Context Matters: Campus Climate and College Adjustment among Students of Color

Tabbye M. Chavous, PhD Professor of Psychology and Education Director, National Center for Institutional Diversity University of Michigan CCAS Annual Meeting November 7, 2019

Game Plan +

- ATLANTA November 6-9 Por 2019 ANNUAL
- Common language/framing around campus racial climate, especially compositional, behavioral, and psychological dimensions
- 2. Center experiences and voices of students of color
 - Snapshots of data from MI and national studies
- 3. Prime our thinking for discussion:
 - What was familiar? What do need to learn more about? What types of "data" would be useful?
 - How do these dimensions of climate show up in *your* campus/community spaces?
 - Which strategies could/do you use to help to improve students' climate experiences and adjustment?

Is the Game Rigged before it Starts?



- U.S. educational system is one of the most unequal in the industrialized world
 - District/school differences in funding, teacher quality, curriculum, class sizes
 - Tracking effects, curriculum differentiation
- Accounts for racial and SES differences in educational achievement

Why focus on campus climate?



College context also matters for college attainment and success

- Pre-college educational inequalities not enough to explain racial/ethnic and SES disparities in college success
- The social, psychological, and structural dimensions of college contexts can also influence how students' experience and engage in their academic and social environments on campus
- Amenable to change on and by college campuses

Why focus on campus racial climate?



- Approaches to supporting minoritized students will be incomplete if they do not center issues of context, how campus contexts impact students
 - Movement away from single emphasis on changing students, or on providing structures/programs to help students navigate or "fit into" campus
- Experiencing positive campus racial climate an important adjustment outcome in itself
- Experiencing negative campus racial climate an educational (and mental health) inequality

The contemporary context of campus racial climate

• Race has long been salient to the experiences of Students of Color in higher education

Anti-Immigration Posters Found On Penn State Main Campus

A NOTICI

February 13, 2017 3:46 PM By Steve Tawa

Filed Under: Penn State, Pennsylvania, Steve Tawa



American University is dealing with a racist incident on its campus. It is not alone.



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50

DIVERSITY

Racial Incidents at 3 Campuses

Minority students report heightened tensions at St. Olaf, American and Baylor.

By Scott Jaschik // May 1, 2017

UT Town Hall Addresses Anti-Immigrant and Anti-Muslim Campus Posters

BY DANIELLE LOPEZ IN 40 ACRES ON FEBRUARY 23, 2017 AT 2:45 PM I NO COMMENTS

Anti-immigrant chalkings appear during UMD's first 'Social Justice Day'

By Mitchell Wellman, University of Virginia 9:58 pm EDT April 18, 2017



"Deport Dreamers," Wall, wall, wall,..." and "#Trump2020" were just some of the messages that appeared today etched in chalk on the University of Maryland sidewalk.

Grade Poi

Racially offensive fliers found at the University of Michigan: 'Why White Women Shouldn't Date Black Men'

What is Campus (Racial) Climate?



- Campus racial climate: "part of the institutional context that includes members' attitudes, perceptions, behaviors, and expectations around issues of race, ethnicity, and diversity..." (Hurtado, S., Griffin, K. A., Arellano, L., & Cuellar, M., 2008)
- ▷ **Campus climate:** "current attitudes, behaviors and standards of faculty, staff, administrators and students concerning the level of respect for individual needs, abilities and potential." (Rankin, S., & Reason, R., 2008)





Historical Legacy

of exclusion/inclusion https://diversity.umich.edu/about/history/

Compositional Diversity

Organizational/Structural

Psychological

Behavioral

Historical Legacy

Compositional Diversity

Physical presence of minoritized/ underrepresented groups

Organizational/Structural

Embedded in the institutional mission or reward structure; equity indicators; resources allocated

Psychological

Behavioral

Historical Legacy

Compositional Diversity

Organizational/Structural

Psychological Climate

How do people feel? Perceptions of conflict, feeling singled-out, isolated Feelings of belonging, being valued Perceptions of institutional support

Behavioral Climate

How do people treat each other? Interactions between different groups; Participation in training or setting behavioral norms; Bias, discrimination, microaggressions, stereotypes

Disentangling what we can change

Climate as Malleable

 What can we shift in the *climate*? (demographic diversity, hostile behavior, exclusionary reputation)

See Griffin (2018)



"Micro-climates"

- Students' campus settings (classroom, dept, social contexts) as micro-climates
- While each are part of the university, each can be a location for more immediate change

See Holmes et al. (2016)



Campus Climate Experiences and Student/Academic Identity



Campus Climate and Student Identity

ATLANTA Revender 6-9 Porg ANNUAL

Academic Identity

 how students think about themselves as learners and members of their academic settings, how they develop connections to and engage in their academic/disciplinary contexts

Why is academic identity important?

