

# **Is School Segregation Self-perpetuating? –the Roles of School Racial Context in Shaping Students’ Future School Preferences**

Yuan He  
Department of Sociology  
University of Michigan

## **Abstract**

Six decades after the Brown. VS. Board ruling, de-facto school segregation still continues to affect the landscape of secondary education in the United States. While the immediate effect of school segregation on students’ educational outcomes has drawn continuous attention, much less discussion has been devoted to how ongoing segregation affects youth’s race-related attitudes and preferences. In this context, this study specifically focuses on whether school racial segregation plays a role in reproducing pro-segregation racial values. The results show that, attending schools with greater racial heterogeneity is associated with lower likelihood of developing pro-segregation school preferences, even after individual-level characteristics are accounted for. My results also suggest that, the potential of racial diversity to curb pro-segregation preferences is greater among students who lacked positive interracial experiences. Thus, this study reveals one peril of current school segregation—schools lacking racial diversity might themselves become the soil in which pro-segregation ideologies are reproduced.

**Keywords:** School segregation, school preferences, school effects, racial diversity

## **Background and Introduction**

Despite the milestone victory in the case of Brown v. Board of Education in the 1950s, the de facto school segregation has remained a challenge for the efforts to achieve school racial integration. It is partly due to the persistence of racial residential segregation and the lifting of desegregation orders during the past several decades (Stroub and Richards 2013). Meanwhile, the continued increase in immigrant population and the rising economic segregation have also further complicated the landscape of secondary education in the United States, leading to the concentration of poverty in certain schools, especially among racial minority groups, and the rise of school segregation along economic lines (Saporito and Sohoni 2007, Reardon, Yun and Eitle 2000, Orfield and Lee 2006). While a vast amount of literature has examined the immediate impact of school segregation on students’ academic aspiration and achievement, the role of school racial context in shaping students’ racial attitudes and preferences remains an understudied area (Wells and Crain 1994). Nevertheless, exploring the formation of racial attitudes among American youth within the school context is a vital step toward understanding whether current segregation has the tendency to reinforce itself through the social reproduction of certain racial values. This research examines the relationship between school racial diversity and students’ future race-related school preferences, using data from the Monitoring the Future study. In doing so, this study endeavors to understand the mechanisms through which pro-segregation racial attitudes might be perpetuated or transformed through school.

The reciprocal relationship between racial attitudes and intergroup race relations has been a focus of social scientists for a long time. As the well-known “contact hypothesis” suggested, increasing social interaction with members of a different racial group may foster positive racial attitudes toward that race (Allport 1954, Barnard and Benn 1988). In the same vein, previous studies found evidence showing that interracial contact and friendship in schools, neighborhoods and other settings are all associated with positive attitudes toward different race or views regarding racial relations (Powers and Ellison 1995, Jacobson and Johnson 2006, Fischer 2001, Sigelman and Welch 1993, Yancey 1999). Extant literature also suggested that interracial contact is structured by the demographic composition of local contexts (including schools, neighborhoods or churches, etc.), pointing to the potential importance of the contextual effects of these social settings in shaping racial attitudes (Powers and Ellison 1995, Stein, Post and Rinden 2000). This perspective leads to the expectation that attending schools with high racial diversity may decrease the likelihood of developing pro-segregation preferences by increasing potential interracial interaction in the school context.

Nonetheless, along another line of thought, the threat hypothesis contends that the increase in the proportion of racial minorities in an area may trigger hostile attitudes toward that race among members of the dominant race, especially when they perceived growing threat posed by people of other races (Blalock 1967). Driven by this hypothesis, an increasing number of studies have begun to focus on the contextual effect of racial composition on racial attitudes change, especially in larger contexts as metropolitan area or census tract (Oliver and Mendelberg 2000, Tolbert and Grummel 2003). Most of these studies found support for the threat hypothesis, showing that living in areas with a large proportion of African American population would increase the likelihood of holding anti-black sentiments among whites (Glaser 1994, Taylor and Mateyka 2011). However, DeFina and Hannan (2009) pointed out that the “racial threat effect” is weaker in area with higher multiracial/ethnic diversity. Additionally, Branton and Jones (2005) argued that whether or not the contextual effect of racial composition on racial attitudes is negative might also depend on the socioeconomic context, and they concluded that the threat hypothesis only holds in low-SES settings. Although research applying this theory mainly look at the racial composition at a more macro-level, applying it to the school level, one would expect that attending diverse school is positively associated with pro-segregation preferences. Or alternatively, if school diversity dose plays a role in decreasing pro-segregation preferences as the opposite hypothesis implies, such effect should be expected to be weaker when there is perceived threat from other races.

