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Hate Crimes and Black College Student Enrollment

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ABSTRACT

Reported hate crimes have increased rapidly in recent years, including on college campuses. Concurrently, general racial animus has increased in the United States. Scholars have shown that the larger sociopolitical environment can directly impact the campus climate and experiences of all students, particularly students of color. However, little is known about how reports of hate crimes incidents relate to the college enrollment of students of color. This lack of evidence is especially troubling for Black persons, the most frequent targets of reported hate crimes both on and off campus. This paper helps to fill in that gap by exploring the association between Black students' college enrollment and the number of reports of hate crimes at two levels: the state and the institution. We examine a comprehensive dataset of institutional enrollment and characteristics, reported hate crimes, and Census data on state racial demographics from 1999 to 2017 using several techniques including institution fixed effects. We find that a standard deviation increase in reports of state-level hate crimes predicts a 20% increase in Black first-time student enrollment at HBCUs. As the number of reported hate crimes is almost assuredly an undercount of the actual number of incidents, we explore the implications of this work while keeping that limitation in mind.

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Hate Crimes and Black College Student Enrollment

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Abstract:

Reported hate crimes have increased rapidly in recent years, including on college campuses. Concurrently, general racial animus has increased in the United States. Scholars have shown that the larger sociopolitical environment can directly impact the campus climate and experiences of all students, particularly students of color. However, little is known about how reports of hate crimes incidents relate to the college enrollment of students of color. This lack of evidence is especially troubling for Black persons, the most frequent targets of reported hate crimes both on and off campus. This paper helps to fill in that gap by exploring the association between Black students' college enrollment and the number of reports of hate crimes at two levels: the state and the institution. We examine a comprehensive dataset of institutional enrollment and characteristics, reported hate crimes, and Census data on state racial demographics from 1999 to 2017 using several techniques including institution fixed effects. We find that a standard deviation increase in reports of state-level hate crimes predicts a 20% increase in Black first-time student enrollment at HBCUs. As the number of reported hate crimes is almost assuredly an undercount of the actual number of incidents, we explore the implications of this work while keeping that limitation in mind.

Hate Crimes and Black College Student Enrollment

"Elections have consequences" - Barack Obama (2010).

With the election of Donald Trump as United States president—and his rhetoric around immigrants and persons of color—came an increase in the number of reported hate crimes across the country.[1] Counties with the largest voting margins in favor of Trump also had a relatively larger number of reported hate crimes when compared to counties with smaller voting margins in favor of Trump (Edwards & Rushin, 2018). This could be because people were more aware of and more likely to report hate crimes due to this heightened rhetoric. Evidence suggests, however, that there was an increase in the number of incidents of hate crimes, not simply an increased awareness and reporting of these types of crimes (Edwards & Rushin, 2018).

This escalation in reports of hate crimes matters because general racial animus has increased in the United States concurrent with this increase of incidences (Pew Research Center, 2019). Scholars have shown that the larger racial and sociopolitical environment has an influence on college campuses (Hurtado et al., 1998; Stokes, 2020; Van Dyke & Tester, 2014). Even with a robust body of literature available on national or institutional climates of racial animus and college climate, little is known about how reports of incidents, such as hate crimes, relate to the college enrollment decisions of students, particularly the enrollment of students of color. These types of relationships are critical to understand as they provide evidence of intersections between larger sociopolitical structures that dictate hate crime reporting, racism, and college enrollment.

Part of the reason that there is less scholarship on this relationship is due to the difficulty of measuring the number of hate crimes or similar incidents. Nevertheless, the history and number of hate crimes in a geographic area influence the living conditions and perceptions of

[1] We use the federal government's definition of hate crime which are crimes based on race, national origin, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, gender, or disability.

those conditions for citizens. For example, King et al. (2009) found that counties with more lynchings prior to the 1930s were less likely to have police forces that complied with federal hate crimes laws and had fewer police reports of hate crimes 70 years later. Hate crimes, particularly in places with histories of racial violence, likely remain underreported. One reason that this might be the case is the populations targeted. Levin and Reitzel (2018) find that the majority of racial hate crimes target Black people in the United States.

Hate crimes can impact living conditions of the targeted population in varied ways, from the physical to the psychological. For example, anti-racial and anti-sexual-orientation crimes were more likely to be directed against people compared to anti-religious hate crimes, which were directed against property (Cheng et al., 2013). While hate crimes against persons for racial and sexual orientation reasons might be more likely to lead to physical attacks on persons, hate crimes against religious ideas could be associated with attacks on buildings and institutions. Nevertheless, all hate crimes impact the sense of welcome and safety in a community.

The influence of hate crimes on living conditions is felt in both social and educational settings. Since 2015, college campuses saw a 25% increase in the number of reported hate crimes (Bhattacharya, 2018). This paper explores whether increases in reports of hate crimes are associated with Black students' college enrollment given this increase both within states and on college campuses. We focus on Black students because a) Black individuals are the most frequent target of reported racial hate crimes and b) there is a sector of higher education explicitly focused on helping these students succeed, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). We do this by addressing two different research questions through the lens of racial homophily, the seeking out of individuals who have the same race or spaces that are welcoming to one's race. First, we explore whether Black students are more likely to enroll

in HBCUs in states where there are more reports of hate crimes when compared to college enrollment in states in which there are fewer reported hate crimes. This focuses on the ways that environmental racial animus may play a role in college enrollment decisions. Second, we explore whether hate crimes reported at individual institutions are related to the enrollment patterns of Black students. This investigation allows us to see how individual institutions' reports of hate crimes correlate with institutional enrollment.

The college decision process is complex. Student enrollment decisions are based on numerous familial, individual, institutional, and structural factors. Some familial and individual factors are race and ethnicity, gender, prior academic performance, knowledge of the college process, and family income (Kim & Núñez, 2013). Institutional aspects encompass the cost of attendance at a particular institution, the availability of financial aid, and distance of the institution from the student's home (Dache-Gerbino, 2018; Perna, 2000; Scott-Clayton, 2015; Skinner, 2019). Some of the structural factors include the neighborhood poverty levels; urban, suburban, or rural locale of the secondary school; the resources available and quality of the secondary education and college counseling received; and state financial and equity support for higher education (Ananat et al., 2017; Baker, 2019; Perna, 2006).

Perceptions of campus climates also play a role in the college enrollment decision. Rankin and Reason (2005) find that while students of all races and ethnicities report a similar level of knowledge of racial harassment incidents on campus, demographic differences exist with respect to the beliefs about whether a campus is racist or welcoming. Further, Black students are more likely to report racial-ethnic conflict on campus when compared to White students. There is, however, limited evidence as to whether either perceptions of campus climate or an increase

in the number and visibility of hate crimes on campuses relate to changes in decisions about college enrollment for Black students (Ancis et al., 2000).

There are a number of reasons that an increase in reported hate crimes in a community might increase the likelihood of enrollment in HBCUs for Black students. One reason that students of color attend HBCUs is to learn in racially supportive environments (Laird et al., 2007; Palmer et al., 2010). If Black students feel that there is an increased likelihood of racial animus related incidents or a less welcoming climate at non-HBCUs institutions, they might be more likely to apply to and enroll in an HBCU. The increase in the number of racist incidents in campus communities could have increased the salience of racism and its occurrence on college campuses. This effect, in turn, could have encouraged a search for a more racially welcoming and homogenous climate.

This study measures whether an association exists between the changes in the number of reported hate crimes in a community and the college enrollment decisions of Black students. It builds upon qualitative work that finds that a link exists between the "Missouri effect"—an increase in racial harassment of Black students on Historically White Institutions (HWIs) and student decisions to enroll in HBCUs (Williams & Palmer, 2019). To our knowledge, this is the first study that measures the association between racial animus within a state or institution and college enrollment decisions. In what follows, we provide an overview of the literature around hate crimes and racial incidents on college campuses; summarize our theoretical framework of racial homophily; present data, empirical models, and results; and conclude by discussing our findings and future directions for research.

Literature Review

Hate Crimes

The United States Department of Justice (DOJ) website (2020) defines a hate crime as a crime committed because of "race, color, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or disability." Hate crimes receive a special designation under federal legal statues because of the disproportionate harm caused to both individuals and communities by these acts. According to estimates from the DOJ, there were over a quarter of a million hate crimes committed between 2004 and 2015; over half of these crimes were never reported to law enforcement. Certain types of hate crimes are more prevalent than others. For example, approximately half of all hate crimes were related to racial bias between 2011 and 2015 (Masucci & Langton, 2017). Black people are historically the most targeted racial or ethnic group (Levin & Reitzel, 2018).

Much of the current data around hate crimes came as a result of the passage of the Hate Crime Statistics Act in 1990, which mandated that the attorney general collect data on hate crimes. There are two primary sources of data on hate crimes in the United States, the Bureau of Justice Statistics National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and the Federal Bureau of Investigations Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) on Hate Statistics Data. The NCVS is collected annually from a nationally representative sample of approximately 160,000 persons (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015). Data is collected on whether individuals were victims of a crime and their demographic characteristics. One important feature of this data is that it includes both crimes that were reported to the police and crimes that were never reported. By contrast, the UCR data provides the crimes voluntarily reported by police agencies each year. Importantly, not all states have UCR programs. For example, Indiana and Mississippi do not have these programs

(Davis & O' Neill, 2016). Still, agencies within the states can choose to report these crimes, and the vast majority of research focused on colleges and hate crime reporting relies on UCR data (e.g., Janosik, 2004).

In part due to the voluntary nature of agency reporting, hate crimes are underreported. Hate crimes remain underreported for a number of other reasons. Pezzella et al. (2019) find that victims of bias crimes are less likely to report them due to the lack of confidence in the police by the communities most likely to experience these crimes. These findings underscore the reality, delineated by King et al. (2009), that persons were less likely to report hate crimes in places that had more lynchings in the 1920s. Thus, a strong link exists between current perceptions of police protection and historical relationships in which police chose not to protect the rights of Black citizens. Further, Black, Latinx, and White victims are less likely to report any crime perpetrated by White persons as compared to those committed by persons of other racial and ethnic groups (Powers et al., 2020).

Hate crime reporting also varies by state and jurisdiction. One barrier to accurate reports is that officers must recognize and report a hate crime as such, but there is relatively limited training of officers in recognizing this type of crime (Davis & O'Neill, 2016).[2] Even if an individual describes or explicitly states that a crime is a hate crime, the officer ultimately decides whether the crime will be classified as one. Due to the subjective nature of the reporting of hate crimes, the DOJ (2020) website recommends that targets of hate crimes both report the crime to local police and call the FBI to report it as a hate crime. Another barrier to accurate reporting is that violent hate crimes have been historically less likely to end in arrest when compared with violent crimes that were not deemed hate crimes. Masucci and Langton (2017) report that 28% of

[2] Recognizing includes both police officers *understanding* and *acknowledging* that a hate crime has occurred. These are two different processes that we wish to explicitly name since one assumes ignorance and the other intent.

violent crimes not related to hate led to arrests from 2011 to 2015, as compared to 10% of violent crimes with hate motivations. Individuals could also be leery of designating a crime as a hate crime when reporting to the police in light of the lower arrest rate for hate crimes. This could also be why half of all reported hate crimes were not reported to the police during the same time period (Masucci & Langton, 2017).

Schools and universities are alternate places where victims of hate crimes report these incidents. Prior to 2008, campuses collected information on murder, sex offences, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, and arson. In 2008, the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security and Campus Crime Statistics Act was amended to include data on hate crimes. The U.S. Department of Education (ED) now annually collects data on the prior three years of hate crime reports at each institution. It publicly reports on this information through the Digest of Education Statistics and through the Campus Safety and Security website. In 2017, there were approximately 958 incidents deemed hate crimes on campuses (Musu-Gillette et al., 2018). There is no current confirmatory data with respect to underreporting of hate crimes on college campuses. Similar to the challenges with respect to police reporting, campus safety officers must recognize and record incidents as hate crimes. For this reason, any research focused on reported hate crimes must accept the limitation that these crimes are underreported and that the counts must be viewed as the bare minimum number of incidents.

