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White Flight in Public Higher Ed? Racial Avoidance of Hispanic-Serving Institutions

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Abstract:	<p>White families have been shown to avoid K-12 schools attended by racially marginalized populations, contributing to persistent racial segregation in a post-Brown v. Board of Education era. To date, however, there has not been a systematic assessment of white flight in higher education. We utilize nearly 30 years of longitudinal annual college-level surveys of the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) to test for statistically significant changes in white first-year enrollment after Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI) designation at four-year public universities in the United States. We rely on difference-in-difference methods that adjust for bias in two-way fixed effects panel models, including synthetic control difference-in-difference (SDID). Even when accounting for population change in the states and counties where HSIs are located, we find that white student enrollments are on average 10 percent lower than at control institutions five years after a public university obtains the HSI designation. Supplemental analyses of California and Texas public four-year applications and admission rate data point to individual and familial level preferences, rather than organizational processes or seat constraints, as drivers of reduced white enrollment after the move to HSI status.</p>

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White Flight in Public Higher Ed? Racial Avoidance of Hispanic-Serving Institutions

White families have been shown to avoid K-12 schools attended by racially marginalized populations. This “white flight” contributes to persistent racial segregation in a post-*Brown v. Board of Education* era (e.g., see Clotfelter 2004; Fairlie and Resch 2002; Hall and Hibel 2017; Ledwith and Clark 2007; Owens 2017; Renzulli and Evans 2005; Zhang 2011). To date, however, there has not been a systematic assessment of similar racial avoidance behaviors in higher education using large-scale quantitative data.

The changing demographics of college-attending individuals in the U.S. offer a unique opportunity to observe how white flight may have unfolded in the postsecondary sector over the last several decades. White families’ choices to opt out of universities marked as Hispanic-Serving could play a role in concentrating Latine college students in racially homogenous clusters. Indeed, this period is characterized by an explosion in Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs), which are primarily defined by a student body that is at least 25 percent Latine. The number of two-year and four-year HSIs has nearly tripled over the last three decades, reflecting both substantial growth and concentration in the Latine college-going population (Excelencia in Education 2020, 2021). Today, Latine students remain clustered in HSIs (Garcia 2019). These schools comprise around 18 percent of the postsecondary sector but educate over two-thirds of all Latine students (Excelencia in Education 2021).

The development of HSIs suggests an uneven incorporation of Latine students into colleges and universities, consistent with assessments of U.S. postsecondary education as racially segregated (Carnevale and Strohl 2013a, 2013b; also see Baker, Klasik, and Reardon 2018). Why do Latine students become concentrated in certain universities, not others? Implicit is the assumption that, once a school obtains the HSI status, Latine students find it more appealing than

other options. Race and education scholars also note that racial bias built into contemporary measures of “merit” may sort students of different races into universities with different levels of prestige (Cottom 2017; Garcia 2019; Hamilton and Nielsen 2021; Wooten 2015). Scholars have not yet, however, assessed quantitatively whether white students and families avoid HSIs and thus contribute to racial segregation.

In this article, we use enrollment data for public 4-year undergraduate enrolling institutions from 1990 to 2019 to determine if white racial avoidance occurred at four-year public universities¹ after they became demarcated as HSIs. We argue that when a school becomes a HSI, public recognition of this status, and the fact that the campus has become a quarter Latine, highlight the substantial presence of Latine students on campus. White families may respond by opting to attend a different university.² We also utilize student application and admission data for California and Texas four-year public universities to illustrate that the national patterns of white flight that we observe are likely driven by student and family preferences, rather than organizational processes or seat constraints. We also use control measures to rule out the possibility that white flight flows only from county and state level demographic shifts. Overall, our findings suggest that white racial status biases and motivations at play in K-12 segregation also extend to US higher education.

Latine Students and HSI Growth

Most colleges and universities in the U.S. were founded to serve affluent white students (see Hamilton et al. 2024 for a historical review). In the mid to late 1800’s, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (or HBCUs) were formed as a direct response to the exclusion of

¹ We use the terms college, university, and school interchangeably.

² Latine is a gender-neutral term referring to a pan-ethnic category encompassing multiple racial groups; however, Latine students in the U.S. are often racialized in ways that disadvantage them. In this article we focus on the ways that white students engage in racial avoidance of Latine students.

Black students from historically white colleges and universities (Du Bois 1935a; Allen and Jewell 2002; Wooten 2015). Yet, most universities remained predominately white. Significant gains in racially marginalized student attendance at predominantly white institutions (PWIs) were not made until the Civil Rights Movement and the development of affirmative action policies—policies that would later be challenged.³

Today’s postsecondary sector is far more racially diverse. Particularly notable is a sharp increase in Latine students. Between 1995 and 2019, representation of Latine students among undergraduates doubled from 10.3 percent to 21.7 percent (Espinosa et al. 2019; Postsecondary National Policy Institute 2020). Latine students are now the second largest racial group enrolled at the undergraduate level (Postsecondary National Policy Institute 2020). The trend is likely to continue, as college enrollment rates for recent Latine high school graduates are expected to surpass those of white students (Espinosa et al. 2019). While Latine students continue to be overrepresented in community colleges and underrepresented in four-year degree granting universities, four-year universities have seen sharp increases in Latine students over the past decade (Bauman 2017).

The groundswell of racially marginalized student attendance, however, has not remedied the racial exclusivity of most four-year PWIs. Instead, higher education is racially segregated (Carnevale and Strohl 2013b; Clotfelter 2017). We can see the clustering of Latine students most clearly in Hispanic-Serving Institutions, at both two-year and four-year levels. HSIs were formally recognized in 1992 and slated to receive some targeted federal appropriations. Over the last quarter century, these schools have absorbed increases in Latine enrollment. In 2018-2019,

³ We use the term racially marginalized to refer to historically underrepresented students: Black, Latine, Native American and Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander, and some Southeast Asian groups are included. We elect to capitalize Black and Latine to emphasize the political agency, collective identity, and solidarity of these groups in a racist society.

HSIs enrolled over 2.1 million Latine undergraduates, an increase of about 1.6 million students (or 329 percent) since 1994-1995.

With few exceptions, most of the four-year universities that would become HSIs started as PWIs. These schools then underwent a gradual process of conversion in the student body (Garcia 2019; Hamilton and Nielsen 2021). Conversion from PWI to HSI, which unfolds over time, becomes public knowledge once the HSI distinction is announced by the school and/or the school is included in published lists of Hispanic-Serving Institutions.

According to the Department of Education, the primary criterion for a Hispanic-Serving Institution is an undergraduate full-time equivalent student body that is least 25 percent Latine. Public lists of HSIs are also based on the 25 percent threshold and are published by advocacy organizations, such as Excelencia in Education and the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (or HACU).⁴ Eligibility to apply for Title V funds based on HSI status additionally requires that not less than 50 percent of students are eligible for need-based Title IV aid. The racialization of wealth and income in the U.S. generally ensures that sizable Latine populations are linked to financial need in the student body (Oliver and Shapiro 2006; Solomon and Weller 2018); however, there is a waiver process for schools that do not meet financial guidelines for Title V eligibility. Notably, HSI status does not require that universities have a stated mission to serve Latine students (Vargas and Palomino 2019).

Figure 1 documents change in the percentage of Latine and white students at public and private four-year universities between 1990 and 2019. As is immediately visible, the percentage of students who are white (the grey lines) has declined substantially over time, while the

⁴ HACU, however, is an outlier in that it uses total enrollment (including graduate and undergraduate, as well as full-time and part-time) in determining which schools have earned the HSI distinction.

percentage of students who are Latine (the black lines) has increased. However, the patterns in public and private sectors are distinct.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

Relative to private schools, public universities have more rapidly ramped up Latine enrollment. They are also larger, on average, so the percentages of Latine students translate to higher numbers overall. Yet, this growth has been accompanied by increased segregation across nearly three decades. For instance, in 1990, the mean percent of Latine students at a public school attended by the average white student was only 3.4, as compared to 18.9 percent at a public school attended by the average Latine student. This is a gap of 15.5 percentage points. By 2019, this gap had increased by 6.1 percentage points, to 21.6. Similarly, the gap between the mean percent of white students at a public school attended by the average white student and at a school attended by the average Latine student increased by 1.9 percentage points. By contrast, in the private sector, significant gaps remain, but they are smaller now than in 1990.

These data suggest that new populations of Latine students have been absorbed by a subset of public four-year universities, rather than being more evenly distributed. There is persistent and increasing white-Latine segregation over time in the four-year public sector. In what follows we highlight one potential driver of the racial separation between Latine and white students in public higher education.

