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Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3572z4qx>

Journal

Harvard Educational Review, 85(4)

ISSN

0017-8055

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Publication Date

2015-12-01

DOI

10.17763/0017-8055.85.4.609

Peer reviewed

Harvard Education Publishing Group

Harvard Educational Review | Harvard Education Press | *Harvard Education Letter*
8 Story Street, 1st Floor, Cambridge, MA 02138 USA
617.495.3432 ph 617.496.3584 fax hepg@harvard.edu

Citation

Jayakumar, U. M. (2015). The Shaping of Postcollege Colorblind Orientation Among Whites: Residential Segregation and Campus Diversity Experiences. *Harvard Educational Review* 85(4), pp. 609-645.

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Publication

The definitive publisher-authenticated version of this article will be available in December 2015. For more information, please visit our public webpage at www.harvardeducationalreview.org, or call our editorial office during regular business hours, 1-617-495-3432.

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The Shaping of Postcollege Colorblind Orientation Among Whites: Residential Segregation and Campus Diversity Experiences

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In this article, Uma M. Jayakumar investigates the cumulative impact of experiences with segregation or racial diversity prior to and during college on colorblind ideological orientation among white adults. An analysis of longitudinal data spanning ten years reveals that, for whites from segregated and diverse childhood neighborhoods, some experiences in college may increase colorblind thinking, while others may facilitate a greater understanding of the racial context of US society. Segregated white environments, or white habitus, before, during, and after college are associated with whites' colorblind ideological orientations, with negative implications for racial justice. Campus racial diversity experiences can play a role in diminishing the influence of white habitus but are not necessarily doing so. In other words, the challenges of addressing colorblind orientation are greater for white students from segregated neighborhoods and high schools who also tend to choose segregated white campus environments and are less likely to engage across race lines while in college. This study speaks to the need for more direct interventions addressing colorblind ideology among white college students. The findings suggest that racial diversity and integration are potentially disruptive but insufficient conditions for unlearning harmful colorblind frames.

While higher education is generally associated with a shift toward more politically liberal views (Sidanius, Levin, Laar, & Sears, 2008), colleges and universities can also play a role in promoting conservative racial attitudes and policies (Binder & Wood, 2013). These attitudes and policies tend to be justified by a *colorblind ideology*—a denial of racial differences and the notion that racism is no longer a social problem that needs to be addressed (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). At

face value, lower levels of race-consciousness aimed at treating people equally and eliminating discrimination sound like positive ideals to strive toward, yet it is problematic to claim these ideals as the reality when they do not reflect current conditions. On a macro level, denying the existence of racial injustice hinders awareness and resolution of persisting racial disparities on important social indicators (e.g., health, educational attainment, wealth, housing). On the micro level of a college environment in particular, it contributes to alienation and stereotyping of students of color on historically white campuses and to reinforcing cultural ignorance among whites (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Lewis, Chesler, & Forman, 2000).

Previous research on cross-racial interactions and race relations on historically white campuses has uncovered the positive benefits of racial diversity for decreasing reported prejudicial attitudes and discrimination (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Gottfredson, Panter, Daye, Allen, & Wightman, 2009), higher levels of cultural awareness (Antonio, 2001), and increased pluralistic orientation (Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Hurtado, 2005; Jayakumar, 2008). Improvement on these aforementioned outcomes in particular is often pursued under the presumption that they will contribute to positive race relations, and result in more inclusive social conditions and equity for people of color. However, scholars have documented a troubling trend on college campuses whereby positive racial attitudes and symbolic commitments to racial equality among white students coexist with beliefs and actions that undermine the reduction of racial disparities (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, 2014; Warikoo & de Novais, 2014).

Universities seem to be training students to adopt a pluralistic orientation (Hurtado, 2005; Jayakumar, 2008)—one that Warikoo and de Novais (2014) described as a diversity frame embracing the role of race in shaping differential experiences and worldviews—but this may not be sufficient to address the problematic racial frames white students bring with them to college. Indeed, the Warikoo and de Novais (2014) in-depth study of white students at two highly selective colleges suggests that the predominant diversity frame promoted in higher education institutions can overlap with a colorblind frame, developed prior to college, purporting that race should not matter.¹ Precollege experiences with segregation and racial isolation help foster among white students racial primes reflecting ingrained stereotypes, racial bias, and symbolic racism (Sidanius et al., 2008), colorblind perspectives (Bonilla-Silva, 2014), and even pathological aversion toward black men (Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2007; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009) among white students. In other words, prior to college, “the racial priming socialization process exposes Whites to countless daily racial stimuli that they unconsciously, yet systematically, internalize as racist attitudes, stereotypes, assumptions, fears, resentments, discourses, and fictitious racial scripts” that are dehumanizing toward people of color (Smith et al., 2007, p. 561). Once internalized, these events validate or

normalize future encounters with racial stimuli, restricting the white student's ability to perceive racism. As products of socialization practices that begin well before formal schooling, racial primes are evidence that children learn and act upon ideas about race and ethnicity through their interactions with other children and adults, all of which "reinforce emerging and previously set White racial ideologies" (Smith et al., 2007, p. 561).

According to Smith (2004) and others (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, 2014; Smith et al., 2007), the colorblind frame largely develops in the home and in segregated spaces, wherein white children are conditioned to engage in color-conscious racialized actions while having the self-perception and claim of colorblindness. While this socialization process has been documented as early as age three (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001), it is cumulative and occurs throughout a lifespan (Smith et al., 2007). However, educational environments can disrupt this problematic conditioning. While we know that white students exhibit colorblind racial perspectives prior to college (Smith, 2004) and in college (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Lewis et al., 2000), we know less about how pre-college experiences with segregation influence college diversity experiences and subsequent postcollege colorblind ideological orientation.

As places where students must transition from home to college, postsecondary institutions are in a unique position to facilitate developmental growth (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Ruble, 1994). Particularly for white students, who are likely to have interacted primarily with people of their own race before entering college (Orfield & Lee, 2006), the postsecondary years can be a critical time for addressing harmful racial primes fostered by precollege residential segregation. As Gurin et al. (2002) reason, college should "ideally involve a confrontation with diversity and complexity, lest young people passively make commitments based on their past experience, rather than actively think and make decisions informed by new and more complex perspectives and relationships" (p. 334).

The vast literature supporting the educational benefits of racial diversity demonstrates the value of campus diversity infrastructures on a wide range of outcomes (e.g., Gurin, Hurtado, Dey, & Gurin, 2003), including cognitive development (e.g., Antonio et al., 2004; Bowman, 2010), academic and social self-concept (e.g., Chang, Denson, Sáenz, & Misa, 2006; Denson & Chang, 2009), leadership skills and cultural awareness (e.g., Antonio, 2001; Jayakumar, 2008), civic development (e.g., Bowman, 2011), prejudice reduction (e.g., Davies et al., 2011; Jayakumar, 2009), and preparation for an increasingly diverse 21st-century workforce (e.g., Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Page, 2009).

A few studies (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Gurin, 1999; Jayakumar, 2008) have also demonstrated that the benefits of campus diversity extend into the postcollege years, when individuals are better positioned to influence others and society. Research to date has not explored the long-term impact of college environ-

ments on postcollege racial ideology, specifically in terms of experiences with racial diversity (e.g., cross-racial interaction) and racial homogeneity (e.g., participation in Greek life). Furthermore, we know little about how precollege residential segregation—and the racial primes of color blindness known to be fostered in spaces of white racial isolation—might play a role in shaping these potential relationships.

This study begins to address this gap. Specifically, I draw from a national longitudinal data set to probe the relationships between precollege residential segregation or diversity experiences (in childhood neighborhoods and secondary schools), college diversity experiences, and postcollege colorblind ideological perspectives. I address the following research questions:

- How, if at all, is the racial diversity of the student body during one's college years related to white adults' postcollege colorblind ideological orientation? Further, how is this relationship influenced by precollege residential segregation?
- How, if at all, do specific diversity experiences in college impact the postcollege colorblind ideological orientation of white adults? How is this relationship influenced by precollege residential segregation?
- To what extent does exposure to racial homogeneity during and after college (e.g., fraternity involvement, postcollege segregated lifestyle) impact the postcollege colorblind ideological orientation of white adults? And how is this relationship influenced by precollege residential segregation?

Given the significance and potential harm of colorblind thinking, as well as the potential power of greater racial consciousness, it is imperative that we have a greater understanding of the role of higher education environments, climates, and experiences with racial diversity in shaping racial ideology.

In the sections that follow, I present key literature on colorblind racial ideology and the effects of formal and informal campus experiences with racial diversity. I then describe the quantitative analyses I performed on this national longitudinal data set to explore the research questions outlined above. Finally, I describe the implications of the study's findings, and place them in the context of the broader body of literature on diversity in higher education.

Literature Review

In presenting a brief review of the theoretical and empirical scholarship on colorblind racial ideology, I provide context for a more in-depth discussion of research on the effects of campus racial diversity experiences. Together, these bodies of literature reveal that racial diversity in college has the potential to effect positive outcomes for postsecondary students. Colorblind ideology, however, presents a particular challenge deserving greater attention.