In contrast to the enormous scholarly attention the influence of residential context on racial attitudes has drawn, only a limited number of studies explicitly explored the formation of racial attitudes within school context (Jacobson 1979). Extant literature found mixed results and evidences for both hypotheses. Based on the contact hypothesis, multiple scholars found evidence that attending racially diverse school is associated with either more positive attitudes toward other races or higher likelihood of having interracial relationships later in life (Emerson, Kimbro and Yancey 2002). Braddock (1989) examined the long-term effect of high school racial composition on workplace segregation and found that blacks who attended predominantly black schools tend to perceive their coworkers as less friendly at a predominantly white workplace than at predominantly black work setting. Butler (2010) revisited Braddock’s

perpetuation hypothesis (1989) and confirmed the positive association between the racial composition of a student's high school and that of their preferred college. But according to Butler (2010), the strength of this association diminished after taking into account the racial composition of available colleges near where students live. On the other hand, partially consistent with the racial threat hypothesis, Longshore (1982) found that, in general, higher percentage of black students is linearly associated with greater white hostility within school, but white students' attitudes toward school desegregation is most negative in schools with balanced racial composition. This finding thus indicated an inverted-U-shaped relationship between school racial composition and students' racial attitudes regarding desegregation (Longshore 1982).

Although the studies mentioned above provided valuable evidence on the role of school racial context in shaping both racial attitudes and preferences, none of them considered the contact hypothesis and the threat hypothesis simultaneously. Hypothetically, the presence of racial minority students in a certain school could both create environment for more interracial interactions and in the meantime give rise to more interracial competition. Therefore, it remains unclear whether the effect of school racial context remains after both mechanisms are taken into account. Built on previous literature, this study aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of whether school racial context matters by controlling for not only students' interactions with peers of other race/ethnicity, but also the potential competition their peers of different race/ethnicity pose, both academically and socioeconomically.

Additionally, this study has the potential to contribute to scholarship on both school effects and racial attitudes in two ways. First, although past studies suggested that parental school preferences may have partly contributed to the continued school segregation (Saporito 2003, Weiher and Tedin 2002), the opposite side of the causal link—whether school segregation leads to youths' pro-segregation attitudes in the first place—has yet to be sufficiently examined. Answers to this question, nonetheless, could have important implications for understanding future dynamics of school segregation. Second, while some of the extant research has pointed to the role of school racial composition in shaping students' interracial friendship and race-related preference (Butler 2010, Quillian and Campbell 2003), school racial context has rarely been considered in relation to the racial context of broader local area. Since the racial composition of students in each school is, to a large extent, structured by the demographic composition of the local area where the school is located, it is theoretically crucial to consider the interplay between different levels of racial contexts in order to tease out the independent role of school racial context. To that end, this study takes into account not only the racial composition of the student body in each school, but also whether the school a student attends has a higher share of people of their race/ethnicity compared to the county where the school is located.

## **Hypotheses**

Since past studies found mixed results regarding the role of school racial composition, the direction of the effect of racial diversity on students' race-related preferences is uncertain. If the contact hypothesis is true, it will lead to an expectation that students who currently attend a racially diverse school will be less likely to have pro-segregation preferences. If the threat hypothesis is supported, the association between school racial diversity and the outcome variable

will instead be expected to be positive. Specifically, depending on the direction of the main effect, my three hypotheses are summarized below:

