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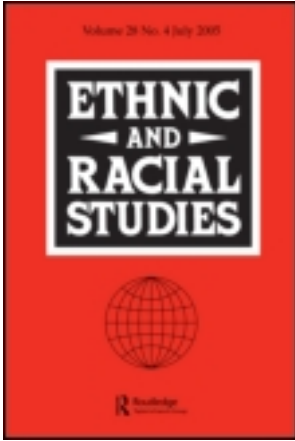Smith, Sandra Susan
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# Intraracial harassment on campus: explaining between- and within-group differences

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# Intraracial harassment on campus: explaining between- and within-group differences

Sandra Susan Smith and Jennifer Anne Meri Jones

**Abstract**

Using the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen (NLSF), we examine both between- and within-group differences in the odds of feeling intraracially harassed. Specifically, we investigate the effects of colleges' and universities' racial composition as well as the nature of students' associations with non-group members, including involvement in racially homogeneous campus organizations, ethnoracial diversity of friendship networks, and interracial dating. Our findings suggest that although college racial composition appears to have little effect on experiencing intraracial harassment, the nature of students' involvement with other-race students matters a great deal. For all groups, interracial dating increased odds of harassment. Among black and white students, more diverse friendship networks did as well. And among Asian and Latino students, involvement in any racially homogeneous campus organization was associated with increases in reports of intraracial harassment. Thus, we propose a baseline theoretical model of intraracial harassment that highlights the nature of students' associations with outgroups.

## Introduction

Recent research reveals significant ethnoracial differences in college students' reports of intraracial harassment. Specifically, among college students, 3 per cent of whites, 7 per cent of Latinos, 10 per cent of Asians, and 17 per cent of blacks claimed that members of their own racial or ethnic group harassed them because they had associated with

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members of some other ethnoracial group (Charles et al. 2009). Unspecified are the factors that account for these differences. Although recent reports have begun to shed light on a social phenomenon given relatively little systematic attention in race relations literature, thus far reports have been largely descriptive and so have fallen far short of providing a theoretical framework that explains both between- and within-group differences in intraracial harassment. This study is an effort to fill this empirical gap in the literature while also offering a baseline theoretical model to understand intraracial harassment.

This is not a trivial concern. Interracial dynamics are at least in part a function of the dynamics that unfold within groups. As a form of borderism (Dalmage 2000), intraracial harassment is both a preventative measure, warning those who might cross ethnoracial boundaries about the sanctions they would suffer if they did, and a penalty, sanctioning those who do so. The result of such acts is the rearticulation of racial categories, boundaries, and understandings. By investigating the factors that appear to predict intraracial harassment, we gain further empirical and theoretical ground in understanding an important source of continued interracial distance and discord.

To address this gap in the literature, we analysed the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen (NLSF), examining colleges' and universities' racial composition as well as the nature of individual students' associations with out-group members on the odds of feeling intraracially harassed. Who students chose to date, became friends with, and joined in organizations told us more about whether or not they would feel harassed than any other set of measures.

## Patrolling racial borders through intraracial harassment

Intraracial harassment is a form of borderism, what Heather Dalmage defines as 'a unique form of discrimination faced by those who cross the color line, do not stick with their own, or attempt to claim membership (or are placed by others) in more than one racial group' (2000, p. 40). Borderism through harassment can include verbal assaults and insults that call into question the strength of border crossers' racial identity and allegiance to the in-group (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Dalmage 2000; Smith and Moore 2000; Willie 2003; Carter 2005; Childs 2005b). It can include poor service in public places, such as shops and restaurants (Porterfield 1978; Welborn 1994; Rosenblatt et al. 1995; McNamara et al. 1999; Childs 2005b). It can also be more menacing, such as when it takes the form of: hostile stares; obscene phone calls; hate mail and hate literature; vandalism of personal property; ostracism by family members, friends, and coworkers; physical threats and assault; and finally, institutional

discrimination, including harassment from police officers, steering by real estate agents, and blocked mobility on the job (Rosenblatt et al. 1995; McNamara et al. 1999; Childs 2005b).

Acts of borderism, including border patrolling that tends to occur intraracially, aid those who wish to reproduce notions of race and re-inscribe and strengthen ethnoracial boundaries (Dalmage 2000). The desired ends associated with borderism and border patrolling differ, however, by ethnoracial background. By patrolling borders, whites seek to maintain the perception of white racial purity and protect boundaries around which categories of whiteness are constituted (Hartigan 1999). Among blacks, however, border patrolling serves different purposes. It supports efforts to: develop and maintain a positive racial identity in the face of negative stereotypic characterizations of blackness (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Childs 2005); build stronger and more cohesive black communities in the face of structural threats to their foundation (Dalmage 2000; Childs 2005b); and achieve racial justice in the face of continued racial discrimination (Dyson 1994). Given their 'in-between status in the US racial hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Lee and Bean 2004), Latinos and Asians engage in acts of borderism to preserve a positive collective identity and strong sense of community in the face of continued discrimination while also preserving privileges associated with not being black. Because border patrollers are most pressed to act in situations in which individuals have crossed the colour line, sites in which borderism occurs are also fairly predictable. Drawing from previous research, these include involvement in mixed-race or majority-other organizations, interracial friendships, and interracial dating.

*Involvement in racially homogenous voluntary groups*

To the extent that involvement in racially homogenous voluntary organizations is perceived to be indicative of the strength of students' racial identities and commitments to their own ethnoracial group, such involvement will likely result in intraracial harassment, or the perception of it. Among black students, previous research indicates that participation in predominantly white voluntary campus organizations on campus often led to feelings of intraracial harassment (Mitchell and Dell 1992; Smith and Moore 2000; Willie 2003). Previous research suggests, however, that among Asian and Latino students, involvement in such organizations would not be likely to result in experiences of intraracial harassment to the degree that it does among blacks, because Asian and Latino students are less likely than black students to express support for self-segregating behaviours (Massey et al. 2003). Specifically, when compared to NLSF black students, substantially lower percentages of Asian and Latino students

agreed that in-group members should live in mainly in-group neighbourhoods, attend mainly in-group schools, have in-group staff in in-group schools, shop at in-group stores, and vote for in-group candidates (Massey et al. 2003). This set of findings suggests that Asian and Latino students would be unlikely to support participation in mainly in-group student organizations, and therefore the odds of harassment on these grounds would also be lower than those found among blacks.[1]

