DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 375 710 HE 027 794

AUTHOR Hyun, MeHee
TITLE Helping To Promote Racial Understanding: Does It Matter if You're Black or White? ASHE Annual Meeting Paper.
PUB DATE 13 Nov 94
NOTE 30p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (19th, Tucson, AZ, November 10-13, 1994).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Attitude Change; *Black Students; Cognitive Development; College Outcomes Assessment; College Role; *College Students; Higher Education; Longitudinal Studies; National Surveys; Political Attitudes; Political Socialization; *Racial Attitudes; Racial Factors; *Racial Relations; Sociocultural Patterns; Socioeconomic Background; Student Attitudes; Student Characteristics; Student Development; *White Students
IDENTIFIERS *ASHE Annual Meeting; Cooperative Institutional Research Program

ABSTRACT

This study examined what makes college students feel positive about the potential and need for change in racial relations, particularly whether a student's own race is a significant factor. Data were drawn from an initial sample of 24,847 first-time freshmen who completed the 1985 survey and a 1989 follow-up instrument to measure how students' commitment to fostering racial understanding changes over time using a large, nationwide sample. Overall, findings indicate that exposure to liberal viewpoints and cultural and ethnic issues do further racial understanding. However, while the overall change was marginally positive, the differential rates of change appeared to separate white students and black students even further apart than when they first began college. Black students believed promoting racial understanding was an important issue regardless of what else is going on in college. The college years appeared to empower black students to greatly increase their commitment to easing racial tensions. White students did not gain the same degree of commitment to promoting racial understanding. For both black students and white students, the most significant effects on their commitment came from discussing racial and ethnic issues as well as their initial commitment to racial understanding as freshmen. (Contains 35 references.) (JB)

HELPING TO PROMOTE RACIAL UNDERSTANDING: DOES IT MATTER IF YOU'RE BLACK OR WHITE?

MeHee Hyun

University of California at Los Angeles

5160 DAHLIA DRIVE
L.A., CA 90041-1405

Paper accepted for presentation at the annual meeting of the
Association for the Study of Higher Education
Tucson, Arizona
November 13, 1994

Abstract

Data were drawn from a nationwide database to determine whether there were differing effects of college on black students and white students in their commitment to greater racial understanding. The results of this study indicated that black students were substantially more likely to increase their commitment to this goal during college while white students increased this commitment at a rate less than that of the overall sample. A number of precollege characteristics, college environmental factors, attitudinal and behavioral measurements were determined to affect students' commitment, particularly those that exposed students to liberal viewpoint and other cultural and ethnic issues. For both black students and white students, the most significant effects on their commitment came from discussing racial and ethnic issues, as well as their initial devotion to racial understanding as freshmen.

ASHE

ASSOCIATION
FOR THE
STUDY OF
HIGHER EDUCATION

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

This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held at the Doubletree Hotel, Tucson, Arizona, November 10-13, 1994. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

Statement of the Problem

Not only are increases in positive racial attitudes and racial tolerance associated with higher education, they are considered a crucial part of student development (Astin, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991), and an oft-stated institutional goal (Bowen, 1977; Ford, 1986). Students themselves appear to be committing themselves to promoting racial understanding at record levels (Astin et al, 1992). But despite the seeming omnipotence of multiculturalism and diversity issues on college campuses today, there is evidence that racial climates have actually changed very little, or even deteriorated, with many reports of rising racial conflicts, race-related assaults and harassment (Altbach, 1991; Colon, 1991; Crull & Bruton, 1985; Gordon, 1991; McClelland & Auster, 1990; Morganthac *et al*, 1991; Pawtyna, 1988; Schaefer, 1987;).

Is this a result of a developing "color line?" The literature indicates that white students tend to be less aware of racial tensions/incidents, and desire more social distance than do black students (Gordon, 1991; Schaefer, 1987; Tuch, 1988; Wilson, 1986). While some factors -- liberal background, having attended a racially mixed high school, parental educational level and attitudes -- had positive effects, whether the student was black or white still appeared to be the strongest determinant of racial tolerance (Campbell, 1971; Hurh, 1979; McClelland & Auster; THomas & Hughes, 1986; Tuch, 1988; Wilson, 1986). Indeed, there seems to be ample evidence that students' racial attitudes differ according to race and that these attitudes vary over time. Although a few studies address the

differences for students by race and across institutions (Hurtado, 1992; Patterson *et al*, 1984), much of the previous research discussed a single institution, or compared groups of students from different cohort groups.

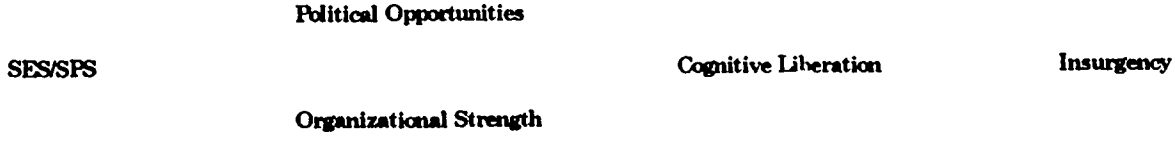
And while being black or being white may affect an individual's perception of campus climate, expression of social distance and racial attitudes, is there a difference in how committed to change students will be? Of the many studies that examine racial issues on college campuses, few focus on the potential for students not just to be tolerant, but to affect positively the nature of race relations. Rather than simply concentrating on the tensions and conflicts, this exploratory study attempted to examine what makes students feel positively about the potential and need for change, as well as address the following questions: Are these differences due to other student input characteristics besides race? Is there any interaction between environment and race? What happens in college that affects black and white students' commitment to racial tolerance differently?