Sign of the main effect	$\beta_{\text{racial diversity}} < 0$	$\beta_{\text{racial diversity}} > 0$
Hypothesis 1 (Main effect of school racial diversity)	Attending racially diverse school is <b>negatively</b> associated with pro-segregation preferences (contact hypothesis)	Attending racially diverse school is positively associated with pro-segregation preferences (threat hypothesis)
Sign of the interaction term	$\gamma_{\text{diversity*experiences}} < 0$	$\gamma_{\text{diversity*experiences}} > 0$
Hypothesis 2 (Differential effect derived from the contact hypothesis)	The main effect will be <b>stronger</b> among those whose previous interracial experiences were bad.	The main effect will be <b>stronger</b> among those whose previous interracial experiences were bad.
Potential mechanisms	Exposure to peers of other races in racially diverse school <b>compensates for</b> previous bad interracial experiences	Exposure to peers of other races in racially diverse school <b>exacerbates</b> previous bad interracial experiences
Sign of the interaction term	$\gamma_{\text{diversity*competition}} > 0$	$\gamma_{\text{diversity*competition}} > 0$
Hypothesis 3 (Differential effect derived from the threat hypothesis)	The main effect will be <b>weaker</b> among those who face more interracial competition in their school.	The main effect will be <b>stronger</b> among those who face more interracial competition in their school.
Potential mechanisms	More competition posed by peers of other races in racially diverse school <b>diminishes</b> the effect of racial diversity in curbing pro-segregation attitudes	More competition posed by peers of other races in racially diverse school <b>intensify</b> the effect of racial diversity in inducing pro-segregation attitudes

## Data and Methods

This study utilizes data from the Monitoring the Future study (MTF), a nationally representative sample of approximately 16,000 high school seniors annually drawn from around 130 public and private schools since 1975. MTF selects up to 350 students from each school, with almost all students sampled for schools with less than 350 students. Cross-sectional data from 2008 and 2010 are used in my analysis. Both years combined, 29,704 students from 246 schools participated in the MTF study. Based on the demographic characteristics of every student surveyed in each school, I construct several school-level variables to capture school-level socioeconomic and racial context. In addition to the basic demographic and socioeconomic questions, multiple forms of questionnaires with emphasis on different topics were randomly assigned to a subsample of students in each school. One of the forms contains a series of measures on race-related experiences, attitudes, and preferences. Therefore, students included in my analysis are those who responded to this form of the questionnaire. After omitting observations with missing values on race-related items from this form, 4743 high school seniors from 246 schools are included in my analysis. Additionally, county-level census data from the 2000 and 2010 are combined with the MTF data to account for racial composition of the county where each school is located.

## Dependent Variable

The outcome variable of the study is students' future school preferences regarding racial composition, based on students' answer to the following question: "How would you feel about having your (future) children go to schools where all the children are of your race". The question has four options to choose from: not acceptable, acceptable, somehow acceptable, and desirable.

## School-level variables

School racial context is the focus of the study, which is captured using the index of diversity. Similar to the index Moody (2001) used to capture school's racial distribution, the racial diversity index is constructed as the probability that two students randomly selected in each school are from different race/ethnic groups, ranging from 0 to 1. Five race/ethnic categories are considered in creating the racial diversity index, including white, black, Hispanic, Asian, and other. The formula for the racial diversity index is shown in Equation (1),  $r_{ij}$  represents the number of students of the  $i$  race/ethnicity in school  $j$ , and  $n_j$  is the total number of seniors in that school whose races are reported.

$$\text{Racial Diversity}_j = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^5 \left(\frac{r_{ij}}{n_j}\right)^2 \quad (1)$$

## Individual-level variables

As a complement to the school-level measure on racial diversity, utilizing the census data, I construct another variable to capture whether each student is exposed to a higher proportion of peers of different race/ethnicity in their school than they would be in the larger local area. Specifically, for each student, I calculate the proportion of peers of other race/ethnicity in his or her school, as well as the proportion of residents of other race/ethnicity aged 15 to 19 in the

county where the student's school is located. This variable is then calculated for each student as the difference between the two proportions. For example, for a white student, if the variable has a positive value, it means non-white students are overrepresented in his or her school compared to the adjacent local area. It can be thought of as a relative measure of school racial context after controlling for the racial composition of the county. Higher value on this variable indicates that the student will have more exposure to people of different races in his or her school compared to he or she would in the county. Besides, the average level of students' parents' education is calculated for each school to account for school socioeconomic context. I also take into account the region of each school to control for potential geographic variation in segregation pattern and racial attitudes.

Corresponding to the contact hypothesis, the analysis takes into account interaction each student has had with peers of different races, as well as how do they feel about their previous experiences with people other races. The former is quantified as a score ranging from 1 to 6, based on multiple questionnaire items regarding their interracial friendship and previous exposure to peers of other races in their elementary school and neighborhood, higher score indicates more interactions with and exposure to people of other races. The latter is measured on a scale from 1 (very bad) to 5 (very good). In order to test the threat hypothesis, I construct two variables to capture the socioeconomic and academic competition posed by peers of other races in the same school. Specifically, for each student, I calculate the difference between the average level of SES and GPA among students of other races in the same school and that among peers of their own race. Besides, students' individual-level characteristics, including gender, race, parental educational level, are included in the analysis as control variables. Additionally, a variable indicating whether the sample was from 2008 or 2010 is included in all models to control for potential cohort differences.

