Interracial Contact Effects on Racial Prejudice among Students at Selective Colleges and Universities

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examined interracial contact and racial prejudice among white, black, Asian, and Latino college students at 28 elite colleges and universities in the United States. The study used longitudinal analyses to identify how interracial contact among college students influenced students' racial prejudice. White students interacted almost exclusively with each other and with Asian students. Asian students interacted with each other and with white students. Latino students were the most integrated, they interacted with all other student groups at high rates. Black students were the most segregated in their interactions as students of other races had less interactions with them on campus. Cross-race interactions during college did not influence white students' exiting levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice. Cross-race interactions during college had limited influence on black and Asian students' exiting levels of racial prejudice, mostly for traditional forms of racial prejudice. Latino students exhibited the most interracial contact effects on their exiting levels of racial prejudice of all student groups with all traditional and modern forms of racial prejudice influenced by cross-race interactions. The consideration of race as a form of social identity was the most powerful influence on students' exiting levels of racial prejudice for all groups. The context of interracial contact at elite colleges and universities and the existence of racialized stages of interaction are discussed in the final chapter to understand the study findings. Lastly, a discussion of the potential implications of this study's results for future intergroup contact research is also presented.

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"Trials of miles, miles of trials."

~ John L. Parker, Jr.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation and the hope that my work will make a difference one day to the memories of Jimmy Zachary, Bobby Beeson, and to Jarrett Lane and the rest of the lives lost on a cold Monday morning in April 2007.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For nearly a century, social psychologists have analyzed intergroup contact and how it can reduce racial prejudice. A resurgence of research during the past decade has focused on intergroup contact on college campuses nationwide, discovering new information about the phenomenon and its processes (Chang et al. 2006, 2004; Espenshade and Radford 2009; Levin et al. 2007, 2006, 2003; McClelland and Linnander 2005; Mendoza-Denton et al. 2002; Mendoza-Denton and Page-Gould 2008; Page-Gould et al. 2008; Sidanius et al. 2008, 2004; Spanierman et al. 2008; Trail et al. 2009; Van Laar et al. 2008, 2005). This increase in research considers how racial prejudice can be reduced by interracial contact during young adulthood (18-25 years of age), a highly influential time of a person's life, which could also influence future prejudice and actions toward other groups following college graduation. To date, however, scholars have not fully explored the construction of racial prejudice among college students or the different forms of interracial interactions on college campuses.

Research Questions

The main research question of the study is: Does interracial contact lessen college students' racial prejudice? As the next chapter (Chapter 2) will illustrate, the body of intergroup contact research has grown over the past decade. Within this growing body of research, scholars have focused on the interactions that take place on college campuses among students of different races and ethnicities. However, scholars have not thoroughly addressed the possible differences among college students by race, which leads to the following research questions that are addressed:

1. How do college students of separate racial-ethnic groups differ in their interracial contact patterns during college?
2. How does the form of interracial contact differentially influence the racial prejudice of students in separate racial-ethnic groups?
3. Does the use of a racial prejudice variable of a general racial-ethnic outgroup hide differences in racial prejudice among college students of different races and ethnicities?

Intergroup Contact Theory

Intergroup contact is defined as "actual face-to-face interaction between members of clearly defined groups" (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006: 754). Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis has influenced social psychological research and policymaking (Pettigrew 1998). However, some researchers misinterpret the contact hypothesis to mean that intergroup contact in-and-of-itself will produce positive effects (Pettigrew 1998). Additionally, Allport (1954) noted that many interactions among members of different groups were "superficial," allowing false images and stereotypes to develop without substantial interaction. Therefore, Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis set out to identify the key conditions for creating meaningful interactions between members of two different groups and reducing prejudice. Prejudice is traditionally defined as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (Allport 1954:10). First, the contact hypothesis holds that *equal status* must exist between individuals of two different groups. However, there is a debate whether equal status is more important leading to or within the actual interaction (Pettigrew 1998). The second key condition is that participants in the interaction must have *common goals*. Third, is *intergroup cooperation* among participants. Through intergroup cooperation the attainment of group goals are more readily achieved than through intergroup competition (Sherif 1966). Fourth, is *authoritative support* in society of intergroup

contact. The explicit support by authorities of intergroup contact allows such situations to become more acceptable in society (Pettigrew 1998). Though these four conditions have been identified, previous research has found positive effects of intergroup contact even if not all four conditions are met (Pettigrew 2008, 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

Pettigrew (1998) has extended the contact hypothesis and added a fifth condition needed to reduce prejudice, *friendship potential*. Cross-group friendships allow for close interaction and repeated contact in a variety of settings (Pettigrew 1998, 1997a, Pettigrew 1997b; Pettigrew and Meertens 1995). Pettigrew's (1998) reformulation of the contact hypothesis notes two key considerations: (1) Individuals' previous attitudes and experiences influence whether they seek or avoid intergroup contact situations, and (2) intergroup contact is nested within social institutions and influenced by social structure and culture, including societal norms. Additionally, interactions and networks are embedded within organizations, which can "broker" personal ties to other individuals, organizations, and resources (Small 2009); all of which can influence an individual's level of racial prejudice. Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis of over 500 intergroup contact studies found that intergroup contact situations reduced prejudice. Studies that did not allow participants to avoid intergroup contact, and structured intergroup contact situations that met all of Allport's (1954) optimal conditions, reduced prejudice more. Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis also found that intergroup contact effects generalized to entire outgroups, outgroup members in other situations, and outgroup members not involved in the contact situation. Authorities' support for intergroup contact also greatly influenced the context of the situation, but not in isolation. Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) study also noted that intergroup anxiety mediated between intergroup contact and prejudice, and repeated intergroup contact can lower individuals' anxiety.

An abundance of studies has examined whites' interracial contact and racial prejudice, but much less work has focused on minority group members' contact and racial prejudice. Minority group members are more likely to have cross-group interactions given their small size and historical presence in organizations (e.g., selective colleges; Blau and Schwartz 1984). A meta-analysis found the contact-prejudice relationship to be weaker for racial minority groups (Tropp and Pettigrew 2005b). In line with this finding, other studies have found the interracial contact-closeness relationship for blacks to be weaker than for whites (Ellison and Powers 1994; Tropp 2007). Although perceptions of discrimination mediated the interracial contact-closeness relationship for blacks, cross-race friendships led to increased interracial closeness, which may reduce the reliance on perceptions of discrimination to form intergroup attitudes (Tropp 2007).

Different forms of interracial contact could reduce racial prejudice among college students: interracial friendships, interracial dating, participation in diverse student organizations, and living in diverse residential settings. These forms of interracial contact represent different levels of intimacy, trust, common interests, and likelihood of sharing information about their racial-ethnic group between individuals. More intimate forms of contact such as interracial friendships may reduce racial prejudice more than other forms. These different forms of interracial contact influenced students' racial prejudice (Sidanius et al. 2008), but their relative influence has not been investigated. The proposed study examines the influence of each form of interracial contact on college students' racial prejudice. Additionally, this study will examine interactions among the different forms of interracial contact. These interactions may indicate how multiple forms of interracial contact simultaneously influence students' later interactions and racial prejudice.

Racial Prejudice

Intergroup contact theory is most concerned with racial prejudice. Racial prejudice has two related components: an affective component and a cognitive component. The affective component of racial prejudice reflects negative emotions and feelings toward a group, while the cognitive component reflects a poorly or unfounded belief about a group, better known as a stereotype (Quillian 2006; Taylor and Pettigrew 2000). A debate about the necessity of both components to form prejudice exists, with some researchers noting that negative affect without a "faulty stereotype" may not necessarily constitute prejudice (Bobo 1988). Traditionally, social psychology focused on the cognitive component of prejudice, the affective component adds a significant amount to researchers' understanding of prejudice (Pettigrew 1997a). Moreover, intergroup contact influenced the affective component of prejudice more than the cognitive component (Tropp and Pettigrew 2005a).

Many scholars argue that traditional racial prejudice has evolved into a more modern form of racial prejudice following the Civil Rights Movement that is more subtle (Bobo et al. 1997; Bonilla-Silva 2006; Quillian 2006; Schuman et al. 1997; Sears 1988). Modern forms of racial prejudice are more subtle, typically defending traditional values (such as the belief in meritocracy and other values that allow victim-blaming to occur in situations of failure by an outgroup), exaggerating cultural differences instead of claiming outright genetic inferiority or difference, and restricting positive emotions toward outgroups (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995). Allport's (1954) definition of prejudice has been broadened by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) who note that prejudicial attitudes, which include racial stereotypes, allow for the justification of racial discrimination through the formation of "ideological clusters of beliefs." An example of

the use of racial attitudes to justify racial discrimination is found in the historical discussion of the rise of slavery in the U.S. (Jordan 1968).

One conceptualization of modern racial prejudice is racial resentment, a stratification ideology using racial individualism by whites to explain racial inequality in society and their racial policy attitudes (Hughes 1997; Tuch and Hughes 2011). Racial individualism views a racial-ethnic group's position in society as a reflection of the group's effort and initiative (Kinder and Sanders 1996). Racial resentment, a key component of symbolic racism, has slowly replaced the use of symbolic racism, viewing it as a more accurate understanding of modern racial prejudice (Hughes 1997; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Sears 1988; Tuch and Hughes 2011). The most recent perspective of symbolic racism is a set of racial beliefs among whites that develop through early socialization around race and racial issues (Sears 1988; Sears and Henry 2003), and centers on the belief that blacks "violate such traditional values as self-reliance and hard work" (Tuch and Hughes 2011). This view of racial inequality by whites focuses on the individual and their group, while often dismissing structural explanations of inequality (Hughes and Tuch 2000) and increasing their level of disagreement of governmental efforts toward equal opportunity and racial equality such as affirmative action (Hughes 1997; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Schuman et al. 1997; Tuch and Hughes 2011).

Racial resentment differs from other conceptions of modern racism such as subtle racial prejudice (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995) and laissez-faire racism (Bobo et al. 1997). Though symbolic racism was originally thought to have a component of negative black affect associated with racial stereotypes (Sears 1988), recent research has found negative black affect is not a part of symbolic racism (Hughes 1997). Racial resentment more forcefully emphasizes the negative stereotypes and beliefs about blacks described above (Hughes 1997; Kinder and Sanders 1996).

Subtle racism, however, does include negative black affect (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995). Racial resentment also differs from laissez-faire racism (Bobo 2000, 1988; Bobo et al. 1997). Laissez-faire racism emphasizes historical patterns of racial inequality in American society. Laissez-faire racism also uses Blumer's (1958) group position approach that describes whites' subjective perception of blacks as a threat to their resources, status, and privileges (Bobo 1988; Krysan 2000). Modern forms of racial prejudice have been noted to influence racial-ethnic minorities in addition to whites (Bonilla-Silva 2006).

Importance of Research

The current study is one of the largest interracial contact studies of college students in the past decade. My research broadens the methodological approaches used to examine intergroup contact and racial prejudice. It extends the research literature by analyzing the role of social identity among college students toward separate racial-ethnic outgroups. This study analyzes a longitudinal multi-college dataset using factor analysis and hierarchical regression techniques. The current study provides more information on how separate four racial-ethnic college student groups differ in their interracial contact in college.

This dissertation examines the differences between two distinct approaches to intergroup contact research. Previous studies of interracial contact's influence on college students' racial prejudice traditionally use general racial-ethnic outgroup prejudice as a dependent variable, which combines the separate racial-ethnic groups together (e.g., Sidanius et al. 2008). However, the distinct racist history black Americans have endured (see Feagin 2010) and the component of negative black affect built in symbolic racism (see Sears 1988; Sears and Henry 2003) suggest college students may have differing levels of prejudice toward black students and the other racial-ethnic student groups in college. These differences may actually be hidden by the use of a

general racial-ethnic outgroup prejudice variable, often used in interracial contact analyses. My study examines whether these differences are, in fact, hidden with the traditional use of an overarching outgroup prejudice variable by examining college students' racial prejudice toward separate racial-ethnic groups and a general racial-ethnic outgroup.

Previous research using the dataset (National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen, NLSF) to be analyzed found that entering white students' college friendship networks were composed of 75 percent other whites (Fischer 2008). These racially homophilious friendship networks for whites entering mostly historically white colleges and universities allow whites to create and maintain a "backstage" to perpetuate myths and stereotypes about racial-ethnic minorities (Houts Picca and Feagin 2007). The current study investigates which types of interracial contact are more likely to break down these racialized backstage for whites. More opportunities for racial-ethnic minority students to inform and educate their white peers of the misinformation and beliefs about nonwhites in society may result from the reduction of a racialized backstage. Additionally, this study attempts to identify the boundary between the backstage and the "frontstage" in relation to white students' participation in diverse student organizations, which may indicate their willingness to bring racial-ethnic minority students into their backstage. Breaking down this backstage may also lead to changes in the frontstage, in more public venues where racial events occur, and promote more antiracist white "dissenters" to support racial equality on college campuses.

University administrators and researchers face a difficult task trying to create optimal conditions for reducing racial prejudice on college campuses. The difficulty is shown by trends that began to solidify around 1990 based on the Higher Education Research Institute's Cooperative Institutional Research Program's (CIRP) Freshman Survey (Espenshade and

Radford 2009). Incoming students are less likely to personally want to promote racial equality, less likely to think that racism is a serious problem in the United States, less likely to have interacted across racial-ethnic lines prior to college, and less likely to think they will interact across racial-ethnic lines during college (Pryor et al. 2007). The current study may uncover valuable information to assist university administrators and researchers with creating optimal conditions for reducing racial prejudice on campuses across the United States.

My study also extends research on the racial hierarchy in the United States. The racial hierarchy is often described on a black-white continuum, which is thought to have more privileges associated with the whiter end of the continuum. Where people of different races and ethnicities fit on this continuum, particularly new immigrants to the United States (see Lee and Bean 2007, 2004), and how the hierarchical system is structured has led researchers to mixed results about the American racial hierarchy (Lee and Bean 2007). One perspective labeled the "Latin Americanization of race" describes the United States racial hierarchy as moving toward a triracial system with whites at the top (mostly of European decent), honorary whites (light-skinned Asian Americans and Latinos and multiracial people), and a collective black (black Americans, Western Caribbean immigrants, and dark-skinned Asian Americans and Latinos) at the bottom (Bonilla-Silva 2006, 2004). A second perspective views the United States racial hierarchy as moving toward a black-nonblack divide with Asian Americans and Latinos closely associated with whites than with blacks (Gans 1999; Lee and Bean 2007). This study attempts to find evidence supporting either of these perspectives by examining college students' patterns of interracial contact and racial prejudice.

This study examines data at an important point in time that has recently influenced the political, domestic and foreign policy arenas of the United States. Prior to the fall semester

1999, the push to ban affirmative action swept the country as California (1998) and Washington (1999) were the first to establish state bans on race-based affirmative action. At the same time, Florida, Texas, and California created percentage plans to limit the use of race-conscious affirmative action in college admissions at state universities. The *Hopwood* decision in 1996 led to the University of Texas to change its approach to affirmative action in admissions, and the University of Michigan cases (*Gratz* and *Grutter*) were moving their way through the legal system to Supreme Court decisions in June 2003. Around 2000, immigration concerns were beginning to increase at local, state, and federal levels. Lastly, following September 11, many institutions modified their admissions process for international students, and the terrorist concerns around the country merged with the anti-immigration sentiments. These events, among others, either set the stage or influenced the lives of the students during the time the data for this study were collected. This time point can present a window into what set up the current anti-immigration policies and colorblindness that has washed over the nation.

In addition, the current study should provide researchers and university administrators with a better understanding of how to create more optimal situations on campus to reduce racial prejudice between different groups. Historically white colleges and universities continue to present discouraging experiences and environments for racial-ethnic minority students to pursue higher education, particularly black students (Feagin et al. 1996). This study brings awareness to the issues that interracial relations can influence relating to the social and academic progress of college students of different racial-ethnic groups such as stereotype threat (see Steele 1997). The findings also may assist university women's centers and other campus organizations to better serve the needs of all students. Finally, as many previous and current U.S. leaders have attended

the selective colleges and universities included in this study's dataset, this study may indicate how future generations of U.S. leaders are oriented toward racial issues.

CHAPTER 2

INTERRACIAL CONTACT AND COLLEGE STUDENTS' RACIAL PREJUDICE

In both psychological and sociological social psychology, intergroup contact theory and the reduction of racial prejudice are important areas of research. For several decades, researchers have described the effects of interactions between individuals of different races to work toward creating optimal situations to reduce prejudice (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 2008, 1998; Williams 1947). This area of research examines many points of the lives of individuals. Perhaps one of the most important time periods to examine intergroup contact effects is during early adulthood (ages 18-25) when individuals solidify their beliefs and perspectives of society and those within it. Despite the large amount of intergroup contact research that has examined almost all points of human life (see Pettigrew and Tropp 2006), many questions remain unanswered about the processes that occur during intergroup contact, such as if and how intergroup contact leads to negative effects (i.e., increased racial prejudice), and the effects of intergroup contact at multiple levels (individual and institutional) and over time (Pettigrew 2008).

My research builds on the solid foundation of intergroup contact theory (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998), recent research on interracial contact in the college environment (Levin et al. 2003; Sidanius et al. 2008), and social identity theory (Brown 2000; Stets and Burke 2000; Tajfel and Turner 1997; Turner et al. 1987). This literature review describes the components of the campus interracial contact model presented below. Following the description of the model, the background factors and college-level characteristics that influence interracial contact in college are discussed. Next, the four forms of interracial contact in college that this study will examine are discussed in relation to their influence on students' racial prejudice. Finally, I present the hypothesized relationships among the different components of the model.

Campus Interracial Contact Model

Figure 1 presents the conceptual model of campus interracial contact in this study. The model contains five waves of data consisting of information from precollege through senior-year information. These five waves of data were used to create three sections of the model: a precollege and college entrance section, interracial contact and racial climate during college, and exiting racial prejudice. Wave 1 has the precollege factors. Personal characteristics include the student's skin color, whether the student was born in the U.S., whether they identify as Christian, level of religiosity, and the region of the U.S. where the student attended high school. Students' race is not included in the model. This characteristic is used to create multiple samples to test the model. Family characteristics include mother's education, father's education, and family income. Precollege environment characteristics include the racial-ethnic composition of students' schools and neighborhoods at age 18.

[Figure 1 about here]

Wave 1 also includes data from students' freshman year. The baseline measure of the dependent variable, racial prejudice, and social identity is measured in this wave. Students' number of interracial friendships is also included in the wave. Finally, college-level characteristics, such as the percentage of white, black, Asian American, and Latino students and the percentage of students in fraternities and sororities, are included in Wave 1.

Wave 2 has data from the end of students' freshman year. Students' number of interracial friendships is measured in this wave. Students' interracial dating information is also measured in the second wave. Finally, students' perceptions of the campus racial climate are measured in the second wave.

Wave 3 includes data from the end of students' sophomore year. Students' interracial friendships and dating information is measured in this wave. The type of student organization (i.e., politically-affiliated, ethnic-oriented, etc.) and the perceived racial-ethnic composition (i.e., mostly white, mostly minority, etc.) of the organization is also found in the third wave. Finally, the type of residence (i.e., dormitory, off-campus apartment, etc.) and the number of white, black, Asian American, and Latino roommates living with the student, and the students' perceptions of the campus racial climate are measured.

Wave 4 includes data from the end of students' junior year. Except for students' interracial friendships, interracial dating, student organization, living arrangement, and campus racial climate and student body racial-ethnic composition and Greek organization participation data are all included in the fourth wave. Wave 5 includes data from the end of students' senior year. Students' interracial friendships and dating information are included in this wave. Students' perceptions of the campus racial climate are also included in this final wave of data. Finally, students' social identity, and racial prejudice–the outcome variable in the analyses–is included in this wave. Students' racial prejudice will serve as the outcome variable in the analyses.

The model contains a wide array of relationships that are predicted among the components. This model is tested using three outgroup-specific traditional racial prejudice and a modern form of racial prejudice, racial resentment, for each student racial-ethnic group. All of the background characteristics are predicted to influence entering students' racial prejudice and the number of interracial relationships at college entrance. The background characteristics are also predicted to influence students' interracial friendships, dating patterns, roommate selection after the second year, student organization participation after the second year, their perceptions

of the campus racial climate during college, and their exiting racial prejudice. Students' entering racial prejudice is predicted to influence their entering interracial friendships and dating, roommate selection after the second year, student organization participation after the second year, their perceptions of the campus racial climate during college, and their exiting racial prejudice. The college-level characteristics of the student body racial-ethnic composition and the percent of undergraduate students participating in Greek social fraternities and sororities are predicted to influence the four forms of interracial contact, students' perception of the campus racial climate, and students' exiting racial prejudice following their senior year. Finally, the four forms of interracial contact and students' perception of the campus racial climate are predicted to influence their exiting racial prejudice following their senior year.

The research review below focuses on the two main areas of interest to this study, forms of interracial contact and racial prejudice. A large amount of research has developed around each area, particularly from a series of studies at UCLA (Sidanius et al. 2008). The first section reviews research on the background factors and college characteristics that influence college students' interracial contact. This section covers the students' personal and family characteristics, precollege environments, racial-ethnic differences, college-level characteristics, and perceptions of the campus racial climate. This first section also covers research that disaggregates data to examine gender differences within and among racial-ethnic groups. The next section reviews research on the relation between the four forms of interracial contact that are included in this study's analyses (interracial friendships, interracial dating, student organization participation, and living arrangements) and students' racial prejudice. Lastly, the hypotheses for the study are discussed.

Background Factors, College-Level Characteristics, and Interracial Contact

This section discusses the literature relating to the student and college-level variables included in the proposed study. Findings from Charles and colleagues' (2009) study of 28 selective college and universities in the United States are from the same dataset that was used in this study. Each subsection describes the literature connecting each variable with students' interracial contact in college. Where limited or no research exists for some variables that are included in the study, literature suggesting a relationship with interracial contact in college is discussed.

Personal and family characteristics and interracial contact. Previous research has not often included personal characteristics beyond students' racial-ethnic group membership in analyses of college student interracial contact. The proposed study includes several personal characteristics beyond students racial-ethnic group and gender: skin color, whether the student was born in the United States, region of the United States they attended high school, parental education, and parental income. A brief review of the recent findings relating to students personal and family characteristics is presented followed by research supporting the exploration of other characteristics that are included in the proposed study.

The UCLA student study found students who entered college with lower intergroup bias and anxiety were more likely to date across racial-ethnic lines (Levin et al. 2007; Sidanius et al. 2008). The same study found that Asian American and Latino students who were later generations of their families in the United States were more likely to interracially date, while white and Latino students with higher socioeconomic (SES) backgrounds were more likely to date other high-SES whites and Asian Americans in college. In a study of freshmen at 28 selective colleges in the United States similarly found that students with more precollege social

distance to outgroups decreased the amount of interracial friendships they formed during their first year (Fischer 2008). This same study found freshmen whose family's income was over $75,000 reported fewer interracial friendships at the end of their first year. Although the possible influence of region of the United States students originate from has not been explored in previous research, this factor may have distinct effects given the racial history of the highly contentious race relations in the South toward blacks and portions of the West toward Latinos (Feagin 2010). The lack of research on students' personal and family characteristics leaves the possible early influences on college students' interracial contact and racial prejudice unexamined.

Students' skin color has not been thoroughly explored in intergroup contact research and may influence students' interracial contact during college. Intergroup contact research suggests that salient group categorization, that is identifying individuals based off of distinct physical features, can influence people's racial prejudice toward people of other racial-ethnic groups (Hewstone and Brown 1986; Pettigrew 1998). Students' skin color can serve as a salient group marker, particularly for blacks who have endured the "one drop rule" in American society (Smedley 2007). Additionally, skin color has been found to significantly influence Latinos' and blacks' socioeconomic status and their life chances in the United States (Gomez 2000; Hughes and Hertel 1990). In line with racial hierarchy literature that describes the social segregation of blacks from others in the United States, this salient marker may influence the interracial contact patterns of other students as they attempt to avoid blacks on campus. One study supports the possible influence of skin color on interracial contact as a decent proportion of black college students were found to prefer lighter-skinned partners (black men 33.3 percent; and black women 16.4 percent; Ross 1997). Lastly, one study found that black people with darker skin color and

other Afrocentric features were judged by whites to have more stereotypic traits (Blair et al. 2002). Thus, students may avoid other students with darker skin because, for example, they may identify the students as "black" and avoid these students because they relate to prejudice toward blacks.

Students' religion may also influence their level of racial prejudice toward different racial-ethnic groups and their subsequent interracial contact in college. Moreover, Christianity and the Protestant ethic have been associated with conceptions of symbolic racism (Sears 1988; Sears and Henry 2003). Symbolic racism connects the values of the Protestant ethic with negative black affect, influencing whites' beliefs about blacks and other racial-ethnic minorities. The UCLA student study found white students to have high levels of symbolic racism (Sidanius et al. 2008); however, students' religion was not addressed. Additionally, research indicates that following the Christian faith can hinder whites' ability to "see" structural inequality that blacks face in society and significantly influences how they perceive different aspects of society (Emerson et al. 1997). Though they may not be against racial equality, whites use "cultural tools" associated with Christianity such as individualistic arguments that "victim blame" and anti-structuralism to explain inequality and these same tools may influence students' interracial contact with and racial prejudice of racial-ethnic minorities in college.

Precollege environments and interracial contact. Research is somewhat limited on the precollege factors that influence college students' interracial contact. Students who live in and attend racially diverse neighborhoods and schools interact more across racial-ethnic lines in college. Two studies using national college student datasets have found students entering college with prior exposure to and interaction with racially diverse people in their precollege environments (i.e., neighborhoods and schools) were more comfortable with interracial contact

and had more interracial friendships (Fischer 2008; Locks et al. 2008; Saenz et al. 2007). Students entering college at UCLA with more ingroup friendships were less likely to date across racial-ethnic lines in college (Levin et al. 2007; Sidanius et al. 2008). Though not specifically stated in their research findings of students at UCLA, it appears that students entering college with more ingroup friendships may also continue to have more ingroup friendships throughout college.

Race/Ethnicity and interracial contact. Distinct patterns of interracial contact exist on campus when considering students of different races and ethnicities. The literature indicates that a black-nonblack divide exists on college campuses, similar to the racial hierarchy described by Gans (1999). For white college students, previous research has found white students to be the most isolated group on college campuses, mostly interacting with other whites and the least likely to interact across racial-ethnic lines (Chang et al. 2004; Espenshade and Radford 2009). White and Asian American college students are most likely to interact with each other, and black college students are segregated from most students on campus. Latino students appear to be a bridge between whites and Asian Americans and blacks on campus. Latino students are more integrated on campus than other racial-ethnic groups.

White students' interracial contact is more homophilous (see McPherson et al. 2001); these students mainly interact with each other than other racial-ethnic groups. White freshmen at 28 selective colleges and universities had higher proportions of whites in the ten closet friends of their friendship networks (7.45) than Asian Americans (1.20), blacks (0.69), and Latinos (0.46; Charles et al. 2009). The friendship pattern somewhat shifted for the same white college students by the end of their sophomore year. White students still preferred other whites in their friendships (3.14) over Asian Americans (0.26), Latinos (0.08), and blacks (0.05). A study of ten

selective colleges and universities found the same pattern among white students (Espenshade and Radford 2009). The UCLA student study found similar results among white students and found whites reported more Latino friends over Asian American and black friends (Levin et al. 2003; Sidanius et al. 2008). White students at 28 selective colleges and universities overwhelmingly dated other whites (96.0 percent) over Asian Americans (18.5 percent), black (9.9 percent), and Latinos (9.3 percent; Charles et al. 2009). The UCLA student study found similar results for white students dating patterns with white students dating each other most followed by Latinos, Asian Americans, and blacks (Levin et al. 2007; Sidanius et al. 2008). In relation to student organization participation, white students are members of Greek fraternities and sororities than racial-ethnic minority students (Sidanius et al. 2008, 2004). White students were found in a study of ten selective colleges and universities to room with other whites (96.0 percent) at higher rates than Asian Americans (26.1 percent), blacks (16.5 percent), and Latinos (13.6 percent; Espenshade and Radford 2009).

Research indicates that black students have more segregated interracial contact on campuses. Black freshmen at 28 selective colleges and universities reported more black friends in their ten closest friendships (5.77) than white friends (2.40), Asian American friends (0.75), and Latino friends (0.62). This friendship pattern held by the end of their sophomore year (Charles et al. 2009). Similar findings for black students' friendships were found at UCLA and ten selective colleges (Espenshade and Radford 2009; Levin et al. 2003; Sidanius et al. 2008). The limited research on black students dating patterns indicate that these students are, again, experiencing segregated interracial contact. Black sophomores at 28 selective colleges dated other blacks at a higher rate (86.5 percent) than whites (34.3 percent), Latinos (19.2 percent), and Asian Americans (13.5 percent; Charles et al. 2009). The same dating pattern was also found in

a study of students at ten selective colleges (Espenshade and Radford 2009). Black students at UCLA had the highest membership in ethnic-related organizations on campus (Sidanius et al. 2008, 2004). Lastly, black students at ten selective colleges lived with other black students a similar rate (70.9 percent) to white students (60.9 percent), followed by Asian American students (22.2 percent), and Latino students (11.7 percent; Espenshade and Radford 2009).

Asian American students are somewhat integrated into the campus community with a large amount of their interracial contact occurring with whites. Asian American freshmen at 28 selective colleges had more whites in their ten closest friendships (4.95) than Asian Americans (3.54), black friends (0.75), and Latinos (0.45). By the end of their sophomore year, Asian American students had slightly more Asian American friends than white friends (Charles et al. 2009). A similar pattern to the sophomore pattern of Asian American friendships was also found at UCLA and ten selective colleges (Espenshade and Radford 2009; Levin et al. 2003; Sidanius et al. 2008). Asian American students at 28 selective colleges dated more whites (64.5 percent) than other Asian Americans (58.3 percent), and much more than Latinos (7.5 percent) and blacks (5.3 percent; Charles et al. 2009). The UCLA student study found similar dating patterns for Asian American students (Levin et al. 2007; Sidanius et al. 2008), and a different pattern was found at ten selective colleges with Asian American students dating other Asian Americans more than whites, followed by Latinos and blacks (Espenshade and Radford 2009). The UCLA student study found Asian American students had the second highest participation rate (42.0 percent) in ethnic-related student organizations behind black students (Sidanius et al. 2008; 2004). In relation to their living arrangements, a study of ten selective colleges found Asian American students roomed with white students (81.2 percent) at a higher rate than with other Asian American students (65.7 percent), black students (17.9 percent), and Latino students (14.4

percent; Espenshade and Radford 2009).

Latino students exhibit the most integrated levels of interracial contact in college. Latino freshmen at 28 selective colleges reported having more white friends (5.34) in their ten closest friends followed by Latino friends (1.88), black friends (1.22), and Asian American friends (1.15). This pattern held throughout their sophomore year (Charles et al. 2009). Latino students at ten selective colleges had a similar friendship pattern as above with only one difference, Latinos had slightly more Asian American friends than black friends (Espenshade and Radford 2009). The UCLA student study found a different pattern altogether with Latino students have more Latino friends, then black friends, white friends, and then Asian American friends (Levin et al. 2003; Sidanius et al. 2008). Latino students at 28 selective colleges dated more whites (82.0 percent) than other Latinos (43.9 percent), Asian Americans (17.8 percent), and blacks (16.9 percent; Charles et al. 2009). This dating pattern was also found at UCLA and ten selective colleges (Espenshade and Radford 2009; Levin et al. 2007; Sidanius et al. 2008). Latino students' participation in ethnic-related organizations on campus was the lowest of the three racial-ethnic groups included in this study (28.8 percent; Sidanius et al. 2008, 2004). Latino students at ten selective colleges roomed with white students (87.8 percent) more than other Latino students (37.4 percent), Asian American students (35.8 percent), and black students (21.6 percent; Espenshade and Radford 2009).

Race, gender, and interracial contact. Different interracial contact patterns may exist for men and women of different racial-ethnic groups during college. Two studies have explored these differences using the same dataset used in this study. At 28 selective colleges, white, black, Asian American, and Latino freshmen had women as a majority of their friends (Fischer 2008). Black students reported the highest percentage of women in their friendship network

(64.3 percent) followed by Latino students (58.0 percent), Asian American students (56.5 percent), and white students (52.4 percent). The trend toward more women in friendship networks, overall, and more women in the friendship networks of racial-ethnic minority students is not surprising given the national trend of more women enrolling in higher education than men.

The distinct black-nonblack interracial contact pattern on campus exists for the dating patterns of men and women of different racial-ethnic groups. Again, the student data from 28 selective colleges provides support for this pattern (Charles et al. 2009). White men (96.3 percent) and white women (95.8 percent) almost exclusively dated other whites. When white men did date people from other racial-ethnic groups, they dated Asian American women (23.8 percent) more than Latina women (9.4 percent), and black women (7.4 percent). White women dated Asian American men (13.5 percent) more than black men (12.3 percent) and Latino men (9.2 percent). Black men (81.7 percent) and black women (89.4 percent) dated people of their own racial-ethnic group more than other groups. Black men and women had similar interracial dating patterns, dating whites (46.1 percent; 27.4 percent) more than Latinas/Latinos (27.7 percent; 14.2 percent) and Asian Americans (23.3 percent; 7.7 percent). Asian American men dated women of their own racial-ethnic group (64.3 percent) slightly more than white women (63.2 percent) while Asian American women dated white men (65.6 percent) more than men of their own group (53.3 percent). Asian American men dated Latina women (8.1 percent) and black women (4.3 percent) at much lower rates. Asian American women dated black men (11.5 percent) and Latino men (7.0 percent) less often than white and Asian American men. Latino men (85.9 percent) and Latina women (78.8 percent) dated whites more than women and men of their own racial ethnic group (49.7 percent; 39.2 percent). Latino men dated Asian American

(26.1) and black women (14.1 percent) at much lower rates. Similarly, Latina women dated black (19.2 percent) and Asian American men (11.0 percent) at lower rates.

College-level characteristics and interracial contact. Little research has focused on the influence of college-level characteristics, such as the racial-ethnic composition of the student body, has on the interracial contact among college students. A larger proportion of racial-ethnic minority students on campus offer more opportunities to interact across racial-ethnic lines and ultimately reduce students' racial prejudice, similar to findings from a large intergroup contact study in Germany (Wagner et al. 2006). Chang and colleagues (2006) found students on campuses with high levels of cross-race interaction occurring benefited from these interactions without having high levels of cross-race interactions themselves. Specifically, students who are part of such campuses are more open to diversity than students with similar levels of cross-race interactions on campuses with little cross-race interaction occurring among the students. These findings indicate a "compositional effect" may be present on some campuses (Chang et al. 2006).

Additionally, the proportion of students participating in Greek fraternities and sororities may influence interracial contact among students. As described above, white students are more likely to be members of Greek organizations, which foster attitudes of ethnocentrism and racial prejudice, and opposition to a racially diverse campus (Sidanius et al. 2008, 2004). Astin (1993) also found membership in a Greek organization was related to perceptions of campus racial conflict. In summary, these findings suggest that campuses with large proportions of students who are members of Greek organizations may have more negative perceptions of the campus racial climate and less interracial contact among students.

Perceptions of the campus racial climate and interracial contact. How students interact with each other is closely tied to their perceptions of the campus racial climate. In line with one

of the key principles of intergroup contact theory, if students perceive interracial contact to be supported by authorities (university administrators and faculty) on campus, then the likelihood that interracial contact will occur and the decrease in students' racial prejudice will result. Furthermore, this support by authority figures on campus can influence students' views of interracial contact as "normal" and may limit the resistance to such interactions while they pursue their college degrees. Research using different datasets indicates that students' perceptions of the campus racial climate can influence their interactions across racial-ethnic lines (Charles et al. 2009; Levin et al. 2006, 2003; Locks et al. 2008; Sidanius et al. 2008). Additionally, these studies found that students' interracial contact can influence their perceptions of the campus racial climate.

The connection between students' interracial contact and their perceptions of the campus racial climate were also found to differ among students by racial-ethnic group membership. Black students perceive more racial discrimination, less university commitment to diversity, and pressure from group members not to interact with students of other racial-ethnic groups on campus than whites, Asian Americans, and Latinos (Charles et al. 2009; Levin et al. 2006, 2003; Sidanius et al. 2008). These studies also found black students are more susceptible to "stereotype threat," when students consider how their academic performance will reflect on their racial-ethnic group (see Steele 1997). The pressure from group members not to interact with students of other racial-ethnic groups was found specifically for black men and also for Asian American women attending selective colleges and universities (Charles et al. 2009). The homogeneity of the interactional patterns of black students indicate social sanctioning is a mechanism of the negative campus racial climate for these students (Charles et al. 2009), which

could be a result of their low representation and the almost exclusive white history of these colleges.

The UCLA student study indicates that there is a positive relationship between students' perceptions of the campus racial climate and interracial contact (Levin et al. 2006, 2003; Sidanius et al. 2008). More importantly, the relationship between students' interracial friendships and their perceptions of the campus racial climate is reciprocal. Having more ingroup friends increased perceptions of discrimination for white, black, Asian American, and Latino students. In turn, students who perceived more institutional support for cross-race interactions reported fewer ingroup friends and more outgroup friends. Students who perceived more conflict and discrimination on campus had more ingroup friends, but not more outgroup friends.

Another important component of the campus racial climate is metastereotypes of racial-ethnic groups, particularly blacks. A metastereotype consists of the beliefs that members of a racial-ethnic minority group have that whites hold specific negative racial attitudes about and prejudice toward that specific racial-ethnic group. Among black students at the University of Pennsylvania, and black Americans in general, researchers have found that blacks perceive whites to hold clear, negative stereotypes about their racial-ethnic group (Siegelman and Tuch 1997; Torres and Charles 2004). Moreover, blacks' perceptions were quite accurate. The existence of these metastereotypes by racial-ethnic minority students also influenced interracial contact situations. Shelton and colleagues (Shelton and Richeson 2006; Shelton et al. 2005) found that all racial-ethnic minorities expect whites to be prejudiced towards their group, which led them to perceive their white interaction partners as prejudiced, and less satisfied with interactions with whites.

Interracial Contact and Racial Prejudice

The central question of intergroup contact theory is: Does intergroup contact reduce racial prejudice? A meta-analysis of a large proportion of all published intergroup contact research found that intergroup contact reduces racial prejudice (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). However, the main form of intergroup contact that the researchers pointed out was friendships given Pettigrew's (1998) addition of the fifth key condition to intergroup contact theory that intergroup contact situations should present the individuals involved the opportunity to become friends. The current study focuses on four forms of interracial contact on college campuses: interracial friendships, interracial dating, participation in diverse student organizations, and living in diverse residences. These four forms of interracial contact may influence students' racial prejudice differently. The following sections discuss research findings in relation to the reduction of racial prejudice by each form of contact.

Interracial friendships and racial prejudice. Overall, the research literature indicates that interracial friendships reduce racial prejudice among college students. This finding is consistent for students of different racial-ethnic groups. Cross-sectional studies using national data on college students support this finding (Chang et al. 2006, 2004; Espenshade and Radford 2009; McClelland et al. 2005; Spanierman et al. 2008). The influence of interracial friendships on racial prejudice is found through longitudinal studies, which examines the development of friendships between people of different groups (Pettigrew 1998). The longitudinal UCLA student study confirms cross-sectional research that interracial friendships reduce racial prejudice among college students over time (Levin et al. 2003; Sidanius et al. 2008). As expected, the reverse effect on students' racial prejudice was found in the UCLA study for increased ingroup friendships.

