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What is This?

Diversity ≠ Inclusion: Promoting Integration in Higher Education

Marta Tienda[1]

I argue that enrollment of a diverse student body is but a pragmatic first step toward the broader social goal of inclusion and ask whether motives for campus diversification are aligned with pedagogic goals. I address this question by focusing on inclusion, namely, organizational strategies and practices that promote meaningful social and academic interactions among students who differ in their experiences, views, and traits. After illustrating the contours and pace of diversification, I discuss challenges to achieving meaningful integration as campuses become more racially diverse by focusing on ethnic programming and evidence about students' social interaction patterns. Integration is not an automatic by-product of campus diversity; therefore, to harness the benefits of diverse student bodies, institutional leaders must pursue deliberate strategies that promote inclusion.

Keywords: campus diversity; group stereotypes; inclusion; integration; intergroup relations; race-sensitive admissions; self-segregation

"Our nation's public institutions should be pursuing the larger national project of integration, a project that is at the core of twenty-first-century America's understanding of itself as democratically legitimate" (*Grutter v. Bollinger*, 2003). The 2003 and 2013 Supreme Court decisions about race-sensitive admissions have commanded enormous research attention over the past several years and deflected attention from the broader issue of integration and strategies to harness the educational benefits of diversity. I too have contributed to the plethora of studies about equity and access to higher education, asking not only who attends and why but also more difficult questions about who *should* attend and doesn't. The barriers to higher education are well documented: the leaky pipeline; the highly unequal K–12 feeder system; the lack of information about college costs; spotty counseling and weak college-going cultures at underresourced schools; and soaring college costs. The list goes on, and replays like refrains in popular songs.

Even as multiple barriers to higher education persist, there appears to be good progress on one dimension, namely, the racial diversification of college campuses. This is not an accident, but partly the result of several hard-fought battles at the ballot box and in the courts, and partly the tailwinds of the nation's changing demographic landscape. That universities value racial diversity is evident in their fierce legal defense of race-sensitive admissions as a strategy to broaden access for underrepresented groups. Following the Supreme Court's decision in *Fisher v. University of Texas* to remand the case to the Circuit Court, affirmative action remains on trial both in the court of public opinion and in the lower courts. Importantly, the decision stipulates that the reviewing court must certify that no viable race-neutral alternative would produce the educational benefits of diversity and that the consideration of race in college admissions is very narrowly tailored.

In this essay, I consider how institutions of higher education value diversity by asking whether its pedagogic benefits are being realized. I engage this question by focusing on inclusion, which I define as organizational strategies and practices that promote meaningful social and academic interactions among persons and groups who differ in their experiences, their views, and their traits. My reasons for pursuing this question are twofold: first, to question whether the motives for campus diversification are aligned with pedagogic goals; and second, to consider what strategies institutions of higher education can pursue to foster integration. There is mounting evidence showing how diversity promotes innovation, problem solving, and new ways of thinking in firms, but there is less evidence showing how diversity fosters campus integration, despite assumptions that it does so.

To begin, I provide a brief overview of population diversification to illustrate the contours and pace of change, both of which

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Table 1
Ethnoracial Composition of the U.S. Population: 1970–2010 (Percentages)

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
White	83.3	79.7	76.0	69.1	63.7
Black	10.9	11.3	11.0	12.1	12.2
Hispanic	4.6	6.4	9.0	12.5	16.3
Asian[a]	1.2	1.8	3.0	3.7[a]	4.7[a]
Native American	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.7
Other	–	0.8	1.0	2.8	2.1
(×1000)	203,302	226,546	248,710	281,422	308,746

Source: 1970–1990 from Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung (2002); 2000 and 2010 from Mather, Pollard, & Jacobsen (2011)
[a]Includes Hawaiian.

have implications for the prospects of maximizing inclusion on campuses. After summarizing established pedagogic benefits of diverse campuses, I identify strategies used to promote integration and spotlight persisting challenges to achieving meaningful integration as campuses become more racially diverse. In closing, I question whether institutions of higher education are leveraging their diverse student bodies in ways that promote inclusion and suggest an agenda for institutional leaders to capitalize on diversity.

