

Convolutd Categories: *An analysis of the disparate access in higher education among
the African American Community*

By: Zora Williams

“An “American brother” would have added perspective to the lead role in “Get Out,””¹ commented famed actor Samuel L. Jackson on the recent box office sensation, “Get Out” directed by Jordan Peele. British lead actor Daniel Kaluuya rebutted this critique claiming that every community always found him incompatible; “ ‘I go to Uganda, I can’t speak the language. In India, I’m black. In the black community, I’m dark-skinned. In America, I’m British. Bro!’²” His frustration is understandable because categories can encourage exclusion, but they exist nonetheless. In failing to recognize their existence, there is the risk of assuming that the characteristics and experiences of groups are identical. In this instance, though the true origin of the Black American identity and the British American identity is essentially the same, the manifestation and history of them are not. The term “American brother” makes clear this distinction between the two; Jackson uses this colloquial expression to identify African Americans who are American born. Still, for there to be true unity like Kaluuya suggests, there must be a clear understanding of people’s differences.

In a country like the United States, people’s differences are vast and multi dimensional, and there have been measures put in place to organize this plurality. One notable system of classification used in United States census³ is race. Most of the labels for each group require only one word but a few use an “or” or a slash. The label designated to group American people of African descent reads “Black or African American.” When “or” is used between these terms, it has the same effect as Samuel L. Jackson’s use of the term “American brother;” it subtly notes that the manifestations and

¹ Shea ,Christopher D .(2017, May, 14) ‘Get Out’ Star Responds to Samuel L. Jackson’s Race Comments. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/14/movies/get-out-star-daniel-kaluuya-samuel-l-jackson-race-comments.html?_r=0

² Ibid.

³ United States Census. “About.” <https://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html>. Last Updated Jan. 12, 2017.

histories of these people are not the same. Taking this into account, for the purpose of this paper the term first generation African American will refer to members of the African American community whose families immigrated to the states from the continent of Africa, the Caribbean or any other place in the African diaspora (Britain, France etc.). The term Black Americans will refer to members of the African American community who are American born descendants of American slaves. While the term African American will refer to both of these groups together.

Beyond the construction of identity, people who fall under the umbrella of African American also differ in their pursuit for higher education. Black Americans are represented in much smaller proportions than first generation African Americans in higher education. According to the PEW Research Center report, 26% of first generation African Americans holds a bachelor's degree as compared to 19% of Black Americans⁴. This discrepancy exists because of material and psychological disparities between the two groups. Moreover, this reality suggests that affirmative action has circumvented its original goals, exacerbating the original disparity in access to higher education rather than rectifying it.

The original disparity in access to higher education before the enactment of affirmative action created college campus environments where only 4% of student bodies were black compared to 84% white students⁵. Affirmative action was introduced to address the systems of racism that severely stifled the academic progress of marginalized demographics. The aim was not just black Americans but all underrepresented groups in

⁴ Anderson, Monica. 2015, April 9. Chapter 1: Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population. <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/chapter-1-statistical-portrait-of-the-u-s-black-immigrant-population/>

⁵ National Center for Education Statistics. (2017). <https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=98>

the United States, which included women, Latino Americans and other minority groups. The idea was to compensate for centuries of institutional racism that hindered these groups' progress⁶. John F. Kennedy incepted affirmative action in 1961 via an Executive Order. At the time of this order, the African American community in question referred in large part to Black Americans. Black Americans had been (and continue to be) herded into certain areas of residence, blatantly overlooked by the State and outright segregated from the vast network of resources that the United States was amassing at this point⁷. In effect, generations of a demographic had been excluded from progress, thus it was only logical to define and extend to these communities the path to resources like higher education in the form of affirmative action. However, the composition of the African American community would soon change. The early surge of new African immigrants was beginning but would not spike to levels of today until the 1980's⁸.

As the rates of immigration rose, the African American community became more and more integrated with immigrants and black people of mixed race. The majority of African immigrants came from Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Ghana and Kenya⁹. Also, 3.8% of African immigrants came from the Caribbean. Of those that come from the Caribbean, most are Haitian or hail from English-speaking islands of the West Indies¹⁰. Still, a

⁶ National Conference of State Legislatures. (2014). Affirmative Action. Retrieved from <http://www.ncsl.org/research/education/affirmative-action-overview.aspx>

⁷ Domanoske, Camila. 2016 October 19. Interactive Redlining Map Zooms in On America's History of Discrimination. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/10/19/498536077/interactive-redlining-map-zooms-in-on-americas-history-of-discrimination>

⁸ Kunkle, Frederick. 2015 April, 9. Black Immigration is Remaking US Black Population, report says. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/black-immigration-is-remaking-us-black-population-report-says/2015/04/09/ded49c58-de29-11e4-a1b8-2ed88bc190d2_story.html?utm_term=.a59c5c353c14

⁹ US Census Bureau Working Paper No.29, US Government Printing Office, Washington DC.1999. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/african-immigrants-united-states>

¹⁰ Waters, Mary. Kasinitz, Phillip. Asad, Asad. 2016 June 16. Immigrants and African Americans. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 2014. 40:369–90 10.1146/annurev-soc-071811-145449

smaller percentage, about 1.5 percent, of the total African immigrant population reported a birthplace in Europe.

