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## **Racialized Resource Models of Socioeconomic Success: A Mixed Methods Analysis of White and African American High School Students**

By

**Anna Heider<sup>1</sup>**

**ABSTRACT.** Racial differences in the types of social resources that White and African American students need to complete high school and be successful in young adulthood were assessed using the 10-year longitudinal data on 10th graders from the 2002-2012 NELS survey. Racial limits of home and school resources for socioeconomic success were theorized using Bourdieu, Coleman, and Lareau's social capital theories in the context of Massey and Denton's residential segregation. Qualitative interviews and content analyses of journalistic and of select documentary evidence were used to illustrate the statistical analysis. Not only was completing high school essential, for both groups, to succeed socioeconomically as adults, access to resources in their homes was a critical element of early success in high school. But only Whites were able to activate academic and home resources to their benefit in their later success. African Americans continued to rely only on their home resources in their adulthood. These racialized resource models added to the social capital literature on the racialized pathways to economic success, but more research attention is warranted on the future success pathways of African Americans.

### **INTRODUCTION**

That a critical tool for economic success in modern America, high school completion and even a college degree, is not equally available to all youth has been well documented. It is also well established in the field of education that supportive resources in the home and at school can help students on their way to finishing high school and becoming economically successful in their adulthood. Educated parents often expect their children to follow them in their educational trajectories, guide them in high school and even in their later lives. Schools, their resources, teachers, and school peers, are additional important assets to children in their high school and later careers. Unfortunately, the contours of educational opportunities and success in the U.S. are racially defined.

Part of the racialized success is due to differences in access to resources in the home and in schools. But, even when resources are available to both African American and White students, how useful or accessible are they at different points in their socioeconomic

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careers? What are the racial differences in the career supportive resources? Pinpointing the types of supportive resources and the career points at which they are most useful could highlight inequalities in the education system as well in later economic success, and offer evidence for identifying ways of bridging the gaps in options available to African American and White students.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Scholars have explored racial/ethnic differences in the roles that families, teachers, schools, and communities play in the academic aspirations and achievements of youth. The plethora of resources hypothetically available to young students can be categorized into those in the home and in the school. On the home front, parents' educational and economic backgrounds are two well established assets that guide their children for success in high school and later in their lives. Once children enroll and attend schools, race/ethnic variations in perceptions of school climate and of teacher-student relationships, as well as school resources, have found to shape their academic achievements.

### **Support for Education in the Home**

Parents and other family members are key to the educational trajectories of their children. More often than not, parents model the value of education for their children, are involved in shaping their aspirations, goals and school activities, and continue to support them as they pursue their careers.

#### Parents: Academic Expectations and Involvement

Scholars have recognized numerous ways families influence and support their children's academic achievements. For example, students whose parents were very involved with the school, did better academically, in a sample of 15,240 from NELS of surveys (Benner, Boyle, and Sadler 2016). Gordon and Cui (2012) also drew a similar conclusion, from two waves of the Add Health longitudinal study (Wave I sample: 20,745 and wave IV: 15,701). In the Gordon and Cui analyses, parents' high educational expectations for their children and general support were what led to their children's academic achievement.

#### Structural Class Resources in the Home

In addition to parent activities and motivations for their children's future, social class can affect how parents support their children. Socioeconomic structural assets available to parents and children in the home have been documented to be salient for their children's academic success. For example, Lareau (2014) noted differences between how middle class and lower class/poor parents approached educational support, expectations, and general support for their children. Lareau, who observed a sample of 88 families (White and African American), found that middle class parents were involved in the school and were also more willing to challenge the teachers. In contrast, lower class/poor parents

were less involved with the school, listened to everything the teachers said about their child's education, and did not try to change what goes on at the school (even if they disagreed). In fact, in a survey study done by Dixson, Roberson, and Worrell (2017), with a sample of 105 high achieving (GPA > 3.0) African American students, family socioeconomic background was a stronger predictor (accounted 17% of academic variance) of academic achievement than student psychosocial status.

Race, a moderator. The connections between the resources at home and school success are mediated by the racial background of children and their families. For example, in a study of parenting behavior and financial stress by Dotterer, Iruka and Pungello (2012) with 164 mother-child dyads of African American and White ethnicity, the effectiveness of parenting behaviors was found to be different according to racial group. Maternal sensitivity did play a role in the link between SES and school readiness only for White families. But, the maternal negative/intrusive behaviors link operated similarly for both African Americans and whites; for example, lower SES was associated with negative/intrusive maternal behaviors, and in turn, the children had lower pre-academic knowledge than their counterparts.

### **Academic Resources: Structural, Engagement, and Race**

Schools and teachers, with race/ethnicity and gender as central organizing principles, are additional areas around which the complex interplay of academic expectations and outcomes of high school students are played out. Race/ethnic variations in perceptions of school climate, of teacher-student relationships, and school resources, as they affected academic achievements, has been another central theme in the extant research.

#### School Climate

Much research has been done on racial variations in how school climate is perceived by students and the connections to student academic success. In one study, teachers in schools with positive climate and strong discipline had positive relationships with their students and high expectations for their students (Konold, Cornell, Shukla and Huang 2016). In turn, these students, who participated in an anonymous survey of 48,027 students in 323 schools, were highly engaged in their academics. Yet, African American students in the survey (in contrast with White students) perceived the teachers to be less supportive, but more demanding academically. African American students also perceived the discipline at the school to be less structured and less fair. In yet another longitudinal study (from the 7<sup>th</sup> grade in 1991 all the way through 11<sup>th</sup> in 1996), Diemer, Marchand, Mckellar, and Malanchuk (2016) looked more specifically at relationships between teachers and African American students and the effects on students' achievement in math. Not only did teacher's differential treatment negatively predict relevant math instruction during 8<sup>th</sup> grade, it also acted to "corrode the salutary benefits of relevant instruction on students' self-concept of math ability and task value" (p.1221).

Similar racialized findings were available in a study done by Voight, Hanson, O'Malley, and Adekanye (2015), using multilevel regression analyses of "school climate." In a middle school, the African American and Hispanic students, in contrast to their White classmates, had less favorable experiences of connectedness, safety, opportunities for participation, and relationships with adults. Besides, when the racial climate gaps were wider, the racial achievement gap was also larger and vice versa. An example of this racial divide in the Denver public school system was highlighted by an online journalist, Asmar (2019), in "Black student excellence: Denver school board directs district to better serve black students." Illustrating the disproportionate treatment of African American students in public schools, Asmar quoted one student: "Teachers, specifically white teachers, don't know how to act around me...do not know how to have respectful conversations because they're afraid of being offensive or because they're not educated in the right terminology" (<https://chalkbeat.org/posts/co/2019/02/22/black-student-excellence-denver-school-board-directs-district-to-better-serve-black-students/>).

Another aspect of school climate is teacher support as perceived by the students, particularly students of color. Mary, Calhoun, Tejada, and Jenson (2018), in their phenomenological study of 25 African American students, found that despite negative messages and stereotypes, African American students living in low-income communities, had high academic expectations when they were surrounded by supportive teachers, parents, and community programs/afterschool programs. At the other end of the spectrum was academic dis-identification or a disconnect between academic self-concept and achievement. African American youth, particularly males, in Cokley, McClain, Jones, and Johnson's (2012) research with 96 African American students, had better academic performance when they had strong academic self-concept. These authors found that African American males, more than female youth, were likely to perceive school as a hostile environment associated with discipline and corporeal punishment.