First, a note on terminology. Diversity is a sufficiently neutral term to accommodate myriad dimensions—cultural, political, economic, and of course, racial. Perhaps it is too neutral.[1] Increasingly, the term *diversity* is paired with the term *inclusion* as if both terms imply each other, but I will argue that the presumption is unwarranted. According to Lehman (2004, p. 62), "The word diversity [is] somewhat one-dimensional, connoting [mainly] . . . racial heterogeneity. . . . At least today, the word integration does a better job of capturing the special importance to our country of undoing the damaging legacy of laws and norms that artificially separated citizens from one another on the basis of race." My essay focuses on integration, and I use the terms *integration* and *inclusion* interchangeably.

Demography and Higher Education

Social diversity results in . . . cooperative [and] tolerant behavior only when it requires one to think beyond the ancestral building blocks of modern society. (Crisp & Meleady, 2012)

Reflecting on the challenges of devising categories to meaningfully portray the nation's unprecedented diversification at the end of the 20th century, former U.S. census director Kenneth Prewitt wrote (2001, p. 4): "Not in recorded history has there been a nation so demographically complex. So it falls to us, the American citizens of the 21st century, to fashion from this diversity, history's first 'world nation.'" The diversification narrative he described has continued unabated into the 21st century at an accelerated pace.

In fact, the racial diversification of the U.S. population largely occurred during the last quarter of the 20th century. Between 1900 and 1950, the racial makeup of the nation was stable, largely defined in Black and White. The Hispanic presence was regionally differentiated along national origin lines, and following years of exclusion, the Asian population had dwindled to less than 1% of the national total. The U.S. racial diversification narrative gained momentum after 1960, spurred by the resurgence of mass migration from new sending regions and high fertility among immigrants from Latin America. Table 1 illustrates the pace of racial diversification since 1970, which can be appreciated by noting the steady drop in the White population share: from 83% in 1970 to 71% in 2000. Today, less than two in three U.S. residents identify as non-Hispanic White.

After decades of relative stability, the U.S. racial landscape changed quickly: in the span of just 40 years, the "non-White" population share more than doubled, rising from less than 17% to 38%. The numbers involved are formidable because the U.S. population grew 51% over the period, rising from 203 million in 1970 to 308 million in 2010. Of course, these aggregate trends belie further heterogeneity by birthplace, nationality, religion, and language; however, for simplicity, the broad racial categories serve to illustrate my point about the pace of change, which has implications both for the emergence and persistence of group boundaries and especially for the opportunities to forge a uniquely diverse world nation.

These trends are not reversible, so the question is whether diversity will undermine social unity. Prewitt (2001, p. 5) put the question more philosophically: "If diversity and discrimination have often been joined together in American history, "will the pairing grow weaker or stronger as we grow more diverse?" Restated through the lens of higher education, are diverse universities stronger than their homogeneous counterparts, as they are alleged to be, or are their student bodies pulling apart in both visible and invisible ways? More importantly, given the diversity rationale used to defend the use of race-sensitive admissions, are postsecondary institutions harnessing the educational benefits of diversity, or is social and cultural heterogeneity largely symbolic?

How increased demographic diversity plays out in higher education partly depends on concurrent social trends. It is particularly noteworthy that the post-1970 diversification narrative unfolded against the backdrop of rising economic inequality, stagnant social mobility, and soaring tuition costs (Barrow & Rouse, 2005; Jank & Owens, 2012; Reardon, 2013). Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz (2013) recently declared equal

Table 2

Ethnoracial Composition of Baccalaureate and Postbaccalaureate Enrollment, 1980–2010 (Percentages)

	Baccalaureate				Post Baccalaureate			
	1980	1990	2000	2010	1980	1990	2000	2010
White	83	79	70	62	89	86	77	69
Black	10	10	12	15	6	6	9	14
Hispanic	4	6	11	14	3	3	6	8
Asian	2	4	7	6	2	4	7	7

Source: *The Condition of Education 2012*, Table A-10-3 and A-11-2

opportunity an American myth because upward mobility is becoming "a statistical oddity." In contrast to the broadly shared prosperity that characterized most of the 1950s and 1960s, after 1970 the income distribution became more unequal and social mobility stagnated. The slowdown in social mobility was largely driven by the upper and lower quintiles of the income distribution because about 40% of children born into the top and bottom income quintiles remained there as adults (Jank & Owens, 2012, p. 59). Most of the intergenerational income mobility since 1970 involves children of middle-income parents, as roughly one-fifth of their offspring end up in each of the income quintiles as adults (Jank & Owens, 2012, p. 56).