The level of influence, however, of cross-group friendships on people's racial prejudice is uncertain and depends on which racial-ethnic groups have interracial contact. One study found cross-group friendships exerted more influence on a person's racial prejudice than racial prejudice on cross-group friendships (Pettigrew 1997b). A second study found the influence of cross-group friendships on racial prejudice and the reverse exhibit similar sized effects (Levin et al. 2003; Sidanius et al. 2008). A third study found black students had more interracial friendships and were influenced more by interracial contact prior to college than whites were at the end of the first year of college (Schofield et al. 2010). This same study found students with higher levels of entering affective prejudice had lower levels of interracial friendships.

A fourth study examined white students' implicit and explicit prejudice toward blacks and Latinos, and the influence of interracial friendships with the same racial-ethnic groups (Aberson et al. 2004). The researchers found that interracial friendships with blacks and Latinos reduced white students' implicit racial prejudice toward each group, but not their explicit racial prejudice. Aberson and colleagues (2004) attribute the lack of influence of interracial friendships on whites students' explicit racial prejudice to students' desire to not appear biased or prejudiced against blacks or Latinos. A fifth study among white and Latino students at the University of California – Berkeley found that for both groups, interacting with the other racial-ethnic group reduced intergroup anxiety and led to students initiate more interracial interactions on campus (Page-Gould et al. 2008). Lastly, a study examined Latino students' implicit and explicit racial prejudice toward whites and blacks (Aberson et al. 2008). The researchers found Latino students preferred white friends over black friends. Latino students with white friends had more positive evaluations of whites, while Latino students with black friends had more neutral evaluations of blacks. Thus, Latino friendships with whites produced more favorable

attitudes toward whites as a group compared to blacks. However, Latino students' explicit racial prejudice was not influenced by cross-race friendships. The present study will examine these effects.

Interracial dating and racial prejudice. Like interracial friendships, interracial dating reduces racial prejudice. Only three studies have examined the influence of interracial dating on students' racial prejudice or racial attitudes. At UCLA, interracial dating during college lowered students' level of racial prejudice by their senior year (Levin et al. 2007; Sidanius et al. 2008). The results were found among white, Asian American, and Latino students even though students exhibited a higher frequency of ingroup dating than outgroup dating in college. Interracial dating also reduced intergroup anxiety for Asian American and Latino students, but not for white students. One limitation of the UCLA student study relates to examining the influence of interracial dating on racial prejudice. As the researchers point out, the small number of black students and low survey response rates precluded of interracial dating effects for blacks (Levin et al. 2007). A study of two small liberal arts colleges found that interracial dating among white college students decreased negative racial-ethnic attitudes (McClelland and Linnander 2005). Another study examining data collected at ten selective colleges and universities in the United States found that interracial dating increased students' reporting of learning new information about racial-ethnic groups, more than having roommates and close friends of different races did (Espenshade and Radford 2009).

Student organization participation, living arrangements, and racial prejudice. The limited research on how student organization participation and students' living arrangements affect racial prejudice shows mixed findings. Sidanius and colleagues' (2008, 2004) examination of student organization participation at UCLA found Greek organization

membership increased white students' racial prejudice. When examining the effects of membership in ethnic-related organizations for racial-ethnic minority students and Greek organizations for white students, the researchers found Greek membership produced more ethnocentric and exclusionary attitudes than ethnic-related student organizations. Racial-ethnic minority students who were members of ethnic-related student organizations had increased racial identification and feelings of ethnic zero-sum competition on campus among students. These findings indicate that student organizations may boost prejudice for white college students and may create tension between students of different racial-ethnic groups.

Research presents mixed findings of the influence of living with people of a different race or ethnicity on students' racial prejudice. After a few weeks, freshmen with a roommate of a different race distanced themselves than those with same-race roommates (Trail et al. 2009). These students felt less positive and less close to their different-race roommates. However, a longitudinal study of interracial roommate pairs at UCLA found higher levels of cross-racial interactions and reduced racial prejudice over time (Sidanius et al. 2008; Van Laar et al. 2005). However, the effect was not found for students with Asian Americans roommates. Rooming with an Asian American student increased racial prejudice toward other groups and more negative affect toward blacks and Latinos. The longitudinal study also found students that either black or Latino roommates showed more positive affect for both blacks and Latinos, possibly indicating an "extended crossover effect" (see Pettigrew 2009; Wright et al. 1997). Similarly, a study of white college students randomly assigned to black roommates (Boisjolly et al. 2006), found that white students who roomed with black students left college with more positive attitudes toward diversity and affirmative action.

Social Identity and Racial Prejudice

Students' social identity may significantly influence their racial prejudice toward separate outgroups. Social identity is a person's sense of belonging to a social category or group (Hogg and Abrams 1988; Stets and Burke 2000), and originates from a person's group membership (Brown 2000). Social identity theory developed out of the work of intergroup relations scholars, particularly Turner and colleagues (1987). This theory posits that people attempt to maintain a positive social identity, which derives from favorable comparisons of their ingroup with other outgroups (Brown 2000). Social identity theory builds off of self-categorization, whereby a person categorizes other people who are similar to them along some dimension (i.e., race, ethnicity, religion, gender, social class, etc.) as the "ingroup" (Brown 2000; Stets and Burke 2000).

A person's social identity is activated in different contexts and situations, which include cross-race interactions. People have multiple components of their identity and these different components can override one another in different situations, meaning that identity maintenance is a continuous process and salience of a person's identity may be activated in various ways based on the components of their identity and the situation at hand (Brown 2000). Social categories precede individuals, and individuals are born into these structured group categories; however, social identity theory does not often consider the social structural characteristics that can influence the activation of a group identity (Stets and Burke 2000). These categories are quite large, have traditionally been constructed and reconstructed by one group of people (whites) to distinguish who is a member of their ingroup (Bonilla-Silva 2006; Feagin 2010; Zuberi 2001). Scholars have identified several dimensions of group identification that point to the complexity of the identity maintenance process, such as closeness or attachment to a group

(Ashmore et al. 2004). This study uses closeness to separate racial-ethnic groups as proxy measures of a student's social identity. The measures of closeness to specific racial-ethnic groups fit measures of attachment as well (Ashmore et al. 2004).

One identity maintenance strategy that can influence a person's social identity is ingroup bias (Brown 2000). Social identity theory hypothesizes that higher levels of identification with the ingroup by a person will lead to more positive ingroup bias (Stets and Burke 2000). Furthermore, a person's ingroup identification can influence their level of stereotyping and prejudice toward an outgroup (Stets and Burke 2000; Tajfel and Turner 1997). Thus, a person's social identity with one racial-ethnic group most likely leads to higher levels of prejudice toward other racial-ethnic groups.

Students are socialized and interact with each other during their childhoods leading up to their entrance into college with race, racial prejudice, and racism in mind (Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001; Lewis 2003). Through the social identity process and identifying with structured categories like race and ethnicity, people develop knowledge of the components of each category, the relationships between the categories, and act according to this knowledge; thus, people "[act] in the context of, referring to, and reaffirming the social structure" (Stets and Burke 2000:232; Thoits and Virshup 1997). Therefore, by the time students enter college, they have developed some degree of racial identity, in regard to their closeness to and identification with a racial-ethnic group, which could directly influence their level of racial prejudice and amount of cross-race interaction they take part in during college.

Massey and colleagues (2003) report students' closeness to four racial-ethnic groups at college entrance, which are the same items used in this study as proxy measures for social identity. White students felt closest to other whites at college entrance, followed by Asians,

blacks, and felt the least closest to Latinos. Black students also felt closest to their own group at the beginning of college, then Latinos, whites, and felt least closest to Asians. Asian students felt closest to other Asians at the beginning of college, then whites, blacks, and felt furthest from Latinos. Finally, Latinos felt closest to their own group, followed by whites, blacks, and felt the least closest to Asians at college entrance.

Racial Prejudice

As the previous chapter described, intergroup contact theory is most concerned with racial prejudice. This study focuses on the cognitive component of prejudice, which is concerned with the stereotypical beliefs and attitudes about a group (Quillian 2006; Taylor and Pettigrew 2000). Although previous research has found the affective component of prejudice—negative emotions and feelings toward a group—more influenced by intergroup contact (see Tropp and Pettigrew 2005a), it is still important to understand how stereotypical beliefs about racial-ethnic groups are influenced by cross-race interaction in different settings, such as elite colleges and universities. Reiterating the forms of racial prejudice used in this study, and influences on racial prejudice are described below. Additionally, existing research on the racial prejudice among whites, blacks, Asians, and Latinos in the U.S. is reviewed, particularly studies that examine college students. Lastly, research on the influence of racial prejudice on interracial contact is discussed

Forms of racial prejudice examined in study. This study uses two aspects of racial prejudice as dependent variables: traditional racial prejudice toward separate groups and racial resentment. Traditional racial prejudice, which developed with the old-fashioned, biological racism of the Jim Crow era has been superseded a more modern form of racial prejudice in the post-Civil Rights era (Bobo et al. 1997; Bonilla-Silva 2006; Hughes 1997; Kinder and Sanders

1996; Schuman et al 1997; Sears 1988). Thus, traditional and modern forms of racial prejudice are included in this study. The basis of traditional racial prejudice uses the dominate belief among white Americans that emerged during the era of Jim Crow that people of color, particularly blacks, are biological and culturally inferior to whites. Examples of these stereotypical beliefs are that blacks are lazier and less intelligent than whites. This form of racial prejudice is marked by the overtness of such beliefs in white superiority and black inferiority. Although survey research indicates that this form of racial prejudice has declined tremendously to the point that whites appear to promote racial egalitarianism (Bobo et al. 1997; Schuman et al. 1997), qualitative research questions the actual decline of the traditional form of racial prejudice among white Americans (Bonilla-Silva and Biaocchi 2008; Houts Picca and Feagin 2007; Myers 2005).

Modern forms of racial prejudice are more subtle, restrict positive emotions toward racial-ethnic outgroups, and exaggerate the lack of traditional values and cultural differences of nonwhites, specifically blacks (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995). Racial resentment, a modern form of racial prejudice, is used in this study. Racial resentment has replaced symbolic racism as the most accepted understanding of modern racism (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Tuch and Hughes 2011). Whereas symbolic racism is the belief among whites that blacks violate the traditional values of hard work and self-reliance, racial resentment is a stratification ideology that whites use to explain racial inequality in society and racial policy attitudes (Tuch and Hughes 2011). Additionally, whites use racial individualism, which explains a racial-ethnic group's position in society as a direct consequence of their effort and initiative (Hughes 1997; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Tuch and Hughes 2011). This modern form of racial prejudice involves dismissing structural inequality and asserting that groups, particularly blacks, supposedly do not live up to

the American ideals of self-reliance and hard work (Hughes and Tuch 2000; Tuch and Hughes 2011).

Some research exists on modern forms of racial prejudice among students throughout college, and only one study to the author's knowledge has examined the stereotypes of other racial-ethnic group held by college students. Previous research with college students at UCLA found Asian students to have higher levels of symbolic racism toward blacks at college entrance (Sidanius et al. 2008). White students had the second highest level of symbolic racism followed by Latino students, and black students had the lowest level of this modern form of racial prejudice. Sidanius and colleagues (2008) found white students' racial attitudes "crystalized" and were most stable throughout college when examining their levels of symbolic racism. Asian students had the second most stable symbolic racism during college, followed by Latinos.

Massey and colleagues' (2003) study of students at elite colleges and universities using the NLSF data, which is used in this study, has some information on students' racial resentment at the beginning of college. Students were asked their level of agreement on three items that blacks, Asian Americans, and Latinos only have themselves to blame for not doing better in life; they should have tried harder. Black students agreed the most that blacks only have themselves to blame for not doing better in life. Asians had the second highest level of agreement on this item followed by Latino students, and white students had the lowest level of agreement. Asian students agreed the most that Asian Americans only have themselves to blame for not doing better in life. Black students had the second highest level of agreement on this item followed by Latino students, and white students had the lowest level of agreement. Finally, Asian students had the highest level of agreement that Latinos have only themselves to blame for not doing

better in life. Black students had the second highest level of agreement on this item followed by Latino students, and white students had the lowest level of agreement.

Studies by Inkelas (2006, 2003a, 2003b) focused on racial attitudes of Asian American students at a large public research university, with special attention to racial policies such as affirmative action. These studies found support for the research of Bobo and colleagues (Bobo 1988; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Bobo et al. 1997) that builds on Blumer's racial prejudice and group position theory (1958), which places whites' perception of blacks as a threat to their resources, status, and privileges (Bobo 1988; Krysan 2000). Asian American students felt threatened by whites and other racial-ethnic minority groups when considering situations such as applying to colleges because they did not fit legacy admission status that privileges mostly whites or the traditional subordinate status of blacks and Latinos that affirmative action was initially created for. These same studies found Asian American students to mirror whites in their racial policy attitudes and conform to the components of racial resentment.

Massey et al. (2003) also provide the most comprehensive view of college students' racial stereotypes of four racial-ethnic groups at elite colleges and universities. White students believed that blacks were the laziest racial-ethnic group followed by Latinos, then whites, and Asians. White students viewed Latinos as the least intelligent racial-ethnic group, blacks the second least intelligent, then whites, then Asians. White students viewed blacks and Latinos as the most likely to live on welfare, followed by whites and then Asians. Lastly, white students felt Latinos were the most likely to give up on tasks, blacks the second most likely, whites the third most likely, and Asians were rated the least likely to give up on tasks.

Turning to black students at elite colleges and universities, black students rated whites as the laziest racial-ethnic group followed by similar ratings for Latinos and blacks, and Asians

were the least lazy racial-ethnic group. Latinos were viewed as the least intelligent racial-ethnic group among black students followed by whites, blacks, and Asians were the most intelligent group. Black students indicated that Latinos were the most likely to live on welfare followed by blacks, whites, and Asians were the least likely to live on welfare. Finally, black students rated Latinos as the most likely to give up on tasks easily, blacks the second most likely, whites the third most likely, and Asians were rated the most likely to stick to tasks.

Asian students at elite colleges and universities rated Latinos then blacks as the laziest racial-ethnic groups followed by whites, and Asians as the least lazy racial-ethnic group. Asian students rated Latinos as the least intelligent racial-ethnic group, blacks the second least intelligent, followed by whites, and Asians were rated the most intelligent racial-ethnic group. Latinos were rated the most likely to live on welfare among Asian students, blacks the second most likely, whites the third most likely, and Asians the least likely. Finally, Asian students rated Latinos as the racial-ethnic group most likely to give up on a task, black students the second most likely, whites the third most likely, and Asians the least likely to give up on a task.

Turning to Latino students at elite colleges and universities, Latino students rated whites the laziest racial-ethnic group, blacks the second laziest, Latinos the third laziest, and Asians were the least lazy racial-ethnic group. Latino students viewed blacks as the least intelligent racial-ethnic group, Latinos as the second least intelligent, whites as the third least intelligent, and Asians as the most intelligent racial-ethnic group. Latino students rated blacks the racial-ethnic group most likely to live on welfare followed by Latinos, whites as the third most likely, and Asians the least likely to live on welfare. Lastly, blacks were viewed as the racial-ethnic group most likely to easily give up on tasks, whites the second most likely, Latinos the third most likely, and Asians the least likely to easily give up on tasks.

The stereotypes among the elite college students in Massey et al.'s (2003) study indicates that white students were most prejudiced against Latinos, then blacks, but thought more favorably toward Asians than their own racial-ethnic group. Black students had the most prejudice toward Latinos, and viewed whites slightly more and Asians more favorably than their own racial-ethnic group. Asian students were most prejudiced toward Latinos, then blacks, and then whites. Lastly, Latino students had the most prejudice toward blacks, but viewed Asians and whites more favorably than their own racial-ethnic group.

Factors influencing racial prejudice. Prejudice is influenced by several individual-level and macro-level factors. The current section describes some of the research on the influences of racial prejudice and presents hypotheses relating to each factor. The main hypothesis of this study builds on the literature of college student interracial interactions cited above and the meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006). Interracial contact during college is predicted to reduce students' levels of exiting traditional racial prejudice toward each group. Interracial contact is also predicted to reduce students' level of racial resentment at the end of college. This hypothesis applies to white, black, Asian, and Latino students in this study as well as for all four forms of interracial contact. Additionally, it is predicted that more interracial contact with one racial-ethnic group will influence attitudes toward other racial-ethnic groups. For example, interracial friendships with blacks will reduce prejudice toward Latinos. This hypothesis is in line with research on extended contact effects or secondary crossover effects (Pettigrew 2009; Wright et al. 1997).

Racial prejudice does not "develop out of thin air" during college. Students come to college with racial prejudice and various understandings of race (Devine 1989; Lewis 2003; Sears and Henry 2003; Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001). Given this reality, students' level of

racial prejudice and their level of modern racial prejudice should influence their exiting racial prejudice. Thus, it is predicted that students' level of traditional racial prejudice toward each group will be positively related to their level of exiting traditional prejudice toward the same groups. Additionally, it is predicted that students' level of modern racial prejudice at the beginning of college will be related to their level of exiting modern racial prejudice. These hypotheses apply to white, black, Asian, and Latino students alike.

Four measures of social closeness that measure social identity are included in this study: closeness to the student's racial-ethnic ingroup at the beginning and end of college, and closeness to the separate racial-ethnic outgroups at the beginning and end of college. It is predicted that students with higher levels of closeness to their racial-ethnic group at the beginning of college, and at the end of college, will have more racial prejudice toward each racial-ethnic outgroup and more modern racial prejudice. Conversely, students with higher levels of closeness to racial-ethnic outgroups at the beginning of college, and at the end of college, should have less racial prejudice toward each racial-ethnic outgroup and modern racial prejudice.

Several precollege and social characteristics of students may influence their level of racial prejudice at the end of college. Similar to the interracial contact hypotheses noted above, it is predicted that the more interracial friendships a student has, the less racial prejudice toward the specific racial-ethnic group a student will have at the end of college. Two competing hypotheses exist for the racial-ethnic diversity in students' high schools and neighborhoods prior to college. First, the intergroup contact hypothesis (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998) predicts that diversity in the students' high school and neighborhood, as proxies for interracial contact, will lead to lower levels of both forms of racial prejudice at the end of college. An alternative

hypothesis builds on Blalock's (1967) minority group threat, that higher level of racial-ethnic outgroup members in student's precollege environments will increase prejudice toward those outgroups, and Blumer's (1958) prejudice as group position hypotheses. It is predicted that higher levels of racial-ethnic diversity in students' high school and neighborhood prior to college will lead to higher levels of racial prejudice toward separate racial-ethnic groups and modern racial prejudice. Previous research has found support for the intergroup contact hypothesis (Chang et al. 2006; Hall et al. 2011; Scholfield et al. 2010; Wagner et al. 2006), the group threat hypothesis (Fossett and Kiecolt 1989), and mixed results (Dixon 2006; Dixon and Rosenbaum 2004). Other research has also indicated that the same effects found in previous research concerning black population levels and white racial attitudes toward blacks does not hold for other Latinos (Taylor and Schroeder 2010).

Two other personal characteristics may influence students' level of traditional and modern racial prejudice that is included in this current study. Previous research has found darker skinned people experience more discrimination than people with lighter skin tones in various aspects of life, and this finding for members of separate racial-ethnic groupss (Blair et al. 2002; Chou and Feagin 2008; Gomez 2000; Hughes and Hertel 1990; O'Brien 2008; Ross 1997). Assuming that these individuals have greater empathy toward others' experiences, particularly those of racial-ethnic minority groups, it is predicted that students with darker skin will have lower levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice than students with lighter skin. Lastly, previous research indicates that women may have lower levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice than men (Bobo and Massagli 2001; Bonilla-Silva 2006; Sidanius et al. 2008; Schuman et al. 1997), and experience larger effects from intergroup contact (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006),

though this difference may only be small in size (Hughes and Tuch 2003). Thus, women are predicted to have lower levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice than men do.

Several variables that are entered into the regression models as "controls" that may influence students' level of racial prejudice. Parental education may influence students' racial prejudice level. Previous research has found people with more education have lower levels of racial prejudice toward specific racial-ethnic groups and modern forms of racial prejudice (Bobo and Kluegel 1997; Bobo and Massagli 2001; Meertens and Pettigrew 1997; Pettigrew and Meertens 1995; Schuman et al. 1997), though when respondents are asked about specific racial policies such as affirmative action this effect is either not present or reversed in direction, indicating they are more opposed to the policies (Schuman et. al 1997; Tuch and Hughes 2011). Recent research on college students' racial attitudes has found similar prejudice-reducing effects of parental education (McClelland and Linnander 2005), but other research did not find the existence of such effects (Sidanius et al. 2008). Even so, it is predicted that the higher level of education attained by students' parents, the lower their exiting level of traditional racial prejudice toward each racial-ethnic outgroup and their modern racial prejudice.

Students' economic background may also influence their levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice. Mixed results exist regarding what effect family income may have on students' racial prejudice, as some positive and negative effects were found in previous studies (Schuman et al. 1997). Thus, no specific direction is predicted. However, it is predicted that a significant relationship will exist between students' family income and their exiting levels of traditional racial prejudice and modern racial prejudice. Similar to the hypothesis of students' family income, it is predicted that significant relationship will exist between students who identify as Christian and their level of traditional and modern forms of racial prejudice. Only Emerson et

al.'s (1999) study of white evangelicals' perceptions of the causes of black-white inequality has recently examined religion's effect on racial attitudes. More research is needed to predict a specific direction.

Students from the South may have higher levels of racial prejudice toward separate racial-ethnic groups and higher levels of modern racial prejudice. Given the high levels of Latino immigration into the region compounded with the historical racism and negative racial attitudes toward blacks in the region by whites (Feagin 2010; Pettigrew 1959; Schuman et al. 1997; Tuch and Hughes 2011; Tuch and Martin 1997), a similar group threat perspective noted above could be applied to all students from this region. Generally speaking, these students most likely experienced higher levels of racial tensions between separate racial-ethnic groups than students from other regions. It is predicted, then, that students from the South will have higher levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice than students from other regions of the U.S. Finally, the models include a control for whether or not students are international students. These students are not immersed in the context of U.S. race relations, although exposure to American media may have influenced their perceptions of racial-ethnic groups in the U.S. (Chou and Feagin 2008; Tan et al. 2009). It is predicted that international students will have lower levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice than students originating from the U.S.

Turning to campus characteristics, students were asked how much their college was committed to campus diversity. Students indicating that their college was committed more than enough to "too committed" may view their college's commitment to diversity as infringing on their racial-ethnic group's position on campus. Thus, this item may tap into group threat among students. Additionally, racial resentment and other forms of modern racial prejudice hinge on racial individualism, stressing individual performance without "special favors." Students may

view their college's commitment to diversity as a form of preference for particular racial-ethnic groups. Given this perspective, it is predicted that students who view their college's commitment to diversity as more than "just enough" will have higher levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice.

Perceptions of the campus racial climate are included in the regression models for black, Asian, and Latino students. As noted above, students' perceptions of the climate toward racial-ethnic minorities on campus can influence their interactions across racial-ethnic lines, which can then influence subsequent views of the campus racial climate (Charles et al. 2009; Levin et al. 2006, 2003; Locks et al. 2008; Sidanius et al. 2008). Experiencing a negative racial climate can influence racial-ethnic minority students in a variety of ways, including their academic performance (Charles et al. 2009; Massey et al. 2003; Steele 1997). White students have been the most prominent racial-ethnic group on campus and have been since the first college was found in colonial years (Bonilla-Silva 2009; Feagin et al. 1996). The negative campus racial climates can often be attributed to actions by white students. It is predicted that racial-ethnic minority students who have more negative perceptions of the campus racial climate will have less traditional racial prejudice toward other racial-ethnic minority groups, but higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college. Additionally, racial-ethnic minority students who have more negative perceptions of the campus racial climate are predicted to have lower levels of modern racial prejudice.

Three measures of students' perception of separate racial-ethnic groups on campus are included in the regression models for each group. These measures are difference scores created by subtracting the student's perception of their own racial-ethnic group from each specific racial-ethnic outgroup. If students perceive other racial-ethnic groups of students on campus as more

visible than their own group, this may serve as a proxy for increased interracial contact or as racial group threat, which leads to two competing hypotheses for these measures. First, if students perceive other racial-ethnic groups on campus as more visible than their own racial-ethnic group, this will lead to lower levels of exiting traditional and modern racial prejudice at the end of college. Second, and contrary to the first hypothesis, it is predicted that students who perceive other racial-ethnic groups on campus as more visible than their own racial-ethnic group, this will lead to higher levels of exiting traditional and modern prejudice.

Similar to other variables included in this study, competing intergroup contact and racial threat hypotheses exist for the racial-ethnic diversity of the student body. First, it is predicted that higher levels of racial-ethnic diversity among the students on campus will lead to lower levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice at the end of college among the four racial-ethnic student groups in this study. Second, it is predicted that higher levels of racial-ethnic diversity among students on campus will lead to higher levels of exiting traditional and modern racial prejudice among students in this study. Lastly, building on the findings of Astin (1993) and Sidanius and colleagues (2008, 2004), who found students who participate in Greek social fraternities and sororities to have more negative racial conflict attitudes, and to have higher levels of exclusionary attitudes and prejudice, particularly among white students, it is predicted that the more students on campus who participate in Greek social fraternities and sororities, the higher the levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice among students.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses to be tested in connection with the model presented above are listed in Table 1. A plus sign indicates a positive relationship between two variables. A negative sign indicates a negative relationship between two variables. A question mark indicates an unknown

relationship between two variables. A “na” indicates that a relationship is not applicable between two variables. The next chapter describes the methodological approach the current study follows.

[Table 1 about here]

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

This study used longitudinal data to analyze the influence of college students' interracial contact on their level of racial prejudice. This chapter describes the dataset and the variables that were included in the analyses. Additionally, the factor analyses and regression procedures used are also described.

Data and Sample

The investigation analyzed data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen (NLSF). The NLSF had five waves of data that followed 3,924 freshmen from the fall of 1999 until their graduation from college in the spring of 2003 from 28 of the most selective colleges and universities in the U.S. (based on student SAT scores and class rank and the *U.S. News and World Report College Rankings*). The dataset has a variety of items relating to racial prejudice, the campus racial climate, and intergroup relations. The NLSF also has extensive precollege information. Of the students in the dataset, 998 students are white, 1,051 are black, 959 are Asian American, and 916 are Latino. The dataset has 2,280 women and 1,644 men. This dataset allows for a broader perspective of college intergroup relations to develop as the largest study to this point has only utilized one university (Sidanius et al. 2008).

The 3,098 students who completed all five waves of the study were used for the construction of the models. The race-gender composition of the students who completed the study are as follows: 382 white men, 432 white women, 261 black men, 537 black women, 328 Asian American men, 437 Asian American women, 293 Latino men, and 428 Latina women. As the NLSF was collected over four years, attrition occurred. Consequently, some bias may have crept into the data. The completion percentage in the first wave of data for each student group

ranged from 83.0 percent (white students) to 88.9 percent (black students). The second wave had completion rates ranging from 93.7 percent (white students) to 96.0 percent (black students). The third wave's completion rates ranged from 87.9 percent (white students) to 89.3 percent (Asian American students). The fourth wave had completion rates ranging from 81.1 percent (black students) to 85.6 percent (Asian American students). Finally, the fifth wave had completion rates ranging from 75.9 percent (black students) to 81.6 percent (white students). Table 2 contains the retention statistics of participants in the NLSF.

[Table 2 about here]

Measures

The models in the study have eight groups of variables: traditional racial prejudice, racial resentment, social closeness, forms of interracial contact, social characteristics, family characteristics, characteristics of precollege environments, and college-level characteristics.

Traditional racial prejudice. Traditional racial prejudice served as one of the dependent variables. Traditional racial prejudice consists of overt beliefs and stereotypes about a racial-ethnic group with a general premise that one group is biologically inferior compared to the individual's group. Traditional racial prejudice is often referred to as biological racism (Kinder and Sanders 1996) and old-fashioned racism (Hughes 1997). Common among all of these conceptions of traditional racial prejudice are negative beliefs about a group's intelligence, work ethic, and the disdain for interracial dating, marriage, and overall integration of a racial-ethnic group into the same spaces as the dominant racial-ethnic group. Items measuring racial prejudice were included in waves 1 and 5 and were included in factor analyses to identify the structure of traditional racial prejudice among college students.

For white students, the items used to create the traditional racial prejudice measures included white college students' ratings of blacks, Asian Americans, Latinos, and whites on four racial prejudice items in Waves 1 and 5. All items were coded to have the negative perceptions of each racial group equal to higher scores and included: the perception of group intelligence on a scale of intelligent (1) to unintelligent (7); group work ethic on a scale of hardworking (1) to lazy (7); group preference for welfare on a scale of preference for self-support (1) to preference for welfare (7); and group initiative of sticking to tasks on a scale of stick to task (1) to give up easily (7). For white college students, a difference score was created for each of these three items in both Waves 1 and 5. The difference score was created by taking the racial outgroup item score, subtracting the white racial group score giving a difference score of how white college students perceived the three racial outgroups on each item in relation to how they view their own racial group. For example, if a white college student rated blacks as a 6 on the intelligence scale and whites as a 5, then the difference score would equal 1, reflecting the lower rating that student gave blacks in relation to whites (Tuch and Hughes 2011). Three separate scales were then created by averaging the group-specific difference score items, representing traditional anti-black prejudice, traditional anti-Latino prejudice, and traditional anti-Asian prejudice. Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses were used to identify whether the three racial-ethnic outgroups were connected by white college students as a single, general racial-ethnic outgroup or if the traditional racial prejudice for each group should be considered separately. These analyses indicated that separate analyses should be conducted using the traditional racial prejudice for each racial-ethnic outgroup. The same process was used to create traditional racial prejudice scales for black, Asian American, and Latino students.

Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses examined the whether students grouped all three racial-ethnic outgroups together in relation to their racial prejudice or if they should be examined separately in the regression models. Traditionally, intergroup contact studies have used a generic racial-ethnic outgroup prejudice variable, which combines all possible outgroups. As stated in the first chapter, the different racial histories of groups in the U.S. indicate a need to examine if combining outgroups is appropriate or if researchers should look specifically at racial prejudice toward each specific racial-ethnic outgroup. Confirmatory factor analyses were conducted for each group to look at the correlations between the different types of traditional racial prejudice for each group of students and identify whether any group constructed racial prejudice with all three racial-ethnic outgroups considered as one unified outgroup. These analyses were conducted using LISREL 8.8 (Jöreskog and Sörbom 2007) and the results for each student group are described below in the associated results chapters.

Racial resentment. Factor analyses were used to identify racial attitudes items that grouped to form racial resentment for white college students. In the first wave, students were asked their level of agreement (0 = strongly disagree, 10 = strongly agree) on three items, one for blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans, stating that each group only has themselves to blame for not doing better and they need to try harder to do better. These three items are similar to other measures of racial resentment (Hughes 1997; Tuch and Hughes 2011) and loaded on a single factor for white students. Additionally, students were asked their level of agreement on three items stating that blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans, respectively, who are educated and do what is considered "proper" will get ahead in society. These three items were also found to load on a single factor, and were correlated with the first racial resentment factor described above.

Each group of three items was averaged to create two scales of modern racial resentment for students' college entrance.

Several items were analyzed to identify whether a racial resentment scale could also be constructed from Wave 5. Students were asked their level of agreement about the visibility of the four racial-ethnic groups on their college campus. These items were coded where students who strongly disagreed that a racial-ethnic group was visible on their college campus equaled 0 and students who strongly agreed that a racial-ethnic group was visible equaled 10. Student visibility scores were created with the visibility of white college students' perception of their own racial-ethnic group's visibility on campus subtracted from each racial-ethnic outgroup. Students were also asked their perception of the commitment by their college to diversity (1 = way too little, 5 = way too much). Three items were asked in Wave 5 similar to those in Wave 1 stating that blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans only have themselves to blame for not doing better in life and should try harder (0 = strongly disagree, 10 = strongly agree). Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses were conducted on the Wave 5 items to identify a racial resentment measure. The analyses for white students indicated that the three "blame themselves" items formed a general racial resentment measure, while the visibility items and the college commitment to diversity item formed a second correlated factor that deals with a separate component, which concerns the salience of race on campus for white students. The three "blame" items were averaged to create the racial resentment scales in the first and fifth waves. A similar process was conducted for the "proper behavior" scale in the first wave as well. Analogous racial resentment scales, constructed with only the two outgroup items, are used for black, Latino, and Asian student groups as well in this study to examine the prevalence in and role of racial resentment among these elite college students.

Closeness. Generally, "having a particular social identity means being at one with a certain group, being like others in the group, and seeing things from the group's perspective" (Stets and Burke 2000:226). Several measures in the first and fifth waves of the NLSF were used as proxy measures for students' racialized social identity. In Wave 1 students were asked to indicate how close they felt to ideas of different racial-ethnic groups, to poor, middle class, and rich members of white, black, Asian American, and Latino groups, and how close they felt to young white, black, Asian American, and Latino men and women ("tell me how close you feel to the people in terms of your ideas and feelings about things"; 0 = very distant, 10 = very close). Similarly, in Wave 5 students were asked how close they felt to the ideas of particular racial-ethnic groups, to poor, middle class, and rich members and college students of the four racial-ethnic groups ("how close do you feel to [racial-ethnic group] in terms of your ideas and feelings about things"; 0 = very distant, 10 = very close). An index was calculated for closeness to each group in Wave 1 using the following six items for each group: poor members of racial-ethnic group, middle-class members of racial-ethnic group, rich members of racial-ethnic group, young men members of racial-ethnic group, and young women members of racial-ethnic group. A similar index was calculated for social closeness to each racial-ethnic group in Wave 5 using the same items: poor members of racial-ethnic group, middle-class members of racial-ethnic group, rich members of racial-ethnic group. However, the items asking students about their level of closeness to young men and women of each racial-ethnic group were not included in Wave 5, but items asking students how close they felt to students at their college of each racial-ethnic group were included in the survey. The closeness items in Wave 1 that measured how close the students felt to young men and women of different racial-ethnic groups were included in the Wave 1 closeness scales with the assumption that students thought of their peers when

responding to the questions in Wave 5 concerning separate racial-ethnic student groups at their college. For each group of closeness items in Wave 1 that corresponded to a particular racial-ethnic group, the average was taken to create ingroup and outgroup closeness scales. A similar process was conducted for the Wave 5 closeness items. The three outgroup closeness scales for each student group were averaged in both Wave 1 and Wave 5 to create general outgroup closeness scales for the racial resentment models.

Interracial contact. Four forms of interracial contact with each specific racial-ethnic outgroup were measured: interracial friendships, interracial dating, living arrangements, and student organizations. Interracial friendships were measured in waves 1, 2, 3 and 5. In the first two waves, students were asked how many of ten friends were white, black, Asian American, or Latino. In these two waves, the proportion of friends for students of each four racial-ethnic groups was calculated by counting the number of friends in each racial-ethnic group and dividing each number by the total number of friends reported, to create proportions of white friends, black friends, Latino friends, and Asian American friends. In the third and fifth waves students were asked the race of their four closest friends. The proportion of outgroup friendships in was calculated in a similar way for the third and fifth waves. These outgroup friendship proportions were used to create composite indexes of friendship with each racial-ethnic outgroup during college. Each specific racial-ethnic group proportion in the Wave 2 was added to the corresponding proportions from waves 3 and 5 and divided by three to create these indexes.

Data on students' dating patterns across racial-ethnic lines were collected in waves 2, 3, 4, and 5. In each wave, students were asked if they had dated someone in the past year and what their race or ethnicity was. The students could report dating members of the following groups: whites, blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, and other racial-ethnic groups. Dichotomous

variables were created for each racial-ethnic group where 1 indicates that the student reported dating someone of that race and 0 indicates that the student did not report dating anyone of that race during that year. A composite index of interracial dating for each racial-ethnic outgroup was created using a similar process used to create the interracial friendship indexes. The index was consisted of adding the group-specific dating item in each wave together and then dividing by four (the number of waves the items were asked in).

Data on students' living arrangements were collected during waves 3 and 4 of the study. In both waves students were asked the number of whites, blacks, Asian Americans, and Latinos who resided in the same residence (0 to 50 individuals). The proportion of roommates of each racial-ethnic outgroup were calculated by dividing the number of roommates from each group by the total number of roommates of the student. Indexes of interracial living arrangements were calculated by adding each specific racial-ethnic group proportion with the corresponding proportion from the other wave and dividing by two.

Data on students' participation in on-campus organizations were collected during waves 3 and 4. Students indicated the perceived racial-ethnic majority of the group. In Wave 3, students could indicate their membership in eleven types of student organizations, but in Wave 4 students were only allowed to indicate their membership in two student organizations. In each wave students were asked to identify which student organizations were majority white, black, Latino, Asian American, and equally integrated. A proportion of student groups that were a majority of each specific racial-ethnic group were created by counting the number of student groups that were a majority of a particular racial-ethnic group and then dividing this number by the total number of student organizations memberships. An index of interracial student

organizations that are a majority of each specific racial-ethnic group was created by adding each proportion from the two waves for each group, and dividing by two.

Campus racial climate. In waves 2 through 4 the NLSF contained identical measures of the perceived campus racial climate. Ten items from waves 2 and 3 were selected to measure the campus racial climate. Students were asked how frequently they: felt self-conscious by students or faculty because of their race or ethnicity; felt self-conscious on campus because of their race or ethnicity; heard derogatory remarks about a racial-ethnic group from faculty, staff, or students; experienced racial discrimination or harassment on campus; felt they received an unfair grade from a professor because of their race or ethnicity; felt discouraged to speak up (participate) in class by a professor because of their (the student's) race or ethnicity; and felt discouraged to pursue a particular course of study or major by a professor because of their (the student's) race or ethnicity. In Wave 4, several of the questions used in waves 2 and 3 to measure perceptions of the campus racial climate were collapsed into five questions. The five frequency items were: felt self-conscious since the beginning of the academic year because of their race or ethnicity; made to feel self-conscious on campus because of their race or ethnicity; heard racial-ethnic derogatory remarks on campus; felt they received an unfair grade from a professor because of their (the student's) race or ethnicity; and felt discouraged to speak up in class by a professor because of their (the student's) race or ethnicity (1 = never, 5 = very often). A scale for each wave for the campus climate was created by averaging the climate items in each wave. These three scales were then added together and divided by three to establish a campus climate scale representing black, Asian, and Latino students' experiences during college.

Social characteristics. Gender was a dichotomous variable (0 = male, 1 = female). Race was a set of four dummy variables (1 = member of race, 0 = not member of race) that identify

white students, black students, Asian American students, and Latino students. Interviewers identified student's skin color on a continuum of very light (0) to very dark (10). Dummy variables identify whether students were born in the U.S. (0 = no, 1 = yes), and whether they identified as a Christian (0 = no, 1 = yes). Dummy variables also identify whether the student attended high school in the South.