Theoretical Framework

This exploratory study examined the effects of student precollege characteristics, college environmental influences, and behavioral and attitudinal "intermediate outcomes," which are actually "self-produced" environmental measures which occur prior to the assessment of the outcome (Astin, 1990): students' commitment to racial understanding. While a number of conceptual models guided the identification of these factors, McAdam's political process theory (1991) provided the primary theoretical framework for this analysis.

McAdam (1991) postulates that when certain socioeconomic or sociopolitical circumstances exist, expanded political opportunities and the creation of organizational strength will occur (see Figure 1). Together the expanding opportunities and strength of indigenous groups give rise to a cognitive liberation that collectively creates social insurgency. McAdam's model is useful for this analysis in that it acknowledges that this political process may differ by race, and that the socioeconomic and sociopolitical differences between whites and blacks would appear to support how this might apply to black students more so than white students. Once in college, black students then may feel they have increased opportunities, and more access to resources and organized groups. The additional perspectives on race relations that coursework and diverse peers provide are compounded with these factors to create a new level of consciousness, or cognitive liberation, regarding their situation which increases their commitment to racial understanding. White students, on the other hand, would not reach a similar level of aggrievedness, and thus would not increase their commitment as strongly.

Figure 1



Although McAdam's political process theory seeks to understand the development of black insurgency in the modern Civil Rights Movement, a commitment to promoting racial tolerance was inherently part of this insurgency.

Indeed, values regarding racial understanding may follow similar patterns of development, since a commitment to these ideals is very likely a precursor to actual insurgency (McAdam, 1991). Since this model accounts for the particular political climate that exists as part of students' college environment, it may also provide valuable insight into why students at different periods of time commit themselves to racial understanding at varying levels (Astin, 1993; Gilliam, 1994).

Data and Methodology

Data were drawn from an initial sample of 24,847 first-time freshmen who completed the 1985 survey and 1989 follow-up instrument of the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) to allow for the unique opportunity to see how students' commitment to fostering racial understanding changes over time, using a large nationwide sample. The item most closely linked with this inquiry was how students rate the importance of "helping to promote racial understanding" (HPRU) as a goal. Respondents chose "Not Important" (1), "Somewhat Important" (2), "Very Important" (3), or "Essential" (4). The cross-tabulations and multiple regression analyses conducted treated students' 1989 response on this attitudinal item as the dependent variable.

Change Over Time

How does the goal of helping to promote racial understanding change after four years? In 1985, the largest percentage of respondents (46.3 percent) felt this goal was "somewhat important" to them (Table 1). Although 6.1 percent fewer students selected this response in 1989, "somewhat important" was still chosen

most frequently. Students polarized somewhat over the four years, as can be seen by the 7.0 percent increase in "essential"/"not important" responses.

A three-way cross tabulation (Table 2) was conducted to see how the distributions for black and white students contrasted. While the two groups began with substantial differences as freshmen, alarmingly, after college the two groups moved even farther apart. The largest percentage of white students (48.1 percent) rated HPRU as only "somewhat important" in 1985, while black students responded "essential" and "very important" most frequently (37.5 percent each). Only 7.5 percent of the white students felt this was an essential goal for them in 1985. This gap between black students and white students escalated from 30 percent in 1985 to 37.7 percent in 1989. Despite a 4.2 percent increase in white students who marked "essential", white students appeared to increase at a rate less than that of the general population. In contrast, black students showed a sizeable 11.9 percent increase in this category with declines in every other category.

On the opposite end, nearly a fifth of the white students (19.1 percent) felt this goal was "not important" as compared to 3.1 percent of the black students, a 16 percent difference. By 1989, these two groups were 18.8 percent apart. While college does seem to have a slight association with students' commitment to racial understanding, it intensified this commitment for black students at a much greater rate than for white students.

Table 3 tracks the change of black and white students who responded in

each category over time. Of the students who started college saying their commitment was "essential," 64.2 percent of black students persisted in this belief four years later with only 1.2 percent switching to "not important." For white students, only 34.1 percent continued to rate this "essential" and 6.8 percent have dropped this goal to "not important." Of the freshmen who felt this goal "not important," only 14.8 percent of the black students continued to feel this way, while three times that percentage of the white students were similarly unmoved. Black students who initially believed HPRU was not important were more than seven times more likely (25.9 percent to 3.5 percent for white students) to change to the other extreme.

College was assumed to strengthen students' goal to further the issue of racial understanding. However, while the overall change was marginally positive, the differential rates of change appeared to be separating white students and black students even further apart than when they first began college. The college years appeared to empower black students to greatly increase their commitment to easing racial tensions, yet white students were not similarly stimulated to this degree.