## **Analytic Strategy**

I apply hierarchical ordered logit models to examine whether school racial diversity has an effect on students' school preferences. I first start with only school-level variables (Model 1), and then include individual-level characteristics to test whether the school effect of racial diversity persists (Model 2). Next, I test the contact hypothesis using Model 3 and 4. Model 3 investigates whether the association between school racial diversity and students' school preferences changes after considering students' previous interactions and experiences with people of other race. Built on Model 3, I construct a random-effect hierarchical model to examine if the effect of racial diversity is especially stronger for those who lacked good experience interacting with people of other races. I then turn to testing the threat hypothesis by first controlling for the socioeconomic and academic competition posed by other races in the analysis (Model 5) and then considering the potential differential effect of school racial diversity depending on the level of competition posed by other races (Model 6). Lastly, I run the analysis using the full model (Model 7) that considers the two theoretical perspectives simultaneously. In addition, I also run the full model separately for white and non-white students in the sample to explore potential race-based differences in the role of school racial diversity.

## **Preliminary Results**

The descriptive results are presented in Table 1. On average, white students are more likely to have pro-segregation preferences. While only 12 percent of all non-white students in the sample think it is desirable for their future children to attend school where all kids are the same race, 21 percent of white students think so. As for school-level characteristics, schools attended by white students are on average substantially less racially diverse than those attended by non-white students. Turning to individual-level characteristics, white students tend to have much less exposure to people of different races than non-white students in the sample do. Similarly, compared to non-white students, interracial experiences white students had are less positive than those non-white students had. Lastly, it is worth noting that, non-white students face more competition from peers of other races in their schools than white students do.

(Table 1 here)

Turning to the analysis, the baseline model (Model 1) shows that, controlling for only other school-level variables, higher school racial diversity is associated with significantly lower likelihood of developing pro-segregation preferences. Students in schools with higher average parental education are less likely to prefer segregated schools than their peers in low-SES schools. As for geographic variation, students in the western region are least likely to prefer segregated schools. After individual-level characteristics are controlled for, the association between proportion of white students and the outcome variable becomes insignificant in Model 2. Nevertheless, the effect of racial diversity in curbing pro-segregation preferences remains significant, which lends support to the contact theory. The results also show that, students who are exposed to a higher share of peers in their school than in their county are less likely to prefer segregated schools. Students' parental education is also a significant predictor of the outcome variable. Compared to their peers of any other race/ethnicity, white students are more likely to prefer schools where all students are the same race.

(Table 2 here)

Next, Model 3 and 4 specifically test the contact hypothesis. According to Model 3, students who have had exposures to people of other race and those who had good experiences are less likely to prefer segregated school than their peers who lack such previous experiences. This finding is thus partially in line with the contact theory. However, given the significant main effect of racial diversity, it also suggests that contact theory alone doesn't fully account for the observed effect of school racial context. Results from Model 4 indicate that the effect size of school racial diversity is contingent on how good a student's past experiences with people of other race are. The coefficient for the cross-level interaction term suggests that, the negative association between attending racially diverse school and pro-segregation preferences is more pronounced among those who lacked good experiences interacting with people of different race. This finding implies that, attending racially diverse school has the potential to compensate for previous

negative interracial experiences and promote preferences for integrated schools despite the lack of positive experiences. Taken together, these findings are consistent with the contact hypothesis.

Model 5 shows that academic competition posed by peers of different race matters, but socioeconomic competition does not seem to play a significant role in shaping students' future school preferences. The more academically competitive students of different races in the same school are, the more likely students will prefer to attend school with peers of the same race. Although this finding points to the association between potential threat posed by other groups and students' school preferences, it does not find direct evidence for the threat hypothesis. Quite the opposite, the coefficient for racial diversity remains significantly negative both with and without controlling for competition. Applying the logics of the threat hypothesis, Model 6 further examines if the positive effect of racial diversity is weaker among those who face more competition from other races. However, the interaction term in Model 6 is not significant. It implies that, contrary to what the threat hypothesis would expect, academic competition brought about by peers of different race/ethnicity is not a moderator for the effect of school racial diversity.