This would be good news, except that the middle class has shrunk since 1970, just when population diversification gained momentum. My colleague Alan Krueger, who recently chaired the Council of Economic Advisors, estimated that the middle class, defined as the share of households with annual income within one-half of the national median, fell 8 percentage points as the income distribution became more unequal (Krueger, 2012). The mobility stickiness at the lower end of the income distribution is especially problematic for higher education because the costs of college have been rising faster than incomes. According to the NCES (2012), college tuition rose 147% between 1980 and 2010, up from an average of $8,700 to $21,657 in real terms, thus exacerbating the opportunity myth for growing numbers of youth whose college aspirations will either result in crushing debt or deferred dreams.[2]

The two master trends I have sketched—rising inequality and population diversification—suggest that the nation has drifted away from commitments to equal opportunity espoused in the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement. Notwithstanding continued political opposition to affirmative action in college admissions, the national diversification narrative has reverberated throughout the educational system, including postsecondary institutions. As reported in Table 2, in 1980, Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asians combined represented 17% of undergraduate students, but by 2010 their combined share more than doubled to 38%, which is similar to the national non-White population share. What's more, the diversification of undergraduate enrollment occurred against a 72% increase in the postsecondary population. Completion rates present a less optimistic picture, however.
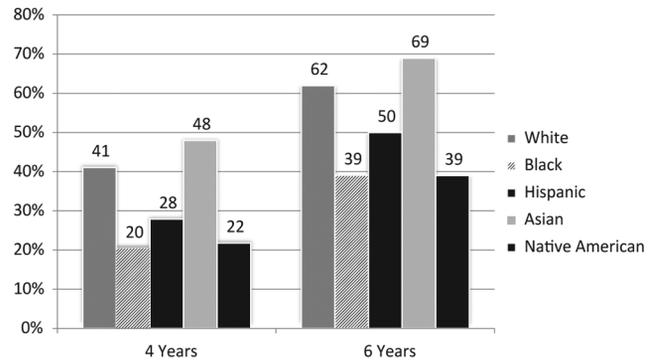

FIGURE 1. *Four- and 6-year BA completion rates: 2004 enrollment cohort*
Source: *The Condition of Education 2012*, Figure 45-2

Among students who enrolled in college in 2004, for example, 4- and 6-year graduation rates are consistently highest for White and Asian students, and lowest for African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans. As Figure 1 shows, less than half of all students who first matriculated in college in 2004 received their degrees in 4 years, but 41% of White students and nearly half of Asian students did so, compared with about one-fifth to one-quarter of Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans. By 2010, 6 years after initially enrolling, about two-thirds of Asian and White students had earned a college degree, compared with only two in five African Americans and Native Americans, and about half of Hispanics. Explanations for the observed differentials abound in the academic literature, but my reasons for illustrating them are to ask whether institutions are as committed to retention and completion as they are to diversifying admissions and enrollment. Asked differently, is the goal of inclusion thwarted by large racial and ethnic differentials in completion rates?

Paralleling trends in baccalaureate degree enrollment, the composition of students seeking advanced degrees also became more racially heterogeneous, albeit less than the undergraduate student population. As the data on the right panel of Table 2 show, graduate programs witnessed impressive increases in Black and Hispanic enrollment, especially after 1990. These gains are all the more remarkable because the number of advanced degree seekers rose 73% between 1980 and 2010 and because the pool

of minority candidates for advanced degrees is reduced by low baccalaureate completion rates. Therefore, I was surprised to learn that, conditional on graduating from college, Blacks and Hispanics are *more likely* than Whites to enroll in graduate school, and that they do so at a faster rate (Tienda & Zhao, 2013). Importantly, students who attend research institutions are significantly more likely to pursue postgraduate degrees than their counterparts who attend liberal arts or comprehensive institutions, and they are also more likely to complete an advanced degree. It is noteworthy, therefore, that lower shares of Black and Hispanic BA recipients attended a research university compared with White and Asian students.