### SES and Minority Composition of Schools

In addition to school climate, in its many dimensions, the class and race contexts of schools is another important element in student success. In a meta-analysis of research on the socioeconomic status-academic achievement connection published over a ten-year span (1990-2000), Sirin (2005) found that school SES, defined by parent's education, parental income, and parental occupation, was positively connected to student achievement, but primarily for white, and less so for minority, students; their sample included 101, 157 students at 6,871 schools from 128 different school districts. On balance, Sarin concluded that SES of neighborhoods and schools exerted more of a powerful negative effect on minority students than on white students.

### Student Responsibility: Free Time Use

When all is said and done, students also have responsibility for their success. Wolf, Aber, and Morris (2015) focused on how 504 African American and Latino students used their discretionary time and its connections to their academic achievement. Students grouped in the academic cluster (in discretionary time use) had higher levels

of academic achievement compared to those in the social cluster; that is, students who focused less on academics in their outside time were more likely to do worse academically.

### Success in Later Life

Unlike the plethora of research on student success in high school, there is not much attention that has been paid to the connection between high school education and success in later life. Most scholars have focused on adult socioeconomic attainment as it has been shaped by life-time educational achievements, occupational status, and family/community backgrounds. For example, Wilson (2017) looked at birth cohorts, of Whites versus African Americans and men versus women, from the successive decades from 1910 to 1979. The scholar defined occupational attainment as “occupational returns to education and “earnings returns to occupation” (p. 387). African American and Whites, both men and women, did improve their occupational attainment over those of previous birth cohorts. However, African American men, of both the baby-boom and generation X, were not as successful in moving forward in their occupational trajectories as White men of the same age. Yet, African American women did seem to have made occupational gains relative to White women, even if the gains fluctuated over decades.

Another stream of research on the economic success trajectories has addressed the socioeconomic and privilege contexts in which student grew up. For example, the connections between family/community background, race/ethnicity and young adult socioeconomic attainment was explored by Wickrama, Simons, and Baltimore (2012) using the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. African American youth that came from a low SE (socioeconomic) background and lived in disadvantaged communities were more likely to have significantly lower levels of earnings, assets, and job quality as young adults. However, educational attainment of young adults helped to buffer the limiting influences of family SE background on later achievements and helped accentuate the positive influences of family resources. There is also a “success sequence” with nuanced racial differences in the outcomes. In their reexamination of Isabel Sawhill and Ron Haskins’ data, Reeves, Rodrigue, and Gold (2015) used a similar definition of the “success sequence”, namely graduating high school, maintaining a full-time job or having a partner who does and having children while married and after age 21, should they choose to become parents. While Sawhill and Haskins’ found the African Americans who followed these three “norms” to the middle class were still worse off than their white counterparts, the reanalysis went even more in-depth: “...blacks and white who follow the three norms have about the same likelihood of ending up near the middle, with incomes three to five times the federal poverty line...But white norm-followers have better odds than their black equivalents of ending up in a more affluent household” (<https://www.brookings.edu/research/following-the-success-sequence-success-is-more-likely-if-youre-white/>).

## **Summary and Suggestions for Future Research**

Numerous valuable lessons were identified in the scholarly research reviewed above on the racial dimensions of high school academic success as it was impacted by support, or lack thereof, in the home and school. It was clear that a high school diploma is critical for later success. However, there was little longitudinal assessment found of how resources that were effective in students' success in high school completion continued to be available to youth to be tapped into later in life and whether there are racial dimensions to the resources accessible and activated by youth. The researchers reviewed above also expressed the need for larger sample sizes, especially ones that include more African American students.

## **RESEARCH QUESTION**

To address some these gaps in the extant research, a mixed method approach was used to outline, first, the potentially racialized social capital resource (academic and home) models of high school completion of White and African American youth. Second, if high school completion is a key to future socioeconomic success, which of these early resources continued to help White and African American youth in their adult socioeconomic success? The formal research question posed was, "How were academic and home resources differently activated by White and African American youth in their progress toward high school completion and, in turn, their future socioeconomic achievement in young adulthood?" These findings will contribute to an ongoing conversation about mechanisms to reduce racial inequalities in early life chances and later success.

## **THEORY AND HYPOTHESES**

An understanding of racialized resource models for high school completion and later success explored in this study were framed within Bronfenbrenner's (1974) ecological approach and social capital theoretical frameworks (Bourdieu 1977, Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, Coleman 1987, and Lareau 2014). Of the many ecologies that affect youth as they grow and develop their academic and economic self- concepts, the home (micro system) and school (meso system) are the most relevant. It is the economic and socio-cultural capital that these two systems offer and are potentially activated by youth that could theoretically demonstrate how these ecologies shaped youth as they worked toward their early academic later socioeconomic (flexible self) success, Mead 1934). However, because of racial inequalities in access to critical resources (Bourdieu and Lareau), racialized resource success models were anticipated for whites and African Americans.

### **Ecological Systems and Social Capital**

Two important ecologies in which a person grows, develops, and succeeds are the home micro-system and the school meso-system (Bronfenbrenner 1974). It is in these

two ecologies that children first develop their core self-concept (Kuhn and Mcpartland 1954) and it is through these two ecologies that children learn how to access the economic, social and cultural capital resources that will have to be activated for later life success. It is well known that family economic resources are a major determinant of the quality of schools in which American children are educated (Smelser, Wilson, and Mitchell 2001). In addition, the home and schools are critical sources of sociocultural capital resources. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) outlined the cultural beliefs, traditions, and the norms that one learns at home and in environments outside the home, such as at school, that play an important role during youth development. These resources were linked by Coleman (1987) to successful outcomes for children. To Coleman, parent's value, expectations, beliefs, and their own behavior play a role in a child's life outcomes; that is, the ways they parent their children shape children's academic and later socioeconomic achievement.

### Race and Socio-Cultural Capital

However, Bourdieu (1977, 1990) and later Lareau (2014) also theorized access to resources to be unequal by race and by other inequality markers. White Americans hold a clear advantage over African Americans in terms of income, wealth, health, education, and many other important resources. A compelling social capital explanation for this white advantage is how social and cultural resources are used or activated by a dominant white group in order to exclude others from jobs, social resources, and other life chances (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Whiteness itself is a form of cultural capital; that is, as the dominant racial group in American society, whites are able to set the normative standards for appropriate values, beliefs, and behaviors necessary for success. Besides, cultural capital often leads to valuable additional social capital, as in the resources and knowledge, gained through one's social networks. It is these forms of knowledge, behaviors, and preferences that help individuals, Whites in this case, gain an advantage in the specific social contexts of education, employment, and wealth. For example, Massey and Denton (2003) demonstrated how residential segregation in the US has become one of the main perpetuators of urban poverty among African Americans. They spoke about how segregation has created the "black ghetto".