Turning to the full model, the results shown in Table 3 in general confirmed the robust role of school racial diversity. The association between racial diversity and the outcome variable persists even after both interracial experiences and competitions posed by people of other races are accounted for. Nonetheless, when the analysis is restricted to white students, the effect of racial diversity per se is no longer significant. That being said, white students who are exposed to more people of different races in their school than in their county are less likely to prefer segregated school. These findings imply that, attending racially diverse schools still matters in shaping the preferences of white students, but mainly when non-white students are overrepresented in their school compared to the local area. In addition, it is worth noting that, for white students, academic competition is not significantly associated with the outcome variable. This finding thereby is contrary to the threat hypothesis. On the other hand, the analysis restricted to non-white students show similar results as those from models using the whole sample.

(Table 3 here)

Finally, based on the coefficients from Model 5, I calculated the differential average marginal effects of school racial diversity depending on how students feel about their previous interracial experiences, shown in Table 4. Noticeably, for students who had very good experiences with people of other races, the effect of racial diversity is not significant. A plausible interpretation is that, these students with extremely positive past experiences are not likely to have pro-segregation attitudes regardless of the kind of school they attend. Consequently, given the already positive attitudes toward other race/ethnic groups, attending racially diverse school itself won't have much net effect in making them less pro-segregation. Figure 1 shows the predicted likelihood of thinking segregated school is desirable among students attending racially segregated school vs. those attending racially diverse ones. It can be seen that, especially among



students who had negative previous interracial experiences, school racial diversity plays a vital role in reducing one's tendency to show pro-segregation preferences.

(Table 4 and Figure 1 here)

## **Conclusion and Discussion**

Taken together, my results is more in line with the contact hypothesis than the threat hypothesis. In general, students who attend schools with high racial diversity are less likely to develop pro-segregation preferences. Importantly, even when mechanisms suggested by both theories are all accounted for, the contextual effect of racial diversity does not diminish. This finding has meaningful implication for understanding the consequences of ongoing school segregation. It indicates that school racial context has an undeniable role in shaping students' race-related preferences. By showing the deferential effect of racial diversity depending on students' previous interracial experiences, my analysis implicates that attending racially diverse school has the potential to compensate for bad previous interracial experiences students had and thus curb the social reproduction of pro-segregation preferences. On the other hand, this study reveals one peril of the current de facto racial segregation in American schools—segregated school itself might become the soil in which pro-segregation ideologies are reproduced.

## **References**

- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Barnard, W. A., & Benn, M. S. (1988). Belief congruence and prejudice reduction in an interracial contact setting. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 128*(1), 125-134.
- Blalock, H. M. (1967). Toward a theory of minority-group relations.
- Braddock, J. H., & McPartland, J. M. (1989). Social-psychological processes that perpetuate racial segregation: The relationship between school and employment desegregation. *Journal of Black Studies, 19*(3), 267-289.
- Branton, R. P., & Jones, B. S. (2005). Reexamining racial attitudes: The conditional relationship between diversity and socioeconomic environment. *American Journal of Political Science, 49*(2), 359-372.
- Butler, D. (2010). Ethno-racial composition and college preference: Revisiting the perpetuation of segregation hypothesis. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 627*(1), 36-58.
- DeFina, R., & Hannon, L. (2009). Diversity, racial threat and metropolitan housing segregation. *Social Forces, 88*(1), 373-394.
- Emerson, M. O., Kimbro, R. T., & Yancey, G. (2002). Contact theory extended: The effects of prior racial contact on current social ties. *Social Science Quarterly, 83*(3), 745-761.