Postsecondary White Flight

In *Broke: The Racial Consequences of Underfunding Public Universities*, Hamilton and Nielsen (2021) suggest that white flight is occurring in higher education. After a public university profiled in their study achieved Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI) status, the number of enrolled white students began to drop, even during a period of substantial growth. In less than a decade,

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3 the university moved from 25 percent white to 11 percent white. The shift began with the first
4 class of students to be recruited under the HSI distinction. Hamilton and Nielsen conclude that
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6 whites decided not to attend when the school's sizeable Latine population became visible. As the
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8 book quotes of a beleaguered university enrollment manager: "It's just not that many white
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10 folks.... Those folks want to be with people who resemble them. They want to get away."
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15 The notion that white students and parents avoid universities with increasing Latine
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17 representation is consistent with a substantial body of research on K-12 schools. As Massey and
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19 Denton (1993) argue, white people are often concerned about racial mixing because they
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21 perceive marginalized racial groups as a threat to social status. White families draw on racialized
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23 beliefs about intelligence, success, and safety to read the presence of non-white students as a
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25 marker of undesirable primary and secondary schools (Hailey 2022; Ledwith and Clark 2007;
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27 Olzak, Shanahan, and West 1994; Renzulli and Evans 2005).
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31 White families not only avoid Black K-12 schools, but also Latine K-12 schools. For
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33 instance, Hailey (2022) shows that white families preferred white high schools over Latine high
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35 schools, independent of other characteristics. Van Hook and Snyder (2007) use California
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37 Department of Education data to show that K-12 white enrollment declined as the number of
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39 Latine and Spanish speaking Limited English Proficient students grew. Hall and Hibel (2017)
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41 demonstrate that white people, especially those of "parent-age" or with school-aged children,
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43 avoid moving to areas with growing Latine populations. K-12 scholarship often uses the term
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45 "white flight" to refer to white families moving out of schools populated by non-white students
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47 or white families avoiding enrollment in increasingly non-white districts (Ledwith and Clark
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49 2007; Renzulli and Evans 2005; Van Hook and Snyder 2007).
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High levels of college enrollment, accompanied by persistent racial segregation, suggest the value of extending insights about white flight from K-12 research to the postsecondary sector. In higher education, “flight” refers primarily to racial avoidance behaviors of potential students and their families. Postsecondary white flight most closely parallels K-12 white flight into charter schools, private schools, or in areas with “school choice” or “open enrollment” systems, where attendance is elected versus assigned and not strictly tied to neighborhood residence; white families often actively maneuver to avoid school districts characterized by large racially marginalized populations (Fairlie and Resch 2002; Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity 2013; Li 2009; Renzulli and Evans 2005; Wilson 2019; Zhang 2009). The degree of choice for some students, however, is far greater at the postsecondary level. In general, the ability to “choose” schools is associated with substantial racial segregation (Hailey 2022; Saporito and Lareau 1999).

Like K-12 schools, universities are not race neutral (Ray 2019). Most four-year universities are implicitly coded by the public and experienced by those in organizations as white spaces, given the history of racial exclusion in higher education (Ahmed 2012; Bonilla-Silva and Peoples 2022; Byrd 2017; Hamilton et al. 2024; Lee and LaDousa 2015). For these organizations, “whiteness is a credential” in that it produces external status, provides access to resources, and legitimizes existing stratification systems that benefit PWIs. This credential both “helps organizations appear racially neutral in principle” while also “institutionalizing... interest in Whiteness” (Ray 2019:41).

Whiteness acts as an organizational “credential” in the U.S. because a racial hierarchy situates white people at on the top and Black people at the bottom (Bonilla-Silva 2013). Asian people are often considered to be closer to the top of the racial order, and Latine people closer to

the bottom; however, there is considerable heterogeneity in both groups, often around phenotype and ancestry (Bonilla-Silva 2013; Song 2004). The racialized classifications attached to students are transposed onto universities: Schools serving larger shares of white students are coded as “good” or “high quality” and those serving racially marginalized students are coded as lower status and lower quality (Garcia 2019; Hamilton and Nielsen 2021; Wooten 2015).

The Hispanic-Serving distinction publicly marks a university as enrolling a racially marginalized population (Garcia 2019). Because whiteness is the assumed “neutral” status for a school, the public credential of whiteness, dependent on the systematic exclusion of students of color, is lost when HSI status is obtained. The loss of whiteness as a credential may not change experiences of “unbearable whiteness” that people of color encounter in universities that were once historically white (Bonilla-Silva and Peoples 2022:1490). Staff, faculty, and administrators may remain predominately white, and practices and policies may still be modeled after PWIs (Ahmed 2012; Lerma, Hamilton, and Nielsen 2019; Vargas and Palomino 2018). Yet, with the HSI distinction, external actors like potential students, parents, donors, and state legislators may no longer view the school as implicitly white.

Although HSI status is typically visible in the university web infrastructure, most Hispanic-Serving Institutions do not mention HSI status in public mission statements (Andrade and Lundberg 2018; Contreras, Malcom, and Bensimon 2008). How do white parents and students find out that a school is Hispanic-Serving? Research suggests that unofficial media on universities, which is now currently in the form of online social media, plays a more central role in college choice (Dobele and Robinson 2018; Turner 2017). Parents and students encounter information on campus racial composition (potentially in highly racialized terms) on forums like Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, TikTok, Twitter (now X), and Quora, a social media Q&A site

(Dobele and Robinson 2018; Turner 2017). “Find my college match” websites often include filters for Minority-Serving Institutions, and white families may intentionally filter out HSIs. Google searches of the university name may also turn up media coverage of HSI status. Information is also shared and filtered through peer and parent networks.

If students and parents make it far enough to a campus visit, they could learn of a campus’ Hispanic-Serving status on a tour. However, visiting white families may not need to be informed of HSI status to register the substantial presence of Latine students. The 25 percent mark could trigger awareness. As research on the racial composition of suburban tracts from 1980 to 2009 suggests, a non-white share greater than 23 percent was a tipping point for resegregation (Orfield and Luce 2012). Neighborhoods that hit this threshold were more likely to become resegregated over time than to remain racially integrated.

A marginalized group may be perceived as a status threat by whites when it reaches a quarter of the population. For instance, Kane’s (2003:289) analysis of the minority-group-threat hypothesis suggests a non-linear process whereby “Latino populations did not become threatening until they represented approximately a quarter of the precinct-level populations” (also see Kent and Jacobs 2005). Although we cannot observe how families become aware of a university’s HSI status, both an explicit mention and observing a 25 percent Latine student body could trigger white flight.

Research has indicated that racial stereotypes and racist attitudes exacerbate white racial avoidance behaviors (Billingham and Hunt 2016; Krysan et al. 2009). However, white flight does not require direct racial animus. That is, white students and their families do not necessarily seek PWIs with small racially marginalized populations because of explicitly racist attitudes. Indeed, as Warikoo’s (2016) research suggests, white students typically express at least a

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3 shallow commitment to diversity and value having some non-white students on campus. We
4 suggest instead that white students and families use a racialized framework to make sense of a
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6 Hispanic-Serving university's quality. Their views of the school are racially refracted, leading
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8 them to view the school less favorably.
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12 As Hailey's (2022) work proposes, racialized perceptions of K-12 school quality exist
13 independent of other characteristics that families use as selection criteria. In the case of
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15 postsecondary education, the rankings of universities are persistent and tend not to dramatically
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17 fluctuate over short periods of time. The vast majority of HSI's are relatively less selective, both
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19 before and after HSI status. For instance, Sonoma State University in Sonoma County California
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21 became an HSI in 2017. In 2014, the school was ranked by the *U.S. News and World Report* as
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23 42nd among regional universities in the West. In 2019, the school's ranking was 37th, in the same
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25 category. We suggest that schools newly designated as Hispanic-Serving Institutions, while not
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27 dramatically changing rank, may nonetheless be viewed as less desirable by white families.
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33 For families with resources to travel, numerous choices at any university ranking level
34 mean that small differences between campuses are used to draw distinctions. These distinctions
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36 can reflect racialized perceptions of school desirability rooted in age and generational priorities
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38 (Hailey 2022). For instance, students may be looking for "people like me" who share similar
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40 interests and backgrounds, with whom to socialize (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013). Selection
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42 based on shared characteristics may be greatest among students who have resources and abilities
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44 to "choose" among a wide variety of schools—even far from home; notably, Latine students are
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46 often more geographically bound than white students (Desmond and López Turley 2009).
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49 Affluent white parents may be considering factors such as dating and marriage pools, with
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51 interest in social reproduction (Hamilton and Armstrong 2021; Hamilton 2016). School safety,
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campus organizations, and the availability of resources may also matter for parents, and research suggests that perceptions of these features are filtered through a racialized lens (Billingham and Hunt 2016; Hailey 2022).