• Developing and maintaining a strong, positive academic identity linked to sustained engagement and persistence for all students

What Is Academic Identity?

- Cognitive Engagement
 - Interest, curiosity
 - Intrinsic motivation
 - Conscientiousness

Affective Engagement

- Sense of belonging with academic and campus setting
- Identification with the discipline or subject matter
- Self-efficacy/confidence
- Beliefs about ability, mindset

Behavioral Engagement

- Focused participation and efforts to develop valued academic skills; conscientiousness behaviors
- Academic involvement (curricular and co-curricular activities)



Campus Climate Experiences and Student/Academic Identity



Campus Climate Experiences and College Adjustment



Campus Climate Experiences and College Adjustment



Recent National Academies of Sciences findings

Our research framework aligns with two recent National Academies reports:

- National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. 2017. Supporting Students' College Success: The Role of Assessment of Intrapersonal and Interpersonal Competencies.
 - Academic identity dimensions align with "intrapersonal competencies and attributes" shown to predict academic success
 - Emphasis on role of college context in promoting or inhibiting competencies
- National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. 2016. Barriers and Opportunities for 2-Year and 4-Year STEM Degrees: Systemic Change to Support Students' Diverse Pathways.
 - Culture of STEM related to challenges in achieving equitable STEM participation among historically underrepresented racial/ethnic groups, e.g.:
 - Lack of intercultural knowledge
 - Stereotypes of ability based in race, gender, social class
 - Implicit beliefs about ability or growth capacity
 - Leads to climates that inhibit academic identity (sense of belonging, self-efficacy, etc.)



Climate Experiences of Students of Color: What do we know, and why does it matter for student adjustment? As an educational equity issue?

U-M DEI Climate Study (2016)

URM undergraduates report feeling less valued & belonging, thriving & growing on campus (psychological)



Note: Graduate Students demonstrated a similar pattern in responses.

U-M DEI Climate Study: Did you **feel discriminated against** in the past 12 months? (behavioral)

1:6 students overall said yes.



Students of color were *more likely* than white students to say yes

- African American/Black--
- Hispanic/Latino/a--
- Asian American/Asian students--

Also:

- LGBTQ+ students--
- Students with a disability--
- First-generation students--

519% more likely 132% more likely 86% more likely

- 123% more likely than heterosexual students
- 287% more likely than w/o disability
- 86% more likely than non-first-gen students

Multi-university Studies

20 diverse universities across US (including U-M)

Healthy Minds Study: Campus Climate and Mental Heath among Students of Color and Immigrant Students

N=10555 Students of Color

- N=1480 African American/Black
- N=4304 Asian/Asian American or Pacific Islander
- N=2092 Latinx
- N=55 Native American
- N=401 Middle Eastern or North African (MENA)
- N=2223 Multiracial (diverse identities)

N=14571 White

National survey sampling approach

University of Michigan M-Cubed Grant Award PI Team: Daniel Eisenberg, Sara Abelson, Robert Sellers, Tabbye Chavous

Multi-university Studies

5 large Michigan public universities (including U-M)

College Academic & Social Identity Study (CASIS) *(undergraduates)*

N=2072 students of color

- 40% Black/African American
- 27% Latinx
- 3% Native American
- 20% Asian/Asian American
- 10% Multiracial

3 cohorts; 5 year longitudinal study: survey, daily diary, interviews

Alliance for Grad Education for the Professoriate (AGEP) *(PhD students)*

N=507 URM PhD students

- 40% Black/African American
- 45% Latinx, 10% Multiracial

N=589 non-URM students

- •20% Asian American, 5% Multiracial (non-URM)
- •75% White

2 cohorts; 2 year longitudinal study: survey, interviews

Overhearing or being told an offensive joke or comment



Being treated rudely or disrespectfully



Others acting as if they were afraid or intimidated



Being treated as if you were "stupid", being "talked down to"



Your ideas or opinions ignored, minimized, or devalued



Classroom Stereotype Concerns (Psychological and Compositional Climate)

Did you feel that others were taking your opinion as speaking for all members of your racial/ethnic group?