There is much scholarly writing on the origins of racial segregation in the US and how the social isolation of African Americans was intensified by social policies that supported red-lining in the real estate markets and associated home financing industries. Massey (2003; Chapter 2) located the beginnings of racial segregation, and the formation of the "black ghetto" in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when African Americans left the south and moved to northern cities. However, partly because of the racial violence that erupted, neighborhood organizations and other institutions instituted policies that had the de facto effect of confining African Americans to ghettos and socially insulating them from the white communities. For example, neighborhood improvement organizations got white landowners to sign covenants that specifically prohibited African Americans from owning, or occupying, or leasing properties. Also, an earlier code of ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers stipulated that "...a Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood....members of any race or



nationality...whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood...” (p. 37). Confined to such institutionalized segregated contexts, African Americans were limited in, and unable to accumulate for future generations, the types of transferrable social, cultural, and economic capital that need to be accessed to enter and succeed in the broader dominant (White) educational system and workplace.

Lareau (2014) specifically connected the racial inequalities in social and cultural capital faced by black families to educational inequalities. She found that social capital, derived from class status of middle class and working/poor class parents, mediated the connection between parenting style and school performance. Concerted Cultivation was the parenting style used by most in middle-class families; in the concerted cultivation style, parents teach their children to question authority, develop a large vocabulary, and make them comfortable enough to have discussions with authority figures. In contrast, children in lower or working-class families were exposed to a more natural growth parenting. In this type of parenting, parents tell their children what to do rather than negotiate with them; they also encourage putting trust into authority figures and encouraged children to play on their own. While such natural parenting practices encouraged children to be independent at a younger age they also set them up for jobs, mainly working-class jobs, where those in authority were to be followed and respected. These two differing approaches to parenting shaped the types of socio-cultural capital that children could or could not access, depending on their class and/or racial origins.

As youth grow into young adulthood, these racial differences, and even inequalities, in socio-cultural capital continue to play key roles in the types of social networks that they can activate in the requisite social interactions and connections for finding and succeeding in the workplace. Such racialized social connections more often than not tend to segregate African Americans into certain jobs. Even when they find jobs, Bell, Nkomo, and Hammond (1994) documented the stereotypes that African American workers encounter in workplace settings, leading to feelings of isolation and alienation. In fact, much of the social divide in the workplace has been attributed to differences in the social and cultural capital between African Americans and their coworkers. Such unequal evaluations of racialized capital, that initiated the divide, also continued into the workplace and shaped the types of jobs African Americans were assigned.

Given the racially segregated living, learning, and working environments in the U.S., it is logical to expect that race does shape the kinds of, and access to, resources -- economic, social, and cultural capital – that would be helpful for success in schools and later in in the workplace. If societal evaluation of the value of home and school resources are racialized in favor of white students, it can be predicted that home (economic and sociocultural) and academic resources would be more useful, on balance, to White students in their chances of high school completion than of African American students (Hypothesis #1). Under this white privilege scenario, home and academic resources will continue to be net beneficial to Whites (more than African American youth) in their later SE success (Hypothesis #2). Besides, faced with a racialized landscape that has disadvantaged African Americans outside their homes, home resources were predicted to help African American students complete high school, but not succeed necessarily socioeconomically in their adulthood (Hypothesis #3).

## METHODOLOGY

In order to capture a more holistic picture of the racialized resource models, a sequential mixed methods design was employed. First, quantitative secondary survey data was utilized to test the hypotheses. In the second step, narrative insights from experts in education inequality as well documentary evidence about racial inequalities were used to illustrate and to explain the statistical results.

### Secondary Survey Data Analysis

The survey data set used in this paper were drawn from the NCES (National Center for Education Statistics), collected from 2002 until 2012. At the beginning of the study (Base Year) in 2002, the youth (n=16,197) were in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade. The first follow up in 2004 was done when the youth were in 12<sup>th</sup> grade. And two additional follow ups were conducted, one in 2006 and six years later in 2011-12. The NELS data included interviews and surveys with the school administrators, parents and students; test scores and transcripts were also documented. The NELS sample in the base year was made up of 50.5% men and 49.5% women; and 81.1 % were White and 18.9 % African American. In keeping with the research design of racialized resources models, the analyses were disaggregated by White and African American youth; sex of the respondent was controlled.

### Qualitative Methodology

In order to gain first-hand insights on how home and academic resources influenced socioeconomic achievement, qualitative interviews were conducted with two education professionals. The first interviewee is an Associate Provost for Research (Interviewee #1) and the second a Senior Associate and Head of Faith Formation Interviewee #2); both have worked in and on education issues for their whole careers. These educators were selected for their well-recorded views of education and home resources that contribute to academic success and socioeconomic success. The Interview Protocol and Consent Forms are available in Appendix A. To set an additional context for the quantitative analyses and expand on the interview comments, content analysis of select journalistic and documentary evidence were also conducted. Some examples were: “Following the success sequence? Success is more likely if you’re white”<sup>2</sup>; “Black student excellence: Denver school board directs district to better serve black students” by Asmar 2019<sup>3</sup>; “Columbus State wins award for boosting student success, reducing gaps”<sup>4</sup>; and the HBO documentary, “Class Divide” by Levin (2015)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.brookings.edu/research/following-the-success-sequence-success-is-more-likely-if-youre-white/>

<sup>3</sup> <https://chalkbeat.org/posts/co/2019/02/22/black-student-excellence-denver-school-board-directs-district-to-better-serve-black-students/>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.dispatch.com/news/20190220/columbus-state-wins-award-for-boosting-student-success-reducing-gaps.>

<sup>5</sup> <https://play.hbogo.com/feature/urn:hbo:feature:GV7xUvQFq08JfPwEAAAFa?reentered=true&userProfileType=liteUserProfile&autoplay=true>.

## DATA ANALYSES

Three different levels of analyses, disaggregated by White and African American backgrounds, were conducted for this research. First, univariate analyses were used to build a profile of the students sampled at the time they were in 10<sup>th</sup> grade and again 10 years later when they were young adults. Bivariate analyses were then used to search for the preliminary differential (by race) associations of socioeconomic achievement and high school completion with home resources and academic resources. These relationships were then tested once again by using a two-step multiple regression analyses, to assess the net effects of resources (home and academic) first on high school completion and then on SE achievement. In keeping with the research design, the regression analyses were disaggregated by White and African American students. Finally, comments from the qualitative interviews and content analyses were used to illustrate the multivariate analysis findings.

### Descriptive Analysis

White young adults were more economically successful and were more likely to have completed high school than African Americans, despite having approximately similar access to academic resources. As for home resources, African American youth had fewer (than whites) economic resources, but were advantaged in some types of sociocultural resources vis-à-vis their White counterparts.

#### Socioeconomic (SE) Achievement

Socioeconomic achievement, the first success indicator used in this research, was measured using a scale that included educational achievement and employment income 10 years after completing high school. As seen in Table 1.A, on balance, White students (Mean SES = 0.16 on a range of -1.41 – 9.17) had overall higher socioeconomic achievement than African American students (Mean SES = -0.17 on a range of -1.41 – 5.99).

**Table 1.A Socio-Economic Achievement as of 3<sup>rd</sup> Follow-up (2012)  
Educational Longitudinal Study, NELS, 2002-2012**

Concept	Dimensions	Variables	Values	Statistics	
				White	African American
SE Achievement	SES	F3SES Sample member's socioeconomic status as of F3 <sup>1</sup>	Mean	0.16	-0.17***
			Min-Max	0.74	0.68
				-1.41 – 9.17	-1.41 – 5.99

<sup>1</sup> F3SES is the average of 3 standardized components, namely 2011 earnings from employment, the prestige score associated with the respondent's current/most recent job, and educational attainment. For more details, please refer to: <https://nces.ed.gov/OnlineCodebook/Session/Codebook/d61960c5-287f-4edc-812a-3d5326a325d4>.