Racist Incidents and College Campuses

Racism on college campuses has a long history in the United States; examples begin before the founding of institutions focused on the education of Black students under the second Morrill Act of 1890 and include efforts to avoid integration of state land grant institutions, the existence of anti-Jewish sentiment in the 1920s, and incidents of hate because of ethnicity, race,

and religion in the present era (Albritton, 2012; Reder, 2000). At various time periods, the number and type of racist incidents on college campuses have increased and decreased, though official reporting on race-based hate crimes only began in 2008. In each year after 2008, the majority of crimes on campus were related to race and ethnicity as compared to religion, sexual orientation, gender, or disability status. Furthermore, racist incidents are more likely to occur in certain institution types. Prior research has generally found that a larger share of students of color predicts fewer reports of race-based hate crimes. Stotzer and Hossellman (2012) examined the 10-year average of race-based hate crimes on college campuses from 1998 to 2008 using the FBI's UCR data. They found that institutions with a larger share of Black and Latinx students were associated with fewer reported race-based hate crimes when compared to the number of reports at institutions with smaller fractions of Black and Latinx students. Van Dyke and Tester (2014) analyzed the same data from 2002 and found that racist incidents on college campuses are reported more frequently on campuses with more fraternities. The authors found some evidence of a relationship between the share of students of color and prevalence of reports of race-based hate crimes, though it was nonlinear with institutions with the smallest (less than 10%) and largest (greater than 17%) share of students of color associated with fewer reports.

The most recent research on racial incidents and campus climate comes from Stokes (2020) who qualitatively analyzed a subset of news articles focused on campus racist incidents from 2013 through 2018. In this dissertation, Stokes found that an institution's state, urbanicity, level, and size were related to the likelihood of an article published about a campus racial incident. Similar to prior research on national hate crime reports, Stokes (2020) found that the majority of incidents on campuses included some anti-Black bias. We wish to be clear that these

findings, and our own, can only examine the likelihood of incidents being reported; it is likely that there are additional incidents that have gone unreported.

Racist incidents can impact the educational experiences of all students on campuses but with particularly negative effects on the experiences of minoritized students (Johnson-Ahorlu, 2012). Moore and Bell (2017) describe the ways in which racist incidents pair with neoliberal educational policies to define college campuses as White institutional spaces. College campuses being defined as White spaces then serves as a form of both exclusion and othering for students of color. Paradoxically, Reynolds et al. (2010) find that Black and Latinx students depend less on extrinsic and more on intrinsic motivation and family and community support in order to excel academically in the face of racism on college campuses. The implication of this finding is that campus events could be less influential on academic achievement in college for some students of color than other factors. However, it is also important to recognize the heterogeneity in the relationship between racism on campuses and the impact on student academic engagement and performance. While students in one study depended on extrinsic motivation in order to persevere academically, numerous research studies demonstrate the ways in which racism is deleterious to academic achievement, mental health, and social outcomes for students (Keels et al., 2017). Although research exists on the negative relationship between general racial animus and racist incidents and student learning and environment, there is limited evidence on how reported incidents, especially those where individuals were targeted due to their race, are related to students' college enrollment decisions. This study seeks to fill this empirical gap.

Predictors of and Trends in HBCU Enrollment

Students enroll in HBCUs for numerous reasons—the supportive academic and campus environments for students of color, for example, or the relatively lower costs of HBCUs when

compared to other institution types (e.g., Laird et al., 2007; Palmer et al., 2010; Wilson, 2007). At HBCUs, students learn in more racially homogenous environments. HBCUs serve a disproportionate share of low-income and first-generation students. The student population of at HBCUs has a larger fraction of Pell-eligible students (72%) when compared to other institution types (38%) (Johnson et al., 2019). Thus, HBCUs serve as a point of access to higher education for many students with less familial knowledge of the college enrollment process and fewer monetary resources.

Larger societal policies and politics play a role in HBCU enrollment. HBCUs saw declines in the rate of growth of Black students enrolling after the passage of federal desegregation laws, particularly for institutions of higher education in the southeastern United States where the largest share of the Black populace resides (Allen et al., 2007). There have historically been increases in the number of Black students enrolling in HBCUs under republican presidents (Sissoko & Shiau, 2005). The authors argue this was likely due to less rigorous enforcement of desegregation laws. Several studies have also shown that larger state-level policy decisions, such as bans on affirmative action, are associated with Black students' enrollment (e.g., Fryar & Hawes, 2011; Hinrichs, 2012, Backes, 2012). Over the past 30 years, in line with national trends, the number of students enrolled at HBCUs has generally increased. In 1990, there were 257,152 persons enrolled in HBCUs (NCES, 2019). By fall of 2018, enrollment was 291,767, which represented a decline from a total of 326,614 in the fall of 2010. While enrollment trends at HBCUs generally aligned with non-HBCUs, enrollment rates have not increased at HBCUs at the same rate as in other sectors of higher education. Enrollment increased by 47% at HBCUs and 91% in non-HBCUs degree granting institutions between 1976 and 2010.

There could be a relationship between racial animus and Black students' enrollment decisions. For example, while HBCUs have seen an overall decline in enrollment from 2010 to 2018, these institutions also saw an increase in enrollment during the campaign and election of Donald Trump. In the fall of 2017, HBCU enrollment was 298,138 students, a 2% increase from the prior year, at a time when enrollment was decreasing across institutions in higher education (National Student Clearinghouse Research Center, 2017; NCES, 2019). This increase represented a marked change in enrollments for HBCUs compared to prior years. There is some qualitative evidence that Black students decide to enroll in HBCUs during times when racism and racist incidents are on the rise or are at least made more visible by increases in reported hate crimes (e.g., Williams & Palmer, 2019). However, there is less research that quantitatively investigates this relationship, especially across the entire country. In the current study, we contribute to the broader body of knowledge on larger sociopolitical trends and their relationships with college enrollment by exploring whether an increase in racial animus was associated with changes in institutional enrollment.

Theoretical Framework

Girded by prior research on hate crimes, racist incidents, and HBCU college choice, we use the theoretical framework of racial homophily to guide the current study. Sociologists Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954) formalized the conception of homophily, seeking persons with similar characteristics. Subsequently, an extensive body of literature used this concept to explore how individuals seek out others similar to themselves to create social, romantic, and work networks in both schools and communities (e.g., Kandel, 1978; Kossinets & Watts, 2009; McPherson et al., 2001). Much of the work on racial homophily studies the ways in which this phenomenon relates to the social ties and work networks formed as well as the relationship

between the demographic composition of the population and homophily-seeking behaviors (e.g., Joyner & Kao, 2000; Park & Bowman, 2015).

Numerous studies explore the relationship between homophily and how individuals choose their social groups. Wimmer and Lewis (2010) find that racial homophily is one of the most important factors for tie formation for Black students in an elite HWI when compared to other racial and ethnic student groups. Stearns et al. (2009) find that interracial friendships tend to decrease for Black students when they move from secondary to collegiate settings. These findings suggest that Black students seek friendship with other Black students, particularly in settings where they comprise a relatively small fraction of the population or feel threatened by racism.

Thus, individuals who witnessed the increase in racist rhetoric and reported hate crimes might be more likely to seek spaces that are more racially homophilous. Black students in their junior and senior year of high school likely stayed in their secondary schools, even if there was an increase in racist incidents, given the difficulty in transferring schools within or between districts. However, applying to and enrolling in college presents an opportunity to choose places to learn. A component of the decision of which college to choose, particularly in a climate of heightened racial tension, is based in part on perceptions of a racially welcoming and safe climate. Black students could intentionally seek out campuses with a clear, welcoming, and positive racial climate for Black students in order to avoid the psychological stressors related to racial animus as well as physical instances of hate and aggression. In response to an increase in racial tensions both in schools and broader communities, Black students might have sought racial homophily through the choice of a more racially homogenous college campus—an HBCU. Although we analyze institutional data, as opposed to student-level data, in the current study, this

aggregate data reflects a set of students' individual choices. If we see increases in HBCU enrollment when there are more instances of racial animus, this might suggest that a correlation exists between expressions of racial animus and a collective set of students' choices for a more homophilous campus environment.

Shifts in racial animus can affect college enrollment in several different ways. We have primarily discussed how students who planned to enroll in higher education shift their enrollment to an HBCU instead of a non-HBCU. However, students can also be induced into or out of higher education based on increased racial animus. For example, Black individuals could decide to forgo higher education and enter full-time collective action and organizing work in light of increased reports of hate crimes. In the current study, we are primarily interested in exploring how institutional enrollments shift between HBCUs and non-HBCUs. This is one of the driving reasons we chose to analyze institutional data.

Prior work finds that the campus racial climate is associated with student learning and wellbeing (e.g., Eschmann, 2020; Hurtado et al., 1998; Johnson-Ahorlu, 2012). Mwangi et al. (2018) expound on the ways in which Black students experience college campus climates as reflections of the national racial climate. In light of the heightened racist rhetoric and rise in racist actions across the United States as measured by reported hate crimes, HBCUs may experience increased numbers of Black students enrolling as students seek racial homophily and a more racially welcoming climate that affords them some protection from racist incidents.

Research Method

Data

We compile data from ED's Integrated Postsecondary Education Data Systems (IPEDS), FBI hate crime data, ED's Campus Safety and Security data, and population estimates from the

U.S. Census Bureau to create the analytical data for the current study (see Table 1 for an overview of data sources and how they align). We use IPEDS as our primary data source since it contributes a census of all institutions receiving Title IV funds in the United States. We include all U.S. not-for-profit two-year and four-year institutions from 1999 to 2017; we exclude for-profit institutions due to the high share of online learners at these institutions. We remove the U.S. service schools due to their special admissions requirements. Since all analyses rely on the institution having enrollment data, we remove any institutions missing total first-time undergraduate enrollment. These restrictions result in an analytical sample of approximately 63,000 institutions for the entire panel and between 2,500 and 3,000 institutions per year.

We supplement the IPEDS data with two different data sources of reported hate crimes. The first is the FBI data on reported hate crimes. We use Kaplan's (2019) concatenated Uniform Crime Reporting program data for 1999 to 2017, which includes reported hate crimes at the agency level. We aggregate this data up to the state level to create state annual counts of reported hate crimes and merge it with IPEDS enrollment information so that hate crimes occurring during the academic year (August through July) would be matched with fall enrollment for the following year. For example, fall enrollment in 2015 is linked to hate crimes that occurred from August 2014 to July 2015. This creates close to two decades worth of annual state-level reports of hate crimes.

The second source is the Clery Act data submitted annually through ED's Campus Safety and Security Survey. The Clery Act data is collected at each campus of an individual institution. To ease interpretation and allow for merging the data with IPEDS, we aggregate the data up to

the IPEDS unitid.[3] Each year that institutions submit hate crime data, ED requests counts for the prior three calendar years; reports collected in 2015 would be from calendar years 2014, 2013, and 2012. We average the three years of data in order to create a three-year rolling average of campus-based hate crimes. The analytical data includes all hate crimes reported on campus, off campus, and on public property near campus collected from 2008 to 2017.[4] We merge this data with the IPEDS so that fall enrollment is linked to the prior calendar year's three-year average. Therefore, fall enrollment in 2015 ties to data of hate crimes collected in 2015 at individual institutions from calendar years 2012, 2013, and 2014. This creates almost a decade's worth of annual institution-level reports of hate crimes.

We also include state population intercensal estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau.[5] Due to the focus of the current study, we collect the number of college-eligible residents (age 15 and above) and Black resident share (percentage; regardless of ethnicity or age) at the state-level from 1999 to 2016.[6] Intercensal estimates are generally collected in July. Therefore, we link these population estimates to the following year's enrollment since, the states' share of residents

[3] As an example, Southern Methodist University's (SMU) main campus is located in Dallas, TX. The institution also has a campus in Taos, NM. All undergraduate students who enroll at SMU do so at the Dallas campus. The Taos campus is an opportunity for students to "study abroad" within the United States. For this reason, we argue that most students are thinking about the totality of reports that occur across campuses of an individual institution.