Multivariate Analyses

Multiple regression analyses were conducted using McAdam's political process model as a frame, with students' 1989 rating of the importance of "helping to promote racial understanding" as the criterion variable. Potentially biasing effects will be limited by separating the regression into four blocks: (1) precollege

student characteristics or input measures of socioeconomic status, (2) college environmental influences on indigenous organizational strength, (3) expanding political opportunities students perceive of their college, and (4) attitudes regarding a sense of cognitive liberation. A complete list of these variables is included in Tables 4.1-4.3. This method was also guided by Astin's Input-Environment-Outcome model (Astin, 1990) that separates variables into input, environment, and outcome groups, according to their temporal sequence.

In controlling for socioeconomic and sociopolitical factors, student precollege characteristics shown in previous studies to be related to social activism were included in this first block (Astin, 1993; Bay, 1967; Orum, 1967). While variables such as parental education, family income, political liberalism as a freshman, age, gender, and religion comprised this measure, it was expected that few background characteristics would be very significant outside of race (Orum, 1967).

While the factors that follow are expected to carry more significance, they may also be somewhat problematic to define. The second block of variables conveyed the emergence of organizational strength. Although "political opportunities" appears to be parallel in the model, campus conditions that indicated organizational strength was entered first since it has such a strong and more direct effect on student discontent and the commitment to affect change (Flacks, 1967; McAdam, 1991). Since indigenous organizational strength refers to the environmental resources and the ability to mobilize such resources for social movement (McAdam, 1991), this group of variables included whether the

institution was primarily black, the size of the institution, and type of residence of the student, all factors that have shown some relation to student activism (Astin, 1993; Orum, 1967). The growing impersonality of campuses and their surrounding environments may also contribute to this (Brown, 1967), and thus, factors such as the size of the city in which the institution is located are included.

Expanding political opportunities were defined by variables that indicate a fertile political ground such as participation in activities that relate to liberalism, social activism, and diversity. People who are closest to the side of the disenfranchised should be the most likely to affect change (Freire, 1970). Thus, in addition to minority groups, others who have had exposure to race-related workshops, classes, and discussions would be the most likely to support racial understanding (Astin, 1993). While research discusses the effects of particular majors on attitudes (Astin, 1993), it seems that students' choice of major would not necessarily be an indication of a heightened sense of aggrievedness. However, specific coursework in gender role and ethnic studies do seem to be associated with more egalitarian attitudes (Astin, 1993; Hurtado, 1992; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991).

These variables are more tenuous since students will self-select into many of these measures: will these involvement activities simply show up as significant because they are related to the students who have the greatest propensity to change? Did they change their attitudes before they protested or took a class? Did students talk about racial issues because they were interested in racial

understanding, or are they interested in this goal because of their previous discussions? Additionally, their inclusion in regression analyses may not prove particularly enlightening; if students are committed to racial understanding, they will likely discuss these types of issues. However, these factors were included because examining involvement measures such as enrollment in ethnic studies classes may actually provide institutions with activities that might impact a commitment to greater racial understanding

Since the final block, cognitive liberation, refers to an awareness of racial attitudes and tolerance, the variables included were measures of institutional and societal climate (*e.g.*, students' views regarding the emphasis college placed on diversity or social change, as well as their views on the ability of individuals to change society). Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory was also used to select attitudinal items which measured students' perception of minority students' alienation or inclusion. Festinger's theory posits that when a group of people have become disconnected from society in general, or recognize a discrepancy between their status and that of another group, it will lead to high levels of alienation, or cognitive dissonance (Gilliam, 1994; McAdam, 1991). Since one's expectations need to be resolved with the situation, this need to resolve the dissonance of ideas provides motivation to learn and to change. Due to the particular dynamics that would apply to black students -- from socioeconomic factors to the perception of a state of aggrievedness -- the expectation is that many factors would enter the equation for black students, but not for white students.

Table 5 presents the results of the multiple regression analyses. The standardized regression coefficients may be used to compare the relative power of each variable (Astin, 1991). Thirty-four variables entered the equation ($p<.001$) for an overall multiple correlation coefficient (R) of .65, and an R^2 of .42.

Socioeconomic and Sociopolitical Pre-College Characteristics

Students' commitment to racial understanding as measured as freshmen had the strongest predictive power, accounting for a multiple R of .43. Seventeen additional variables entered the regression equation increasing the multiple R to 50. Who were the people who increased their commitment to this goal more than the average? They tended to be black/of African descent, female, majoring in humanities, have a high popularity self-rating, have liberal political views, have "to influence social values" as a goal, and have a well-educated mother. The following values were also associated with an increased commitment to HPRU: aspiring to write original works or help others in difficulty, and believing that an important reason to attend college is to learn more.

Student precollege characteristics associated with a weakened commitment to the goal of HPRU were being white/of European descent, believing that an important reason to attend college is to make more money, agreeing that married women should best be confined to the home, and agreeing that individuals can do little to change society. Conservative values and an interest in materialism, not surprisingly, have a negative effect on this relatively altruistic goal.