\*\*\* p<= .001.

## High School Completion

High school completion, the second indicator of success, presented in Table 1.B indicated the following: A vast majority, over 75% of both groups had completed high school on time. However, slightly more White students (89%) were likely than African Americans (78.7%) to have completed High school on time. And, although in small proportions, African Americans (9.4%) were more likely to have had no GED or equivalency than Whites (5%). In short, there was a difference between African American and Whites in their achievement; African American students were less likely to achieve high school education at the same level as White students.

**Table 1.B High School Completion as of 2<sup>nd</sup> Follow-up (2006)  
Educational Longitudinal Study, NELS, 2002-2012**

Concept	Dimension	Variable	Responses	Statistics	
				White	African American
High School Completion	Completion	F2HSSTAT High School Completion status in 2006	1. No GED or equivalency, no plans to pursue	5.0%	9.4%***
			2. Working towards GED or equivalency	1.5	5.5
			3. received GED or equivalency	2.9	3.5
			4. completed HS summer post 2004	1.3	2.9
			5. completed HS on time, 2004 (n)	89.3 (8682)	78.7 (2020)

## Academic Resources

Two types of academic resources, school resources and peer academic culture, were considered as potential explanations for success in high school completion. As seen in Table 1.C, both African American (AA) and White (WA) students felt supported in their schools and had resources available to them; the index of school resources was high at about 28 (on a range of 17 – 34) for both African Americans and Whites. For example, a majority of schools did have libraries for both African American and White students (at about 95%) and both groups of students rated the libraries as mostly useful (AA:52.8%; WA:58.7%). But both sets of students were split between disagree (AA:25.8%; WA:34.1%) and agree (AA: 44.2%; W:46.4%) on whether their teachers expected success of kids in school.

Interestingly, the racial differences in school resources, when noted, were in favor of African American students. For example, more White students (56.9%) were likely to feel put down by professors in the classroom than African Americans (50.6%). And, school counselor's expectations for students to go to college were slightly higher for African American students (88.3%) than for White students (84.9%); with less than 20% saying their students would do anything but go to college (AA: 11.7%; WA: 15.1%). On balance though, both groups were fairly equal in the available academic resources and support felt in their schools, even if African American students registered more support.

**Table 1.C School Resources of Base Year (2002)  
Educational Longitudinal Study, NELS, 2002-2012**

Concept	Dimensions	Variables	Responses	Statistics	
				White	African American
Academic Resources	Expectations	BYS66E	0. anything but college	15.1%	11.7%
		School Counselor's desire for 10 <sup>th</sup> grader after high school	1. go to college (n)	84.9 (5757)	88.3 (9677)
		BY27H	1.strongly disagree	7.6%	6.7%
		Teachers expect success in school	2. disagree	34.1	25.8
			3. agree	46.4	44.2
			4. strongly agree (n)	11.8 (8258)	23.3 (1890)
		Resources	BYS50	0. no	4.2%
		School has library media/resource center	1. yes (n)	95.8 (8192)	95.0 (14238)
		BYS52	1. don't use the school library	11.4%	14.5%
		How useful are school library reference materials	2. not useful	8.3	6.2
			3. useful	58.7	52.8
			4. very useful (n)	21.7 (7687)	26.5 (1656)
		BYS20F	1. strongly disagree	3.0%	5.6%
		Teachers are interested in students	2. disagree	18.5	23.4
		3. agree	59.4	52.7	
		4. strongly agree (n)	15.2 (8682)	13.5 (1966)	
	BYS20H	1. strongly disagree	27.4%	31.8%	
	In class often feels put down by teachers	2. disagree	56.9	50.6	
		3. agree	9.4	9.9	
		4. strongly agree (n)	2.2 (8621)	2.9 (1994)	
	BYS27A	1. strongly disagree	7.7%	5.6%	
	Classes are interesting and challenging	2. disagree	37.2	29.4	
		3. agree	44.7	46.5	
		4. strongly agree (n)	6.5 (8631)	13.9 (1995)	
		Index of School <sup>1</sup> Resources	Mean (sd)	28.17 (2.45)	28.60 (2.48)
			min-max	16-34	17-34

<sup>1</sup> Index of School Resources=Teacher Expectations Recoded + Library Usefulness Recoded + School Counselor Recoded + BY50 + BY20H + Teachers are Interested in Students Recoded + Classes are Interesting and Challenging Recoded; Range: 16-34; Correlations among these indicators ranged from 0.033<sup>\*\*</sup>- 0.456<sup>\*\*</sup>(p<0.01<sup>\*\*</sup>) for Whites and from 0.008<sup>\*</sup>-0.385<sup>\*\*</sup>(p<0.01<sup>\*\*</sup>) for African Americans

As for the peer academic culture that students were immersed in, the following similarities and racial differences were noted. African American students' friends were more academically influential than friends of their White counterparts. For example, when asked if it was very important to their friends to get good grades, 60.8% of African American students said so compared to only 48% of White students. Even though it was

equally very important to friends of both groups (76.1% WA and 77.1% AF) to finish high school, more African American youth (62.7%) compared to Whites (57.8%) had friends who wanted to continue their education past high school.

**Table 1.D Peer Academic Influence of Base Year (2002)  
Educational Longitudinal Study, NELS, 2002-2012**

Concepts	Dimensions	Variables	Responses	Statistics	
				White	African American
Academic Resources	Peer Academic Influence	BYS90A	1. not important	3.5%	2.5%
		Important to friends to attend classes regularly	2. somewhat important	31.1	22.0
			3. very important	40.2	30.7
			(n)	(6489)	(1116)
		BYS90B	1. not important	11.2%	9.1%
		Important to friends to study	2. somewhat important	55.8	49.6
			3. very important	33.0	41.3
			(n)	(6519)	(10713)
		BYS90D	1. not important	5.8%	6.1%
		Important to friends to get good grades	2. somewhat important	46.2	33.1
3. very important	48.0		60.8		
(n)	(2223)		(1117)		
BYS90F	1. not important	3.4%	5.6%		
Important to friends to finish high school	2. somewhat important	20.5	17.3		
	3. very important	76.1	77.1		
	(n)	(6454)	(1114)		
BYS90H	1. not important	6.2%	6.1%		
Important to friends to continue education past high school	2. somewhat important	36.0	31.1		
	3. very important	57.8	62.7		
	(n)	(1917)	(1108)		
Index of Peer <sup>1</sup> Academic Influence			Mean (sd)	12.38	12.61**
			min-max	2.35	2.47
				5-15	5-15

<sup>1</sup> Index of Peer Academic Influence=BYS90A+BYS90B+BYS90D+BYS90F+BYS90H; Range: 5-15; Correlations among these indicators ranged from 0.335\*\* - 0.596\*\* (p<0.01\*\*) for Whites and from 0.297\*\* - 0.693\*\* (p<0.01\*\*) for African Americans.

