

WHICH STUDENTS ARE AT HIGHEST RISK ONLINE?

Online course outcomes and subsequent college attrition

Claire Wladis, Borough of Manhattan Community College/City University of New York and the City University of New York Graduate Center

Alyse C. Hachey, Borough of Manhattan Community College/City University of New York

Katherine M. Conway, Borough of Manhattan Community College/City University of New York

Key Takeaways:

Students with children and native-born students were both significantly less likely to successfully complete an online course than would be expected based on face-to-face performance.

Students who enrolled in online courses were less likely to persist in college, but online course outcomes had no direct effect on college persistence. Thus, students didn't drop out of college because of poorer outcomes in the online environment.

Online learning has been widely adopted in higher education; increased online enrollments are expected to continue (Allen & Seaman, 2010; 2016; Jaggars & Xu, 2010; Pontes, Hasit, Pontes, Lewis, & Siefing, 2010). However, a major concern are online course dropout rates, which range from 20-40% (e.g. Pierrakeas, Xenos, Panagiotakopoulos, & Vergidis, 2004); and which have been reported in some studies to be 7-20 percentage points higher than those for face-to-face courses (Hachey, Wladis & Conway, 2013). Online courses may provide increased access to college (Johnson & Mejia, 2014), but if they also have higher attrition (as has been widely documented), then there is the potential that online course enrollment might also hinder degree completion. Currently, there is little research on the effects of online course enrollment on college persistence and completion, and available results are mixed (see e.g. Shea & Bidjerano, 2014; Xu & Jaggars, 2011).

There are significant differences in the background characteristics of students taking online versus face-to face courses (Lack, 2013). Research shows that online learners are more likely to be: female, older, married, active military or to have other responsibilities such as work full time and/or have children. Further, they are more likely to have other "non-traditional" characteristics, such as delayed college enrollment; no high school diploma; part-time enrollment; and financial independence (e.g. Shea & Bidjerano, 2014; Wladis, Hachey, & Conway, 2015). Additionally, the research reports that online students tend to have higher academic preparation, to be white, native English speakers and they are more likely to have applied for or received financial aid (Jaggars & Xu, 2010; Xu & Jaggars, 2011).

Thus, the characteristics that drive students to enroll in online courses are likely also correlated to course dropout (Jaggars & Bailey, 2010; Smith, 2016; Wladis, Hachey & Conway, 2015c). Therefore, examining

This research brief summarizes results presented in more detail in the following paper:

Wladis, C., Hachey, A. & Conway, K. (2016). Assessing Readiness for Online Education – Research Models for Identifying Students at Risk. *Online Learning*, 20 (3), 97 - 109.

student characteristics may help to predict which students are at highest risk online; however, past research on the impact of student characteristics is conflicting (Jones, 2010). To accurately analyze whether a specific characteristic puts a student at greater risk in the online environment, it is essential to assess the *interaction* between that characteristic and course medium, while at the same time controlling for self-selection into online courses. This interaction measures the extent to which groups of students do worse online than would be expected given their face-to-face performance. For example, students with lower GPAs will be at higher risk of dropout and failure in both online and face-to-face courses; however, it is unclear whether the online environment increases the gap between students with low and high GPAs; if it does, this would be a significant interaction between the online medium and student GPA.

Two noteworthy studies have looked at the interaction between student characteristics and course medium. Xu and Jaggars (2013) report that Black students and students with lower G.P.A.'s did worse online than would be expected based on their face-to-face performance, and that women and older students did better than would be expected online. Wladis, Conway & Hachey (2015) found that older students did significantly better online and women did significantly worse online (but no worse than men), than would be expected based on their comparable face-to-face course outcomes. Additionally, they report no significant interaction between the online medium and race/ethnicity, suggesting that online courses do not increase (or decrease) the outcome gap by race/ethnicity. However, while they did control for some self-selection factors, both studies relied solely on institutional research data, and therefore, excluded important life and affective characteristics which may be important

predictors of differential online versus face-to-face performance.

Methods

Drawn from the 19 two- and four-year colleges in the City University of New York (CUNY) system, this study used a sample of 9,663 students with 37,442 course records. Students were invited to participate in an online survey if they were enrolled in an online course section, or a face-to-face section of one of those courses, offered during the fall 2014 semester at one of the CUNY colleges. Course medium was dichotomized to face-to-face (33% or less online) or fully online (80% or more) based on Sloan Consortium definitions (Allen & Seaman, 2010). Hybrid students (34-79% online content) were grouped with face-to-face students since prior research suggests that students who take hybrid courses are substantially similar in both characteristics and outcome to students who take face-to-face courses (Xu & Jaggars, 2011).

Two measures of student outcomes were explored: successful course completion (i.e. whether the student successfully completed a course with a C- or higher), and college persistence (i.e. whether the student re-enrolled in college in the subsequent spring semester). Based on the literature, covariates included: whether the student had a child (and age of youngest child); gender; race/ethnicity; age; work hours; income; parental education; developmental course placement; marital/cohabitation status; immigration generational status; native speaker status; college level (two-year, four-year, or graduate); G.P.A.; and number of credits/classes taken that semester. Additionally, the survey included validated scales measuring: motivation to complete the course; course enjoyment/engagement; academic integration (i.e. interaction with faculty/students outside class); self-directed learning skills; time management skills;

preference for autonomy; and grit (i.e. perseverance and passion for long-term goals).

Results

The most consistent pattern observed was that native-born students (particularly those with two native-born parents) were at greater risk than foreign-born students online. Figure 1 illustrates this pattern by showing predicted probabilities of successful course completion for a theoretical set of students who have the same values for all other variables in the model but differ only by course medium and immigrant generational status.