Research Hypotheses

National data on 4-year public university enrollments allow us to track white student enrollment patterns at public HSI “switchers” between 1990 and 2019. We define “switchers” as schools that cross the 25 percent Latine threshold during the time frame observed. We focus on the impact of the transition event on first-year enrollment for white students. Our choice to examine first-year students is both empirically and theoretically motivated; if avoidance behavior occurs, first-year student enrollments will be more responsive than total enrollments. First-year enrollments are also not confounded by factors such as transfer pathways from community colleges and delays in completion.

We focus our analyses on public four-year schools, as dynamics in the public and private sectors are distinct. With reductions in state support and state regulations on tuition rates, one of the few options available to public schools is to increase tuition dollars via enrollment growth. In many states, college-eligible Latine students comprise an ever-greater share of likely admits (Hamilton and Nielsen 2021). In contrast, private schools tend to be much smaller on average and have not dramatically expanded their size. It may be easier for these schools to carefully “craft” features of incoming classes, as private schools are typically not subject to state regulations or the same level of constraints (Stevens 2007).

Consistent with K-12 research on white flight (Clotfelter 2004; Hall and Hibel 2017; Renzulli and Evans 2005), we predict white first-year enrollment will decline at public universities after the transition to Hispanic-Serving. Our proposed mechanism for this hypothesis

centers on the preferences and behavior of white students and families, rather than on organizational processes. Indeed, prior research suggests that university leadership will work to preserve white enrollment, as white students are more likely to come from advantaged households that help universities to achieve completion, placement, and prestige goals (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Hamilton and Nielsen 2021; Stevens 2007). Leaders may seek to demonstrate some commitment to racial diversity but avoid fundamentally reshaping student body racial composition (Ahmed 2012; Berrey 2015).

Empirically, we more directly assess mechanisms that might drive down white enrollments after HSI transition with application and admission rate data from California and Texas public four-year universities. The application stage is the furthest removed from organizational selection processes and is driven in large part by student and parent perceptions of which schools are desirable to attend. We predict that white applications, but not admission offers, will decline after the transition to HSI. Evidence of white flight in applications, but not admission offers extended to students, points to individual and familial processes as central to declines in white enrollment.

Methods

Our primary analyses rely on student public university enrollment data from longitudinal annual college-level surveys of the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). We include the 397 four-year public universities reporting first-year, full-time enrollments by race and the conferral of four-year bachelor's degrees that were eligible to enroll students with Title IV federal financial aid between 1990 and 2019. We include only schools that enrolled students continuously from 1990 to 2019 as panel balance is necessary to minimize potential estimation bias stemming from parallel trend violations and heterogeneous treatment effects across

staggered treatment timing (Abadie 2005, Callaway and Sant’anna 2020). We use a combination of difference-in-difference methods that adjust for bias in two-way fixed effects panel models, including the recently developed synthetic control difference-in-difference (SDID). As one of the first empirical applications of SDID in sociology, our analyses offer a guide for addressing problems with two-way fixed effects estimation with panel data.

We also include supplementary analyses of application and admissions data for 42 California and Texas public four-year schools, from 2000 to 2019. These data were obtained from dashboards of the California State University system and the University of California system—the two public four-year systems in CA—and the University of Texas system dashboard. National data on applications and admissions by race are not available.

The 20 to 30-year time period on which our supplemental and primary analyses focus maps onto the historical trajectory of Hispanic-Serving Institution development in the U.S. Although the term was coined in 1986, HSIs were only formally recognized by the federal government in 1992 under the Higher Education Act, and in 1995 the first federal appropriations earmarked specifically for HSIs were distributed (Excelencia in Education 2014).⁵ Growth of HSIs occurs primarily after 2000.

HSI Switchers

Following typical conventions for identifying Hispanic-Serving Institutions (Excelencia in Education 2021; Garcia 2019), HSI “switchers” (named for the “switch” to Hispanic-Serving) are schools where the percentage of full-time undergraduate students who identify as Latine crosses the 25 percent threshold between 1990-2019. This approach allows for replicability and speaks to the potential for a “tipping point” that activates white flight. The first year in which a

⁵ Although IPEDS enrollment data are available for a few years before 1990, the meaning of a “transition” to HSI status in the years before 1990 is unclear. IPEDS enrollment data before 1990 are also more prone to error.

school meets this threshold is the transition year in which the school becomes an HSI.⁶ We cross-checked our list of Hispanic-Serving Institutions with those identified by Excelencia in Education, a non-profit agency focused on Latine postsecondary success. The universities we identify as “switchers” between 1990 and 2019 are referenced in Table A1 of the Appendix.⁷

Thirteen public universities that already had HSI status in 1990 are not coded as switchers because the transition occurred earlier (see Table A1). Many of these schools could have claimed Hispanic-Serving Institution status as early as 1986, when the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU) was created; however, in this early period it is unclear whether these schools attempted to do so, or if this label was intelligible to the public.

Figure 2 displays numbers of public schools that switch to HSI status each year from 1990 to 2019. The figure shows that 80 public universities changed to HSI status. Our analysis tests the effect of changes to HSI status at 65 of these universities for which balanced panel data is available for our full time series from 1990 to 2019. This is necessary for us to employ panel methods that adjust for parallel trend violations and heterogenous effects across staggered treatment timing (Arkhangelsky et al. 2021, Callaway and Sant’anna 2020; Clarke et al. 2023). Also visible in Figure 2 is acceleration in the number of transitions after 2010.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

Enrollment Data

⁶ In a handful of cases, universities cross the 25 percent threshold, but then drop below it. We ran several robustness checks—for example, only granting “switcher” status to schools that consistently remained over the 25 percent mark. Results remain robust and consistent with those presented in the paper.

⁷ Institutions can be publicly identified as Hispanic-Serving regardless of whether the school applies for and receives designation by the U.S. Department of Education (or DOE). Choosing not to apply for HSI status from the DOE is unusual, as it means forgoing access to Title V funds for Minority-Serving Institutions. The DOE only recently (during the Biden administration) made their lists of HSI designated institutions available; however, these data only go back a few years and do not allow for an analysis of when schools “switched.”

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Our primary analyses rely on national institutional-level annual first-year, full-time enrollment data for white students. First-year enrollment counts, per IPEDS reporting procedures, do not include transfer students who were previously enrolled at another institution. Annual enrollment data are reported as numerical counts by institutions. We then take the log of white enrollment data to address outliers.

Because our analyses are longitudinal, consistency in how the “white” racial category is determined is important. Prior to 2008, IPEDS provided seven “race/ethnicity” categories, but in 2008 and 2009 IPEDS began transitioning to nine new categories. Schools could either report with the old categories or the new. Starting in 2010, schools had to use the new categories for reporting purposes. The “white” category remained consistently measured, with “white” student enrollments captured by the “White non-Hispanic” category prior 2008 and the “White” category afterwards (with distinct Hispanic/Hispanic or Latino categories for both periods). We do not observe any distinct shifts in white enrollment around the category change.

Additional Controls

The racial composition of a given university is related to the local and state racial composition, as most public universities pull from nearby areas. Consequently, we use the log of county and state counts for each of the following 18-24 populations: white, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian, drawing on annual race population estimates produced by the U.S. Census Bureau in collaboration with the National Center for Health Statistics. We also use university admission rates as a measure of university selectivity. HSIs tend to be moderately prestigious or less prestigious organizations, and many are open enrollment—accepting all students who meet basic requirements (Garcia 2019). Although university prestige is fairly stable, this measure helps account for any change in prestige that might be related to the transition to Hispanic-

Serving. Admission rate data are only available from 2001-2019, limiting the number of switchers during the period for which we can use this control.

Features of Switchers and Non-Switchers

Table 1 includes demographic information for the 397 four-year public universities with complete panels from 1990 to 2019 and highlights the contrast between switchers (schools that transition to HSI between 1990 and 2019) and non-switchers (schools that do not transition HSI in this time period). Switchers are concentrated in the West, Southwest, and Mid-Atlantic states. Tracking the demographic composition of those regions, the average Latine and white college age populations over the 29-year study period tend to be roughly equivalent in the states where HSI switchers are located. Latine college age populations tend to be larger than white populations in the counties where HSI switchers are located, reflecting the fact that four-year institutions enroll students primarily from their surrounding regions. Switchers enroll more students overall than non-switchers.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

Analytical Plan for Enrollment Data

We estimate two sets of longitudinal models to test our hypotheses: 1) naïve panel difference-in-difference models, and 2) synthetic control difference-in-difference (SDID) models. We present the naïve model estimates both as event study plots and as an average treatment effect on the treated (ATET) coefficient. These naïve models are estimated using an OLS panel difference-in-difference estimator without any re-weighting. We then present ATET coefficients from models that use SDID re-weighting procedures to adjust for potential parallel trend violations and heterogenous treatment effects across treatment cohorts (Arkhangelsky et al. 2021; Clarke et al.