### Interracial friendships

Students' reports of intraracial harassment might also be affected by the extent to which their friendship networks are composed of co-ethnics. Most college students report that making friends with students of other races is important (Fisher and Hartmann 1995; Willie 2003), and although not necessarily close, interracial friendships on campus appear to be both common and accepted (Childs 2005b). At least among blacks, previous research indicates that the stance one takes on interracial contact has significant consequences for how they are perceived among in-group members (Porterfield 1978; Spickard 1989; Rosenblatt et al. 1995), and thus has consequences for how they are treated by in-group members. Friendships with non-blacks are frequently viewed negatively and suspiciously (Porterfield 1978; Spickard 1989; Rosenblatt et al. 1995). Those engaged in such friendships are perceived to have weak racial identities and waning loyalty, connection, and commitment to the larger black community. Sarah Willie's interviews with alumni at Howard and Northwestern Universities, for instance, indicate that few alumni, particularly those at Northwestern, developed interracial social and friendship networks on campus, and those few that did were sanctioned for doing so (2003, p. 51). Blacks punished each other, sometimes severely, for developing interracial networks, in part as a mechanism to deal with feelings of isolation and alienation from the larger campus community. Thus, to the extent that black students feel intraracially harassed, it might be due in part to the extent to which they develop friendship networks that are composed of non-blacks. Previous research also indicates that Latino and Asian students' friendship networks are relatively diverse and that very few students from these two groups agree with self-segregating behaviours regarding friendship networks (Massey et al. 2003; Charles et al. 2009). Given this, we would expect diversity of friendship networks among Latinos and Asians to have little effect on feeling intraracially harassed.

*Interracial dating*

Despite greater support for and participation in interracial dating (Schuman et al. 1997; Levin, Taylor and Caudle 2007, Charles et al. 2009), such relationships are still widely perceived as deviant (Rosenblatt et al. 1995; McNamara et al. 1999; Dalmage 2000; Childs 2005b), and a significant minority of Americans still disapprove of such relationships on principle – 33 per cent of whites and 17 per cent of blacks (Schuman et al. 1997). Previous research indicates that the majority of college students – 87 per cent of whites and 60 per cent of respondents of colour – often have been discouraged by family members from dating interracially (Clark-Ibanez and Felmlee 2004). Furthermore, although most whites claim not to have a problem with such relationships, when queried about interracial dating with blacks, they often provide reasons for why they could never personally take part in an interracial relationship (lack of common interests; cultural incompatibility; lack of attraction) and why they think it might be unwise for others to do so as well (disapproval and rejection from family members, community, and society; issues of safety and well-being; the problems that multiracial children might have) (Rosenblatt et al. 1995; McNamara et al. 1999; Bonilla-Silva 2003; Childs 2005b). These ostensibly race-neutral responses mask attitudes and patterns of behaviour that are racially motivated (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Childs 2005b).

Interestingly, white students appear least likely to suffer sanctions as a result of being in interracial relationships compared with blacks, Asians, and Latinos (Charles et al. 2009). The relatively low sanctioning rate among whites might be due to greater acceptance among whites of interracial dating once it happens. It might also be the case that to the extent that whites outdate, they tend to date individuals from socially acceptable ethnoracial groups and so are less likely to suffer sanctions.

Among black students, a significant minority also disapproves of interracial dating, especially when these relationships are with whites. Blacks' negative views of interracial dating are primarily rooted in the perception that blacks who engage in them, especially with whites, are self-haters who have internalized anti-black, racist views (Dalmage 2000; Smith and Moore 2000; Childs 2005b; Fanon 2008 [1952]). Furthermore, intimate relations with whites are seen as a rejection of black sexuality – a devaluation of black women's femininity and a questioning of black men's masculinity, as embodied in their (in)ability to support their families (Spickard 1989; Collins 1990; Wade-Gayles 1996; Dalmage 2000; Smith and Moore 2000; Childs 2005a).

Although a significant minority of blacks disapproves of interracial relationships, few Asians and Latinos report that they do (Massey et al.

2003), and compared to black students, few report suffering sanctions for having interracial relationships. That Latinos and Asians are less likely than blacks to suffer sanctions might be attributable to the fact that both groups are most likely to interracially date whites, who may not be perceived as the enemy in the way that they are among blacks. Given this, relative to black students who date interracially, Asian and Latino students who do so would probably be less likely to feel harassed. Rates of intraracial harassment associated with interracial dating bear this out (Charles et al. 2009).

Finally, it is likely that the effect of interracial dating on intraracial harassment is moderated by gender. Previous research indicates that women who engage in intimate relationships with out-group members are more likely than their male counterparts to suffer sanctions (Rosenblatt et al. 1995; McNamara et al. 1999; Childs 2005b; Charles et al. 2009; Taylor et al. 2010). To the extent that women, regardless of race and ethnicity, are more likely to suffer sanctions as a result of engaging in interracial relationships, it appears that greater efforts are made to control their sexuality while their male counterparts are allowed greater freedom to determine who their romantic partners can be (Rosenblatt et al. 1995).

## Intraracial harassment in context

Feeling intraracially harassed may not be solely the product of the nature of students' associations with non-group members. Instead, drawing on Blau (1977, 1994), it could also be a product of the structural context within which students come together. Specifically, Blau (1977, 1994) has argued that when given a choice, individuals will choose friendships and other associations with in-group members. But, according to Blau, context provides opportunities for different types of associations to develop (1977, p. 19–26). Although individuals have preferences, their choices are often shaped by the opportunities made available as a result of the context in which they find themselves. Assuming a stable population size, if placed in a context where the relative size of out-group members is large, the odds that individuals will develop associations with out-group members will be greater than it would be if the out-group's size was smaller. As the relative size of out-group members declines, however, the odds that individuals will develop associations with out-group members will decrease. Blau's theory of structural inequality has found strong empirical support (Hallinan and Smith 1985; Hallinan and Williams 1989; Joyner and Kao 2000).

But contexts that increase the likelihood of interracial associations might also increase the likelihood of experiencing intraracial harassment, since this type of border patrolling follows border crossing

activities. It might not do so in a linear fashion, however. When in-group members' relative size is small, feelings of intraracial harassment are unlikely because too few members exist to contribute to a viable community. As the relative size of the in-group increases to a point where a viable community is perceived possible, the odds of feeling intraracially harassed will increase as well, either in response to increased pressure to participate in the group or in response to the perception of these greater group pressures. Once the size of the in-group reaches a critical mass, the odds of feeling harassed will decline. Because there are numerous members who can take part in the community, not all members are necessary to contribute to it. As a result, less pressure will be placed on group members to participate, or they might perceive less pressure to do so thereby reducing the feeling of being harassed. Thus, drawing on Blau, we might also expect the racial composition of colleges and universities to affect students' odds of experiencing intraracial harassment.