Classroom Stereotype Concerns (Psychological and Compositional Climate)

Did fears of representing your group negatively discourage you from participating in class?



Microaggressions and Academic Identity Outcomes for Black/African American Undergraduate Students over 1st Year* (CASIS)



Mediational model for URM undergraduates (CASIS)



*Controlling for cohort, pre-college GPA, gender, immigration/generation status

Mediational model for URM undergraduates (CASIS)



*Controlling for cohort, pre-college GPA, gender, immigration/generation status

Predictive Models (Healthy Minds Study): Climate & Mental Health Outcomes among Students of Color*



*Solid line=positive association; dashed line=negative association
Racial Climate, Racial Identity, and Academic Interest among Undergraduate Black/Af Am Students over 1st Year (CASIS)



Racial Climate, Racial Identity, and Academic Interest among Undergraduate Black/Af Am Students (CASIS)





What Does Campus Racial Climate Look Like in Students' Daily Lived Experiences?

Voices from Students

- Drawn from Chavous NSF datasets (CASIS, AGEP)
- undergraduate and graduate students

Compositional:

Behavioral:

Psychological:





Compositional Diversity

Who is present and absent?

Compositional Diversity recruitment brochures

I don't really know how they define diversity at this school when I am going into my fourth year of college and I haven't had more than one Black professor and there has never been more than three Black students in any of my classes. I'm usually the only one and that's uncomfortable. Even though I have Black friends, White friends and Asian friends, it still feels like [diversity is a] false advertisement like a lot of the pamphlets that I was getting from the school were very "diverse."

Compositional Diversity *few/no underrepresented faculty*

It concerns me that the my department is lacking in faculty diversity. As an African-American student, it would be helpful to have the opportunity to be mentored by an African-American professor in my own department instead of having to search through other departments for a mentor who shares my identity.



Behavioral Climate

How am I treated here? How are people treated here? How do people treat each other?

Behavioral Climate avoiding eye contact



I feel that professors will often give preferential, unconscious treatment to White students. This is particularly noticeable when I (a Black male) am the only person of color in a series of 4 classes and each of these 4 different professors will never make eye contact with me and also teach to the

side of the room where I am not located.

I...try to befriend other White students and using them as a proxy near me in class so that the teacher will look in my direction and possibly encourage my participation.

Behavioral Climate **o** *assumption of homogeneity by professor*

So when class was dismissed, everyone was walking out and me and [this classmate] were the only two left...And [the professor] said something like, 'Guys, don't do that, again.' And we're like, 'What are you talking about?' He's like, 'You know, Black person next to a Black person. Next time sit next to somebody you don't know.' I'm like, 'We don't know each other.' It just like [he] assumed because we were two Black [students]. He didn't assume that all the White people that sat next to each other knew each other.

Behavioral Climate overlooked for mentoring

The faculty itself is comprised of majority male, and [my] field is considered a "male dominated" field. Women are not valued, mentored, and are often overlooked. There is a greater sense of comradery between the male faculty and the male students. In my experience, faculty have spoken negatively about immigrant students because they felt that they were teaching them only for them to return to their native countries, which would not benefit the United States [professional society] whatsoever...As a black student (not African American), I am totally overlooked and treated like I don't even exist...

Behavioral Climate **O** peer exclusion, multiple identities

I joined a "Women in Engineering" organization and I thought we'd have a common thread, like we're all girls here. We should be able to have good dialogue, talk about our experiences as engineers and things like that. But that wasn't enough...it didn't even matter that I was a girl and I was having the same experiences as you. You're still treating me like, "She's ratchet or she's not from the same place as me," type of thing. It wasn't enough for me to be in engineering and a woman in that group versus NSBE [National Society for Black Engineers]...where I felt like being Black was enough for everybody to link."



Psychological Climate

How do people feel here? What conditions are "normal" here?

Psychological Climate feeling pressure to serve as a model

I feel like in certain situations – you have to be a model...and not a person. I feel like being an African-American on campus you have to not only – like prove academically that you are worthy but socially as a person, like a person that people can respect. I would say sometimes I feel as though I have to work harder.