College Environmental Effects

Once student precollege characteristics were controlled, six environmental measures of organizational strength entered, which increased the multiple R by only 2. Students' commitment to encouraging racial understanding was influenced by liberal faculty political views, the mean institutional social activism and community involvement, the institution's distance from their home, being enrolled in an honors program in the college, and their peers' mean socioeconomic status.

While students' living arrangements did not enter the equation, the institution's distance from home may act partially as a proxy for these effects. When the distance factor came into the equation, what little significance living in a college dormitory or with parents fell out. Other expected effects such as faculty liberalism and faculty diversity emphasis were wiped out by faculty political view, and in fact after controlling for faculty political view, the positive effect of institutional mean racial conflict became negative.

Political Opportunities and Cognitive Liberation

All variables that entered from the next two blocks clearly relate to diversity and social activism issues. The six behavioral measures of political opportunity in the first block raised the predictive power by 10 to 62, and the four attitudinal measures of cognitive liberation brought the multiple R to 65. While, as stated earlier, it is difficult to attribute much predictive power to these variables due to the "chicken-egg" dilemma of which occurred first -- did students protest because they wanted to promote racial understanding or did they increase their commitment after protesting -- they are important in that they can be

viewed as the mechanisms in which the environment will work (Astin, 1993). Of these behavioral outcomes, discussing racial/ethnic issues had the largest simple correlation with the dependent measure (.46), even higher than the pretest. While obviously some self-selection occurs (the pretest reduces it to .37), this variable still ended up with a Beta equal to the pretest (.21) and succeeded in significantly reducing the punch of the other variables that followed.

Although the variables in the final block are the most tenuous because they were based on students' perceptions, there was even a tendency to perceive things differently four years later when other factors are controlled. Students who rated the goal of HPRU high tended to disagree that racial discrimination is not a problem and that individuals can do little to change society in 1989. However, those students who believed their college tried to teach students to change society and to develop an appreciation of multicultural society were more likely to score higher on this goal. It appears that a sense of cognitive liberation did affect the commitment of students to HPRU.

Influence of Race

To determine what other variables will be significant for each group of students, separate regressions were run to explore any possible significant interaction effects ($p<.05$). Table 6 provides a summary of the entering variables for black and/or white students. A brief discussion of what appeared to be four of the significant interaction effects follows.

The most pronounced difference occurred in the 1985 response to the

importance of helping others in difficulty. It had a positive effect (.07) for white students who may equate promoting racial understanding with reaching out and helping minorities who "need" help. For black students the beta of -.06 indicates a different relationship. Black students may have little belief in the American history of social activism and feel that HPRU is a separate goal that is not generally included when people talk about "helping their neighbor."

The effect of being enrolled in an honors program was also different among black students than among white students. This environment appeared to increase white students' interest in HPRU (.06) while weakening that of black students (-.06). Enrollment in an honors program had positive correlations with bachelor's degree attainment, degree aspirations, and enrollment in a graduate program (Astin, 1993); effects that may weaken black students' commitment to HPRU. Although white students may find an honors program enriches their political opportunities, black students may fear being associated with race issues will get them labeled as "militant blacks," and possibly distract from their academic accomplishments.

If white students believed many courses include minority perspectives, they were more likely to be interested in promoting racial understanding (.06). However, black students showed a beta of -.05. Perhaps when black students think minority perspectives are represented, they may feel something has already been achieved and thus feel HPRU is not as necessary, a perspective that would be in keeping with Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory.

White students who wanted to attend college to make more money were less likely to consider HPRU important (beta= -.04). It is not surprising that this materialistic value would diminish the importance of HPRU, a rather altruistic goal, but for black students there was a positive effect (.04). It may be that even for the most materialistic black students this goal continues to have importance.

Limitations

Although there are limitations to using an already existing survey as the primary instrument, the advantages of having access to longitudinal data for such a large group of students is invaluable. Certainly the addition of an original survey, case study, or interview structure would help address this concern.

Another problem lies in separating attitude from action. While this study may have important implications, it is important not to assume that attitudes determine actual behavior. Bowen (1977) found that despite positive gains in tolerance as an abstract concept, students did not show much manifestation of this understanding in their personal relationships. Schuman *et al* (1985) similarly found that despite general support for the principles of racial equality and better understanding, implementation of these principles occurs less frequently. (Although this too may differ by race. Schuman *et al* also found that while this discrepancy holds true for both blacks and whites, blacks are twice as likely to not only support racial equality, but also to participate in some corresponding activity.) However, although this study explored students' commitment to racial understanding, which may or may not lead to corresponding behaviors, even the

expression of an active commitment to change may portend of the future activist (McAdam, 1991).

Perhaps the most difficult limitation is created by the nature of the term "racial understanding." Not only might students vary in their interpretation of this term, but their responses to these kinds of questions are subject to social desirability needs, where it is recognized that society considers racial understanding as a positive goal and students are thus reluctant to respond negatively.