## Data and methods

To the extent that rates of intraracial harassment vary both between and within ethnoracial groups, what factors account for these differences? To address this question, we use the NLSF, a multi-wave survey that includes relatively equal numbers of black, Asian, Latino, and white freshmen from twenty eight selective colleges and universities across the country. At baseline, there were 1,051 black students, 959 Asians, 916 Latino students, and 998 white students. The student response rate was 86 per cent, while the institutional response rate was 80 per cent.[2]

### Dependent variable

We draw from waves 1, 2, and 3 of this 5-wave study. The baseline survey (wave 1) was collected in the fall of 1999 when students were freshmen at their respective colleges and universities. Wave 1 surveys were administered face-to-face. In addition to detailed information about peer networks and racial attitudes, researchers also collected detailed information about the schools that each respondent attended, including racial make-up and average class size. Waves 2 and 3 were collected by telephone in the spring of 2000 and spring of 2001, respectively. These surveys focused on students' social, psychological, and academic experiences on campus. We merged each of these waves with the baseline data using respondents' unique case ID.

The phenomenon under study is intraracial harassment. In waves 2 and 3 respondents were asked: 'How often, if ever, have you experienced harassment from members of your own race or ethnic

group because you interacted or associated with members of some other group?' The five-point scale of responses included: never, rarely, sometimes, often, or very often. We combined the measures from waves 2 and 3 to create a three-category dependent variable. Students were coded '1' if they had not reported any frequency of harassment in waves 2 *and* 3; they were coded '2' if they reported harassment of any frequency in either wave 2 *or* 3; and they were coded '3' if they reported harassment of any frequency in waves 2 *and* 3.

We offer a note about our dependent variable. Respondents' reports of intraracial harassment are based on their *perceptions* of having been harassed. This is because different people can interpret similar behaviours in very different ways (see Porterfield 1978; Rosenblatt et al. 1995; McNamara et al. 1999). If nothing else, however, respondents *felt* harassed, and so this is how we interpret their reports. Because the data do not allow us to say anything about the types of behaviours respondents encountered that led them to report intraracial harassment, we do not address the nature of respondents' experiences of intraracial harassment here.

As shown in Table 1, 82 per cent of whites perceived no intraracial harassment in waves 2 and 3. Among Latino and Asian students, this figure was considerably lower – 65 and 62 per cent respectively. Among black students, this figure was lower still. Less than half, or 47 per cent, perceived no harassment in waves 2 and 3. Also varying by race was the extent to which students reported some frequency of harassment in both waves. While just 3 per cent of whites reported feeling intraracially harassed in both waves, 11 per cent of Latinos, 14 per cent of Asians, and one-quarter of blacks did.

## Independent variables

The odds of experiencing intraracial harassment might be contingent on a number of factors, including the available pool of in-group members on campus who might help to constitute the group. To account for this, we included four variables in our analyses. The NLSF contains information about *the school racial composition*, based on the percentage of undergraduates at respondents' colleges and universities who were black, Latino, Asian, and white in the 1998–99 school year, the academic year before NLSF freshmen arrived on their respective campuses. Of these 28 selective college and university campuses, approximately 8 per cent of college students were black, 5 per cent were Latino, 13 per cent were Asian, and 69 per cent were white.

*Inter- and intraracial associations* might also affect the likelihood of experiencing in-group harassment. The NLSF allows us to assess this in a number of ways. First, we investigated the effect of the racial composition of students' organizational affiliations on the likelihood

**Table 1.** Descriptive statistics of variables in the analysis, by race

| | Asians | Blacks | Latinos | Whites | Range |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **DEPENDENT VARIABLES** | | | | | |
| *Ever experienced intraracial* | | | | | 0–1 |
| *harassment* | | | | | |
|   Neither wave | .62 | .47 | .65 | .82 | |
|   Either wave | .24 | .30 | .24 | .14 | |
|   Both waves | .14 | .24 | .11 | .03 | |
| **INDEPENDENT VARIABLES** | | | | | |
| *College/university racial* | | | | | 0–1 |
| *composition* | | | | | |
|   % Black | .07 | .12 | .07 | .07 | |
|   % Latino | .05 | .05 | .06 | .05 | |
|   % Asian | .13 | .12 | .14 | .13 | |
|   % White | .70 | .67 | .69 | .70 | |
| *Diversity of friendship network* | | | | | 0–1 |
|   No coethnics | .15 | .07 | .33 | .00 | |
|   Few coethnics | .31 | .13 | .37 | .02 | |
|   Some coethnics | .41 | .38 | .26 | .38 | |
|   Most coethnics | .08 | .20 | .02 | .41 | |
|   All coethnics | .06 | .23 | .02 | .19 | |
| *Racial composition of* | | | | | 0–1 |
| *organizational affiliations* | | | | | |
|   Majority white org | .66 | .51 | .67 | .85 | |
|   Majority black org | .02 | .50 | .05 | .02 | |
|   Majority Latino org | .02 | .02 | .21 | .01 | |
|   Majority Asian org | .37 | .06 | .05 | .05 | |
| *Ever dated interracially* | .60 | .45 | .70 | .38 | 0–1 |
| *Interracially dated:* | | | | | 0–1 |
|   Whites | .84 | .71 | .75 | – | |
|   Blacks | .17 | – | .28 | .33 | |
|   Latinos | .15 | .53 | – | .30 | |
|   Asians | – | .27 | .27 | .46 | |
| **CONTROLS** | | | | | |
| Female | .56 | .66 | .59 | .53 | 0–1 |
| US-born | .70 | .92 | .81 | .96 | 0–1 |
| *Household income* | | | | | 0–1 |
|   $0-$14,999 | .03 | .06 | .04 | .02 | |
|   $15,000-$24,999 | .05 | .09 | .10 | .02 | |
|   $25,000-$49,999 | .16 | .26 | .23 | .13 | |
|   $50,000-$74,999 | .19 | .21 | .19 | .18 | |
|   $75,000 or more | .57 | .38 | .44 | .67 | |
| *Racial composition of high* | | | | | 2–8 |
| *school and neighbourhood* | | | | | |
|   Black composition | 2.16 | 3.99 | 2.26 | 2.14 | |
|   Asian composition | 2.39 | 2.06 | 2.11 | 2.04 | |
|   Latino composition | 2.08 | 2.14 | 3.08 | 2.06 | |
|   White composition | 6.07 | 4.62 | 5.22 | 6.89 | |

of reporting in-group harassment. In wave 3, students were asked in which of the following groups they were currently involved: an intramural team; a sports club; a foreign language club; a sorority or fraternity; a political group; an environmental group; a career development group; a religious group; a music, arts, or theatre group; or another voluntary group. They were also asked if the majority of each group's members were white, black, Latino, or Asian, or whether the group was equally integrated. We created four variables – group involvement in a majority white, a majority black, a majority Latino, and a majority Asian organization – by adding together the total number of racially homogeneous group affiliations in which respondents claimed involvement. As shown in Table 1, the majority of students claimed involvement in majority white organizations – 51 per cent of blacks, 66 per cent of Asians, 67 per cent of Latinos, and 85 per cent of whites. Outside of predominantly white organizations, relatively few students participated in organizations in which their in-group did not predominate.