2023). This allows us to evaluate the extent to which estimates vary with and without SDID weighting.

Our principal objective for the event study plots is to visually demonstrate when enrollment changes occur among schools that switch from non-HSI to HSI status—and whether enrollment change involves an abrupt shift or change in trend. Commonly used in economics, difference-in-difference event studies allow for model specification with more than two time periods around treatment and variation in treatment timing (Callaway and Sant’Anna 2021). We restrict the event study plots to a 20-year period before and after HSI status as few schools have observations outside this window.

We employ SDID as a robust estimation procedure that is particularly well suited to panel data with staggered treatments and small numbers of treated units entering treatment within some time periods. We use the SDID Stata package which automates these procedures (Clarke et al. 2023). With SDID, we estimate school weights that “align pre-exposure trends” in white enrollments at schools that never become HSIs with those at schools that do become HSIs. These weights reduce our reliance on a parallel trend assumption (Arkhangelsky et al. 2021:4089). SDID also estimates time weights for control schools so that their average white enrollment differs by a constant between the pre-and post HSI periods of the matched schools that became HSIs. Time weights then reduce bias from the observations in time periods that are dis-similar from post-HSI periods. School and time weights are also adjusted to balance our control covariates across treated and control schools and treatment timing (Arkhangelsky et al. 2021:4090). SDID then estimates the average treatment effect with a two-way fixed effects regression that includes a synthetic control based on school and time weights. The synthetic control allows for the inclusion of school and time fixed effects with less risk of bias from non-

parallel trends, treatment effect heterogeneity, and confounding pre-HSI factors measured by our covariates.

We primarily estimate standard errors using SDID a placebo variance estimator with 500 placebo replications. The placebo estimator allows for the robust estimation of variance even when some treatment periods have only one school entering treatment. When this is the case, as with our data, it is problematic to use alternative estimators such as doubly robust difference-in-difference with inverse probability weights (DRIPW) (Callaway and Sant'Anna 2021; Rios-Avila, Sant'Anna, and Callaway 2023; Rios-Avila, Sant'Anna, and Naqvi 2022). Instead, we use SDID with a placebo prediction for schools that do not become HSIs to estimate standard errors for treatment effects clustered by school. This allows for estimation of standard errors in outcomes for a treatment group of a given year for first treatment even when only one school is in the treatment group (Arkhangelsky et al. 2021; Clarke et al. 2023). The method also accounts for error bias in panel models with serially correlated outcomes (Bertrand, Duflo, and Mullainathan 2004). In addition, we report bootstrap standard errors derived from treated units using 500 replications to show their consistency with the placebo method standard errors. Our SDID models yield estimates that are consistent with unreported results using principal component difference-in-difference, a similar new method (Chan and Kwok 2022).

Analytical Plan for State Applications and Admissions Data

A second set of supplemental analyses of California and Texas application and admission rate data help us to better assess the processes behind white flight after HSI transition. These analyses use the same methods as the enrollment analyses. Racial coding of white application and admission rates parallels procedures used with the IPEDS data (as data structures are very similar). We utilize the same battery of controls, with the addition of total applications. Given

that we have a shorter time frame (2000-2020) and a much smaller number of schools, our event studies only display estimates ten years before and after a switch, rather than 20.

Results

Event Studies of First-Year Enrollment

Figure 3 presents difference-in-difference event study estimates with plots of coefficients for the difference in log first-year enrollment from year zero of HSI status for each period in the 20 years before and 20 years after the change to HSI status. As detailed above, the event studies are estimated using a panel difference-in-difference estimator (Callaway and Sant’Anna 2021; Rios-Avila, Sant’Anna, and Callaway 2023).

[INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE]

Panel A of Figure 3 shows that differences in log enrollments of white first-year students are flat up until HSI status, relative to changes in enrollments at other universities over the same period. Log white first-year enrollments then fall on average by around .1, equivalent to an unlogged 10 percent decline, over the first five years following HSI status. We see further decline beyond 10 years after HSI status. Confidence intervals for periods 6 to 11 after HSI status show limited statistical significance when estimated alone. Further, only 35 percent of schools that change to HSI status have observations more than 10 years after HSI status. These limitations support the importance of estimation using our more robust SDID models that average effects of HSI status across all post HSI periods with weighting of control units and periods. Nevertheless, the event study estimates are consistent with our hypothesis that a discreet shift towards white flight immediately follows transition to HSI status. In contrast, Panel B of Figure 3 shows that total enrollments of first-year students from all racial groups tend to grow at schools following a change to HSI status.

Aggregate Panel Difference-in-Difference Estimates for First-Year White Enrollment

We estimate five models of the aggregated average treatment effect on the treated (ATET) of HSI status for all post-HSI periods. Presented in Table 2, all five models provide consistent support for our prediction of white flight after HSI status. The first model is a naïve base model with an OLS panel difference-in-difference estimator employing no covariates. This model is equivalent to the event study model but estimates an aggregate average effect of HSI status. In alignment with the event study results, the model estimates an ATET of -.16 for log of white first year enrollment. When exponentiated, this amounts to a 15 percent lower white enrollment relative to control schools. Models 2 through 5 use the SDID panel synthetic control difference-in-difference estimator that draws on covariates for the pre-HSI logged population counts of persons age 18 to 24 for select racial groups for the county and the state in which schools are located. By using adjustments for unit and period weights, the SDID estimator is able to include unit and year fixed effects without violation of parallel trend assumptions. This yields an estimated -.172 ATET in models 2 and 3, similar to the estimate in the naïve base model.

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

Models 2 and 3 differ only in their variance estimation. Model 2 estimates bootstrap standard errors through 500 repeated resamples of treated and control units within treatment cohorts. Our data is not ideally suited to bootstrap error estimation, however; the small number of treated schools within small treatment cohorts leads to repeated resampling of the same treated schools within a given cohort. Model 3 estimates standard errors with a placebo method that may be better suited to our data, estimating errors with 500 resamples of control schools that are assigned a non-uniform random placebo treatment. Both methods yield comparable standard errors.

Models 4 and 5 add additional covariates to the SDID model. Model 4 adds a covariate for Latine enrollment prior to HSI status, modifying the synthetic control to align HSI schools with control schools that have comparable Latine enrollment growth prior to HSI status. The ATET attenuates only slightly to $-.157$ in this model, suggesting that HSI status has an effect on white enrollment beyond any effects from the increasing presence of Latine students on campus. Model 5 adds a covariate for schools' admission rates prior to HSI status. This covariate is only available from 2000 onward, and thus reduces the number of schools in the panel that changed to HSI status during the study period. The number of potential observations after HSI status is also thus reduced to 18 years. An unreported model without the admission rate covariate estimates that this compositional change reduces the estimated ATET by about half to $-.087$. When we add the admissions rate covariate in Model 5, we estimate an equivalent ATET of $-.085$. This suggests that the reduction in the ATET is driven primarily by the compositional change in Model 5, not the inclusion of the admissions rate covariate. ATET coefficients are statistically significant across all models with a p -value below .01.

California and Texas Applications and Admissions Analyses

Our supplemental analyses using California and Texas application and admission rate data for years 2000-2020 provide additional empirical confidence in interpreting our primary results as evidence of white flight. Applications are unlike enrollments in that there is no set number to fulfill and no seat restrictions. Increases in the number of applications submitted by each individual student and growth in the population of college-going students (at least until 2010) would suggest application growth for all racial groups. Indeed, during the first two decades of the 21st century, the number of schools to which students applied soared, slowing only for the pandemic (see Hoover 2010; Clinedinst 2019). Student enrollment also hit an all-time high.

Between 2000 and 2020, the California State University system, the University of California system, and the University of Texas system experienced growth.