## Home Resources

Home resources, the second type of social capital considered in this analysis, were measured by two sets of indicators: socioeconomic and socio-cultural resources. Based on families' total income (in 2001), White families had more economic resources than African American families (Table 1.E). The majority in both groups made between \$25,001 and \$200,000, both African American (63%) and White families (87.7%); but there was a 24.7% difference in favor of White families. White parents were also more educated than their African American counterparts. For example, 46% of white parents had completed college and even go beyond. The comparable proportion of college educated African American parents was 32.8%. On the other hand, more African American parents had either graduated high school or had earned a GED than White parents (AA: 23.3%; WA:19.4%). On balance, white youth had access to more economic resources in their homes than African American youth.

**Table 1.E Home Resources of Base Year (2002)  
Educational Longitudinal Study, NELS 2002- 2012**

Concepts	Dimensions	Variables	Responses	Statistics			
				White	African American		
Home Resources	SE Resources (SER)	BYINCOME Total Family Income from all sources 2001-composite	1. None	0.2%	0.8%		
			2. \$1,000 or less	0.3	3.1		
			3. \$1,001 - \$5,000	0.7	4.3		
			4. \$5,001-\$10,000	1.1	4.4		
			5. \$10,001-\$15,000	2.5	7.3		
			6. \$15,001-\$20,000	3.2	8.6		
			7. \$20,001-\$25,000	4.3	8.5		
			8. \$25,001-\$35,000	9.6	15.3		
			9. \$35,001-\$50,000	18.8	19.0		
			10. \$50,001-\$75,000	24.0	14.0		
			11. \$75,001-\$100,000	16.3	8.4		
			12. \$100,001-\$200,000	14.1	5.4		
			13. 200,001 or more	4.9	0.9		
	BYPARED Parents' highest level of education	1. Did not finish high school 2. Graduated from high school/GED 3. Attended 2-year school, no degree 4. Graduated from 2-year school 5. Attended college, no 4-year deg. 6. Graduated from college 7. Completed Master's degree or eq. 8. Completed PhD, MD, other advanced degree	1. Did not finish high school	2.0%	4.5%		
			2. Graduated from high school/GED	19.4	23.3		
			3. Attended 2-year school, no degree	10.8	13.3		
			4. Graduated from 2-year school	11.0	12.0		
			5. Attended college, no 4-year deg.	11.0	14.2		
			6. Graduated from college	24.6	19.8		
			7. Completed Master's degree or eq.	13.8	7.7		
			8. Completed PhD, MD, other advanced degree	7.4	5.3		
	Index of SE <sup>1</sup> Resources	Mean (sd) min-max (n)	Mean	14.43	12.12		
			(sd)	3.46	3.80		
			min-max	3-21	3-21		
Socio-cultural Resources	BYHOMLIT Home literacy resources	1. Family has none of the resources 2. Family has one of these resources 3. Family has two of these resources 4. 50+ book/daily paper/regular mag (n)	1. Family has none of the resources	2.8%	7.6%		
			2. Family has one of these resources	11.8	18.8		
			3. Family has two of these resources	28.6	32.8		
			4. 50+ book/daily paper/regular mag	56.9	40.9		
			(n)	(7905)	(1562)		
			BYP81 How far in school parent expects 10 <sup>th</sup> -grader's will go	1. Less than high school graduation 2. High school graduation/GED only 3. Attend or complete 2-year college/school 4. Attend 4-year degree incomplete 5. Graduate from college 6. Obtain Master's degree or equi. 7. Obtain PhD, MD, other advanced degree	1. Less than high school graduation	0.3%	0.5%
					2. High school graduation/GED only	6.7	7.7
					3. Attend or complete 2-year college/school	13.6	11.3
					4. Attend 4-year degree incomplete	3.9	3.9
					5. Graduate from college	47.2	36.2
					6. Obtain Master's degree or equi.	17.2	18.6
					7. Obtain PhD, MD, other advanced degree	11.2	21.7
				Index of Socio-cultural <sup>2</sup> Resources	Mean (sd) min-max (n)	Mean	5.05
(sd)	1.32	1.53					
min-max	1-8	1-8					
		(n)	(6738)	(1128)			

<sup>1</sup> Index of SER= BYINCOME\*BYPARED\*BYP84; Range: 3-21; Correlations between the two indicators were 0.300\*\* - 0.450\*\* (p<0.01\*\*) for whites, and from 0.242\*\* - 0.431\*\* (p<0.01\*\*) for African Americans.

<sup>2</sup> Index of Socio-Cultural Resources= By Home Lit Recoded\*BYP81; Correlations between the two indicators were 0.184\*\* (p<0.01\*\*), and 0.075\* (p<0.05\*) for African Americans.

The class resource divide among neighborhoods and homes that are accentuated by gentrification are illustrated in the documentary, “Class Divide” in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York (Levin 2015). On one side of the street are the expensive schools, buildings, restaurants, while just across the street are housing projects. They are only separated by one street, but coexist in the same area. One woman interviewed in the film noted, “I feel like they’re trying to push everybody out of New York City. I don’t care what color you are, if you don’t have the big dollars they want you out.” Gentrification is a part of residential segregation, just because you have been living in one place for a long time, does not mean you will always be able to afford to live there.

As for socio-cultural resources in the home, the second dimension of home resources, the following similarities and differences were evident in Table 1. E. Parents of both groups of students had very high expectations for their educational future. More than three quarters of (WA= 75.6% and AA = 76.5%) parents expected their children to complete college and even go beyond. Similarly, both sets of parents offered their children rich literacy options in their homes; White homes were a bit more so than African American homes. A majority (51.6%) of African American homes had 1-2 reading materials (versus 49.4% WA homes); a majority (56.9%) of White homes had more than 50 resources for reading while the corresponding percentage in AA homes was 40.9%.

### Summary Profile

On balance, White youth grew up in families that had more socioeconomic resources than African American youth; the mean ( $\bar{x}$ ) index of socioeconomic resources was 14.3 for White families and 12.1 ( $\bar{x}$ ) for AA (on a range of 3 – 21). Their socio-cultural home background was similar, in their richness, and yet different. Both groups of families had high expectations for their children’s education. But White youth had a more in their exposure to literacy in the homes.

### **Bivariate Analyses**

In the second analytical step, bivariate correlation analyses were run between the socioeconomic achievement and high school completion with both home and academic resources (Appendix B: Table 2). As seen in Table 2, several preliminary differences were noted in the experiences of White and African American youth. For one, both both White and African American students with good home resources did moderately better when it came to completing high school. Specifically, socioeconomic resources were equally helpful to both groups (SE resources: White  $r=0.18^{***}$  & African American  $r = 0.17^{***}$ ). But, sociocultural capital played a moderately bigger role in high school completion for African American students than it did for White youth (Sociocultural: African American  $r=0.27^{***}$  versus White  $r=0.21^{***}$ ). Racialized resource differences were also noted in the utility of academic resources (school resources and peer academic influence), the second type of resource, in high school completion. Both types of school



resources were more salient for White students than they were for African American students (School resources: White  $r=0.11^{***}$  vis-a-vis African American  $r=0.05^*$ ; Peer Academic resources: White  $r=0.15^{***}$  contrast with African American  $r=0.07^{**}$ ). In addition, more White male ( $r=-0.09^{***}$ ) and African American male youth ( $r=-0.06^{***}$ ) were likely to have completed high school than their female counterparts.