Second, we examined the *ethnoracial diversity of students' friendship networks*. In wave 2, students were asked to think about the ten closest friends they had made since arriving on campus. They were then asked to categorize these friends in terms of race or ethnicity. Using these data, we created a variable that indicates whether students' friendship networks had no co-ethnics, few co-ethnics (10–25 per cent), some co-ethnics (26–75 per cent), most co-ethnics (76–90 per cent), or all co-ethnics. On the one hand (as shown in Table 1), essentially no white student was embedded in a friendship network that contained no whites. Similarly, relatively few black and Asians students reported close friendships that did not include any blacks or Asians. Just 7 per cent and 15 per cent did, respectively. However, a much higher percentage of Latinos students (33 per cent) were embedded in networks of no co-ethnics. On the other hand, just 2 per cent and 6 per cent of Latino and Asian students respectively, were embedded in all co-ethnic friendship networks, as were 19 per cent of white students and 23 per cent of black students.

Finally, we examined whether students had *ever dated interracially*. In wave 2, NLSF respondents were asked: 'Have you ever dated anyone from a racial or ethnic group different from your own?' As shown in Table 1, 70 per cent of Latinos, 60 per cent of Asians, 45 per cent of blacks, and 38 per cent of whites reported that they had dated someone from another racial or ethnic group. Because attitudes toward interracial dating are often contingent on the out-group in question, we also created four dummy variables indicating whether or not respondents had dated whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asians. For each, respondents were coded '1' if they had and '0' if they had not. This latter category includes those who had never dated interracially.

Among minority group members, interracial relationships tended to be with whites (84 per cent of Asians, 71 per cent of blacks, and 75 per cent of Latinos). A majority of blacks also dated Latinos (53 per cent). Among whites, a higher percentage dated Asians (46 per cent) than Latinos (30 per cent) or blacks (33 per cent).

*Controls*

Drawing on prior research, which has found that intraracial relations are at least in part contingent on race, gender, foreign born status, class, and racial composition of high school and neighbourhood (Smith and Moore 2000), we included in our analyses controls for these factors (see Table 1). With regard to gender, 53 per cent of whites, 56 per cent of Asians, 59 per cent of Latinos, and 66 per cent of blacks were women. Thus, gender imbalances were greatest among blacks and smallest among whites.

To account for class, we focused on students' estimates of the annual income of the household in which they spent their senior year of high school. We recoded fourteen categories of responses into five quintiles – $0–$14,999; $15,000–$24,999; $25,000–$49,999; $50,000–$74,999; $75,000 or more. While the majority of whites (67 per cent) and Asians (57 per cent) reported household incomes in the top quintile, a significant minority of blacks (38 per cent) and Latinos (44 per cent) did as well.

Finally, to account for students' pre-adult integrative experiences (see Smith and Moore 2000), we took into consideration the ethnic and racial composition of students' neighbourhoods and of the student body of their last high school. With these two items, we created four indices of community racial composition – black community composition (Cronbach's alpha .73); Latino community composition (Cronbach's alpha .85); Asian community composition (Cronbach's alpha .76); and white community composition (Cronbach's alpha .73). Scores ranged from 2 to 8, with larger numbers indicating greater concentration in their home communities of that racial group. Not surprisingly, whites attended high schools and lived in neighbourhoods with the greatest concentration of whites (6.87), followed by Asians (6.07), Latinos (5.22), and blacks (4.69). On average, each of these minority groups also lived in neighbourhoods and attended high schools with higher concentrations of whites, followed by concentrations of their own ethnoracial group (see Table 1).[3]

*Multivariate analysis*

Using ordinal regression, we examined the effect of our independent predictors on the odds of reporting intraracial harassment in either or

both of the first two years of college (waves 2 and 3). Ordinal regression is the most appropriate method to use when the dependent variable in question is ordinal in nature, typically with between three and six categories, and when the real distance between categories is unknown. We do so first with the whole sample and then separately for each ethnoracial group.

## Findings

Table 2 displays the coefficients from the ordinal regression of the effect of selected independent variables on intraracial harassment. Three models were specified. The first includes only dummies for race. These reveal that Asian, black, and Latino students had significantly greater odds of feeling harassed than did white students. Specifically, Latinos' odds were 2.5 times greater [exp(.924)]; Asians' odds were 2.9 times greater [exp(1.080)]; and blacks' odds of feeling harassed were 5.6 times greater than those of whites.

The second model tests for the effects of all key variables in the analysis and reveals that although being female, US-born, and household income did not affect the odds of intraracial harassment, to some extent neighbourhood and high school diversity did. For every one-unit increase in Asian community composition, the odds of feeling intraracially harassed declined by 15 per cent. Black and Latino community composition were not significantly associated.

In terms of school racial composition, whereas the percentage of Latino and Asian students on campus had no effect on the odds of feeling harassed, the percentage of black students did. Every one percentage-point increase in per cent black on campus was associated with reduced odds of reporting intraracial harassment in either or both years by 1 per cent.

The racial composition of students' organizational affiliations also mattered. Among those involved in majority-white organizations, the odds of feeling harassed were 31 per cent higher than among those who were not involved in such organizations. The figures were 2.7 times higher and 95 per cent greater for students who were involved in Latino and Asian majority organizations, respectively, compared to those who were not. Involvement in majority-black organizations, however, did not significantly affect relative odds of feeling harassed.