Colorblind Racial Ideology Literature

Several scholars theorize that the overt racial prejudice of the civil rights era has been replaced by a more subtle and covert system of discrimination (Alexander, 2011; Bobo & Kluegel, 1997; Bobo, Kluegel, & Smith, 1997; Bonilla-Silva, 2001, 2006, 2014; Burke, 2012; Kovel, 1985; López, 2014; Thomas, 2000; Wellman, 1993). This post-civil rights colorblind ideology justifies racial inequity and a racialized social order (Bonilla-Silva, 2006), for example, by minimizing racial differences and racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2006) or by endorsing ideals of merit and equal opportunity but ignoring barriers to free market competition (Bobo et al., 1997). Bonilla-Silva (2006) identifies four frames within colorblind ideology: abstract liberalism, minimization of racism, cultural racism, and naturalization. Through the use of these four frames, Bonilla-Silva (2010) contends that “whites rationalize minorities’ contemporary status as the product of market dynamics, naturally occurring phenomena, and blacks’ imputed cultural limitations” (p. 2). Colorblind frames support and reproduce a system of white privilege and supremacy while allowing the user to appear race-neutral and both morally and racially just.

Abstract liberalism, the foundational frame, draws on the tenets of political liberalism (e.g., equal opportunity) and economic liberalism (e.g., individualism and choice) in an abstract and impractical manner. Those who operate from an abstract liberalism frame view the world through a lens that affirms a belief that the United States systemically functions to provide equal opportunity for everyone—politically, economically, and socially—and that institutional racism is a thing of the past. Thus, one can rationalize opposition to affirmative action in college admissions based on principles of merit and a desire for equal treatment and at the same time dismiss evidence of disparities in access to resources and opportunities throughout secondary schooling (Allen & Solórzano, 2001; Howard, 2002; Oakes, 1985, 1990; Solórzano & Ornelas, 2002), including access to coveted elite college campuses (Reardon, Baker, & Klasik, 2012).

While the *cultural racism frame* of colorblind ideology explains racial disparities without reifying notions of genetic inferiority, numerous problems persist with this deficit-oriented frame. According to Bonilla-Silva (2010), the cultural racism frame “relies on culturally based arguments . . . to explain the standing of minorities in society” (p. 28). Through falsely attributing cultural deficits to people and communities of color as an explanation for current gross inequities, racism can be rationalized as a thing of the past and human suffering as a consequence of cultural practices.

Similarly, the *minimization of racism* frame “suggests discrimination is no longer a central factor affecting minorities’ life chances” (Bonilla-Silva, 2010, p. 28). This frame relies on language that individualizes racialized stories in order to stay disconnected from institutional racism. By individualizing racialized stories, white people attempt to dismantle discourse about the systemic

oppression of people of color. For example, by claiming to know a person of color that has “made it,” one can minimize the structural and racial dynamics that create barriers to success for people of color.

Lastly, within the *naturalization* frame, inequities and segregation are rationalized as happenstance or the natural order. More specifically, oppressive practices, systems, and social constructs such as segregation and poverty are de-racialized and instead viewed as the result of the choices and natural manifestations of individuals detached from systemic inequities.

Contrasting the notion of segregation as happenstance, Bonilla-Silva (2006, 2014) and others (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997) find a discrepancy in whites’ espoused openness to and desire for an integrated lifestyle and actual behavioral choices that lean toward segregation.

High levels of social and spatial segregation among people of color, which Bonilla-Silva (2010) calls “white habitus,” foster a “racialized, uninterrupted socialization process that conditions and creates whites’ racial taste, perceptions, feelings, and emotions and their views on racial matters” (p. 104). White racial isolation breeds dysfunctional and arguably pathological views about black people and other nonwhite groups which impedes the humanity of white people and people of color alike. Socialization into colorblind thinking is cumulative, occurring through ongoing exposure to mainstream racial scripts, images, discourses, assumptions, fears, and sentiments (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, 2014; Smith et al., 2007; Williams & Land, 2006).² This process starts in childhood and teaches racial primes within white spaces that reflect racialized messages and ideologies through direct and indirect, conscious and unconscious means (Smith, 2004; Smith et al., 2007; Williams & Land, 2006). Williams and Land (2006) warn, “If this socialization process goes unimpeded and is allowed to take its course and develop throughout young adulthood, racism and racial scripts will become a permanent fixture of an internalized colorblind self-identity” (p. 580).

Many studies shed light on the quality of intergroup contact and potential harms for students of color when racially stigmatizing views and colorblind ideology go unchecked. In particular, they suggest that racial/ethnic separation in neighborhoods and in schooling before and during college reinforces cultural ignorance and colorblind perspectives among whites. In a qualitative study of white students at four predominantly white institutions, Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) reveal how white students’ perceptions that racial discrimination is a problem of the past were associated with the belief that racial gaps are related to personal and cultural deficiencies of black people. Moreover, Lewis et al. (2000) find that white students’ colorblind posturing had a stereotyping effect that made Latino, Asian American, and Native American students feel further alienated on campus.

Quantitative researchers have also begun to examine how colorblind attitudes are associated with campus diversity infrastructures through the development and validation of the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (COBRAS).

In a review of the extant research using this scale, Spanierman and colleagues (2008) note associations between colorblind ideology and fear of racial minorities, negative attitudes toward affirmative action, decreased empathy about societal racism, and greater endorsement of antiblack sentiment among white students. In sum, these studies indicate that colorblind ideologies and perspectives impact intergroup relations on campus. While scholars have begun to look more specifically at the mechanisms that allow diversity to facilitate productive intergroup dialogue and understanding and to produce educational benefits for all students, it remains unclear whether campus diversity experiences lessen colorblind ideological perspectives, and we still know little about how students' experiences with racial diversity in college are associated with colorblind orientations held during and beyond the postsecondary years.

Diversity Literature

While the influence of campus racial diversity on colorblind ideology remains understudied, scholars have generated a rich body of literature on the educational impact of a racially diverse campus environment on a range of other college experiences and outcomes. Three dimensions are typically discussed in diversity literature: (a) structural/numeric diversity; (b) cross-racial interaction, interracial interaction, and informal diversity experiences; and (c) classroom/curricular diversity and formal diversity experiences (Gurin et al., 2002). Some of this research also incorporates campus racial climate (e.g., Chang et al., 2006; Jayakumar, 2008). Together, these four dimensions are central to how higher education researchers and campuses are thinking about diversity infrastructures at historically white institutions.

— Structural Diversity and Campus Racial Climate

Structural diversity is simply the numerical representation of students of color at an institution (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1999). As an established and widely used measurement of structural diversity, a high proportion of nonwhite students at historically white institutions indicates a highly diverse or integrated institution, while a low proportion reflects a segregated, all-white environment. As racial/ethnic diversity increases, all students are more likely to interact with diverse peers (Antonio, 2001; Bowman, 2010, 2011; Chang, 1996; Chang et al., 2006; Gurin et al., 2003; Hurtado, Dey, & Trevino, 1994; Milem & Hakuta, 2000).

The educational benefits of structural diversity on college campuses were once highly debated within the legal system (e.g., *Gratz v. Bollinger*, 2003; *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 2003; *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 1978) but have since been upheld as a compelling interest. Nonetheless, students of color experience stress associated with nonwhite status at predominantly and/or traditionally white institutions when there is a failure to address (1) historical legacies and institutional signaling of exclusion, and (2) impediments to full participation such as stereotype threats and tokenized experiences (Garces

& Jayakumar, 2014). Under such conditions, racial hierarchy is reproduced at the interpersonal level in daily interactions (Solórzano, Allen & Carroll, 2002). White students also experience adverse effects in a negative racial climate, from a diminished sense of belonging to decreased academic persistence (Garces & Jayakumar, 2014).

A positive campus racial climate with particular attention to the numbers and experiences of students of color must be considered as an important factor shaping the benefits of diversity on college campuses. Both facets are needed to promote such long-term benefits, as the desired forms of interactions among students depend on numeric diversity and a positive campus racial climate (Jayakumar, 2008). Increasing the number of students of color has been associated with the reduction of students' perceptions of discrimination and stereotype threats on college campuses (Hurtado & Ruiz, 2012; Garces & Jayakumar, 2014). This is important because campus racial climate is defined by community members' attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions of discrimination and intergroup contact (Gurin et al., 2003; Peterson & Spencer, 1990). A positive racial climate is integral to fostering continuous interactions across race that may benefit all students on campus; indeed, beyond determining whether students are inclined toward interacting with diverse peers, perceptions of campus climate also moderate how students experience such interactions, in either beneficial or harmful ways (Denson & Chang, 2015). Put succinctly, in a hostile climate, intergroup relations suffer.