Family characteristics. Mother's and father's education ranged from grade school (1) to graduate/professional degree completion (7). Family income ranged from under $3,000 a year (1) to over $75,000 a year (14). The midpoint of each range was calculated and entered into the models.

Characteristics of precollege environments. Measures of precollege environments and experiences with interracial interactions were included in the models. The percentages of black, Asian American, and Latino students along with students of other races/ethnicities in the student's school environments at age 18 were converted to proportions and used to create an overall proportion of racial-ethnic minority students. Similarly, the percentages of black, Asian American, and Latino residents in the student's neighborhood at age 18 were converted to proportions and used to create a proportion of racial-ethnic diversity in the student's neighborhood.

College-level characteristics. The proportions of black students, Asian American students, and Latino students on campus in Wave 4 were entered into each model. The models also included the proportion of fraternity and sorority members on each campus in Wave 4.

Addressing Missing Data

The coding and recoding of the data, and the separation of each group analyzed in this study by race gender occurred in SPSS. SPSS was also used to run descriptive statistics,

exploratory factor analyses, Cronbach's alphas, and conduct the hierarchical regression analyses. LISREL 8.8 (Jöreskog and Sörbom 2007) was used to run confirmatory factor analyses, and conduct full information maximum likelihood and the EM algorithm techniques to address missing data. Like most datasets, the NLSF contains missing data. Once the measures were created, a dataset for each racial-ethnic student group was created. Each dataset contained only those data and measures for that racial-ethnic group. The EM algorithm used the group-specific measures to produce more accurate estimations using the characteristics and experiences of each racial-ethnic group.

Originally, full information maximum likelihood (FIML) estimation was to be used to address missing data; however, LISREL only conducts FIML during factor analyses or structural equation modeling. FIML is not used to create an imputed dataset in the program. A combination of the FIML method and the EM algorithm method were used. The group-specific datasets were imported into LISREL and FIML was used during the factor analyses of traditional racial prejudice for each student group, and racial resentment for white students. The EM algorithm was used to create an imputed dataset for each racial-ethnic group.

In FIML, model parameters are estimated using all existing data in the dataset through a repetitive process of multiple imputations with an algorithm that produces values based on the log-likelihood of the current parameter values (Allison 2003; Duncan et al. 1998; Enders 2001). The likelihood functions are calculated at the individual level. FIML is preferred in comparison to other missing data techniques for such advanced quantitative analyses including factor analyses and structural equation modeling (Allison 2003; Duncan et al. 1998).

The EM algorithm is a two-step iterative process to impute or fill in missing observations in a dataset. The first step (the *E* step) consists of replacing the missing value with a predicted

score, which results from a series of regressions where all other variables serve as predictors of the missing value for the variable that contains missing data in each case (Duncan et al. 1998; Enders 2001). The sums, sums squares, and cross products are then calculated. In the second step (the *M* step) maximum likelihood estimation produces a covariance matrix and regression coefficients using the raw and imputed data that are used to calculate new estimates for the missing data points for the next *E* step, when the process begins again (Enders 2001). The EM algorithm cycles through these steps until the changes in the covariance matrices resulting from the *M* step falls below a preset criterion, indicating that the changes are small and trivial.

Analytic Strategies

The study used hierarchical regressions to assess interracial contact effects on racial prejudice among each racial-ethnic college student group. In hierarchical regression analysis, blocks of independent variables are entered in different models to build to a full model. With each additional block of variables, the amount of variance explained by the additional variables is calculated along with the total amount of variance explained by all of the variables in the model. Furthermore, the changing influence of the independent variables on the dependent variable that occur with each additional block of variables can be identified through checking the output of results. This procedure has been used in several other longitudinal studies of intergroup contact among college students (Levin et al. 2007, 2006, 2003; McClelland and Linnander 2005; Saenz et al. 2007; Sidanius et al. 2008, 2004; van Laar et al. 2008, 2005) and cross-sectional data (Chang et al. 2006; Chang et al. 2004).

Cross-sectional studies, though helpful for examining intergroup contact effects at one point in time, cannot accurately measure sustained intergroup contact effects, which are more influential in reducing racial prejudice (Pettigrew 1998). A longitudinal approach to studying

interracial contact effects has advantages over cross-sectional studies. The effects of intergroup contact on racial prejudice tend to accumulate over time (Pettigrew 1998, 1997b). The use of a hierarchical regressions allow this study to examine how the effects of interacting across racial-ethnic lines develop using composite indexes of the different forms interracial contact during college.

The current study analyzed the four racial-ethnic groups separately. This approach was chosen in light of critiques of status attainment research, in which researchers used racial-ethnic groups as "controls" in models, and assumed that the designated paths of influence are the same for individuals despite their race. Research has shown that this is not the case (Allen et al. 2008; Horvat and O'Conner 2006). This approach would not present an accurate account of students' intergroup contact in the college environment. Preliminary analyses explored the possibility of also subdividing by class, but the colleges in the NLSF dataset have limited class variability.

Hierarchical regression models were constructed similarly to those conducted by Levin et al. (2003). Two groups of models were estimated: group-specific racial prejudice and racial resentment. For traditional prejudice toward each racial-ethnic outgroup, the first model contained only the focal racial-ethnic outgroup contact variables: interracial friendships in college, interracial dating in college, rooming with the specific racial-ethnic outgroup, and participation in student organizations composed of members mostly of the primary racial-ethnic outgroup. The second model contained the focal racial-ethnic outgroup contact variables and the variables in Wave 5 (senior year): scales measuring students' racial-ethnic group visibility on campus compared to other groups, perceived college commitment to diversity, a scale of social identity measured by social closeness to the racial-ethnic ingroup, and a scale of social closeness toward the specific racial-ethnic outgroup. Other variables included in Model 2 were the

measures taken at college entrance such as group-specific racial prejudice, closeness to the racial-ethnic ingroup, a closeness scale to the specific racial-ethnic outgroup, an interracial friendships, the proportion of racial-ethnic minority students in high school, proportion of racial-ethnic minorities in the students' neighborhood, student's skin color, and whether the student was a woman. Also included as control variables were father's and mother's education, family income, whether the student was from the Southern United States, whether the student was an international student, and whether the student identified as a Christian. Model 3 added the four forms of interracial contact for the two remaining outgroups and the friendship proportions from Wave 1 for each group. A similar process was used to estimate a model of racial resentment for each racial-ethnic student group. This model contained all three outgroup indexes of interracial contact during college, a scale of social closeness to the racial-ethnic ingroup, a scale of social closeness toward a general racial-ethnic outgroup in waves 1 and 5 that comprised all three outgroups for each student group, the proportion of friendships during high school with each outgroup, and the same control variables used in the traditional racial prejudice models. The models of interracial contact effects for black, Latino, and Asian American student models were conducted the similarly to the white student models, but included the campus racial climate scale.

CHAPTER 4

RACIAL PREJUDICE AMONG WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS

This chapter discusses the interracial contact effects among white college students in the NLSF data. First, the results of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses of white students' traditional racial prejudice toward blacks, Latinos, and Asians are presented in addition to the factor analyses of modern racial prejudice among these students. These analyses were conducted to identify whether white college students consider all outgroups as a unified group, or if there are distinctions in their racial prejudice toward specific groups. Next, the descriptive statistics of the white college student sample is provided. Finally, the hierarchical regressions of the interracial contact effects are discussed.

Racial Prejudice Construction

Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to create the dependent variables for this study, racial prejudice toward three outgroups. These analyses indicated that white students exhibited components of racial resentment in waves 1 and 5 in addition to traditional racial prejudice. A scale was constructed in both waves 1 and 5 measuring white students agreement that black, Latino, and Asian Americans "only have themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder they would do better" (see Table 3). Cronbach's alphas were high for both Wave 1 (α= .931) and Wave 5 (α= .931). A second component of racial resentment, found in Wave 1, indicated white students' level of agreement that educated blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans who do "what is considered 'proper' will be accepted and eventually get ahead." This scale also had a high Cronbach's alpha (α= .907). Finally, four items in Wave 5 were found to group together, and appeared to measure college-related racial-ethnic resentment. These items included white students' perception of their college or

university's commitment to diversity, and visibility scores comparing students' perceptions of black, Latino, and Asian American students' visibility on campus compared to white students' visibility. These items had a moderately high Cronbach's alpha (α= .757). Though these items could form a scale, the choice was made to keep each item separate to identify how each influence traditional racial prejudice. As is discussed next, since the visibility items compared whites to each racial-ethnic outgroup, these items corresponded with group-specific traditional racial prejudice.

[Table 3 about here]

Traditional racial prejudice measures in Wave 1 are displayed in Table 4. Each item is a difference score that subtracts the white group score from the outgroup score, with positive scores indicating negative beliefs toward the outgroup and negative scores indicating positive beliefs toward the outgroup. At college entrance, white students held more prejudice on all four items for both blacks and Latinos. However, they held more positive views about Asians on all items. All three scales had moderately high alphas for anti-Latino racial prejudice (α= .650), anti-Asian racial prejudice (α= .648), and anti-black racial prejudice (α= .628).

[Table 4 about here]

At college completion, white students generally exhibited negative stereotypes toward blacks and Latinos relative to whites on many of the items, but held positive views toward blacks regarding work ethic and sticking to tasks. White students also held more positive views toward Latinos regarding their work ethic compared to their own group (Table 5). White students continued to hold more positive beliefs about Asians than whites, though these scores were slightly lower compared to their college entrance scores. The reliability analysis of traditional racial prejudice in Wave 5 found anti-Asian prejudice had the highest reliability (α= .680),

followed by anti-black prejudice (α= .507), and anti-Latino racial prejudice (α= .492). Reflecting on the changes in Cronbach's alpha, whites solidified their beliefs about Asian Americans more than blacks or Latinos, while their beliefs about blacks and Latinos seem to have become less cohesive.

[Table 5 about here]

Confirmatory factor analysis found that, although the three traditional racial prejudice scales could load under a single latent variable in both Wave 1 and Wave 5, this model would provide a poor fit for the data (Table 6). The Root Mean Square Error of Approximation for the analysis (RMSEA= .17), which served as a measure of model fit, was significant. However, the model fit estimate was outside of the .05 limit established by Hu and Bentler (1999), which indicates a strong model fit. Anti-Asian prejudice in both waves loaded quite low compared to anti-black and anti-Latino racial prejudice, indicating that Asians, blacks, and Latinos did not fit under a unified outgroup for white students. Thus, the hierarchical regression models estimated interracial contact effects for racial prejudice toward each racial-ethnic outgroup.

[Table 6 about here]

The confirmatory factor analysis of racial resentment, measured by the "blame" scales at Wave 1 and Wave 5, presented a different picture for white students from that of traditional racial prejudice (Table 7). All three items loaded on a general racial resentment factor with the Latino blame item having the strongest loadings at both time points. Also, a significant path was found between Wave 1 racial resentment and Wave 5 racial resentment (β= .31). The fit statistic indicated that the model fit the data well (RMSEA= .036). Thus, white students constructed racial resentment with a general "racial other" in mind, which combined all three outgroups together.

[Table 7 about here]

Descriptive Statistics

Table 8 contains the descriptive statistics for the variables in the model for white students. On traditional prejudice, white students held relatively more negative views of blacks and Latinos than their own group at college entrance. In contrast, on average white students held more positive views of Asians compared to their own group. At college exit, white students had the similar levels of racial prejudice toward blacks and Latinos, although these levels were less than college entrance levels and were close to zero, which means white students came close to viewing these two groups as being equal to whites. Whites still viewed Asians in a more positive light compared to their own group at college exit.

[Table 8 about here]

On average, at college entrance white students had a strong level of one dimension of racial resentment: They disagreed that blacks, Latinos, and Asians have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life; they should have tried harder. White students also had a strong level of resentment on another dimension: they agreed that educated blacks, Latinos, and Asians who do what is "proper" will eventually get ahead in life. At college exit, white students had a stronger level of disagreement on the "blame" scale of racial resentment, indicating that during college their level of racial resentment increased.

Turning to the measures of social identity, whites felt closest to their own group at both college entrance and exit, though closeness slightly decreased during this time. Interestingly, whites' closeness to blacks and Asians mirrored each other in both size at college entrance and exit as well as decrease over time. This finding is intriguing given the disproportionate among of interaction white students had with Asian students than black students, described more below.

Moreover, white students felt closer to blacks and Asians than to Latinos at both time points. At the end of college, white students perceived their college's commitment to diversity as being "just enough." White students perceived all three racial-ethnic outgroups as less visible on campus than their own group with Asian students the least visible followed by black students, and Latino students.

During college, white students had homogenous friendship networks. Only three percent of their friendships were blacks or Latinos, and nine percent with Asians. Twenty percent of white students in the sample dated a black partner, 21 percent dated a Latino partner, and 31 percent dated an Asian partner during college. On average, 2 percent of white students roomed with black and Latino roommates and 9 percent roomed with an Asian roommate during their sophomore and junior years. Less than 1 percent of white students were members of a mostly Latino student organization, 1 percent were members of a mostly black student organization, and 2 percent were members of a mostly Asian student organization during their sophomore and junior years.

White students were enrolled in colleges and universities with a student population that contained 7 percent black students, 14 percent Asian students, and 5 percent Latino students. The colleges and universities attended by white students also had 31 percent of the student body participating in Greek fraternities and sororities.

White students already had fairly homogenous friendship networks at college entrance. Four percent of their friendships were with Latinos, 5 percent with blacks, and 10 percent with Asians. Slightly over half the white students in the sample were women (52 percent). According to interviewer coded rating of students' skin color, white students had light complexions. Five percent of white students were international students, 70 percent identified as Christian, and 19

percent came from the Southern United States. White students had mothers and fathers who averaged slightly more than a bachelor's degree in education and came from homes with average income of $71,945.35 in 1999 dollars. The white students in the sample attended high schools that averaged 31 percent racial-ethnic minority students and lived in neighborhoods with 15 percent racial-ethnic minority neighbors.

Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Racial Prejudice in College

Three models examined the influence of interracial contact on white students' racial prejudice toward each racial-ethnic outgroup. Table 9 shows the regression models of white students' anti-black prejudice. Model 1 contained only the interracial contact measures with blacks and predicted .1 percent of the variance in white students' anti-black prejudice, though this model was not significant. No support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with blacks during college would reduce white students' anti-black prejudice at the end of college.

[Table 9 about here]

Model 2 significantly explained 19.3 percent of the variance in white students' anti-black prejudice. As predicted, white students who had higher levels of anti-black prejudice level at college entrance had higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (.177, $p < .001$). No form of interracial contact with blacks during college significantly reduced white students' exiting anti-black prejudice. Thus, no support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with blacks during college would reduce white students' exiting anti-black prejudice.

The social identity hypothesis predicted that ingroup closeness would lead to more racial prejudice toward a racial-ethnic outgroup at the end of college, while closeness to the specific outgroup would lead to less exiting prejudice toward a racial-ethnic outgroup. As predicted,

whites' with higher levels of closeness to their own group at college exit had a higher level of prejudice toward blacks (.092, $p < .001$); however, their higher levels of closeness to blacks at college exit led to lower levels of anti-black prejudice (-.090, $p < .001$). Neither social identity measures at the beginning of college affected anti-black prejudice.

Based on Blumer's (1958) group position hypothesis, I predicted that the greater the perceived visibility of a racial-ethnic outgroup on campus compared to one's ingroup, the higher racial prejudice toward the racial-ethnic outgroup would be. As predicted, white students who perceived Latino students as having higher levels of visibility on campus had more anti-black prejudice at college exit (.017, $p < .05$). This finding may indicate that white students somewhat connect blacks and Latinos as a possible threat to their group's position on campus. No support was found for the black or Asian student visibility items. It was predicted that white students' with a perception of their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" would have higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice, but this hypothesis was not supported in the model. Nor was there any support for the hypotheses that more racial-ethnic minority students on campus would serve as a proxy for greater levels of interracial contact or possible perception of racial threat, or higher levels of prejudice among white students on campuses with more students participating in Greek organizations.

Turning to the precollege and social characteristics, only one variable in the model was significant. Contrary to the hypothesis that more diversity in white students' neighborhoods would reduce their level of anti-black prejudice at the end of college by sparking more interracial interaction, the level of racial-ethnic diversity in white students' precollege neighborhoods increased their anti-black prejudice at college exit (.150, $p < .05$), supporting the racial threat hypothesis. Contrary to the interracial contact hypothesis, white students who had higher levels

of interracial friendships with blacks at the beginning of college did not have lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice. The level of racial-ethnic diversity in high school did not affect exiting anti-black prejudice either. Contrary to the hypothesis, white women did not have lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice than white men. Also, no support was found for the hypothesis that white students with darker skin would have lower levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college.

As for the control variables, contrary to prediction, neither higher levels of parental education nor being an international student reduced white students' level of exiting anti-black prejudice. As predicted, white students from the South had higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (.090, $p< .01$). No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between white students' family income and being a Christian with anti-black prejudice at the end of college.

Model 3 added the Asian and Latino interracial contact items to test for evidence of an extended contact effect, when interacting with one group influence the perceptions of another group not involved in the interaction, but no support was found for the hypothesis. All variables that were significant in the second model were also significant in the third model, but white students' neighborhood diversity was no longer significant. White students with higher levels of entering anti-black prejudice (.174, $p< .001$) and closeness to their own group (.092, $p< .001$) had higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice, while white students with higher levels of closeness to blacks also continued to have lower levels of their anti-black prejudice (-.089, $p< .001$). White students who perceived Latino students' as more visible on campus compared to white students had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of college (.018, $p< .05$). White students who came from the South had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of

college (.090, $p< .05$). Lastly, support was found for part of the hypothesis that higher levels of parental education among white students' would lead to lower exiting anti-black prejudice. The higher education of white students' mothers, the lower the students' exiting anti-black prejudice was (-.019, $p< .05$). This model explained 19.0 percent of the variance in white students' anti-black prejudice; however, this was not a significant change from the second model.

Table 10 displays the regression results of interracial contact effects on white students' anti-Latino prejudice. Model 1 predicted .3 percent of the variance in exiting anti-Latino prejudice among white students, but this was not significant. Slight support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with Latinos during college would lower white students' level of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college. As predicted, the more friendships with Latinos that white students' had during college, the lower their level of anti-Latino prejudice was at the end of college (-.692, $p< .05$).

[Table 10 about here]

Model 2 predicted 15.6 percent of the variance in white students' exiting anti-Latino prejudice and this was a significant difference from the first model. As predicted, white students with higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at college entrance had higher levels at college exit (.168, $p< .001$). No support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with Latinos during college would reduce white students' level of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college, as the previous finding concerning Latino friendships was no longer significant.

Partial support was found for the social identity hypothesis that higher levels of closeness to other whites would lead to more anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college among white students. White students with higher levels of closeness to other whites at the end of college had higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice (.094, $p< .001$), while their higher levels of closeness to

Latinos led to lower levels of anti-Latino prejudice (-.091, $p < .001$). The social identity measures at the beginning of college did not significantly affect white students' level of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college.

Turning to the campus characteristics, contrary to the racial threat hypothesis, black, Latino, and Asian students' visibility compared to white students' visibility on campus did not increase white students' level of exiting anti-Latino prejudice. Also, contrary to the hypothesis, white students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as more than "just enough" did not have higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice. No support was found for either the hypothesis that more racial-ethnic diversity among the student body would lower white students' anti-Latino prejudice or the racial threat hypothesis that more racial-ethnic diversity of the student body would lead to higher levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice. Additionally, no support was found for the hypothesis that more participation in Greek organizations among students would lead to more anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college.

In regard to the precollege and social characteristics, contrary to the hypothesis, more interracial friendships with Latinos at the beginning of college did not lead to lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice among white students. Also, contrary to the hypotheses, higher levels of racial-ethnic diversity in the high schools and neighborhoods of white students did not lower their level of exiting anti-Latino prejudice or follow theories of racial threat, which would lead to increases in exiting anti-Latino prejudice. Furthermore, white students with darker skin or who were women did not have lower levels of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college either.

Turning to the control variables, as predicted, the more education white students' mothers had, the lower the students' exiting anti-Latino prejudice was (-.022, $p < .05$). Contrary to the

hypothesis, higher education among white students' fathers did not lower white students' level of exiting anti-Latino prejudice. White students from the South had higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college (.075, $p < .05$). No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between white students' family income and being a Christian with anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college. Lastly, contrary to predictions, white students from outside the U.S. did not have lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice.

Model 3 added the Asian and black interracial contact items. It explained 15.3 percent of white students' anti-Latino prejudice. This was not a significant change from the second model. Additionally, none of the added interracial contact items supported the hypothesis of an extend contact effect. The same variables that were significant in the second model were also significant in the third model. White students with higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at college entrance had higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college (.164, $p < .001$). At the end of college, white students' closeness to their own group continued to lead to higher levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice (.096, $p < .001$), and white students' level of closeness to Latinos led to lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice (-.090, $p < .001$). The higher level of education among mothers of white students the lower their level of exiting anti-Latino prejudice (-.022, $p < .05$). Finally, white students from the South had higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college (.076, $p < .05$), and no other variables were significant in this model.

Table 11 displays the models of anti-Asian prejudice among white students. The first model examined the influence of white students' interactions with Asians on their exiting anti-Asian prejudice, and explained -.3 percent of the variance, though this was not significant. Contrary to the hypothesis, none of the forms of interracial contact with Asians reduced white students' anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college.

[Table 11 about here]

Model 2 significantly explained 15.8 percent of the variance in white students' anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. As predicted, white students with higher levels of anti-Asian prejudice at college entrance had higher levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college (.253, $p < .001$). Again, contrary to the hypothesis, interracial contact with Asians during college did not lower white students' prejudice toward Asians at the end of college.

In relation to the social identity hypothesis, some support was found in the second model. No support was found for the hypothesis that higher levels of ingroup closeness at either the beginning or end of college would lead to higher levels of exiting prejudice toward Asians, or that higher levels of outgroup closeness at either time point would lead to lower levels of exiting prejudice toward Asians.

Turning to the campus characteristics, as predicted, white students who perceived Asian students as relatively more visible on campus than white students had higher levels of prejudice toward Asians (.031, $p < .05$). Contrary to prediction, neither black students' nor Latino students' visibility compared to white students' visibility on campus led to higher levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college among white students. Contrary to prediction, white students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice (-.074, $p < .05$). No support was found for the hypotheses that more racial-ethnic diversity among the students on campus would lead to lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice or that it may led to higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice, in line with the racial threat perspective. No support was found for the hypothesis that the more students who participate in Greek organizations would lead to higher levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college among white students.

As for the precollege and social characteristics, contrary to prediction, interracial friendships with Asians at the beginning of college did not lead to lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. Also contrary to prediction, the more racial-ethnic diversity in high school or neighborhood did not lead to either higher or lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice among white students. Additionally, contrary to prediction, neither dark-skinned white students nor women had lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college.

Turning to the control variables, higher levels of education among white students' parents did not lead to lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice, contradicting the hypothesis. No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between white students' family income and being a Christian with anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. Contrary to the hypothesis, white students who came from the South did not have higher levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. Lastly, contrary to prediction, white students from outside the U.S. did not have lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college than white students who were U.S. citizens.

Model 3 added the black and Latino interracial contact items. It explained 15.9 percent of the variance in white students' anti-Asian prejudice, an insignificant change from the second model. No support was found for extended contact effects resulting from black and Latino interracial contact. All other variables that were significant in the second model were significant in the third model. White students with higher levels of anti-Asian prejudice at college entrance significantly had higher levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college (.254, $p < .001$). White students who perceived Asian students to be more visible on campus had higher levels of anti-Asian prejudice (.035, $p < .001$). Lastly, white students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice (-.073, $p < .001$).

Interracial Contact Effects on Racial Resentment in College

Table 12 presents the results of interracial contact on white students' racial resentment. This model explained 18.6 percent of the variance in white students' racial resentment. As predicted, white students with higher levels of racial resentment, as measured by blaming minority groups for not doing better, at the beginning of college, had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.156, $p < .001$). Contrary to prediction, no measure of interracial contact reduced racial resentment at the end of college for white students.

[Table 12 about here]

Regarding social identity theory, support was found in the model for the social identity hypotheses at the end of college, as more ingroup closeness led to higher levels of racial resentment and more outgroup closeness led to lower levels of racial resentment among white students. White students with higher levels of closeness to their own group at the end of college had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.301, $p < .001$), while their higher levels closeness toward outgroups led to lower levels of exiting level of racial resentment (-.221, $p < .01$). The social identity measures at the beginning of college did not affect white students' level of racial resentment at the end of college.

Among the campus characteristics, as predicted, white students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had higher levels of racial resentment at the end of college (.417, $p < .001$). Contrary to prediction, white students' perceptions of black, Latino, and Asian students' visibility compared to white students' visibility on campus did not lead to higher levels of exiting racial resentment. Moreover, no support was found for the hypotheses that more racial-ethnic diversity among the students on campus would lead to either higher or lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice. Nor was any support found for the

hypothesis that the more students who participate in Greek organizations would lead to higher levels of racial resentment at the end of college among white students.

In regard to the precollege and social characteristics, contrary to the interracial contact hypotheses, white students who had more friendships with Latinos at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (2.409, $p < .001$). In contrast, white students with more interracial friendships with blacks or Asians at the beginning of college did not have lower levels of exiting racial resentment. Also, contrary to prediction, white students with more racial-ethnic diversity in their high schools or neighborhoods did not have either more or less racial resentment at the end of college. Counter to the hypothesis that students with darker skin would have lower levels of racial resentment, white students with darker skin did not have lower levels of exiting racial resentment. As predicted, white women had lower levels of racial resentment than white men at the end of college (-.587, $p < .001$).

Finally, support was found for one of the control variable hypotheses. The more education the mothers of white students had, the lower white students' levels of racial resentment at the end of college was (-.109, $p < .05$), but father's education did not affect white students' level of racial resentment. No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between white students' family income and being a Christian with racial resentment at the end of college. Contrary to predictions, white students from the South did not have higher levels of exiting racial resentment, and white students who were international students did not have lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college.

Summary of Interracial Contact and Social Identity Effects

The four models of racial prejudice among white students indicated that social identity was more influential than interacting across racial-ethnic lines during college on white students'

end of college racial prejudice. None of the interracial contact measures during college significantly influenced any form of traditional or modern racial prejudice. Thus, the main hypotheses that the four forms of interracial contact would reduce white students' level of traditional and modern racial prejudice were not supported. Only one precollege interracial contact measure was significant among the white student models: more Latino friendships prior to college led to higher levels of racial resentment. However, this finding contradicts the intergroup contact hypothesis that more cross-race interaction would lead to lower levels of racial resentment.

Turning to the social identity measures, support was found for the hypothesis that higher levels of ingroup closeness at the end of college would lead to higher levels of prejudice toward blacks and Latinos, as well as higher levels of racial resentment. Additionally, support was found for the hypothesis that higher levels of outgroup closeness at the end of college would lead to lower levels of prejudice toward blacks and Latinos, and lower levels of racial resentment among white students. No support for social identity theory was found in the anti-Asian prejudice model. Only the end of college social identity measures was significant in the white student models of traditional and modern racial prejudice, but not the beginning college measures. This may be the result of the end of college social identity measures suppressing the effects of the beginning college measures.

Given the connection between social identity and intergroup contact research, interaction terms were added in subsequent analyses to test if social identity buffers the interracial contact experiences among the college students in this study. To construct the interaction terms, ingroup closeness was multiplied for each racial-ethnic student group at the end of college with each interracial contact measure with the focal racial-ethnic group in each model. For example,

among white students, closeness to other whites at the end of college was multiplied by each form of black interracial contact, resulting in four interaction terms. Each interaction term was entered into the model one at a time. None of the interaction terms entered into the white student models were significant.

CHAPTER 5

RACIAL PREJUDICE AMONG BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS

This chapter discusses the interracial contact effects among black college students in the NLSF data. First, the results of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses of black students' traditional racial prejudice toward whites, Latinos, and Asians are presented in addition to the discussion about black students' racial resentment items. These analyses were conducted to identify whether black college students consider all outgroups as a unified group, or if there are distinctions in their racial prejudice toward specific groups. Next, the descriptive statistics of the black college student sample is provided. Finally, the hierarchical regressions of the interracial contact effects are discussed.

Racial Prejudice Construction

Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to create the dependent variables for this study, racial prejudice toward three outgroups. Traditional racial prejudice measures in Wave 1 are displayed in Table 13. Each item is a difference score that subtracts the black group score from the outgroup score, with positive scores indicating negative beliefs toward the outgroup and negative scores indicating positive beliefs toward the outgroup. At college entrance, black students perceived whites as lazier and slightly less intelligent compared to their own group. However, black students perceived whites as more self-sufficient and able to stick to tasks than blacks. The anti-white prejudice items had a moderately high Cronbach's alpha (α= .553).

[Table 13 about here]

Black students perceived Latinos as lazier, less intelligent, less self-sufficient, and less able to stick to tasks compared to their own group. The anti-Latino prejudice items had a low

Cronbach's alpha (α= .380). Lastly, unlike the perceptions of Latinos, black students considered Asians in a more positive light compared to their own group. Black students perceived Asians as less lazy, more intelligent, more self-sufficient, and able to stick to tasks than blacks. The anti-Asian prejudice items had a moderately high Cronbach's alpha (α= .630).

Table 14 displays the traditional racial prejudice items toward each group at the end of college. Black students considered whites as lazier, slightly less intelligent, and less able to stick to tasks than blacks. However, black students perceived whites as more self-sufficient than their own group. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was slightly less than the score in Wave 1, but still moderately high (α= .514). Interestingly, black students reversed almost all of their negative views of Latinos by the end of college. Black students considered Latinos as less intelligent than their own group, but less lazy, and slightly more self-sufficient and able to stick to tasks. Although the Cronbach's alpha for this scale increased from what existed at the beginning of college, the score is still relatively low (α= .453). Finally, the overall positive perception of Asians compared to blacks was carried throughout college for black students. Asians were perceived as less lazy, more intelligent, more self-sufficient, and more able to stick to tasks than blacks. The anti-Asian prejudice scale had a slight increase in the size, and displayed a moderately high Cronbach's alpha (α= .669).

[Table 14 about here]

Table 15 presents the confirmatory factor of black students' traditional racial prejudice. Confirmatory factor analysis found that, although the three traditional racial prejudice scales could load under a single latent variable in both Wave 1 and Wave 5, this model would provide a poor fit for the data. Like the results of white students' traditional racial prejudice, the fit statistics indicated that this model did not strongly fit the data using Hu and Bentler's (1999)

recommendations (RMSEA= .14). At Wave 1, anti-white prejudice exhibited the strongest loading, and at Wave 5 anti-Asian prejudice had the strongest loading. The model also contained a significant positive beta path from Wave 1 outgroup prejudice to Wave 5 outgroup prejudice (β= .48). Thus, black students considered racial-ethnic group differently and not as general "racial other" in relation to their racial prejudice, and the hierarchical regression models estimated interracial contact effects for racial prejudice toward each racial-ethnic group.

[Table 15 about here]

Turning to black students' racial resentment in Table 16, black students generally disagreed on the Wave 1 "blame" scale that Latinos and Asian Americans had only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. Similar to white students, these items had a high Cronbach's alpha (α= .859). When black students considered the "proper behavior" scale of racial resentment, they generally agreed that Latinos and Asian Americans who were educated and did what is considered "proper" would eventually get ahead in life. These items also had a fairly high Cronbach's alpha (α= .738). In Wave 5, black students had stronger levels of disagreement on the "blame" items than they exhibited at college entrance. The Cronbach's alpha for these items increased in size from the beginning of college (α= .903). In regards to the racial saliency items in college, black students perceived white students as more visible than their own group on campus, Latinos only slightly more visible, and Asian students as less visible on campus. Black students perceived their college's commitment to diversity as slightly "too little."

[Table 16 about here]

Descriptive Statistics

Table 17 contains the descriptive statistics of black students. At college entrance, black students had the most racial prejudice toward Latinos, but held slightly more positive views of whites, and more positive views of Asians compared to their own group. At college exit, black students shifted their views of the three outgroups. Black students still viewed Asians in a more positive light compared to their own group, but also considered Latinos in a slightly more positive view compared to blacks, and viewed whites more negatively than blacks.

[Table 17 about here]

Black students had a fairly strong level of disagreement on the "blame" scale of racial resentment at college entrance, and a stronger level of disagreement at college exit that Latinos and Asian Americans should blame themselves for not doing better in life. On the "proper behavior" scale of racial resentment at Wave 1, black students had a strong level of agreement that Latinos and Asian Americans who are educated and do what is considered "proper" will eventually get ahead in life.

Turning to the measures of social identity, black students felt closest to their own group at both college entrance and exit, though closeness slightly decreased during this time. Following their own group, black students felt closest to Latinos, then whites, and lastly Asians at both time points. At the end of college, black students perceived their college's commitment to diversity as being slightly "too little." Black students perceived white students as more visible, Latinos as slightly more visible, and Asian students as less visible on campus compared to their own group. The campus racial climate scale (described more below) indicated that black students generally did not perceive high levels of racial tension on their campuses, though there was some present during their college years.

In regards to black students' friendships in college, 4 percent of their friends were Latino, 6 percent were Asian, and 19 percent were white. As for interracial dating in college among black students, 24 percent of students dated an Asian partner, 37 percent dated a Latino partner, and 47 percent dated a white partner at some point during college. Black students were more likely to room with white students (30 percent) during college compared to Asian (9 percent) and Latino students (5 percent). Only 1 percent of black students were members of mostly Latino student organizations in college, 2 percent were members of mostly Asian student organizations, and 27 percent were members of mostly white student organizations.

Black students attended colleges and universities with a student body composed of 12 percent black students, 13 percent Asian students, and 5 percent Latino students. These same institutions attended by black students had 29 percent of the student body participating in Greek fraternities and sororities.

Black students' precollege friendship networks contained 6 percent Latino friends, 7 percent Asian friends, and 27 percent white friends. Nearly two-thirds of black students in the sample were women (65 percent). According to interviewer coded rating of students' skin color, black had a moderately dark skin complexions. Eight percent of black students were international students, 86 percent identified as Christian, and 27 percent came from the Southern United States. The mothers and fathers of black students averaged slightly less than a bachelor's degree, and these students came from homes with an annual family income of $57,990.24 (in 1999 dollars). Black students graduated high schools with 54 percent of the student population being racial-ethnic minorities, and lived in neighborhoods with 55 percent racial-ethnic minority residents.

As described in Chapter 3, a large group of items were used to create a scale of campus racial climate for black, Latino, and Asian students. Table 19 presents the campus racial climate items and scale. In Wave 2, black students rarely felt self-conscious because of their race, heard, racially derogatory remarks, or were discriminated against on campus by faculty, staff or students. Similar results existed in waves 3 and 4. The Wave 2 items had a high Cronbach's alpha (α= .811), as did the Wave 3 (α= .835) and Wave 4 items (α= .758). As noted above, black students generally did not experience a highly negative racial climate during college, though their existed some racial tension while they pursued their college degrees.

[Table 18 about here]

Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Racial Prejudice in College

Three models examined the influence of interracial contact on black students' racial prejudice toward each racial-ethnic group. Table 19 shows the regression models of black students' anti-white prejudice. Model 1 contained only the interracial contact measures with whites and significantly predicted .7 percent of the variance in black students' anti-white prejudice. Limited support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with whites during college would reduce black students' anti-white prejudice at the end of college. Black students who dated white partners in college had lower exiting levels of prejudice toward whites (-.300, $p< .05$). None of the remaining interracial contact measures with whites were significant.

[Table 19 about here]

Model 2 significantly predicted 12.7 percent of the variance in black students' anti-white prejudice. As was predicted, black students with higher levels of anti-white prejudice at college entrance had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.186, $p< .001$). Limited supported was found for the interracial contact hypothesis. Black students who had dated a white partner during

college had reduced anti-white racial prejudice at the end of college (-.290, $p < .05$). None of the remaining interracial contact measures with whites were significant.

The social identity hypothesis predicted that ingroup closeness would lead to more racial prejudice toward a racial-ethnic outgroup at the end of college, while closeness to the specific outgroup would lead to less exiting prejudice toward a racial-ethnic outgroup. Limited support was found for social identity theory. As predicted, black students who had higher levels of closeness to their own group at the end of college increased their level of exiting anti-white prejudice (.026, $p < .05$). No support was found for the hypothesis that black students with higher levels of closeness toward whites at the end of college would have lower levels of exiting anti-white prejudice. Neither social identity measures at the beginning of college affected anti-white prejudice.

It was predicted that black students' with a perception of their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" would have higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice, but this hypothesis was not supported in the model. Based on Blumer's (1958) group position hypothesis, I predicted that the greater perceived visibility of a racial-ethnic outgroup on campus compared to one's ingroup, the higher racial prejudice toward the racial-ethnic group would be. As predicted, black students who perceived white students as more visible that their own group on campus had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.021, $p < .05$). Contrary to prediction, black students who perceived Latino students to be more visible on campus than black students had lower levels of anti-white prejudice (-.029, $p < .05$). No support was found for the Asian student visibility items. Also contrary to prediction, black students who perceived a more negative campus racial climate did not have more anti-white prejudice at the end of college. Support was found for the hypothesis that higher proportions of racial-ethnic minority

students on campus would serve as a proxy for greater levels of interracial contact, but not a possible perception of racial threat. As predicted, the higher proportion of black students on campus, the lower black students' anti-white prejudice at the end of college (-.304, $p < .05$). No support was found for the hypothesis that a higher proportion of Asian or Latino students would lower their racial prejudice toward whites. No support was found for the hypothesis black students that attended colleges with more students participating in Greek organizations on campus would have higher anti-white prejudice at the end of college.

Turning to the precollege and social characteristics, only one variable in the model was significant. Contrary to prediction, black women had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college than men (.129, $p < .001$). Contrary to the interracial contact hypothesis, black students who had higher levels of interracial friendships with whites at the beginning of college did not have lower levels of exiting anti-white prejudice. The level of racial-ethnic diversity in black students' high schools or neighborhoods did not affect exiting anti-white prejudice. No support was found for the hypothesis that black students with darker skin would have lower levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college.

As for the control variables, none of the variables were significant. Contrary to prediction, neither higher levels of parental education nor being an international student reduced black students' level of exiting anti-white prejudice. Also contrary to prediction, black students from the South did not have higher levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college. No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between black students' family income and being a Christian with anti-white prejudice at the end of college.

Model 3 added the Asian and Latino interracial contact items to test for evidence of an extended contact effect, when interaction with one group influence the perceptions of another

group not involved in the interaction, but no support was found for the hypothesis. All of the variables that were significant in the first model were also significant in the second model. Black students with higher levels of entering anti-white prejudice had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.185, $p < .001$). Black students who dated a white partner during college had lower levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college (-.299, $p < .05$). Black students with higher levels of closeness to their own group at the end of college had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.027, $p < .05$). Black students who perceived white students to be more visible on campus than black students had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.019, $p < .05$), and black students who perceived Latino students to be more visible than their own group had lower levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (-.027, $p < .01$). Higher proportions of black students on campus led to lower black students' exiting anti-white prejudice level (-.293, $p < .01$). Black women had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college than black men (.130, $p < .001$). This model explained 12.7 percent of the variance in black students' anti-white prejudice; however, this was not a significant difference from the second model.