In Figure 4, we present panel difference-in-difference event studies of applications around changes to HSI status. Here we estimate event studies for just 10 years before and after HSI status as application data is only available for 2001 to 2019. Panel A shows that prior to the switch in status, differences in white applications are equivalent to those that never become HSIs across the same periods. The log of white applications then falls to $-.16$ before leveling out in year 5 after HSI status. Panel B shows no comparable change in total applications around HSI status. As with our enrollment event studies, confidence intervals expand from periods 6 to 10 after HSI status, reflecting that only a fraction of the California and Texas schools that became HSIs did so prior to 2012.⁸

[INSERT FIGURE 4]

Our panel difference-in-difference models in Table 3 also find that average effects of HSI status across all post HSI periods are statistically significant. First, our naïve panel DiD model estimates an ATET for applications of -0.104 . When exponentiated, this amounts to around 10 percent lower white applications relative to schools that do not become HSIs. Model 2 uses the panel SDID estimator with covariates for the pre-HSI logged population count of persons age 18 to 24 for select racial groups for the county and the state in which schools are located. Here we estimate an ATET of $-.163$. Model 2 uses bootstrap standard error estimation, and Model 3 uses the placebo method. The placebo method requires a sample of control units that is at least one

⁸ Our models control for local racial composition. This is important, given changes in state racial composition. The Latine population surpassed whites as the state's largest racial group in 2014 (Johnson, McGhee, and Mejia 2022). Latine students, however, remain underrepresented in public four-years schools, relative to the state population (Weissman 2021). We would expect changes in racial student composition to produce gradual shifts in applications by race, rather than an abrupt shift at HSI switch.

greater than the number of treated units in order for permutations to be constructed. To satisfy this requirement, Model 3 drops 12 schools that became HSIs before 2006 or after 2014, so that there is also an equal number of years before the first treated cohort and after the last treated cohort in the panel. This retains 12 treated schools. While this reduces the sample size, the ATET grows slightly with a p-value below the .1 threshold. Dropping other treatment cohorts to balance treated and control units yields equivalent results in unreported estimates.

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

While California and Texas application data show a shift in applicants around HSI status, there is no change in admission rates for white students. Figure 5 shows that white admission rates are flat before and after HSI status. SDID estimates (not shown here) also indicate no change in admission rate trends after HSI status. These data support the contention that white flight in higher education is driven by changes in applicant preferences, not school admission rates, as school admission rates of white students hold steady through the transition to HSI.

[INSERT FIGURE 5 HERE]

Discussion

Our analyses indicate that white flight is not just a K-12 phenomenon; it also occurs in higher education. We utilized nearly 30 years of longitudinal annual college-level surveys of the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) to determine how achieving the distinction of Hispanic-Serving Institution (or HSI) impacts white first-year enrollments at public four-year universities in the United States. The transition to Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI) offers a natural experiment to identify racial avoidance among white students.

We use difference-in-difference methods that adjust for bias in two-way fixed effects panel models, including synthetic control difference-in-difference (SDID), to test for statistically

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2
3 significant changes in white first-year enrollment after HSI designation. Our results show that
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5 transitioning to HSI status is associated with reduced white first-year enrollment at public
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7 universities. Controlling for population change in the states and counties where HSIs are located,
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9 we find that on average white student enrollments decline by approximately 10 percent five years
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11 after a public university obtains the HSI designation. Overall, our results suggest that the
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13 “switch” from being a predominately white institution (PWI) to an HSI disrupts whiteness as an
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15 external organizational credential. The salience of the Latine student body increases and white
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17 student enrollment decreases in response.
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22 After establishing a national pattern of declining white enrollment around the transition to
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24 HSI, we turn to supplementary analyses of California and Texas application and admission data.
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26 These data allow us to assess potential mechanisms driving down white enrollment more
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28 directly. Application data most accurately reflect student and family preferences and are furthest
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30 removed from organizational selection processes and seat constraints. We find that HSIs see
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32 around a 10 percent difference in white applications relative to schools that do not become HSIs,
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34 with this disparity visible in the first 5 years after HSI status. These analyses point to individual
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36 and familial level processes as drivers of reduced white enrollment—consistent with white racial
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38 avoidance of HSIs as a primary driver. Indeed, analyses of California admissions rates by race,
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40 over which universities exert considerable control, show no change with the transition to HSI
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42 status.
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47 Our findings are consistent with a large body of K-12 research indicating that white
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49 families draw on racialized beliefs about intelligence, success, and safety that lead them to view
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51 schools serving Black and Latine students negatively—even when other markers of school
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53 quality do not support such conclusions (Hailey 2020; Olzak, Shanahan, and West 1994;
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Renzulli and Evans 2005). As a result, white families may avoid K-12 schools and school districts that have large Latine populations, in what is often described as white flight (Hall and Hibel 2017; Ledwith and Clark 2007; Van Hook and Snyder 2007).

In the case of higher education, we argue that white families’ perceptions of universities may be filtered through racial hierarchies that characterize U.S. higher education. Black and Latine students are often viewed as less meritorious than white students, and the schools that serve these students are consequently coded as of lower-quality relative to PWIs (Garcia 2019; Hamilton and Nielsen 2021; Wooten 2015). Racialized hierarchies thus lead students and parents to see Hispanic-Serving Institutions as less desirable.

What component of the HSI designation drives white flight? Our analyses cannot fully disentangle two potential mechanisms. We posit that awareness of the HSI status in and of itself is enough to lead white families to avoid HSIs in favor of PWIs. However, it is also possible that the 25 percent Latine mark is a tipping point for white racial avoidance, as is indicated in studies of segregation and minority group threat (Kane 2003; Kent and Jacobs 2005; Orfield and Luce 2012). The tie between HSI status and student body racial composition is mechanical and the two co-occur, so both mechanisms are likely in play.

White Flight and Postsecondary Racial Segregation

We began with a figure displaying increasing racial segregation for Latine and white students at public four-year universities during the 29-year period of observation. As the number of Latine students entering four-year public postsecondary education has swelled, the likelihood of these students entering public universities with their white peers has decreased. Instead, Latine students are, to a growing extent, attending with other students like themselves.

Our findings suggest that a gradually more segregated public postsecondary system is not just the result of Latine students “self-selecting” into Hispanic-Serving Institutions. Indeed, our results imply that white students and their parents may be avoiding HSIs. Certainly, racially biased measures of merit play a key role in the sorting of Latine and white students into different postsecondary schools (Garcia 2019; Hamilton and Nielsen 2021). However, among the moderately to less prestigious four-year universities where Latine students and white students are more likely to intersect, university selectivity cannot explain increasing segregation. This is, in part, because most HSIs remain in the same prestige range after transition.

As the four-year public sector becomes more racially diverse, and at a more rapid clip than the four-year private sector, white flight from HSIs is likely a driver of postsecondary segregation. Increasing access accompanied by increasing segregation has long been a way in which U.S. education has maintained persistent and troubling racial divides across levels of education (Owens 2017; Rothstein 2015). Segregation can reinforce racialized beliefs about higher and lower “quality” students and schools and can facilitate the channeling of disparate levels of resources to students by race.

Is segregation ever positive? Du Bois (1935a) was a vocal supporter of creating Black educational spaces, when integration meant discrimination and harm at the hands of white administrators, teachers, and peers (Conwell 2016). Historically Black Colleges and Universities (or HBCUs) were explicitly created with the mission of supporting Black communities and are one example of shelter in the context of structural racism. We might thus consider the possibility that white flight from HSIs may support positive organizational contexts for Latine students by reducing the anti-Latine sentiment they encounter from peers. Yet, segregation at Hispanic-Serving Institutions, driven in part by white flight, is not voluntary on the part of Latine

communities. Nor is it necessarily protective: the HSI status itself is primarily numerical and may have more to do with the ability to compete for racialized federal funding than serving Latine students (see Vargas and Palomino 2019).

Our analyses focus on Hispanic-Serving Institutions, as the entry of Latine students into U.S. higher education has been relatively recent, rapid, and without the same longer standing history of segregation faced by Black college students. However, we might expect to see flight behaviors at public universities whenever the presence of racially marginalized populations is made explicit, visible, and is viewed as a central characteristic of the university. As Holland and Ford (2021) find, relatively less selective schools with more racially diverse bodies tend to de-emphasize their racially marginalized student bodies on webpages and other media materials, perhaps in the effort to evade the same kind of racial avoidance behaviors that HSIs face.

Administrators may respond to these findings by not seeking Hispanic-Serving status or by downplaying existing minority-serving designations. However, we caution that this would be short-sighted. University leaders should consider the changing racial demographics of the U.S. Scholars predict that there will be fewer white public high school graduates (currently the largest source of college students) by the early 2030's. In contrast the number of Latine and Asian/Pacific Islander high school graduates is predicted to increase by more than 15 percent in almost every state; exceptions are the far West and Southwest, which already have large concentrations of these populations (Grawe 2018).