— Cross-Racial Interaction/Engagement

Interactional diversity (e.g., Gurin et al., 2002), also known as *cross-racial interaction* (e.g., Chang, 1996), is the extent and quality of one's engagement with people of different racial/ethnic backgrounds in formal and informal settings. Structural diversity is most beneficial when an institution also promotes high levels of cross-racial interaction. These interactions are related to students' growth in a variety of areas, including critical and active thinking (Gurin, 1999; Gurin et al., 2002; Nelson Laird, 2005; Pascarella et al., 1996), perspective taking (Hurtado, Engberg, & Ponjuan, 2003; Hurtado, 2005), pluralistic orientation (Engberg, 2006, Jayakumar, 2008), leadership skills (Antonio, 2001; Jayakumar, 2008), cultural awareness and understanding (Antonio, 2001; Astin, 1993a, 1993b; Chang, 1996; Milem, 1994), reduced racial bias (Denson, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), civic values or interest (Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004; Gurin et al., 2002), academic and social self-concept (Chang, 1999; Gurin et al., 2002), complex thinking (Antonio et al., 2004), and cognitive development (Antonio et al., 2004; Astin, 1993a, 1993b; Bowman, 2010; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2001, 2005).

Engberg (2006), for example, found that, across disciplinary contexts, positive cross-racial interaction was related to intergroup learning and a more pluralistic orientation among students.

Similarly, Spanierman et al. (2008) used path analysis to examine the impact of campus diversity experiences (including formal diversity courses and workshops) on the democratic racial beliefs. The results for white students demonstrated a decrease in colorblind orientation over the span of one year with increased participation in informal and formal campus diversity experiences. However, the latter study did not explore whether the influence of diversity on colorblind orientation persisted beyond the first year of college.

Given that whites are most likely to engage in homogeneous interactions both prior to and in college (Orfield & Lee, 2006), white students stand to benefit the most from cross-racial engagement on campus. Indeed, Antonio's (2001) research suggests that interactions between students of different races are particularly valuable to those with "racially homogeneous friendship circles" (p. 612), because they present unique interpersonal challenges not confronted elsewhere. Likewise, cross-racial engagement is especially beneficial for whites from segregated precollege environments (Jayakumar, 2008). In contrast, however, Lewis et al. (2000) suggest that students of color suffer within these interracial interactions due to the colorblind perspectives of their white peers. Their findings are corroborated by extensive research documenting racial microaggressions, which are subtle, seemingly innocuous verbal and nonverbal insults directed at people of color that are accumulatively harmful over time (see e.g., Harwood, Huntt, Mendenhall, & Lewis, 2012; Reynolds, Sneva, & Beehler, 2010; Sue et al., 2009). This contrasting body of research sheds light on how whites' colorblind frames contribute to the alienation of students of color.

— Curricular Diversity

Classroom diversity, or *curricular diversity*, encompasses formal exposure to diverse peoples and their perspectives through curricular and cocurricular offerings. Researchers have studied classroom diversity from varied angles, focusing on classroom racial composition (Terenzini et al., 2001), classroom interactions and dialogue (Antonio et al., 2004), and curricular content (Astin 1993a, 1993b; Chang, 1996; Springer et al., 1996). Some have investigated the effects of classroom diversity across multiple institutions (Astin, 1993a, 1993b; Chang, 1996; Engberg, 2006; Gudeman, 2000; Hurtado, 2001; Marin, 2000; Maruyama & Moreno, 2000), while others have focused on single institution-wide programmatic efforts (Chang, 2002; Gurin et al., 2002) or on particular classrooms within an institution (Gudeman, 2000; Hurtado, 2006; Marin, 2000; Maruyama & Moreno, 2000). Regardless of the approach, all of these studies have emphasized the value of classroom and curricular diversity for student development and learning outcomes.

In spite of the growing literature on formal diversity experiences, very little is known about their influence on colorblind ideology (Spanierman et al., 2008). One developing area of research has shed light on how exposure to

diversity-related readings and curriculum-based facilitated intergroup dialogue can develop positive race relations and understanding among students (Gurin et al., 2004; Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013; Hurtado, 2005). Using a random experimental and mixed-method design, Gurin et al. (2013) compared the experiences of 1,450 college students enrolled in 52 intergroup dialogue courses to a control group. The courses engaged students on issues of racial and gender inequality and facilitated discussion of similarities and differences among groups. Although the results indicate the potential for improved intergroup understanding, positive emotions, and intergroup collaboration, Gurin and colleagues do not directly associate the course content and dialogue model with colorblind frames.

Overall, we are beginning to understand a great deal about how structural diversity, campus racial climate, cross-racial interactions, and curricular diversity may affect students' racial attitudes and openness. However, we do not know much about how these experiences affect colorblind ideological perspectives, which are known to shape a problematic understanding of racial inequality in US society. Moreover, we do not know nearly enough about whether any positive benefits of exposure to campus diversity last beyond college and if/how they interact with postcollege exposure to white habitus or segregation. My study tends to these issues and further examines these relationships while accounting for the influence of residential segregation prior to college.

Data Source and Study Design

I use data for this national longitudinal study from the Higher Education Research Institute survey that followed the same participants across three time points—1994, 1998, and 2004—drawing largely from questions pertaining to campus diversity experiences and experiences with racial homogeneity, as well as those related to colorblind ideological perspectives.

Sample Construction

Given the significance of residential segregation in shaping colorblind perspectives and racial primes (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, 2014; Smith, 2004), and previous research demonstrating the moderation effects of precollege neighborhood segregation (Jayakumar, 2008), I conducted analyses on two subsamples: 1) whites from segregated, predominantly white precollege neighborhoods, and 2) whites from racially diverse precollege neighborhoods. Precollege neighborhood and high school racial composition are each single-item variables that asked respondents if “none,” “some,” “half,” “most,” or “all” persons in their environments were of the same race as themselves (see table 1 for a description of precollege diversity variables). I used the neighborhood composition variable to define the groups under my study, and the high school racial composition variable was utilized within the analyses of the two subgroups.

TABLE 1 *Variable descriptions*

<i>Variable name</i>	<i>Scale range</i>
<i>Proxy pretest: Colorblind disposition precollege</i>	
— Racial discrimination is no longer a major problem in America	1 = Disagree strongly 2 = Disagree somewhat 3 = Agree somewhat 4 = Agree strongly
— Importance of promoting racial understanding (reverse recoded)	1 = Disagree strongly 2 = Agree strongly 3 = Disagree somewhat 4 = Agree somewhat
<i>Dependent variable: Colorblind orientation postcollege</i>	
— Racial discrimination is no longer a major problem in America	1 = Disagree strongly 2 = Disagree somewhat 3 = Agree somewhat 4 = Agree strongly
— In the United States, everybody has basically the same opportunity to be successful	
— Importance of promoting racial understanding (reverse recoded)	1 = Disagree strongly 2 = Agree strongly 3 = Disagree somewhat 4 = Agree somewhat
<i>Student background characteristics</i>	
Gender	1 = Male 2 = Female
<i>Precollege exposure to diversity</i>	
— Neighborhood where you grew up	How many of the people were of your race/ethnicity?
— High school classmates (reverse recoded)	1 = All 2 = Most 3 = About half 4 = Some 5 = None
<i>Institutional characteristics</i>	
Structural diversity index	(Based on enrollment figures from IPEDs data)
Racial climate (peer mean: cross-racial interaction)	(Institutional aggregate of cross-racial interaction composite)
<i>Peer group influences</i>	
Greek participation	1 = No 2 = Yes
College major: Holland typology “social” majors	1 = No 2 = Yes

Description of diversity-related student-level variables

Commitment to cross-racial engagement

- Studied with someone of a different race
 - Dined with someone of a different race
 - Dated someone of a different race
 - Interacted with someone of a different race
- 1 = Not at all
2 = Occasionally
3 = Frequently

Curricular/Classroom diversity

Two separate measures indicating exposure to the following nontraditional/ diversity-related curriculum:

- Ethnic studies coursework
 - Racial/Cultural awareness workshop
- 1 = None 2 = One or more
-

Description of postcollege diversity variable(s)

Racially integrated postcollege lifestyle

- Current work associates
 - Current neighborhood
 - Current close friends
- How many of the people were
of your race/ethnicity?
1 = All
2 = Most
3 = About half
4 = Some
5 = None
- Socialize with someone of another race/ethnicity
- 1 = Not at all
2 = Occasionally
3 = Frequently
-

The final sample included 8,618 students from 229 institutions. Eighty-seven percent of the total sample was white. After excluding all other races, the sample consisted of 7,689 white individuals who graduated from 226 predominantly white institutions.³ There were 6,600 individuals in the segregated precollege neighborhood sample and 1,089 individuals in the diverse precollege neighborhood sample. The two subsamples were almost identical on key demographic and background characteristics at college entry (e.g., gender, socioeconomic status, parental education, age) and with regard to postcollege characteristics (e.g., income, marital status, post-bachelor degree attainment, and workforce sector).