[4] For collections in 2008 and 2009, the potential hate crimes included murder, negligent manslaughter, forcible sex offense, nonforcible sex offense, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, arson, and bodily injury. Starting with the 2010 collection, bodily injury changed to simple assault. In that same collection, ED added requirements to report on larceny, intimidation, and vandalism for the most recent year (2009). We do not include these hate crimes in our total counts until all three calendar years include the additional measures (which begins with the 2012 collection). In the 2015 collection, rape, incest, and statutory rape were added to the most recent year (2014) while forcible and nonforcible sex offenses were consolidated into fondling and negligent manslaughter was removed. Similar to the 2010 collection changes, we did not include these additional hate crimes until there were three calendar years of data on them (the 2017 collection).

[5] Census data from 2010 to 2017 can be accessed at https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/popest/2010s-state-detail.htm. We use sc-est-2019-alldata6, which includes age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin. Census data from 2000 to 2009 can be accessed through the datasets archive https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/datasets/. We use st-est00-alldata. We collected census data for 1999 from http://www.census.gov/popest/data/intercensal/.

[6] In older years of intercensal data, the age groups do not allow us to include only residents who are 18 and older (since the categories are 15-19 and 20-24). Therefore, we chose to operationalize the college eligible population as any resident who is at least 15 years old.

who are Black likely influences the number of reported hate crimes. Continuing with the 2015 example, fall enrollment in 2015 is merged with the July 2014 intercensal estimates.

Measures

Our primary measures of interest are enrollment, reported hate crimes, and institutional characteristics. From IPEDS, we collect information on first-time fall enrollment by race (all students, Black students).[7] Though it is true that racial homophily could predict shifts in first-time enrollment, it could also create shifts in whether students persist or choose to transfer to a different institution. In order to evaluate this possibility, we analyze the relationship between reported hate crimes and total overall enrollment. Due to space constraints, we focus on the first-time enrollment estimates as the main results and discuss the total undergraduate enrollment results as sensitivity analyses.

We create two different types of measures of reported hate crimes: one for the entire state from FBI data and one for individual institutions from the Clery data. For the state data, we create state-level annual counts of the number of hate crimes from 1999 to 2016, which matches to 2000 to 2017 fall enrollment, respectively. The hate crimes are categorized as 1) any bias, 2) race-based, and 3) anti-Black.[8] For the institution data, we create institution-level three-year averages of hate crimes categorized as 1) total and 2) race-based.[9] The total measure covers hate crimes matched to fall enrollment from 2008 to 2017. The race-based institution hate crimes are only available for fall enrollment from 2012 to 2017 due to changing collection requirements

[7] Over time, IPEDS has several different measures for Black student enrollment. We use efrace04 and efrace03 combined from 1997 to 2001 (these are gender disaggregated enrollments that we combine to create a total measure), efrace18 from 2002 to 2007, dvefbk from 2008 to 2009, and efbkaa from 2010 to 2017.
[8] The FBI data allows for up to five bias motivations per reported hate crime. For the race-based hate crimes, we followed FBI guidance and included reported hate crimes that attributed any bias motivation to anti-Black, anti-White, anti-Arab, anti-American Indian or Native Alaskan, anti-Asian, anti-Hispanic, anti-ethnicity other than Hispanic, anti-multiracial group, and anti-Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander. For anti-Black hate crimes, we only included reported hate crimes that included anti-Black as one of the five motivations.
[9] The Clery data does not include bias motivation disaggregated to individual racial or ethnic groups.

from ED. If a state or institution is missing one of these two measures, we record this as a value of 0 since we are interested in studying how *reported* hate crimes relate to enrollment; missing means that the state or institution did not have reported hate crimes. We recognize that federal and institutional hate crime reports are two of many potential measures for racial animus that are likely to undercount actual incidents. We engage with the strengths and weaknesses of selecting this measure in the limitations and discussion sections.

Guided by prior research (e.g., Stokes, 2020), we include the following institutional characteristics: HBCU status, sector, region, urbanicity, affirmative action ban, total state college eligible population, and Black share of state residents. HBCU status, sector, region, and urbanicity are linked to the likelihood of racist incidents on college campuses (see Stokes, 2020, for an overview). These measures all come from IPEDS. We also include an indicator for whether a state has a ban on affirmative action due to the relationship between statewide bans on affirmative action and college enrollment. We link this measure to the first fall affected by an affirmative ban based on the years outlined in Baker (2019). If a state removes its ban, like Texas did after the 2003 Supreme Court cases, we allow the binary variable to return to 0. Total college eligible population (residents 15 and older) is included to allow us to control for the population of residents who are eligible to attend college, which is related to the demand. We include the percentage of residents, regardless of age, who are Black since that share should be correlated with the number of hates crimes that are reported. This relates to the total number of reported hate crimes regardless of the bias motivation since Black individuals are the most frequent targets. We calculate both the total college eligible population and Black resident share of the total population from census data.

Empirical Strategy

We explore several correlational relationships between reported hate crimes and enrollment in higher education. Each of the following models is estimated for the state and institutional measures of reported hate crimes.

$$enrollment_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 reported\ hate\ crimes_{it-1} + \mu \quad (1)$$

We first fit a simple linear regression where we estimate the relationship between the number of hate crimes in a given year and enrollment in the subsequent fall (model 1 above). β_1 is the estimate of the correlational relationship between the number of reported hate crimes and the next fall's enrollment. We estimate this for all five measures of reported hate crimes (state total, state race-based, state anti-Black, institution three-year average total, and institution three-year average race-based) and all outcomes (total first-time enrollment and Black first-time enrollment).

$$enrollment_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 reported\ hate\ crimes_{it-t} + \beta_2 HBCU_{it-1} + \beta_3 reported\ hate\ crimes * HBCU_{it-1} + \mu \quad (2)$$

We then investigate how this relationship shifts by including an indicator of HBCU status (=1 if institution is an HBCU) and an interaction between the annual number of hate crimes and HBCU status (model 2 above).

Next, we add the covariates (sector, region, urbanicity, and state Black resident share) as well as a year fixed effect. This allows us to control for temporal changes from year-to-year. This is represented by the following model:

$$enrollment_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 reported\ hate\ crimes_{it-1} + \beta_2 HBCU_{it-1} + \beta_3 reported\ hate\ crimes * HBCU_{it-1} + \Gamma \boldsymbol{X_{it-1}} + \epsilon_t + \mu \quad (3)$$

Model 3 adds a vector of covariates, $\boldsymbol{X_{it-1}}$, which includes sector (four-year private, two-year public, and two-year private with four-year public as the reference group), region (Northeast, Mid-East, Great Lakes, Plains, Southwest, Rocky Mountains, and Far West with Southeast as the reference group), urbanicity (suburb, town, and rural with city as the reference group), statewide affirmative action ban (=1 if state has an active ban), and continuous annual measures of the number of college-eligible persons by state and Black resident share (regardless of age). For any model that does not have the total reported hate crimes as the measure of interest (i.e., race-based or anti-Black), we include a continuous measure of total hate crimes at the appropriate level. As an example, when the measure of reported hate crimes is state-level race-based, we include a control for the count of total state-level hate crimes. ϵ_t is a year fixed effect that has a different range depending on the measure of reported hate crimes (due to availability of data). The range for any state-level measure of reported hate crimes is 2000 to 2017 (with 2000 as the reference year). The range for the institution three-year average total is 2008 to 2017 (with 2008 as the reference year). The range for the institution three-year average race-based total is 2012 to 2017 (with 2012 as the reference year).

Finally, we estimate the previous model and add individual institution fixed effects, as some institutions could be more or less likely to report hate crimes to ED. The final model allows us to control for the unique characteristics of individual institutions and see if there is a shift in an institution's enrollment after that institution's state or campus has reported a hate crime.

$$enrollment_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 reported\ hate\ crimes_{it-1} + \beta_2 HBCU_{it-1} + \beta_3 reported\ hate\ crimes * HBCU_{it-1} + \Omega \boldsymbol{Xfe_{it-1}} + \epsilon_t + \alpha_i + \mu \quad (4)$$

Model 4 is the same as model 3, except it adds α_i, an institution fixed effect. Because we are exploring within institution variance, time invariant institution characteristics cannot be included as covariates. Therefore, the vector of covariates for this model, $\boldsymbol{Xfe_{it-1}}$, includes the statewide affirmative action ban indicator, state college eligible population, and share of Black residents in all models and adds the appropriate total hate crimes reported measure when the hate crimes of interest for the model (β_1) are race-based or anti-Black.

In all models, we compare β_1 to β_3 in order to analyze the difference in the relationship between reported hate crimes and enrollment at non-HBCUs and HBCUs. It could be that, in any given year, there are increases in the number of reported incidents, non-HBCU enrollments, and HBCU enrollments, which could be driven by the increase of the college-eligible or Black resident population. This is one reason that our interpretation of the models focuses on comparing the two estimates to each other and why we include a measure of the total college eligible population and Black resident share in the state. Standard errors are clustered at the institution level for all models. For the institution fixed effect models, this mechanically means that the standard errors are robust since the cluster level is the same as the fixed effect.

Limitations

First, extensive evidence suggests that hate crimes are underreported at the campus, state, and national level (Pezzella et al., 2019). Two theories for the underreporting are that victims are not as likely to report hate crimes as other crimes and agencies are more likely to misclassify this type of crime. Given the underreporting, our estimates likely underestimate the relationship between hate crimes and the college enrollment decisions of Black students. However, policymakers at the federal, state, and institutional level only have reported hate crimes available as a measure for crafting policies to support students and create equitable campus climates.

Therefore, while we acknowledge that reported hate crimes are an undercount, they are also the most policy relevant measure that can be used by stakeholders to improve conditions for students.

Second, the current research focuses on HBCUs and considers non-HBCUs with a significant share of the undergraduate enrollment who identify as Black as similar to HWIs. We chose to focus on HBCU enrollment due to the significant body of research that shows that simply enrolling a large share of students of color does not automatically mean that an institution is focused on serving those students (e.g., Garcia et al., 2019). Therefore, we sought to explicitly examine how reported hate crimes are associated with enrollment at institutions whose missions directly call for the uplifting of the Black community.

Third, we acknowledge that higher education enrollment consists of choices made both by students and by higher education institutions. Our theoretical framework is primarily focused on understanding students' responses to racial animus, which can create shifts in enrollment within higher education at the institution level. However, institutions play a clear role in determining who enrolls in their institution, even if that is by choosing to be an open access institution.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

We provide an overview of the descriptive statistics on the analytical sample, with attention to patterns in the underreporting hate crimes, to provide context for the main results. Table 2 includes summary statistics of institutional characteristics and the measures of interest. The All States columns (1-3) show variable means from 2000, 2008, and 2017. Panel A provides summary statistics of institutional characteristics. While the sample primarily consists of two-

year public institutions in 2000, four-year private institutions are the dominant sector by 2017. Regardless of the time period, the majority of institutions are located in cities, in states without an affirmative action ban, and in the southeastern region of the United States. The college-eligible population increases by approximately 25% from 2000 to 2017. During the same time period, the average share of state residents who identify as Black in states where institutions are located remains fairly static at approximately 13%. Panel B shows the summary statistics for the varying definitions of reports of hate crimes and first-time enrollment. Over time, all state-level reports of hate crimes have decreased. At the same time, there has been a slight increase in the three-year average of institution reports of total hate crimes (race-based reports held fairly steady). There has been a general increase in average first-time enrollment for all students. Black students' first-time enrollment increased until around 2011, an average of 132 students, and then began a slow descent to reach around 115 students in 2017.

