 (100)	72.7 (75)	+ 2.0
Hispanic	84.9 (62)	69.9 (55)	- 15.0*
F	3.78	1.22	
p ≤	.01	.30	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

^a Difference between Asian and Hispanic students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 1.65, p ≤ .05).

TABLE 8. Proportion Saying They Found it More Difficult Than Expected to Make Friends at the University

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change ^a
White	16.7% (132)	10.5% (218)	- 5.2*
Black	23.3 (73)	21.1 (57)	- 2.2
Asian	22.5 (98)	18.9 (74)	- 3.6
Hispanic	17.8 (62)	27.2 (55)	+ 9.4
F	1.32	1.90	
p ≤	.27	.13	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

^a Difference between White and Hispanic students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 1.81, p ≤ .05).

TABLE 9. Proportion Saying They Found it More Difficult Than expected to Meet People with Similar Interests at the University

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change ^a
White	24.6% (130)	21.0% (219)	- 3.6
Black	36.1 (72)	21.1 (57)	- 15.0*
Asian	38.3 (99)	24.7 (73)	- 13.6*
Hispanic	33.9 (62)	29.1 (55)	- 4.8
F	1.49	1.72	
p ≤	.22	.16	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

^a Difference between White and Black students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 2.15, p ≤ .05).

Difference between White and Asian students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 1.86, p ≤ .05).

TABLE 10. Proportion Engaging in Extracurricular Activities

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change ^a
White	39.4% (132)	48.6% (220)	+ 9.2*
Black	35.6 (73)	59.6 (57)	+ 24.0**
Asian	50.0 (100)	45.3 (75)	- 4.7
Hispanic	46.8 (62)	40.0 (55)	- 6.8
X ²	4.68	4.73	
p ≤	.20	.19	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

^a Difference between Black and Asian students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 2.50, p ≤ .01).

Difference between Black and Hispanic students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 2.45, p ≤ .01).

TABLE 11. Proportion Who Have Spoken to Academic Advisor

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change ^a
White	18.2% (132)	69.5% (220)	+ 51.3**
Black	45.8 (72)	84.2 (57)	+ 38.4**
Asian	40.0 (100)	75.7 (74)	+ 35.7**
Hispanic	50.8 (61)	81.8 (55)	+ 31.0**
X ²	27.91	7.25	
p ≤	.01	.06	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

TABLE 12. Proportion Saying They Feel They Are a Part of the University Community to a Great Extent

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change ^a
White	26.2% (130)	28.6% (220)	+ 2.4
Black	30.6 (72)	19.3 (57)	- 11.3
Asian	24.7 (97)	12.0 (75)	- 12.7*
Hispanic	38.7 (62)	30.9 (55)	- 7.8
F	1.92	4.06	
p ≤	.12	.01	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

^a Difference between White and Asian students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 1.99, p ≤ .05).

TABLE 13. Proportion Saying They Feel They "Fit In" at the University to a Great Extent

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change
White	45.0% (131)	51.4% (220)	+ 6.4
Black	45.2 (73)	42.1 (57)	- 3.1
Asian	30.2 (96)	25.3 (75)	- 4.9
Hispanic	44.3 (61)	44.4 (54)	+ 0.1
F	2.55	6.62	
p ≤	.06	.06	

* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01

TABLE 14. Proportion Feeling That the University Makes an Adequate Effort to Make Them Feel Comfortable

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change ^a
White	88.6% (132)	90.8% (217)	+ 2.2
Black	88.6 (70)	75.9 (54)	- 12.7*
Asian	97.6 (100)	93.2 (74)	- 3.8
Hispanic	90.3 (62)	90.9 (55)	+ 0.6
X ²	5.94	11.91	
p ≤	.12	.01	

* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01

^a Difference between White and Black students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 1.93, p ≤ .05).

TABLE 15. Proportion Who Had Heard About University Racial Incidents Prior to Attending

Fall 1990		
White	40.2%	(132)
Black	82.2	(73)
Asian	49.0	(100)
Hispanic	56.5	(62)
X ²	34.65	
p ≤	.01	

TABLE 16. Experience with Racial Harassment or Discrimination at the University

	Experienced	Witnessed	Heard About
White	7.7% (220)	20.5% (220)	74.4% (219)
Black	23.2 (56)	25.3 (57)	73.7 (57)
Asian	4.0 (75)	13.7 (73)	59.5 (74)
Hispanic	16.4 (55)	32.7 (55)	94.5 (55)
X ²	17.03	7.60	20.36
p ≤	.01	.06	.01

TABLE 17. Proportion Saying University Efforts to Fight Racism are Adequate

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change ^a
White	80.4% (87)	79.1% (191)	- 1.3
Black	71.5 (49)	58.5 (53)	- 13.0
Asian	70.5 (71)	82.8 (70)	+ 12.3*
Hispanic	77.1 (48)	62.7 (51)	- 14.4
F	.53	6.04	
p ≤	.66	.01	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

^a Difference between Asian and Black students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 2.16, p ≤ .05).

Difference between Asian and Hispanic students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 2.31, p ≤ .01).

TABLE 18. Proportion Saying They Definitely Made the Right Decision in Coming to the University

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change ^a
White	59.5% (131)	59.1% (220)	- 0.4
Black	46.6 (73)	50.9 (57)	+ 4.3
Asian	41.0 (100)	41.3 (75)	+ 0.3
Hispanic	74.2 (62)	43.6 (55)	- 30.6** ^a
F	5.31	1.42	
p ≤	.01	.24	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

^a Difference between Hispanic and White students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 2.95, p ≤ .01).

Difference between Hispanic and Black students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 2.82, p ≤ .01).

Difference between Hispanic and Asian students' Fall-to-Spring change in proportions was statistically significant (Z = 2.69, p ≤ .01).

TABLE 19. Proportion Who Would Recommend that Minority Student Attend the University

	Fall 1990	Spring 1991	% change
White	83.1% (130)	89.8% (219)	+ 6.7
Black	69.9 (73)	71.9 (57)	+ 2.0
Asian	71.4 (98)	82.7 (75)	+ 11.3*
Hispanic	82.3 (62)	85.5 (55)	+ 3.2
X^2	10.89	17.61	
$p \geq$.09	.01	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$