Summary and Discussion

College was assumed to strengthen students' goal to further the issue of racial understanding. It does appear that aspects of college such as exposure to liberal viewpoints and other cultural and ethnic issues do have this result. However, while the overall change was marginally positive, the differential rates of change appeared to be separating white students and black students even further apart that when they first began college. For the most part, black students believed promoting racial understanding was an important issue regardless of what else goes on in college. The college years appeared to empower black students to greatly increase their commitment to easing racial tensions, yet white students were not similarly stimulated to this degree.

It does appear, within the framework of McAdam's political process model, that particular socioeconomic and sociopolitical circumstances exist, along with specific political opportunities, organizational strength and cognitive liberation, to

affect black students to a greater extent than white students. However, these results may also be attributable to other theoretical interpretations. The impact of cognitive dissonance alone may be relevant to this phenomenon, or perhaps the influence of role models, or self-efficacy.

Higher levels of cognitive dissonance may indeed be higher for blacks than for white students, and provide an explanation for their increased commitment to racial understanding. The struggles of the Modern Civil Rights Movement show clearly that law alone does not guarantee equitable treatment, and that while the era of Civil Rights may have brought about an awareness of symbolic change, the need for actual societal change still exists and affects students differentially according to race. And despite whatever historical gains have been made, it is not difficult to recognize that a problem does still exist. Within all economic indicators -- wealth, income, occupation -- blacks have not achieved levels comparable to that of whites, and educational gaps remain and attitudinal change has been slow (Gilliam, 1994). While the economics of promoting racial understanding may not be clear to white students, black students likely realize that unless something is done, their opportunities for advancement do not exist in the same proportion as those for whites.

While there has not been extensive research on the effects of black role models on black collegians, it seems likely that the effects of same-sex role models or mentors in college would indicate that similar effects should hold true for same-race role modelling. Since students tend to be influenced by the causes and beliefs

of their same-sex role models (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991), the greater presence of black role models in the work towards racial tolerance also may affect black students' increased commitment. Black student participation in the Modern Civil Rights Movement is rich and inspiring, providing numerous role models who stressed positive racial change. Although integrated and equal participation was established *de jure* by the 1954 Supreme Court decision on Brown *v.* the Board if Education, neither higher education nor society in general complied graciously. It was the involvement of black students, as well as the presence of the black church, and groups such as the NAACP, which enabled the *de facto* integration of blacks into mainstream "white" society (McAdam, 1982).

It was again the involvement of black student groups which began to forge new definitions of racial understanding in the mid 1960's (Branch, 1988). To promote greater racial understanding was now applied more to one's own reference group, meaning that blacks should embrace black culture rather than try to be included in the dominant white power structure. This was an important development, as blacks sought to reclaim their history and create a stronger sense of community independent of established white norms, and black students such as Stokely Carmichael were crucial to this movement.

While self-efficacy typically refers to the self-confidence in one's ability to perform and achieve (Bandura, 1977), it is another possible explanation for the differences in black and white students' commitments. History does indicate that race matters a great deal in one's desire to promote racial understanding, simply

because it has been a means for survival and advancement, and these historical influences may also account for black students' strong support of promoting racial understanding by increasing black students' self-efficacy. If black students historically were unhappy with the general lack of tolerance, but have since made substantial gains, this would positively affect their sense of efficacy. This feeling of control over one's destiny would then continue to raise the expectations that followed. Thus, the strong role black students have played in helping to promote racial understanding would continue to influence black students' sense of empowerment and involvement.

The issue of race is complex, and whether increasing students' commitment to racial understanding can be completely explained by one or any of these models is unlikely. While there were some varying effects for black and white students, it is notable that participation in diversity activities and institutional emphases on diversity have positive effects on student development in general (Astin, 1993). If these variables may raise students' desire to promote racial understanding, besides having the virtue of enhancing student development, they are certainly worth investigating further.

Table 1
Changes in the Goal of "Helping to Promote Racial Understanding" for 1985 Freshmen
(N=17,726)

	Percent responding in		Change 1985-1989
Response	1985	1989	
Essential	9.4	14.2	4.8
Very Important	26.5	25.7	-0.8
Somewhat Important	46.3	40.2	-6.1
Not Important	17.8	20.0	2.2

Table 2
Changes in the Goal of "Helping to Promote Racial Understanding" for 1985 Freshmen:
Black Students & White Students

	Percent responding in					
	1985		1989		Change 1985-1989	
Response	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Essential	37.5	7.5	49.4	11.7	11.9	4.2
Very Important	37.5	25.3	34.2	24.8	-3.2	-0.5
Somewhat Important	21.8	48.1	13.7	42.0	-8.1	-6.1
Not Important	3.1	19.1	2.7	21.5	-0.4	2.4

Table 3
Importance of the Goal "Helping to Promote Racial Understanding" in 1985 & 1989:
Black Students & White Students

	Percent responding in 1989							
Freshmen Response	'Not Important		Somewhat Important		Very Important		Essential	
(1985)	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Essential	1.2	6.8	8.2	22.4	26.4	36.7	64.2	34.1
Very Important	1.5	9.6	10.6	35.3	39.7	35.7	48.2	19.5
Somewhat Important	5.7	20.7	27.6	49.5	37.5	22.4	29.2	7.4
Not Important	14.8	45.1	18.5	39.5	40.7	11.9	25.9	3.5

Notes:
Black students N=879
White students N=15,866

Source: UCLA Higher Education Research Institute, Cooperative Institutional Research Program.