Challenges exist with respect to finding a comparison group to Black students' enrollment decisions. Comparing Black enrollment at HBCUs to Black enrollment at all non-HBCUs might be inappropriate as it is unlikely that all non-HBCUs were given equal consideration by the students who enrolled at HBCUs. Deciding on a comparison group is also difficult given the likelihood for systematic differences in hate crime reporting across different localities. Because prior research has found that students generally attend college within 50 miles of where they live (e.g., Dache-Gerbino, 2018), we explored the difference in reporting any hate crimes at the state level for all institutions in our analytical sample in the United States (Figure 1) and for institutions that were physically located in a state with at least one HBCU (Figure 2). We find that restricting the sample to only include institutions physically located in states with at least one HBCU decreases the severity of underreporting of hate crimes. The main models are

estimated only for institutions in states with at least one HBCU due to this and because individuals in a state with an HBCU may be more likely to consider enrolling at one.

Columns 4, 5, and 6 of Table 2 show the descriptive statistics for institutions in states with at least one HBCU. The sectors and urbanicity of institutions have qualitatively similar trends. However, this sample includes no institutions in the New England, Rocky Mountains, or Far West regions of the United States. While the general trend is similar, fewer institutions in states with at least one HBCU are subject to an affirmative action ban (17% in 2017 compared to 22% for all institutions). States with at least one HBCU have a more rapid increase in college-eligible population, approximately 29%, though the actual total is close to 700,000 fewer residents in 2017. These states also have a higher share of residents who identify as Black, approximately 18%, and a less precipitous decline in reporting of hate crimes over time, which may be due, in part, to the fact that these states had fewer reported hate crimes at the beginning of the analytical time period. While the overall enrollment trend is similar to the All States sample, the Black student first-time enrollment is steadily increasing in the HBCU States. The descriptive differences between the All States and HBCU States samples provide additional evidence that it would be worthwhile to trim the analytical sample and focus primarily on states with at least one HBCU, which we do with the main estimates.

Main Estimates

Table 3 provides estimates for the models including total state-level hate crimes. Panel A contains models with the outcome of total first-time enrollment. Panel B includes models with the outcome Black first-time enrollment. The columns align with the model numbers (model 1 is in the first column, model 2 is in the second column, and so on). We primarily focus on the estimates for the reported hate crimes measure and that variable's interaction with HBCU status

since the coefficients report the correlational relationship between reported hate crimes and enrollment for non-HBCUs and HBCUs, respectively. When applicable, we use the standard deviation of reported hate crimes and average number of first-time students from Table 2 to translate the estimates into more practically relevant numbers. In panel A, the estimates show that there is little evidence of a consistent relationship between the total reported hate crimes within a state and the first-time enrollment for both HBCUs and non-HBCUs.

When including solely the total reported hate crimes in the state in the model predicting Black students' first-time enrollment in panel B, we find that an increase of one additional reported hate crime predicts a 0.13% decrease in Black student first-time enrollment at all institutions. As we include an indicator for HBCU status and an interaction between that measure and total reported hate crimes (model 2), we find a similar relationship at non-HBCUs—a predicted 0.10% decrease in Black student first-time enrollment. However, at HBCUs, we find that an increase in state total reported hate crimes is associated with a 0.05% increase in Black student first-time enrollment, though the estimate is not statistically significant. Because of concerns about the ways that institutional and state characteristics may influence the relationship between reports of hate crimes and enrollment, we prefer the estimates from models 3 and 4, which control for either a select set of institutional and state characteristics or include those characteristics that are time varying and institution fixed effects, respectively.

Models 3 and 4 for non-HBCUs provide inconsistent evidence on the relationship between reports of hate crimes and Black student enrollment—0.03% predicted increase and 0.01% predicted decrease, respectively, with neither estimate statistically significant. The same models for HBCUs present fairly consistent evidence. Model 3 predicts that an increase in state total reported hate crimes is associated with a 0.22% increase in Black student enrollment at

HBCUs when controlling for institutional and state characteristics. Model 4 shows that, when controlling for time-invariant characteristics of institutions and time-varying state characteristics, an increase in states' total reported hate crimes predicts a 0.16% increase in Black student first-time enrollment at HBCUs. This means that a one standard deviation increase in total state-level hate crimes in 2017 (129.39) is associated with a 21% increase in Black student enrollment at HBCUs. Using the average number of Black first-time students (160.38) in 2017 as a baseline, we predict an additional 33 students enrolling in an HBCU in a given year, a modest, yet practically significant, increase.

Table 4 presents the race-based, state-level hate crimes estimates. When focusing on total first-time enrollment and the institution fixed effects models (panel A), it appears that an additional race-based hate crime in the state predicts a decrease in enrollment at non-HBCUs—0.13%, which is approximately 33 fewer total first-time students for a one standard deviation increase—and an increase at HBCUs—0.08%, approximately 68 additional first-time students per standard deviation increase in reported race-based hate crimes. Panel B shows a fairly consistent negative relationship between an additional reported race-based hate crime and Black students' first-time enrollment at non-HBCUs—0.16% or 24 fewer Black students in the institution fixed effects model. At the same time, there is a consistent positive relationship between an increase in reported race-based hate crimes and Black students' enrollment at HBCUs—0.22% or 33 more in the institution fixed effects model.

Table 5, the final table of state-level hate crimes, focuses on hate crimes with an anti-Black bias motivation. We find that an additional report of an anti-Black hate crime predicts an increase in overall and Black students' first-time enrollment at HBCUs, 0.17% or 61 and 0.52%

or 33 more, respectively. We also find a negative relationship between additional reports of anti-Black hate crimes and Black students' first-time enrollment at non-HBCUs.

Using measures of hate crimes reported on college campuses, Table 6 shows the estimates from models including a measure of total reporting of hate crimes. When an institution reports any additional hate crime, there is a predicted increase in both overall and Black students' first-time enrollment at non-HBCUs, 1.83% or 12 and 2.10% or 3, respectively. When looking at institution-level, race-based hate crimes in Table 7, we find that an additional report of a hate crime with race-based motivation predicts a 43.29% increase, approximately 181 students, in overall first-time enrollment at HBCUs, a practically large estimate that we explore further in the discussion section.

When we focus on our measure of larger sociopolitical racial animus measured as state-level reports of hate crimes, we find that increased reports of hate crimes predict increases in Black students' first-time enrollment at HBCUs (one standard deviation increase in reports of hate crimes predicts approximately 33 additional Black students). When we only focus on total enrollment, we find a consistent predicted increase in first-time students at HBCUs when reports of race-based or anti-Black hate crimes increase (one standard deviation increase in reports is associated with 61 to 68 additional students). Increases in reports of race-based or anti-Black hate crimes predict a decrease in Black students' enrollment at non-HBCUs (approximately 24 fewer Black students per one standard deviation increase in race-based reports and 7 fewer for anti-Black reports). Contrary to our theoretical hypotheses, we find that increases in reports of hate crimes at the institutional level are positively associated with an increase in first-time enrollment at non-HBCUs for any bias motivation and HBCUs for race-based motivations, though only the estimate for race-based reports is practically significant.

Sensitivity Analyses

Due to the ways larger political and social climates change, we were interested in exploring how the main estimates differ over time. Figures 3-7 include the main models estimated for a single fall enrollment year. The x-axis shows the years included in each panel, which differs depending on the measure of reported hate crimes. The y-axis shows first-time enrollment with panel A focused on total students and panel B focused on Black students. Each circle is a coefficient and the vertical line represents the 95% confidence interval. The figure on the left comes from β_1, reported hate crimes at non-HBCUs, in model 3, which includes all covariates and year fixed effects. The figure on the right comes from β_3, reported hate crimes at HBCUs, in the same model. The figures show how the relationship between reported hate crimes and first-time enrollment have shifted over time in states with at least one HBCU.

Figures 3-5 show coefficients from models including state-level hate crimes, total, race-based, and anti-Black, respectively. Regardless of the type of hate crime reports or whether enrollment is focused on all students or Black students, there appears to be a shift in the relationship between hate crimes and first-time enrollment around the 2008 election of President Obama. These descriptive figures show that, after his election, the relationship between reports of hate crimes and HBCU enrollment increased in strength. The pattern is less clear pattern when focusing on the institution-level hate crimes (Figures 6-7).

We prefer the models using first-time enrollment as an outcome as this allows us to focus on students who are choosing to enroll in higher education. However, our theoretical framework of homophily could influence students' decisions on persisting at HBCUs at a different rate than at non-HBCUs. In order to investigate this, we estimate the main models using the outcome of total overall undergraduate enrollment and total Black undergraduate enrollment (supplementary

Tables S1-3). When looking at state-level hate crimes, we consistently find a positive relationship between total reported hate crimes and Black students' overall enrollment at HBCUs regardless of the type of hate crime. We also find a negative predicted relationship between reported anti-Black hate crimes and Black students' overall enrollment at non-HBCUs. When we turn to models that include the institution-level reports of hate crimes (Tables S4-S5), we find qualitatively similar estimates to those focused on the reporting of any hate crimes at institutions, namely a predicted increase in total and Black student enrollment at non-HBCUs. When we examine institution-level, race-based hate crimes, we find that additional reporting is associated with an increase in total and Black students' enrollment at HBCUs.

Last, we explore the sensitivity of our findings to expanding the analytical sample to include institutions in all states. Tables S6-S8 reports estimates for the state-level hate crimes while Tables S9-S10 provide the estimates for institution-level hate crimes. All estimates are qualitatively similar to the main estimates with a few exceptions. Those exceptions relate to the estimates for non-HBCUs and state-level reports of hate crimes, which align with our concerns that the comparison group of colleges that students are using may be fundamentally different for those living in states with an HBCU compared to those living in states without an HBCU.

Discussion

In this descriptive study, we explore the relationship between an increase in racial animus, as measured by reported hate crimes at both the state and institutional level, and changes to the type of college chosen by Black students. We primarily explore this relationship by focusing on HBCUs as prior research demonstrates how HBCUs create welcoming environments for Black students. We find that, while the average number of reported hate crimes has declined over the past few years, the number of reported race-based hate crimes on campuses has

increased. We find consistent, though practically modest, relationships between institutions' Black student enrollment and reported hate crimes. An increase in the number of reported state-level hate crimes, regardless of the bias motivation, predicts an increased number of Black students enrolled at HBCUs. At the same time, we predict a decrease in Black student enrollment at non-HBCUs as reports of race-based or anti-Black hate crimes increase in a state. This study provides new evidence that a relationship exists between the prevalence of reports of hate crimes within a state and college enrollment decisions for Black students.

Prior research suggests that campus racial climates reflect those at the state and national level and that Black students make decisions about their social ties on campus based, in part, on the seeking of racial homophily (Stearns et al., 2009; Stokes, 2020; Wimmer & Lewis, 2010). The ties to racially homophilous groups on campus represent stronger ties when compared to the students' ties to the campus (Gilkes Borr, 2019). The findings from this study that focus on state-level reports of hate crimes suggest that Black students are not only making decisions about their social ties on campuses based on perceptions of racially safe spaces, but also that these students and their families might be making choices about *where* to enroll based on these factors.

We focus our analyses on institutions located in states with at least one HBCU. While the data in this study does not allow for an exploration of the demographic make-up of students' home communities, for historical reasons, most HBCUs are located in states with relatively larger Black populations when compared to states that do not host these institutions (see Table 2). It could be that students coming from more racially homophilous home communities seek to replicate these spaces in a college community due to prior experiences of an increased likelihood of student safety in predominantly Black spaces.

As the number of hate crimes reported to the police in the state increases, especially those that are racially motivated, students' awareness of sociopolitical tensions around race and racism could be heightened. Potential college students and their parents who hear about reports of hate crimes could choose to enroll in college partially in response to a desire for spaces with fewer racial incidents. Reports of race-based hate crimes that occur both off and on campus are associated with greater stress and less optimal academic outcomes for young persons (Keels et al., 2017). In contrast, more racially welcoming spaces could have a positive relationship with a higher likelihood of college persistence and graduation. Thus, the choice of a more racially homophilous space for Black students at an HBCU serves as a strategy to increase college success (Laird et al., 2007; Palmer et al., 2010).