- Fischer, M. J. (2011). Interracial contact and changes in the racial attitudes of white college students. *Social Psychology of Education, 14*(4), 547-574.
- Glaser, J. M. (1994). Back to the black belt: Racial environment and white racial attitudes in the South. *The Journal of Politics, 56*(1), 21-41.
- Jacobson, C. K. (1979). School Racial Composition Effects on Avoidance, Separatism, and Integrationist Attitudes of Adolescents. *The Sociological Quarterly, 20*(2), 223-235.
- Jacobson, C. K., & Johnson, B. R. (2006). Interracial friendship and African American attitudes about interracial marriage. *Journal of Black Studies, 36*(4), 570-584.
- Longshore, D. (1982). School racial composition and blacks' attitudes toward desegregation: The problem of control in desegregated schools. *Social Science Quarterly, 63*(4), 674.
- Oliver, J. E., & Mendelberg, T. (2000). Reconsidering the environmental determinants of white racial attitudes. *American journal of political science, 574-589*.
- Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2006). Racial transformation and the changing nature of segregation. *Civil Rights Project at Harvard University*.
- Powers, D. A., & Ellison, C. G. (1995). Interracial Contact and Black Racial Attitudes: The Contact Hypothesis and Selectivity Bias. *Soc. F., 74*, 205.
- Quillian, L., & Campbell, M. E. (2003). Beyond black and white: The present and future of multiracial friendship segregation. *American Sociological Review, 540-566*.
- Reardon, S. F., Yun, J. T., & Eitle, T. M. (2000). The changing structure of school segregation: Measurement and evidence of multiracial metropolitan-area school segregation, 1989–1995. *Demography, 37*(3), 351-364.
- Saporito, S. (2003). Private choices, public consequences: Magnet school choice and segregation by race and poverty. *Social problems, 50*(2), 181-203.
- Saporito, S., & Sohoni, D. (2007). Mapping educational inequality: Concentrations of poverty among poor and minority students in public schools. *Social Forces, 85*(3), 1227-1253.
- Sigelman, L., & Welch, S. (1993). The contact hypothesis revisited: Black-white interaction and positive racial attitudes. *Social forces, 781-795*.
- Stein, R. M., Post, S. S., & Rinden, A. L. (2000). Reconciling context and contact effects on racial attitudes. *Political Research Quarterly, 53*(2), 285-303.
- Stroub, K. J., & Richards, M. P. (2013). From resegregation to reintegration: Trends in the racial/ethnic segregation of metropolitan public schools, 1993–2009. *American Educational Research Journal, 50*(3), 497-531.
- Taylor, M. C., & Mateyka, P. J. (2011). Community influences on white racial attitudes: What matters and why?. *The Sociological Quarterly, 52*(2), 220-243.
- Tolbert, C. J., & Grummel, J. A. (2003). Revisiting the racial threat hypothesis: White voter support for California's Proposition 209. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly, 183-202*.

- Weiher, G. R., & Tedin, K. L. (2002). Does choice lead to racially distinctive schools? Charter schools and household preferences. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 21(1), 79-92.
- Wells, A. S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research*, 64(4), 531-555.
- Yancey, G. (1999). An examination of the effects of residential and church integration on racial attitudes of whites. *Sociological Perspectives*, 42(2), 279-304.

**Table 1. Descriptive statistics for dependent and selected independent variables**

	Whole sample N=4,743	White students N=2,827	Non-white students N=1,916
<b>Dependent variable: school preferences</b>			
Thinking segregated schools is not acceptable	.16	.12	.24
Thinking segregated schools is somehow acceptable	.17	.14	.21
Thinking segregated schools is acceptable	.49	.53	.43
Thinking segregated schools is desirable	.18	.21	.21
<b>Independent variables</b>			
School racial diversity	.44 (.20)	.37 (.20)	.55 (.16)
School mean SES	14.44 (1.14)	14.76 (1.00)	13.97 (1.17)
Other races overrepresented in school	-.07 (.17)	-.08 (.17)	-.07 (.17)
Parental education	14.45 (2.61)	14.85 (2.42)	13.86 (2.76)
Previous interracial exposure	3.06 (1.27)	2.55 (1.02)	3.82 (1.23)
How good are previous interracial experiences	3.94 (0.86)	3.85 (.86)	4.08 (.83)
Socioeconomic competition from other races	-0.14 (1.17)	-.38 (.94)	.21 (1.37)
Academic competition from other races	-0.18 (0.79)	-.37 (.75)	.10 (.76)