I appreciate that aggregate trends in college and graduate school enrollment do not address the enormous variation in racial diversity among selective and open admission campuses. Nor do I believe or claim that proportionality should be used as a measure of social justice. My purpose in outlining the macro demographic trends is to illustrate parallels between the changing demography of the nation and that of higher education. The significance of campus diversification for inclusion is less clear, however. As I argue below, achieving a diverse student body is but a pragmatic first step toward the broader social goal of inclusion

From Diversity to Inclusion

Our nation's public institutions should be pursuing the larger national project of integration, a project that is at the core of twenty-first century America's understanding of itself as democratically legitimate. (Lehman, 2004: 95)

Despite our heritage as a liberal democracy, as a nation we have struggled with conceptions of inclusion and fairness in many social domains. History shows that merely outlawing discrimination neither equalized educational opportunities nor created a just society. Before the landmark *Brown* decision, legal scholars questioned *whether* integration was necessary for equality of opportunity (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). Since that time, the legal and political controversy has focused on the *acceptable means* for integration, which by default seems to have become synonymous with inclusion. To be sure, a diverse student body provides the necessary conditions for leveraging educational benefits, but by itself diversity does not guarantee the socially legitimate goal of integration (Lehman, 2004). Rather, because of human tendencies to sort into "islands of comfortable consensus" (Haring-Smith, 2012), integration must be deliberately cultivated through interactions that engage the diverse life experiences of students from different racial, geographic, religious, and political backgrounds.

Since the 2003 *Grutter* decision, much scholarship has documented the positive benefits of diversity on campus and in the workplace. In his highly influential book, *The Difference*, Scott Page (2009) argues that diversity trumps ability in problem solving when it involves collections of people with nonredundant skills and experiences. This is certainly the philosophy behind the design of interdisciplinary programs positioned to forge new scientific frontiers by bringing together scholars from distinct theoretical orientations and who use varied analytical approaches.

Academic leaders and administrators also understand that learning is impoverished when it occurs among homogeneous groups of like-minded people. Continued resistance to use of race in college admissions warrants unequivocal evidence showing *how* institutions harness the pedagogic benefits of diverse student bodies. Now there is compelling evidence showing that students who interact with peers from different ethnic and racial backgrounds develop more positive academic and social self-concepts, graduate at higher rates, achieve superior leadership skills, have higher levels of civic involvement, and importantly, exhibit lower levels of prejudice after graduation (Bowman, 2011; Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Espenshade & Radford, 2009; Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado & Deangelo, 2012).

Skeptics continue to focus on how much diversity is sufficient to garner pedagogic benefits. Preparations for the *Grutter* case focused on the need for a critical mass in order to avoid social and intellectual isolation, but largely avoided numerical specificity (Lehman, 2004). Critical mass was never satisfactorily defined either in absolute or relative terms, but unfortunately continues to deflect attention from the ultimate goal of campus integration. According to Lehman (2004), the purpose of diversity is to achieve integration through sustained interaction in multiple settings among students with diverse experiences, through collective problem solving by students with different skills, and through vigorous exchange of ideas, especially disagreements that challenge deeply held beliefs (Haring-Smith, 2012).

Ideological differences are propitious opportunities for reaping pedagogic benefits, yet are difficult to engage because they are largely invisible. A photo sported on the cover of the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* in 2007 serves to illustrate my point. To most observers, Professors Robert George and Cornell West are different in obvious ways: one is Black, one is White; one is tall, one is short; one sports a beard, and the other is clean shaven. That is not why the cover page dubbed them the "odd couple"; rather, they are an intriguing pair because of their diametrically opposed ideological perspectives: Robert George is a self-described conservative and devout Catholic; Cornell West is a liberal public intellectual. As external proof of their credentials, during the semester they cotaught, George visited the Pope and West met Hugo Chavez (Noden, 2007).

This odd couple cotaught a freshman seminar in 2007 that fostered their own "intellectual awakening" as they reformulated their ideas through vigorous intellectual exchange in the presence of the class. Their disagreements about race and the possibility of achieving a colorblind society reengaged visible and invisible diversity when West argued that some groups, such as African Americans, feel alienated on Princeton's campus, and George quipped that he thought the alienated groups were conservatives. Admittedly, the odd couple would be even more incongruous if West was the staunch conservative and George was the left-leaning liberal, which is a frequent reason for arguments about the need for critical masses of demographic groups. Interviews with students reaffirmed enormous pedagogic benefits from sharing and observing distinct approaches to common readings. In other words, the seminar provided an excellent forum for the robust exchange of ideas—a requirement to harness the benefits of diversity, broadly construed.

