Different Experiences and Perceptions of Campus Climate Among Minority Students at a Predominantly White Institution

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ABSTRACT
This study examines the differences in experiences and perceptions of campus climate of 38 minority students enrolled in a predominantly White institution (PWI). The study included six focus group sessions, each designated for a specific minority group – African American students, Native American students, gender and sexually diverse students, students with disabilities, Latino-Hispanic students, and International students. About half of the participants reported negative experiences with racism and discrimination on campus whereas the other half reported exactly the opposite. Attribution to discrimination theory was used as a lens to closely analyze participants’ discourse.

KEYWORDS
Campus Climate, Discrimination Attribution, Diversity, Focus Group, Minority Students, Predominantly White Institution

INTRODUCTION
This study examines the experiences and perceptions of campus climate of 38 minority students enrolled in a predominantly White institution (PWI) of higher education in the U.S. Research indicates that ethnic minority students’ experience can be distinctively different from that of the dominant groups at PWIs (Bennett, Cole, & Thompson, 2000). Having a minority status may add additional pressure on ethnic minority students that goes beyond the regular stresses usually expected in an academic institution of higher education (Saldana, 1994). At a PWI, minority students may feel isolated, underrepresented, stereotyped, misunderstood, and discriminated. They can feel like “guests in someone else’s house” (Turner, 1994, p. 356). The absence of diversity views in the curriculum, minimal ethnic faculty representation, and misunderstanding of diversity enhance the stresses faced by minority students at a PWI (Smedley et al., 1993). According to Gusa (2010), “PWIs do not have to be explicitly racist to create a hostile environment…unexamined historically situated White cultural ideology embedded in the language, cultural practices, traditions, and perceptions of knowledge allow these institutions to remain racialized” (p. 465). Furthermore, PWIs tend to privilege the voices and perspectives of Western scholars and marginalize the voices and perspectives of the non-dominant groups (Patton et al., 2007). When these normative “messages and practices remain subtle, nebulous, and unnamed, they potentially harm the well-being, self-esteem, and academic success of those who do not share the norms of White culture” (Gusa, 2010, p. 471).

Despite significant evidence concerning the hardship of minority students’ experiences at PWIs, not all minority students may perceive PWIs as hostile and “racialized.” Some students might not even notice the White cultural ideology in the practices and norms of the university. Others might purposely deny or ignore acts of discrimination and instead focus on agreeable experiences. In this study, we
found such variability in the experiences and perceptions of campus climate among participants. While many minority students did report an array of challenges and discriminatory acts on campus, several others reported exactly the opposite. To closely examine the differences in participants’ experiences on campus and their perceptions of campus climate, I used the work of social psychologists related to attributions to discrimination (Croker & Major, 1989; Major & Dover, 2015; Major & Sawyer, 2009). Below I discuss the theory and research concerning this field of study.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Attribution theory is concerned with the ways in which individuals explain events and people’s behavior. Research on attributions to discrimination is concerned with how people respond to social disadvantage and negative treatment and how specific examples are explained (Croker & Major, 1989; Major & Dover, 2015; Major & Sawyer, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014). Major, Quinton, and McCoy (2002) define attribution to discrimination as having two primary elements: a) a judgment that treatment was based on social identity or group membership; and b) a judgment that treatment was unjust or undeserved. Events are prone to be attributed to discrimination when both elements are present. In other words, “people are most likely to say that they were discriminated against when they feel they were treated unfairly because of their social identity” (Major & Dover, 2015, p. 215). According to social psychologists, perceptions and attributions to discrimination are often subjective, disputable, and dependent on a number of psychological factors. Research in this area reveals that two people can often see or experience the same event and explain it quite differently, depending on their cultural beliefs, expectations, location in the status-hierarchy, and personality characteristics. This is particularly true when discrimination is ambiguous. Thus, people who are chronically high in stigma consciousness or race-rejection sensitivity are more vigilant for prejudice cues and likely to interpret ambiguous events as discrimination (Major & Dover, 2015, p. 224).

The characteristics of the event as well as the characteristics of the people involved in the event play an important role in the attribution to discrimination. For example, people tend to have prototypes or expectations for the types of events that constitute discrimination, such as being treated unfairly by an out-group member (Baron, Burgess, & Kao, 1991). The more an event resembles the prototype, the more likely it will be labeled as discriminatory. Status-asymmetry between the people involved in the event also plays a role in the attribution to discrimination (Rodin et al., 1990). When the perpetrator is of a higher status than the victim, events are more likely to be attributed to discrimination. Members of chronically oppressed groups tend to regard negative actions from high-status perpetrator as discriminatory practices and interpret ambiguous events as discrimination (Major & Dover, 2015; Major & Sawyer, 2009).

Individual beliefs, experiences, knowledge, expectations, and group identification are also significant factors in the attributions to discrimination. Individuals’ beliefs about why differences in status exist in society, such as the belief that social hierarchy is legitimate or that success is based on hard work (meritocracy), will most likely influence individuals’ perception of an outcome as being deserved or discriminatory (Major & Dover, 2015; Major & Sawyer, 2009). Research shows that the more a person believes in individual mobility (Major et al., 2002) or individual preferences/choices (Stephens & Levine, 2011), the less likely they are to attribute negative experiences to discrimination. Group identification can also strongly impact how people perceive an event. Individuals “differ in the extent to which they are chronically aware of or sensitive to the possibility of being a target of
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