Among students with diverse friendship networks, the odds of feeling intraracially harassed were also higher. Compared to those with all co-ethnic friends, those with no co-ethnic friends did not experience harassment to a significantly greater degree; those with few co-ethnic friends had 37 per cent greater odds of feeling harassed, a finding of only marginal significance; students with some co-ethnic friends had odds of feeling harassed that were 2.3 times greater; and

**Table 2.** Coefficients from the ordinal regression of selected independent variables on ever experiencing intraracial harassment

| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coefficient | Std Err | Coefficient | Std Err | Coefficient | Std Err |
| *Race of student* | | | | | | |
| Whites (ref category) | | | | | | |
| Asian | 1.080*** | .114 | .985*** | .146 | .966*** | .163 |
| Black | 1.715*** | .111 | 1.862*** | .150 | 1.935*** | .191 |
| Latino | .924*** | .117 | .689*** | .166 | .674*** | .181 |
| Female | | | −.121 | .080 | −.233 | .103 |
| US-born | | | −.111 | .113 | −.129 | .120 |
| *Household income* | | | | | | |
| $75K (ref category) | | | | | | |
| $0-$14,999 | | | −.250 | .213 | −.260 | .220 |
| $15,000-$24,999 | | | .120 | .163 | .115 | .171 |
| $25,000-$49,000 | | | −.012 | .107 | −.015 | .112 |
| $50,000-$74,999 | | | −.054 | .108 | −.063 | .113 |
| *Neighbourhood and high school diversity* | | | | | | |
| Black composition | | | .034 | .030 | .037 | .031 |
| Latino composition | | | .049 | .039 | .047 | .042 |
| Asian composition | | | −.161* | .069 | −.166* | .074 |
| *College/university racial composition* | | | | | | |
| % Black | | | −.009* | .004 | −.009* | .004 |
| % Latino | | | −.023 | .019 | −.027 | .020 |
| % Asian | | | .008 | .007 | .009 | .007 |

**Table 2** (*Continued*)

| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coefficient | Std Err | Coefficient | Std Err | Coefficient | Std Err |
| *Racial composition of organizational affiliations* | | | | | | |
| Majority white org | | | .271** | .089 | .275** | .095 |
| Majority black org | | | .097 | .126 | .080 | .131 |
| Majority Latino org | | | .974*** | .17 | 1.054*** | .190 |
| Majority Asian org | | | .668*** | .123 | .719*** | .135 |
| *Diversity of friendship network* | | | | | | |
| All coethnics (ref category) | | | | | | |
| No coethnics | | | .215 | .190 | .208 | .198 |
| Few coethnics | | | .317 + | .172 | .308 + | .178 |
| Some coethnics | | | .811*** | .149 | .839*** | .159 |
| Most coethnics | | | .390* | .162 | .394* | .167 |
| *Ever dated interracially* | | | .463*** | .084 | .358** | .109 |
| *Interaction effects: sex and interracial dating* | | | | | | |
| Male, dated interracially (ref) | | | | | | |
| Female, not dated interracially | | | | | −.020 | .089 |
| Female, dated interracially | | | | | .208* | .084 |
| Male, not dated interracially | | | | | −.044 | .091 |
| Intercept 1 | 1.557*** | .091 | −.194 | .363 | −.290 | .380 |
| Intercept 2 | 2.946*** | .101 | 1.239** | .364 | 1.227 | .383 |
| $\chi^2$ | 276.871 | | 447.847 | | 458.405 | |

**Table 2** (*Continued*)

|  | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Coefficient | Std Err | Coefficient | Std Err | Coefficient | Std Err |
| −2 log likelihood | 339.377 | | 4645.392 | | 4634.835 | |
| Degrees of freedom | 3 | | 24 | | 27 | |
| Nagelkerke Pseudo R-Square | .095 | | .167 | | .171 | |
| Number of cases | 3357 | | 3357 | | 3357 | |

students whose friendship networks were mostly co-ethnic had odds of feeling harassed that were 48 per cent greater than those whose friends were all co-ethnic. Thus, with the full sample, the relationship between diversity of friendship networks and harassment appears not linear but curvilinear, increasing in significance and magnitude as we move from no co-ethnic friends to few friends and from few friends to some friends, but decreasing in significance and magnitude as we move from some co-ethnic friends to most co-ethnic friends.

Students who had dated interracially had odds of feeling harassed that were 59 per cent higher than students who had not. Model three adds to the second model the interaction term – gender*interracial dating. Analysis reveals that when compared to college men who dated interracially, women who had done so had 23 per cent greater odds of feeling intraracially harassed.

Finally, although a number of key variables were significant, in general these did little to reduce ethnoracial gaps in reports of intraracial harassment. Among blacks, the gap actually increased somewhat, which strongly suggests that intraracial border patrolling is stronger for blacks, all things being equal. Among Asians these factors reduced the gap slightly. Only among Latinos did the gap decline moderately.

### Within-group differences in intraracial harassment

We also analysed the effect of key independent variables on the odds of intraracial harassment separately by race, specifying three models. Model one mirrors in most ways the second model specified for the full sample. In model two, we replaced 'ever dated interracially' with 'specific groups dated interracially'. Model three adds to the first the gender*interracial dating interaction term. Results are displayed in Table 3.

*Asians.*    Among Asians, although being female, native-born, and household income had no effect on the odds of in-group harassment, Asian community composition did. With a one-unit increase in Asian community composition, the odds of intraracial harassment declined by 18 per cent; those from communities with greater Asian presence were less likely to report this type of harassment.

For Asian students, school racial composition and diversity of friendship networks had little effect on the odds of intraracial harassment. However, racial composition of organizational affiliations and interracial dating did. Asian students who were involved in majority-white, majority-black, majority-Latino, and majority-Asian organizations had greater odds of feeling intraracially harassed. Those who had dated interracially also had odds of feeling harassed that were two times greater than those who had not. But as model 2 reveals,