This anecdote serves to illustrate two points. First, diversities relevant for pedagogic missions transcend demographic traits and include less discernible, but equally consequential, differences in ideological perspectives, social class, values, religious beliefs, and the like. Second, institutions committed to diversifying their campuses must be equally committed to harnessing the pedagogic benefits of diversity, broadly defined, through institutional strategies to engage diverse views (e.g., see Haring-Smith, 2012). Princeton's freshmen seminars are designed to provide students "an early opportunity to form lasting connections with faculty and fellow students through . . . an intellectual journey that is adventurous and inclusive."[3] The freshman seminar offered by Professors George and West, "Great Books: Ideas and Arguments," was not part of an institutional strategy but rather a fortuitous result of an interview between George and West arranged by a student that both men had taught (Noden, 2007). Serendipity can and often does lead to innovation, as in this instance, where an entrepreneurial student who knew both professors served as an unwitting link; however, it is fair to ask whether the formidable, yet critical, challenges of capitalizing on diversity in order to enrich learning environments should be left to chance. According to Tori Haring-Smith, President of Washington and Jefferson College (2012), institutional leaders do not leave to chance that which they value.

Disagreement more than consensus leads to learning, nonredundant experiences are key sources of variation needed to solve daunting social problems, and systematic comparisons are important for appreciating the value of diverse experiences (Haring-Smith, 2012; Page, 2009). My own work on the Hispanic population has always been comparative—with Blacks, Whites, and Asians. It is through systematic analysis of similarities and differences that I came to understand what Hispanicity means—whether it is an enduring or transitory phenomenon—and the likely integration prospects of newcomers. Stated differently, I learned about Hispanics by studying non-Hispanics.

Campus diversity offers myriad opportunities to promote integration, but also risks that can potentially undermine the benefits of heterogeneity, particularly that which is visible and contested. For example, critics of race-sensitive admissions argue that the critical mass standard set in the *Grutter* decision is problematic because it is difficult to apply standards of strict scrutiny for an imprecisely defined concept, because the critical mass concept is a disguised quota, and because of individual tendencies to affiliate with similarly minded individuals (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001).[4] Given the banter about the critical mass notion during oral arguments of the *Fisher v. University of Texas* case, all three criticisms need to be addressed. But first it is fitting to consider *why* intragroup sorting occurs and the implications of rapid diversification as has occurred in higher education.

Crisp and Meleady (2012, p. 855) explain that both the pace and scope of social differentiation trigger resistance to integration partly because the evolutionary time scale of human cognitive capacities has not kept pace with the globalization of group experiences. Their arguments build on several key insights from cognitive and evolutionary psychology. These include (1) that humans have an evolved propensity to think categorically about groups; (2) that humans have an evolved preference for homogeneity and stability; (3) that the cognitive apparatus involves two systems that are activated to distinguish friends from foes and for coalition building; and (4) that there is a "tipping point that engages the cognitive system conducive to integration." The coalition detection system is protective and reinforces group boundaries; the coalition-building system is triggered when preconceptions about others are challenged. Presumably critical masses of visibly identifiable groups are necessary to witness stereotypic inconsistencies, but the circumstances in which interaction occurs also influence whether diversity enhances or undermines group integration and performance (Crisp & Turner, 2011).

Evolutionary psychologists claim that in homogeneous local systems, the two-tiered cognitive system served human populations well because it enabled members to distinguish friend from foe; however, it is poorly aligned to the realities of multicultural societies, especially under conditions of rapid diversification because of the slow pace of evolutionary adaptation (Crisp & Meleady, 2012). Given how the dual cognitive system operates, it is clear that neither the educational benefits of diversity nor the broader mission of inclusion will occur even when critical masses are achieved. The key insight for promoting integration on diverse campuses is that the coalition-building system must be purposefully activated. By purposeful, I mean in ways that further "the educational benefits that flow from student body diversity," as envisioned by the *Grutter* decision.

Because most students arrive with their coalition detection system engaged, merely bringing together a socially, economically, demographically, and ideologically diverse group of students reproduces existing group boundaries (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), thus diminishing the pedagogic benefits of heterogeneity and potentially undermining cohesion (Crisp & Turner, 2011). Therefore, it is necessary to activate the coalition-building system, which requires experiences that challenge stereotypic preconceptions about others (Crisp & Turner, 2011; Haring-Smith, 2012; Noden, 2007). Put differently, to foster inclusion and raise tolerance in the context of multidimensional heterogeneity, it is necessary for members of different groups to interact in ways that challenge preexisting stereotypes about others: Muslim and Christian; Black and brown; male and female; conservative and liberal; affluent and working class.