Analytical Approach and Key Variables

Before conducting advanced statistical analyses, I began with simple descriptive statistics. Specifically, I conducted independent sample t-tests to identify between-group differences on the proxy pretest and posttest for colorblind orientation. (See table 2 for a summary of survey items available for descriptive analysis related to colorblind orientation across three time-points; see endnotes for statistics associated with Levene’s test and latent mean difference testing). The proxy pretest included two of the three variables (agreement that racial discrimination is no longer a problem and interest in promoting

TABLE 2 *Survey items used in colorblind ideological orientation variable construction*

<i>Survey item</i>	<i>What it captures</i>	<i>When asked^a</i>		
		<i>T1</i>	<i>T2</i>	<i>T3</i>
Please indicate the importance to you personally of helping to promote racial understanding. ^b	Commitment and possible action toward improving race relations. (Agreement indicates an assumption that a problem with racial understanding exists.)	✓		✓
Please indicate your agreement with the statement: "Racial discrimination is no longer a major problem in America."	Beliefs about racism and meritocracy	✓	✓	✓
Please indicate your agreement with the statement: "In the United States, everybody has basically the same opportunity to be successful."	Beliefs about racism and meritocracy			✓

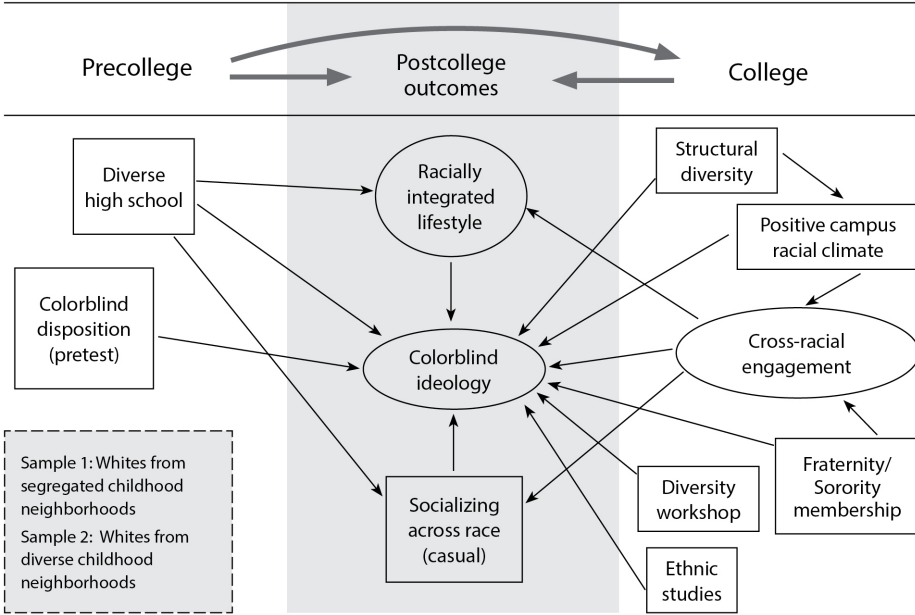
Notes: ^a T1 indicates the point of college entry; T2 indicates four years after college entry (graduation year for many students); T3 indicates ten years after college entry. ^b Direction of this item was reversed to match sentiment of other items (i.e., higher score indicates a more colorblind orientation).

racial understanding). The posttest also included a survey question that asked how strongly participants agreed that everyone in the United States has the same opportunity to be successful. Starting with descriptive analyses allowed for a general understanding of trends regarding student views of racial discrimination across the three time points.

I employed structural equation modeling (SEM) methodology to test the theoretically driven model and examine the relationship between campus diversity experiences and postcollege colorblind orientation. Figure 1 illustrates the hypothesized key relationships tested in relation to the postcollege colorblind ideological orientation variable.

SEM has several advantages over traditional regression analysis, including that it allows for the examination of abstract phenomena, namely, latent variables that cannot be measured directly. Further, this approach offers the ability to model two or more dependent variables simultaneously, account for measurement error, and examine both direct and indirect relationships among variables. Because of the long time frame of this study, SEM was ideal in its ability to allow past diversity experiences to set the stage for long-term colorblind ideological orientation. Traditional regression would not allow me to determine direct and indirect effects or the moderating effects of precollege residential segregation. SEM's capacity to model both direct and indirect

FIGURE 1 Key variables and relationships tested in relation to precollege racial isolation and colorblind ideology



effects made it possible to uncover the conditions under which campus diversity is beneficial for reducing postcollege colorblind orientation, and to understand how the relationships work for whites from the more racially isolated, predominantly white neighborhoods as well as those from diverse precollege neighborhood.

Direct effects are represented by arrows going straight from the variable highlighted in each subheading to the outcome measure. Indirect effects are the added-up or domino effect of an accumulation of arrows going through one or more other variables before reaching an outcome measure of interest. When a variable is indirectly associated with another, the variable(s) it passes through is described as mediating the relationship between the initial variable and the outcome variable being discussed. For example, structural diversity has a direct effect on colorblind ideology and an indirect effect, mediated by a positive campus racial climate.

Given that SEM is a confirmatory approach to research, I specified a model prior to analysis based on previous literature and theoretical justifications. I constructed a latent variable to represent postcollege colorblind orientation, indicated by three survey items (see table 2 for survey items used in colorblind ideological orientation variable construction). The survey items making up the construct, particularly the latter two, are aligned with Bonilla-Silva's

(2006) description of the types of scripts and beliefs that are characteristic of colorblind thinking. They also map onto COBRAS items used to measure colorblind ideology. Examples of COBRAS items include agreement with the following statements: “Race is very important in determining who is successful,” “Everyone who works hard, no matter what they are, has an equal chance to become rich,” and “Social policies such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.”

Several other key variables used in this study were the same as those used throughout the extant literature and were identical to constructs from previous research utilizing the same data set (see Jayakumar, 2008). Cross-racial engagement (see table 1 for a description of diversity-related student-level variables) was a latent construct represented by frequency of interactions with people of a different race. While prior literature refers to the construct as cross-racial interaction or CRI (including my own work), the revised terminology more accurately reflects the latent phenomenon of engagement. As mentioned, SEM allows for modeling abstract phenomenon underlying a set of observed measures as opposed to traditional factors in linear regression analysis, the predominant method used in the early diversity literature.

Structural diversity was measured by the percentage of students of color within a given institution, while racial climate was an aggregated measure of the average rate of cross-racial interaction⁴ for all students within the institution. These variables were also used in the extant literature and in previous research utilizing the same data set (Jayakumar, 2008).

The exposure to diversity postcollege variable, called *racially integrated post-college lifestyle factor*, is a latent construct (see table 1). While residential segregation is often attributed to happenstance and neutral choices, researchers have consistently demonstrated that the racial composition of a neighborhood is weighed more heavily by whites than considerations of housing quality, crime statistics, and environmental amenities, and location (Lipsitz, 2011). Previous research indicates that individuals exposed to racial diversity before and during college are likely to gravitate toward and successfully adapt to diverse environments (e.g., workplace, neighborhood) in adulthood (Wells & Crain, 1994; Gurin, 1999; Jayakumar, 2008).

Whites from segregated precollege neighborhoods are more likely to choose a racially integrated postcollege lifestyle if they engaged in cross-racial interaction during college; this is not true for whites from diverse precollege neighborhoods (Jayakumar, 2008). This postcollege variable is particularly important here, given what the literature (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2014) suggests about the harms of racially segregated environments and spaces on colorblind ideological perspectives. It is also an important behavioral measure of racial attitudes in light of prior research pointing to a discrepancy in espoused openness and desire for an interracial lifestyle and actual behavioral choices of white adults (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Schuman et al., 1997).

Findings

Descriptive Results

Descriptive statistics from my study point to some differences in colorblind thinking related to residential segregation in the precollege years. Consistent with the literature, on average, my data show that whites from segregated neighborhoods tended to start college with slightly higher dispositions toward colorblind thinking than whites from diverse neighborhoods. Within ten years after college entry, however, the groups were not significantly different on the colorblind orientation outcome. Notably, however, both groups showed an overall increase in colorblind thinking at this point.

Statistical testing of group differences revealed significant differences in precollege colorblind perspectives across samples, with whites from segregated neighborhood backgrounds exhibiting slightly higher colorblind orientation.⁵ Notably, in comparing group scores on colorblind orientation ten years after college entry, whites from both segregated and diverse pre-college neighborhoods were not statistically different from each other.

At all three points of the longitudinal survey administration, participants rated their agreement with the statement, “Racial discrimination is no longer a problem in America,” on a scale of 1 to 4, from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Tables 3 and 4 provide cross-tabulations that show percentage changes in responses to this question over time. In both groups, some individuals experienced a decrease in colorblind thinking during the college years (T1, at college entry, to T2, four years later), although t-tests revealed that this difference is not significant.

When we look approximately six years out of college (T1 to T3), overall trends suggest an increase in colorblind thinking within groups (i.e., individuals were more likely to somewhat or strongly agree that racial discrimination is no longer a problem in America). This descriptive finding leads to a more complex and interesting set of questions—questions that are at the heart of this study. Specifically, to what extent are campus diversity experiences associated with postcollege colorblind thinking, especially among whites from segregated neighborhoods, who are more likely to enter college with colorblind perspectives and racial primes? How might precollege segregation and accumulated experiences within racially isolating or diverse spaces during and after college influence colorblind orientations of white adults? To explore these questions, I employed confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and structural equation modeling.