**Table 3.** Coefficients from ordinal regression of selected independent variables on ever experiencing intraracial harassment

| | Asians | | | Blacks | | | Latinos | | | Whites | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| Female | .080 | .041 | .103 | −.382** | −.337* | −.462** | .225 | .224 | .201 | −.438* | −.562** | −.064 |
| | (.155) | (.159) | (.185) | (.145) | (.148) | (.168) | (.173) | (.175) | (.208) | (.199) | (.207) | (.289) |
| US-born | −.028 | −.024 | −.055 | −.176 | −.217 | −.207 | −.418 + | −.409 + | −.452 + | −.185 | −.226 | −.065 |
| | (.170) | (.170) | (.169) | (.253) | (.252) | (.276) | (.229) | (.228) | (.240) | (.543) | (.549) | (.423) |
| *Household income* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| $75K (ref category) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| $0–$14,999 | −.069 | −.034 | .017 | −.392 | −.400 | −.446 | .069 | .062 | .122 | −.794 | 1.020 | −.821 |
| | (.446) | (.449) | (.427) | (.299) | (.300) | (.322) | (.472) | (.478) | (.473) | (1.107) | (1.125) | (.989) |
| $15,000–$24,999 | .393 | .373 | .405 | −.212 | −.227 | −.210 | .468 + | .457 | .459 | .067 | −.102 | .101 |
| | (.334) | (.338) | (.314) | (.258) | (.260) | (.283) | (.297) | (.297) | (.308) | (.820) | (.835) | (.573) |
| $25,000–$49,999 | −.069 | −.078 | −.167 | −.162 | −.163 | −.129 | .209 | .203 | .204 | −.233 | −.264 | −.253 |
| | (.223) | (.224) | (.220) | (.176) | (.177) | (.191) | (.220) | (.220) | (.226) | (.322) | (.324) | (.258) |
| $50,000–$74,999 | −.049 | −.084 | −.208 | −.011 | −.027 | .034 | −.130 | −.133 | −.120 | −.093 | −.075 | −.080 |
| | (.206) | (.208) | (.212) | (.187) | (.187) | (.202) | (.240) | (.240) | (.245) | (.266) | (.268) | (.201) |
| *Neighbourhood and high school diversity* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Black composition | | | | .031 | .035 | .038 | | | | | | |
| | | | | (.034) | (.034) | (.036) | | | | | | |
| Latino composition | | | | | | | .074 | .075 | .073 | | | |
| | | | | | | | (.046) | (.046) | (.047) | | | |

**Table 3** (*Continued*)

|  | Asians | | | Blacks | | | Latinos | | | Whites | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| Asian composition | −.198* | −.190* | −.181* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | (.085) | (.085) | (.087) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White composition |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | .010 | −.007 | .019 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (.075) | (.077) | (.058) |
| *College/university racial composition* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| % Black |  |  |  | −.006 | −.006 | −.007 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (.004) | (.004) | (.005) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| % Latino |  |  |  |  |  |  | −.013 | −.009 | −.012 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (.027) | (.027) | (.027) |  |  |  |
| % Asian | .010 | .010 | .007 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | (.009) | (.009) | (.009) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| % White |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | .011 | .010 | .010 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | (.008) | (.009) | (.007) |
| *Diversity of friendship network* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| All coethnics (ref category) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| No coethnics | .033 | .113 | −.089 | .739* | .691* | .807* | −.380 | −.339 | −.437 | 3.233* | 3.925** | 2.343* |
|  | (.432) | (.430) | (.410) | (.317) | (.320) | (.352) | (.762) | (.761) | (.776) | (1.388) | (1.409) | (1.035) |
| Few coethnics | .028 | .064 | −.158 | .168 | .126 | .196 | −.113 | .144 | .086 | 1.378* | 1.461* | 1.133* |
|  | (.397) | (.396) | (.362) | (.274) | (.274) | (.299) | (.750) | (.750) | (.764) | (.678) | (.684) | (.552) |
| Some coethnics | .559 | .590 | .410 | .879*** | .852*** | .970*** | .698 | .730 | .682 | .803* | .863** | .552* |
|  | (.370) | (.371) | (.333) | (.203) | (.203) | (.243) | (.738) | (.737) | (.754) | (.322) | (.323) | (.264) |
| Most coethnics | .392 | .418 | .283 | .406 + | .385 + | .391 | .448 | .578 | .427 | .323 | .328 | .208 |
|  | (.435) | (.436) | (.385) | (.220) | (.220) | (.241) | (.877) | (.879) | (.892) | (.313) | (.314) | (.238) |

**Table 3** (*Continued*)

| | Asians | | | Blacks | | | Latinos | | | Whites | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| *Racial composition of organizational affiliations* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Majority white org | .381* | .358* | .383* | .361* | .376** | .345* | .349 + | .331 + | .353 + | −.130 | −.144 | −.175 |
| | (.177) | (.179) | (.183) | (.142) | (.142) | (.158) | (.193) | (.194) | (.201) | (.276) | (.277) | (.212) |
| Majority black org | 1.227* | 1.181* | 1.088* | −.037 | −.038 | −.035 | 1.034** | .946** | 1.056** | −15.232 | −15.251 | −13.520 |
| | (.480) | (.484) | (.490) | (.149) | (.149) | (.161) | (.334) | (.334) | (.361) | (.000) | (.000) | (.000) |
| Majority Latino org | 2.853** | 3.106*** | 3.486** | .659 | .673 | .760 | .839*** | .849*** | .872*** | −.107 | −.012 | −.093 |
| | (.837) | (.853) | (1.099) | (.468) | (.468) | (.533) | (.208) | (.209) | (.231) | (.872) | (.891) | (.692) |
| Majority Asian org | .686*** | .700*** | .728*** | .571 + | .606* | .614 + | .743* | .735* | .726* | .508 | .488 | .353 |
| | (.170) | (.171) | (.188) | (.304) | (.305) | (.335) | (.350) | (.354) | (.367) | (.407) | (.408) | (.335) |
| *Dated interracially* | .746*** | | .446* | .335* | | .295 + | .336 + | | .277 | .337 | | −.223 |
| | (.170) | | (.211) | (.146) | | (.170) | (.192) | | (.245) | (.205) | | (.310) |
| *Interracially dated:* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Whites | | .657*** | | | .319 + | | | .401* | | | | |
| | | (.164) | | | (.165) | | | (.177) | | | | |
| Blacks | | .607* | | | | | | .287 | | | .775** | |
| | | (.261) | | | | | | (.213) | | | (.275) | |
| Latinos | | .159 | | | .266 | | | | | | −.133 | |
| | | (.274) | | | (.180) | | | | | | (.320) | |
| Asians | | | | | .037 | | | −.036 | | | −.349 | |
| | | | | | (.234) | | | (.225) | | | (.279) | |
| *Interaction effects: sex and interracial dating* | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Table 3** (*Continued*)