Once they graduated high school, the high school completion certificate was very helpful to both African American and White student's future socioeconomic success. But, the benefits of high school completion were more striking for African American youth (African American  $r=0.32^{***}$ ) than for Whites ( $r=0.27^{***}$ ). And just as with high school completion, home and academic resources continued to be assets to both groups of youth in their future socioeconomic achievement. However, there were the expected racial undertones in the extent of resource usefulness. Even though both White and African American students were able to continue to activate their home resources for later socioeconomic success, White students (SE resources  $r=0.34^{***}$  and Sociocultural  $r=0.35^{***}$ ) were able to do so much more than African Americans ( $r=0.24^{***}$  &  $r=0.24^{***}$ ). Along similar racialized lines, high school academic resources continue to be an asset for White students' socioeconomic success (School Resources  $r=0.13^{***}$  and Peer Academic Resources  $r=0.20^{***}$ ) but that was not the case for African Americans ( $r$  not significant).

Overall, home and school resources played an important role, both in high school completion and in the future socioeconomic success of White youth. But African American students could activate their home and academic resources only for their high school completion, but not in their pursuit of later socioeconomic success. The robustness of these preliminary racialized associations between resources and success in high school and later in life were evaluated using multivariate regression analyses.

### Multivariate Analysis

The racial differences in the associations of home and school resources with high school completion and later socioeconomic success were reevaluated using a two-step multiple regression analysis for White and African American students separately (Table 3). In the first step, high school completion was regressed on home and school resources. In the second step, future socioeconomic was predicted using high school completion as well as home and school resources. Gender was controlled for in all four analyses models.

Several racialized and non-racialized patterns were evident in Table 3 in both high school completion and later socioeconomic achievement (SEA). As might be expected, both groups of youth needed similar types of resources for success at the high school and adult phases of their lives. But the resources needed for socioeconomic success in the later life stage were more racialized than for high school completion. Racial differences were also evident within each trajectory.

**Table 3**  
**Regression Analysis of School Resources and Academic Resources on**  
**High School Completion & Socioeconomic Achievement<sup>1</sup>**  
**(Sex as control):  $\beta$  Coefficients**  
**Educational Longitudinal Study, NELS, 2002-2012**

	Model 1 HS Completion		Model 2 SES Achievement	
	African American	White	African American	White
<b>Home Resources:</b>				
Index of Family SE Resources	0.22***	0.08***	0.17***	0.13***
Index of Socio-Cultural Resources	0.23***	0.15***	0.01	0.14***
<b>Academic Resources:</b>				
Index of School Resources	0.08**	0.05**	-0.01	0.04*
Index of Peer Academic Influence	0.04	0.06**	0.01	0.03
<b>High School Completion</b>			0.13***	0.13***
<b>Control:</b>				
Female (1) vs. Male (0)	-0.05	-0.02	-0.17***	-0.08***
<b>Modal Statistics:</b>				
Constant	2.03***	3.38***	-2.55***	-4.86***
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.13***	0.05***	0.08**	0.09***
DF 1 and 2	5 & 486	5 & 3658	6 & 486	6 & 3658

\*\*\*p<=.001; \*\*p<=.01; \*p<=.05.

<sup>1</sup> Socioeconomic achievement: F3SES is the average of standardized 3 inputs, namely 2011 earnings from employment, the prestige score associated with the respondent's current/most recent job, and educational attainment.  
High School Completion: Range: 1 (No GED) - 5 (completed HS on time, 2004);  
Index of Family SES = BYINCOME\*BYPARRED\*BYP84; Range: 3-21;  
Index of Socio-Cultural Resources = BYHOMELIT\*BYP81; Range: 1-8;  
Index of School Resources = Teacher Expectations Recoded + Library2 Usefulness Recoded + School Counselor Recoded + BY50 + BY20H + Teachers are interested in Students Recoded + Classes are Interesting and Challenging Recoded; Range: 16-34;  
Index of Peer Academic Influence = BY90A + BY90B + BY90D + BY90F + BY90H; Range: 5-15;  
Female (1) vs. Male (0).

First, for the racialized resource models needed for high school completion (Models 1.A and 1B): both types of resources were more useful to African American students than to Whites. For example, socioeconomic resources were of more assistance to African American youth ( $\beta=0.15^{***}$  in Model 1.A) than white youth ( $\beta=0.08^{***}$  in Model 1.B). Similarly, sociocultural resources also favored African American youth ( $\beta=0.23^{***}$ ) more than Whites ( $\beta=0.15^{***}$ ) in completing high school. In addition, there were racial differences in the effectiveness of academic resources, albeit less than home resources. School resources were a bit more useful to African American ( $\beta=0.08^{**}$ ) than White ( $\beta = 0.05^{**}$ ) high school students. And peer support assisted, even if weakly, only White youth in their high school completion prospects ( $\beta=.06^{**}$ ).

The second noteworthy sets of findings in Table 3 were the non-racialized resources. For one, irrespective of whether the youth were African American or White, home resources were more useful than academic resources to high school students in terms of high school completion (Models 1 in Table 3). And, both types of home resources, sociocultural and economic, were useful in the high school completion trajectories of students (Models 1 in Table 3). For example, sociocultural resources were the most critical (than socioeconomic resources) in the high school success of both sets of students (Model 1A and 1B); sociocultural effects were  $\beta=0.23^{***}$  for African Americans and  $\beta=0.15^{***}$  for Whites. In contrast, the effects of socioeconomic resources were only  $\beta=0.08^{***}$  for White youth, even if  $\beta=0.22^{***}$  for African Americans.

In sum, youth, whether white or African American, needed sociocultural and socioeconomic resources to complete high school. But both family and academic resources gave more of a boost to African American students than to their white counterparts. In other words, African American youth needed more sociocultural and economic family support as well as school resources in their journey toward high school completion than White youth.

Once, the youth completed high school, there continued to be even more pronounced racial differences in the useful resources they could activate for their socioeconomic success, the second question posed in this paper. No doubt, completing high school was a necessary condition for later socioeconomic success, whether one is African American (AA:  $\beta=0.13^{***}$  in Model 2A) or White (WA:  $\beta=0.13^{***}$  in Model 2B). But, after African American youth completed high school, it was family socio-economics ( $\beta=0.17^{***}$ , Model 2.A) and not sociocultural or for that matter academic resources, that helped them succeed as adults. On the other hand, both family SE resources ( $\beta=0.13^{***}$  Model 2.B) and socio-cultural resources ( $\beta=0.14^{***}$ , Model 2B) continued to play a role in the adult economic lives of White youth. School resources ceased to be relevant for both groups in their later socioeconomic success.

A last note about of racialized gender differences. Males and female high school students were equally likely to complete high school (Models 1A and 1B). However, once they completed high school, not only did gender differences become apparent in adult socioeconomic success but the gender differences were racialized (Models 2.A and 2B). For example, net of resources, African American and White women achieved less than men. But the gender gap in achievement was much more pronounced among African American young adults ( $\beta= -0.17^{***}$ ) than among White youth ( $\beta=-0.08^{***}$ ). In other words, even with social capital, African American women were doubly disadvantaged in their adult socioeconomic success.

At first glance, it seemed as if the first hypothesis (#1), which stated that home and school resources would be more beneficial to White, than African American, students in their high school completion prospects, was not supported. However, another angle on these racialized high school completion findings could also be that African students needed more support (than White students) in the home, both economically and culturally, to achieve the same level of success in completing high school. White privilege was more noticeable in the resource models for later socioeconomic

achievement. As predicted in Hypotheses #2, home resources, economic and cultural, continued to be useful to White adults. But, African American adults could translate only their family's socioeconomic, not cultural or school, resources, into later economic success (Hypothesis #3).