Measurement Model: Confirmatory Factor Analysis

In structural equation modeling, confirmatory factor analysis serves the purpose of testing the extent to which theorized links among sets of observed variables underlie the respective latent constructs that make up the measurement model (Byrne, 2008).⁶ I conducted CFA in several stages. The first was

TABLE 3 *Changes in agreement that “racial discrimination is no longer a problem in America” among whites from segregated precollege neighborhoods (N = 6,672)*

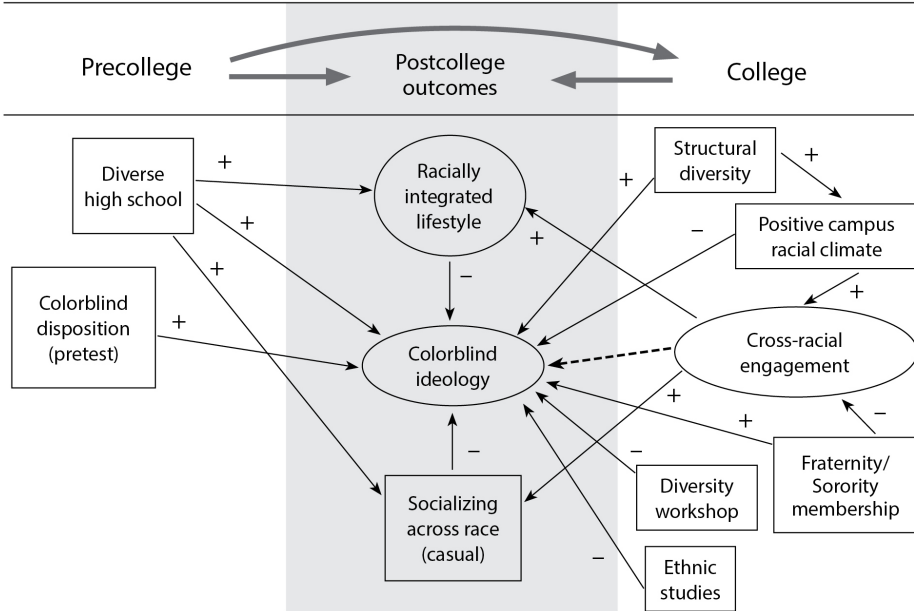
<i>Response</i>	<i>Percent in</i>			<i>Change from</i>		<i>Total change (T1 to T3)</i>
	<i>1994 (T1)</i>	<i>1998 (T2)</i>	<i>2004 (T3)</i>	<i>T1 to T2</i>	<i>T2 to T3</i>	
Disagree strongly	39.5%	40.1%	31.9%	+6%	-8.2%	-7.6%
Disagree somewhat	45.9%	45.7%	46.8%	-.2%	+1.1%	+0.9%
Agree somewhat	12.7%	11.7%	19.0%	-1%	+7.3%	+6.3%
Agree strongly	1.9%	2.4%	2.4%	+0.5%	0%	+0.5%

TABLE 4 *Changes in agreement that “racial discrimination is no longer a problem in America” among whites from diverse precollege neighborhoods (N = 1,092)*

<i>Response</i>	<i>Percent in</i>			<i>Change from</i>		<i>Total change (T1 to T3)</i>
	<i>1994 (T1)</i>	<i>1998 (T2)</i>	<i>2004 (T3)</i>	<i>T1 to T2</i>	<i>T2 to T3</i>	
Disagree strongly	40.5%	42.9%	35.1%	+2.4%	-7.8%	-5.4%
Disagree somewhat	42.5%	43.3%	43.9%	+0.8%	+0.6%	+1.4%
Agree somewhat	15.5%	12.1%	19.4%	-3.4%	+7.3%	+3.9%
Agree strongly	1.6%	1.7%	1.6%	+0.1%	-0.1%	0%

an examination of single group (factor) analysis and creation of baseline measurement models. In single group analysis of both the segregated and diverse neighborhood samples, the CFA measurement model and the hypothesized constructs were deemed to be statistically trustworthy, meaning they were valid and reliable measures.⁷ In the context of CFA, the validity of the measures is gauged by fit indexes.⁸ While less advanced statistical methods assume that factors hold the same meaning across groups, SEM allows for verifying the accu-

FIGURE 2 Key variables and relationships tested in relation to postcollege racial isolation and colorblind ideology: Segregated childhood neighborhood sample



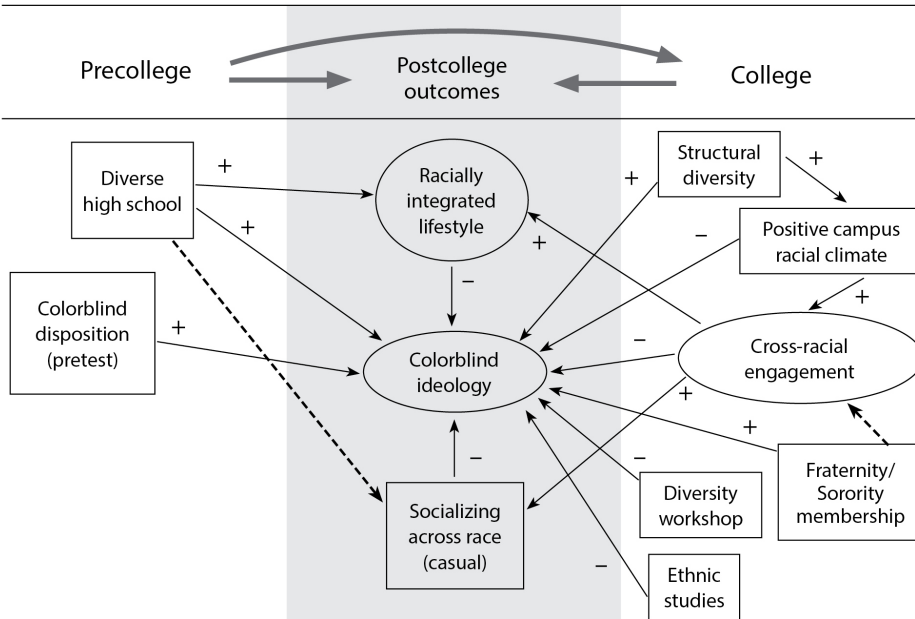
Note: In this diagram, solid lines represent a statistically significant direct effect at the $P \leq .05$ level, while dotted lines indicate a nonsignificant direct effect. Plus and minus signs represent the direction of the effect from one variable (starting point of the directional arrow) to another variable (end point of the directional arrow).

racy of such comparisons. The latter is accomplished through a process called invariance testing, in which each variable (or relationship) within and across factors is constrained (and released, where needed). If the factors work the same across groups, then statistically forcing the measurement models to map onto each other should not create a problem (i.e., constraints don't produce difference in how the models fit the data at baseline), making multigroup testing ideal for examining group differences. What this means, in terms of the study at hand, is that comparisons between the subgroups of whites from segregated neighborhoods and those from diverse neighborhoods (i.e., multigroup analysis) were possible because observed variables measured the same abstract phenomenon in the groups being compared.⁹ Thus, testing of the multigroup measurement model provided sufficient evidence to proceed with testing of the structural model.

Structural Model Results

In the structural model, relationships or paths between variables are theorized based on prior literature, and thereafter the structural relationships specified

FIGURE 3 Key variables and relationships tested in relation to postcollege racial isolation and colorblind ideology: Diverse childhood neighborhood sample



Note: In this diagram, solid lines represent a statistically significant direct effect at the $P \leq .05$ level, while dotted lines indicate a nonsignificant direct effect. Plus and minus signs represent the direction of the effect from one variable (starting point of the directional arrow) to another variable (end point of the directional arrow).

are statistically forced onto the data to see if the theorized relationships fit the actual correlations between variables in the existing data set. The measure of “good fit” tells us how well the proposed structural model (or quantitative story being told) is one true representation (and there could be others) of the actual relationships in the data set. The analysis revealed that the relationships hypothesized to exist and tested by the model actually did exist and were sufficient for explaining the data for both subgroups. In other words, the structural multigroup analysis results with measurement model constraints indicated a good fit between the proposed model and the data for whites from segregated and diverse precollege neighborhoods.¹⁰

Figure 2 presents a simplistic view of the direct relationships among key variables for the sub-sample from segregated precollege neighborhoods, indicating the direction (positive or negative effects at or above a .05 significance level). Figure 3 does the same for the sub-sample from diverse precollege neighborhoods. Tables 5 and 6 display both unstandardized and standardized path coefficients for the colorblind orientation model as they applied to individuals from segregated and diverse precollege neighborhoods, respec-

tively. These tables provide both direct and indirect effects of all hypothesized relationships.

— Colorblind Precollege Disposition and High School Diversity

As expected, the proxy pretest, which students completed before they were enrolled in college, had a strong direct association with postcollege colorblind orientation ($\beta = .33^{***}$ and $.34^{***}$ for segregated and diverse neighborhood samples, respectively). Put another way, white students who enter college with strong colorblind perspectives about racism and meritocracy tend to have strong colorblind orientations ten years later. When students were involved in cross-racial engagement and subsequent diversity experiences, this association diminished substantially (indirect effect: $\beta = .07^{***}$ and $.04^{***}$, respectively).