Table 20 displays the regression results of interracial contact effects on black students' anti-Latino prejudice. Model 1 predicted -.2 percent of the variance in exiting anti-Latino prejudice among black students, but this was not significant. No support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with Latinos during college would reduce black students' anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college.

[Table 20 about here]

Model 2 significantly explained 8.2 percent of the variance. As predicted, black students with higher levels of entering anti-Latino prejudice had higher levels of exiting prejudice toward Latinos (.160, $p < .001$). No form of interracial contact with Latinos during college significantly

reduced black students' exiting anti-Latino prejudice. Thus, no support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with Latinos during college would reduce black students' exiting anti-Latino prejudice.

In relation to the social identity hypothesis, no support was found in the second model. Neither ingroup closeness at the end or beginning of college significantly affected black students' exiting anti-Latino prejudice. Additionally, neither black students' level of closeness to Latinos at the end or beginning of college affected their level of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college.

Turning to the campus characteristics, two variables were significant. Contrary to prediction, the higher black students perceived their college's commitment to diversity, the lower their anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college (-.026, $p < .05$). As predicted, the higher the proportion of black students on campus, the lower black students' exiting anti-Latino prejudice was (-.299, $p < .001$). Thus, contradicting the alternative hypothesis that more racial-ethnic minority students on campus would present a racial threat to black students. No support was found for either the interracial contact or racial threat hypotheses for the proportion of Asian and Latino students on campus. Contrary to prediction, neither white students', black students', nor Latino students' visibility compared to black students' visibility on campus led to higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college among black students. Also contrary to prediction, black students who perceived more racial tension on campus did not have lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice. Lastly, the proportion of students participating in Greek organizations did not affect black students' level of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college.

As for the precollege and social characteristics, one of the variables was significant in the second model. As predicted, black students with darker skin color had lower levels of exiting

prejudice toward Latinos (-.011, $p < .05$). Contrary to prediction, black students with more Latino friendships at the beginning of college did not have lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice. No support was found for either the hypothesis that more racial-ethnic diversity in black students' high schools or neighborhoods would lead to lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice or that more diversity would represent a racial threat to black students. Lastly, contrary to prediction, black women did not have lower levels of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college compared to men.

Turning to the control variables, contrary to prediction, a significant relationship did not exist between black students' family income and their level of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college. Higher levels of education among black students' parents did not lead to lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice, contradicting the hypothesis. No support was found for the hypothesis that a significant relationship would exist between black students' family income or those students who identified as Christian and their level of exiting anti-Latino prejudice. Contrary to the hypothesis, black students who came from the South did not have higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college. Finally, contrary to prediction, black students from outside the U.S. did not have lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college than black students who were U.S. citizens.

Model 3 added the white and Asian interracial contact items to test for evidence of an extended contact effect, but no support was found for the hypothesis. All variables that were significant in the second model were also significant in the third model. Black students with higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college (.161, $p < .001$). Black students who perceived their college's diversity commitment as "too high" had lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice (-.029, $p <$

.01). Higher proportions of black students on campus led to lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice among black students (-.283, $p < .001$). The darker skin a student had (-.010, $p < .05$), the lower their level of exiting anti-Latino prejudice. Model 3 predicted 7.9 percent of the variance, an insignificant change from the second model.

Table 21 displays the regression results of interracial contact effects on black students' anti-Asian prejudice. Model 1 predicted zero percent of the variance in exiting anti-Asian prejudice among black students, which was not significant. No support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with Asians during college would reduce black students' anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college.

[Table 21 about here]

Model 2 predicted 13.2 percent of the variance in black students' exiting anti-Asian prejudice and this was a significant difference from the first model. As predicted, black students with higher levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (.209, $p < .001$). No support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with Asians during college would reduce black students' anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college.

Contrary to the social identity hypothesis that higher levels of closeness to other blacks would lead to more anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college among black students, black students with higher levels of closeness to other blacks had lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (-.032, $p < .05$). Also contrary to prediction, black students with higher levels of closeness to Asians at the end of college had higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (.036, $p < .05$). The social identity measures at the beginning of college did not significantly affect black students' level of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college.

Turning to the campus characteristics, contrary to the racial threat hypothesis, white, Latino, and Asian students' visibility compared to black students' visibility on campus did not increase black students' level of exiting anti-Asian prejudice. Contrary to prediction, black students who had higher perceptions of their college's commitment to diversity had lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (-.090, $p < .001$). As predicted, black students who perceived more racial tension toward racial-ethnic minorities on campus had lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college (-.102, $p < .05$). As predicted, black students who were on campuses with higher proportions of black students had lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college (-.573, $p < .01$). This finding contradicts the alternative racial threat hypothesis. No support was found for either the interracial contact or racial threat hypotheses for the proportion of Asian and Latino students on campus. Support was found for the hypothesis that more participation in Greek organizations among students would lead to more anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college for black students (-.255, $p < .05$).

In regard to the precollege and social characteristics, contrary to the hypothesis, more interracial friendships with Asians at the beginning of college did not lead to lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice among black students. Also, contrary to the hypotheses, higher levels of racial-ethnic diversity in the high schools and neighborhoods of black students did not lower their level of exiting anti-Asian prejudice or follow theories of racial threat, which would lead to increases in exiting anti-Latino prejudice. Furthermore, black students with darker skin or who were women did not have lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college either.

Turning to the control variables, contrary to prediction, the higher education among black students' parents did not lower black students' level of exiting anti-Asian prejudice. No support

was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between black students' family income and being a Christian with anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. Lastly, contrary to predictions, black students from the South did not have higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice and black students from outside the U.S. did not have lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college.

Model 3 added the white and Latino interracial contact items. It explained 14.9 percent of the variance of black students' anti-Asian prejudice, a significant change from the second model. One extended contact effects was found with the addition of these variables to the model, while the proportion of students in Greek organizations was no longer significant. As predicted, black students who dated white partners in college had lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college (-.589, $p< .001$). Black students who had higher levels of anti-Asian prejudice level at college entrance had significantly higher levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college (.212, $p< .001$). Contrary to predictions, black students with higher levels of closeness toward Asians had higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (.039, $p< .05$), while black students who were closer to their own group had lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college (-.036, $p< .05$). Black students who had higher perceptions of their college's diversity commitment had lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college (-.076, $p< .01$). Black students who perceived more racial tension on campus toward racial-ethnic minorities (-.107, $p< .05$), and black students who attended colleges with higher proportions of black students (-.553, $p< .01$) had lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice.

Interracial Contact Effects on Racial Resentment in College

Table 22 presents the results of interracial contact on black students' racial resentment. This model significantly explained 10.8 percent of the variance. As predicted, black students

with higher levels of racial resentment, as measured by blaming minority groups for not doing better, at the beginning of college, had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.198, $p < .001$). Contrary to prediction, no measure of interracial contact reduced racial resentment at the end of college for black students.

[Table 22 about here]

Regarding social identity theory, contradictory findings existed in the model for one of the social identity hypotheses at the end of college and one hypothesis at the beginning of college. Contrary to predication, black students who had higher levels of closeness to other outgroups at the end of college had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.189, $p < .01$). Also, contrary to prediction, black students who had higher levels of closeness to their own group at the beginning of college had lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college (-.138, $p < .01$). The social identity measures of ingroup closeness at the end of college and outgroup closeness at the beginning of college did not affect black students' level of racial resentment.

Among the campus characteristics, support was found for one hypothesis. As predicted, black students who had higher perceptions of their college's commitment to diversity had higher levels of racial resentment at the end of college (.227, $p < .001$). Contrary to prediction, black students' perceptions of white, Latino, and Asian students' visibility compared to black students' visibility on campus did not lead to higher levels of racial resentment. Contrary to prediction, black students who perceived more racial tension on campus did not have lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college. No support was found for the hypotheses that more racial-ethnic diversity among the students on campus lead to either higher or lower levels of exiting racial resentment. Nor was any support was found for the hypothesis that the more students who

participate in Greek organizations would lead to higher levels of racial resentment at the end of college among black students.

In regard to the precollege and social characteristics, contrary to the interracial contrary to the interracial contact hypotheses, black students who had more friendships with whites, Latinos, and Asians at the beginning of college did not have lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college. As predicted, black students who lived in neighborhoods with higher proportions of racial-ethnic minority residents had higher levels of racial resentment at the end of college (.612, $p < .01$). Thus, this finding contradicts the alternative hypothesis that more racial-ethnic diversity in the high schools of black students would lead to lower levels of exiting racial resentment. Counter to the hypothesis that students with darker skin would have lower levels of exiting racial resentment, black students with darker skin did not have lower levels of exiting racial resentment. Lastly, as predicted, black women had lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college than black men (-.362, $p < .05$).

Turning to the control variables, none of the variables were significant in the model. Contrary to prediction, the higher education among black students' parents did not lower black students' level of exiting racial resentment. No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between black students' family income and being a Christian with racial resentment at the end of college. Contrary to predictions, black students from the South did not have higher levels of exiting racial resentment, and black students who were international students did not have lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college.

Summary of Interracial Contact and Social Identity Effects

The four models of racial prejudice among black students indicated that social identity was more influential than interacting across racial-ethnic lines during college on black students'

end of college racial prejudice. Only two interracial contact measures during college significantly influenced any form of black students' traditional or modern racial prejudice. Black students who dated white partners during college had lower levels of anti-white and anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college.

Turning to the social identity measures, more contradictory results were found for the hypotheses than support. At the end of college, support for social identity theory was found in the anti-white model as black students who felt closer to their own group had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college. None of the remaining social identity measures in the anti-white model were significant. No support for social identity theory was found in the anti-Latino prejudice model. Contradictory findings existed in both the anti-Asian prejudice model and the racial resentment model. Black students with higher levels of closeness to their own group at the end of college had less anti-Asian prejudice, while black students with higher levels of closeness to Asians had more prejudice toward Asians at the end of college. None of the social identity measures at the beginning of college were significant in the anti-Asian prejudice model. Black students with higher levels of closeness to their own group at the beginning of college had less racial resentment. Black students with higher levels of closeness to other racial-ethnic outgroups at the end of college had more racial resentment at the end of college. The remaining social identity measures were not significant in the racial resentment model.

Given the connection between social identity and intergroup contact research, interaction terms were added in subsequent analyses to test if social identity buffers the interracial contact experiences among the college students in this study. To construct the interaction terms, ingroup closeness was multiplied for each racial-ethnic student group in each model. For example, among black students, closeness to other blacks at the end of college was multiplied by each

form of white interracial contact, resulting in four interaction terms. Each interaction term was entered into the model one at a time. Among black students, none of the interaction terms were significant in the traditional racial prejudice models, but three interaction terms were significant in the racial resentment model. Higher levels of closeness to other blacks at the end of college and rooming with whites in college reduced black students' level of exiting racial resentment. The same result was found for having more Latino friends in college as well. These findings indicate a possible buffering effect of black students' level of closeness to their own group on some interactions with whites and Latinos. However, higher levels of closeness to other blacks at the end of college and rooming with Latinos in college increased black students' level of exiting racial resentment. This higher level of racial resentment for black students may be the result of possibly hearing the stories of their Latino roommates about either they personally immigrating or their families immigrating to the U.S. and the struggle to achieve the "American dream" and belief in individualism, a key feature of racial resentment and the "blame" scale used in this study.

CHAPTER 6

RACIAL PREJUDICE AMONG ASIAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

This chapter discusses the interracial contact effects among Asian college students in the NLSF data. First, the results of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses of white students' traditional racial prejudice toward whites, blacks, and Latinos are presented in addition to a discussion about Asian students' racial resentment items. These analyses were conducted to identify whether Asian college students consider all outgroups as a unified group, or if there are distinctions in their racial prejudice toward specific groups. Next, the descriptive statistics of the Asian college student sample is provided. Finally, the hierarchical regressions of the interracial contact effects are discussed.

Racial Prejudice Construction

Using the similar difference score items to measure traditional racial prejudice toward each outgroup as was used for white and black students, at the beginning of college, Asian students perceived whites as lazier, less intelligent, less self-sufficient, and less able to stick to tasks than their own group (Table 23). The anti-white prejudice items had a moderately high Cronbach's alpha (α= .553). The same trend was also found for Asian perceptions of blacks and Latinos compared to their own group, and these items had the same moderately high Cronbach's alpha (α= .667). Thus, Asian students entering college perceived their own group as superior to whites, blacks, and Latinos. These students perceived Latinos as the least capable group, followed, by blacks, and then whites.

[Table 23 about here]

At the end of college, the difference scores for each item toward whites, blacks, and Latinos lessened, and moved toward equal status (i.e., a score of "0"; Table 25). However, Asian

students still perceived whites, blacks, and Latinos in lesser terms compared to their own group on each item. Asian students had approximately the same difference scores for blacks and Latinos, but thought slightly more favorably of whites. The anti-white prejudice items had a similar Cronbach's alpha as was seen at the beginning of college (α= .574). The anti-black prejudice items had a stronger Cronbach's alpha in Wave 5 than Wave 1(α= .705), but the anti-Latino prejudice items slightly reduced in size during college (α= .659).

[Table 24 about here]

Confirmatory factor analysis found that, although the three traditional racial prejudice scales could load under a single latent variable in both Wave 1 and Wave 5, this model would provide a poor fit for the data (Table 25). The fit statistic did not agree as it was outside of the acceptable size (RMSEA= .10). In Wave 1, anti-Latino prejudice had the strongest loading under outgroup prejudice, while anti-black prejudice had the strongest loading in Wave 5. A significant path existed between outgroup prejudice at Wave 1 and Wave 5 (β= .40). Thus, like the results of white and black students' racial prejudice, each group must were considered separately for Asian students instead of together as a single outgroup in the regression analyses.

[Table 25 about here]

Asian students' racial resentment at the beginning of college had similar patterns to white and black students (Table 26). Asian students generally disagreed that blacks and Latinos should blame themselves for not doing better in society, and agreed that educated blacks and Latinos who did what was considered "proper" would eventually get ahead in life. The "blame" scale items had a high Cronbach's alpha (α= .910), and the "proper behavior" scale items also had a high Cronbach's alpha (α= .899). At the end of college, Asian students had a stronger level of disagreement on the "blame" scale items, and these the Cronbach's alpha for these items

increased in size (α= .918). In relation to the items that tapped into college-related racial saliency, Asian students perceived their college's commitment to diversity as being about "just enough." Asian students perceived white students, black students, and Latino students as being more visible on campus than their own group.

[Table 26 about here]

Descriptive Statistics

Table 27 presents the descriptive statistics of Asian students. On traditional racial prejudice scales, Asian students had the highest level of prejudice toward Latinos at the beginning of college, followed by blacks, and then whites. At the end of college, all of the prejudice levels toward the three outgroups of Asian students lessened and moved toward equal status. However, Asian students still perceived each group as less capable than their own group. Asian students had the highest prejudice level toward blacks at the end of college, followed by Latinos, and then whites.

[Table 27 about here]

On average, at college entrance Asian students had a strong level of one dimension of racial resentment: They disagreed that blacks and Latinos have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life; they should have tried harder. Asian students also had a strong level of racial resentment on another dimension: they agreed that educated blacks and Latinos who do what is "proper" will eventually get ahead in life. At the end of college, Asian students had a stronger level of disagreement on the racial resentment "blame" scale, indicating that their level of racial resentment increased.

Turning to the measures of social identity, Asian students felt closest to their own group when they entered college, followed by whites, blacks, and Latinos, in that order. Unlike white

and black students' closeness items, Asian students actually felt closer at the end of college to all of the student groups except whites compared to their college entrance closeness levels. Again, Asian students felt closest to other Asians, followed by whites, blacks, and Latinos. Asian students generally perceived their college's commitment to diversity on campus as "just enough." Among Asian students in the sample, they perceived white students as the most visible group on campus compared to their own group, followed by black students and Latino students. All of these student groups were perceived to be more visible than Asian students on campus. According to the campus racial climate scale (described more below), Asian students did not perceive a large amount of racial tension or encounter many negative experiences during college.

During college, 40 percent of Asian students' friends were white, followed by 4 percent black, and 3 percent Latino. Sixty-six percent of Asian students in the sample indicated that they dated a white partner at some point in college, while 17 percent indicated that they had dated a black or Latino partner. Among Asian students' sophomore- and junior-year roommates in college, 47 percent of these students roomed with a white roommate, 3 percent with a black roommate, and 2 percent with a Latino roommate. In regards to the student organizations Asian students were members of during their sophomore and junior years in college, 47 percent of students indicated they were members of mostly white student organizations, and 1 percent were members of either mostly black or mostly Latino student organizations.

Asian students attended colleges and universities with student bodies composed of 7 percent black students, 14 percent Asian students, and 5 percent Latino students. These same institutions attended by Asian students had 30 percent of the students participating in Greek fraternities and sororities.

Asian students' friendship networks at college entrance were not dominated by friendships with other Asians, but with white friends. Fifty-two percent of Asian students' friends were white, 6 percent were black, and 4 percent were Latino. Over half the Asian students in the sample were women (57 percent). According to interviewer coded rating of students' skin color, Asian students had light complexions. Thirty-one percent of Asian students were international students, 44 percent identified as Christian, and 24 percent came from the Southern United States. The mothers of Asian students averaged slightly more than a bachelor's degree of education, and their fathers averaged some graduate education. Asian students typically came from families with an average income of $67,290.98 (in 1999 dollars). The average high school Asian students attended had 40 percent of the students from racial-ethnic minority backgrounds, and lived in neighborhoods with 28 percent racial-ethnic minority residents.

The campus racial climate items present a similar picture of Asian students' campus experiences in college as was found among black students. In Wave 2 (see Table 28), Asian students rarely felt self-conscious because of their race, heard, racially derogatory remarks, or were discriminated against on campus by faculty, staff or students. Similar results existed in waves 3 and 4. The Wave 2 items had a strong Cronbach's alpha (α= .770), as did the Wave 3 (α= .790) and Wave 4 items (α= .680). Overall, Asian students generally did not experience a highly negative racial climate during college, though their existed some racial tension while they pursued their college degrees.

[Table 28 about here]

Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Racial Prejudice in College

Three models examined the influence of interracial contact on Asian students' racial prejudice toward each racial-ethnic group. Table 29 shows the regression models of white students' anti-white prejudice. Model 1 contained only the interracial contact measures with whites and significantly predicted 2.1 percent of the variance in Asian students' anti-white prejudice. Contrary to the interracial contact hypothesis, Asian students who dated white partners during college had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college (.253, $p<$ .01). None of the remaining interracial contact measures were significant.

[Table 29 about here]

Model 2 explained 16.1 percent of the variance in Asian students' anti-white prejudice, a significant difference from the first model. As predicted, Asian students' with higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.224, $p<$ .001). Contrary to prediction, Asian students who dated a white partner at some point during college had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.173, $p<$ .05). As predicted, Asian students who participated in mostly white student organizations during college had lower levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college (-.114, $p<$ .05). None of the remaining interracial contact measures with whites were significant.

The social identity hypothesis predicted that ingroup closeness would lead to more racial prejudice toward a racial-ethnic outgroup at the end of college, while closeness to the specific outgroup would lead to less exiting prejudice toward a racial-ethnic outgroup. As predicted, Asian students' with higher levels of closeness to their own group at the end of college had higher levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college (.054, $p<$ .01). Contrary to prediction, Asian students with higher levels of closeness to whites at the beginning of college

had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college (.036, $p < .05$). The two remaining closeness measures were significant in the model.

Based on Blumer's (1958) group position hypothesis, I predicted that the greater the perceived visibility of a racial-ethnic outgroup on campus compared to one's ingroup, the higher racial prejudice toward the racial-ethnic outgroup would be. As predicted, Asian students who perceived Latinos as more visible on campus compared to their own group had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.039, $p < .01$). Neither the white student nor black student visibility items were significant. No support was found for the hypothesis that Asian students who perceived a negative campus racial climate would have higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college. As predicted, Asian students who leaned toward believing their college's commitment to diversity is "too much" had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college (.047, $p < .05$). There was no support for the hypotheses that more racial-ethnic minority students on campus would serve as a proxy for greater levels of interracial contact or possible perception of racial threat, or higher levels of prejudice among Asian students on campuses with more students participating in Greek organizations.

Turning to the precollege and social characteristics, none of the variables were significant. No support was found for the hypothesis that more interracial friendships with whites would lead to lower levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college. Contrary to the hypotheses, higher levels of racial-ethnic diversity in the high schools and neighborhoods of Asian students did not lower their level of exiting anti-white prejudice or follow theories of racial threat, which would lead to increases in exiting anti-white prejudice. Furthermore, Asian students with darker skin or who were women did not have lower levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college either.

Turning to the control variables, as predicted, Asian students from the South had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.122, $p< .01$). Contrary to the hypothesis, the higher education among Asian students' parents did not lower black students' level of exiting anti-white prejudice. No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between Asian students' family income and being a Christian with anti-white prejudice at the end of college. Lastly, contrary to prediction, Asian Students from outside the U.S. did not have lower levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college.

Model 3 added the black and Latino interracial contact items. It explained 15.8 percent of Asian students' anti-white prejudice. This was not a significant change from the second model. Additionally, none of the added interracial contact items support the hypothesis of an extended contact effect. All of the variables that were significant in the second model were also found to be significant in the third model, except for participating in mostly white student organizations. Asian students who had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.223, $p< .001$). Asian students who dated a white partner at some point during college had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.166, $p< .05$). Asian students who had higher levels of exiting closeness to their own group had higher levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college (.054, $p< .01$). Asian students who had higher levels of closeness to whites at the beginning of college had higher levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college (.033, $p< .05$). Asian students who perceived Latino students as more visible on campus than their own group also had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.039, $p< .01$). Asian students who leaned toward noting that their college's commitment to diversity was "too much" had higher levels of exiting anti-white

prejudice (.047, $p < .05$). Lastly, Asian students who came from the South also had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.114, $p < .05$).

Table 30 presents the models of anti-black prejudice among Asian students. The first model examined the influence of Asian students' interaction with blacks on their existing anti-black prejudice, and explained -.3 percent of the variance, though this was not significant. Contrary to the hypothesis, none of the forms of interracial contact with blacks reduced Asian students' anti-black prejudice at the end of college.

[Table 30 about here]

Model 2 explained significantly explained 22.6 percent of the variance in Asian students' anti-black prejudice at the end of college. This was as a significant difference from the first model. As predicted, Asian students who had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college (.217, $p < .001$). Again, contrary to the hypothesis, interracial contact with blacks during college did not lower Asian students' prejudice toward blacks at the end of college.

In relation to the social identity hypothesis, some support for social identity theory was found in the second model. As predicted, Asian students who had higher levels of exiting closeness to their own group had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of college (.157, $p < .001$). However, Asian students who had higher levels of closeness to their own group at the beginning of college had lower levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of college (-.038, $p < .05$). As predicted, Asian students who had higher levels of exiting closeness to blacks had lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (-.164, $p < .001$). The remaining closeness measure was not significant.

Turning to the campus characteristics, as predicted, Asian students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of college (.106, $p < .001$). Contrary to predictions, neither white students', black students', nor Latino students' visibility compared to Asian students' visibility on campus led to higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of college among Asian students. Also contrary to prediction, Asian students who perceived a negative campus racial climate did not have lower levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college. No support was found for the hypotheses that more racial-ethnic diversity among the students on campus would lead to lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice or that it may lead to higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice, in line with the racial threat perspective. No support was found for the hypothesis that the more students who participate in Greek organizations would lead to higher levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college for Asian students.

As for the precollege and social characteristics, contrary to prediction, interracial friendships with blacks at the beginning of college did not lead to lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. Also contrary to prediction, the more racial-ethnic diversity in high school or neighborhood did not lead to either higher or lower levels of anti-black prejudice among Asian students. Additionally, contrary to predictions, neither dark-skinned Asian students nor women had lower levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college.

Turning to the control variables, as predicted, Asian students from the South had higher levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college (.162, $p < .01$). Higher levels of education among Asian students' parents did not lead to lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice, contradicting the hypothesis. No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between white students' family income and being a Christian with anti-

black prejudice at the end of college. Lastly, contrary to prediction, Asian students from outside the U.S. did not have lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college than Asian students who were U.S. citizens.

Model 3 added the white and Latino interracial contact items. It explained 22.4 percent of the variance in Asian students' anti-black prejudice, and insignificant change from the second model. No support was found for extended contact effects resulting from white and Latino interracial contact. Except for beginning of college closeness to other Asians, all other variables that were significant in the second model were significant in the third model. Additionally, the proportion of students on campus who participate in Greek organizations was significant. Asian students who had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (.216, $p< .001$). Asian students who had higher levels of closeness to their own group had higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (.160, $p< .001$), and Asian students with higher levels of exiting closeness toward blacks had lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (-.169, $p< .001$). Asian students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had higher levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college (.099, $p< .001$). Lastly, Asian students from the South had higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (.150, $p< .05$).

Table 31 displays the models of anti-Latino prejudice among Asian students. The first model examined the influence of Asian students' interactions with Latinos on their exiting anti-Latino prejudice, and explained .2 percent of the variance, though this was not significant. Contrary to the hypothesis, none of the forms of interracial contact with Asians reduced white students' anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college.

[Table 31 about here]

Model 2 significantly explained 21.7 percent of the variance in Asian students' anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college. This was a significant difference from the first model. As predicted, Asian students who had higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice (.211, $p < .001$). Again, contrary to the hypothesis, interracial contact with Latinos during college did not lower Asian students' prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college.

In relation to the social identity hypothesis, some support was found in the second model. As predicted, Asian students who had higher levels of closeness to their own group at the end of college had higher levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice (.133, $p < .001$), while those students who had higher levels of closeness toward Latinos at the end of college had lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice (-.130, $p < .001$). Contrary to prediction, Asian students who had higher levels of closeness to their own group at the beginning of college had lower levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college (-.045, $p < .01$), while the opposite effect was found for Asian students with higher levels of closeness toward Latinos at the beginning of college (.033, $p < .05$).

Turning to the campus characteristics, as predicted, Asian students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college (.089, $p < .001$). As predicted, Asian students who perceived Latino students as more visible on campus than their own group (.033, $p < .05$). Contrary to predictions, neither white students' nor black students' visibility compared to Asian students' visibility on campus led to higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college among Asian students. Also contrary to prediction, Asian students who perceived a negative campus racial climate did not have lower levels of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college. No support was found for

the hypotheses that more racial-ethnic diversity among the students on campus would lead to lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice or that it may lead to higher levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice, in line with the racial threat perspective. No support was found for the hypothesis that the more students who participate in Greek organizations would lead to higher levels of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college for Asian students.

As for the precollege and social characteristics, contrary to prediction, interracial friendships with Latinos at the beginning of college did not lead to lower levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college. Also contrary to prediction, the more racial-ethnic diversity in high school or neighborhood did not lead to either higher or lower levels of anti-Latino prejudice among Asian students. Additionally, contrary to predictions, neither dark-skinned Asian students nor women had lower levels of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college.

Turning to the control variables, contrary to prediction, higher levels of education among Asian students' parents did not lead to lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice, contradicting the hypothesis. No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between Asian students' family income and being a Christian with anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college. No support was found for the hypothesis that Asian students from the South would have higher levels of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college. Lastly, contrary to prediction, Asian students from outside the U.S. did not have lower levels of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college than Asian students who were U.S. citizens.

Model 3 added the white and black interracial contact items. It explained 21.6 percent of the variance in Asian students' anti-Latino prejudice, an insignificant change from the second model. No support was found for extended contact effects resulting from white and black interracial contact. Except for beginning of college closeness to Latinos, all other variables that

were significant in the second model were significant in the third model. Asian students who had higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college (.208, $p < .001$). Asian students who had higher levels of exiting closeness to their own group had higher levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice (.135, $p < .001$), and Asian students who had higher levels of exiting closeness toward Latinos had lower levels of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college (-.132, $p < .001$). Asian students who had higher levels of closeness at the beginning of college toward their own group had lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice (-.037, $p < .05$). Asian students who had perceived Latino students to be more visible on campus compared to their own group had higher levels of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college (.032, $p < .05$). Asian students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had higher levels of prejudice toward Latinos at the end of college (.087, $p < .001$).

Interracial Contact Effects on Racial Resentment in College

Table 32 presents the results of interracial contact on Asian students' racial resentment. This model significantly explained 17.0 percent of the variance in Asian students' racial resentment. As predicted, Asian students with higher levels of racial resentment, as measured by blaming minority groups for not doing better, at the beginning of college, had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.178, $p < .001$). As predicted, Asian students who had more interracial friendships with whites during college had lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college (-.895, $p < .05$).

[Table 32 about here]

Regarding social identity theory, support was found in the model for the social identity hypotheses at the end of college, as more ingroup closeness led to higher levels of racial

resentment and more outgroup closeness led to lower levels of racial resentment among Asian students. As predicted, Asian students who had higher levels of closeness toward their own group had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.325, $p < .001$), and Asian students who had higher levels of closeness toward outgroups had lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college (-.280, $p < .001$). The social identity measures at the beginning of college did not affect white students' level of racial resentment and the end of college.

Among the campus characteristics, as predicted, Asian students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.522, $p < .001$). Contrary to predictions, neither white students', black students', nor Latino students' visibility compared to Asian students' visibility on campus led to higher levels of racial resentment at the end of college among Asian students. Also contrary to prediction, Asian students who perceived a negative campus racial climate did not have lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college. Support was found for the hypothesis that the higher proportion of black students on campus, the lower Asian students' levels of exiting racial resentment (-7.445, $p < .05$). No support was found for the hypotheses that more Asian or Latino students on campus would lead to lower levels of exiting racial resentment or that it may lead to higher levels of exiting racial resentment, in line with the racial threat perspective. No support was found for the hypothesis that the more students who participate in Greek organizations would lead to higher levels of racial resentment at the end of college for Asian students.

As for the precollege and social characteristics, as predicted, Asian women had lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college compared to Asian men (-.636, $p < .001$). Contrary to prediction, interracial friendships with whites, blacks, and Latinos at the beginning of college did not lead to lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college. Also contrary to

prediction, the more racial-ethnic diversity in high school or neighborhood did not lead to either higher or lower levels of racial resentment among Asian students. Additionally, contrary to predictions, neither dark-skinned Asian students nor women had lower racial resentment at the end of college.

Turning to the control variables, two variables were significant in the model. As predicted, Asian students who came from the South had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.492, $p < .01$). Contrary to prediction, Asian students who were international students also had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.305, $p < .05$). Also contrary to prediction, higher levels of education among Asian students' parents did not lead to lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice, contradicting the hypothesis. Lastly, no support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between white students' family income and being a Christian with anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college.

Summary of Interracial Contact and Social Identity Effects

The four models of racial prejudice among Asian students indicated that social identity was more influential than interacting across racial-ethnic lines during college on Asian students' end of college racial prejudice. One interracial contact measure during college was significant and supported the interracial contact hypothesis. Asian students who had more white friends during college had lower levels of exiting racial resentment. One interracial contact measure during college was significant, but contradicted the interracial contact hypothesis. Asian students who dated white partners during college had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college.

Turning to the social identity measures, support was found for the hypothesis that higher levels of ingroup closeness at the end of college would lead to higher levels of prejudice toward

whites, blacks, and Latinos, as well as higher levels of racial resentment. Additionally, support was found for the hypothesis that higher levels of outgroup closeness at the end of college would lead to lower levels of prejudice toward blacks and Latinos, as well as lower levels of racial resentment. Contradictory to the same hypothesis, higher levels of closeness toward whites led to higher levels of prejudice toward whites among Asian students. Only one beginning of college social identity measure was significant in the models. Contradicting social identity theory, Asian students who had higher levels of ingroup closeness had lower levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college. The limited findings of the beginning of college social identity measures may be a result of the end of college measures suppressing the effects of social identity at college entrance.

Given the connection between social identity and intergroup contact research, interaction terms were added in subsequent analyses to test if social identity buffers the interracial contact experiences among the college students in this study. To construct the interaction terms, ingroup closeness was multiplied for each racial-ethnic student group at the end of college with each interracial contact measure with the focal racial-ethnic group in each model. For example, among Asian students, closeness to other Asian at the end of college was multiplied by each form of white interracial contact, resulting in four interaction terms. Each interaction term was entered into the model one at a time. Only one interaction term was significant for Asian students in the anti-Latino model, and none of the remaining interaction terms were significant in the other three racial prejudice models. Asian students who had higher levels of closeness to other Asians at the end of college and roomed with Latinos during college had lower levels of exiting anti-Latino prejudice. This may be a similar result to the contradictions found among Latino students with the social identity measures, where the comparisons and interactions within

panethnic groups have significant influences on Asian students' interactions with another panethnic group, Latinos.

CHAPTER 7

RACIAL PREJUDICE AMONG LATINO COLLEGE STUDENTS

This chapter discusses the interracial contact effects among Latino college students in the NLSF data. First, the results of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses of Latino students' traditional racial prejudice toward whites, blacks, and Asians are presented in addition to discussion about Latino students' racial resentment items. These analyses were conducted to identify whether Latino college students consider all outgroups as a unified group, or if there are distinctions in their racial prejudice toward specific groups. Next, the descriptive statistics of the Latino college student sample is provided. Finally, the hierarchical regressions of the interracial contact effects are discussed.

Racial Prejudice Construction

Table 33 presents the traditional racial prejudice items for Latino students. Latino students had mostly positive views of whites at the beginning of college. Latino students perceived whites as more intelligent and self-sufficient compared to their own group, and slightly more able to stick to tasks. However, Latino students perceived whites as lazier than Latinos. These items formed the anti-white prejudice scale, but had a low Cronbach's alpha (α= .497). In regards to their perceptions of blacks, Latino students rated blacks as less intelligent and self-sufficient compared to their own group, and slightly less lazy and able to stick to tasks. This group of items also had a low Cronbach's alpha (α= .450). Latino students had the opposite view of Asians on all of the items compared to blacks. Latino students perceived Asians as less lazy, more intelligent, more self-sufficient, and more able to stick to tasks compared to their own group. These items had a moderately high Cronbach's alpha (α= .599).

[Table 33 about here]

As seen in Table 34, Latino students had a bit more complex view of whites at the end of college. Though the difference scores moved toward a perception of equal status, Latino students perceived whites to be more intelligent and self-sufficient, but also lazier and less able to stick to tasks compared to their own group. The Cronbach's alpha decreased slightly from Wave 1 and was still low (α= .420). Latino students perceived blacks as lazier, less self-sufficient, and less able to stick to tasks compared to their own group. However, Latino students virtually perceived blacks as intelligent as their own group. The Cronbach's alpha for the anti-black prejudice items increased slightly from the first time point, but was still somewhat low (α= .473). Lastly, Latino students still perceived Asians as less lazy, more intelligent, more self-sufficient, and more able to stick to tasks compared to their own group at the end of college. These items also experienced an increase in strength of holding together as measured by the Cronbach's alpha and was moderately high (α= .660).

[Table 34 about here]

Confirmatory factor analysis found that, although the three traditional racial prejudice scales could load under a single latent variable in both Wave 1 and Wave 5, this model would provide a poor fit for the data (Table 35). The fit statistic (RMSEA= .14) did not lay within the limits set Hu and Bentler (1999). At each time point, anti-white prejudice had the strongest loading under a single outgroup prejudice variable. There also existed a significant path from Wave 1 racial prejudice to Wave 5 racial prejudice (β= .27). Like the three student groups analyzed before them, Latino students did not perceive the three racial-ethnic outgroups as a single outgroup or a "racial other." Thus, each outgroup prejudice were considered separately in the regression analyses.

[Table 35 about here]

Turning to racial resentment among Latino students presented in Table 36, these students generally disagreed on the "blame" scale of racial resentment at the beginning of college. Latino students disagreed that blacks and Asian Americans should blame themselves for not doing better in life. This group of items had a high Cronbach's alpha (α= .854). On the "proper behavior" scale of racial resentment at the beginning of college, Latino students agreed that blacks and Asian Americans who were educated and did what is considered "proper" would eventually get ahead in life. This group of items also had a high Cronbach's alpha (α= .832). At the end of college, Latino students exhibited a stronger level of disagreement on the "blame" scale of racial resentment. This group of items had a higher Cronbach's alpha compared to the first time point (α= .895). The college-related racial saliency items had a moderately high Cronbach's alpha among Latino students (α= .631). Latino students generally felt that their college's commitment to diversity was "just enough." Lastly, in relation to student group visibility, Latino students perceived whites to be more visible on campus compared to their own group, but perceived black and Asian students as less visible than Latinos.

[Table 36 about here]

Descriptive Statistics

Table 37 displays the descriptive statistics of Latino students. Latino students had the most racial prejudice toward blacks at the beginning of college, but perceived whites and Asians more favorably than their own group. This trend held throughout college despite the scales moving toward equal status. On average, at college entrance Latino students had a strong level of one dimension of racial resentment: They disagreed that blacks and Asians have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life; they should have tried harder. Latino students also had a strong level resentment on another dimension: they agreed that educated blacks and

Asians who do what is "proper" will eventually get ahead in life. At college exit, Latino students had a stronger level of disagreement on the "blame" scale of racial resentment, indicating that during college their level of racial resentment increased.

[Table 37 about here]

Turning to the measures of social identity, Latino students felt closest to their own group at college entrance, followed by whites, blacks, and Asians. Their level of closeness to all four groups lessened by the end of college, but the same order remained. At the end of college, Latino students perceived their college's commitment to diversity as being roughly "just enough." Latino students perceived white students to be more visible on campus compared to their own group, but black and Asian students to be less visible. The campus racial climate scale (described more below) indicated that Latino students generally did not perceive high levels of racial tension on their campuses, though there was some present during their college years.

During college, 47 percent of Latino students' friendship networks were composed of whites, 9 percent Asian, and 8 percent black. Seventy-nine percent of Latino students dated a white partner at some point during college, 32 percent dated an Asian partner, and 31 percent dated a black partner. Fifty-five percent of Latino students roomed with a white roommate during their sophomore and junior years, 12 percent with an Asian roommate, and 4 percent with a black roommate. Regarding their student organization participation, 42 percent of Latinos were members of mostly white student organizations, and 2 percent were members of either mostly black or mostly Asian student organizations in college.

Latino students attended colleges and universities with 7 percent of the student body composed of black students, 14 percent of Asian students, and 5 percent of Latino students.

Latino students' colleges also had 30 percent of all students participating in Greek fraternities or sororities.

Among their friends Latino students had entering college, 52 percent were white, 9 percent were Asian, and 8 percent were black. Over half the Latino students in the sample were women (58 percent). According to interviewer coded rating of students' skin color, Latino students had light complexions. Nineteen percent of Latino students were international students, 83 percent identified as Christian, and 21 percent came from the Southern United States. Latino students had mothers and fathers who averaged slightly less than a bachelor's degree, and Latino students came from households with an average family income of $60,396.67 (in 1999 dollars). The Latino students in the sample attended high schools with 50 percent of the student body composed of racial-ethnic minorities, and lived in neighborhoods with 40 percent racial-ethnic minority residents.