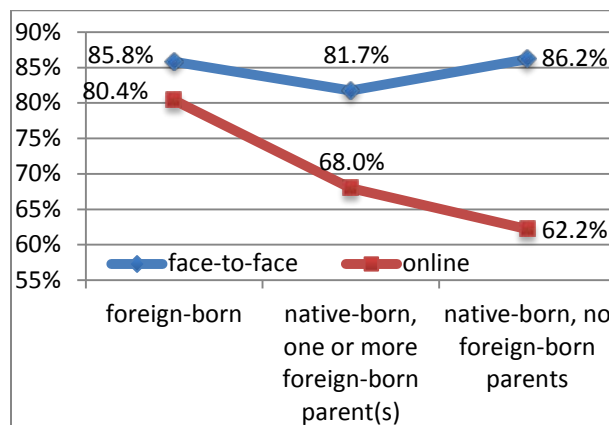


Figure 1. Predicted probabilities of successful course completion by immigrant generational status (using full model, reference groups)

Additionally, having a child under 6 years of age was a significant predictor of lower rates of successful course completion when comparing the same course taken by matched groups of student parents. The pattern was similar, although not significant, when comparing outcomes in online-versus-face-to-face classes taken by the same student. Repeating the analysis examining whether the student had a dependent child of any age, as opposed to a child under six years, produced similar results.

Figure 2 demonstrates this trend by showing predicted probabilities of successful course completion for a theoretical set of students who have the

same values for all other variables in the model but differ only by course medium and parental status.

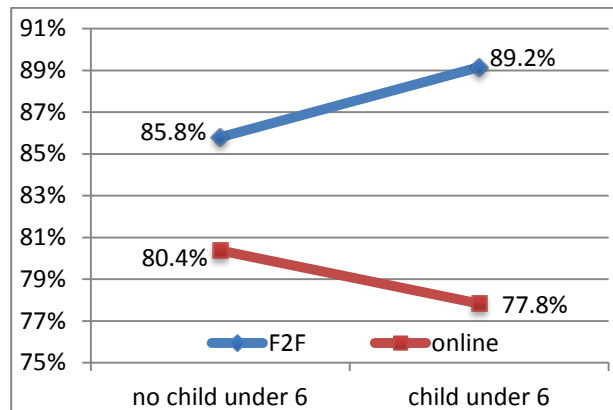


Figure 2. Predicted probabilities of successful course completion by parental status (using full model, reference groups)

No other factors (e.g. ethnicity, GPA) were significant predictors of differential online-versus-face-to-face performance. So, for example, some ethnic minority groups and students with lower GPAs were both less likely to successfully complete the course in either medium, but this gap was not significantly increased in the online environment.

Discussion

In this study, we observed a pattern in which foreign-born and native-born students had similar face-to-face outcomes, but in which foreign-born students had significantly better online outcomes than comparable native-born students. One possible explanation for this pattern is that some research has shown that certain immigrant groups may not actively participate in face-to-face classroom discussions because of cultural norms, but that online discussions yielded more opportunity for interaction and participation among immigrant students (e.g. Campbell, 2007; Yildiz & Bichelmeyer, 2003).

At CUNY, where this research was conducted, roughly 40% of students are foreign-born; thus, results may differ in

institutional contexts where foreign-born students make up a much smaller proportion of the population.

In the patterns observed with student parents in this study, students with children had lower successful course completion rates online than face-to-face, whereas students without children did not. The reason for this pattern may be that student parents are more likely to enroll in online courses when they have greater time constraints, and then these same students are less likely to successfully complete a course; this is supported by research that reports that time poverty mediates parenthood and college outcomes (Wladis, Hachey & Conway, n.d.). Because this pattern was only significant when comparing the same course taken by different students (and not when comparing different online versus face-to-face courses taken by the same student), this suggests that these trends may be caused by student parents with more complicated lives enrolling in online courses at higher rates, even when they otherwise seem to be comparable to student parents enrolled in face-to-face sections of the same class.

This strongly suggests that without support for student parents (e.g. childcare, adequate financial aid to reduce work hours), the flexibility that online courses provide may not be enough to compensate for the time demands of parenthood.

We also examined whether the college persistence of online students is directly related to the outcomes of their online courses. Students were significantly less likely to persist in college as measured by re-enrollment at the university in the subsequent semester after taking an online course. However, results show that there is no significant indirect effect, indicating that online students are not more likely to drop out of college immediately after, or due to, the outcomes of their online course. Rather,

findings indicate that other student characteristics beyond online course outcome may be significant in predicting both online course enrollment and college persistence.

Implications

This study strongly suggests that colleges wanting to target interventions to vulnerable students in the online environment may want to focus on supporting native-born students in contexts where foreign-born students are heavily represented and on supporting student parents enrolled in online courses (e.g. by providing better access to childcare or to financial aid that would allow them to pay for childcare).

While these are the students found by this study to be most at-risk in the online environment relative to their face-to-face performance, these groups do not necessarily have the poorest absolute online outcomes. For example, in this study, household income was strongly correlated with course and college outcomes, both for online and face-to-face mediums. Thus, lower-income students likely still need significant support, regardless of instructional modality. So, beyond targeting student groups that are at-risk specifically in the online environment, colleges aiming to improve retention should continue to support online student groups that have historically been identified as vulnerable in the face-to-face environment.

Furthermore, online course outcomes were found to have no direct effect on college persistence. Thus, taking online courses likely does not lead directly to lower rates in college persistence on average. This suggests that policies which add barriers or limit access to online courses may have little impact in addressing concerns about potential college dropouts. Instead, there seem to be characteristics that lead students to both enroll in online college and

drop out of college at higher rates. Further empirical research is needed to identify these characteristics so that targeted support can be provided.

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