Table 4.1 Summary List of the Socioeconomic and Sociopolitical PreCollege Characteristics

Pretest
Gender
High school grade point average
Family income
Mother's educational level
Father's educational level
Race(separate dummy variables for White/Caucasian, Black/African-AmericanAsian-American,MexicanAmerican, NativeAmerican, Puerto Rican, and Other)
1985 Political View
Participated in speech or debate in the last year
Performed volunteer work in the last year
Born again Christian
Freshmen Major: Business
Freshmen Major: Engineering
Freshmen Major: Health Professional
Freshmen Major: Education
Freshmen Major: English
Freshmen Major: Social Sciences
Freshmen Major: Humanities
Freshmen Major: Fine Arts
Jewish
No religion
1985 Intellectual self-confidence
1985 Self-rated popularity
1985 Social self-confidence

Table 4.2 Summary List of the College Environmental Measures of Organizational Strength

College activity: Enrolled in an honors program
College activity: Participated in intercollegiate football/basketball
Institution's distance from home
Institution's mean social activism and community involvement
Institution's mean materialism and status
Institution's mean feminism
Size of the city where institution is located
Institutional race: black
Institutional mean racial conflict
Faculty mean liberalism
Faculty mean diversity
Joined a fraternity or sorority
Institutional political view 1985
Live with parents
Live in private home not with parents
Live in college dormitory
Live in Greek housing
Live in other campus housing
Live in other arrangements
Institutional control: private
Institutional Diversity Emphasis
Institutional socioeconomic status
Faculty political view: liberal
Institutional Social activism
Institution located in Northern Atlantic region
Institution located in Great Plains Region
Institution located in Southeast region
Institution located in West-Southwest region
U.S. Service Schools
Institution located in Outlying areas

Table 4.3 Summary List of Intermediate Outcomes

Behavioral Measures of Political Opportunities

- Enrolled in an ethnic studies course
- Attended racial/cultural awareness workshop
- Enrolled in a women's studies course
- Elected to student office
- Voted in 1988 Election
- Discussed racial/ethnic issues
- Socialized with someone of different ethnic group
- Participated in campus protest/demonstration
- Hours per week in volunteer work
- Hours per week in exercising/sports
- Hours per week in reading for pleasure

Attitudinal Measures of Cognitive Liberation

- View: Racial discrimination not a problem
- View: Individual Can do little to change society
- View: Faculty sensitive to issues of minorities
- View: Many students don't fit in on campus
- View: Many courses include minority perspectives
- View: A lot of racial conflict here
- View: Students resent required classes outside of major
- View: Students of different ethnic backgrounds communicate
- View: Little trust between minority students and administration
- College priority: Help students understand values
- College priority: Increase minorities in faculty/administration
- College priority: Faculty involvement in community service
- College priority: Teach students to change society
- College priority: Maintain climate for airing of differences
- College priority: To develop appreciation of multicultural society
- College priority: Recruit more minority students
- College priority: Create diverse multicultural environment

Table 5

Predicting the Importance of "Helping to Promote Racial Understanding" for 1985 Freshmen
(N=10,094)

Step		Variable entering	r	Beta after Step 1	Block 1	Block 2	Block 3	Block 4
Block 1	R							
1	43	Pretest	43	43	30	29	22	21
2	45	Race: White	-21	-13	-10	-09	-06	-05
3	46	Sex: Female	11	09	05	05	04	02
4	47	Goal: Write original works	18	08	05	04	01	02
5	47	Goal: Help others in difficulty	24	09	06	07	06	04
6	48	Mother's Education	10	06	05	01	00	00
7	48	Race: Black	21	13	08	09	05	05
8	48	Liberal Political View	15	08	05	04	03	02
9	49	FR Major: Business	-12	-07	-07	-06	-04	-04
10	49	FR Major: Engineering	-09	-07	-07	-05	-02	-02
11	49	FR Major: Health Prof'l	-02	02	04	04	03	03
12	50	Go to college to learn more	14	08	04	03	02	01
13	50	View: Can do little to change society	-10	-05	-03	-03	-02	-01
14	50	Go to college to make money	-11	-06	-04	-02	00	00
15	50	Self-rated popularity	06	04	03	03	00	00
16	50	FR Major: Humanities	08	05	03	03	02	02
17	50	View: Married women best at home	-10	-06	-03	-02	-01	00
18	50	Goal: Influence social values	20	06	03	04	02	02
Block 2								
19	51	Faculty political view	18	12	08	08	01	-02
20	51	Institution social activism	14	09	05	05	02	00
21	51	Institution's distance from home	11	08	06	04	00	00
22	52	Enrolled in honors program	11	07	05	04	00	00
23	52	City Size (Institution's Location)	01	-01	-03	-04	-02	-02
24	52	Peer mean SES	15	10	09	04	00	01
Block 3								
25	60	Discussed racial issues	46	37	34	32	24	21
26	61	Attended racial workshop	36	28	23	21	11	09
27	62	Socialized w/different ethnic group	29	22	20	19	11	09
28	62	Participated in campus protest	31	23	18	16	08	06
29	62	Enrolled in ethnic studies class	28	21	17	15	06	06
30	62	Hours/week volunteer work	16	11	08	08	03	02
Block 4								
31	64	View: Racial discrimination not a problem	-35	-27	-23	-22	-15	-15
32	65	College priority:Teach students to change society	20	15	13	12	08	06
33	65	View: Can do little to change society	-20	-16	-13	-12	-09	-07
34	65	College priority:Appreciation of multicultural soc.	22	17	15	13	08	05