| | Asians | | | Blacks | | | Latinos | | | Whites | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| Male, dated interracially (ref) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female, has not dated interracially | | | −.186 | | | .061 | | | −.076 | | | −.397 |
| | | | (.198) | | | (.151) | | | (.206) | | | (.288) |
| Female, dated interracially | | | .300 + | | | .286 + | | | .081 | | | −.425 + |
| | | | (.164) | | | (.172) | | | (.159) | | | (.244) |
| Male, has not dated interracially | | | −.277 | | | −.043 | | | .021 | | | −.121 |
| | | | (.186) | | | (.180) | | | (.208) | | | (.219) |
| Intercept 1 | −4.400*** | −5.292*** | −5.103*** | −1.489* | −1.796** | −1.592* | −1.451 | −1.1589 | −1.499 | 17.323*** | 16.978*** | 15.516*** |
| | (1.078) | (1.142) | (1.381) | (.606) | (.633) | (.685) | (.952) | (.980) | (.997) | (1.218) | (1.256) | (.997) |
| Incercept 2 | −3.058** | −3.942** | −3.701** | −.088 | −.391 | −.067 | .149 | .021 | .143 | 19.130*** | 18.796*** | 16.979*** |
| | (1.071) | (1.134) | (1.308) | (.603) | (.629) | (.664) | (.951) | (.979) | (.974) | (1.231) | (1.268) | (1.079) |
| $\chi^2$ | 74.869 | 80.356 | 85.156 | 79.005 | 82.246 | 82.95 | 87.975 | 92.299 | 88.747 | 29.839 | 36.206 | 32.625 |
| −2 log likelihood | 1287.99 | 1318.881 | 1287.99 | 1645.932 | 1672.834 | 1645.932 | 1051.592 | 1085.011 | 1051.592 | 739.542 | 750.893 | 739.542 |
| Degrees of freedom | 17 | 19 | 20 | 17 | 19 | 20 | 17 | 19 | 20 | 17 | 19 | 20 |
| Nagelkerke Pseudo R-Square | .112 | .120 | .127 | .106 | .110 | .111 | .151 | .157 | .152 | .058 | .070 | .064 |
| Number of cases | 840 | 840 | 840 | 906 | 906 | 906 | 770 | 770 | 770 | 841 | 841 | 841 |

the effects of interracial dating were contingent on the group with which Asians matched up. Although dating Latinos appears to have had no effect on feeling harassed, Asian students who dated whites and blacks had 93 per cent and 83 per cent elevated odds of feeling harassed, respectively.

Drawing from model 3 we note that college women who dated interracially had odds of feeling intraracially harassed that were 35 per cent greater, an effect of marginal significance. The addition of this interaction term did not change the coefficients for important predictors in any significant way, with one small exception. The odds of feeling harassed among those who had dated interracially were reduced from 2.1 times (model 1) to 56 per cent (model 3). This indicates that the magnitude of the effect of interracial dating was driven, in good part, by the greater odds of feeling harassed reported by Asian women who dated interracially, a finding consistent with previous research.

*Blacks.* Among black students, gender, diversity of friendship network, racial composition of organizational affiliations, and interracial dating were all-important predictors of feeling intraracially harassed. Black women's odds of feeling harassed were reduced by 32 per cent compared to men's. Compared to students whose friendship networks were all black, those whose friendship networks had no blacks had odds of feeling harassed that were two times greater; those who had some black friends had odds of feeling harassed that were 2.4 times greater; and those for whom most friends were black had 50 per cent greater odds of feeling harassed, although this last effect was of marginal significance.

Involvement in majority-white and Asian organizations also increased the odds of feeling harassed by 43 per cent and 77 per cent respectively. Involvement in majority-black and majority-Latino organizations, however, had no significant effect on the odds of feeling harassed.

Finally, black students who had dated interracially had significantly increased odds of feeling harassed – by 40 per cent. As revealed with model 2, although interracial dating with Latinos and Asians did not affect the odds of harassment, dating whites did, by 38 per cent. This finding, however, was of marginal significance. Similar to the effect found for Asians, black women who dated interracially had significantly greater odds (33 per cent) of feeling harassed than their male counterparts.

*Latinos.* Among Latinos, foreign-born status, racial composition of organizational affiliations, and interracial dating were all predictive of in-group harassment. In model 1, US-born Latino students had odds of feeling harassed that were 34 per cent lower than the foreign-born.

Latino students who were involved in majority-white, majority-black, majority-Latino, and majority-Asian organizations had significantly greater odds of feeling harassed than those who were not involved in these types of organizations.

Interracial daters also had odds of feeling harassed that were 40 per cent greater than those who had not, an effect of marginal significance. When we examined the effect of having dated different ethnoracial groups, analysis revealed that while dating blacks and Asians had no significant effect on the odds of feeling harassed, dating whites increased Latinos' odds by 49 per cent.

Among Asian and black students, the gender*interracial dating interaction term was of marginal significance and indicated that Asian and black women who dated interracially were more likely to feel intraracially harassed than their male counterparts. Among Latino students, this was not the case. The inclusion of the interaction term brought to insignificance the negative effect of interracial dating, and the interaction terms were also insignificant, indicating that men and women did not differ significantly in how they were treated when engaged in these types of relationships.[4]

*Whites.*   Among whites, the odds of feeling intraracially harassed were affected by being female, the diversity of friendship networks, and interracial dating. Specifically, being female was associated with 35 per cent reduced odds of feeling harassed. Having a diverse friendship network, however, dramatically increased these odds. Compared to white students with all white friends, those with no white friends had odds of feeling harassed that were 25 times greater; those with few white friends had odds of feeling harassed that were almost 4 times greater; and those who had some white friends had odds that were 2.2 times greater. These effects were all statistically significant. White students whose friendship networks were mostly white did not have greater odds of feeling harassed than those whose friends were all white.

As specified in model two, interracial dating had no effect on whites' odds of feeling intraracially harassed. When we considered instead the effect of dating different ethnoracial groups, however, our conclusions changed. Whites who dated Asians and Latinos actually had insignificantly reduced odds of feeling harassed. Whites who dated blacks, however, had odds of feeling harassed that were 2.2 times greater.

Finally, our analysis revealed that college women who dated interracially were less likely than their male counterparts to feel intraracially harassed, though only marginally so. The inclusion of this interaction term brought to insignificance the effect of being female, which suggests that white women's reduced odds of feeling harassed were associated with their reduced odds of feeling harassed

while in interracial relationships. The inclusion of this interaction term also affected the odds of feeling harassed among those with no white friends (compared to those with all white friends). In model 1, their odds of feeling intraracially harassed were twenty-five times greater, but with the inclusion of the interaction term, these greater odds declined to ten times. This decline in greater odds suggests that those who date interracially are often embedded in non-white friendship networks. Reductions in increased odds were observed as well for those with few to some co-ethnics, but these reductions were far less extreme.