Attending a diverse high school was, on its own, directly associated with an increase in colorblind orientation ($\beta = .07^{***}$ and $.14^{**}$ for segregated and diverse neighborhood samples, respectively). Attending such a high school was, however, *indirectly* (taking into account other relationships that can play mediating roles) associated with a decrease in colorblind orientation (indirect effect: $\beta = -.04^{***}$ and $-.08^*$ for each group, respectively).

— Structural Diversity and Campus Climate

The results showed that attending a structurally diverse college was associated with a more colorblind orientation postcollege for whites from segregated precollege neighborhoods ($\beta = .08^{***}$) and diverse precollege neighborhoods ($\beta = .18^{***}$). Notably, for individuals who experienced a positive racial climate and for those who were cross-racially engaged during college, structural diversity was indirectly associated with a postcollege *decrease* in colorblind orientation. Put simply, the more that students experience a positive racial climate, a sense of cross-racial community, and multiethnic diversity through courses and residential experiences, the less these students subscribe to a colorblind explanation for how the world works after college.

Finally, simply attending a college with a positive racial climate (regardless of whether individuals engaged in interracial interactions themselves) was directly associated with a decrease in colorblind orientation for segregated and diverse neighborhood samples ($\beta = -.11^{***}$ and $-.17^{**}$, respectively).

— Cross-racial Interaction

For whites from segregated neighborhoods, cross-racial interaction while in college was not, on its own, directly related to postcollege colorblind orientation. For whites from diverse precollege neighborhoods, however, it was associated ($\beta = -.12^*$) at a .05 significance level.

Indication of colorblind orientation, particularly in the case of whites from segregated precollege neighborhoods, was mediated by the college campus racial climate, formal diversity experiences in college (i.e., ethnic studies courses and diversity workshops), and postcollege experiences with diversity

TABLE 5 Direct, indirect, and total effects of colorblind orientation model for whites from segregated precollege neighborhoods

<i>Direct effect on:</i>	<i>b</i>	β
<i>Colorblind orientation</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	.130***	.325***
Gender: female	-.144***	-.138***
Diversity of high school	.049***	.065***
Membership in Greek organization	.061***	.054***
Major: social science	-.093***	-.086***
Structural diversity	.361***	.079***
Campus racial climate	-.014***	-.106***
Cross-racial interaction	-.046	-.035
Ethnic studies course	-.114***	-.113***
Diversity workshop	-.126***	-.122***
Racially integrated postcollege lifestyle	-.204***	-.164***
Postcollege socializing across race	-.040*	-.045*
<i>Racially integrated postcollege lifestyle</i>		
Diversity of high school	.089***	.145***
Cross-racial interaction	.327***	.290***
Postcollege socializing across race	.310***	.438**
<i>Postcollege socializing across race</i>		
Diversity of high school	.023*	.026*
Cross-racial interaction	.402***	.252***
<i>Cross-racial interaction</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.043***	-.151***
Diversity of high school	.035***	.064***
Membership in Greek organization	-.033**	-.040**
Structural diversity	1.070***	.331***
<i>Campus racial climate</i>		
Structural diversity	24.243***	.705***
Cross-racial interaction	2.162***	.203***
<i>Ethnic studies coursework</i>		
Cross-racial interaction	.242***	.170***
<i>Diversity workshop</i>		
Cross-racial interaction	.251***	.182***
<hr/>		
<i>Indirect effect on:</i>	<i>b</i>	β
<i>Colorblind orientation</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	.011***	.026***
Diversity of high school	-.029***	-.038***
Membership in Greek organization	.008***	.007**
Structural diversity	-.604***	-.133***
Cross-racial interaction	-.198***	-.140***
Postcollege socializing across race	-.063***	-.072***

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 5 (continued) Direct, indirect, and total effects of colorblind orientation model for whites from segregated precollege neighborhoods

<i>Indirect effect on:</i>	<i>b</i>	β
<i>Racially integrated postcollege lifestyle</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.019***	-.061***
Diversity of high school	.023***	.037***
Membership in Greek organization	-.015**	-.016**
Structural diversity	-.483***	.133***
Cross-racial interaction	.125***	.111***
<i>Postcollege socializing across race</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.017***	-.038***
Diversity of high school	.014***	.016***
Membership in Greek organization	-.013**	-.010**
Structural diversity	.430***	.084***
<i>Campus racial climate</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.093***	-.031***
Diversity of high school	.076***	.013***
Membership in Greek organization	-.071**	-.008**
Structural diversity	2.314***	.067***
<i>Ethnic studies coursework</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.010***	-.026***
Diversity of high school	.008***	.011***
Membership in Greek organization	-.008**	-.007**
Structural diversity	.259***	.056***
<i>Diversity workshop</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.011***	-.038***
Diversity of high school	.009***	-.016***
Membership in Greek organization	-.008**	-.010**
Structural diversity	.269***	.084***
<i>Total effect on:</i>	<i>b</i>	β
<i>Colorblind orientation</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	.140***	.352***
Gender: female	-.143***	-.138***
Diversity of high school	.020	.026
Membership in Greek organization	.069***	.060***
Major: social science	-.092***	-.086***
Structural diversity	-.243	-.054
Campus racial climate	-.014***	-.106***
Cross-racial interaction	-.244***	-.175***
Ethnic studies course	-.111***	-.113***
Diversity workshop	-.124***	-.122***
Racially integrated postcollege lifestyle	-.203***	-.164***
Postcollege socializing across race	-.102***	-.117***

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 5 (continued) Direct, indirect, and total effects of colorblind orientation model for whites from segregated precollege neighborhoods

Total effect on:	b	β
<i>Racially integrated postcollege lifestyle</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.019***	-.061***
Diversity of high school	.112***	.183***
Membership in Greek organization	-.015**	-.016**
Structural diversity	.483***	.133***
Cross-racial interaction	.451***	.401***
Postcollege socializing across race	.310***	.438***
<i>Postcollege socializing across race</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.017***	-.038***
Diversity of high school	.037**	.043**
Membership in Greek organization	-.013**	-.010**
Structural diversity	.430***	.084***
Cross-racial interaction	.402***	.252***
<i>Cross-racial interaction</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.043***	-.151***
Diversity of high school	.035***	.064***
Membership in Greek organization	-.033**	-.040**
Structural diversity	1.070***	.331***
<i>Campus racial climate</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.093***	-.116***
Diversity of high school	.076***	.049***
Membership in Greek organization	-.071**	-.031**
Structural diversity	26.557***	.255***
Cross-racial interaction	2.162***	.768***
<i>Ethnic studies coursework</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.010***	-.026***
Diversity of high school	.008***	.011***
Membership in Greek organization	-.008***	-.007**
Structural diversity	.259***	.056**
Cross-racial interaction	.242***	.170***
<i>Diversity workshop</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.011***	-.028***
Diversity of high school	.009***	.012***
Membership in Greek organization	-.008**	-.007**
Structural diversity	.269***	.060***
Cross-racial interaction	.251***	.182***

* p \leq .05, ** p \leq .01, ***p \leq .001

TABLE 6 *Direct, indirect, and total effects of colorblind orientation model for whites from diverse precollege neighborhoods*

<i>Direct effect on:</i>	<i>b</i>	β
<i>Colorblind orientation</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	.134***	.336***
Gender: female	-.137***	-.125***
Diversity of high school	.067**	.136**
Membership in Greek organization	.096*	.076*
Major: social science	-.042	-.036
Structural diversity	.755**	.179**
Campus racial climate	-.023**	-.169**
Cross-racial interaction	-.164*	-.116*
Ethnic studies course	-.076*	-.073*
Diversity workshop	-.121**	-.112**
Racially integrated postcollege lifestyle	-.083*	-.138*
Postcollege socializing across race	-.089*	-.089*
<i>Racially integrated postcollege lifestyle</i>		
Diversity of high school	.532***	.655***
Cross-racial interaction	.086	.037
Postcollege socializing across race	-.011	-.007
<i>Postcollege socializing across race</i>		
Diversity of high school	.011	.023
Cross-racial interaction	.426***	.299***
<i>Cross-racial interaction</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.049***	-.175***
Diversity of high school	-.025*	-.073*
Membership in Greek organization	-.024	-.027
Structural diversity	.758***	.255***
<i>Campus racial climate</i>		
Structural diversity	21.309***	.690***
Cross-racial interaction	2.454***	.236***
<i>Ethnic studies coursework</i>		
Cross-racial interaction	.325***	.238***
<i>Diversity workshop</i>		
Cross-racial interaction	.351***	.267***
<hr/>		
<i>Indirect effect on:</i>	<i>b</i>	β
<i>Colorblind orientation</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	.016***	.041***
Diversity of high school	-.037*	-.075*
Membership in Greek organization	.008	.006
Structural diversity	-.743***	-.177***
Cross-racial interaction	-.169***	-.119***
Postcollege socializing across race	.001	.001

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 6 (continued) Direct, indirect, and total effects of colorblind orientation model for whites from diverse precollege neighborhoods