Rather than worrying about potentially losing white students at a faster pace in the transition to becoming an HSI, university leaders should be actively working on connections to Latine and non-white communities in the state and region—as these enrollments will eventually ensure the school's survival. Hamilton and Nielsen (2021) refer to “new universities” across the

country that have made marginalized student populations the lifeblood of the research university; these schools are the leading edge of what is likely to be a necessary shift in organizational strategy. Rich cultural programming, academic scaffolding, financial supports, and a record of success in graduating racially marginalized students, are likely to be essential in competing for this new majority.

Racially marginalized communities have long viewed higher education as key to social and economic mobility (see Cottom 2017; Du Bois 1903, 1935b). But the uneven incorporation of underrepresented students into the U.S. postsecondary system threatens this promise. As we have shown, Latine students have broken into the four-year public postsecondary sector only to face increasing segregation and white flight from the universities that they attend. Racialized avoidance of public Hispanic-Serving Institutions highlights the costs of allowing postsecondary education to remain a racialized status system.

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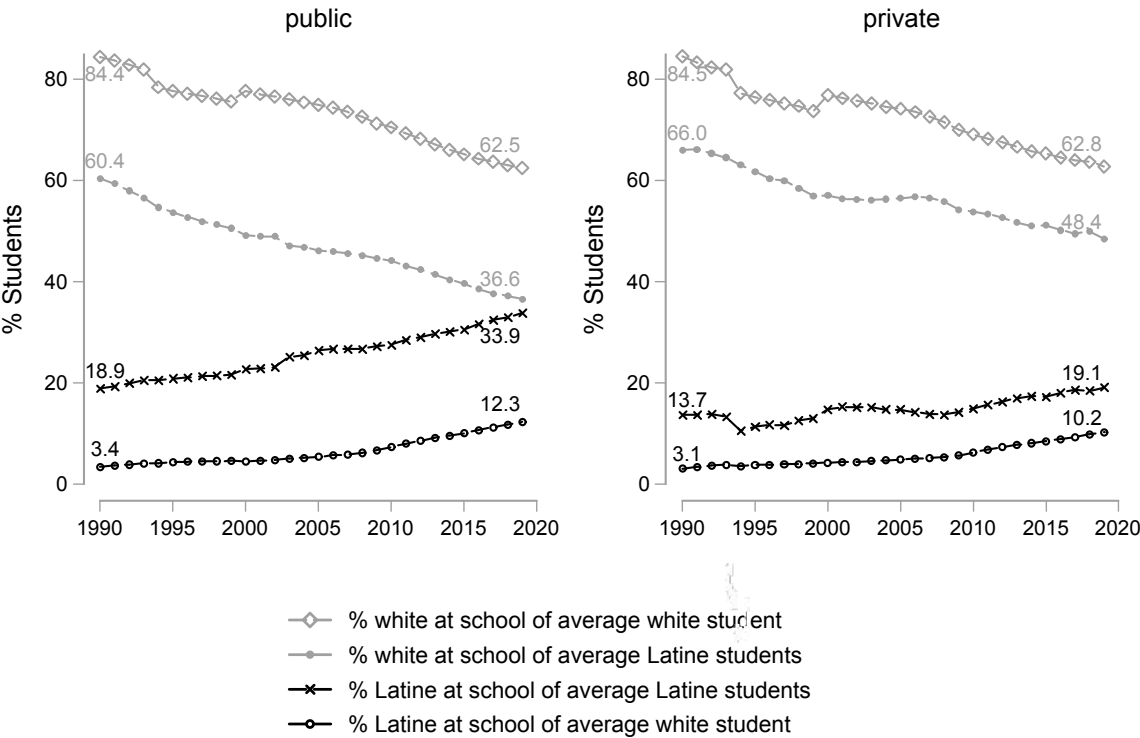
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Figure 1: Latine and White Student Exposure Indices for Four-Year Institutions



Notes: Data are drawn from IPEDS, 1990-2019 Fall Enrollment Surveys.

Figure 2: Switches to HSI Status, Public Universities

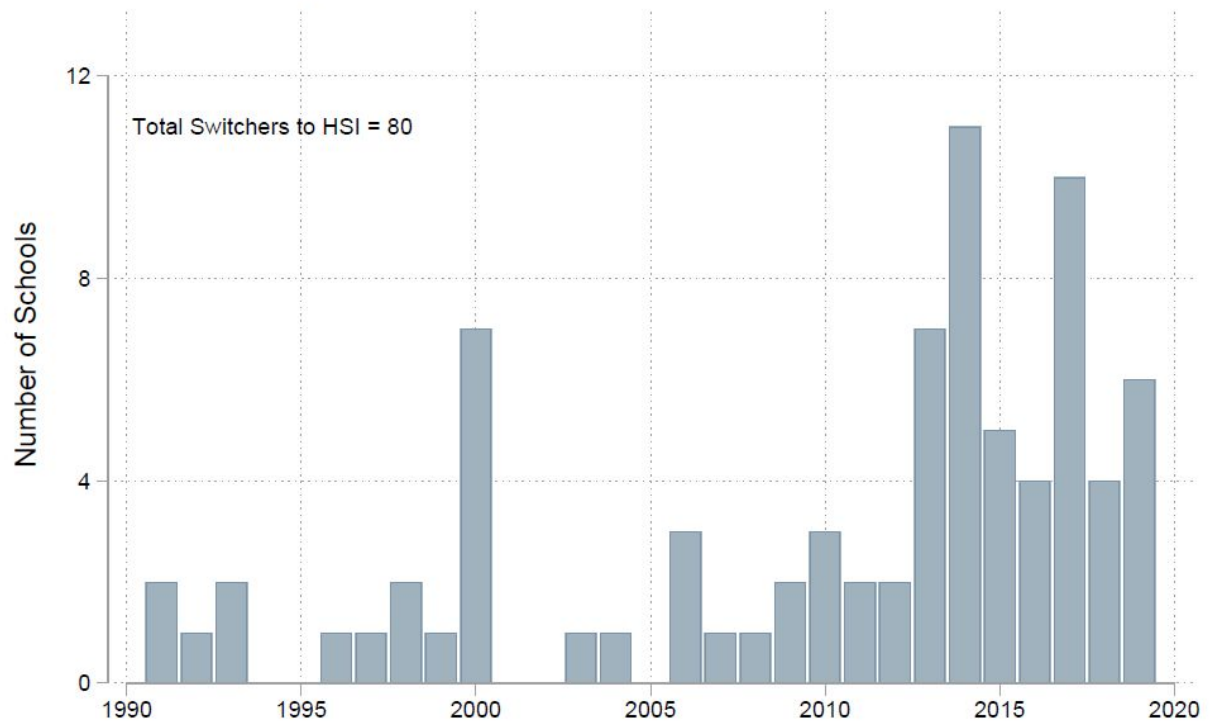
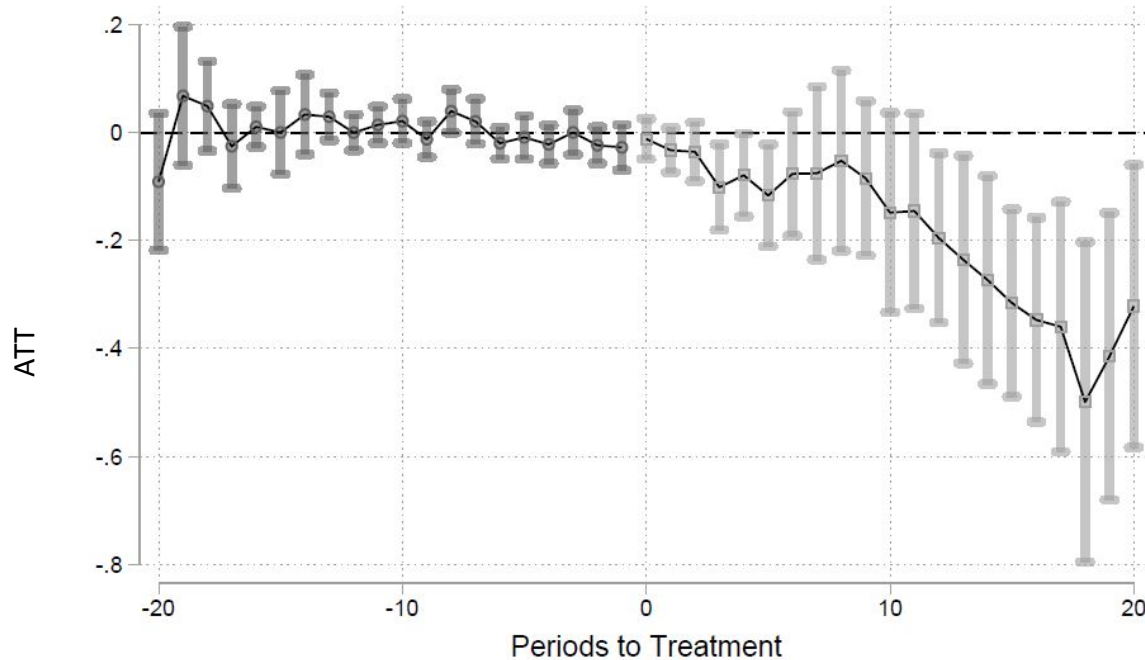
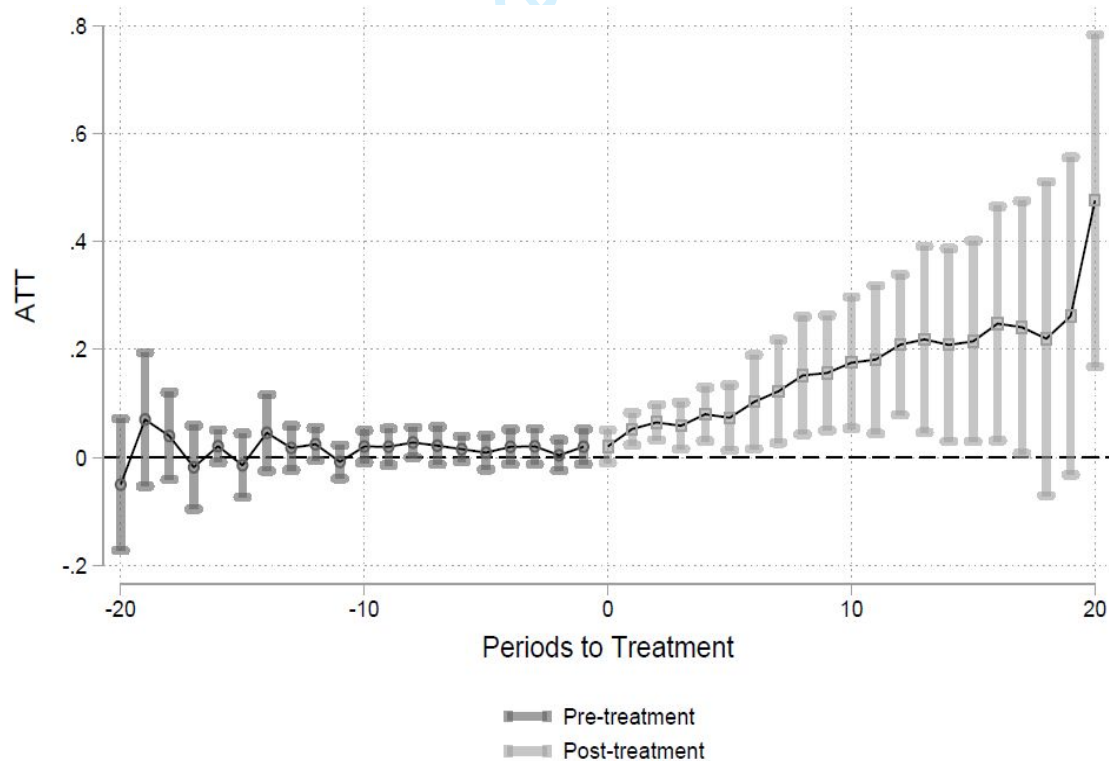