Practically this means that institutional leaders must actively develop strategies to inhibit natural tendencies for students to sort into homogeneous social niches by relying on the coalition detection system. Discussions about the necessity of achieving a critical mass may, in fact, have deflected attention from initiatives to garner the pedagogic benefits of diversity (Lehman, 2004). What's more, achieving multiple critical masses could potentially hamper integration because of students' proclivities to self-segregate into homogeneous groups, some of which institutions facilitate via ethnic studies programs, ethnic-themed houses, and group-specific cultural events (Lum, 2008; Polzer, Milton, & Swann, 2002).

Of course, opportunities for cross-group interaction vary directly with structural diversity (Engberg & Hurtado, 2011), but meaningful integration is not guaranteed (Lehman, 2004). The frequency, quality, and context of interaction determine whether cross-group relations further integration (Hurtado, 2007). If

Table 3
Extent of Cross-Group Socializing on Campus (Percentages)

Student who is . . .	Often or very often socializing with:			
	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
White	96.3	67.5	84.6	88.0
Black	32.1	86.5	28.1	43.7
Asian	42.7	27.5	80.6	52.1
Hispanic	21.2	30.4	22.6	60.9

Source: Espenshade and Radford (2009), Tables 5.4, 5.5, 5.6, and 5.7

demographic diversification of college campuses is merely a pragmatic first step toward realizing the pedagogic benefits of heterogeneous learning environments and fostering the broader societal goal of social integration, it is fair to ask what institutions are doing to achieve inclusion. Studies of segregation mostly measure cross-group interaction using an index of exposure, which reflects the *likely contact* between groups based on the experience of a typical person (Hinrichs, 2012; Iceland, Weinberg, & Steinmetz, 2002). Such measures are not particularly helpful on college campuses where contexts of interaction range from team sports and clubs to classrooms and dorms.

Thomas Espenshade and Alexandria Radford's (2009) study of campus life revealed that general socializing is the most common way that racially distinct groups interact on college campuses. Dorm assignments are a straightforward way to foster cross-group interaction; in fact, half of the students in Espenshade and Radford's study of campus life reported having roommates of another race and half reported cross-race friendships. Given the pervasiveness of residential and school segregation in the United States, these cross-race social relations on campus are notable. Nevertheless, Espenshade and Radford also confirm the power of social homophily on campus, namely, the inexorable tendency of people to befriend and socialize with persons most similar to themselves (Haring-Smith, 2012; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Although nearly two-thirds of students reported socializing often or very often with other race groups, more interaction occurred *within* rather than *between* racial groups.

Table 3 provides insight into the extent of racial homophily based on Espenshade and Radford's (2009) campus life study. Racial boundaries are clearly evident in socializing behavior, but there appears to be considerable permeability in these boundaries, especially for Hispanics and to a lesser extent Asians. Whites tend to keep largely to themselves, with 96% reporting that they often or very often socialize with other Whites. Hispanics are most likely to socialize with members of other groups, possibly because of their ambivalent racial status. Only three in five Hispanics reported that they often or very often socialized with other Hispanics. Asians and Blacks are intermediate between the White and Hispanic extremes, with between 81% and 86%, respectively, reporting that they often or very often socialized with members of their own race group. Mirroring the nation's pervasive racial residential segregation (Iceland et al., 2002),

White students reported that they were least likely to socialize regularly with Black students compared with Asians and Hispanics.

To illustrate the implied social distances in Table 3, Espenshade and Radford (2009) assess the relative frequency of contact between group pairs relative to contact with their own group. Their estimates indicate that cross-racial interactions involving Whites occurred most frequently with Hispanics, and to a lesser extent Asians. However, Blacks and Asians were 80% *less* likely to interact with each other than with members of their own group. Whites are least likely to socialize frequently with African Americans. Moreover, these social distance patterns are very similar to those based on national data about group attitudes toward each other. Whether the observed homophily results from self-segregation or exclusion is not obvious, but the answer is key for understanding whether multicultural diversity fosters divisions and undermines cohesion, or promotes tolerance and integration.

Critics of race preferences are quick to point out the pervasiveness of self-segregation along racial and ethnic lines as well as social class. For large majorities of Black and Latino youth, and in particular first-generation college students, this is the only world they have known. For as much progress that has been made toward integration at the societal level, even today there are communities where an integrated high school prom is a new idea. Take Wilcox County, Georgia, where at the initiative of two White and two Black students, the high school this year sponsored its first integrated prom after decades of separate proms (Brown, 2013). Since Georgia schools were desegregated in the 1970s, Wilcox County school officials turned blind eyes to the persisting practice of segregated proms because they were private, invitation-only affairs organized by their parents. In 2004, Toombs County Georgia also made national news when it sponsored three proms—one Black, one White, and one Latino. These behavioral norms carry over to higher education because students arrive with their coalition detection systems fully engaged and because they have internalized group boundaries based on decades of socially sanctioned segregation.