<i>Indirect effect on:</i>	<i>b</i>	β
<i>Racially integrated postcollege lifestyle</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.004	-.006
Diversity of high school	-.002	-.003
Membership in Greek organization	-.002	-.001
Structural diversity	.062	.009
Cross-racial interaction	-.005	-.002
<i>Postcollege socializing across race</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.021***	-.052***
Diversity of high school	-.011*	-.022*
Membership in Greek organization	-.010	-.008
Structural diversity	.323***	.076***
<i>Campus racial climate</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.121***	-.041***
Diversity of high school	-.062*	-.017*
Membership in Greek organization	-.059	-.006
Structural diversity	1.860***	.060***
<i>Ethnic studies coursework</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.016***	-.042***
Diversity of high school	-.008*	-.017*
Membership in Greek organization	-.008	-.006
Structural diversity	.246***	.061***
<i>Diversity workshop</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.017***	-.047***
Diversity of high school	-.009*	-.020*
Membership in Greek organization	-.008	-.007
Structural diversity	.266***	.068***
<i>Total effect on:</i>	<i>b</i>	β
<i>Colorblind orientation</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	.150***	.377***
Gender: female	-.137***	-.125***
Diversity of high school	.030	.061
Membership in Greek organization	.104*	.082*
Major: social science	-.042	-.036
Structural diversity	.012	.003
Campus racial climate	-.023**	-.169***
Cross-racial interaction	-.333***	-.235***
Ethnic studies course	-.076*	-.073*
Diversity workshop	-.121**	-.112**
Racially integrated postcollege lifestyle	-.083*	-.138*
Postcollege socializing across race	-.088*	-.089

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 6 (continued) *Direct, indirect, and total effects of colorblind orientation model for whites from diverse precollege neighborhoods*

<i>Total effect on:</i>	<i>b</i>	β
<i>Racially Integrated Postcollege Lifestyle</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.004	-.006
Diversity of high school	.530***	.653
Membership in Greek organization	-.002	-.001
Structural diversity	.062	.009
Cross-racial interaction	.081	.035
Postcollege socializing across race	-.011	-.007
<i>Postcollege Socializing Across Race</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.021***	-.052***
Diversity of high school	.001	.001
Membership in Greek organization	-.010	-.008
Structural diversity	.323***	.076***
Cross-racial interaction	.426***	.299***
<i>Cross-racial Interaction</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.049***	-.175***
Diversity of high school	-.025*	-.073*
Membership in Greek organization	-.024	-.027
Structural diversity	.758***	.255***
<i>Campus Racial Climate</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.121***	-.041***
Diversity of high school	-.062*	-.017*
Membership in Greek organization	-.059	-.006
Structural diversity	23.169***	.750***
Cross-racial interaction	2.454***	.236***
<i>Ethnic Studies Coursework</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.016***	-.042***
Diversity of high school	-.008*	-.017*
Membership in Greek organization	-.008	-.006
Structural diversity	.246***	.061***
Cross-racial interaction	.325***	.238***
<i>Diversity Workshop</i>		
Precollege colorblind disposition	-.017***	-.047***
Diversity of high school	-.009*	-.020*
Membership in Greek organization	-.008	-.007
Structural diversity	.266***	.068***
Cross-racial interaction	.351***	.267***

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$

(i.e., living a racially integrated lifestyle, socializing with diverse peers) (indirect effects of cross-racial interaction: $\beta = -.14^{***}$ and $-.12^{***}$ for each group, respectively). Thus, in combination with these other campus experiences and postcollege racially integrated lifestyle, cross-racial interaction was associated with a decrease in colorblind orientation.

— Experiences with Curricular Diversity and Greek Life

Formal experiences with diversity (i.e., those structured by the postsecondary institution) had a direct association with decreased postcollege colorblind orientation for whites from both neighborhood backgrounds (for segregated and diverse neighborhood samples, respectively: ethnic studies: $\beta = -.11^{***}$ and $-.07^*$; diversity workshop: $\beta = -.12^{***}$ and $-.11^{**}$).

Whites who were members of a fraternity or sorority (where they were likely to primarily interact with white peers) were more likely to indicate a colorblind orientation postcollege ($\beta = .054^{***}$ and $.07^*$ for segregated and diverse neighborhood samples, respectively). For whites from segregated neighborhoods only, fraternity and sorority membership was associated with a lower likelihood of engaging in cross-racial interactions ($\beta = -.031^{**}$).

— Racially Integrated Postcollege Lifestyle and Socializing

Living a racially integrated lifestyle and casually socializing across race postcollege were directly associated with a lower colorblind orientation (direct effect of racially integrated postcollege lifestyle on colorblind orientation: $\beta = -.16^{***}$ and $-.14^*$; direct effect of postcollege socializing across race on colorblind orientation: $\beta = -.05^*$ and $-.09^*$).

Discussion

This study sheds some light on the quandary posed in the introduction to this paper: Are the diversity infrastructures that we assume to have a positive impact on improving social conditions for students of color actually causing more harm than good? In other words, what is happening on college campuses where positive racial attitudes and diversity frames are overlaid with colorblind perspectives and frames that students bring to and/or develop during the college years?

The quantitative measures I used cannot capture, as prior research has, interpersonal interactions that can reinforce or decrease colorblind perspectives (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Lewis et al., 2000), how those frames are expressed among college students (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Warikoo & de Novais, 2014), and how they develop precollege through racial primes (e.g., Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001; Smith, 2004). Further, while the findings identify probable pathways toward a colorblind orientation, a major limitation of the data and analysis is that individuals cannot be assigned to segregated and

diverse neighborhoods at random. Thus, a definitive formula for developing such an orientation can hardly be prescribed to support causal inferences. The strength of the current data set, however, is that it can show relationships over time that are associated with experiences within white habitus before, during, and beyond college. Despite these limitations, the converging evidence from qualitative research strengthens the plausibility of the findings regarding the cumulative impact of segregated and diverse environments on postcollege colorblind ideology.

The most important story told within the very complex set of relationships considered across this ten-year period is as simple as it is complicated. The simple part is that spaces of white racial isolation before, during, and after college—whether residential or high school segregation, fraternity or sorority engagement, or a postcollege segregated lifestyle (i.e., inhabiting predominantly white neighborhoods, close friendships, and workplaces)—tend to support movement toward colorblind orientation, especially when they accumulate over time. The story becomes more complicated, however, when we consider experiences with diversity infrastructures on college campuses. A positive racial climate (made possible with increasing structural diversity) and ethnic studies or diversity-related coursework, for example, are both associated with a *lower* colorblind orientation postcollege.

The current findings suggest that certain experiences with campus diversity may be more strongly associated than others when it comes to lowering postcollege colorblind orientation among white students. For whites from segregated and diverse precollege neighborhoods, attending a racially diverse postsecondary institution was strongly associated with a greater level of colorblind orientation; but when a campus successfully fostered a positive racial climate, structural diversity was associated with a *decrease* in this type of thinking. In fact, whites who simply attended institutions with a positive racial climate—whether or not they engaged in cross-racial interactions themselves—were less likely to hold colorblind views in their postcollege years.

Although engagement with diverse peers in college has been shown to have long-term benefits for white individuals' pluralistic orientation in a study which utilized the same sub-samples and data source (Jayakumar, 2008), in this study cross-racial engagement in college was only directly associated with decreasing colorblind orientation for whites from diverse precollege neighborhoods. The same was not true for whites from segregated neighborhoods, who were additionally unlikely to engage with diverse peers if they were part of a fraternity or sorority.

What can we make of diverse interactions facilitating a lasting pluralistic orientation that benefit individuals as they enter the workforce, but having no direct impact on remedying harmful colorblind orientations among whites who entered college having lived in homogeneous white neighborhoods? It certainly suggests that the racial primes and socialization fostered within white habitus from a very young age are not challenged or addressed in casual inter-

actions across races. When left unaddressed, racial primes serve to endorse race-specific stereotypes, fears, and internalized racial bias. Thus, while cross-racial interactions have been known to contribute to challenging students' preexisting stereotypes, worldviews, and current beliefs (Crisp & Turner, 2011; Gurin et al., 2002) under conditions where diversity allows for full participation of racialized groups and is dynamic (Garces & Jayakumar, 2014), it may not be sufficient for dismantling more deeply internalized colorblind frames. This is especially the case when those coming into college from predominantly white habitus remain isolated in white fraternity/sorority subcultures that are known to increase racial tensions (Sidanius et al., 2008). Nonetheless, all white students who participated in a fraternity or sorority during college exhibited a stronger colorblind ideological orientation approximately six years after leaving college.

The good news is that racially diverse institutions of higher education can play a role in breaking self-perpetuating cycles of segregation that continue (unless interrupted) from segregated white neighborhoods in childhood through adulthood (Braddock, 1985; Jayakumar, 2008). With regard to decreasing harmful colorblind orientations in adulthood, breaking out of predominant exposure to white habitus can be critical. Indeed, cross-racial engagement in college was indirectly associated with a decrease in colorblind orientation for whites who made the shift from a segregated precollege neighborhood to choosing an integrated postcollege lifestyle. Unlike other research, the current study demonstrates the harms of postcollege segregation on post-college colorblind orientation into adulthood.