Note: Decimals before numbers have been omitted.
p<.001

Table 6

Interaction Table for the Predicting the Importance of the Goal "Helping to Promote Racial Understanding" by Race (Black N = 408, White N = 9,112)

	r		Beta after Step 1		Input		Environment		Intermediate Outcomes-1		IO-2	
Variable	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W
Entering both:												
Pretest	34	40	34	40	33	30	25	29	24	22	22	21
IndivCnDoLil2ChgSoc85	-14	-12	-11	-07	-11	-03	-08	-03	-09	-02	-10	00
DiscdRac/Ethlsh	42	44	36	36	35	33	35	32	33	23	33	20
PartdCampusProtests	22	29	17	22	18	18	09	16	09	08	10	06
LilTrustBtwnMinS/Adm	11	09	13	06	10	05	09	05	10	01	11	02
MnyClsInclMinPerspec	-06	11	-05	09	-05	06	-08	04	-10	00	-12	-03
Entering Either Black or White:												
Pr:RcruitMMinorities	09	13	06	10	07	09	09	08	09	04	11	-02
Pr:FacInvolvmtComm .	12	13	10	10	10	09	06	08	05	06	10	01
Goal:HelpOthrsinDiffct85	07	24	-08	10	-09	07	-09	08	-06	06	-05	05
Goal:WriteOrigWorks85	08	19	02	09	01	04	01	03	00	01	-01	01
Gender:Female	-04	11	-04	09	-04	05	-04	05	-06	05	-05	03
Mother'sEducationalL	03	12	00	08	-01	04	-01	02	-03	01	-01	01
PoliticalView1985	07	15	05	08	05	05	05	04	02	03	-01	02
FrMaj:Business	-02	-13	00	-09	00	-07	00	-06	01	-04	00	-04
FrMaj:Engineering	-01	-11	-02	-08	-03	-07	-03	-05	-03	-02	-04	-02
FrMaj:HealthProfessl	-01	-02	02	-02	02	-05	02	-04	03	-04	04	-04
Go2Coll2LearnMo	09	05	04	09	04	04	04	03	00	02	-01	01
Go2Coll2EarnMo$	07	13	05	-08	04	-04	04	-02	05	00	05	00
Goal:InfluenceSocVal	08	19	-03	07	-03	04	-03	04	-06	03	-04	02
MdWomenShdBinHme85	-04	-12	-03	-08	-01	-03	-01	-02	05	-01	04	00
FrMaj:Humanities	06	09	10	10	09	03	09	03	10	02	09	02
PartdinSpeech/Dbate	04	09	-02	05	-02	03	-02	02	-06	00	-06	00
No religion85	00	08	00	05	00	03	00	01	-02	00	-02	00
Self-ratedPopularity85	13	05	06	03	06	03	06	02	03	01	02	00
EquOppforWomen85	11	12	08	07	07	02	07	02	03	02	05	01
Father'sEducationalL	02	11	00	07	00	02	00	00	-01	00	02	-01
InstitlMean SES	13	17	06	12	05	08	05	04	-02	00	-02	-01
FacDiversityEmphasis	05	17	04	12	02	08	02	01	-05	03	01	-04
EnrldinHonorsPrg	-02	13	-05	09	-06	06	-06	05	-08	01	-07	01
DistCollegefrHome	10	11	08	08	08	06	08	04	01	00	03	00
Size Of Inst'sCity	08	-03	05	-03	04	-03	04	-04	-02	-03	03	-02
Gotten married	-08	-04	-06	-04	-06	-04	-06	-03	-04	-01	-04	-01
InstilMeanSocActivism	03	12	02	08	01	06	01	05	-04	03	01	01
FacLiberalism	08	15	04	11	03	07	03	06	-06	02	-01	01
West/SoWestRegion	-10	05	-09	04	-09	03	-09	02	-08	02	-09	02
JoinedFrat/Sorority	04	-04	03	-02	03	-02	03	-02	00	-02	-02	-01
AttdRac/CultAwarnsWksh	25	34	18	27	18	23	18	21	07	11	06	10
SocializedDiffEthnicGrp	09	29	07	24	07	21	07	20	06	11	01	10
EnrldEthnicStudiesCls	22	26	15	20	15	17	15	15	05	07	06	06
HrsPerWkVolunteerWk89	12	10	09	06	09	05	09	04	06	02	05	02
ElectedtoStudentOffice	10	05	05	03	05	02	05	02	-01	-02	-04	-02
HrsPerWkReadg4Pleas89	16	16	13	11	13	09	13	08	06	03	04	03
RacDiscrNotaProb89	-17	-34	-12	-27	-11	-24	-11	-23	-07	-16	-07	-16
Prior:TeachStudtsChgSoc	08	19	07	15	07	14	07	12	02	09	01	07
IndiCnDoLil2ChgSoc89	-14	-21	-08	-17	-06	-14	-06	-13	-01	-10	-01	-08
Prior:2DevApprec4MCSoc	16	22	11	18	10	16	10	14	06	08	06	06
FacSensitive2Ish of Min	04	15	02	12	01	09	01	08	-03	04	04	03