Both education professionals (interviewed for this paper) emphasized the importance of family socioeconomic background as important contributing factors to high school completion and future socioeconomic achievement. However, it was also clear that the value of school resources for African American students, unlike their White counterparts, stopped at the high school gate and were not transferable to their later achievements. That African American students could not rely on their high schools once they left school might be products of the limits of the support high schools can offer to their alum. If the schools from which African American students graduated were mostly located in low income communities, there were also likely to have fewer resources (than well-endowed schools) available to them (Interviewee #1). Interviewee #2 added, there is a revolving door of teachers and staff that don't stay longer than 5 years in low-income schools. If experienced teachers are hard to find at low-income school, new teachers, who are generally less prepared, have no role models from whom to learn and they too end up leaving after a short amount of time. Under these scenarios of limited school resources, it is not surprising that low-income high schools, which many African American students attend, are not able to continue assisting their alum. It is also possible that the limited school resources that African American students have access to are not transferable to work and success in the wider society.

The White students' experiences offered a stark contrast between well-resourced and under-resourced schools. Not only were white students able to capitalize on their high school resources as they graduated from school but they could continue to do so even later in life. But, that these racial gaps in education are not insurmountable was demonstrated by a community college in Ohio which took concerted action to assist students who needed extra support. Smola (2019) in their "Columbus State wins award for boosting student success, reducing gaps," highlight a school that won an award for their programs to reduce gaps not only between white and minority students, but also students who needed financial aid. The school implemented programs such as, "mandatory student orientation, a student success course, an early-alert system to identify and communicate with students who might be falling behind, and the development of a student resource hub and mentorship groups. Many of those measures have had particularly positive effects on low-income and minority students..." (<https://www.dispatch.com/news/20190220/columbus-state-wins-award-for-boosting-student-success-reducing-gaps>).

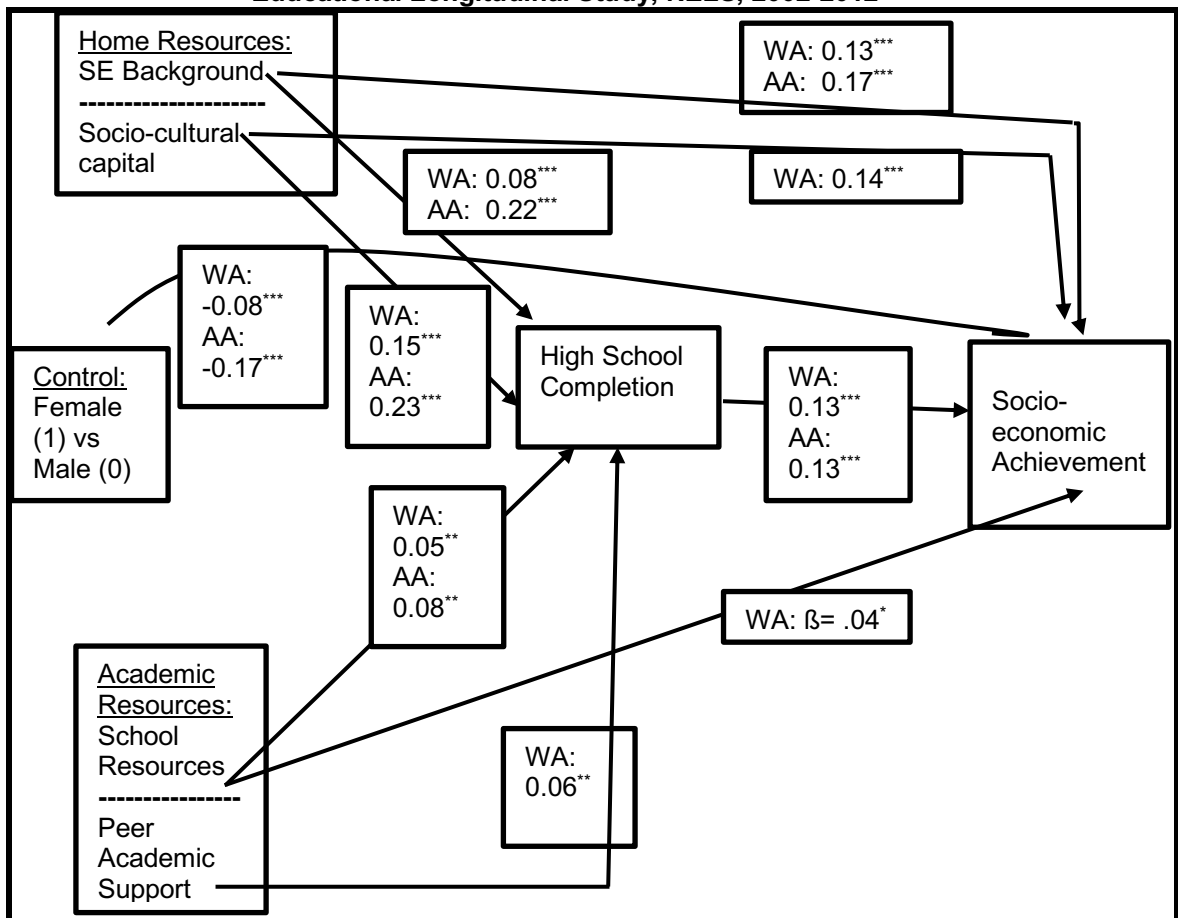
### CONCLUDING REMARKS

In these concluding sections, the theoretical and policy implications of the empirical findings were explored. In addition, a few suggestions for future research, derived from the limitations of the study, were outlined.

#### Theoretical and Policy Implications

Overall, based on both the quantitative and qualitative empirical findings, socioeconomic resources in the home were most effective in ensuring not only high school completion but also future socioeconomic progress of youth; this resource-success connection was true for both African American and White youth. However, only White youth were able to continue accessing their high school resources once they completed high school, endorsing the Bourdieu-Lareau-Massey/Denton theoretical reasoning (Figure 1).

**Figure 1. Empirical Model of the Impacts of Home and Academic Resources on Socioeconomic Achievement of White (WA) and African American (AA) Youth Beta ( $\beta$ ) Coefficients<sup>1</sup>**  
**Educational Longitudinal Study, NELS, 2002-2012**



<sup>1</sup> Refer to Table 3 for index coding.

Further, racial differences in the utility of family socio-cultural resources to young adults as they pursue socioeconomic success as young adults were also theoretically relevant. Family socio-cultural capital were no longer helpful for the future socioeconomic success of African American young adults. The sociocultural differences between Whites and African Americans are deeply rooted in our racial history and these differences have shaped the social structures and institutions. Since Whites are the majority and dominant group, they have been the ones to build and influence the many structures and related cultural expectations, putting their offspring in advantageous positions. For the rest of society, including African Americans, their institutional disadvantages represent major systemic hurdles that lead to inequalities in life outcomes, be they in education, wealth, health, income, or other life choices. A recent news story about wealthy parents paying for spots at elite colleges for their underqualified children is illustrative of systemic advantages for the dominant communities. Inequality in college admissions is not a new notion; with “college test prep companies, academic tutors, personal sports coaches and college admissions consultants, the family with resources can often improve their child's odds of acceptance” into an elite college reported Bahney in a recent story (2019). Donations to the school and legacy admissions suffice even if a child does not have the academic aptitude to pursue higher education. These advantages are not something that African American students typically have access to because of the history of discrimination in America and because they are disproportionately represented in lower class and poor communities.