The paucity of hate crimes reported on campuses likely partially drives the findings at the institution level. From Table 2, in 2017, the average number of reported campus hate crimes was 0.23 over a three-year time period. We find that when an institution reports three additional hate crimes of any type in a given year, total and Black student enrollment increase at non-HBCUs. When we only look at race-based reports on college campuses, we find that total enrollment is predicted to increase at HBCUs at a practically large magnitude. We explored the distribution of institutional reports of hate crimes based on race at HBCUs. We found two outliers, Lincoln University and Hampton University. In two different analytical years, both institutions had at least two hate crimes reported for the prior three years; although an outlier for the HBCUs in the sample, it is significantly smaller than the number reported at non-HBCUs. When we estimate the models again without those two institutions, the large estimate for institutional reports of race-based hate crimes loses its statistical significance. Therefore, we caution that the institutional hate crime estimates are sensitive to HBCU outliers in reporting.

We do not find evidence that students are less likely to enroll at institutions that have reports of any type of hate crimes as we had hypothesized. This could be the case for several reasons. Potentially, prospective students are not aware of the number of hate crimes reported on a college campus, especially when the number of reported hate crimes is negligible. Thus, first-time students may not take into account the prevalence of hate crimes at a single college campus due to the likelihood that Clery data is not part of the college search process and few parents are aware of the data (Janosik & Gehring, 2003; Janosik, 2004). We explore this further with the sensitivity analyses that include the total undergraduate enrollment, instead of just the first-time enrollment, and still found similar patterns to the preferred estimates.

The relatively small predicted changes in enrollment in this study may be due to what our modeling strategy can, and cannot, control. We include institution fixed effects, which allowed us to control for any time-invariant characteristics of institutions. However, we are unable to control for time-variant characteristics of institutions. For example, we would not be able to control for behaviors such as if an institution has an increase in reports of hate crimes and responds to the incident by creating new programming or structures to help support students, thereby potentially recreating a welcoming environment. It would be difficult to explore this finding with a nationwide study. However, future research should explore a smaller subset of institutions, potentially a specific state, in order to see if the relationship between institution-level reports of hate crimes and Black student enrollment is mediated by structural changes at the institution.

We also are unable to control for whether the perpetrators of the reported hate crimes are affiliated with the institutions where they occurred. It could be that outside agitators commit hate crimes, the victims report the crimes to the institution, and the institution is responsive. In this

way, racial homophily could be upheld and students still choose to enroll at institutions that are the most welcoming. Unfortunately, Clery data does not include this type of information. Future research focused on the perpetrators of hate crimes on college campuses would be a useful first step in furthering the field's understanding of how reports of hate crimes relate to enrollment decisions.

Finally, it could be that students' decisions on college enrollment are less tied to perceptions of college climates when the broader society demonstrates a great deal of racial animus. If students assume that all college campuses will reflect broader societal racism, then perhaps the exact reports of incidents on campus do not influence their decision. Other factors that impact college enrollment, from the cost of the institution to the distance from home, could be considered more salient once students have already taken into account the racial animus present in their home environment. This might be particularly true when thinking about HBCUs, which tend to have fewer fiscal resources due to structural inequities (Burnett, 2020). If a student receives less aid from an HBCU when compared to a non-HBCU, it could be that the student chooses the institution with additional funding, irrespective of the number of reported hate crimes at the institution.

Policy Implications

There are policy implications for both states and campuses in response to the increase in racial animus. One of the limitations of this study is the underreporting of hate crimes by individuals as well as misclassification of hate crimes by police (Masucci & Langton, 2017). For states and campuses, there is a need for additional training for potential reporters with respect to hate crimes. More accurate data is needed in order to understand the full extent of the number of

hate crimes committed so that this data can be used to measure the relationship between the number of hate crimes and health and social outcomes.

For college campuses, we find that the number of hate crimes reported in a state are associated with the overall enrollment and the Black student enrollment in particular. College campuses can provide additional support to students, especially Black students, given the relationship between hate crimes and student mental health and success. Further, campuses can clearly communicate the ways in which they are providing support to prospective Black students and their families.

Conclusion

We find that an increase in the number of reported state-level hate crimes, regardless of the bias motivation, is associated with a 20% increase in first-time Black students enrolled at HBCUs. When examining institution-level reports of hate crimes, an increase in reports of race-based crimes predicts an increase in overall enrollment at HBCUs. It could be that reports of hate crimes at the state level are more salient to students as they make college enrollment decisions, while reports of hate crimes on individual college campuses hold less weight, especially as a proxy for larger sociopolitical racial animus. It could also be that the reports of hate crimes on HBCU campuses are perpetrated by individuals who were not affiliated with the institutions, and therefore, students still find their campus to be a welcoming environment. More work is needed using individual-level data to understand the ways in which reports of hate crimes, and racial incidents more broadly, influence student enrollment choice.

This study focused on the changes in enrollment at HBCUs for Black students following an increase in reports of hate crimes. However, larger sociopolitical animus has been on the rise for many individuals, animus based on gender and religion, for example. Future research is

needed to explore the relationship between college enrollment and increases in animus—whether the targets are selected on the basis of their race, gender, religion, or some other characteristic—in the Unites States. It is important to understand the ways in which an increase in macro-level intolerance and oppression is related to institutional enrollment decisions as a first step to higher education institutions working to actively create welcoming campus environments where all students can thrive while feeling safe.

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Figure 1. Total reports of hate crimes by state (for all states)

Figure 2. Total reports of hate crimes by state (for states with at least one HBCU)

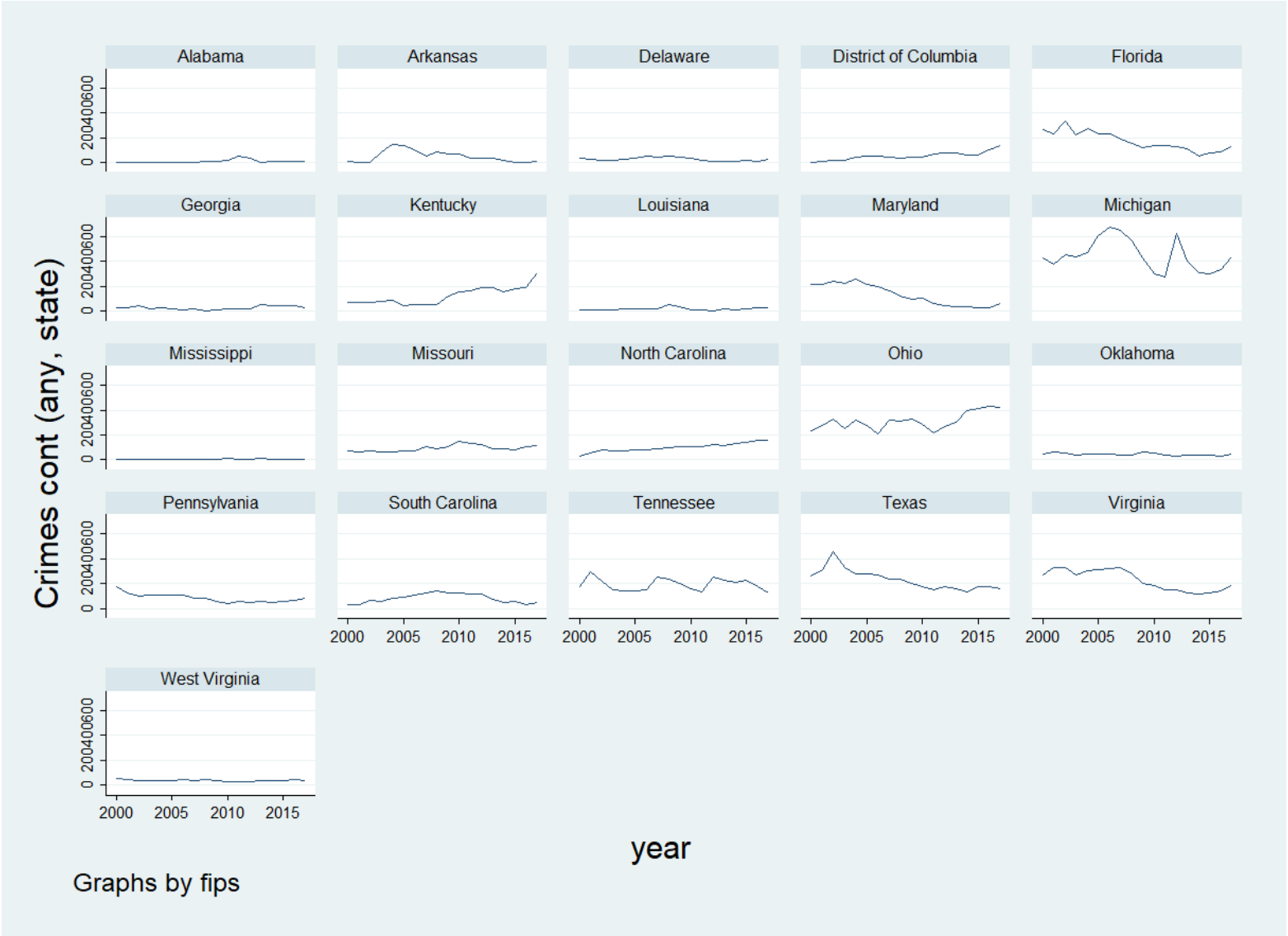
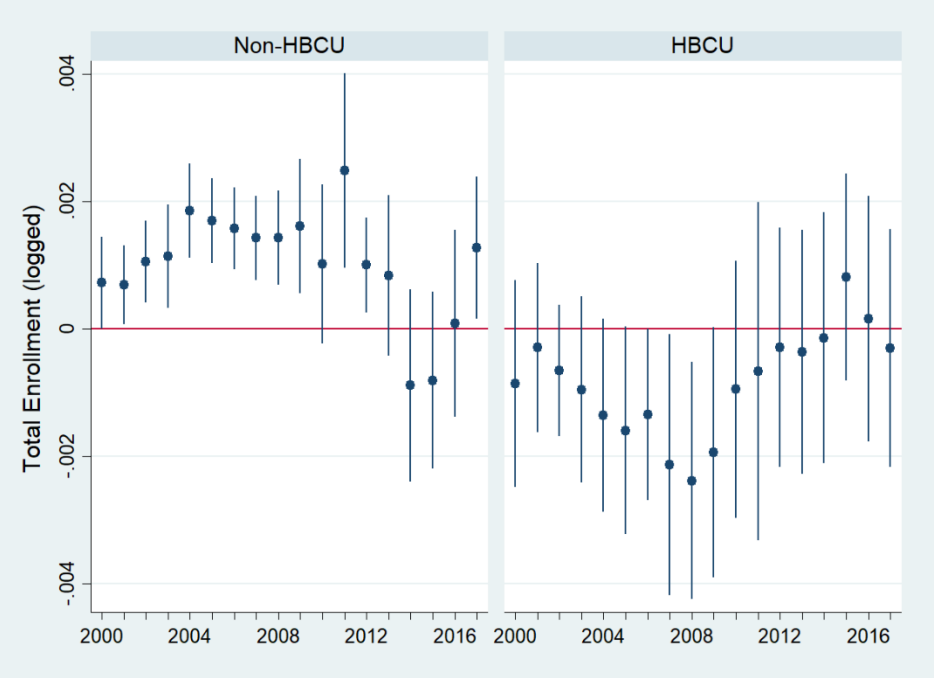
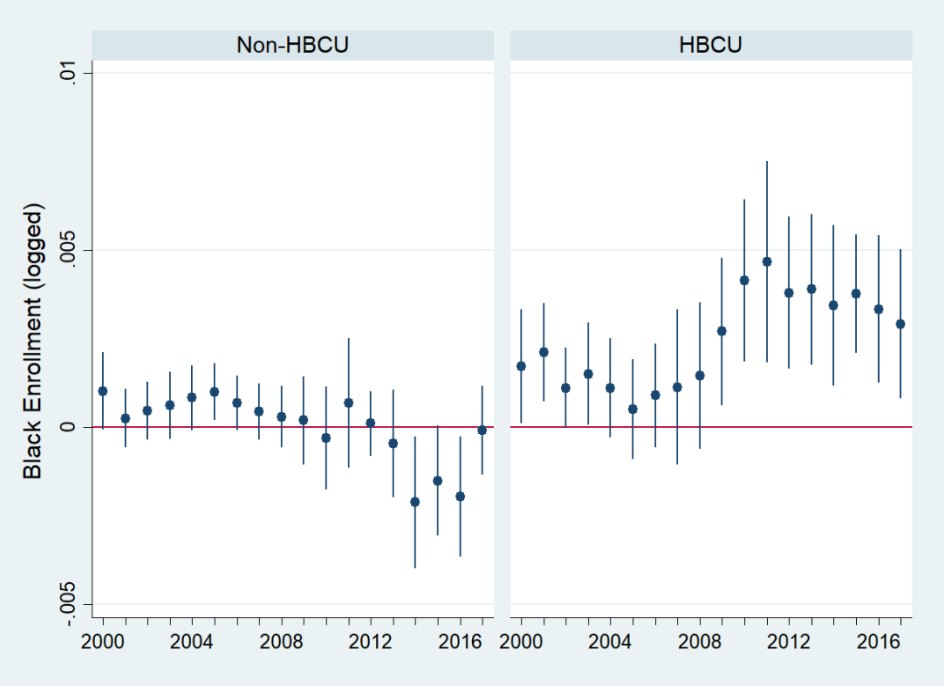