## Discussion and conclusion

Recent reports indicate that black college students are more likely than their Latino and Asian counterparts to feel harassed by same-race contacts for associating with out-group members, and Latino and Asian students are more likely than their white counterparts to do the same. The purpose of this study is to explain both between- and within-group differences, using the NLSF, and to propose a baseline theoretical model of intraracial harassment.

Our model highlights the nature of students' associations with out-group members as an important trigger for this form of border patrolling and perceptions of it. Among Asian and Latino students, for instance, participation in any racially-homogeneous student organization, including same-race organizations, increased odds of experiencing intraracial harassment. This pattern makes sense. While involvement in racially homogeneous out-group organizations would lead to perceptions of intraracial harassment to the extent that such involvement would be perceived as threatening to the solidarity of the in-group, within a predominantly white, larger campus community, we speculate that involvement in racially-homogeneous in-group organizations could also provide opportunities for in-group members to both remind those who have yet to break group norms about the importance of remaining true to established ethnoracial boundaries and to penalize those who have already crossed ethnoracial boundaries – i.e., to intensify perceptions of harassment. In general, then, we contend that involvement in any racially-homogeneous context provides opportunities to reproduce notions of race and re-inscribe and strengthen ethnoracial boundaries through intraracial harassment. Why these effects were only significant for Asian and Latino students, however, deserves further attention in future research.

Among black and white students, diversity of friendship networks mattered as well and in a linear, inverse fashion. For both groups, the higher the representation of co-ethnics in their friendship networks, the lower the odds of experiencing intraracial harassment. Among whites, few tend to be embedded in friendship networks that are

predominantly other. This is in part because in the US whites are in the majority. We speculate, too, however, that in the relatively rare instances when whites are not embedded in predominantly or all-white friendship networks, they experience sanctions, through intraracial harassment, for doing so, putting further pressure on them to remain in predominantly or all-white relations despite opportunities to develop more diverse networks.

For black, white, Asian, and Latino students, interracial dating also increased the odds of experiencing intraracial harassment. It was not a rejection of border crossing with the general 'other' however. Instead, whether or not students felt harassed was contingent on the ethno-racial background of the out-group member in question. For each group, the positive effect of out-group dating was typically driven by dating one out-group in particular. For blacks and Latinos, only interracial dating with whites mattered. For whites, only interracial dating with blacks mattered. For Asians, interracial dating with both whites and blacks increased odds of experiencing intraracial harassment.

Furthermore, even within a context where Asian and Latino students are overwhelmingly open to interracial dating (recall that a miniscule percentage from both groups agreed with the sentiment that individuals should mainly date in-group members), doing so, especially with whites, dramatically increased odds of being sanctioned. This inconsistency suggests that either just a few students are border patrolling – sanctioning those students who date interracially – and increasing the odds of experiencing intraracial harassment, or that Asian and Latino students are more ambivalent about interracial dating than they are willing to reveal in standardized, close-ended surveys.

And finally, the patterns of border patrolling found here provide clues as to its function. We speculate that Asian students' greater odds of experiencing intraracial harassment for dating whites and blacks suggests that among them border patrolling is motivated by a desire to both preserve a positive collective identity and strong sense of community in the face of continued discrimination while also preserving privileges associated with not being black. For Latinos, border patrolling was little in evidence, and when it was, it seemed motivated primarily by a desire to both preserve a positive collective identity and strong sense of community, since the harassment reported appeared specifically in relation to whites. Among blacks, border patrolling was everywhere in evidence – involvement in racially homogeneous campus organizations, interracial friendships, and inter-racial dating – but in most cases, experiences of intraracial harassment was correlated with associations with whites. Thus, as with Latinos, we speculate that blacks' border patrolling is motivated primarily by a

desire to both preserve a positive collective identity and strong sense of community in the face of continued anti-black sentiment.

With regard to contextual factors, we found limited support for the contention that colleges' and universities' racial composition would affect experiences of intraracial harassment, although this factor has been found to significantly affect rates of cross-race friendships and other associations (Hallinan 1985; Hallinan 1989; Joyner and Kao 2000). It could be that there is not enough variation in the ethnoracial composition of selective colleges and universities to find a strong racial effect. Nor can we discount the possibility that other contextual factors, that the NLSF do not allow us to measure, matter. It might also be the case that while context provides opportunities for cross-racial associations to happen, context does not have a direct effect on feelings of being harassed. Instead, it might be that the behaviours that emerge in specific contexts matter and have a direct effect on feelings of intraracial harassment. Future research should help to clarify the significance of context in shaping not only opportunities for cross-race associations but for experiences of intraracial harassment that tend to follow.

Finally, while our model explains reasonably well why some individuals within groups feel harassed and others do not, it explains poorly differences in rates of intraracial harassment between groups. Ethnoracial differences in intraracial harassment, or perceptions thereof, might be explained away by exploring ethnoracial differences in what gets constituted as intraracial harassment. Future research, qualitative in nature, would best address this important question.

## Notes

1. White students were not asked about their level of support for self-segregating behaviours. NLSF principal investigators appear to take for granted that whites would not support self-segregating behaviours because of their predominance on selective campuses, despite studies elsewhere that would suggest otherwise (Charles 2001; Emerson, Yancey and Chai 2001; Clark-Ibanez and Felmlee 2004).

2. For more information about the sample and sampling frame, or for general information about the NLSF, please visit: http://nlsf.princeton.edu.

3. There is reason to speculate that perceptions of intraracial harassment are greater among black and Latino students who come from overwhelmingly white and predominantly black and/or Latino neighbourhoods (Smith and Moore 2000). This effect would be difficult to capture with a linear treatment of our composition variables. To check for this, for each set of analyses conducted separately by race, we include categorical treatments of our continuous composition variables – predominantly white; racially mixed, but majority white; racially mixed, but majority non-white; and predominantly black or Latino. For the most part, categorical treatments of our composition variables did little to affect the outcomes we report here. Where this is not the case (among Latinos), we elaborate in detail.

4. With a categorical (vs. continuous) inclusion of the neighbourhood and high school composition variable, we find that Latino students who came from high schools and neighbourhoods that were predominantly Latino (*barrio* communities) were more likely to experience intraracial harassment than their counterparts who came from predominantly

white and racially-mixed high schools and neighbourhoods. This was significantly so relative to students from predominantly white and racially-integrated, but majority-Latino communities. The inclusion of this categorical variable (as opposed to its continuous counterpart), however, did little to alter the results we report. We will make this analysis available upon request.

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