Universities are uniquely positioned to foster integration through curricular and cocurricular practices that purposefully activate the coalition-building system through experiences that leverage diversity. Engberg and Hurtado (2011) show improvement in students' pluralistic orientations, defined as interaction skills in diverse contexts, based on participation in courses and activities that either included readings about diversity or activities that required cross-group interactions. Informal cross-race interactions, they contend, improve pluralistic orientations—at least during the first 2 years of college—but especially if not left to chance. They recommend institutional initiatives that push students to think more explicitly about differences and their meanings but provide little concrete evidence about what form such activities should take.

To the extent that the content of ethnic studies courses is germane for challenging preexisting stereotypes, the racial differentials in enrollment patterns are troubling. The data in Table 4 based on Espenshade and Radford's (2009) study of campus life show a strong tendency for minority groups to enroll in courses consonant with their own identity—precisely

Table 4
Focus and Extent of Ethnic Studies Coursework by Race (Percentages participating)

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian
African/African American Studies	20.9	75.6	20.9	15.1
Chicano/Latino Studies	10.9	19.0	40.7	6.3
Asian/Asian American Studies	12.8	14.7	13.2	52.2

Source: Espenshade & Radford (2009), adapted from Table 5-1

the opposite required to engage the coalition-building system by challenging stereotypic expectations (Crisp & Turner, 2011). The tendency for homophily in ethnic studies coursework is particularly salient among Black students. Fully three-fourths of Black undergraduates reported taking one or more courses about African Americans, compared with less than 20% of Whites or Hispanics. Equally striking is the low propensity of White students to enroll in ethnic studies courses of any kind, although they may have the most to gain from doing so, especially if raised in homogeneous communities. Although Asian students are stereotypically identified with physical and mathematical science majors, it is noteworthy that about half enrolled in at least one course focused on Asian groups.

Student clubs further perpetuate the maintenance of group boundaries. On my own campus, currently there are 11 Asian student organizations, excluding those focused on music, dance, and theater![5] Until recently, there were five Hispanic student organizations, but in spring of 2013, the two largest groups merged, adopting the label "Princeton Latinos y Amigos," which is powerfully symbolic because it extends a broad welcome mat to all enrolled students (Amigos).[6] The impetus for the proliferation of student ethnic organizations partly stems from the vast availability of funds for student activities at my well-endowed institution, and partly from the overly flexible criteria for group formation on campus. By organizing along national-origin lines, homogeneous student groups miss important opportunities to learn about symbolic differences and fundamental similarities with others. Universities have a *responsibility* to foster integration. On my campus, this goal might be advanced by establishing minimum membership requirements for clubs and requiring ethnically oriented organizations to include a "critical mass" of out-group members.[7]

As the founding director of the Latino Studies Program at Princeton, I aspired to situate the program under the rubric of "American Studies" rather than Latin American Studies. I assumed the intellectual foundations for the program were evident and that locating the program under the American Studies umbrella would, first, convey that Latinos are part of the American mosaic, sharing many similarities and differences with earlier immigrant groups, and second, provide a broad comparative framework for understanding how the U.S. Hispanic social and cultural experience differs from that of earlier immigrant minorities, African Americans, and Asian Americans, among others. I also argued that the program would be a failure if the

only students pursuing a certificate were themselves Hispanic. Finally, I insisted that for the program to confer pedagogic benefits, it must engage out-group members from fields beyond the humanities and social sciences. Although still in its infancy, my goal is to prevent the program from becoming another island of comfortable consensus of like-minded people (Haring-Smith, 2012).

Let me be clear. I am not arguing that ethnic studies programs, courses, and student organizations should be avoided—quite the opposite. Ethnic studies programs serve an important educational function, but one that is less consequential for the goal of campus integration if their reach is largely confined to same-group members. This would undermine rather than promote the pedagogic benefits of campus diversity. Rather, I conclude from this experience that institutions have an important responsibility to build cross-disciplinary programs in ways that maximize heterogeneous enrollment so that they do not reproduce segregation." In an ideal world, no more than 50% of enrollment in ethnic studies programs would consist of own-group members, but I would not object to a 60–40 split.