Psychological Climate feeling stereotyped



Most of the time, I feel like stereotyped. If I'm taking an exam, or even if I'm just sitting in class, I can't focus.

I just always feel like because I'm Black people just have this – they have a perception about you. They have this perception about you and it just gives me so much stress and anxiety so it's impacted my academics negatively.





Multidimensional Experiences



Compositional & Psychological

As someone who is Latina, it is disconcerting that there are only 2 other graduate students in my department who also identify as Hispanic/Latinx. Generally, the majority of the graduate students within my department identify as White and many students within the department come from families where parents/siblings are also in academia (e.g. many of my fellow graduate students have parents who have PhD's)... Because I come from a different background and have different experiences than most of my peers, the department sometimes feels exclusionary.

Psychological & Compositional feeling out of place



As an African American...Just having that situation where you're the only person who looks a certain way or talks a certain way—it has caused me to feel like I have to be a model in the classroom for people even though I know that's something that's internalized. I shouldn't need to be the model Black student, instead I should just be able to be [student's name] in the classroom.

All three dimensions



The department, both faculty and students, are not very welcoming of students of color. Although the department has quite a few international students, comments have been made about the way they talk and that they are here taking jobs. There is also little faculty diversity within the department—it is dominated by white men and nothing has really been done to recruit more faculty of color. The departmental community is also not very welcoming of female students. They are not treated equally in the department and are often treated like outsiders. It is not a very comfortable situation. No real effort is ever made to address these issues.

Take home points:



- Negative campus climate experiences prevalent in campus lives of many Students of Color
- Students can have similar and distinct climate experiences across (and within) racial/ethnic groups
- Experiences occur in students' day-to-day classroom, academic, and social contexts
- Academic identity is one mechanism through which climate can impact academic adjustment over time
- Climate experiences can also impact mental well-being and health, thus support or undermine optimal thriving

Take home points:

- ATLANTA November 6-9 November 6-9 November 6-9 November 6-9 November 6-9 November 6-9 November 6-9
- Students' racial and cultural identities can serve as assets; positive racial climates congruent with students' identities can boost their academic identity
- Approaches to supporting students should avoid "colorblind" approaches in favor of approaches that affirm and encourage connection of student identity to academic contexts

Questions to consider moving *forward:*



• What was familiar? What was new?

What do you need or want to learn more about regarding campus climate and links to student outcomes?

- How do behavioral climate, psychological climate, and compositional diversity climate show up in your campus spaces?
 - Classrooms? Labs? Other department/unit spaces? Campus
 events? Residential spaces? Social/peer spaces?
 Faculty/mentor/advisor interactions? Conferences? Where else?

Toward Strategies for Shifting Climate

- How might thinking about links b/w students' campus climate experiences and adjustment shape your campus practices and strategies?
- What are campus practices that are/could be implemented [at levels of faculty, administrators, staff, students, families, etc.] that could contribute to students' positive adjustment through improving their experiences of:
 - Behavioral climate?
 - Psychological climate?
 - Compositional climate?



Toward Strategies for Shifting Climate

- How do/can your efforts or practices reinforce and affirm students' identities?
- What are examples that you can share with others of:
 - effective efforts in working to enhance climate?
 - challenges experienced?
 - ways you supported students' resilience as they navigated challenging campus climates?



Toward a resilient campus climate



- Why it is worth it to work on changing/improving campus racial climate?
 - O Unfortunately, our society (and campuses) will continue to be challenged with societal bias and biased behavior at institutional and interpersonal levels, BUT
 - Positive campus climates can create social norms that decrease the occurrence of such behaviors (e.g., fewer microaggressions and discrimination behaviors)
 - AND experiencing a positive campus climate can help mitigate the negative academic and psychological impacts of experiencing such behaviors
 - In contrast, negative climates can exacerbate the deleterious impacts of experiencing bias-based interactions and behaviors.
- As such, a positive racial climate is a resilient climate

Enhancing Campus Climate & Student Success: Next Steps



Leadership teams must seek to learn more:

- \Rightarrow Conferences like this!
- \Rightarrow Read relevant research-based and effective practice resources
- ⇒ Share/talk to others within and outside your institution; tap into professional and informal networks and organizations

Try a strategy; assess the impact

- include student perspectives and voice

⇒ REMEMBER: Campus climate work is equity work; which means it is never "done" – be ambitious, visionary, persistent, and patient!

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THANK YOU!

Questions?

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