Figure 3. Total state-level reports of hate crimes (2000-2017)

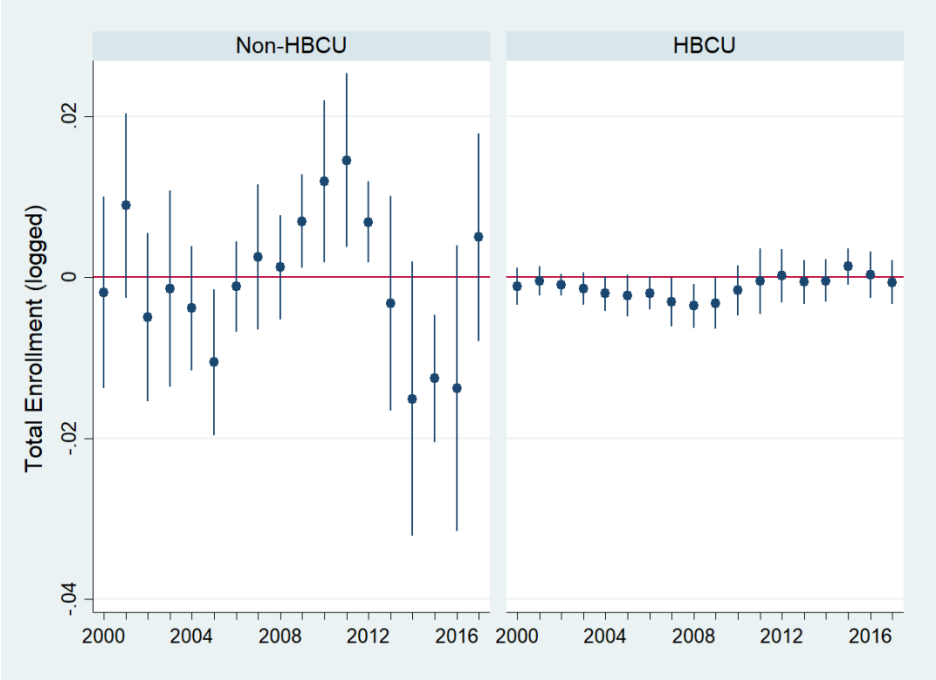


a) Outcome is total enrollment

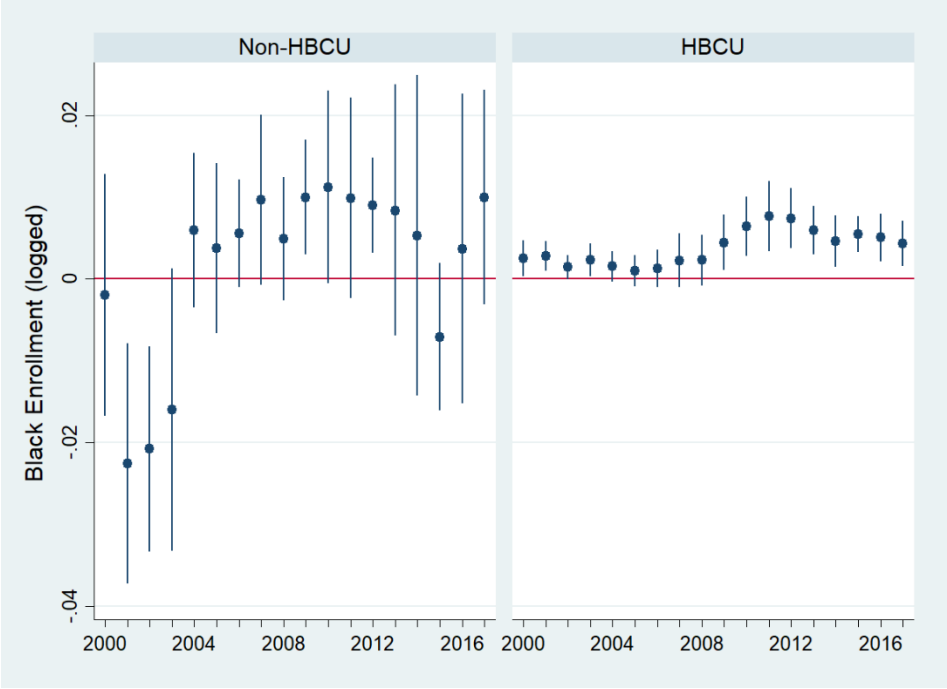


b) Outcome is Black enrollment

Figure 4. Total state-level reports of race-based hate crimes (2000-2017)

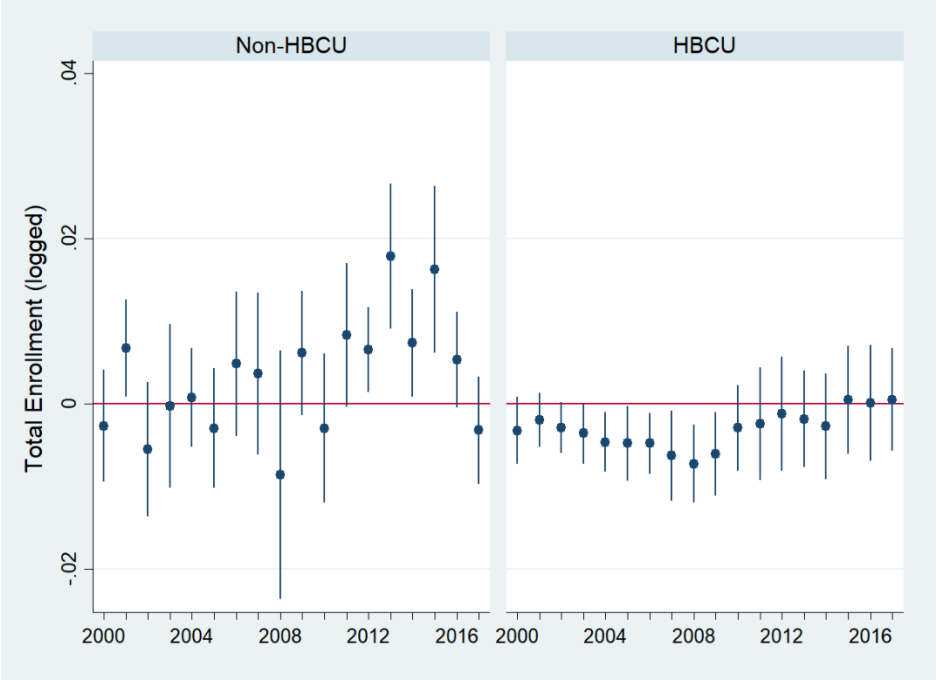


a) Outcome is total enrollment

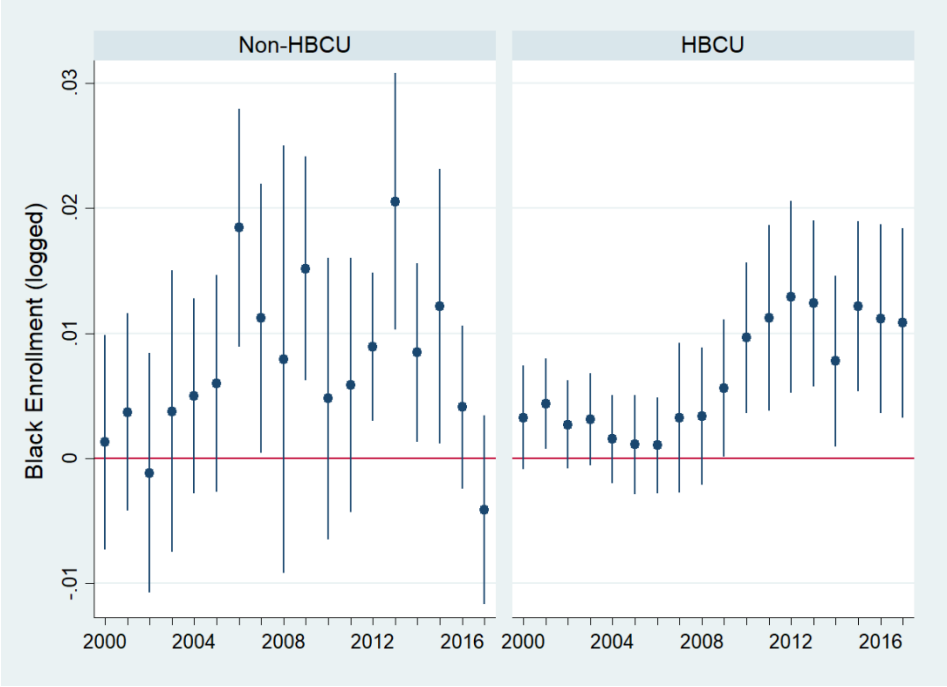


b) Outcome is Black enrollment

Figure 5. Total state-level reports of anti-Black hate crimes (2000-2017)