The campus racial climate items in Table 38 present a similar picture of Latino students' campus experiences in college as was found among black and Asian students. In Wave 2, Latino students rarely felt self-conscious because of their race, heard, racially derogatory remarks, or were discriminated against on campus by faculty, staff or students. Similar results existed in waves 3 and 4. The Wave 2 items had a strong Cronbach alpha score (α= .777), as did the Wave 3 (α= .805) and Wave 4 items (α= .715). As noted above, Latino students generally did not experience a highly negative racial climate during college, though their existed some racial tension while they pursued their college degrees.

[Table 38 about here]

Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Racial Prejudice in College

Three models examined the influence of interracial contact on Latino students' racial prejudice toward each racial-ethnic group. Table 39 shows the regression models of Latino students' anti-white prejudice. Model 1 contained only the interracial contact measures with whites and significantly explained .8 percent of the variance in Latino students' anti-white prejudice. Some support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with whites during college would reduce Latino students' anti-white prejudice at the end of college. As predicted, Latino students with more interracial friendships with whites during college had lower levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (-.201, $p< .01$). Contrary to prediction, Latino students who had white roommates during college had higher levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college (.134, $p< .05$).

[Table 39 about here]

Model 2 significantly explained 12.1 percent of the variance of the variance in Latino students' anti-white prejudice. This change was a significant difference from the first model. As predicted, Latino students who had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college (.165, $p< .001$). Contrary to prediction, Latino students who roomed with whites in college had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.186, $p< .01$).

The social identity hypothesis predicted that ingroup closeness would lead to more racial prejudice toward a racial-ethnic outgroup at the end of college, while closeness to the specific outgroup would lead to less exiting prejudice toward a racial-ethnic outgroup. As predicted, Latino students who had higher levels of closeness to their own group had higher levels at the end of college of exiting racial prejudice (.074, $p< .001$). Also as predicted, Latino students who

had higher levels of closeness toward whites at the end of college had lower levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (-.077, $p < .001$). Neither social identity measures at the beginning of college affect anti-white prejudice.

Based on Blumer's (1958) group position hypothesis, I predicted that the greater the perceived visibility of a racial-ethnic outgroup on campus compared to one's ingroup, the higher racial prejudice toward the racial-ethnic outgroup would be. As predicted, Latino students who perceived Asian students as being more visible on campus compared to their own group had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.023, $p < .05$). No support was found for the black student visibility item. Contrary to prediction, Latino students who perceived a negative campus racial climate did not have higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college. Also, contrary to prediction, Latino students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had less anti-white prejudice at the end of college (-.036, $p < .05$). No support was found for the hypotheses that more racial-ethnic minority students on campus would serve as a proxy for greater levels of interracial contact or possible perception of racial threat, or higher levels of prejudice among Latino students on campuses with more students participating in Greek organizations.

As for the precollege and social characteristics, contrary to prediction, interracial friendships with whites at the beginning of college did not lead to lower levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college. Also contrary to prediction, the more racial-ethnic diversity in high school or neighborhood did not lead to either higher or lower levels of anti-white prejudice among Latino students. Additionally, contrary to predictions, neither dark-skinned Latino students nor women had lower levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college.

Turning to the control variables, higher levels of education among Latino students' parents did not lead to lower levels of exiting anti-white prejudice, contradicting the hypothesis. No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between Latino students' family income and being a Christian with anti-white prejudice at the end of college. No support was found for the hypothesis that Latino students from the South would have higher levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college. Lastly, contrary to prediction, Latino students from outside the U.S. did not have lower levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college than Latino students who were U.S. citizens.

Model 3 added the black and Asian interracial contact items to test for evidence of an extended contact effect, when interacting with one group influence the perceptions of another group not involved in the interaction. Evidence of two extended contact effects was found. As predicted, Latino students who dated an Asian partner during college had lower levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (-.292, $p < .05$). Contrary to prediction, Latino students who had more black friends during college had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college (.447, $p < .01$). All variables that were significant in the second model were also significant in the third model. Additionally, one interracial contact measure with whites was significant and white students' visibility was also significant. Contrary to prediction, Latino students who had more white friends at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.177, $p < .05$). Latino students who had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.157, $p < .001$). Latino students who dated a white partner during college had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.175, $p < .01$). Latino students who had higher levels of closeness to their own group at the end of college had higher levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (.073, $p < .001$). Latino students who had higher

levels of closeness toward whites at the end of college had lower levels of exiting anti-white prejudice (-.075, $p< .001$). Latino students who perceived whites as more visible on campus compared to their own group had lower levels of anti-white prejudice (-.016, $p< .05$). Latinos who perceived Asians as being more visible on campus compared to Latinos had higher levels of anti-white prejudice at the end of college (.023, $p< .05$). Latino students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had less anti-white prejudice at the end of college (-.041, $p< .05$).

Table 40 displays the regression results of interracial contact effects on Latino students' anti-black prejudice. Model 1 predicted -.2 of the variance in exiting anti-black prejudice among Latino students, but this was not significant. No support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with blacks during college would reduce Latino students' anti-black prejudice at the end of college.

[Table 40 about here]

Model 2 significantly explained 7.0 percent of the variance in Latino students' exiting anti-black prejudice. This was a significant difference from the first model. As predicted, Latino students who had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (.121, $p< .001$). No support was found for the hypothesis that interracial contact with blacks during college would reduce Latino students' level of anti-black prejudice at the end of college.

Partial support was found for the social identity hypothesis that higher levels of closeness to other Latinos would lead to more anti-black prejudice at the end of college among Latino students. As predicted, Latino students who had higher levels of closeness toward their own group at the end of college had higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (.024, $p< .05$). The

remaining social identity measures did not significantly affect Latino students' level of anti-black prejudice at the end of college.

Turning to the campus characteristics, contrary to the racial threat hypothesis, white and Asian students' visibility compared to Latino students' visibility on campus did not increase Latino students' level of exiting anti-black prejudice, while black students' visibility did reduce their level of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college (-.016, $p< .05$). Also, contrary to the hypothesis, Latino students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as more than "just enough" did not have higher levels of anti-black prejudice. No support was found for the hypothesis that Latino students who perceived a more negative campus racial climate would have lower levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of college. No support was found for the hypotheses that more Asian or Latino students among the student body would lower Latino students' anti-black prejudice or the racial threat hypothesis that more racial-ethnic diversity of the student body would lead to higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice. However, the more black students among the student body did increase Latino students' level of exiting anti-black prejudice (1.244, $p< .05$). Additionally, no support was found for the hypothesis that more participation in Greek organizations among students would lead to more anti-black prejudice at the end of college.

In regard to the precollege and social characteristics, as predicted Latino students who lived in neighborhoods with higher proportions of racial-ethnic minority residents had lower levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college (-.121, $p< .01$). This finding contradicts the racial threat hypothesis of more diversity in the neighborhoods of Latino students. Also, as predicted, Latina women had lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice compared to Latino men (-.073, $p< .01$). Contrary to the hypothesis, more interracial friendships with blacks at the

beginning of college did not lead to lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice among Latino students. Also, contrary to the hypotheses, higher levels of racial-ethnic diversity the high schools of Latino students did not lower their level of exiting anti-black prejudice or follow theories of racial threat, which would lead to increases in exiting ant-black prejudice.

Turning to the control variables, as predicted, the more education Latino students' mothers had, the lower the students' levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college was (-.016, $p< .05$). Contrary to the hypothesis, higher education among Latino students' fathers did not lower Latino students' level of exiting anti-black prejudice. Also contrary to prediction, Latino students who were international students had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of college (.068, $p< .05$). No support was found for the hypotheses that a significant relationships would exist between Latino students' family income and being a Christian with anti-black prejudice at the end of college. Lastly, contrary to prediction Latino students from the South did not have higher levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college.

Model 3 added the white and Asian interracial contact items. It explained 7.4 percent of Latino students' anti-black prejudice. This was not a significant change from the second model. All the variables that were significant in the second model were significant in the third model as well as one campus characteristic. One of the additional interracial contact items was also significant and supported the hypothesis of an extended contact effect. As predicted, Latino students who dated a white partner during college had lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (-.132, $p< .01$). Latino students who had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (.120, $p< .001$). Latino students who had higher levels of closeness toward their own group at the end of college had higher levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (.027, $p< .05$). One campus characteristic was found

significant in the third model. Contrary to prediction, Latino students who perceived black students as being more visible on campus compared to their own group had lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice (-.017, $p < .05$). Latino students on campuses with more black students among the student body had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of college (1.218, $p < .05$). Latino students who lived in neighborhoods with higher proportions of racial-ethnic minority residents had lower levels of existing anti-black prejudice (-.110, $p < .05$). Latina women had lower levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of college compared to Latino men (-.079, $p < .001$). The more education Latino students' mothers had, the lower the students' levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college was (-.016, $p < .05$). Lastly, Latino students who were international students had higher levels of anti-black prejudice at the end of college (.074, $p < .01$).

Table 41 displays the models of anti-Asian prejudice among Latino students. The first model examined the influence of Latino students' interactions with Asians on their exiting anti-Asian prejudice, and explained .4 percent of the variance, though this was not significant. Partial support was found for the interracial contact hypothesis. As predicted, Latino students who dated Asian partners during college had lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (-.414, $p < .05$). The remaining interracial contact measures with Asians during college were not significant.

[Table 41 about here}

Model 2 explained 18.2 percent of the variance in Latino students' anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. This was a significant difference from the first model. As predicted, Latino students who had higher levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college (.238, $p < .001$). Dating an Asian partner

is no longer significant and none of the remaining interracial contact measures with Asians during college were significant. Thus, Model 2 does not contain support for the interracial contact hypothesis.

In relation to the social identity hypothesis, contradictory findings existed in the model. Contrary to prediction, Latino students that had higher levels of closeness at the end of college to their own group had lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (-.041, $p < .05$). Also, contrary to prediction, Latino students that had higher levels of closeness toward Asians at the end of college had higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (.044, $p < .01$). There was not significant influence of Latino students' level of closeness toward other Latinos or Asians at the beginning of college on their prejudice toward Asians at the end of college.

Turning to campus characteristics, as predicted, Latino students that perceived Asian students as more visible on campus compared to their own group had higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (.047, $p < .001$). Contrary to prediction, Latino students who perceived white students as more visible on campus compared to their own group had lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college (-.031, $p < .01$). Also, contrary to prediction, black students' visibility compared to Latino students' visibility on campus did not increase Latino students' level of exiting anti-Asian prejudice. Contrary, Latino students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as being "too much" had lower levels of exiting ant-Asian prejudice (-.093, $p < .001$). No support was found for the hypothesis that Latino students who perceived a more negative campus racial climate would have lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. No support was found for either the hypothesis that more racial-ethnic diversity among the student body would lower Latino students' anti-Asian prejudice or the racial threat hypothesis that more racial-ethnic diversity of the student body would lead to higher levels

of exiting anti-Asian prejudice. Additionally, no support was found for the hypothesis that more participation in Greek organizations among students would lead to more anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college.

As for the precollege and social characteristics, contrary to prediction, interracial friendships with Asians at the beginning of college did not lead to lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. Also contrary to prediction, the more racial-ethnic diversity in high schools or neighborhoods of Latino students did not lead to either higher or lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice. Additionally, contrary to predictions, neither dark-skinned Latino students nor women had lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college.

Turning to the control variables, as predicted, a significant relationship was found between Latino students who identify as Christian and their anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. Latino students who identified as Christian had lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (-.155, $p < .01$). Contrary to prediction, higher levels of education among Latino students' parents did not lead to lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice, contradicting the hypothesis. No support was found for the hypothesis that significant relationships would exist between Latino students' family income with anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. No support was found for the hypothesis that Latino students from the South would have higher levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college. Lastly, contrary to prediction, Latino students from outside the U.S. did not have lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college than Latino students who were U.S. citizens.

Model 3 added the white and black interracial contact items. It explained 18.5 percent of the variance in Latino students' anti-Asian prejudice, an insignificant change from the second model. Contradictory support for extended contact effects from white interracial contact was

found, but no support was found for interracial contact with blacks. Contrary to prediction, Latino students who roomed with whites during college had higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (.206, $p < .05$). The same variables that were significant in the second model were also significant in the third model, and the dating an Asian partner variable returned to significance as well. Latino students who had higher levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the beginning of college had higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (.239, $p < .001$). Latino students who dated Asian partners during college had lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college (-.434, $p < .05$). Latino students who had higher levels of closeness toward their own group at the end of college had lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (-.041, $p < .05$). Latino students who had higher levels of closeness toward Asians at the end of college had higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (.041, $p < .05$). Latino students who perceived white students as more visible on campus compared to their own group had lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college (-.032, $p < .05$). Latino students who perceived Asian students as more visible on campus compared to their own group had higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice (.048, $p < .001$). Latino students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college (-.093, $p < .001$). Latino students who identified as Christians had lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college (-.159, $p < .01$).

Interracial Contact Effects on Racial Resentment in College

Table 42 presents the results of interracial contact on Latino students' racial resentment. This model explained 16.5 percent of the variance in Latino students' racial resentment. As predicted, Latino students with higher levels of racial resentment, as measured by blaming minority groups for not doing better, at the beginning of college, had higher levels of exiting

racial resentment (.196, $p < .001$). Partial support was found the interracial contact hypothesis that more interaction across racial-ethnic lines during college would lead to lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college among Latino students. As predicted, Latino students who dated a black partner at some point during college had lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college (-1.295, $p < .05$). Also, as predicted, Latino students who were members of mostly black student organizations had lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college (-1.752, $p < .01$).

[Table 42 about here]

Regarding social identity theory, mixed results were found. Contrary to prediction, Latino students who had higher levels of closeness toward their own group at the end of college had lower levels of exiting racial resentment (-.147, $p < .05$). Also, contrary to prediction, Latino students who had higher levels of closeness toward outgroups at the end of college had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.272, $p < .001$). As predicted, Latino students who had higher levels of closeness to outgroup as at the beginning of college had lower levels of exiting racial resentment (-.168, $p < .05$). The outgroup closeness measure at the beginning of college did not significantly influence Latino students' level of exiting racial resentment.

Among the campus characteristics, as predicted, Latino students who perceived their college's commitment to diversity as "too much" had lower levels of exiting racial resentment (.423, $p < .001$). As predicted, the more black students among the student body, the lower Latino students' exiting racial resentment (-9.548, $p < .05$). Also, as predicted, Latino students who attended college on campuses with higher proportions of students participating in Greek life had higher levels of exiting racial resentment (.934, $p < .05$). Contrary to the racial threat hypothesis, white, black, and Asian students' visibility compared to Latino students' visibility on campus did not increase Latino students' level of exiting racial resentment. No support was found for the

hypothesis that Latino students who perceived a more negative campus racial climate would have lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college. No support was found for the hypotheses that more Asian and Latino students among the student body would lower Latino students' racial resentment or the racial threat hypothesis that more racial-ethnic diversity of the student body would lead to higher levels of exiting racial resentment.

As for the precollege and social characteristics, as predicted, Latino students who attended high schools with higher proportions of racial-ethnic minority students had higher levels of racial resentment at the end of college (.806, $p < .05$); contradicting the alternative hypothesis of lower levels of exiting racial resentment. Also, as predicted, Latina women had lower levels of exiting racial resentment than Latino men (-.594, $p < .001$). Contrary to prediction, interracial friendships with whites, blacks, and Asians at the beginning of college did not lead to lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. Also contrary to prediction, the more racial-ethnic diversity in the neighborhood did not lead to either higher or lower levels of anti-Asian prejudice among Latino students. Additionally, contrary to predictions, neither dark-skinned Latino students nor women had lower levels of prejudice toward Asians at the end of college.

Turning to the control variables, higher levels of education among Latino students' parents did not lead to lower levels of exiting racial resentment, contradicting the hypothesis. No support was found for the hypotheses that significant relationships would exist between Latino students' family income and being a Christian with racial resentment at the end of college. No support was found for the hypothesis that Latino students from the South would have higher levels of racial resentment at the end of college. Lastly, contrary to prediction, Latino students from outside the U.S. did not have lower levels racial resentment at the end of college than Latino students who were U.S. citizens.

Summary of Interracial Contact and Social Identity Effects

The four models of racial prejudice among Latino students indicated that interracial contact across racial-ethnic lines and social identity had similar levels of influence on Latino students' end of college racial prejudice. Several forms of interracial contact during college significantly influenced Latino students' traditional and modern forms of racial prejudice. Most of these interracial contact effects support the interracial contact hypothesis, but some contradictory findings existed as well. Latino students who dated Asian partners during college had lower levels of anti-white and anti-Asian prejudice at the end of college. Latino students who dated white partners during college had lower levels of exiting anti-black prejudice. Dating black partners and participating in mostly black student organizations during college lowered Latino students' exiting racial resentment. Contradictory to the hypothesis, having white roommates and more Asian friends during college increased Latino students' anti-white prejudice at the end of college. Also, contrary to the hypothesis, having white roommates during college increased Latino students' prejudice toward Asians at the end of college.

Turning to social identity measures, mixed results existed across the four racial prejudice models for Latino students. Support was found for the hypothesis that higher levels of ingroup closeness at the end of college would increase outgroup prejudice in the anti-white and anti-black prejudice models. Contrary to the same hypothesis, higher levels of ingroup closeness at the end of college decreased outgroup prejudice in the anti-Asian prejudice and racial resentment models for Latino students. Partial support was found for the hypothesis that higher levels of outgroup closeness at the end of college would lead to lower levels of prejudice in the anti-white model for Latino students. Contrary to the same hypothesis, higher levels of outgroup closeness at the end of college increased Latino students' anti-Asian prejudice and racial resentment at the end of

college. Partial support was found for the hypothesis that higher levels of outgroup closeness at the beginning of college would lead to lower levels of prejudice in the racial resentment model.

Given the connection between social identity and intergroup contact research, interaction terms were added in subsequent analyses to test if social identity buffers the interracial contact experiences among the college students in this study. To construct the interaction terms, ingroup closeness was multiplied for each racial-ethnic student group at the end of college with each interracial contact measure with the focal racial-ethnic group in each model. For example, among Latino students, closeness to other Latinos at the end of college was multiplied by each form of white interracial contact, resulting in four interaction terms. Each interaction term was entered into the model one at a time. None of the interaction terms entered into the Latino student models were significant.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The current study examined the structure of racial prejudice among four racial-ethnic groups of college students at 28 elite colleges and universities, and the influences of cross-race interactions and students' social identity on their levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice at the end of college. This chapter discusses the findings from this study. The first section focuses on the construction of racial prejudice among elite college students. Second, the cross-race interactions among elite college students are related to previous findings and the racial hierarchy literature. Third, a summary of the interracial contact effects from the regression analyses is presented. Fourth, the influences of students' race-related social identity on the two separate forms of racial prejudice are discussed. Fifth, the findings of this study are related to the context of cross-race interactions at elite colleges and universities. Sixth, the implications of this study's approach and findings for intergroup contact research are discussed. Finally, a few concluding thoughts about societal implications are presented.

Racial Prejudice among Elite College Students

Traditional and modern racial prejudice among the students at elite colleges and universities were examined to understand whether students of separate racial-ethnic groups viewed all racial-ethnic outgroups as a single, general "racial other." The research analyses identified that neither white, black, Asian, or Latino students at these highly selective colleges constructed their traditional racial prejudice toward outgroups with a general "racial other" in mind. Instead, these students considered each group separately in the construction of their racial prejudice, avoiding an overarching "us versus them" distinction. The confirmatory factor analysis for each student group did identify that the three outgroup prejudice scales for each

student group loaded under a single outgroup factor, but was a poor fit for the data. Unlike the confirmatory factor analyses results, the racial resentment items that asked white students to indicate their level of agreement that blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans only have themselves to blame for their position in life formed a cohesive factor of racial resentment for all four student groups. The racial resentment scale for black, Asian, and Latino students removed the item asking students for perceptions of their own group, and contained only the two outgroups (ex: black students' racial resentment scale contained only the Asian American and Latino "blame" items).

Traditional racial prejudice measured perceptions of students' own group relative to each racial-ethnic outgroup. During college, students of all races moved toward a belief in equal status of their group relative to each racial-ethnic outgroup. Whether this signifies a belief in equal status or results from students' providing more of the "right answers" on survey items relating to race is unclear and discussed more below. White students held less negative beliefs about blacks and Latinos at the end of college. White students continued to view Asians more positively than their own group at the end of college, but less so than at college entrance. At the end of college, black students no longer viewed whites in slightly more favorably relative to their own group, but had slightly less favorable views of their group compared to their own. In contrast, black students' anti-Latino prejudice switched from viewing Latinos less favorably compared to their own group at the beginning of college to more favorably at the end of college. Black students still viewed Asians more favorably than they viewed their own group at the end of college, but less so than at college entrance. Latino students viewed whites slightly more favorably than their own group at the end of college, but less so than at the beginning of college. Latino students had relatively negative views of blacks at the end of college, but this level was

lower than at the beginning of college. Latino students viewed Asians more favorably than their own group at both college entrance and college exit, but less so at the end of college. For their part, Asian students had relatively negative views of whites, blacks, and Latinos at both college entrance and college exit, although their views were more favorable at the end of college.

The above trends point to a distinct dynamic around the views of Asians. White, black, and Latino students viewed Asians more favorably than their own group at each time point of this study. However, the level of these views also reduced for all three student groups. A possible explanation for this reduction in positive views relates to Bobo's (1988; Bobo and Hutchings 1996) perspective on realistic group conflict. Elite higher education is a highly valued commodity with unique social, economic, and cultural resources that can enhance a person's power and status in society. White, black, and Latino students may perceive themselves to be in a struggle over such highly valued and scarce resources with Asian students on campus because of various group interests and desired goals. Such views of Asians may tie to actual experiences or at least perceptions of being in direct competition with Asian students during college by the members of these three student groups.

The Cronbach's alphas provide another measure of the cohesiveness of traditional racial prejudice toward separate racial-ethnic groups. For white students, the items measuring racial prejudice toward blacks and Latinos decreased in their cohesiveness from Wave 1 to Wave 5, but the items measuring anti-Asian prejudice increased. For black students, the Cronbach's alpha for anti-white prejudice reduced from college entrance to college exit, but slightly increased for anti-Latino and anti-Asian prejudice. Among Latino students, a similar pattern to that found among white students occurred; anti-white and anti-black prejudice items reduced in cohesiveness, but anti-Asian prejudice items increased. For Asian students, only anti-white prejudice decreased in

cohesiveness among its items, while anti-black and anti-Latino prejudice increased in cohesiveness. The Cronbach's alphas indicate the complexity of racial prejudice toward various racial-ethnic groups.

The differences among specific groups could be a result of the different racial histories each group has experienced throughout U.S. history. Racial-ethnic groups have a history of relations with each other, and these relations are not viewed the same way by each group (Chou and Feagin 2008; Feagin 2010; Houts Picca and Feagin 2007; O'Brien 2008). These varied understandings of race relations among racial-ethnic groups may differentially inform their racial prejudice toward others. Supplementary analyses conducted after the main analyses in this study indicated that other traditional prejudice items for black, Asian, and Latino students may hold together better than the four used for consistency in the analyses. These items included perceptions of how violent a racial-ethnic group is, how easy a racial-ethnic group is to get along with, and perceptions of how discriminatory a racial-ethnic group is toward others. These findings add to current argument among scholars that traditional racial prejudice has changed and continues to change in the post-Civil Rights era, particularly when separate racial-ethnic groups are considered.

The data suggest that college students at elite colleges and universities fit the continuing trend of people moving from a traditional, Jim Crow-era form of racial prejudice to a more modern form based on individualism and "American ideals," labeled as racial resentment, in the post-Civil Rights era. There was some increase of prejudice toward particular outgroups for each student group on single traditional prejudice items, such as black students perceived whites as lazier at the end of college than at the beginning of college. However, generally speaking, the changes in the traditional racial prejudice difference scores indicate that students had lower

levels or prejudice toward separate racial-ethnic outgroups when they finished college compared to when they entered college

Indicators of racial resentment toward blacks, Asian Americans and Latinos formed a single factor among white students. Black, Asian, and Latino students had higher levels of disagreement that members of their two respective outgroups were to blame for their social position at the end of college on each racial resentment item compared to college entrance, but did not reach complete disagreement for any group. These scales indicate the strength of this modern form of racial prejudice among the elite college students in this study compared to the separate forms of traditional racial prejudice. Black, Asian, and Latino students appear to be drawn to a core aspect of racial resentment, which is measured through the statements that members of a particular racial-ethnic group are solely to blame for their social position, racial individualism (Hughes 1997; Tuch and Hughes 2011). This perspective of people's social positions blends into the powerful American ideal of meritocracy, that a person's effort and abilities have a direct connection to life outcomes.

Racial resentment, originally understood as the belief that blacks do not agree or lead their lives with the traditional "American" values of hard work and self-reliance (Hughes 1997; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Tuch and Hughes 2011), does not focus on other racial-ethnic groups. This study finds that black, Asian, and Latino students also apply this view to other racial-ethnic minority groups. These findings may indicate a strong belief in an abstract liberal frame of colorblind ideology. The abstract liberalism frame is similar to the racial individualism component of racial resentment, which notes that society is one of "equal opportunity" for everyone to succeed and a meritocracy exists for everyone to take advantage of in their life (Bonilla-Silva 2006). In essence, these measures may not necessarily tap racial resentment, but a

form of non-racialized individualism. Similarly, among elite boarding school students who are likely to attend selective colleges, students, regardless of race or gender, believe in individualism and meritocracy to such an extent that they shun legacy students (nearly all white), whom they see as being given undeserved resources and advantages instead of earning them as their world perspective requires (Kahn 2010).

The change in racial prejudice in the U.S. from a traditional form to a more modern form marked by subtlety and individualism creates a problem for monitoring racial prejudice and racism using surveys. This is a limitation of the current study. As discussed above, traditional racial prejudice toward each outgroup for white, black, Latino, and Asian students generally lessened from college entrance to college graduation. However, whether students' racial prejudice toward other racial-ethnic groups actually diminished during college is debatable. A possible explanation for the reduction in traditional racial prejudice among these college students is the desire to not appear racist or prejudiced toward other groups, rather to appear "colorblind."

Bonilla-Silva and Forman's (2000) study, which used surveys and interviews of white college students, found that whites gave less prejudiced answers on surveys than in face-to-face interviews, and they even appeared to be more "racially progressive" in their survey responses compared to their interviews. Additionally, white students denied the structural aspects of racial inequality and stressed that individual effort was key for racial-ethnic minorities' position in society. From the perspective of white students, "Blacks use discrimination as an excuse and that they need to work harder and complain less if they want to succeed" (Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000:78). Furthermore, journals kept by white college student revealed a racialized "backstage" that whites used to perpetuate stereotypical beliefs about different groups, while hiding these beliefs in more public, "frontstage" forums Houts Picca and Feagin (2007). These

studies, like the current study, find racial resentment among college students. Thus, their findings are consistent with the changes in Cronbach's alpha levels of traditional and modern racial prejudice among elite college students in this study, where the alphas were stronger at the end of college for racial resentment and less strong for most of the traditional racial prejudice scales among students. Additionally, there is a need for more qualitative studies of racial attitudes and prejudice.

Bonilla-Silva and Biaocchi (2008) suggest the use of both surveys and in-depth interviews to study modern forms of racial prejudice. This technique, they argue, assists researchers with understanding how racial stereotypes, ideas, images, and practices of racism are spread among people. Modern racism or systemic racism is a longstanding system of racial oppression perpetuated mainly by whites of European descent against people of color that exists in all major social institutions in the U.S. (Feagin 2010, 2006). The authors also point out future studies of modern racial prejudice and racism should relate to studies of racial stratification, which often use audit studies and vignettes to elaborate on the existence of racism in institutions (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Bonilla-Silva and Biaocchi 2008). This mixed-methods approach can reduce the risk of conflating racism and racial prejudice, which perpetuates the myth that racial prejudice equals racism. Additionally, such conflation allows the common myth that racism is only an "individual disease" that does not exist in social institutions (Bonilla-Silva and Biaocchi 2008; Schuman et al. 1997). Lastly, Krysan and Couper's (2003) study of how technology and different modifications to interviews influence people's racial attitudes is another example of how researchers have made methodological changes to study modern forms of racial attitudes and racism. Their experiments with face-to-face interviews illustrate the importance of

considering the interactive nature and context of such interviews that can influence responses to questions concerning race.

The results of the current study do not represent a "definitive conclusion" on racial-ethnic prejudice among groups, but argue for disaggregating samples by race to study racial prejudice. For the college students in this study, each outgroup is distinct from the others. Therefore, considering all outgroup racial prejudice as a cohesive "racial other" in the minds of ingroup members instead of as distinct groups most likely skews the results and clouds our interpretations of the processes of intergroup contact and their associated effects. In contrast, a general racial-ethnic outgroup was found in this study with the racial resentment items. Through the use of racial individualism, people lump groups together and dismiss structural inequality that disproportionately affects particular racial-ethnic groups in society.

Cross-race Interaction in College

This study used several measures of interracial contact among college students to examine interaction across racial-ethnic lines at elite colleges and universities. These findings relate to the racial hierarchy literature discussed in Chapter 1 of this study.

Interracial friendships. At college entrance, white students displayed the most insular and homophilous friendship networks. Black students had the second lowest amount of racial-ethnic diversity among their friends. Asian students had the second most diverse friendship network, and Latino students had the most diverse friendship network. During college, all four student groups became more insular and had less racially and ethnically diverse friendships, though Latino students changed the least during college. Interestingly, rankings of diversity among friendship networks among these elite college students remained throughout college. White students were the most homophilous and interacted mostly with Asians. Black students

had a slightly more diverse friendship network and interacted mostly with whites. Asian students continued to have the second most diverse friendship network and mostly interacted with whites. Latino had nearly two-thirds of their friendships during college with non-Latinos, and they interacted mostly with whites. These friendship patterns were consistent with previous studies. As found in three other studies (Chang et al. 2004; Espenshade and Radford 2009; McPherson et al. 2001), whites were the most isolated and homophilous, choosing to interact mostly with other whites. White and Asian students were more likely to befriend each other instead of blacks and Latinos. Latino students had the most integrated friendship networks. As has been found in previous studies (Charles et al. 2009; Espenshade and Radford 2009; Levin et al. 2003; Massey et al. 2003; Sidanius et al. 2008), black students, though being a small percent of all students on elite college campuses, had the most segregated friendship networks.

Interracial dating. Conclusions about the dating patterns of elite college students are limited, by the measures used in this study. Unfortunately, the concept of "dating" may not have been clearly defined for students included in this study. Students were allowed to interpret what counts as "dating" when answering the question. One student may have interpreted their one date with a partner of a different race or ethnicity as "dating," while another student may have interpreted "dating" to mean more than a particular number of dates. Thus, the results may overestimate interracial romantic relationships among elite college students. However, these numbers do indicate general dating patterns on elite college campuses. White students were the least likely to date partners of other races. When they did, they were most likely to date Asians. When Asian students dated outside of their group, they overwhelmingly dated whites rather than blacks and Latinos. Black students dated members of all three racial-ethnic groups outside of their own group at fairly high rates; they dated whites the most, followed by Asians, and then

Latinos. Latinos had the highest rates of dating members outside of their own groups; they dated white partners the most, and Asians and blacks at similar but lower rates. These patterns are generally consistent with previous research of elite college students' dating patterns (Charles et al. 2009; Espenshade and Radford 2009), and studies of UCLA students (Levin et al. 2007; Sidanius et al. 2008). The higher outgroup dating by black students is the only deviation from these previous studies.

Different race roommates. Turning to elite college students' roommates during their sophomore and junior years, white students were the least likely to have nonwhite roommates. As with friendship networks and dating patterns, white students who had roommates of a different race or ethnicity were more likely to have Asian roommates than black or Latino roommates. Black students had the second most homophilous roommate situations during their sophomore and junior years. When black students lived with nonblacks, they were most likely to live with whites, not Asians and Latinos. Asian students had the second most diverse roommate situations during their sophomore and junior years, as they were more likely to room with non-Asian roommates. When Asian students lived with roommates outside of their group, they were more likely to room with whites. Latino students had the most diverse set of roommates during their sophomore and junior years. Latino students were more likely to room with whites than students of their own group, and roomed with Asians and blacks at lower rates. These results were somewhat similar to of Espenshade and Radford's (2009) study of ten highly selective colleges and universities. In contrast, the present study found slightly lower rates of same-race roommates for white students, Asian students roomed at higher rates with other Asian students than with white students, black students had slightly higher same-race roommates, and Latino students had slightly higher same-race roommates during college.

Student organization participation. The pattern of student organization participation during their sophomore and junior years among elite college students was similar to the patterns described above. White students were the least likely to participate in student organizations that were composed mostly of racial-ethnic minority students as only two percent of white students were members of mostly Asian student organizations, one percent of students participated in mostly black student organizations, and less than one percent of students participated in mostly Latino student organizations. Black students had the second least amount of diversity in their student organization participation. When black students participated in mostly nonblack student organizations, they were most likely to participate in mostly white student organizations rather than mostly Asian or Latino student organizations. Asian students approached half of their participation rate in mostly Asian student organizations, and half of their participation in mostly non-Asian student organizations. When Asian students participated in mostly non-Asian student organizations, they most likely were involved in mostly white student organizations. Lastly, Latino students had the most diversity in their student organization participation. Much like Asian students, Latino students approached a half mostly Latino, half mostly non-Latino student organization participation in college. When Latino students participated in mostly non-Latino student organizations, these students were most likely involved in mostly white student organizations (42 percent) rather than mostly black or Asian student organizations.

Racial hierarchy in elite colleges and universities. The cross-race interaction patterns presented above are similar to those found in other studies of elite college students (Charles et al. 2009; Espenshade and Radford 2009; Fischer 2008; Massey et al. 2003). These patterns of interactions among elite college students mainly support the Latin Americanization perspective in the racial hierarchy literature. There is little agreement on where new immigrants to the U.S.

fall on the black-white continuum of privilege (see Lee and Bean 2007). The Latin Americanization of race perspective (Bonilla-Silva 2006, 2004) appears to be present on elite college campuses with students moving toward a triracial stratification system of race with three groups: white students, honorary white students (Asian students and Latino students), and black students. White and Asian students interacted the most with each other during college. Latinos interacted mostly with whites and Asians, although they had a bit more interaction with blacks than either of the two other groups of students. However, when the proportions of all forms of interracial contact are considered, white, Asian, and Latino students interact with black students the least. The notable lack of interaction with blacks and more interactions with whites by Asians and Latinos supports their honorary white status on campus. Furthermore, although students' skin color was not used to distinguish lighter- and darker-skinned Asian and Latino students as is typically used in studies of Latin Americanization of race (Bonilla-Silva 2006, 2004; Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2009), the average skin color reported by these students was a fairly light complexion and indicates that lighter-skinned Asians and Latinos may be more likely to enter elite colleges and universities than darker-skinned members of the same groups. However, although Asian and Latino students inhabit a similar position in the racial hierarchy on elite college campuses, they do not view each other as equals, given the different levels prejudice toward each other found in the current study and other studies (e.g., O'Brien 2008).

The Latin Americanization of race may be part of a longer process of racial stratification leading to Gans' (1999) black-nonblack divide, whereby nonblack minority groups merge with whites. Support for such an argument can be found in the changes in friendships among students as well as changes in their level of racial prejudice toward racial-ethnic outgroups. With the exception of Latino students, white and Asian students had less friendships with blacks during

college than they did their friendships with other racial-ethnic outgroup members. Asian and Latino students associated more with whites and each other than with blacks during college as well. White, Asian, and Latino students stereotyped black students the most or second most at the beginning of college. White students had similar levels of racial prejudice toward blacks and Latinos; Asian students had more prejudice toward blacks than whites and Latinos; and Latino students had more prejudice toward blacks than whites and Asians at the end of college. What is certain, however, is that black students are segregated on elite college campuses. Privileged white students remain at the top of the hierarchy, and Asian and Latino students occupy a "racial middle" (O'Brien 2008) in relation to their interactions and racial prejudice toward each other.

Regarding the racial hierarchy on elite college campuses, scholars should not misinterpret the hierarchy as "cut-and-dry", meaning that the relations between all groups are well-defined. Although Asians and Latinos interact more with whites than other groups and have similar positions in the racial hierarchy on elite college campuses above blacks, these students are not immune to racial discrimination (Chou and Feagin 2008; Cobas et al. 2009; Myers 2005; O'Brien 2008). Whites may continue to interact with Asians and Latinos more than blacks during college, but that does not mean that they necessarily see them as "equals" or do not discriminate against them. White students have more positive attitudes toward Asians than any other group including their own, yet they continue to have limited interactions with them during college. Though this reality may result from the number of Asian and Latino students on campus, it begs the following question: if Asians were perceived as "equals" or as somewhat more favorably than whites as a group, why don't white students interact more with Asian students? As Bonilla-Silva and colleagues note (Bonilla-Silva 2006, 2004; Bonilla-Silva and

Dietrich 2009), having a conditional status as an "honorary white" does not guarantee that status or that Asians and Latinos experience fair treatment from whites.

Interracial Contact Effects among Elite College Students

The following section summarizes the interracial contact effects found in the regression analyses of this study. For each racial-ethnic student group, the findings and discussion of its support for intergroup contact theory is discussed. Possible explanations are also presented. However, as with all of the findings in this study, the institutional context influences the interracial contact situations and racial prejudice among students. A more in-depth perspective on the context of the interracial contact findings is presented in a later section.

White students. No forms of interracial contact with blacks, Asians, or Latinos during college influenced traditional racial prejudice toward any of the three groups among white students. One precollege measure of interracial contact did influence white students' level of racial resentment. The more Latino friendships white students had the beginning of college, the higher their level or racial resentment was at the end of college. Thus, the findings for white students at elite colleges and universities provide no support for intergroup contact theory, as no form of interracial contact reduced any traditional or modern racial prejudice.

The results are most likely a product of the racial hierarchy at elite colleges and universities and the context of such institutions (described more below). Specifically, white students had the most homophilous interactions on campus, preferring to interact with other whites. The increased racial resentment as a result of having more Latino friends at the beginning of college may be due to the differences among the Latinos white students interacted with before college, and the ones they interacted with during college. If white students came to college from areas with many new Latino immigrants, their experiences and attitudes may differ

from whites who come from areas that have many Latinos that have lived in the U.S. for several generations, who most likely had acclimated to U.S. cultural norms. However, this cannot be confirmed with the current data. Approximately 19 percent of all Latinos in the NLSF dataset were international students, but the generational status of the remaining Latino students cannot be identified with the data. As Latinos are one of the fast growing, if not the fastest growing, racial-ethnic group in the U.S. (Cobas et al. 2009; Feagin 2010; O'Brien 2008), this finding may also be the result of immigration fears among whites that has developed throughout much of the early twenty-first century.

Black students. Interracial contact had some effect on racial prejudice for black students. Dating whites during college decreased black students' level of prejudice toward whites at the end of college. None of the remaining interracial contact measures were significant. No interracial contact measures were significant in the final anti-Latino model. Dating whites during college decreased black students' level of exiting anti-Asian prejudice. No interracial contact measures influenced racial resentment. The results for black students presented only marginal support for intergroup contact theory, and one finding contradicted the theory.