To the extent that the hurdles faced by African Americans and other minority groups are systemic, major policy changes are needed to combat the pernicious inequalities that have been present in America since its founding. No doubt, institutional changes are difficult to achieve and will take a lot of time and effort, particularly because reform policies will have to be broad based, covering not only educational reform, but also financial (as banking reforms to curb lending biases and redlining practices) and housing practices, among others.

Educational reform in poor schools will have to ensure enough resources and better infrastructure, so that educators have the resources to help the children succeed. Teachers will also have to be incentivized to stay longer and be role models for the younger teachers. Residential reforms will also have to be an integral part of the package to address inequalities. As was noted earlier, funding for the American school system is heavily dependent on its community tax base. Desegregation of neighborhoods might need to be achieved using a mixed income model of housing, with high income homes interspersed with affordable housing. If gentrification needs to become a part of the neighborhood solution, concerted efforts will have to be made not to push low income families out of their homes and communities. These policies need to be put in place in order to help not only African Americans, but those who are in the lower/working class and in poverty (which is disproportionately African American).

### Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

As with any research, while new lessons were gleaned about the high school completion and future socioeconomic achievement paths of White and African American youth, there is much left unexplained. For example, while the home (and to a lesser extent school) resource model worked much better for African American youth in their high school completion success (adjusted  $R^2 = 0.13^{***}$ ) than for White youth (adjusted  $R^2$  was only  $0.05^{***}$ ), there is still much to be known. Similar limitations were noted in the Socioeconomic Achievement Models (adjusted  $R^2$  for whites was only  $0.09^{***}$  and  $0.08^{***}$  for African Americans), although the racial disparities in models were less muted.

A fuller understanding of both educational and later economic success of youth can be achieved by examining the role that racial differences in community resources, or lack thereof, play in supporting as well presenting challenges for their youth. According to both interviewees, socioeconomic background of both home and communities play an important role in academic and socioeconomic achievement of their youth. Given the current community-based funding structures of schools in the U.S., students in well-resourced areas can be expected to do much better in high schools as well be able to tap into those community resources as they move on in their lives. More research attention is also needed on community challenges, such as neighborhood crime and violence, and how they hinder the smoother socioeconomic progress of African American and White youth. For example, a comparison of low-income, middle-income, and upper-class income schools and communities on the socioeconomic achievement of their students could shed light on the effect of structural forces that inhibit or facilitate access to certain resources required for socioeconomic success. In the final analyses, a clearer understanding is needed about of how institutional structures (communities, schools, and workplaces) facilitate or inhibit youth access to different resources as they chart their lives as adults.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

#### *Letter of Consent and Interview Schedule*

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

I am a Sociology Senior working on my Research Capstone Paper under the direction of Professor Marilyn Fernandez in the Department of Sociology at Santa Clara University. I am conducting my research on socioeconomic achievement.

You were selected for this interview, because of your knowledge of and experience working in the area of research and education. I am requesting your participation, which will involve responding to questions about education inequality and will last about 20 minutes. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to choose to not participate or to withdraw from the interview at any time. The results of the research study may be presented at SCU's Annual Anthropology/Sociology Undergraduate Research Conference and published (in a Sociology department publication). Pseudonyms will be used in lieu of your name and the name of your organization in the written paper. You will also not be asked (nor recorded) questions about your specific characteristics, such as age, race, sex, religion. If you have any questions concerning the research study, please call/email me at \_\_\_\_\_ or Dr. Fernandez at \_\_\_\_\_

Sincerely, Anna Heider

By signing below you are giving consent to participate in the above study. (If the interviewee was contacted by email or phone, request an electronic message denoting consent).

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Committee, through Office of Research Compliance and Integrity at (408) 554-5591.

#### *Interview Schedule for Supplemental Qualitative Interviews*

Interview Date and Time: \_\_\_\_ Respondent ID#: \_\_\_\_

1. What is the TYPE Agency/Organization/Association/Institution (**NO NAME**, please) where you learned about (and/or worked) with this issue?
2. What is your position in this organization?
3. How long have you been in this position and in this organization?
4. Based on what you know of education inequality, how common is this problem (issue or concern)?
5. In your opinion, what are some reasons that contribute to this problem (issue or concern)? (PROBE with: Could you expand a bit more?).
6. [If the respondent does not bring up your independent concepts as potential causes), PROBE: a. How about home resources, such as family's socioeconomic status and parent's education, and their potential connection to academic achievement and socioeconomic achievement.  
b. How about school resources, such as teacher's expectations, if they have computers, a library, etc. or not; and their potential connection to academic achievement and socioeconomic achievement.
7. Is there anything else about this issue/topic I should know more about?

Thank you very much for your time. If you wish to see a copy of my final paper, I would be glad to share it with you at the end of the winter quarter. If you have any further questions or comments for me, I can be



contacted at \_\_\_\_\_. Or if you wish to speak to my faculty advisor, Dr. Marilyn Fernandez, she can be reached at mfernandez@scu.edu

## Appendix B

**Table 2. Correlation Matrix of SES, High School Completion, Indices of Home (Socioeconomic and Socio-Cultural), Academic (School and Peer) Resources, and Sex:**

(White correlations above the diagonal of 1 and African American below the diagonal of 1)<sup>1</sup>

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
<b>A. F3SES:</b>	1	0.27***	0.34***	0.34***	0.20***	0.13***	-0.01
<b>B. F2HSSTAT</b>	0.32***	1	0.18***	0.21***	0.15***	0.11***	-0.06***
<b>C. Index of Family SES</b>	0.24***	0.16***	1	0.32***	0.16***	0.06***	0.02
<b>D. Index of Sociocultural Resources</b>	0.24***	0.27***	0.198***	1	0.17***	0.18***	-0.10***
<b>E. Index of Peer Academic Influence</b>	0.03*	0.07**	-0.001	0.12***	1.0	0.33***	-0.17***
<b>F. Index of School Resources</b>	0.04*	0.05*	-0.09***	0.04	0.24***	1.0	-0.08***
<b>G. Female</b>	-0.02	-0.09***	0.02	-0.18***	-0.13***	0.001	1.0

\*\*\*p<=.001;\*\*p<=.01;\*p<=.05

<sup>1</sup> A. F3SES: F3SES is the average of 3 standardized components, namely 2011 earnings from employment, the prestige score associated with the respondent's current/most recent job, and educational attainment; ranges: WA: -1.41 – 9.17; AA: -1.41 – 9.17

B. High School Completion: 1 (No GED) - 5 (completed HS on time, 2004);

C. Index of Family SES = BYINCOME\*BYPARED\*BYP84; Range: 3-21;

D. Index of Socio-Cultural Resources = BYHOMELIT\*BYP81; Range: 1-8;

E. Index of School Resources = Teacher Expectations Recoded + Library2 Usefulness Recoded + School Counselor Recoded + BY50 + BY520H + Teachers are interested in Students Recoded + Classes are Interesting and Challenging Recoded; Range: 16-34;

F. Index of Peer Academic Influence = BYS90A + BYS90B+BY590D+BY590F+BY590H; Range: 5-15;

G. Female (1) vs. Male (0).

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