Closing Reflections

The use of racial preferences as a means to diversify college campuses remains highly contested. Both the *Bakke* and *Grutter* decisions revealed a highly divided Court, and the recent *Fisher* decision almost guarantees more legal skirmishes about race-neutral alternatives as institutions are challenged to demonstrate that race-sensitive admission criteria are sufficiently narrow tailored to withstand strict scrutiny. As a core foundation of good citizenship, racial diversification of higher education institutions is both a pedagogic interest and an interest in democratic legitimacy; as such, it is necessary for educational institutions to be visibly integrated (Lehman, 2004:92). Unfortunately, ongoing legal battles will likely deflect attention from the integration challenges and opportunities posed by heterogeneous student bodies and the need for deliberate strategies to reap pedagogic benefits. But this need not be so.

I have argued, as have many others, that enrollment of underrepresented groups is but a pragmatic first step toward the broader social goal of inclusion. Presence on campus neither guarantees integration into campus life nor does it lead to realization of the pedagogic benefits of diversity, which is one of the core arguments used to justify an exception to the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The mission of higher education is not to align the representation of the citizenry with its student populations but rather to foster integration in order to reap pedagogic benefits. Learning is greatly compromised when universities permit the proliferation of havens for homogeneous groups of like-minded people.

As long as the means to achieve racial diversity remain controversial, it will serve the common good if higher education leaders lead the charge to demonstrate how inclusive learning environments serve national interests. Lessons from the private sector that link a broad array of metrics to the financial bottom lines do not fit with the culture of universities, where intellectual output does not lend itself to standardized accounting systems. But higher education institutions are in the business

of evaluation. Students are graded on their course work, faculty are graded on their teaching and research productivity, universities are ranked by news organizations, and administrators regularly track their applicant, admit, and enrollment pools both to admit the best and brightest and so they can withstand legal scrutiny. It is not unreasonable, then, to ask university administrators whether their verbal commitment to diversity is matched by their success in attracting and retaining students from underrepresented groups, and their success in closing racial disparities in completion rates. Given the large economic and social inequalities that accompanied the national diversification narrative, closing racial graduation gaps is key for democratic legitimacy as stipulated in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003).

It is also possible to leverage diversity for pedagogic benefit and to promote integration by providing incentives for cross-race dialogues, programs, and peer-led activities that work against evolved human preferences for homogeneity, stability, simplicity, and structure. If leaders of higher education institutions genuinely believe that racial diversity enhances the instructional mission of their institution, then it behooves them to continually develop innovative strategies to maximize the learning benefits, to demonstrate what works and what doesn't, and to institutionalize best practices as if their future depended on achieving integration.

NOTES

[1]One manifestation of the presumption of neutrality is the growing tendency to refer to students of color as "diverse students" in order to avoid using the term *race* and possibly because of the racial ambiguity of Hispanics.

[2]Barrow and Rouse (2005) argue that despite the rapid increase in tuition costs, the value of a college education has not diminished because tuition is a small part of the real cost of attending college.

[3]Princeton University offers about 75 freshman seminars annually, limited to 15 students each, which means that most of the incoming class can participate. This option is less viable for financially strapped institutions where large lecture classes and a highly structured curriculum define the 1st-year experience. See http://www.princeton.edu/admission/whatsdistinctive/experience/freshman_seminars.

[4]A related criticism is that there is no way of knowing when race-sensitive preferences are no longer needed.

[5]My count includes Asian Heritage Council, Asian American Student Organization, Chinese Student Association, East Asia Popular Conference, Hong Kong Student Association, Japanese Student Association, Korean American Student Association, Malaysia and Singapore Student Association, South Asian Student Association, Taiwanese American Student Association, and Vietnamese Student Association. See http://www.princeton.edu/odus/activities/organizations/directory.

[6]Princeton Latinos y Amigos strives to create a unified community of Latino students and students interested in Latino culture on campus. It seeks to initiate dialogue on campus regarding cultural, social, and political topics affecting Latin American countries and Latinos in America.

[7]The Fusion Club, for example, convenes discussions between humanists and scientists through dinner discussions, speaking events, and debates involving faculty and students. There are separate "pro-choice" and "pro-life" student organizations, but it is unclear whether they ever organize joint events.

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