Of the interracial contact effects that supported intergroup contact theory, only one was for the primary group of interest. Among black students, dating a white partner in college decreased their anti-white prejudice. The other contact effects could be considered an extended contact effect (Pettigrew 2009; Wright et al. 1997) whereby interacting with one racial-ethnic group can significantly influence a person's attitudes and prejudice toward another racial-ethnic group. In regard to the findings of anti-Asian prejudice among black students, given the racial hierarchy on elite college campuses with white and Asian students mostly interacting with each

other, dating a white partner most likely has that partner transferring more positive attitudes and experiences with Asians to black students.

Asian students. Asian students showed isolated effects of interracial contact on racial prejudice. Dating whites during college increased Asians students' prejudice toward whites. None of the remaining interracial contact measures were significant in the anti-white model. Additionally, none of the interracial contact measures in the final models of anti-black and anti-Latino prejudice were significant for Asian students. In the model of racial resentment among Asian students, one interracial contact measure had a significant influence on Asian students' level of racial resentment at the end of college. Students who had more white friends during college had lower levels of exiting racial resentment. These findings present some support for the intergroup contact theory, but also a contradiction as well.

Asian and white students interacted mostly with each other outside of their own racial-ethnic group, the increase of prejudice toward whites as a result of dating a white partner in college may be a result of group position and racial threat (Blumer 1958). Perhaps this negative effect is a product of breaking up with that partner. The increase in prejudice toward whites could also be the tension Asian students feel within the racial hierarchy, trying to adapt to white norms of attitudes and behavior, and battle stereotypes such as being viewed as a "model minority" (Chou and Feagin 2008; Feagin 2010; O'Brien 2008). The increase in prejudice toward whites may also be the result of dating partners of different races based on faulty stereotypes of members of separate racial-ethnic groups such as Asian women are viewed as more docile and submissive (see Chou and Feagin 2008; O'Birien 2008). Additionally, the perspectives of interracial dating among family and friends may influence the relationships in such a way that break-ups lead to more prejudice. Interestingly, participating in mostly white

student organizations reduced Asian students' level of prejudice. These organizations may present more supportive environments to interact with white students.

In regard to racial resentment, Asian students who had more white friends during college had less racial resentment at the end of college. This finding supports Pettigrew's (1998) fifth key condition for the reduction of prejudice in intergroup contact theory: friendship potential. Through friendships, people can learn more about people of another racial-ethnic group and the structural disadvantage they may have faced, change their understandings of group positions in society, and dismiss racial stereotypes. More importantly, friendships allow the reduction of prejudice to continuously occur of longer durations of time, than simply dating a partner of a different race or ethnicity during college. Lastly, the fact that all of the significant interracial contact effects found for the Asian students in this study were with whites emphasizes the importance of the racial hierarchy at elite colleges and universities and the interactions between the two racial-ethnic groups.

Latino students. Latino students were influenced the most by interracial contact in college. Rooming with whites and having more Asian friends during college increased their anti-white prejudice, while dating Asians during college reduced their prejudice toward whites. Dating whites during college reduced Latino students' anti-black prejudice at the end of college. Latino students who dated Asians during college had lower levels of exiting prejudice toward Asians, while Latino students who roomed with whites had higher levels of anti-Asian prejudice. Finally, Latino students who dated black partners during college and Latino students who participated in mostly black student organizations had lower levels of exiting racial resentment. Overall, the interracial contact effects found for Latino students presents a "mixed bag" of support and contradiction for the intergroup contact theory. Five prejudice-reducing interracial

contact situations and three prejudice-boosting interracial contact situations were found for Latino students.

A complex scenario is presented in the anti-white prejudice model among Latino students. In this model, Latino students had higher levels of prejudice toward whites at the end of college if they roomed with a white student or had more Asian friends during college. This setting presents a possible intersection of the public-private boundary of interaction, and Latino students may find themselves caught in the middle of a racist performance by their white roommates, or being an "outsider within" (Collins 2000, 1986) as whites communicate their prejudice about other racial-ethnic groups with them. Latino students may also hear their white roommates' perspectives on societal issues related to race (e.g., affirmative action, welfare, and immigration attitudes) that Latino students have direct life experiences dealing with such issues. Situations such as these were documented among in previous research using journals written by college students (Houts Picca and Feagin 2007; Myers 2005). The higher levels of anti-white prejudice resulting from Asian friendships during college for Latino students may be a consequence of negative experiences their Asian friends have had with whites, resulting in a negative extended contact effect (Pettigrew 2009; Wright et al. 1997). Interestingly, Latino students who dated an Asian partner during college had lower levels of anti-white prejudice, a positive extended contact effect.

Latino students who dated a white partner during college had lower levels of prejudice toward blacks at the end of college, indicating a positive extended contact effect. Given the dynamics of black-white relations in U.S. history and the racist views of white women needing protection from black men (see Feagin 2010), this finding may be the result of their white partners experiencing racial discrimination for engaging in interracial relationships earlier in life,

perhaps with black partners. The influence of these previous experiences may occur through discussions with their Latino partners, and communicating views of racial equality with their previous partners of different races or ethnicities in mind. In the anti-Asian prejudice model, Latino students who dated Asian partners had lower levels of exiting prejudice toward Asians, supporting the intergroup contact hypothesis. However, having white roommates during college led Latino students to have higher levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice. In such interracial contact situations, Latino students may be brought into the racialized backstages of whites, where they communicate to Latino students their prejudice and negative attitudes of Asians, a situation similar to what may occur with white roommates and Latino students' anti-white prejudice described earlier.

The clearest support for the intergroup contact theory is found for racial resentment among Latino students. Having more black friends and participating in mostly black student organizations led to lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college. As black Americans have dealt consistently with severe structural disadvantage throughout U.S. history (Feagin 2010), the interactions with black students on campus clearly counter the racial individualism that is the basis of this modern form of racial prejudice for Latino students. Taken into account with the low proportions of Latino students who either dated a black partner or participated in mostly black student organizations, the limited contact Latino students had with black students profoundly reduced their acceptance of racial resentment at the end of college.

Social Identity and Racial Prejudice

Student's social identity was posited to influence their different forms of traditional racial prejudice and racial resentment: more ingroup closeness would increase students' levels of racial prejudice, and more outgroup closeness would decrease students' levels of racial prejudice at the

end of college. The use of social closeness items in the regression analyses as proxy measures of a social identity related to race resulted in several significant findings. In fact, across all four racial-ethnic student groups, the end of college measures of social identity was the most consistently significant variables compared to all other variables included in the analyses. The current section discusses the influence of these measures on students' racial prejudice and possible connection to interracial contact during college. Additionally, an alternative conception of what these social identity measures may be tapping among the students in this study is presented. Overall, the findings of this study support social identity theory and the influence of ingroup bias on stereotyping and prejudice (Brown 2000; Hogg and Abrams 1988; Stets and Burke 2000; Turner et al. 1987), particularly considering the end of college social identity measures.

In regards to the patterns of closeness among the students in this study, white students and black students both had less closeness to all three outgroups including their own group from the time they entered college until they graduated. Asian students generally felt slightly more close to their own group, blacks, and Latinos at the end of college compared to when they entered college. However, Asian students felt less close to whites at the end of college. Latinos felt slightly less close to their own group, Asians, and whites, but more close to blacks at the end of college.

The largest drop in closeness among the student groups was not for an outgroup, but actually for an ingroup. White students were less close to their own group at the end of college than any other outgroup in such a way that the decline of white closeness to each outgroup could be doubled and it would still be less than the within-group decline. One explanation for such a dramatic decline in closeness to their own group is that white students' social circles are not the

same as they were prior to college. Thus, they are interacting with whites from all over the country and world that have slightly different social origins that can influence their understanding of what it means to be "white". This understanding is not necessarily a racial one, but more a consideration of status. The buy-in by white students as well as black, Asian, and Latino students into the component of racial individualism, questions whether the racial resentment measure may actually measure a belief in colorblind meritocracy. This buy-in may shape white students into understanding whiteness more so as status position than as a racial group. The colleges and universities in this study are highly selective and stress the importance of working hard, innovation, and success. Moreover, these institutions often emphasize that the students that attend such colleges are the "best and brightest", which can further perpetuate the belief in a colorblind meritocracy and influence white students' closeness to the racial category of "white".

Among the white students at elite colleges and universities, support for social identity theory and the influence of ingroup bias was found in the anti-black, anti-Latino, and racial resentment models. White students with more ingroup closeness at the end of college had higher levels of white students' exiting prejudice in all three models. Thus, white students who readily identified with other whites, and the structured category of "white", had higher levels of prejudice toward blacks and Latinos, and racial resentment at the end of college. Ingroup closeness among white students did not influence their prejudice toward Asians at the end of college. The high levels of interactions between white and Asian students on campus may have an influence on these findings. White students may somewhat see Asians as part of the white ingroup and not a distinct racial-ethnic outgroup. These findings may indicate the tentative connection in the racial hierarchy between whites and Asians on elite college campuses.

Closeness to the focal racial-ethnic outgroup at the end of college reduced white students' exiting traditional racial prejudice toward blacks and Latinos. The lack of significant findings for closeness to Asians may relate to the high levels of interaction between white and Asian students at elite colleges and universities. Outgroup closeness to the general racial-ethnic outgroup in the racial resentment model reduced white students' exiting levels of racial resentment. None of the social identity measures at college entrance were significant in the traditional racial prejudice or racial resentment models. This may result from the same-wave closeness measures in the model and/or the changes that had occurred in white students' level of closeness to each racial-ethnic group.

Similar support for social identity theory and the influence of ingroup bias was found for black students in this study. Black students' level of closeness to other blacks led to higher levels of anti-white, and anti-Asian prejudice, but not their exiting level of anti-Latino prejudice. This may indicate that black students identify Latinos as an ingroup in that both groups are viewed as lower status groups in the U.S. racial hierarchy (Feagin 2010). Therefore, black students' closeness to their racial-ethnic group may reflect past discrimination or negative interactions from whites and Asians they have experienced, and positive interactions with Latinos given their racial attitudes found in this study. Black students who had higher levels of closeness to Asians at the end of college had lower levels of exiting anti-Asian prejudice, but the same effect was not found in the models of anti-white and anti-Latino prejudice. Thus, how close black students feel to whites and Latinos does not influence their racial prejudice toward these groups.

Somewhat different findings existed in the racial resentment model. Black students' with more closeness to the general racial-ethnic outgroup at the end of college had higher levels of

exiting racial resentment, while black students with higher levels of closeness to other blacks prior to college had lower levels of level of racial resentment. These results may reflect the rejection by black students of the racial individualism that is built into racial resentment (Tuch and Hughes 2011) through their lived experiences of structural disadvantage and racial discrimination prior to entering these elite colleges and universities. Additionally, the higher level of racial resentment with higher levels of outgroup closeness at the end of college may exist through the relation to the lived experiences of other racial-ethnic groups, particularly whites, and such a relation could reflect the effects of racial discrimination and structural disadvantage that faces many black Americans.

The results for Asian students strongly support social identity theory and the influence of ingroup bias on students' racial prejudice. Asian students with higher levels of closeness to other Asians had higher levels of racial prejudice toward whites, blacks, and Latinos at the end of college. Asian students with higher levels of closeness to other Asians at the end of closeness also had higher levels of exiting racial resentment. Furthermore, Asian students' with higher levels of closeness to the focal racial-ethnic outgroup in each traditional racial prejudice model, and closeness to the general racial-ethnic outgroup in the racial resentment model had lower levels of anti-white, and racial prejudice among Asian students. Interestingly, Asian students who had high levels of closeness to their own group at the beginning of college had lower levels of anti-Latino prejudice at the end of college. As Latinos and Asians are the "racial middle" (O'Brien 2008) and the latest waves of immigrants to the U.S. (Chou and Feagin 2008; Cobas et al. 2009; Feagin 2010; O'Brien 2008), many of these students may come from highly populated new immigrant areas with both Asian and Latino immigrants living close to one another. Asian

students may have identified with Latinos prior to college as more of a collective new immigrant group, and perceived their situations to be similar.

Among the Latino student results, some support for social identity theory, but a few contradictions were also found about these measures. More closeness to other Latinos at the end of college corresponded with higher levels of anti-white prejudice and anti-black prejudice. Similarly to the findings for black students, Latino students' closeness to other Latinos at the end of college led to lower levels of exiting racial resentment, which may reflect the knowledge and experience of structural disadvantage in the lives of Latinos. Contrary to social identity theory, closeness to other Latinos at the end of college actually decreased exiting anti-Asian prejudice, while closeness to Asians at the end of college increased prejudice toward Asians. Subsequent analyses confirmed that these contradictory findings were not impacted by multicollinearity. These findings may reflect Latino students feeling threatened by the presence of Asian students on campus as the Asian student visibility scale was also significant and positive for Latino students. Negative interracial contact experiences with Asians during college can be ruled out because dating Asian partners during college lowered Latino students anti-Asian prejudice. Furthermore, despite not being significant, rooming with Asians and participating in mostly Asian student organizations had negative effects on Latino students exiting anti-Asian prejudice. These experiences were mostly in support of intergroup contact theory given their general direction of influence on Latino students' anti-Asian prejudice.

Latino students who had high levels of closeness to whites at the end of college had lower levels of exiting anti-white prejudice. Additionally, Latino students with higher levels of closeness to a general racial-ethnic outgroup at the end of college and the beginning of college

had lower levels of racial resentment at the end of college. These findings may reflect negative experiences with other racial-ethnic groups prior to college.

The significant role of race and ethnicity in the lives of people in the U.S. (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Feagin 2010) requires sociologists and social psychologists to make "greater effort[s] to address race, especially if they claim that social processes generalize to an increasingly racially and ethnically diverse society" (Hunt et al. 2000). Such a critique of social psychological work is also found in specific critiques of social identity theory. Scholars point to the lack of consideration in the social identity literature of social structural characteristics that can activate a group identity (Stets and Burke 2000). Two such categories are race and ethnicity.

As mentioned at the outset of this study, the social categories of race and ethnicity are large and traditionally constructed by whites to distinguish members of their ingroup (Bonilla-Silva 2006; Feagin 2010; Zuberi 2001). These categories have developed and are refined within a racialized social system (Bonilla-Silva 2006, 1997). A racialized social system refers to a society that places people in racial categories, structured by a racial hierarchy of white privilege and supremacy, and differentially influences the life chances of people dependent upon their position in the hierarchy. Within racialized social systems, the "normal dynamics," issues, and social interactions and relations in society contain a racialized component. Thus, racialized social systems exhibit a racial structure whereby social relations and practices support white privilege (Bonilla-Silva 2006). All people and organizations are influenced within a racialized social system, including colleges and universities.

Within societies marked as racialized social systems is a specific form of social identity, a racialized social identity. A racialized social identity is the ingroup identification and bias toward an identity associated with a group within the social structural categories of race and

ethnicity. As with social identity theory, at the heart of the conception of racialized social identity is self-categorization and group affiliation along racial-ethnic lines leading to ingroup bias and outgroup stereotyping that can influence and be influenced by intergroup behavior. Like other people in society, the students in this study were probably socialized and actively interacted with each other with understandings of race, racial prejudice, and racism influencing such interactions (Van Ausdale and Feagin 2001; Lewis 2003). From this socialization, students develop some sense of their racialized social identity prior to college, which was found to significantly influence their levels of racial prejudice toward separate racial-ethnic groups at the end of college and a modern form of racial prejudice, racial resentment. Through the process of social identity theory and identifying with a socially structured category, people act with knowledge of, relationships between, and within contexts of such categories; referring to and reaffirming the social structure (Stets and Burke 2000; Thoits and Virshup 1997), in this case the racial social structure. As described below in more detail, the interactional patterns of students at elite colleges and universities occur in racialized stages of interaction, which can influence racial attitudes and prejudice, racial performances, and possibly even feeling close to and fully identifying with a racial-ethnic group.

Racialized Stages of Interaction and Elite Historically White Colleges and Universities

The patterns of cross-race interaction, lack of interracial contact effects, and influence of race as a social identity among the college students in this study hint at the context of student interaction at elite colleges and universities in the U.S. The findings from this study suggest the importance of frontstages and backstages of interracial contact at these colleges and universities. Furthermore, the results of this study are anchored in the histories and structures of elite colleges and universities that have and continue to operate as elite "historically white campuses" (Feagin

et al. 1996) or more aptly as elite "historically white colleges and universities" (Bonilla-Silva 2009). As Pettigrew and Martin (1987) remind us, social psychologists must move beyond the traditional view that a person's behavior changes only after their attitudes to understand that altered behavior most likely follows altered attitudes, all of which is shaped by the situation in behaviors and attitudes exist. In this section, the racialized frontstages and backstages (Houts Picca and Feagin 2007) of these campuses are discussed in light of the findings from this study. These "racialized stages" of interaction among elite college students are contextualized with history, symbols, demography, and climates that are more likely to hinder meaningful interaction and produce the superficial contact situations that Allport (1954) warned scholars of many years ago.

As mentioned in a previous section, the U.S. is considered a racialized society or social system (Bonilla-Silva 2006, 1997) and this extends to the higher education system as well. Until recently, the history of U.S. higher education has been one marked by exclusion and elitism rather than inclusion and equality (Bowen et al. 2005; Feagin et al. 1996; Thelin 2004; Soares 2007). Several of the highly selective colleges and universities in this study led the way to "standardize" admissions requirements, and developed a testing agency and admissions tests for various levels of higher education (Soares 2007). These tests and admissions practices were specifically designed to protect the privilege of America's white elite by purposefully attempting to deny the admission of Jewish students and racial-ethnic minority students, particularly black students, to elite colleges that are included in this study. These efforts went as far as implementing a form of "geographic affirmative action" to recruit students from areas that were known to have few Jewish students, and require a picture of each student to be attached to the admissions file (Soares 2007). Despite the Civil Rights legal rulings and the increased racial-

ethnic diversity that has occurred since the 1950s, racial-ethnic minority students still face negative racial climates and underrepresentation on campuses (Chou and Feagin 2008; Feagin 2010; Feagin et al. 1996; Myers 2005; O'Brien 2008).

In order to interpret the results of this study, the elite colleges and universities in this study need to be framed more appropriately as elite historically white colleges and universities (HWCUs; Bonilla-Silva 2009). Historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) are readily "tagged" with their racial character and histories, and so should the elite colleges and universities included in this study. Considering these colleges and universities as predominately white institutions (PWIs) only describes the demographic characteristics of colleges and universities. Viewing these colleges and universities as elite HWCUs, we can understand the cross-race interactions and study results of the students on these campuses as influenced by particular histories, symbols, and climates in addition to demographic composition that privilege white students over racial-ethnic minority students, create an unquestioned norm of whiteness (see also Lewis 2004 for critical discussion of whiteness), conceal the negative climates and discrimination toward students of color, and constrain students' interactions with each other across racial-ethnic lines.

The specific histories of the colleges and universities included in this study are one of elitism as the highly selective admissions process used reduces the chance that many racial-ethnic minority students will enter classrooms of these institutions given the structural inequality that nonwhite students face prior to college (Kozol 2005, 1992). The use of specific affirmative action programs in college admissions, particularly legacy admissions—admission of students based on the family history of attending the same institution—perpetuates the admission of elite, white students simply because of their connection to the college in many of these institutions

despite the lack of academic or institutional benefits of such programs (Kahlenberg 2010; Massey and Mooney 2007; Soares 2007). Additionally, most of the institutions in this study have high tuition and fees for students to pay. The social origins of racial-ethnic minority students (described more below), particularly black and Latino students, indicate that paying for such high-priced college educations are barely possible without substantial financial assistance. This context literally sets the stage for cross-race interaction, and influences the possible interracial contact effects on racial attitudes and prejudice among elite college students.

The patterns of cross-race interaction across the four forms examined in this study and the findings of limited interracial contact effects among the four racial-ethnic student groups can be coupled with the work of Houts Picca and Feagin (2007) on the racialized stages of interaction at HWCUs. Houts Picca and Feagin (2007) use Goffman's work on the presentation of self (1959) to analyze white college students' racial attitudes, beliefs, and interactions on campuses across the U.S. The researchers question the popularly-held notion that racial prejudice, particularly among whites, has truly changed. As discussed above, reliance on surveys to examine racial attitudes and prejudice hinders our understanding of their existence in society. Houts Picca and Feagin (2007) find that the actual racial attitudes of whites have not dramatically changed from the Jim Crow-era form, but where these attitudes are expressed has changed. Emphasizing the premise that social space is racialized, and the meanings and use of social spaces are generally controlled by whites, Houts Picca and Feagin (2007) discuss racial attitudes in relation to racialized backstages and frontstages.

Racialized backstage refer to spaces where whites conduct racial performances with people who they perceive to also be white. These are comfortable spaces for whites to learn about racial matters, increase their cultural capital with other trusted whites, and develop their

everyday information and skills to gain advantages in different sectors of society (Houts Picca and Feagin 2007). Furthermore, whites use their social networks of friends, family, and intimate partners in these racialized backstages to construct their understandings of racial boundaries in society and reproduce racist ideas, sustaining the overarching white racial frame (Feagin 2010; Houts Picca and Feagin 2007; Myers 2005). Racialized backstages can include dorm rooms, discussions at dining hall tables, and other areas that people can somewhat seclude themselves from others socially or physically. A recent example of the use of a racialized backstage to perpetuate racial prejudice toward blacks occurred at a dinner among white Harvard Law students in the spring 2010, and continued by one student via e-mail messages to clarify her points and elaborate further on her beliefs of black inferiority (Filipovic 2010). Racialized frontstages are the public, more diverse and multicultural spaces that have varying histories and character. Athletic locker rooms, bars, classrooms, dining halls, quadrangles and lawns, are examples of frontstages readily found in college communities.

Houts Picca and Feagin (2007) found a "two-faced" reality to the interaction among college students, and society in general. Specifically, the researchers found whites to perform racist performances, many times in the forms of racist joking, or communicate their racial views of racial-ethnic minorities through their attitudes, beliefs, and emotions among a group of white friends. When a person of color approached the group, white students would shift their discussion to a "colorblind" approach so they would not "appear racist" and appear to have an innocent conversation. Houts Picca and Feagin (2007) note that white skin is the "passport" into racialized backstages, but this does not prevent people of other racial-ethnic groups from sometimes entering these backstages who have lighter skin color. The researchers also note the differences in transition to and possible "slippage" from a backstage to a frontstage with the

presence of racial-ethnic minorities. In such situations where the racialized backstage and fronstage intersect, whites "switch face" to accommodate the new actors into the space and try to appear colorblind or "nonracist."

Using different terminology, Myers (2005) documents similar racialized frontstage and backstage moments for racial-ethnic minority college students. However, whites still structure the boundaries of interaction across racial-ethnic lines, understandings of whiteness, blackness, and brownness on campus for college students to navigate during their lives on and around the campus. Theoretically, racial-ethnic minority students can construct similar backstages with people from their own racial-ethnic groups. These backstages, however, may be used more for support and information to understand an HWCU campus, than for perpetuating racial prejudice. Feagin and colleagues' (1996) study of black students on HWCU campuses suggests the presence of such backstages for racial-ethnic minority students.

One area of college campuses that could be continuously shifting from a racialized backstage to frontstage for white and racial-ethnic minority students are Greek fraternities and sororities, and racial-ethnic-related student organizations. Sidanius and colleagues (2008, 2004) found Greek fraternities and sororities to increase white students' racial prejudice, while ethnic-related student organizations increased racial-ethnic minority students' racial identification. These student organizations served as a prejudice-boosting mechanism for students. Legally, these organizations cannot refuse membership because of a student's race or ethnicity. However, many Greek organizations continue to be almost exclusively white and ethnic-related student organizations continue to be mostly populated by students of the specific racial-ethnic group the organization serves. Therefore, Greek and ethnic-oriented organizations could function as a backstage for students to varying degrees until a student from a different racial-ethnic group

participates in the organization's meetings and activities. These racialized backstages among student organizations, and in general on campus, may serve as spaces for students to solidify a racialized social identity.

Whiteness and white privilege are almost completely invisible to most whites on campus (Houts Picca and Feagin 2007; Myers 2005). White students readily dismissed racist attitudes and statements by other whites as isolated incidents of bigotry, or point out that so-and-so has a "few black friends", so they were obviously joking and shouldn't be taken seriously. This dismissal of such racist acts prevents white students from developing higher levels of cross-race empathy, keeping white students detached from others and their experiences. Furthermore, this dismissal allows racist acts and racial discrimination to persist on HWCU campuses, and leaves such racial events and performances as individual acts rather than institutional-level racism. Thus, the occurrence of racist Halloween parties and costumes (Mueller et al. 2007), "ghetto fabulous" parties (Wise 2008a), support for the use of racial epithets and slurs on campus as "free speech" and not hate speech (Wise 2008b), and the targeting of racial-ethnic studies departments and programs first during times of financial difficulties (Eaton 2010; Eaton and White 2010; White 2010) are dislocated from systemic racism.

The racial hierarchy and limited amount of interracial contact effects that existed among the students at elite HWCUs in this study are likely a direct consequence of the racialized environment of these colleges and universities that continues to exist long after the legal desegregation of higher education. If students enter with low desires and expectations of interacting with students from other racial-ethnic groups during college (Espenshade and Radford 2009; Pryor et al. 2008), and the campuses allow students plenty of opportunities to avoid each other so that they do not have to interact with someone of a different race or ethnicity

(Houts Picca and Feagin 2007), then the interactions that most likely take place across racial-ethnic lines are superficial and limited in duration at best. Moreover, these HWCUs allow racialized backstages to persist in many forms, giving students the opportunity to continue to use racist framings and conceptions of people of separate racial-ethnic groups, and separating those friends they do have of different racial-ethnic groups. With such backstages plentiful on elite HWCU campuses, it is not a surprise that interracial contact had limited influence on the four racial-ethnic student groups' traditional and modern racial prejudice in this study compared to previous studies (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). O'Brien and Korgen (2007) also found limited effects of interracial contact in their study of white antiracists and whites who reported having close black friends.

The intergroup contact theory's (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998) key conditions of equal status, intergroup cooperation, common goals, and support from authorities for intergroup contact may not be fully met within elite HWCUs in this study, and those conditions that are met may be modified given such contexts. Students at these elite HWCUs do not enter interracial contact situations with an equal status, as found through their average racial prejudice toward other racial-ethnic groups and the social origins of each student group. When entering an interracial contact situation, one student of a racial-ethnic group is most likely viewed as inferior or views the student of another racial-ethnic group as inferior in the interaction. The existence of common goals may exist along with intergroup/interracial cooperation. However, given the research by Houts Picca and Feagin (2007) and Myers (2005), students may enter these interactions with the general goals of appearing colorblind, not wanting to offend anyone, and getting through an interracial interaction as quickly as possible. This scenario likely occurs for white students more so than black, Asian, or Latino students given previous research (Houts

Picca and Feagin 2007; Myers 2005). Such goals and cooperation would create the superficial interactions noted over 50 years ago by Allport (1954).

Next, it is generally assumed that the administration and faculty of elite HWCUs support cross-race interactions among students, so this key condition may exist. However, if the campus authority figures allow similar racial discrimination and events mentioned above to occur without appropriate corrective action, then racial-ethnic minority students who are subjected to the discrimination on campus may be less likely to enter interracial contact situations not feeling equal to other students given such negative racial history of their HWCU. Furthermore, when racial-ethnic minority students enter interactions with white students, they may be skeptical of white students' intentions and/or goals and possible racial prejudice toward the student's racial-ethnic group (Shelton and Richeson 2006; Shelton et al. 2005; Siegelman and Tuch 1997; Torres and Charles 2004). If something negative occurs, racial-ethnic minority students may wonder if they would be supported by the administration with quick and appropriate action. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) suggest that support by authorities or institutional support for intergroup contact situations is perhaps the most important condition for reducing prejudice. Despite this, the extent of support for cross-race interaction and equality among all racial-ethnic groups within the context of a racialized environment such as a HWCU campus is important to consider. Mentioned above, the misinterpretation of intergroup contact theory that contact in and of itself will reduce prejudice still exists (Pettigrew 1998). Applying this reality to HWCUs, simply bringing racial-ethnic minority students to campus will not address the systemic racism and structures of inequality that exist. The authority figures at HWCUs need to work to disassemble these long-held structures on campus, which could increase the positive effects of interracial contact and also increase the sense of belonging of racial-ethnic minority students at HWCUs.

Limitations

As with most studies, the current one has limitations that need to be addressed. The first limitation relates to the use of surveys to examine racial prejudice, and has already been discussed above. This study fully may not capture the racial prejudice of the four racial-ethnic student groups in this study. As is described above, the traditional racial prejudice scales used in the analyses had weak-to-moderate Cronbach's alphas, and the means of the scales were fairly close to "0", which indicates that students were more likely to consider people of racial-ethnic groups outside their own group to be more similar to their group than different. Whether this is *actually* how students perceive people of separate racial-ethnic groups is up for debate.

A second limitation of this study is the use of similar measures of racial prejudice for all four groups, using the white students' prejudice items as the model for the other three racial-ethnic groups. As can be seen by the low Cronbach's alphas for the scales of racial prejudice towards several of the outgroups for black, Asian, and Latino students at both time points, researchers need to examine how racial prejudice among these groups differs from whites than simply using the same items across the board. Though these items provide consistent measures of prejudice towards separate groups, there are some differences in how black, Asian, and Latino students construct their racial prejudice toward racial-ethnic outgroups compared to white students. As mentioned in the previous section about students' racial prejudice, analysis not shown found that other items measuring different aspects of racial prejudice for the three racial-ethnic minority student groups would have formed a stronger traditional prejudice scale. Future research using the NLSF dataset should explore not using a scale of racial prejudice with the same items for every group, as separate groups may form traditional racial prejudice toward outgroups differently than the approach taken in this study.

A third limitation of the current study is that the variables used to construct the campus racial climate scale did not relate to more subtle forms of discrimination. Most of the variables used to construct the scale were associated with more overt discriminatory behaviors, such as those associated with traditional racism and the Jim Crow era. However, as noted above, modern racism is more covert and subtle. Thus, the campus racial climate scale may not capture all of the components of the climate relating to "everyday racism" experienced by racial-ethnic minority students on college campuses (Chou and Feagin 2008; Essed 1991; Houts Picca and Feagin 2007; Feagin 2010, 1991; Mueller et al. 2007; O'Brien 2008; Wise 2008a, 2008b). An indication that this component of racial-ethnic minority students' experiences may be missing from the scale is that average scores were low. Nevertheless, they do not indicate perfect disagreement on the items, which would suggest that these students experienced a "discrimination free" campus.

A fourth limitation relates to the consistency of the interracial contact variables. Unlike previous studies of interracial contact effects among college students (e.g., Sidanius et al. 2008), data about interracial contact were not consistently available across all waves in this study. Interracial friendship was measured in four out of the five waves, making it the most consistent group of variables in this study, but the questions differed across waves. Interracial dating variables were available in waves 2 through 5. Measures of rooming with students of different races or ethnicities and student organization participation were only available in waves 3 and 4. The student organization items were only available in the third and fourth waves, and like the friendship items, differed across both waves. Thus, some of the findings from this study may have been affected by these changes for the interracial contact variables. Furthermore, none of

the interracial contact measures allowed for an examination of the racial-gender composition of any form of interracial contact, which may influence students' level of racial prejudice.

A fifth limitation of this study relates to the component of racial prejudice examined in the analyses. Interacting across racial-ethnic lines during college for white students at elite HWCUs did not influence their level of racial prejudice toward specific groups with the magnitude found in previous studies of white students and other white adult populations (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Sidanius et al. 2008). Many studies of intergroup contact use affective measures of prejudice (i.e., negative feelings toward groups) instead of cognitive measures (i.e., group beliefs and stereotypes), which are influenced more by interracial contact (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). However, simply having less negative feelings toward an outgroup does not mean that the same group is thought about positively. In other words, feeling close to an outgroup does may mean that someone thinks of that group and its members as equals, as can be seen by the average prejudice levels among each racial-ethnic student group in this study.

A sixth limitation relates to the sample of students at the elite colleges and universities in this study. Racial-ethnic minority students were oversampled during the collection period of the NLSF in order to have similar numbers of respondents from all four student groups (see Massey et al. 2003). However, sampling weights were not available at the time this study was conducted. Given this constraint, the results may not accurately portray interracial contact and racial prejudice among students on the 28 elite college campuses included in this study.

A seventh limitation of this study is the possible violation of the intergroup contact theory's key condition of equal status among people. There are sharp racial disparities in the social backgrounds of the students in this study. White students come from homes with parents that have some post-graduate education, family incomes around $72,000, neighborhoods with

less than a third nonwhite residents, and slightly more than an eighth of nonwhite peers in their former high schools. Asian students had the second highest social origins. Asian students come from homes with parents that have fathers with some post-graduate education and mothers that are college graduates, family incomes around $67,000, neighborhoods with slightly less than a third nonwhite residents, and 40 percent nonwhite peers in their former high schools. Latino and black students are much further behind in the parental educational background and family incomes of white and Asian students, and also have more racial-ethnic diversity in their precollege environments. Latino students' parents averaged slightly less than a college degree, come from homes with an average family income of slightly more than $60,000, neighborhoods with half racial-ethnic minority residents, and 40 percent nonwhite peers in the former high schools. Black students' parents averaged slightly less than a college degree, come from homes with an average family income of $58,000, and lived in neighborhoods and attended high schools with more than half of the residents and students of a racial-ethnic minority group.

The described disparities in social origins among students indicate that these students are not on an "equal playing field" when they enter these colleges and universities. Thus, the equal status condition may not be fulfilled among students interacting across racial-ethnic lines given such disparities. Additional evidence, it could be argued, is found in the sporadic finding that more black students among the student body reduced varying forms of traditional and modern racial prejudice for black, Asian, and Latino students. This measure may indicate students confronting the most disadvantaged group, according to their social origins, on campus and learning about the structural inequality that influences students prior to college and later in life.

A final limitation of the current study is that the colleges and universities included in this study are elite, meaning highly selective, and most are located in the Northeast. They are a small

subset of the American higher education system, with lower levels of racial-ethnic diversity among the students. Therefore, the results and conclusions of this study may not generalize to other colleges and universities. Despite this limitation, it is well known that many higher education institutions mimic the elite colleges and universities. Although the theory of mimicry has been criticized (see Kraatz and Zajac 1996), it may still occur in other colleges and universities relating to the structures that can influence interracial contact and racial prejudice among students. Future studies should consider more institutions so they do not limit their results to one segment of the higher education system.

Implications for Intergroup Contact Research

The findings from this study suggest several modifications to future research on intergroup contact. Most of these suggestions for future research involve interracial contact and racial prejudice, but could be applied to other forms of intergroup contact, such as studies of interaction among religiously and nationally different people.

First, future intergroup contact research should examine outgroups separately. This study illustrates the differences in the construction of traditional racial prejudice by four separate racial-ethnic groups of students. Additionally, this study illustrates the importance of examining interracial contact effects for each form. Furthermore, the different influences of interacting with the primary group of interest for each form of traditional racial prejudice (i.e., anti-black prejudice and interaction with blacks) compared to other outgroup needs more exploration. In addition, the influence of different forms of interaction (i.e., friendships, dating, roommates, etc.) on racial prejudice also should be explored in future research. As Sidanius and colleagues (2008; see also Levin et al. 2003) found, the form of interaction and what group it is with can have different effects on students' racial prejudice, ethnic identity, and social dominance orientation.

Lastly, all interracial contact forms should be included in model similar to the approach taken in this study to examine the full spectrum of interracial contact that people experience in their lives.

Second, more research is needed about how cross-race interactions influence modern forms of racial prejudice such as racial resentment. The items measuring racial resentment in this study had higher Cronbach's alphas than any of the traditional racial prejudice forms for any student group. Students' attitudes are more likely to conform to a more subtle form of racial prejudice today as the research suggests (see Bobo et al. 1997; Bonilla-Silva 2006; Hughes 1997; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Pettigrew and Meertens 1995; Quillian 2006; Schuamn et al. 1997; Sears 1988; Tuch and Hughes 2011), and researchers should focus more on these new forms in intergroup contact research. Studies by Spanierman and colleagues (2008) and McClelland and Linnander (2005) are examples of recent intergroup contact research that has included modern racial prejudice. However, more research is needed to identify how modern forms of racial prejudice are expressed in comparison to traditional racial prejudice in racialized stages of interaction on campus. The work of Houts Picca and Feagin (2007) and Myers (2005) serve as examples of such research.

Future interracial contact research also needs to examine how traditional racial prejudice differs among racial-ethnic groups. The low Cronbach's alphas for the traditional racial prejudice scales among black, Asian, and Latino students indicate that simply using similar stereotype items found among white students may not accurately reflect the construction of cognitive racial prejudice among racial-ethnic minorities. Despite the popular view among scholars that societies are dominated by white supremacy and a "white racial frame," these structures can influence racial-ethnic minorities in the U.S. and abroad (Bonilla-Silva 2006, 1997; Chou and Feagin 2008; Feagin 2010; Tan et al. 2009). The findings from this study

suggest that stereotypes of other racial-ethnic groups among black, Asian, and Latino students do not necessarily follow the frames white students use to form their group-specific racial prejudice.

Fourth, this study separately examined elite college students' interracial contact and racial prejudice toward three racial-ethnic outgroups. This study found that all four student groups considered each outgroup separately instead of all together as a "racial other", except when considering racial resentment. The different racial histories that whites have had with other groups (see Feagin 2010) indicate the need to examine these groups separately. By grouping all three racial-ethnic outgroups together, an accurate analysis of what impact cross-race interaction has on a person's racial prejudice is hindered and may mask the influence of interaction with different racial-ethnic group members. As was seen in this study, this issue appears to be the case. There are differential effects of interacting with separate racial-ethnic groups on the separate forms of traditional racial prejudice. Moreover, there were differential interracial contact effects on students' level of racial resentment. Furthermore, estimating the difference between the group-specific approach of the separate interracial contact forms taken in this study and a general outgrouping approach would show what misinterpretations could occur in intergroup contact research.

Intergroup contact research can also benefit from more inclusion of trust and emotion variables in quantitative models. Although this study used social closeness to groups as a proxy of social identity, specific emotion- and trust-related variables would mostly likely enhance the study's findings relating to the influence of social identity and interracial contact in college. The influence of interracial contact on negative affect or affective prejudice, and the reduction of fear and anxiety is well-documented in the intergroup contact literature (Eller and Abrams 2004; Pettigrew 1997a; Pettigrew and Tropp 2008, 2006; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005a). If the

traditional racial prejudice scales were constructed with this second component of prejudice included, different results may have been found in the factor analyses and the subsequent regressions.

A second group of variables that could influence both racial prejudice and interracial contact relate to trust. Previous research has found race and trust are entangled in a distinct way, and there exists gaps between members of different racial-ethnic groups, particularly blacks and whites (Smith 2010). Additionally, recent research supports the importance of trust in interracial contact situations (Tropp 2008). If students of separate races and ethnicities do not equally trust each other, then it could be argued that they do not see each other as "equals" despite the traditional racial prejudice scales nearing "equal status" at the end of college found in this study. Furthermore, if students have low levels of trust in students of different racial-ethnic groups, then the likelihood of initiating cross-race interaction, having meaningful interracial contact and not superficial contact, and even sustaining such interracial relationships overtime are low. Finally, as Houts Picca and Feagin (2007) note, the perpetuation of negative racial attitudes, prejudice, and framing is carried out among *trusted* friends, family, intimate partners, and others. Developing more information about how to get college students, and people in general, to trust one another going into interracial contact situations could lead scholars to more information about how to successfully reduce racial prejudice more and lead to the development of truly empathetic feelings toward people outside of one's racial-ethnic group.