Table 1. Demographic Characteristics for Four-Year Universities in the Analyses

	HSI Switcher Schools		Non-Switcher Schools	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Total enrollment	12,469	8,157	9,994	7,990
First year HSI	2009.64	8.11	---	---
<i>Census region</i>				
Northeast	.00	.00	.08	.27
Mid-Atlantic	.20	.40	.18	.38
South	.04	.19	.28	.45
Midwest	.05	.23	.28	.45
Southwest	.27	.44	.06	.23
West	.45	.50	.13	.34
Admissions rate (%)	64.19	17.33	69.30	17.64
% undergrad Latine	21.61	10.87	4.30	4.09
Fulltime first-year enrollment	836	797	1,354	1,129
<i>County population age 18-24</i>				
White	59,970	66,340	25,100	28,080
Black	22,820	33,780	7,750	15,760
Hispanic	76,230	138,000	7,160	33,900
Asian	19,630	33,050	2,750	8,790
American Indian	870	1,050	270	640
<i>State population age 18-24</i>				
White	889,950	426,620	494,210	306,280
Black	210,010	109,370	124,600	103,020
Hispanic	829,250	644,100	131,440	267,850
Asian	209,760	198,970	39,230	67,500
American Indian	14,270	9,670	5,290	6,600
# of schools	56		341	
# of schools/years	1,680		10,230	

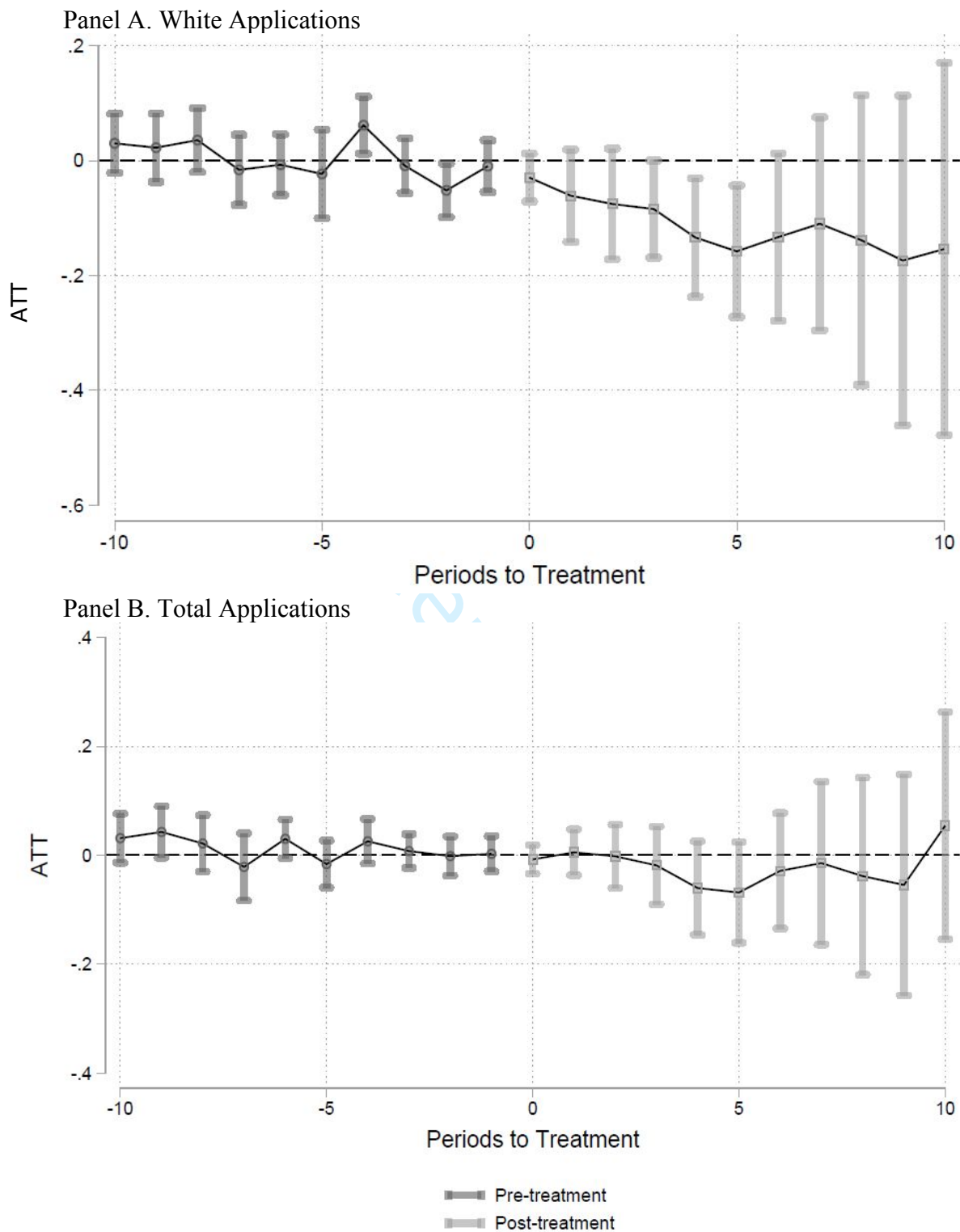
Figure 3: White Enrollment and Total Panel DiD Event Studies, 1990-2019**Panel A. White Enrollment****Panel B. Total Enrollment**

Notes: Estimated using panel difference-in-difference with an ordinary least squares estimator. Confidence intervals are estimated with robust standard errors clustered by school.