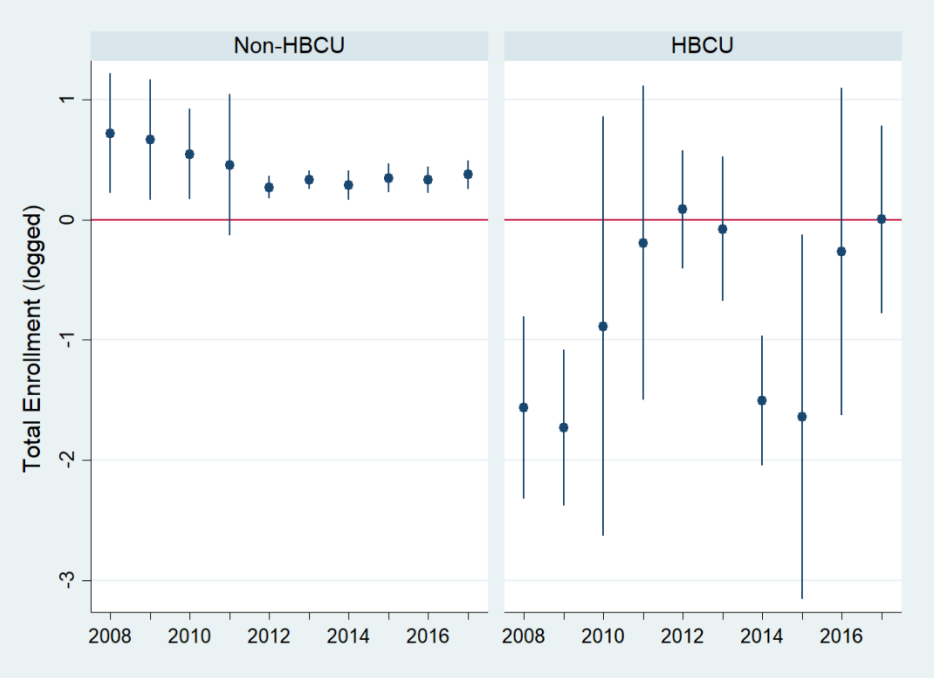


a) Outcome is total enrollment

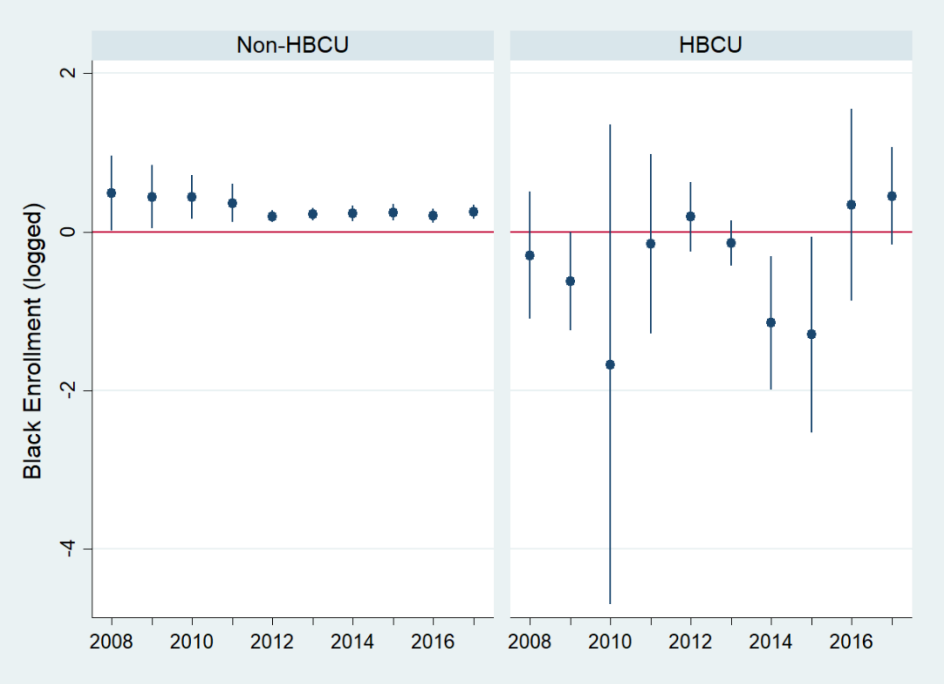


b) Outcome is Black enrollment

Figure 6. Total institution-level reports of hate crimes (2008-2017)

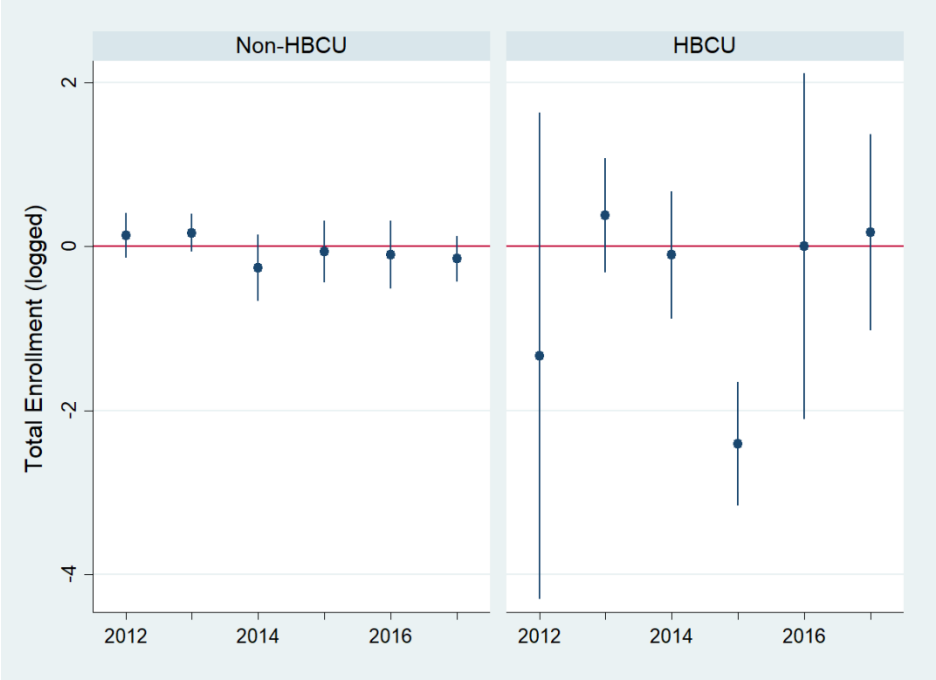


a) Outcome is total enrollment

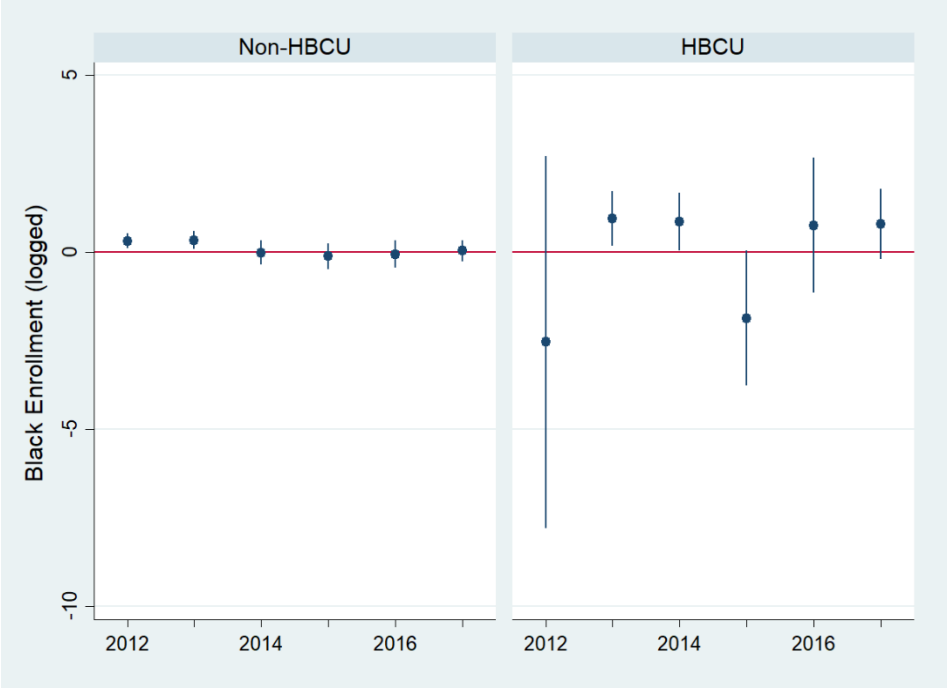


b) Outcome is Black enrollment

Figure 7. Total institution-level reports of race-based hate crimes (2012-2017)



a) Outcome is total enrollment



b) Outcome is Black enrollment

Table 1. Data sources for key measures

	Fall first-time enrollment	**State-level reported hate crimes**			**Institution-level reported hate crimes**		**Institutional characteristics**	**Black share of state residents**
		Total	Race-based	Anti-Black	Total	Race-based		
Data Sources	IPEDS	FBI	FBI	FBI	Clery ED	Clery ED	IPEDS	Census
Years								
2017	Fall 2017	Aug 2016 – July 2017	Aug 2016 – July 2017	Aug 2016 – July 2017	2014, 2015, 2016	2014, 2015, 2016	Fall 2016	July 2016
2012	Fall 2012	Aug 2011 – July 2012	Aug 2011 – July 2012	Aug 2011 – July 2012	2009, 2010, 2011	2009, 2010, 2011	Fall 2011	July 2011
2008	Fall 2008	Aug 2007 – July 2008	Aug 2007 – July 2008	Aug 2007 – July 2008	2005, 2006, 2007	Not available	Fall 2007	July 2007
2000	Fall 2000	Aug 1999 – July 2000	Aug 1999 – July 2000	Aug 1999 – July 2000	Not available	Not available	Fall 1999	July 1999

Note: The headings for each column refer to the measures of interest (e.g., fall first-time enrollment). The first row provides the data sources that we use to collect the measures. The rows below "Years" include sample years of the panel and show the years upon which we merge the data. IPEDS is the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System. FBI is the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Clery ED refers to data from the Campus Safety and Security section of the Office of Postsecondary Education (dictated by the Clery Act).

Table 2. Summary statistics of institutional characteristics and key variables.

	All States			HBCU States		
	2000	2008	2017	2000	2008	2017
Panel A: Institutional characteristics						
4-year private	0.30	0.40	0.42	0.31	0.38	0.39
2-year public	0.44	0.36	0.32	0.44	0.38	0.32
2-year private	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
New England	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00
MidEast	0.15	0.17	0.17	0.13	0.15	0.15
Great Lakes	0.15	0.15	0.14	0.13	0.14	0.14
Plains	0.11	0.11	0.10	0.05	0.05	0.05
Southest	0.10	0.09	0.09	0.14	0.13	0.14
Rocky Mountains	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
Far west	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00
Suburb	0.24	0.20	0.23	0.22	0.19	0.21
Town	0.25	0.21	0.21	0.27	0.22	0.23
Rural	0.07	0.18	0.13	0.08	0.20	0.14
HBCU	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.06	0.06
State affirmative action ban	0.19	0.17	0.22	0.17	0.13	0.17
State college eligible (thousands)	7,885 (6,730)	8,705 (7,409)	9,765 (8,425)	6,999 (4,154)	7,862 (4,798)	9,015 (5,829)
State Black resident share (%)	13.34 (9.24)	13.01 (8.71)	13.15 (8.35)	18.25 (9.04)	17.80 (8.56)	17.89 (8.09)
Panel B: Hate crime reports and enrollment						
State-level						
Total	312.48 (489.08)	283.29 (359.73)	258.57 (296.45)	144.97 (124.08)	155.95 (136.62)	147.92 (129.39)
Race-based	196.67 (302.14)	168.02 (211.36)	141.01 (154.75)	105.87 (89.22)	110.28 (102.58)	100.14 (94.27)
Anti-Black	107.69 (152.52)	95.14 (113.84)	69.86 (73.54)	62.75 (50.61)	61.97 (47.32)	48.51 (39.79)
Institution-level						
Total		0.02 (0.15)	0.31 (0.86)		0.01 (0.14)	0.23 (0.75)
Race-based			0.15 (0.47)			0.12 (0.46)
First-time enrollment						
Total	832.04 (990.36)	887.67 (1177.11)	914.31 (1289.02)	795.88 (1001.42)	837.60 (1132.38)	907.84 (1342.23)
Black student	100.31 (186.16)	115.87 (219.24)	114.93 (219.87)	134.86 (228.43)	155.44 (267.14)	160.38 (276.82)

Note: Means are reported for all variables. Standard deviations are included in the parentheses for all continuous variables. The institution-level measure is a three-year average of reports of hate crimes at individual institutions. All States columns include all four- or two-year not-for-profit institutions (excluding US service schools). HBCU States columns includes the same sample of institutions but trims out any institutions physically located in a state without at least one HBCU.