The last group of variables that could have influenced this study's findings relates to students' emotions. Prejudice, especially racial prejudice in the U.S., is closely attached to people's emotions. The close relation between prejudice and emotions is found in the one of the main studies that inspired this dissertation, Gordon Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954),

where the importance of emotions such as aggression and anger, anxiety, empathy, fear, guilt, and threat are discussed in relation to the existence of prejudice. Since Allport's (1954), intergroup contact research has found empathy and anxiety to be two of the main influences of prejudice and intergroup contact (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). Recent research indicates the importance of including emotion-related variables in analyses, particularly anxiety and threat items (Mendoza-Denton and Page-Gould 2008; Mendoza-Denton et al. 2002; Page-Gould et al. 2008; Sidanius et al. 2008; Smith 2008; Stephan et al. 2008; Tropp 2008). Additionally, more information on students' level of empathy is also needed, which could greatly influence the initiation and positive results of interracial contact situations. Lastly, students' emotions may also tie closely with their race as a social identity, and both directly and indirectly influence their interracial contact during college and their racial prejudice.

Research on intergroup contact should use more advanced quantitative methods to develop more information on how the specific context of interactions can influence interracial contact effects and the key conditions of the intergroup contact theory (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998). Previous research has used advanced techniques such as structural equation modeling (SEM) to examine interracial contact among college students and other populations (Pettigrew 2009, 1997b; Spannierman et al. 2007; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005; Turner et al. 2008; Van Dick et al. 2006), but more complex models should be explored to shed light on the influence of organizational and environmental contexts on social identity and intergroup contact. Future studies should also look at longitudinal interracial contact effects using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) to identify any differences among college students who attend HWCUs that have a "critical mass" (see Pettigrew 1975 for definition) of racial-ethnic minority students enrolled on campus, a critical mass of interracial interaction, or a particular percentage of

students participating in Greek or racial-ethnic specific organizations. A few studies have examined such effects (Chang et al. 2006; Wagner et al. 2006).

The advanced quantitative analyses noted above cannot exist alone. Qualitative work can highlight important aspects of where on campus interracial contact occurs that cannot be readily captured in surveys (Bonilla-Silva and Biaocchi 2008; Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000). The work of Hill (2008), Houts Picca and Feagin (2007), and Myers (2005) indicate the importance of moving beyond the traditional survey approach as the communicative nature of racism and prejudicial beliefs exist in different forms, and are expressed in racialized stages of interaction. Thus, simply saying that Jim Crow-era racial prejudice is less prevalent today assumes that a person's real beliefs can be captured readily in the frontstages of society, which previous research finds is not wholly true (Houts Picca and Feagin 2007; Myers 2005).

A mixed methods approach in intergroup contact research can assist scholars with understanding the general processes of the theory and associated areas of social psychological research, such as social identities. Furthermore, intergroup contact scholars can examine how the key conditions of intergroup contact theory (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998) differ for traditional and modern forms of racial prejudice among separate racial-ethnic groups. For example, does authoritative support influence whites' interactions with and prejudice toward blacks differently than Asians? Are there differences in the influence of "equal status" between different groups? Meta-analyses (e.g., Pettigrew and Tropp 2006) provide another example of how researchers can approach these questions effectively using existing data and alternative methods beyond basic regression analysis. They may raise new questions relating to the possible differences in the conditions of intergroup contact between separate racial-ethnic groups.

Lastly, it is apparent that the intergroup contact theory is not supported at elite HWCUs. Additionally, the theory is generally not supported for nonwhite racial-ethnic minorities. Latino students exhibited the most overall and the most positive contact effects, but also had nearly as many negative effects from cross-race interaction on their levels of racial prejudice. This study indicates that it may be time to modify the intergroup contact theory to apply to the developing beliefs of a colorblind meritocracy, where it is not so much that people of different racial-ethnic groups are inferior, it is a question of how worthy members of outgroups are. Thus, this could be seen as the "ultimate attribution error" (Pettigrew 1979); to blame racial-ethnic outgroup members for their social position, while making exceptions along the way. Scholars have developed a literature on the change of racial attitudes in the post-Civil Rights era (Bobo 1988; Bobo et al. 1997; Bonilla-Silva 2006; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Schuman et al. 1997), and perhaps the dependent variables in these studies should focus more on colorblind meritocracy than traditional feelings and thoughts about outgroups.

The second important change to the intergroup contact theory that should be considered relates to the group of variables that is missing and invaluable to the study of intergroup contact: environmental context. When much of the intergroup contact research that established the foundation for the theory we have today was conducted (i.e., Allport 1954; Williams 1947), American society was different in significant ways. Most importantly, the U.S. was under Jim Crow and apartheid conditions, where today, the nation is under a developing era of colorblindness with explicit acceptance by authority figures for interracial interactions. Additionally, much of the early research focused on the incorporation of white ethnics and a highly stigmatized, marginalized group of black citizens. More data is needed to focus on various aspects of the context that can influence people entering into intergroup contact

situations. As important as it is to understand what people think and feel in various interactions with outgroup members, it is arguably more important to understand the context that frames intergroup contact situations.

Concluding Thoughts

The results and previous discussions lead to an important, but not so new (see Pettigrew and Martin 1987), perspective about organizations such as HWCUs in American society: microremedies for changes in interaction among populations need to be made in conjunction with and not separated from broader structural changes, particularly within organizations like elite colleges and universities that position people to influence the direction of American society in various capacities. Similar to the misconception that contact in and of itself will reduce prejudice (Pettigrew 1998), thinking that colleges and universities can simply recruit and enroll racial-ethnic minority students to create "diversity" misses the larger structural issues that need to be addressed along with increasing racial-ethnic minority representation on campus. The histories, symbols, and climates of exclusion on the HWCU campuses should be address simultaneously. If not, a string of racial incidents may polarize the campus and detract from the educational mission of the college (ex: recent incidents at the University of California – San Diego; Lu 2011).

Students at HWCU campuses are shaped by the structures and informal messages of their institutions in such a way that could influence their attitudes for many years after they graduate. These students are also in a unique position to influence American society through business, scholarship and research, legal and civil service, and politics. These students could be directly involved in creating and sustaining social policies around affirmative action, civil rights, immigration, and welfare that can either decrease racial-ethnic inequality or increase it. The

recent uprising of anti-immigrant sentiment and the Tea Party pushing narrow understandings of meritocracy and inequality point to the possible usefulness of this data to understanding racial attitudes today among the this generation of elite college alumni. Given the lack of interracial contact effects among these students, elite HWCUs contain many racialized backstages across campus that limit meaningful interaction across racial-ethnic lines that could influence racial attitudes and perspectives of students in positive ways. These backstages may never be fully removed, and perhaps they shouldn't be eliminated completely, but university administrators can work to support meaningful interaction in the frontstages on campus.

Several suggestions concerning approaches to create more inclusive campuses could be made based on these results. However, each institution in this study has a unique history around race, set of structures that help or hinder cross-race interactions and racial inclusion, symbols that are exclusionary and offensive to racial-ethnic minority groups, underrepresentation of racial-ethnic minorities among the student and faculty bodies, and campus climates that contain mixed messages about what groups are truly valued. All college and university administrators need to evaluate their institutional histories and approaches to handling racist incidents on campus to identify "best practices." Such evaluations could lead to quicker and more efficient responses to such racist incidents that represent concrete decisions to support racial-ethnic minority students on campus. The support of authority figures in an environment is an important condition for meaningful intergroup contact to occur (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006), but as discussed above, the *extent* of supporting cross-race interaction and campus equality is important as well.

In conclusion, at the heart of this study's findings, I quote Thomas Pettigrew (1966), esteemed social psychologist and scholar activist, who spoke at the American Academy Conference on the Negro American in 1965:

> I think one of the great fallacies we have had in the field of race relations for many, many decades has been to worry about attitudes rather than about conditions. It is a crude, but I think, generally correct statement to say that attitudes are more often a result than a cause of most of our race-relation situations. (P. 312)

The mountains of intergroup contact research point to the ability for racial prejudice to be reduced from previous levels through interaction across racial-ethnic lines (see Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). Attention almost exclusively to the individuals involved in a single situation constrains the intergroup contact theory's (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998) key conditions for prejudice reduction, and misses where and under what external conditions surround and frame intergroup contact situations. Until we contextualize our social science research instead of limiting it to the individual characteristics commonly used, identifying more effective conditions for social change and equality will continue to elude us, and society.

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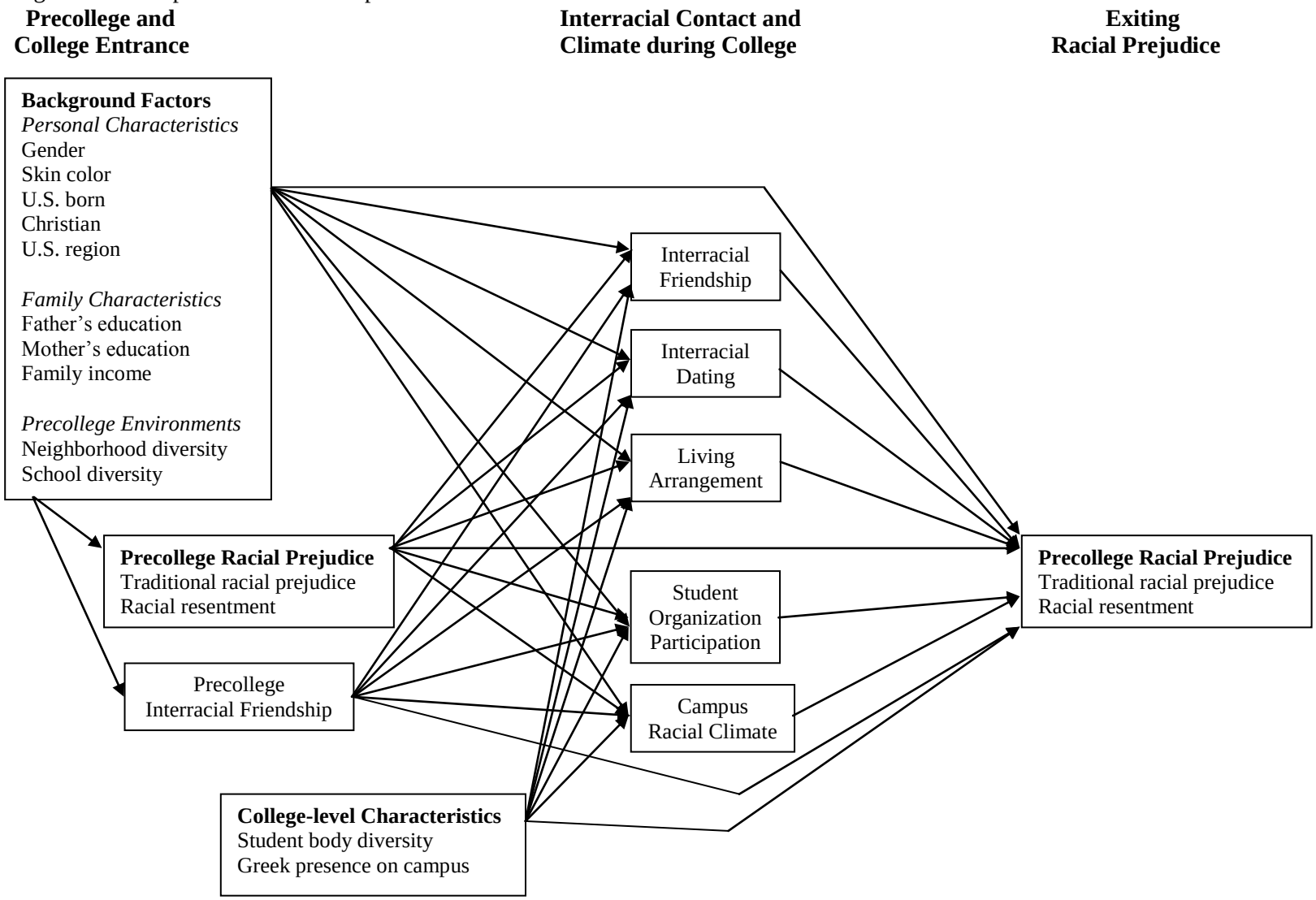
APPENDIX A: Figure

Figure 1. Conceptual Model of Campus Interracial Contact



APPENDIX B: Tables

Table 1. Hypothesized effects of prior racial prejudice, social identity, interracial contact, campus characteristics, and precollege and social characteristics on exiting racial prejudice

	Prejudice at College Exit				
	Traditional Racial Prejudice				
Variable	Anti-white	Anti-black	Anti-Latino	Anti-Asian	Racial Resentment
Prejudice at college entrance					
Anti-white [a]	+	na	na	na	na
Anti-black	na	+	na	na	na
Anti-Latino	na	na	+	na	na
Anti-Asian	na	na	na	+	na
Modern racial prejudice at college entrance					
Racial resentment	na	na	na	na	+
Interracial contact during college					
Interracial friendships [b]	-	-	-	-	-
Interracial dating [b]	-	-	-	-	-
Live with roommate of different race [b]	-	-	-	-	-
Participate in majority outgroup student organization [b]	-	-	-	-	-
Social identity					
Closeness to ingroup at the end of college	+	+	+	+	+
Closeness to ingroup at the beginning of college	+	+	+	+	+
Closeness to outgroup at the end of college [c]	-	-	-	-	-
Closeness to outgroup at the beginning of college [c]	-	-	-	-	-
Campus characteristics					
Ingroup visibility compared to outgroups' on campus [d]	?	?	?	?	?
College commitment to diversity	?	?	?	?	+
Campus racial climate [e]	+	-	-	-	-
Proportion of racial-ethnic minority students on campus	-	-	-	-	-
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus	+	+	+	+	+

Table 1 continued. Hypothesized effects of prior racial prejudice, social identity, interracial contact, campus characteristics, and precollege and social characteristics on exiting racial prejudice

	Prejudice at College Exit				
	Traditional Racial Prejudice				
Variable	Anti-white	Anti-black	Anti-Latino	Anti-Asian	Racial Resentment
Precollege and social characteristics					
Interracial friendships college entrance [b]	-	-	-	-	-
High school racial-ethnic diversity	-	-	-	-	-
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity	-	-	-	-	-
Darker skin color	-	-	-	-	-
Women	-	-	-	-	-
Control variables					
Father's education	?	?	?	?	?
Mother's education	?	?	?	?	?
Family income	?	+	+	+	+
From the South	+	+	+	+	+
International student	-	-	-	-	-
Christian	?	?	?	?	?

[a] Used as dependent variable for racial-ethnic minority student models only.
[b] Variable is split into each separate racial-ethnic outgroups in analyses.
[c] Variables focus on primary racial-ethnic outgroup in each model (i.e., closeness to blacks in anti-black prejudice model).
[d] Variables for each separate racial-ethnic outgroup's visibility are used in analyses.
[e] Variable entered only for nonwhite student groups given historical underrepresentation on elite college campuses.
+ positive relationship; - negative relationship; ? unknown relationship; na not applicable in model

Table 2. Completion Rates to the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen Wave 1-5

	Total	White	Black	Asian	Latino
Wave 1: Fall 1999					
Number Selected	4573	1202	1182	1118	1071
Percent Completed	85.8	83.0	88.9	85.8	85.5
Number in Baseline	3924	998	1051	959	916
Wave 2: Spring 2000					
Completed Follow-Up	95.0	93.7	96.0	95.9	94.3
Number in Wave II	3728	935	1009	920	864
Wave 3: Spring 2001					
Completed Follow-Up	88.6	87.9	88.7	89.3	88.4
Number in Wave III	3475	877	932	856	810
Wave 4: Spring 2002					
Completed Follow-Up	83.6	84.4	81.1	85.6	83.5
Number in Wave IV	3280	842	852	821	765
Wave 5: Spring 2003					
Completed Follow-Up	79.0	81.6	75.9	79.8	78.7
Number in Wave V	3098	814	798	765	721

Notes: Adapted from National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen website (http://nlsf.princeton.edu/about.htm).

Table 3. Racial Resentment and Modern Racial Prejudice Measures, White Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Racial resentment measure 1 (Wave 1)				.931
Blacks should blame themselves for not doing better in life	3.81	2.69	.940	
Latinos should blame themselves for not doing better in life	3.57	2.60	.950	
Asian Americans should blame themselves for not doing better in life	3.54	2.74	.925	
Racial resentment measure 2 (Wave 1)				.907
Educated blacks that do the "proper" things will eventually get ahead	6.95	2.21	.923	
Educated Latinos that do the "proper" things will eventually get ahead	6.66	2.25	.936	
Educated Asian Americans that do the "proper" things will eventually get ahead	7.59	2.01	.897	
General racial resentment (Wave 5)				.931
Blacks should blame themselves for not doing better in life	2.51	2.47	.923	
Latinos should blame themselves for not doing better in life	2.14	2.33	.956	
Asian Americans should blame themselves for not doing better in life	2.00	2.33	.937	
College-related racial saliency (Wave 5)				.757
Diversity commitment by college	3.00	1.01	.392	
Black-white campus visibility difference score	-1.95	2.44	.867	
Latino-white campus visibility difference score	-1.42	2.32	.833	
Asian -white campus visibility difference score	-3.65	2.85	.854	
N	998			

Table 4. Traditional Racial Prejudice Measures in Wave 1, White Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Anti-black racial prejudice				.628
Black laziness vs. white laziness difference score	.15	.91	.718	
Black unintelligence vs. white unintelligence difference score	.28	.73	.723	
Black preference for welfare vs. white preference for welfare difference score	.60	1.11	.678	
Black lack of sticking with tasks vs. white lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.06	.93	.655	
Anti-Latino racial prejudice				.650
Latino laziness vs. white laziness difference score	.12	1.10	.712	
Latino unintelligence vs. white unintelligence difference score	.38	.86	.736	
Latino preference for welfare vs. white preference for welfare difference score	.59	1.18	.645	
Latino lack of sticking with tasks vs. white lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.15	.94	.726	
Anti-Asian racial prejudice				.648
Asian laziness vs. white laziness difference score	-.78	1.23	.715	
Asian unintelligence vs. white unintelligence difference score	-.46	.84	.726	
Asian preference for welfare vs. white preference for welfare difference score	-.32	.87	.572	
Asian lack of sticking with tasks vs. white lack of sticking to tasks difference score	-.70	1.06	.780	
N	998			

Table 5. Traditional Racial Prejudice Measures in Wave 5, White Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Anti-black racial prejudice				.507
Black laziness vs. white laziness difference score	-.05	.75	.709	
Black unintelligence vs. white unintelligence difference score	.10	.49	.656	
Black preference for welfare vs. white preference for welfare difference score	.23	.88	.536	
Black lack of sticking with tasks vs. white lack of sticking to tasks difference score	-.01	.67	.674	
Anti-Latino racial prejudice				.492
Latino laziness vs. white laziness difference score	-.15	.97	.640	
Latino unintelligence vs. white unintelligence difference score	.17	.59	.687	
Latino preference for welfare vs. white preference for welfare difference score	.22	.89	.527	
Latino lack of sticking with tasks vs. white lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.02	.72	.701	
Anti-Asian racial prejudice				.680
Asian laziness vs. white laziness difference score	-.78	1.08	.787	
Asian unintelligence vs. white unintelligence difference score	-.38	.74	.762	
Asian preference for welfare vs. white preference for welfare difference score	-.27	.81	.593	
Asian lack of sticking with tasks vs. white lack of sticking to tasks difference score	-.44	.87	.719	
N	998			

Table 6. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Traditional Racial Prejudice, White Students

Variable	Outgroup Racial Prejudice Wave 1	Outgroup Racial Prejudice Wave 5
Lamda-Y		
Anti-Asian racial prejudice	.10	.24
Anti-black racial prejudice	.97	.91
Anti-Latino racial prejudice	.81	.83
Psi		
Latent variance	1.00	.82
Beta		
Outgroup 1 → Outgroup 5	.42	
Model estimates		
FIML χ^2	241.81	
df	8	
RMSEA	.17	
N	998	

Notes: Analysis used full information maximum likelihood estimation to deal with missing data. All loadings, coefficients, and model estimates are significant at the .05 level.

Table 7. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Racial Resentment, White Students

Variable	Outgroup Racial Resentment Wave 1	Outgroup Racial Resentment Wave 5
Lamda-Y		
Asian blame item	.87	.90
Black blame item	.91	.86
Latino blame item	.94	.96
Psi		
Latent variance	1.00	.91
Beta		
Outgroup 1 → Outgroup 5	.31	
Model estimates		
FIML χ^2	18.22	
df	8	
RMSEA	.036	
N	998	

Notes: Analysis used full information maximum likelihood estimation to deal with missing data. All loadings, coefficients, and model estimates are significant at the .05 level.

Table 8. Descriptive Statistics of White Students

Variable	Mean	SD
Traditional racial prejudice at college entrance		
Anti-black racial prejudice	.27	.64
Anti-Latino racial prejudice	.31	.72
Anti-Asian racial prejudice	-.57	.70
Traditional racial prejudice at college completion		
Anti-black racial prejudice	.07	.45
Anti-Latino racial prejudice	.07	.51
Anti-Asian racial prejudice	-.47	.63
Racial resentment (blame) at college entrance		
Racial resentment blame scale	3.63	2.51
Racial resentment (proper behavior) at college entrance		
Racial resentment education scale	7.06	1.98
Racial resentment at college completion		
Racial resentment scale	2.22	2.23
Social identity		
Closeness toward whites at college entrance	6.60	1.43
Closeness toward whites at college exit	5.57	1.61
Closeness toward blacks at college entrance	5.43	1.36
Closeness toward blacks at college exit	4.92	1.41
Closeness toward Asians at college entrance	5.43	1.40
Closeness toward Asians at college exit	4.92	1.51
Closeness toward Latinos at college entrance	5.10	1.43
Closeness toward Latinos at college exit	4.74	1.45
College commitment to diversity		
Perception of college commitment to diversity	3.00	1.01
Visibility of students		
Visibility of black students compared to white students	-1.95	2.44
Visibility of Latino students compared to white students	-1.42	2.32
Visibility of Asian students compared to white students	-3.65	2.85
Interracial friendships during college		
Proportion of black friends	.03	.05
Proportion of Latino friends	.03	.05
Proportion of Asian friends	.09	.12
Interracial dating during college		
Proportion of ever dating black partners	.20	.40
Proportion of ever dating Latino partners	.21	.41
Proportion of ever dating Asian partners	.31	.46

Table 8 continued. Descriptive Statistics of White Students

Variable	Mean	SD
Race of college roommates		
Proportion of black roommates	.02	.08
Proportion of Latino roommates	.02	.08
Proportion of Asian roommates	.09	.19
Racial Composition of student organizations during college		
Proportion mostly black	.01	.05
Proportion mostly Latino	.00	.03
Proportion mostly Asian	.02	.09
College-level Characteristics		
Proportion of black students	.07	.02
Proportion of Asian students	.14	.10
Proportion of Latino students	.05	.03
Proportion of student Greek participation	.31	.19
Interracial friendships at college entrance		
Proportion of black friends	.05	.09
Proportion of Latino friends	.04	.09
Proportion of Asian friends	.10	.13
Gender		
Woman	.52	.50
Other personal characteristics		
Skin color	1.68	1.30
International student (1 = yes)	.05	.22
Christian (1 = yes)	.70	.46
From the South (1 = yes)	.19	.39
Family characteristics		
Mother's education	5.53	1.36
Father's education	5.93	1.38
Family income	71945.35	17829.33
Precollege environment diversity		
Proportion of racial-ethnic minorities in high school	.31	.21
Proportion of racial-ethnic minorities in neighborhood	.15	.18
N	998	

Note: Descriptive statistics are based on non-imputed data.

Table 9. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-black Prejudice at End of College, White Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-black prejudice at college entrance		.177***	.174***
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with blacks	-.307	-.095	-.093
Interracial dating with blacks	.087	.121	.139
Black roommates	-.357	-.361	-.348
Participation in mostly black student organizations	-.114	-.001	.006
Social identity			
Closeness to whites at the end of college		.092***	.092***
Closeness to blacks at the end of college		-.090***	-.089***
Closeness to whites at college entrance		.021	.021
Closeness to blacks at college entrance		-.002	-.003
Campus characteristics			
Black students' visibility [a]		-.013	-.014
Latino students' visibility [a]		.017*	.018*
Asian students' visibility [a]		-.006	-.005
College commitment to diversity		.017	.016
Proportion of black students		-.793	-.789
Proportion of Latino students		-.040	.028
Proportion of Asian students		-.138	-.074
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		.052	.047
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with blacks at college entrance		-.106	-.107
High school racial-ethnic diversity		-.023	-.016
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		.150*	.143
Darker skin color		.007	.009
Woman		-.035	-.039
Control variables			
Father's education		.002	.002
Mother's education		-.018	-.019*
Family income		.000	.000
From the South		.090**	.090**
International student		-.058	-.055
Christian		.007	.009
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with Asians			-.040
Interracial dating with Asians			-.042
Asian roommates			.008
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations			-.169
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance			-.071
Interracial friendships with Latinos			-.398
Interracial dating with Latinos			-.129
Latino roommates			.096
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations			.223
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance			.204
Constant	.077***	-.121	-.114
Adjusted R^2	.001	.193***	.190
N	998	998	998

[a] Relative to whites' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 10. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-Latino Prejudice at End of College, White Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-Latino prejudice at college entrance		.168***	.164***
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with Latinos	-.692*	-.468	-.429
Interracial dating with Latinos	.152	.214	.204
Latino roommates	-.035	.209	.186
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations	-.082	-.018	-.015
Social identity			
Closeness to whites at the end of college		.095***	.096***
Closeness to Latinos at the end of college		-.091***	-.090***
Closeness to whites at the beginning of college		.011	.009
Closeness to Latinos at the end of college		.003	.004
Campus characteristics			
Black students' visibility [a]		-.011	-.011
Latino students' visibility [a]		.008	.008
Asian students' visibility [a]		.002	.002
College commitment to diversity		.001	.001
Proportion of black students		-.972	-.860
Proportion of Latino students		.905	.904
Proportion of Asian students		-.344	-.312
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		.061	.071
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance		.214	.223
High school racial-ethnic diversity		-.054	-.025
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		.090	.110
Darker skin color		.007	.008
Woman		-.039	-.042
Control variables			
Father's education		.015	.014
Mother's education		-.022*	-.022*
Family income		.000	.000
From the South		.075*	.076*
International student		.003	-.005
Christian		.022	.023
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with blacks			.085
Interracial dating with blacks			.071
Black roommates			-.144
Participation in mostly black student organizations			-.157
Interracial friendships with blacks at college entrance			-.294
Interracial friendships with Asians			-.018
Interracial dating with Asians			-.127
Asian roommates			.008
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations			-.086
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance			-.042
Constant	.084***	-.078	-.082
Adjusted R^2	.003	.156***	.153
N	998	998	998

[a] Relative to whites' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 11. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-Asian Prejudice at End of College, White Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-Asian prejudice at college entrance		.253***	.254***
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with Asians	.141	.313	.343
Interracial dating with Asians	-.198	-.069	-.091
Asian roommates	-.064	-.018	.002
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations	-.025	.143	.169
Social identity			
Closeness to whites at the end of college		.019	.018
Closeness to Asians at the end of college		-.036	-.036
Closeness to whites at the beginning of college		.002	.002
Closeness to Asians at the end of college		-.009	-.009
Campus characteristics			
Black students' visibility [a]		.004	.001
Latino students' visibility [a]		-.015	-.016
Asian students' visibility [a]		.031**	.035***
College commitment to diversity		-.074***	-.073***
Proportion of black students		-.839	-.764
Proportion of Latino students		.798	.925
Proportion of Asian students		-.536	-.551
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		-.030	-.053
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance		.122	.092
High school racial-ethnic diversity		-.010	.040
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		.145	.161
Darker skin color		.020	.018
Woman		.012	.011
Control variables			
Father's education		.019	.019
Mother's education		-.007	-.006
Family income		-.001	-.001
From the South		-.040	-.042
International student		-.067	-.051
Christian		-.008	.000
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with blacks			-.033
Interracial dating with blacks			.026
Black roommates			-.019
Participation in mostly black student organizations			.382
Interracial friendships with blacks at college entrance			.047
Interracial friendships with Latinos			-.626
Interracial dating with Latinos			-.297
Latino roommates			.150
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations			-.467
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance			-.279
Constant	-.451***	.109	.121
Adjusted R^2	-.003	.158***	.159
N	998	998	998

[a] Relative to whites' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 12. Interracial Contact Effects on Racial Resentment at End of College, White Students

Variable	Model 1
Prejudice at college entrance	
Racial resentment (blame scale) at college entrance	.156***
Racial resentment (proper behaivor scale) at college entrance	-.016
Contact with outgroups during college	
Interracial friendships with blacks	-2.127
Interracial dating with blacks	-1.152
Black roommates	-.771
Participation in mostly black student organizations	.004
Interracial friendships with Asians	1.033
Interracial dating with Asians	-.037
Asian roommates	-.273
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations	1.162
Interracial friendships with Latinos	-1.876
Interracial dating with Latinos	-.652
Latino roommates	1.977
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations	-1.005
Social identity	
Closeness to whites at the end of college	.301***
Closeness to outgroups at the end of college	-.221**
Closeness to whites at college entrance	.069
Closeness to outgroups at college entrance	-.056
Campus characteristics	
Black students' visibility [a]	.018
Latino students' visibility [a]	-.044
Asian students' visibility [a]	-.022
College commitment to diversity	.417***
Proportion of black students	-4.939
Proportion of Latino students	-1.541
Proportion of Asian students	.821
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus	.454
Precollege and social characteristics	
Interracial friendships with blacks at college entrance	-.064
Interracial friendships with Asian Americans at college entrance	.500
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance	2.409**
High school racial-ethnic diversity	-.024
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity	-.198
Darker skin color	.060
Women	-.587***
Control variables	
Father's education	-.002
Mother's education	-.109*
Family income	-.003
From the South	.099
International student	-.346
Christian	.055
Constant	.706
Adjusted R^2	.187***
N	998

[a] Relative to whites' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 13. Traditional Racial Prejudice Measures in Wave 1, Black Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Anti-white racial prejudice				.553
White laziness vs. black laziness difference score	.31	1.56	.695	
White unintelligence vs. black unintelligence difference score	.06	.97	.660	
White preference for welfare vs. black preference for welfare difference score	-.53	1.44	.583	
White lack of sticking with tasks vs. black lack of sticking to tasks difference score	-.13	1.56	.694	
Anti-Latino racial prejudice				.380
Latino laziness vs. black laziness difference score	.01	.96	.765	
Latino unintelligence vs. black unintelligence difference score	.31	.70	.233	
Latino preference for welfare vs. black preference for welfare difference score	.07	.77	.538	
Latino lack of sticking with tasks vs. black lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.05	.94	.701	
Anti-Asian racial prejudice				.630
Asian laziness vs. black laziness difference score	-.81	1.60	.713	
Asian unintelligence vs. black unintelligence difference score	-.59	1.11	.719	
Asian preference for welfare vs. black preference for welfare difference score	-1.09	1.55	.619	
Asian lack of sticking with tasks vs. black lack of sticking to tasks difference score	-.94	1.57	.722	
N	1051			

Table 14. Traditional Racial Prejudice Measures in Wave 5, Black Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Anti-white racial prejudice				.514
White laziness vs. black laziness difference score	.35	1.19	.762	
White unintelligence vs. black unintelligence difference score	.04	.68	.604	
White preference for welfare vs. black preference for welfare difference score	-.28	1.25	.487	
White lack of sticking with tasks vs. black lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.03	1.09	.703	
Anti-Latino racial prejudice				.453
Latino laziness vs. black laziness difference score	-.18	.87	.716	
Latino unintelligence vs. black unintelligence difference score	.10	.39	.197	
Latino preference for welfare vs. black preference for welfare difference score	-.03	.51	.664	
Latino lack of sticking with tasks vs. black lack of sticking to tasks difference score	-.04	.67	.753	
Anti-Asian racial prejudice				.669
Asian laziness vs. black laziness difference score	-.61	1.26	.779	
Asian unintelligence vs. black unintelligence difference score	-.47	.89	.749	
Asian preference for welfare vs. black preference for welfare difference score	-.81	1.39	.578	
Asian lack of sticking with tasks vs. black lack of sticking to tasks difference score	-.55	1.20	.760	
N	1051			

Table 15. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Traditional Racial Prejudice, Black Students

Variable	Outgroup Racial Prejudice Wave 1	Outgroup Racial Prejudice Wave 5
Lamda-Y		
Anti-white racial prejudice	.84	.72
Anti-Latino racial prejudice	.34	.34
Anti-Asian racial prejudice	.68	.77
Psi		
Latent variance	1.00	.77
Beta		
Outgroup 1 → Outgroup 5	.48	
Model estimates		
FIML χ^2	180.76	
df	8	
RMSEA	.14	
N	1051	

Notes: Analysis used full information maximum likelihood estimation to deal with missing data. All loadings, coefficients, and model estimates are significant at the .05 level.

Table 16. Racial Resentment and Modern Racial Prejudice Measures, Black Students

Variable	Mean	SD	α
Racial resentment measure 1 (Wave 1)			.859
Latinos should blame themselves for not doing better in life	4.00	2.65	
Asian Americans should blame themselves for not doing better in life	4.21	2.73	
Racial resentment measure 2 (Wave 1)			.736
Educated Latinos that do the "proper" things will eventually get ahead	5.61	2.46	
Educated Asian Americans that do the "proper" things will eventually get ahead	7.10	2.42	
General racial resentment (Wave 5)			.903
Latinos should blame themselves for not doing better in life	2.59	2.57	
Asian Americans should blame themselves for not doing better in life	2.68	2.66	
College-related racial salience (Wave 5)			.682
Diversity commitment by college	2.51	.94	
White-black campus visibility difference score	2.68	3.63	
Latino-black campus visibility difference score	.60	3.29	
Asian American-black campus visibility difference score	-1.87	2.64	
N	1051		

Table 17. Descriptive Statistics of Black Students

Variable	Mean	SD
Traditional racial prejudice at college entrance		
Anti-white racial prejudice	-.08	.92
Anti-Latino racial prejudice	.11	.51
Anti-Asian racial prejudice	-.86	1.01
Traditional racial prejudice at college completion		
Anti-white racial prejudice	.03	.68
Anti-Latino racial prejudice	-.04	.37
Anti-Asian racial prejudice	-.62	.85
Racial resentment (blame) at college entrance		
Racial resentment blame scale	4.15	2.49
Racial resentment (proper behavior) at college entrance		
Racial resentment education scale	6.19	2.15
Racial resentment at college completion		
Racial resentment scale	2.73	2.49
Social identity		
Closeness toward blacks at college entrance	6.72	1.58
Closeness toward blacks at college exit	6.17	1.49
Closeness toward whites at college entrance	4.63	1.79
Closeness toward whites at college exit	4.39	1.70
Closeness toward Asians at college entrance	4.26	1.84
Closeness toward Asians at college exit	4.12	1.81
Closeness toward Latinos at college entrance	5.22	1.75
Closeness toward Latinos at college exit	5.04	1.66
College commitment to diversity		
Perception of college commitment to diversity	2.51	.94
Visibility of students		
Visibility of white students compared to black students	2.68	3.63
Visibility of Latino students compared to black students	.60	3.29
Visibility of Asian students compared to black students	-1.87	2.64
Campus racial climate		
Perception of campus racial climate	1.54	.43
Interracial friendships during college		
Proportion of white friends	.19	.22
Proportion of Latino friends	.04	.07
Proportion of Asian friends	.06	.10

Table 17 continued. Descriptive Statistics of Black Students

Variable	Mean	SD
Interracial dating during college		
Proportion of ever dating white partners	.47	.50
Proportion of ever dating Latino partners	.37	.48
Proportion of ever dating Asian partners	.24	.43
Race of college roommates		
Proportion of white roommates	.30	.32
Proportion of Latino roommates	.05	.04
Proportion of Asian roommates	.09	.19
Racial composition of student organizations during college		
Proportion of most white student organizations	.27	.32
Proportion of mostly Latino student organizations	.01	.07
Proportion of mostly Asian student organizations	.02	.09
College-level Characteristics		
Proportion of black students	.12	.19
Proportion of Asian students	.13	.10
Proportion of Latino students	.05	.03
Proportion of student Greek participation	.29	.20
Interracial friendships at college entrance		
Proportion of white friends	.27	.28
Proportion of Latino friends	.06	.11
Proportion of Asian friends	.07	.12
Gender		
Women	.65	.48
Other personal characteristics		
Skin color	4.97	2.15
International student	.08	.28
Christian	.86	.34
From Southern region	.27	.44
Family characteristics		
Mother's education	4.90	1.50
Father's education	4.97	1.59
Family income	57990.24	24222.63
Precollege environment diversity		
Proportion of racial-ethnic minorities in high school	.54	.30
Proportion of racial-ethnic minorities in neighborhood	.55	.37
N	1051	

Note: Descriptive statistics are based on non-imputed data.