Table 2. White Enrollment Panel DiD Estimates

	(1) Panel DiD	(2) SDiD Bootstrap	(3) SDiD Placebo	(4) SDiD Placebo Latine Enrollment Covariate	(5) SDiD Placebo Latine Enrollment, Admissions Covariates
Average Treatment Effect on the Treated	-0.160** (0.057)	-0.172** (0.061)	-0.172*** (0.049)	-0.157*** (0.048)	-0.085* (0.036)
schools	397	397	397	397	331
N	11,910	11,910	11,910	11,910	6,289

Notes: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$. Standard errors in all models are clustered by school. Bootstrap and placebo standard errors are estimated using 500 replications.

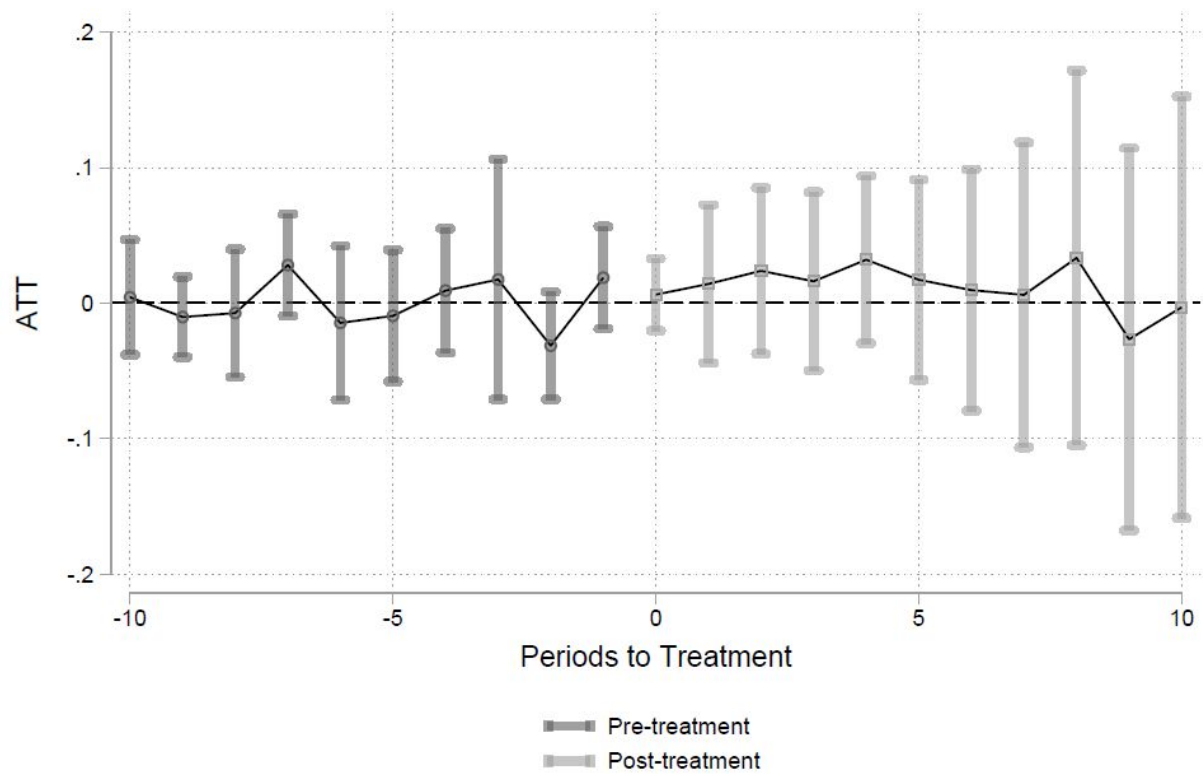
Figure 4: California and Texas White and Total Applications Event Studies, 2001-2019

Notes: Estimated using panel difference-in-difference with an ordinary least squares estimator. Confidence intervals are estimated with robust standard errors clustered by school.

Table 3. California and Texas White Applications Panel DiD Estimates, 2001-2019

	(1) Panel DiD	(2) Panel SDiD Bootstrap	(3) Panel SDiD Placebo
Average Treatment Effect on the Treated	-0.104 ⁺ (0.056)	-0.163 ^{**} (0.062)	-0.229 ⁺ (0.129)
schools	42	42	30
N	840	840	600

Notes: ^{**} $p < .01$, ^{*} $p < .05$, ⁺ $p < .10$. Standard errors in all models are clustered by school. Bootstrap and placebo standard errors are estimated using 500 replications.

Figure 5: California and Texas White Admissions Rate Event Study, 2001-2019

Notes: Estimated using panel difference-in-difference with an ordinary least squares estimator. Confidence intervals are estimated with robust standard errors clustered by school.

Appendix Table 1A. Public Colleges and Universities that Changed from Non-HSI to HSI, 1990-2019
Switchers, 1990-2019 (N=80)

Adams State College	New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology
Angelo State University	Northeastern Illinois University
Brazosport College ^c	Northern Arizona University
California State College-Bakersfield	Palm Beach State College ^c
California State Polytechnic University Pomona	Panhandle State University/ Oklahoma Panhandle State University
California State University-Channel Islands	Polk State College
California State University-Chico	Rutgers University Newark Campus
California State University-Dominguez Hills	San Diego State University
California State University-Fresno	San Francisco State University
California State University-Fullerton	San Jose State University
California State University-Hayward	Seminole State College of Florida ^c
California State University-Long Beach	Sonoma State University
California State University-Monterey Bay	Southwest Texas State University/ Texas State University
California State University-Northridge	SUNY College at Old Westbury
California State University-Sacramento	SUNY College at Purchase
California State University-San Bernardino	Texas Tech University
California State University-San Marcos	Texas Woman's University
California State University-Stanislaus	The University of Texas of The Permian Basin
Colorado Mountain College	University of Arizona
Columbia Basin College ^c	University of California-Irvine
Community College of Southern Nevada ^c	University of California-Merced
CUNY College of Staten Island	University of California-Riverside
CUNY Hunter College	University of California-Santa Barbara
CUNY New York City Technical College/ New York City College of Technology	University of California-Santa Cruz
CUNY Queens College	University of Central Florida
CUNY York College	University of Connecticut-Stamford
Dalton State College	University of Florida-Online
Eastern New Mexico University Main Campus	University of Houston-Downtown
Edison College ^c	University of Houston-University Park
Florida Atlantic University	University of Illinois At Chicago
Florida Keys Community College/ The College of the Florida Keys	University of Nevada-Las Vegas
Foothill College ^c	University of New Mexico Main Campus
Humboldt State University	University of North Texas
Indian River State College ^c	University of South Alabama-Baldwin ^a
Indiana University Northwest	University of Southern Colorado/ Colorado State Pueblo
Jersey City State College/ New Jersey City University	University of Texas At Arlington
Kean College of New Jersey/ Kean University	Walla Walla Community College ^c
Metropolitan State College of Denver	West Texas State University/ Texas A&M
Montclair State College	Western Nevada College
Nevada State College at Henderson	William Paterson College of New Jersey
Hispanic-Serving Institutions Prior to 1990 (N=13)	
California State University-Los Angeles	Sul Ross State University
CUNY City College	Texas A&I University/ Texas A&M-Kingsville
CUNY John Jay College Criminal Justice	The University of Texas-Pan American/ University of Texas Rio Grande
CUNY Lehman College	University of Texas at El Paso
Florida International University	University of Texas San Antonio
New Mexico Highlands University	Western New Mexico University
New Mexico State University Main Campus	

Notes for switchers: Schools in the list have been confirmed as Hispanic-Serving Institutions through a cross-check with Excelencia in Education and/or school websites. A small number of exceptions are marked. The handful of schools not currently (in 2021) recognized either have ^a closed or stopped reporting data to IPEDS or ^b have inconsistent Latine enrollment over time. ^c Indicates that the school offers BA/BS degrees, but also offers Associate degrees or certificates. Schools may have more than one working name during the time period; the initial IPEDS name is listed first, followed by the most recent name. CUNY New York City Technical College/New York City College of Technology technically crossed the 25% Latine threshold before 1990 but dropped below by 1990. It later met criteria for Hispanic-Serving, a transition that was likely meaningful and attached to HSI status and are thus included as switchers above.