Note: categorical independent variables are omitted here

**Table 2. Coefficients from hierarchical ordered logit models predicting students' pro-segregation preferences**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
School racial diversity	-2.13*** (0.20)	-1.43*** (0.20)	-0.67*** (0.21)	-0.67*** (0.21)	-1.48*** (0.20)	-1.49*** (0.20)
School mean SES	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.18*** (0.04)	-0.18*** (0.04)
Region: north central (vs. northeast)	-0.03 (0.11)	0.02 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.11)	0.04 (0.11)	0.04 (0.11)
Region: south	0.05 (0.10)	0.11 (0.10)	0.07 (0.10)	0.07 (0.10)	0.11 (0.10)	0.12 (0.10)
Region: west	-0.25** (0.12)	-0.21* (0.11)	-0.20* (0.11)	-0.21* (0.11)	-0.22* (0.11)	-0.22* (0.11)
Other races overrepresented in school		-0.54*** (0.18)	-0.24 (0.18)	-0.22 (0.19)	-0.58*** (0.18)	-0.64*** (0.19)
Parental education		-0.03** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
Gender: Female		-0.27*** (0.06)	-0.22*** (0.06)	-0.22*** (0.06)	-0.27*** (0.06)	-0.27*** (0.06)
Race: black (vs. white)		-0.81*** (0.10)	-0.48*** (0.10)	-0.49*** (0.10)	-0.91*** (0.10)	-0.94*** (0.11)
Race: Hispanic		-0.55*** (0.09)	-0.09 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.10)	-0.57*** (0.11)	-0.59*** (0.11)
Race: Asian		-0.86*** (0.15)	-0.18 (0.16)	-0.17 (0.16)	-0.78*** (0.16)	-0.73*** (0.17)
Race: other		-0.62*** (0.11)	-0.13 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.11)	-0.68*** (0.11)	-0.69*** (0.11)
Previous interracial exposure			-0.54*** (0.04)	-0.54*** (0.04)		
How good are previous interracial experiences			-0.36*** (0.03)	-0.36*** (0.03)		
Socioeconomic competition from other races					-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Academic competition from other races					0.12*** (0.05)	0.13** (0.05)
Year (2010 vs. 2008)	-0.00 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)
Previous experiences × racial diversity				0.35** (0.15)		
Academic competition × racial diversity						0.21 (0.20)

Note: N=4,743 students, 246 schools. The significance levels are indicated by asterisks: 95% (\*), 99% (\*\*), and 99.9% (\*\*\*).

**Table 3. Coefficients from the full models predicting students' pro-segregation preferences**

	Whole sample	White	Non-white
School racial diversity	-0.71*** (0.21)	-0.04 (0.28)	-1.29*** (0.33)
School mean SES	-0.16*** (0.04)	-0.22*** (0.05)	-0.19*** (0.05)
Region: north central (vs. northeast)	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.13)	0.04 (0.18)
Region: south	0.08 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.13)	0.28* (0.15)
Region: west	-0.20* (0.11)	-0.25* (0.15)	-0.01 (0.16)
Other races overrepresented in school	-0.29 (0.19)	-0.90*** (0.29)	0.10 (0.31)
Parental education	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Gender: Female	-0.22*** (0.06)	-0.19** (0.08)	-0.22** (0.09)
Race: black (vs. white)	-0.60*** (0.10)		
Race: Hispanic	-0.15 (0.11)		0.45*** (0.15)
Race: Asian	-0.08 (0.17)		0.55*** (0.21)
Race: other	-0.20* (0.11)		0.38*** (0.13)
Previous interracial exposure	-0.55*** (0.04)	-0.62*** (0.05)	-0.39*** (0.05)
How good are previous interracial experiences	-0.36*** (0.03)	-0.49*** (0.04)	-0.16*** (0.04)
Socioeconomic competition from other races	-0.00 (0.03)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)
Academic competition from other races	0.15*** (0.05)	0.05 (0.06)	0.25*** (0.08)
Year (2010 vs. 2008)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.00 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.10)

Note: N=4,743 students, 246 schools in the whole sample. . N=2,827 students, 235 schools in the white students subsample. N=1,916 students, 205 schools in the non-white students subsample. The race variable (4 instead of 5 categories) is included in the analysis for the non-white subsample, note that the reference group is black. The significance levels are indicated by asterisks: 95% (\*), 99% (\*\*), and 99.9% (\*\*\*).

**Table 4. Average marginal effects (AMEs) of school racial diversity depending on students' previous interracial experiences**

Previous interracial experiences	AME of racial diversity
Very bad	-0.36*** (.10)
Mostly bad	-0.27*** (.07)
Mixed	-0.17*** (.04)
Mostly good	-0.08** (.03)
Very good	-0.02 (.03)

Note: The significance levels are indicated by asterisks: 95% (\*), 99% (\*\*), and 99.9% (\*\*\*).

**Figure 1. Predicted probabilities of thinking it is desirable to attend segregated schools among students attending racially segregated school vs. those attending racially diverse ones (conditional on their previous interracial experiences)**