Table 18. Campus Racial Climate, Black Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Wave 2 campus racial climate items				.811
Felt self-conscious by students because of race/ethnicity	2.04	.98	.679	
Felt self-conscious by faculty because of race/ethnicity	1.51	.77	.671	
Felt self-conscious on campus because of race/ethnicity	1.90	1.02	.682	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from students	1.83	.93	.593	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from faculty	1.16	.46	.598	
Hear racially derogatory remarks from staff	1.26	.60	.608	
Experienced racial discrimination/harassment on campus	1.39	.69	.628	
Received unfair grade from professor because of race/ethnicity	1.19	.54	.585	
Discouraged from speaking up in class because of race/ethnicity	1.18	.55	.662	
Discouraged from pursuing course by professor because of race/ethnicity	1.34	.70	.447	
Wave 3 campus racial climate items				.835
Felt self-conscious by students because of race/ethnicity	1.94	.98	.721	
Felt self-conscious by faculty because of race/ethnicity	1.52	.78	.759	
Felt self-conscious on campus because of race/ethnicity	1.86	1.00	.695	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from students	1.84	.91	.617	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from faculty	1.18	.48	.578	
Hear racially derogatory remarks from staff	1.25	.58	.579	
Experienced racial discrimination/harassment on campus	1.38	.68	.696	
Received unfair grade from professor because of race/ethnicity	1.23	.57	.589	
Discouraged in class from speaking up because of race/ethnicity	1.18	.53	.650	
Discouraged from pursuing course by professor because of race/ethnicity	1.33	.67	.531	
Wave 4 campus racial climate items				.758
Felt self-conscious since fall semester because of race/ethnicity	2.20	1.04	.762	
Made to feel self-conscious on campus because of race/ethnicity	1.77	.94	.784	
Heard racially derogatory remarks on campus	1.85	.87	.659	
Received unfair grade from professor because of race/ethnicity	1.32	.67	.636	
Discouraged in class from speaking up because of race/ethnicity	1.34	.70	.731	
N	1051			

Table 19. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-white Prejudice at End of College, Black Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-white prejudice at college entrance		.186***	.185***
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with whites	-.140	-.084	-.104
Interracial dating with whites	-.300*	-.290*	-.299*
White roommates	.002	.004	.025
Participation in mostly white student organizations	.009	.037	.037
Social identity			
Closeness to blacks at the end of college		.026*	.027*
Closeness to whites at the end of college		-.019	-.020
Closeness to blacks at college entrance		.006	.010
Closeness to whites at college entrance		-.019	-.020
Campus characteristics			
White students' visibility [a]		.021*	.019*
Latino students' visibility [a]		-.029**	-.027**
Asian students' visibility [a]		.015	.015
College commitment to diversity		-.018	-.015
Campus racial climate		-.001	.004
Proportion of black students		-.304*	-.293*
Proportion of Latino students		-1.180	-1.271
Proportion of Asian students		.279	.273
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		-.167	-.150
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance		.061	.102
High school racial-ethnic diversity		-.020	-.006
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		-.047	-.053
Darker skin color		.004	.005
Woman		.129***	.130***
Control variables			
Father's education		-.011	-.013
Mother's education		.014	.014
Family income		.000	.000
From the South		.053	.060
International student		-.052	-.053
Christian		.046	.052
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with Asians			-.419
Interracial dating with Asians			-.066
Asian roommates			.123
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations			.050
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance			.239
Interracial friendships with Latinos			.537
Interracial dating with Latinos			.060
Latino roommates			-.438
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations			-.041
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance			.150
Constant	.062*	.007	-.064
Adjusted R^2	.007*	.127***	.129
N	1051	1051	1051

[a] Relative to blacks' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 20. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-Latino Prejudice at End of College, Black Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-Latino prejudice at college entrance		.160***	.161***
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with Latinos	-.114	-.152	-.156
Interracial dating with Latinos	-.085	-.093	-.069
Latino roommates	-.127	-.133	-.141
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations	-.001	.004	.017
Social identity			
Closeness to blacks at the end of college		.017	.018
Closeness to Latinos at the end of college		-.012	-.013
Closeness to blacks at college entrance		.003	.005
Closeness to Latinos at college entrance		-.005	-.005
Campus characteristics			
White students' visibility [a]		.004	.004
Latino students' visibility [a]		-.005	-.006
Asian students' visibility [a]		.001	.001
College commitment to diversity		-.026*	-.029**
Campus racial climate		-.038	-.039
Proportion of black students		-.299***	-.283***
Proportion of Latino students		.055	-.078
Proportion of Asian students		-.081	-.054
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		-.039	-.052
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance		-.069	-.061
High school racial-ethnic diversity		-.019	-.009
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		-.026	-.020
Darker skin color		-.011*	-.010*
Woman		-.003	.003
Control variables			
Father's education		.008	.009
Mother's education		-.005	-.006
Family income		-.001	-.001
From the South		-.009	-.008
International student		-.019	-.022
Christian		-.016	-.015
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with Asians			.163
Interracial dating with Asians			-.087
Asian roommates			.038
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations			-.038
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance			-.142
Interracial friendships with whites			.082
Interracial dating with whites			.009
White roommates			-.041
Participation in mostly white student organizations			.022
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance			.000
Constant	-.024*	.229**	.191*
Adjusted R^2	-.002	.082***	.079
N	1051	1051	1051

[a] Relative to blacks' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 21. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-Asian Prejudice at End of College, Black Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-Asian prejudice at college entrance		.209***	.212***
Contact with primary outrgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with Asians	-.111	-.397	-.441
Interracial dating with Asians	-.123	-.216	-.137
Asian roommates	-.204	-.057	-.089
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations	-.331	-.129	-.104
Social identity			
Closeness to blacks at the end of college		-.032*	-.036*
Closeness to Asians at the end of college		.036*	.039*
Closeness to blacks at college entrance		.017	.018
Closeness to Asians at college entrance		.011	.011
Campus characteristics			
White students' visibility [a]		-.007	-.008
Latino students' visibility [a]		-.016	-.016
Asian students' visibility [a]		.020	.018
College commitment to diversity		-.090***	-.076**
Campus racial climate		-.102*	-.107*
Proportion of black students		-.573***	-.553***
Proportion of Latino students		-2.158	-2.324
Proportion of Asian students		.493	.517
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		-.255*	-.195
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance		.219	.208
High school racial-ethnic diversity		.129	.082
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		-.103	-.120
Darker skin color		.006	.004
Woman		.049	.051
Control variables			
Father's education		-.011	-.011
Mother's education		.022	.026
Family income		.000	.000
From the South		.043	.046
International student		-.108	-.101
Christian		-.071	-.076
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with whites			-.136
Interracial dating with whites			-.589***
White roommates			.100
Participation in mostly white student organizations			.016
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance			-.022
Interracial friendships with Latinos			.678
Interracial dating with Latinos			.278
Latino roommates			-.114
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations			-.573
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance			.374
Constant	-.542***	.015	.009
Adjusted R^2	.000	.132***	.149**
N	1051	1051	1051

[a] Relative to blacks' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 22. Interracial Contact Effects on Racial Resentment at End of College, Black Students

Variable	Model 1
Prejudice at college entrance	
Racial resentment (blame scale) at college entrance	.198***
Racial resentment (proper behavior scale) at college entrance	-.019
Contact with outgroups during college	
Interracial friendships with whites	.078
Interracial dating with whites	-.025
White roommates	.210
Participation in mostly white student organizations	.013
Interracial friendships with Asians	-1.305
Interracial dating with Asians	1.519
Asian roommates	.721
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations	1.143
Interracial friendships with Latinos	.321
Interracial dating with Latinos	-.265
Latino roommates	.935
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations	-.640
Social identity	
Closeness to blacks at the end of college	.013
Closeness to outgroups at the end of college	.189**
Closeness to blacks at college entrance	-.138**
Closeness to outgroups at college entrance	.099
Campus characteristic	
White students' visibility [a]	-.041
Latino students' visibility [a]	.032
Asian students' visibility [a]	-.011
College commitment to diversity	.227**
Campus racial climate	-.093
Proportion of black students	.700
Proportion of Latino students	4.254
Proportion of Asian students	-.702
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus	.640
Precollege and social characteristics	
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance	-.075
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance	-.730
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance	-.944
High school racial-ethnic diversity	-.114
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity	.612**
Darker skin color	-.057
Women	-.362*
Control variables	
Father's education	-.052
Mother's education	-.019
Family income	.000
From the South	-.125
International student	.150
Christian	.207
Constant	1.143
Adjusted R^2	.108***
N	1051

[a] Relative to blacks' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 23. Traditional Racial Prejudice Measures in Wave 1, Asian Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Anti-white racial prejudice				.553
White laziness vs. Asian laziness difference score	1.01	1.38	.700	
White unintelligence vs. Asian unintelligence difference score	.46	.83	.726	
White preference for welfare vs. Asian preference for welfare difference score	.43	1.07	.507	
White lack of sticking with tasks vs. Asian lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.85	1.17	.697	
Anti-black racial prejudice				.667
Black laziness vs. Asian laziness difference score	1.10	1.62	.659	
Black unintelligence vs. Asian unintelligence difference score	.89	1.20	.762	
Black preference for welfare vs. Asian preference for welfare difference score	1.38	1.57	.680	
Black lack of sticking with tasks vs. Asian lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.93	1.30	.759	
Anti-Latino racial prejudice				.667
Latino laziness vs. Asian laziness difference score	1.09	1.71	.656	
Latino unintelligence vs. Asian unintelligence difference score	1.00	1.33	.773	
Latino preference for welfare vs. Asian preference for welfare difference score	1.40	1.59	.659	
Latino lack of sticking with tasks vs. Asian lack of sticking to tasks difference score	1.05	1.30	.769	
N	959			

Table 24. Traditional Racial Prejudice Measures in Wave 5, Asian Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Anti-white racial prejudice				.574
White laziness vs. Asian laziness difference score	.86	1.18	.742	
White unintelligence vs. Asian unintelligence difference score	.31	.76	.653	
White preference for welfare vs. Asian preference for welfare difference score	.37	1.03	.532	
White lack of sticking with tasks vs. Asian lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.54	.95	.726	
Anti-black racial prejudice				.705
Black laziness vs. Asian laziness difference score	.80	1.22	.798	
Black unintelligence vs. Asian unintelligence difference score	.47	.93	.768	
Black preference for welfare vs. Asian preference for welfare difference score	.78	1.38	.609	
Black lack of sticking with tasks vs. Asian lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.57	.98	.781	
Anti-Latino racial prejudice				.659
Latino laziness vs. Asian laziness difference score	.70	1.17	.762	
Latino unintelligence vs. Asian unintelligence difference score	.51	.98	.730	
Latino preference for welfare vs. Asian preference for welfare difference score	.72	1.36	.583	
Latino lack of sticking with tasks vs. Asian lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.55	.93	.775	
N	959			

Table 25. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Traditional Racial Prejudice, Asian Students

Variable	Outgroup Racial Prejudice Wave 1	Outgroup Racial Prejudice Wave 5
Lamda-Y		
Anti-white racial prejudice	.70	.79
Anti-black racial prejudice	.93	.96
Anti-Latino racial prejudice	.97	.93
Psi		
Latent variance	1.00	.84
Beta		
Outgroup 1 → Outgroup 5	.40	
Model estimates		
FIML χ^2	86.64	
df	8	
RMSEA	.10	
N	959	

Notes: Analysis used full information maximum likelihood estimation to deal with missing data. All loadings, coefficients, and model estimates are significant at the .05 level.

Table 26. Racial Resentment and Modern Racial Prejudice Measures, Asian Students

Variable	Mean	SD	α
Racial resentment measure 1 (Wave 1)			.910
Blacks should blame themselves for not doing better in life	4.16	2.76	
Latinos should blame themselves for not doing better in life	4.09	2.65	
Racial resentment measure 2 (Wave 1)			.899
Educated blacks that do the "proper" things will eventually get ahead	6.76	2.35	
Educated Latinos that do the "proper" things will eventually get ahead	6.48	2.36	
General racial resentment (Wave 5)			.918
Blacks should blame themselves for not doing better in life	3.07	2.60	
Latinos should blame themselves for not doing better in life	2.72	2.51	
College-related racial saliency (Wave 5)			.670
Diversity commitment by college	2.82	.87	
White-Asian American campus visibility difference score	3.76	2.88	
Black-Asian American campus visibility difference score	2.27	2.45	
Latino-Asian American campus visibility difference score	1.59	2.41	
N	959		

Table 27. Descriptive Statistics of Asian Students

Variable	Mean	SD
Traditional racial prejudice at college entrance		
Anti-white racial prejudice	.67	.74
Anti-black racial prejudice	1.07	1.01
Anti-Latino racial prejudice	1.13	1.16
Traditional racial prejudice at college completion		
Anti-white racial prejudice	.52	.66
Anti-black racial prejudice	.66	.83
Anti-Latino racial prejudice	.62	.79
Racial resentment (blame) at college entrance		
Racial resentment blame scale	4.24	2.53
Racial resentment (proper behavior) at college entrance		
Racial resentment education scale	6.83	2.11
Racial resentment at college completion		
Racial resentment scale	2.95	2.43
Social identity		
Closeness toward Asians at college entrance	6.34	1.42
Closeness toward Asians at college exit	6.40	1.42
Closeness toward whites at college entrance	5.90	1.47
Closeness toward whites at college exit	5.67	1.46
Closeness toward blacks at college entrance	5.03	1.43
Closeness toward blacks at college exit	5.24	1.44
Closeness toward Latinos at college entrance	4.80	1.52
Closeness toward Latinos at college exit	5.06	1.52
College commitment to diversity		
Perception of college commitment to diversity	2.82	.87
Visibility of students		
Visibility of white students compared to Asian students	3.67	2.88
Visibility of black students compared to Asian students	2.27	2.45
Visibility of Latino students compared to Asian students	1.59	2.41
Campus racial climate		
Perception of campus racial climate	1.33	.28
Interracial friendships during college		
Proportion of white friends	.40	.28
Proportion of black friends	.04	.07
Proportion of Latino friends	.03	.06

Table 27 continued. Descriptive Statistics of Asian Students

Variable	Mean	SD
Interracial dating during college		
Proportion of ever dating white partners	.66	.47
Proportion of ever dating black partners	.17	.37
Proportion of ever dating Latino partners	.17	.37
Race of college roommates		
Proportion of white roommates	.47	.37
Proportion of black roommates	.03	.09
Proportion of Latino roommates	.02	.09
Racial composition of student organizations during college		
Proportion of most white student organizations	.42	.36
Proportion of mostly black student organizations	.01	.06
Proportion of mostly Latino student organizations	.01	.05
College-level Characteristics		
Proportion of black students	.07	.02
Proportion of Asian students	.14	.10
Proportion of Latino students	.05	.03
Proportion of student Greek participation	.30	.19
Interracial friendships at college entrance		
Proportion of white friends	.52	.31
Proportion of black friends	.06	.10
Proportion of Latino friends	.04	.08
Gender		
Women	.57	.50
Other personal characteristics		
Skin color	3.18	1.77
International student	.31	.46
Christian	.44	.50
From Southern Region	.24	.43
Family characteristics		
Mother's education	5.08	1.58
Father's education	5.76	1.60
Family income	67290.98	21415.32
Precollege environment diversity		
Proportion of racial-ethnic minorities in high school	.40	.24
Proportion of racial-ethnic minorities in neighborhood	.28	.27
N	959	

Note: Descriptive statistics are based on non-imputed data.

Table 28. Campus Racial Climate, Asian Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Wave 2 campus racial climate items				.770
Felt self-conscious by students because of race/ethnicity	1.65	.80	.544	
Felt self-conscious by faculty because of race/ethnicity	1.25	.52	.682	
Felt self-conscious on campus because of race/ethnicity	1.56	.78	.632	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from students	1.65	.78	.549	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from faculty	1.11	.37	.602	
Hear racially derogatory remarks from staff	1.18	.47	.582	
Experienced racial discrimination/harassment on campus	1.24	.52	.671	
Received unfair grade from professor because of race/ethnicity	1.08	.37	.554	
Discouraged from speaking up in class because of race/ethnicity	1.07	.32	.658	
Discouraged from pursuing course by professor because of race/ethnicity	1.21	.55	.437	
Wave 3 campus racial climate items				.790
Felt self-conscious by students because of race/ethnicity	1.57	.73	.691	
Felt self-conscious by faculty because of race/ethnicity	1.24	.53	.678	
Felt self-conscious on campus because of race/ethnicity	1.51	.75	.665	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from students	1.64	.75	.560	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from faculty	1.10	.34	.588	
Hear racially derogatory remarks from staff	1.14	.43	.588	
Experienced racial discrimination/harassment on campus	1.20	.47	.660	
Received unfair grade from professor because of race/ethnicity	1.08	.31	.560	
Discouraged in class from speaking up because of race/ethnicity	1.06	.27	.581	
Discouraged from pursuing course by professor because of race/ethnicity	1.18	.51	.487	
Wave 4 campus racial climate items				.680
Felt self-conscious since fall semester because of race/ethnicity	1.80	.86	.791	
Made to feel self-conscious on campus because of race/ethnicity	1.45	.71	.764	
Heard racially derogatory remarks on campus	1.66	.79	.630	
Received unfair grade from professor because of race/ethnicity	1.10	.36	.539	
Discouraged in class from speaking up because of race/ethnicity	1.09	.36	.604	
N	959			

Table 29. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-white Prejudice at End of College, Asian Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-white prejudice at college entrance		.224***	.223***
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with whites	.156	.096	.087
Interracial dating with whites	.253**	.173*	.166*
White roommates	.110	-.004	-.008
Participation in mostly white student organizations	-.100	-.114*	-.110
Social identity			
Closeness to Asians at the end of college		.054**	.054**
Closeness to whites at the end of college		-.022	-.019
Closeness to Asians at college entrance		-.027	-.024
Closeness to whites at college entrance		.036*	.033*
Campus characteristics			
White students' visibility [a]		.008	.007
Black students' visibility [a]		-.010	-.009
Latino students' visibility [a]		.039**	.039**
College commitment to diversity		.047*	.047*
Campus racial climate		.095	.091
Proportion of black students		-1.158	-1.150
Proportion of Latino students		-.371	-.254
Proportion of Asian students		.074	.077
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		.128	.134
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance		.012	.041
High school racial-ethnic diversity		-.111	-.114
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		.108	.110
Darker skin color		-.007	-.006
Woman		-.053	-.056
Control variables			
Father's education		-.010	-.008
Mother's education		.022	.023
Family income		.000	.000
From the South		.122**	.114*
International student		-.040	-.040
Christian		.016	.019
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with blacks			-.308
Interracial dating with blacks			.527
Black roommates			-.079
Participation in mostly black student organizations			-.043
Interracial friendships with blacks at college entrance			.350
Interracial friendships with Latinos			.122
Interracial dating with Latinos			-.134
Latino roommates			.044
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations			.366
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance			-.141
Constant	.394***	-.237	-.276
Adjusted R^2	.021***	.161***	.158
N	959	959	959

[a] Relative to blacks' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 30. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-black Prejudice at End of College, Asian Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-black prejudice at college entrance		.217***	.216**
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with blacks	-.297	-.252	-.197
Interracial dating with blacks	.319	.345	.350
Black roommates	.238	.449	.432
Participation in mostly black student organizations	.182	.405	.420
Social identity			
Closeness to Asians at the end of college		.157***	.160***
Closeness to blacks at the end of college		-.164***	-.169***
Closeness to Asians at college entrance		-.038*	-.029
Closeness to blacks at college entrance		.034	.028
Campus characteristics			
White students' visibility [a]		.020	.019
Black students' visibility [a]		.002	.004
Latino students' visibility [a]		.027	.025
College commitment to diversity		.106***	.099***
Campus racial climate		.091	.089
Proportion of black students		-1.806	-1.465
Proportion of Latino students		-.285	-.667
Proportion of Asian students		-.311	-.144
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		.262	.262
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with blacks at college entrance		.338	.409
High school racial-ethnic diversity		-.093	-.049
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		.031	.077
Darker skin color		-.009	-.009
Woman		-.034	-.035
Control variables			
Father's education		-.025	-.025
Mother's education		.024	.022
Family income		.000	.001
From the South		.162**	.150*
International student		.021	.027
Christian		.037	.043
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with whites			.104
Interracial dating with whites			.121
White roommates			-.041
Participation in mostly white student organizations			-.026
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance			.101
Interracial friendships with Latinos			.370
Interracial dating with Latinos			-.089
Latino roommates			.328
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations			-.141
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance			-.083
Constant	.630***	-.106	-.266
Adjusted R^2	-.003	.226***	.224
N	959	959	959

[a] Relative to blacks' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 31. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-Latino Prejudice at End of College, Asian Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-Latino prejudice at college entrance		.211***	.208***
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with Latinos	-.808	.022	.046
Interracial dating with Latinos	.188	.174	-.113
Latino roommates	.695	.693	.695
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations	.122	-.024	-.055
Social identity			
Closeness to Asians at the end of college		.133***	.135***
Closeness to Latinos at the end of college		-.130***	-.132***
Closeness to Asians at college entrance		-.045**	-.037*
Closeness to Latinos at college entrance		.033*	.027
Campus characteristics			
White students' visibility [a]		.017	.015
Black students' visibility [a]		-.005	-.002
Latino students' visibility [a]		.033*	.032*
College commitment to diversity		.089***	.087***
Campus racial climate		.047	.046
Proportion of black students		-1.635	-1.550
Proportion of Latino students		-1.733	-1.533
Proportion of Asian students		.108	.158
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		.209	.203
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance		-.060	-.062
High school racial-ethnic diversity		-.026	-.010
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		.007	.030
Darker skin color		-.009	-.008
Woman		-.041	-.044
Control variables			
Father's education		-.006	-.005
Mother's education		.027	.028
Family income		-.001	-.001
From the South		.071	.068
International student		.025	.022
Christian		.042	.046
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with whites			.065
Interracial dating with whites			.124
White roommates			-.040
Participation in mostly white student organizations			-.057
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance			.079
Interracial friendships with blacks			-.275
Interracial dating with blacks			.520
Black roommates			.142
Participation in mostly black student organizations			.269
Interracial friendships with blacks at college entrance			.362
Constant	.603***	-.043	-.153
Adjusted R^2	.002	.217***	.216
N	959	959	959

[a] Relative to blacks' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 32. Interracial Contact Effects on Racial Resentment at End of College, Asian Students

Variable	Model 1
Prejudice at college entrance	
Racial resentment (blame scale) at college entrance	.178***
Racial resentment (proper behavior scale) at college entrance	.023
Contact with outgroups during college	
Interracial friendships with whites	-.895*
Interracial dating with whites	.236
White roommates	.336
Participation in mostly white student organizations	.117
Interracial friendships with blacks	-1.494
Interracial dating with blacks	1.509
Black roommates	.101
Participation in mostly black student organizations	.455
Interracial friendships with Latinos	-.938
Interracial dating with Latinos	-.703
Latino roommates	1.258
Participation in mostly Latino student organizations	.930
Social identity	
Closeness to Asians at the end of college	.325***
Closeness to outgroups at the end of college	-.280***
Closeness to Asians at college entrance	-.080
Closeness to outgroups at college entrance	.051
Campus characteristics	
White students' visibility [a]	-.040
Black students' visibility [a]	.065
Latino students' visibility [a]	.046
College commitment to diversity	.522***
Campus racial climate	-.018
Proportion of black students	-7.445*
Proportion of Latino students	2.087
Proportion of Asian students	-2.310
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus	.246
Precollege and social characteristics	
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance	-.056
Interracial friendships with black college entrance	-.388
Interracial friendships with Latinos at college entrance	.551
High school racial-ethnic diversity	-.054
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity	-.042
Darker skin color	.005
Women	-.636***
Control variables	
Father's education	-.066
Mother's education	.005
Family income	.002
From the South	.492**
International student	.305*
Christian	.051
Constant	1.364
Adjusted R^2	.170***
N	959

[a] Relative to Asians' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 33. Traditional Racial Prejudice Measures in Wave 1, Latino Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Anti-white racial prejudice				.497
White laziness vs. Latino laziness difference score	.24	1.40	.683	
White unintelligence vs. Latino unintelligence difference score	-.20	.88	.635	
White preference for welfare vs. Latino preference for welfare difference score	-.68	1.49	.485	
White lack of sticking with tasks vs. Latino lack of sticking to tasks difference score	-.01	1.24	.738	
Anti-black racial prejudice				.450
Black laziness vs. Latino laziness difference score	.19	1.00	.660	
Black unintelligence vs. Latino unintelligence difference score	.04	.54	.583	
Black preference for welfare vs. Latino preference for welfare difference score	.16	.83	.579	
Black lack of sticking with tasks vs. Latino lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.09	.83	.645	
Anti-Asian racial prejudice				.599
Asian laziness vs. Latino laziness difference score	-.73	1.51	.699	
Asian unintelligence vs. Latino unintelligence difference score	-.77	1.26	.745	
Asian preference for welfare vs. Asian American for welfare difference score	-1.07	1.57	.534	
Asian lack of sticking with tasks vs. Latino lack of sticking to tasks difference score	-.80	1.32	.730	
N	916			

Table 34. Traditional Racial Prejudice Measures in Wave 5, Latino Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Anti-white racial prejudice				.420
White laziness vs. Latino laziness difference score	.25	1.12	.776	
White unintelligence vs. Latino unintelligence difference score	-.13	.71	.608	
White preference for welfare vs. Latino preference for welfare difference score	-.32	1.06	.128	
White lack of sticking with tasks vs. Latino lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.06	.92	.788	
Anti-black racial prejudice				.473
Black laziness vs. Latino laziness difference score	.19	.82	.802	
Black unintelligence vs. Latino unintelligence difference score	-.00	.32	.299	
Black preference for welfare vs. Latino preference for welfare difference score	.11	.57	.522	
Black lack of sticking with tasks vs. Latino lack of sticking to tasks difference score	.07	.57	.750	
Anti-Asian racial prejudice				.660
Asian laziness vs. Latino laziness difference score	-.59	1.24	.721	
Asian unintelligence vs. Latino unintelligence difference score	-.57	.93	.771	
Asian preference for welfare vs. Asian American preference for welfare difference score	-.62	1.22	.549	
Asian lack of sticking with tasks vs. Latino lack of sticking to tasks difference score	-.60	1.04	.794	
N	916			

Table 35. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Traditional Racial Prejudice, Latino Students

Variable	Outgroup Racial Prejudice Wave 1	Outgroup Racial Prejudice Wave 5
Lamda-Y		
Anti-white racial prejudice	1.12	1.00
Anti-black racial prejudice	.35	.30
Anti-Asian racial prejudice	.56	.56
Psi		
Latent variance	1.00	.93
Beta		
Outgroup 1 → Outgroup 5	.27	
Model estimates		
FIML χ^2	149.79	
df	8	
RMSEA	.14	
N	916	

Notes: Analysis used full information maximum likelihood estimation to deal with missing data. All loadings, coefficients, and model estimates are significant at the .05 level.

Table 36. Racial Resentment and Modern Racial Prejudice Measures, Latino Students

Variable	Mean	SD	α
Racial resentment measure 1 (Wave 1)			.854
Blacks should blame themselves for not doing better in life	4.08	2.83	
Asian Americans should blame themselves for not doing better in life	4.04	2.81	
Racial resentment measure 2 (Wave 1)			.832
Educated blacks that do the "proper" things will eventually get ahead	6.61	2.37	
Educated Asian Americans that do the "proper" things will eventually get ahead	7.23	2.28	
General racial resentment (Wave 5)			.895
Blacks should blame themselves for not doing better in life	2.55	2.67	
Asian Americans should blame themselves for not doing better in life	2.32	2.60	
College-related racial saliency (Wave 5)			.631
Diversity commitment by college	2.82	.97	
White-Latino campus visibility difference score	1.59	2.60	
Black-Latino campus visibility difference score	-.97	2.66	
Asian-Latino campus visibility difference score	-2.06	2.59	
N	916		

Table 37. Descriptive Statistics of Latino Students

Variable	Mean	SD
Traditional racial prejudice at college entrance		
Anti-white racial prejudice	-.16	.81
Anti-black racial prejudice	.12	.50
Anti-Asian racial prejudice	-.84	.96
Traditional racial prejudice at college completion		
Anti-white racial prejudice	-.03	.58
Anti-black racial prejudice	.09	.37
Anti-Asian racial prejudice	-.60	.78
Racial resentment (blame) at college entrance		
Racial resentment blame scale	4.07	2.60
Racial resentment (proper behavior) at college entrance		
Racial resentment education scale	6.82	2.17
Racial resentment at college completion		
Racial resentment scale	2.46	2.49
Social identity		
Closeness toward Latinos at college entrance	6.29	1.59
Closeness toward Latinos at college exit	6.27	1.54
Closeness toward whites at college entrance	5.86	1.68
Closeness toward whites at college exit	5.66	1.70
Closeness toward blacks at college entrance	5.23	1.54
Closeness toward blacks at college exit	5.36	1.62
Closeness toward Asians at college entrance	4.99	1.56
Closeness toward Asians at college exit	4.88	1.82
Campus racial climate		
Perception of campus racial climate	1.33	.33
College commitment to diversity		
Perception of college commitment to diversity	2.82	.97
Visibility of students		
Visibility of white students compared to Latino students	1.59	2.60
Visibility of black students compared to Latino students	-.97	2.66
Visibility of Asian students compared to Latino students	-2.06	2.59
Interracial friendships during college		
Proportion of white friends	.47	.27
Proportion of black friends	.08	.10
Proportion of Asian friends	.09	.12

Table 37 continued. Descriptive Statistics of Latino Students

Variable	Mean	SD
Interracial dating during college		
Proportion of ever dating white partners	.79	.40
Proportion of ever dating black partners	.31	.46
Proportion of ever dating Asian partners	.32	.46
Race of college roommates		
Proportion of white roommates	.55	.34
Proportion of black roommates	.04	.12
Proportion of Asian roommates	.12	.21
Racial composition of student organizations during college		
Proportion of most white student organizations	.42	.37
Proportion of mostly black student organizations	.02	.10
Proportion of mostly Asian student organizations	.02	.11
College-level Characteristics		
Proportion of black students	.07	.02
Proportion of Asian students	.14	.10
Proportion of Latino students	.05	.03
Proportion of student Greek participation	.30	.19
Interracial friendships at college entrance		
Proportion of white friends	.52	.34
Proportion of black friends	.08	.13
Proportion of Asian friends	.09	.14
Gender		
Women	.58	.49
Other personal characteristics		
Skin color	2.73	1.71
International student	.19	.40
Christian	.83	.38
From Southern Region	.21	.41
Family characteristics		
Mother's education	4.57	1.73
Father's education	4.90	1.90
Family income	60396.67	23848.47
Precollege environment diversity		
Proportion of racial-ethnic minorities in high school	.50	.30
Proportion of racial-ethnic minorities in neighborhood	.40	.35
N	916	

Note: Descriptive statistics are based on non-imputed data.

Table 38. Campus Racial Climate, Latino Students

Variable	Mean	SD	Factor Loading	α
Wave 2 campus racial climate items				.777
Felt self-conscious by students because of race/ethnicity	1.60	.83	.697	
Felt self-conscious by faculty because of race/ethnicity	1.22	.53	.717	
Felt self-conscious on campus because of race/ethnicity	1.43	.77	.669	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from students	1.78	.90	.571	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from faculty	1.14	.47	.550	
Hear racially derogatory remarks from staff	1.20	.52	.578	
Experienced racial discrimination/harassment on campus	1.21	.55	.620	
Received unfair grade from professor because of race/ethnicity	1.07	.32	.547	
Discouraged from speaking up in class because of race/ethnicity	1.07	.31	.564	
Discouraged from pursuing course by professor because of race/ethnicity	1.24	.63	.400	
Wave 3 campus racial climate items				.805
Felt self-conscious by students because of race/ethnicity	1.50	.80	.731	
Felt self-conscious by faculty because of race/ethnicity	1.22	.56	.694	
Felt self-conscious on campus because of race/ethnicity	1.43	.75	.717	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from students	1.77	.86	.571	
Heard racially derogatory remarks from faculty	1.14	.42	.617	
Hear racially derogatory remarks from staff	1.18	.49	.637	
Experienced racial discrimination/harassment on campus	1.22	.51	.681	
Received unfair grade from professor because of race/ethnicity	1.08	.34	.546	
Discouraged in class from speaking up because of race/ethnicity	1.06	.35	.565	
Discouraged from pursuing course by professor because of race/ethnicity	1.20	.59	.387	
Wave 4 campus racial climate items				.715
Felt self-conscious since fall semester because of race/ethnicity	1.73	.88	.824	
Made to feel self-conscious on campus because of race/ethnicity	1.39	.71	.816	
Heard racially derogatory remarks on campus	1.79	.87	.631	
Received unfair grade from professor because of race/ethnicity	1.10	.38	.555	
Discouraged in class from speaking up because of race/ethnicity	1.12	.43	.607	
N	916			

Table 39. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-white Prejudice at End of College, Latino Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-white prejudice at college entrance		.165***	.157***
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with whites	-.201**	-.069	-.008
Interracial dating with whites	-.091	-.086	-.070
White roommates	.134*	.186**	.175**
Participation in mostly white student organizations	.062	.073	.063
Social identity			
Closeness to Latinos at the end of college		.074***	.073***
Closeness to whites at the end of college		-.077***	-.075***
Closeness to Latinos at college entrance		.014	.022
Closeness to whites at college entrance		-.006	-.009
Campus characteristics			
White students' visibility [a]		-.015	-.016*
Black students' visibility [a]		-.001	-.001
Asian students' visibility [a]		.023*	.023*
College commitment to diversity		-.036*	-.041*
Campus racial climate		-.005	-.008
Proportion of black students		.840	.507
Proportion of Latino students		.730	.418
Proportion of Asian students		-.019	-.026
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		.048	.050
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance		.118	.177*
High school racial-ethnic diversity		.045	.048
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		-.079	-.051
Darker skin color		-.002	-.002
Woman		-.014	-.021
Control variables			
Father's education		.013	.012
Mother's education		-.021	-.020
Family income		.000	.000
From the South		-.028	-.023
International student		.006	.014
Christian		-.055	-.059
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with blacks			.334
Interracial dating with blacks			.138
Black roommates			-.307
Participation in mostly black student organizations			-.010
Interracial friendships with blacks at college entrance			-.045
Interracial friendships with Asians			.447**
Interracial dating with Asians			-.292*
Asian roommates			-.017
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations			-.026
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance			.158
Constant	.006	-.022	-.132
Adjusted R^2	.008*	.121***	.129
N	916	916	916

[a] Relative to blacks' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 40. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-black Prejudice at End of College, Latino Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-black prejudice at college entrance		.121***	.120***
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial dating with blacks	-.114	-.076	-.031
Black roommates	.045	.022	.071
Participation in mostly black student organizations	-.081	-.117	-.120
Interracial friendships with blacks at college entrance	.135	.094	.102
Social identity			
Closeness to Latinos at the end of college		.024*	.027*
Closeness to blacks at the end of college		-.014	-.019
Closeness to Latinos at college entrance		.013	.015
Closeness to blacks at college entrance		.001	.000
Campus characteristics			
White students' visibility [a]		-.006	-.006
Black students' visibility [a]		-.016*	-.017*
Asian students' visibility [a]		.012	.011
College commitment to diversity		-.004	-.003
Campus racial climate		-.010	.001
Proportion of black students		1.244*	1.218*
Proportion of Latino students		-.087	-.061
Proportion of Asian students		-.060	-.014
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		.012	.014
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with blacks		.049	.048
High school racial-ethnic diversity		.020	.015
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		-.121**	-.110*
Darker skin color		-.005	-.004
Woman		-.073**	-.079***
Control variables			
Father's education		-.005	-.006
Mother's education		-.016*	-.016*
Family income		.000	.000
From the South		.012	.015
International student		.068*	.074**
Christian		.019	.018
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with whites			.065
Interracial dating with whites			-.132**
White roommates			.021
Participation in mostly white student organizations			.008
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance			-.007
Interracial friendships with Asians			.074
Interracial dating with Asians			-.046
Asian roommates			-.104
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations			.042
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance			.020
Constant	.089***	.033	-.010
Adjusted R^2	-.002	.070***	.074
N	916	916	916

[a] Relative to blacks' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 41. Interracial Contact Effects on Traditional Anti-Asian Prejudice at End of College, Latino Students

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Prejudice at college entrance			
Anti-Asian prejudice at college entrance		.238***	.239***
Contact with primary outgroup during college			
Interracial friendships with Asians	.437	.266	.227
Interracial dating with Asians	-.414*	-.342	-.434**
Asian roommates	-.196	-.083	-.046
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations	-.104	-.173	-.153
Social identity			
Closeness to Latinos at the end of college		-.041*	-.041*
Closeness to Asians at the end of college		.044**	.041*
Closeness to Latinos at college entrance		.003	.000
Closeness to Asians at college entrance		.011	.012
Campus characteristics			
White students' visibility [a]		-.031**	-.032**
Black students' visibility [a]		.007	.007
Asian students' visibility [a]		.047***	.048***
College commitment to diversity		-.093***	-.093***
Campus racial climate		.007	-.025
Proportion of black students		.043	.057
Proportion of Latino students		1.362	1.562
Proportion of Asian students		-.290	-.345
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus		.051	.045
Precollege and social characteristics			
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance		.036	.053
High school racial-ethnic diversity		.026	.031
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity		.011	.000
Darker skin color		.017	.016
Woman		.002	.001
Control variables			
Father's education		-.008	-.008
Mother's education		.006	.006
Family income		.000	.000
From the South		-.063	-.053
International student		-.017	-.012
Christian		-.155**	-.159**
Contact with other outgroups during college			
Interracial friendships with whites			-.140
Interracial dating with whites			.102
White roommates			.206*
Participation in mostly white student organizations			.004
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance			.014
Interracial friendships with blacks			.291
Interracial dating with blacks			.171
Black roommates			-.327
Participation in mostly black student organizations			-.081
Interracial friendships with blacks at college entrance			-.015
Constant	-.570***	.028	.050
Adjusted R^2	.004	.182***	.185
N	916	916	916

[a] Relative to Latinos' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 42. Interracial Contact Effects on Racial Resentment at End of College, Latino Students

Variable	Model 1
Prejudice at college entrance	
Racial resentment (blame scale) at college entrance	.196***
Racial resentment (proper behavior scale) at college entrance	.000
Contact with outgroups during college	
Interracial friendships with whites	.423
Interracial dating with whites	.136
White roommates	.308
Participation in mostly white student organizations	-.197
Interracial friendships with blacks	-.654
Interracial dating with blacks	-1.295*
Black roommates	.585
Participation in mostly black student organizations	-1.752*
Interracial friendships with Asians	-.297
Interracial dating with Asians	-.065
Asian roommates	-.346
Participation in mostly Asian student organizations	-.108
Social identity	
Closeness to Latinos at the end of college	-.147*
Closeness to outgroups at the end of college	.272***
Closeness to Latinos at college entrance	.107
Closeness to outgroups at college entrance	-.168*
Campus characteristics	
White students' visibility [a]	-.016
Black students' visibility [a]	.037
Asian students' visibility [a]	-.018
College commitment to diversity	.423***
Campus racial climate	.318
Proportion of black students	-9.548*
Proportion of Latino students	1.632
Proportion of Asian students	.086
Proportion of students in Greek organizations on campus	.934*
Precollege and social characteristics	
Interracial friendships with whites at college entrance	.549
Interracial friendships with black college entrance	.251
Interracial friendships with Asians at college entrance	.341
High school racial-ethnic diversity	.806*
Neighborhood racial-ethnic diversity	-.409
Darker skin color	.001
Women	-.594***
Control variables	
Father's education	.016
Mother's education	-.016
Family income	-.006
From the South	.252
International student	.095
Christian	.160
Constant	-.150
Adjusted R^2	.165***
N	916

[a] Relative to Latinos' visibility on campus.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

APPENDIX C: IRB Approval Letter

VirginiaTech

Office of Research Compliance
Institutional Review Board
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540/231-4991 Fax 540/231-0959
e-mail moored@vt.edu
www.irb.vt.edu
FWA00000572(expires 1/20/2010)
IRB # is IRB00000667

DATE: January 19, 2010

MEMORANDUM

TO: K J. Kiecolt
William Byrd
Karen P. DePauw

FROM: David M. Moore

SUBJECT: **IRB Exempt Approval**: "Does Intergroup Contact Lessen College Students' Racial Prejudice? A Mutligroup Structural Equation Modeling Approach" , IRB # 09-904

I have reviewed your request to the IRB for exemption for the above referenced project. The research falls within the exempt status, CFR 46.101(b) category(ies) 4.

Approval is granted effective as of January 15, 2010.

As an investigator of human subjects, your responsibilities include the following:

1. Report promptly proposed changes in the research protocol. The proposed changes must not be initiated without IRB review and approval, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects.

2. Report promptly to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated or adverse events involving risks or harms to human research subjects or others.

cc: File
Department Reviewer:Theodore D. Fuller