Notes:

B = Black students

W = White students

$p < .05$

REFERENCES

Allen, W.R. (1987). "College in Black and White: Black Student Experiences on Black and White Campuses." In In Pursuit of Equality in Higher Education, A.S. Pruitt (Ed.). Dix Hills: General Hall.

Altbach, P.G. (1991). "The Racial Dilemma in American Higher Education." In P.G. Altbach & K. Lomotey (Eds.), The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education, pp. 3-18. New York: State University of New York Press.

Astin, A.W. (1988). Minorities in American Higher Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Astin, A.W. (1993). What Matters in College. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Astin, A.W. et al. (1992). The American Freshman: National Norms for 1992. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA.

Astin, A.W. (1991). Assessment for Excellence. New York: Macmillan.

Bandura, A. (1977). "Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change." *Psychological Review* (84), 191-215.

Bay, C. (1967). "Political and Apolitical Students: Facts in Search of Theory." *The Journal of Social Issues* (23), 76-91.

Bowen, H.R. (1977). Investment in Learning. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Branch, T. (1988). Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc.

Campbell, A. (1971). White Attitudes Toward Black People. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

Colon, A. (1991). "Race Relations on Campus: An Administrative Perspective". In P.G. Altbach & K. Lomotey (Eds.), The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education, pp. 69-88. New York: State University of New York Press.

Crull, S.R. & Bruton, B.T. (1985). "Possible Decline in Tolerance Toward Minorities: Social Distance on a Midwest Campus." *Sociology and Social Research* (70), 57-62.

Davis, R.B. (1991). "Social Support Networks and Undergraduate Student Academic-Success-Related Outcomes: A Comparison of Black Students on Black and White Campuses." In W.R. Allen et al (Eds.) College in Black and White. Albany: State of University Press.

Edwards, H. (1970). Black Students. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

Fleming, J. (1984). Blacks in College: A Comparative Study of Student Success in Black and White Institutions. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Ford, W.S. (1986). "Favorable Intergroup Contact May Not Reduce Prejudice: Inconclusive Journal Evidence, 1960-1984." *Sociology and Social Research* (70), 256-258.

Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Continuum.

Gilliam, F. (1994). Minority Group Politics lecture, January 20.

Gordon, L. (1991) "Race Relations and Attitudes at Arizona State University." In P.G. Altbach & K. Lomotey (Eds.), The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education, pp. 233-248. New York: State University of New York Press.

Hurh, W.M. (1979). "The Universalistic Ethic and Particularistic Practice in US-American Race Relations: A Humanistic Perspective." *Sociologus* (29), No. 2, 149-163.

Hurtado, S. (1992). "Campus Racial Climates." *Journal of Higher Education* (63), 539-569.

McAdam, D, (1991). Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

McClelland, K.E. & Auster, C.J. (1990) "Public Platitudes and Hidden Tensions: Racial Climates at Predominantly White Liberal Arts Colleges." *Journal of Higher Education* (61), 607-642.

Morganthac, T., Mabry, M., Genao, L., & Washington, F. (1991, May 6). Race on Campus: Failing the Test? "Newsweek", pp. 26-27.

Orum, A.M. (1967). Negro College Students and the Civil Rights Movement. Chicago: University of Chicago Dept. of Sociology Dissertation.

Pascarella, E.T. & Terenzini, P.T. (1991). How College Affects Students. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Patterson, A.M., Sedlacek, W.E., & Perry, F.W. (1984). Perceptions of Blacks and Hispanics in Two Campus Environments." *Journal of College Student Personnel* (25), 513-518.

Pawtyna, A. (1988). "When prejudice spawns violence." *The Baltimore Sun*, Section G, June 5.

Schaefer, R.T. (1987). "Social Distance of Black College Students at a Predominantly White University." *Sociology and Social Research* (72), 30-32.

Schuman, H., Steeh, C. & Bobo, L. (1985). Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Smith, A.W. (1991). "Personal Traits, Institutional Prestige, Racial Attitudes, and Black Student Academic Performance in College." In W.R. Allen et al (Eds.) College in Black and White. Albany: State of University Press.

Thomas M.E. & Hughes, M. (1986). "The Continuing Significance of Race: A Study of Race, Class, and Quality of Life in American, 1972-1985." *American Sociological Review* (51), 830-841.

Tuch, S.A. (1988). "Race Differences in the Antecedents of Social Distance Attitudes." *Sociology and Social Research* (72), 181-184.

Wilson T.C. (1986). "The Asymmetry of Racial Distance Between Blacks and Whites." *Sociology and Social Research* (70)161-163