While common sense suggests same-race experiences of segregation among whites and a lack of exposure to racial diversity would be most associated with greater colorblind thinking, this study suggests that, under the wrong conditions, structural diversity *may also increase* colorblind orientations/ideology. More specifically, the findings suggest that the representation of students of color alone, without attendance to factors of "dynamic diversity"—including racial representation and a positive climate, as well as positive interpersonal interactions conducive to the reduction of stereotype threat and racial microaggressions (see Garces & Jayakumar, 2014) and subsequent educational benefits—can perpetuate colorblind orientation.

Indeed, we know that heterogeneity is associated with greater intergroup understanding (Gurin et al., 2013) and better group performance (Page, 2009), but not all interactions with diverse peers are positive, nor are they more comfortable and/or satisfying than homogeneous environments (Gurin et al., 2013; Page, 2009). Thus, representation and conditions become simultaneously critical: a racially diverse student body is important and necessary, but students must also experience a positive racial climate or campus race relations, individual cross-racial interactions, and cocurricular diversity environments. This study supports existing literature that highlights the combined importance of racial representation, campus climate, and intergroup

relations in shaping the long-term impact of campus diversity experiences. Furthermore, it points to the potential benefits of ethnic studies and diversity workshops for reducing colorblind ideology, which warrants further exploration. After all, curricular exposure to diversity issues, including ethnic studies coursework, was directly associated with decreasing colorblind orientation among all whites. Campus-facilitated diversity infrastructure and intentionality around addressing racism on campus may provide greater potential of reducing colorblind orientation among white college students than simply expecting students' informal interactions across race to quell persisting racial problems.

Conclusions and Implications

Beyond the known benefits of racially diverse institutions and cross-racially participatory and welcoming environments for all higher education students, this study suggests the broader societal influence and responsibility of colleges and universities when it comes to race and society. As stated by Cabrera (2011) and supported by theoretical and empirical scholarship (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, 2010, 2014; Bonilla-Silva & Ray, 2009; Cabrera, 2009; Feagin, 2006; Omi & Winant, 1994), "Institutions of a higher education within a White supremacist structure are not simply neutral arbiters; rather they serve as means of both reinforcing and sometimes challenging systemic racism" (p. 77). Indeed, the results of this study, in the broadest sense, indicate that experiences with peers of both the same and different races are likely to have an impact on whites' racial ideological orientation.

Some of these experiences may increase colorblind thinking, while others may do the opposite and facilitate greater understanding of the racial context of US society. Institutions are thus implicated in the shaping of colorblind orientation. It appears that white students' racial thinking is significantly influenced not only by their experiences with racial diversity or segregation during childhood, secondary schooling, and adulthood but also by their college experiences. In other words, institutions of higher education play a role in shaping whites' racial ideology through the experiences they make available. Thus, the types of racial diversity experiences facilitated within educational environments have not only educational benefits but also social consequences. Among other things, these findings strongly suggest that participation in fraternities and sororities on college campuses should be seriously evaluated with regard to influencing white students' colorblind ideology, reconsidered in terms of the heavy financial and other institutional endorsements received, and, at the least, targeted for interventions addressing problematic racial scripts among white members.

Although higher education institutions are the training ground for many professional positions and leadership posts within organizations that extend to the government, we still know relatively little about how they shape racial

ideology broadly and colorblind ideological orientations of white adults specifically, and even less about what is being done to address the problematic ways of thinking that are tied to the maintenance of racial inequality. This study contributes to this developing knowledge and speaks to the need for more research on the relationship between campus racial diversity and colorblind ideology. It supports previous research in suggesting that racial and colorblind primes develop over time and are more prevalent in predominantly white environments and in contexts of racial isolation. Moreover, this study calls for further exploration of effective interventions for reducing deeply ingrained racial primes.

As demonstrated, consistent and repeated submersion in white habitus from childhood neighborhoods and secondary schools, to college and post-college experiences in segregated white environments, have the cumulative detrimental impact of reinforcing a colorblind orientation. Campus diversity experiences seem more likely to reduce colorblind orientation with lesser racial primes from segregated precollege exposure. This is especially apparent in that engaging with racially diverse peers in college is likely to facilitate unlearning of colorblind racial primes for those not socialized in mostly segregated white environments. Both precollege and college experiences reinforce white racial primes and colorblind frames, which previous research reveals to be prevalent on college campuses and dehumanizing toward students of color. Addressing these deficits to foster healthy, cross-racial engagement is imperative. If postsecondary environments fail to provide all students with the opportunity to constructively engage across race lines, requiring the unlearning of colorblind racial frames, college graduates will lack the skills necessary for 21st-century leadership that accounts for humanizing race relations.

Notes

1. While referred to as both colour-blind frame and colorblind frame in the literature, I have opted to use *colorblind* frame throughout this manuscript for consistency.
2. According to Williams and Land (2006), the work of Smith (2004) shows how colorblind ideologies form during a lifetime in which “Whites systematically internalize racist attitudes, stereotypes, jokes, folklore, assumptions, fears, resentments, discourses, images, and fictitious racial scripts handed down through an elite discourse that fit into a dominant White post-civil rights world view of colorblind racism and anti-Black rhetoric” (p. 580).
3. Missing values diagnostic of the total sample indicates that for all variables in the data set, fewer than 3 percent of the cases were missing. Little’s (2013) Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) test determined that the data were MCAR. Prior to any analysis on the data set, I conducted the expectation maximization (EM) algorithm procedure on each sample to replace missing data. The EM algorithm is an iterative procedure that applies maximum likelihood estimation to calculate the covariance matrix and mean vector (Enders, 2006).
4. In this instance I use *cross-racial interaction* because a factor was created as a composite measured variables as opposed to a latent factor indicative of cross-racial engagement.

5. Levene's test produced p-values of .000 and .003 for the pretest and posttest variables, respectively, meeting the assumption of equal variance (a necessary statistical condition for justifying the testing of mean differences). The mean difference of .069 (t-value = 1.70; df = 7280) at a p-value of .09 indicated that there were significant differences on precollege colorblind disposition between whites from diverse neighborhood backgrounds and those from segregated neighborhoods. On the pretest measure of colorblind orientation, the mean for the segregated precollege neighborhood sample (m = 4.63) was slightly higher than for the diverse precollege neighborhood sample (m = 4.57). The mean difference on the posttest (mean diff. = .135; t-value = 2.11; df = 7471) had a p-value of .035, indicating that the groups were not significantly different on the colorblind orientation outcome.
6. All underlying assumptions of SEM were sufficiently met with the exception of data normality. However, the statistical software package used (EQS) can handle data that are not normally distributed through the use of the maximum likelihood robust estimation method (Byrne, 2008).
7. The baseline measurement models in single group analysis exhibited good data model fit (whites from segregated precollege neighborhoods: CFI = .95, NFI = .94, RMSEA = .05, C.I.: (.05, .05), SRMR = .04; whites from diverse precollege neighborhoods: CFI = .99, NFI = .98, RMSEA = .03, C.I.: (.02, .04), SRMR = .04).
8. Fit indexes include the chi-square (χ^2) statistic, SRMR, RMSEA, Bentler-Bonett Normed Fit index (NFI), and CFI. Because the chi-square statistic is well known for its sensitivity to sample size, it is typically ignored for large samples (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). RMSEA and CFI are the least susceptible to distortions resulting from large sample sizes (Fan, Thompson, & Wang, 1999). CFI and NFI scores above 0.90 indicate a reasonably good fit. For the RMSEA, 0.08 is the cutoff for a good fit, and smaller values indicate better fit. For SRMR, values under 0.10 indicate a good fit of the hypothesized model to the data.
9. The baseline multigroup model had good data model fit: CFI = .95, NFI = .96, RMSEA = .05, C.I.: (.04, .05), SRMR = .04. Additionally, invariance testing of the measurement model across groups demonstrated that the indicators and latent constructs carried the same meaning across groups. The constrained model exhibited a change in CFI of .001. Although this met criteria for measurement invariance, one constraint was released in adherence to the LM test suggestions. The partially constrained model had a .956 CFI. These results provided sufficient rationale to run a multigroup analysis.
10. The multigroup structural analysis revealed a good fit with the following indexes: CFI = .93, NFI = .92, RMSEA = .04, C.I.: (.04, .04), SRMR = .04. Good overall model fit means that the hypothesized relationships do exist and that it is reasonable to probe more closely at specific paths to determine the strength of each relationship.

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Acknowledgment

This study is supported by postdoctoral fellowship grants from the National Academy of Education/ Spencer Foundation and the Ford Foundation. I am grateful to Patricia Gurin and James Jackson for mentorship and support on this fellowship research and beyond. This manuscript greatly benefited from the feedback of the Editorial Board (particularly, Abena Mackall, Johanna Barmore, and Nell O'Donnell). The views expressed herein are not necessarily those of the National Academy of Education, the Spencer Foundation, the Ford Foundation, or anyone other than the author.