Table 3. Total state-level reports of hate crimes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Total first-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0003	0.0004	0.0011**	-0.0000
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0001)
HBCU		0.2921**	0.0518	-0.1809
		(0.0999)	(0.1055)	(0.1796)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0012	-0.0007	0.0006'
		(0.0008)	(0.0006)	(0.0003)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black first-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	-0.0013**	-0.0010**	0.0003	-0.0001
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0001)
HBCU		1.9393**	1.4775**	-0.3803*
		(0.1132)	(0.1144)	(0.1646)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.0005	0.0022**	0.0016**
		(0.0008)	(0.0006)	(0.0004)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in states with at least 1 HBCU.

Table 4. Race-based state-level reports of hate crimes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Total first-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0003	0.0004	-0.0003	-0.0013**
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0012)	(0.0003)
HBCU		0.2807**	0.0498	-0.1722
		(0.0971)	(0.1043)	(0.1784)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0017	-0.0010	0.0008*
		(0.0011)	(0.0009)	(0.0004)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black first-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	-0.0019**	-0.0014**	0.0020	-0.0016**
	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0014)	(0.0005)
HBCU		1.9345**	1.4758**	-0.3726*
		(0.1092)	(0.1121)	(0.1611)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.0007	0.0032**	0.0022**
		(0.0011)	(0.0009)	(0.0006)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in states with at least 1 HBCU.

Table 5. Anti-Black state-level reports of hate crimes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Total first-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0009	0.0011'	0.0026*	0.0003
	(0.0006)	(0.0007)	(0.0012)	(0.0003)
HBCU		0.2819**	0.0859	-0.1790
		(0.1014)	(0.1066)	(0.1913)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0029	-0.0028'	0.0017*
		(0.0021)	(0.0017)	(0.0008)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black first-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	-0.0039**	-0.0029**	0.0029*	-0.0012**
	(0.0008)	(0.0008)	(0.0013)	(0.0004)
HBCU		1.8983**	1.4847**	-0.3927*
		(0.1147)	(0.1160)	(0.1814)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.0023	0.0055**	0.0052**
		(0.0022)	(0.0018)	(0.0010)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in states with at least 1 HBCU.

Table 6. Total institution-level reports of hate crimes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Total first-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.4142**	0.4183**	0.3243**	0.0183**
	(0.0427)	(0.0433)	(0.0343)	(0.0041)
HBCU		0.1535'	-0.0474	0.2870
		(0.0892)	(0.0821)	(0.2930)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.3634	-0.3139	-0.0850
		(0.2672)	(0.3063)	(0.1073)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black first-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.2583**	0.2967**	0.2380**	0.0210**
	(0.0361)	(0.0377)	(0.0312)	(0.0076)
HBCU		1.9308**	1.5510**	0.2204
		(0.0945)	(0.0905)	(0.3272)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.3670	-0.1427	-0.1444
		(0.2904)	(0.2737)	(0.1413)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in states with at least 1 HBCU.

Table 7. Race-based institution-level reports of hate crimes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Total first-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.6269**	0.6296**	-0.0338	0.0000
	(0.0905)	(0.0911)	(0.1084)	(0.0139)
HBCU		0.1166	-0.1113	0.4398*
		(0.0917)	(0.0872)	(0.2156)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.4233	-0.1336	0.4329**
		(0.2978)	(0.7303)	(0.1520)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black first-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.4274**	0.4845**	0.1240	-0.0052
	(0.0647)	(0.0689)	(0.0984)	(0.0281)
HBCU		1.8592**	1.4346**	0.3973
		(0.0985)	(0.0944)	(0.2448)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.4338	0.3242	1.1959'
		(0.5332)	(0.7214)	(0.6602)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in states with at least 1 HBCU.

Supplementary Materials

Table S1. Total state-level reports of hate crimes with total undergraduate enrollment

	Total Reported Hate Crimes	Interaction	Covariates & Year FE	Institution FE
Panel A: Total enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0007**	0.0007**	0.0015**	0.0001*
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0001)
HBCU		0.1891'	-0.1577'	0.0452
		(0.1140)	(0.0942)	(0.1682)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0018*	-0.0012*	0.0002
		(0.0009)	(0.0006)	(0.0003)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	-0.0013**	-0.0009**	0.0006'	0.0000
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0001)
HBCU		1.9458**	1.2743**	-0.0976
		(0.1243)	(0.1056)	(0.1452)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.0002	0.0020**	0.0009*
		(0.0009)	(0.0006)	(0.0004)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in states with at least 1 HBCU. Outcome is total undergraduate enrollment.

Table S2. Race-based state-level reports of hate crimes with total undergraduate enrollment

	Total Reported Hate Crimes	Interaction	Covariates & Year FE	Institution FE
Panel A: Total enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0008**	0.0009**	0.0019'	-0.0002
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0011)	(0.0002)
HBCU		0.1773	-0.1628'	0.0445
		(0.1114)	(0.0931)	(0.1666)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0025*	-0.0017*	0.0004
		(0.0012)	(0.0008)	(0.0004)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	-0.0018**	-0.0014**	0.0041**	-0.0003
	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0015)	(0.0004)
HBCU		1.9457**	1.2744**	-0.1013
		(0.1211)	(0.1038)	(0.1424)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.0003	0.0029**	0.0014**
		(0.0012)	(0.0009)	(0.0005)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in states with at least 1 HBCU. Outcome is total undergraduate enrollment.

Table S3. Anti-Black state-level reports of hate crimes with total undergraduate enrollment

	Total Reported Hate Crimes	Interaction	Covariates & Year FE	Institution FE
Panel A: Total enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0019**	0.0021**	0.0050**	0.0001
	(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0011)	(0.0002)
HBCU		0.1814	-0.1197	0.0379
		(0.1155)	(0.0952)	(0.1635)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0044'	-0.0043**	0.0010
		(0.0024)	(0.0016)	(0.0008)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	-0.0038**	-0.0028**	0.0045**	-0.0011**
	(0.0008)	(0.0009)	(0.0014)	(0.0004)
HBCU		1.9066**	1.2906**	-0.1212
		(0.1263)	(0.1075)	(0.1319)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.0015	0.0049**	0.0035**
		(0.0024)	(0.0017)	(0.0009)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in states with at least 1 HBCU. Outcome is total undergraduate enrollment.

Table S4. Total institution-level reports of hate crimes with total undergraduate enrollment

	Total Reported Hate Crimes	Interaction	Covariates & Year FE	Institution FE
Panel A: Total enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.4050**	0.4055**	0.2876**	0.0115**
	(0.0442)	(0.0445)	(0.0323)	(0.0027)
HBCU		-0.0267	-0.3101**	0.1788**
		(0.1003)	(0.0758)	(0.0367)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.2938	-0.2257	0.0294
		(0.2434)	(0.2418)	(0.0362)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.2949**	0.3319**	0.2286**	0.0160**
	(0.0415)	(0.0432)	(0.0332)	(0.0054)
HBCU		1.9306**	1.3531**	0.1547**
		(0.1027)	(0.0861)	(0.0519)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.3248	-0.0466	-0.0320
		(0.2389)	(0.2192)	(0.0378)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in states with at least 1 HBCU. Outcome is total undergraduate enrollment.

Table S5. Race-based institution-level reports of hate crimes with total undergraduate enrollment

	Total Reported Hate Crimes	Interaction	Covariates & Year FE	Institution FE
Panel A: Total enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.6144** (0.0923)	0.6122** (0.0924)	-0.0038 (0.1041)	0.0051 (0.0080)
HBCU		-0.0479 (0.1010)	-0.3529** (0.0804)	0.0850 (0.1115)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.5181 (0.4449)	0.0027 (0.6120)	0.2586** (0.0970)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.4736** (0.0745)	0.5300** (0.0791)	0.1094 (0.1057)	-0.0149 (0.0178)
HBCU		1.8724** (0.1037)	1.2657** (0.0898)	0.0723 (0.1210)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.1593 (0.5683)	0.0805 (0.6839)	0.3425** (0.1297)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in states with at least 1 HBCU. Outcome is total undergraduate enrollment.

Table S6. Total state-level reports of hate crimes for all states

	Total Reported Hate Crimes	Interaction	Covariates & Year FE	Institution FE
Panel A: Total full-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0002**	0.0003**	-0.0000	-0.0001**
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0000)
HBCU		0.3335**	0.0495	-0.1933
		(0.0931)	(0.1057)	(0.1704)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0011	0.0000	0.0008*
		(0.0008)	(0.0006)	(0.0003)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black full-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0001'	0.0002**	0.0003**	0.0000
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
HBCU		2.4321**	1.4619**	-0.4150*
		(0.1051)	(0.1128)	(0.1686)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0007	0.0023**	0.0015**
		(0.0008)	(0.0006)	(0.0005)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in all states.

Table S7. Race-based state-level reports of hate crimes for all states

	Total Reported Hate Crimes	Interaction	Covariates & Year FE	Institution FE
Panel A: Total full-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0005**	0.0005**	0.0017**	-0.0002
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0005)	(0.0001)
HBCU		0.3446**	0.0575	-0.1867
		(0.0908)	(0.1051)	(0.1714)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0017'	-0.0002	0.0010**
		(0.0010)	(0.0009)	(0.0004)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black full-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0001	0.0003*	0.0008'	0.0000
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0005)	(0.0002)
HBCU		2.4126**	1.4637**	-0.4133*
		(0.1016)	(0.1112)	(0.1676)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0010	0.0033**	0.0022**
		(0.0010)	(0.0009)	(0.0006)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions all states.

Table S8. Anti-Black state-level reports of hate crimes for all states

	Total Reported Hate Crimes	Interaction	Covariates & Year FE	Institution FE
Panel A: Total full-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0010**	0.0011**	0.0026**	-0.0000
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0007)	(0.0001)
HBCU		0.3393**	0.0878	-0.1884
		(0.0944)	(0.1074)	(0.1837)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0029	-0.0012	0.0022**
		(0.0020)	(0.0017)	(0.0007)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black full-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.0004'	0.0007**	0.0025**	-0.0002
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0006)	(0.0002)
HBCU		2.4099**	1.4660**	-0.4252*
		(0.1062)	(0.1147)	(0.1903)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.0014	0.0058**	0.0050**
		(0.0020)	(0.0017)	(0.0010)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in all states.

Table S9. Total institution-level reports of hate crimes for all states

	Total Reported Hate Crimes	Interaction	Covariates & Year FE	Institution FE
Panel A: Total full-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.4294**	0.4319**	0.3369**	0.0153**
	(0.0254)	(0.0256)	(0.0225)	(0.0029)
HBCU		0.2106*	0.0429	0.2804
		(0.0859)	(0.0802)	(0.2921)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.3771	-0.2835	-0.0820
		(0.2649)	(0.2966)	(0.1074)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black full-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.2331**	0.2579**	0.2118**	0.0170**
	(0.0233)	(0.0237)	(0.0195)	(0.0056)
HBCU		2.2220**	1.5607**	0.1741
		(0.0903)	(0.0893)	(0.3265)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		-0.3282	-0.1039	-0.1552
		(0.2888)	(0.2616)	(0.1422)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in all states.

Table S10. Race-based institution-level reports of hate crimes for all states

	Total Reported Hate Crimes	Interaction	Covariates & Year FE	Institution FE
Panel A: Total full-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.7696**	0.7729**	0.1080	0.0088
	(0.0598)	(0.0602)	(0.0743)	(0.0073)
HBCU		0.1962*	-0.0091	0.4350*
		(0.0881)	(0.0844)	(0.2152)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.2800	-0.1972	0.4213**
		(0.2898)	(0.7361)	(0.1511)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X
Panel B: Black full-time enrollment (log)				
Total reported hate crimes	0.4642**	0.5065**	0.1971**	0.0084
	(0.0418)	(0.0434)	(0.0644)	(0.0155)
HBCU		2.1578**	1.4571**	0.3546
		(0.0942)	(0.0928)	(0.2420)
Total reported hate crimes * HBCU		0.4118	0.3691	1.1156'
		(0.5304)	(0.6731)	(0.6623)
Covariates & Year FE			X	X
Institution FE				X

Note: Sample only includes institutions in all states.