This growing multiplicity detracts from the original pool of beneficiaries of Affirmative Action. Rather the influx of new members into the African American community causes Black Americans to be glossed over in the college evaluation process¹¹. The focus still remains on African American students but simply a different set of them. More concretely, according to Douglas S. Massey, a researcher in a nation wide study conducted by Princeton University's Sociology Department, black students from immigrant families, and mixed race backgrounds represent a larger portion of the African American student population than that of the African American population in general¹². This is an overarching statistic that reflects the demographic of all universities nationwide; therefore, it does not bring specificity to the demographics of historically black colleges and universities.

Historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) did in fact confer a good portion of bachelor's degrees upon students from the entire African American community. In 1976-1977 35% of all bachelor degrees granted to African Americans came from HBCUs, however this number dropped to 15% in 2013-2014¹³. Also taking into account the fact that HBCUs only make up around 3% of all colleges in the United States¹⁴, and do not differentiate between black Americans and first generation in their

¹¹ David, Javier E. "How Immigration Distorts Affirmative Action Policy: Academic." *CNBC*. CNBC, 14 Feb. 2015. Web. 20 Jan. 2017. <<http://www.cnbc.com/2015/02/14/tion-distorts-affirmative-action-policy-academic.html>>.

¹² Massey, Douglas S. et al., "Black Immigrants and Black Natives Attending Selective Colleges and Universities in the United States," *American Journal of Education* 113, no. 2 (2007)

¹³ Provasnik, S., and Shafer, L.L. (2004). *Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 1976 to 2001* (NCES 2004-062). U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2004/2004062.pdf>

¹⁴ U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2016). *Digest of Education Statistics, 2015* (NCES 2016-014), Table 105.50. <https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=84>.

statistics, they will be excluded in the analysis of this paper. This will allow a more holistic examination into the disparate academic experiences of Black Americans and first generation African Americans.

Material Resource Disparity

Part of the disparate experiences between these two groups results from a resource discrepancy. On average, first generation African Americans have a more established financial and educational base from which to start their educational career. For starters, household incomes for first generation African Americans are on average \$10,000 higher than Black Americans, and they are also less likely to live in poverty when compared to Black Americans (20% vs. 28%)¹⁵. Even if Black Americans reach school from this starting point, it is difficult for them to continue. According to the US Department of Education over 50% of Black Americans enrolled in two-year or four-year institutions, fail to complete either. This is the result of the fact that 71% percent of the lowest socio-economic status students do not obtain the academic qualifications necessary to support college enrollment. Black Americans make up over 30% of this demographic and by extension fail to meet the academic qualifications necessary to even enroll in college in the first place¹⁶.

The discrepancy also exists in relation to assets. In 2013, 42% of first generation African Americans owned homes as compared to 40% of black Americans underlining a slight variance in the financial stability within the community. However, the location of these homes intensifies the subtle difference in homeownership. Crowder (1999) found

¹⁵ Anderson, Monica. 2015, April 9. Chapter 1: Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population. <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/chapter-1-statistical-portrait-of-the-u-s-black-immigrant-population/>

¹⁶ Cabrera, A., & La Nasa, S. (2001). On the Path to College: Three Critical Tasks Facing America's Disadvantaged. *Research in Higher Education*, 42(2), 119-149. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40196425>

that, although “West Indians in New York City were segregated from whites in the same ways as Black Americans, West Indians lived in higher-quality neighborhoods that were separate from those of [Black Americans],¹⁷”.

Segregation of this type further disconnects black Americans from aid and municipal support. In a sense, the first generation African American community (in this case West Indian immigrants) acts as a proxy for the Black community and can divert attention and resources from them. Consequently, the black community is pushed to the periphery of already marginalized communities because when resources are dealt out, other African American communities are typically given the first pick. These resource incongruities impede the segue into the college application process. Soon, all of the steps necessary to complete it, namely, application fees and in person interviews become a hassle for the aspiring black college student. The effort of applying to school in the first place is de prioritized from early on because of residential and financial setbacks.

Additionally, first generation African Americans are also concentrated at the epicenters of America’s most fruitful cities. Presently, all first generation African American families reside within two regions of the United States. Around 41% of all first generation African American families reside in the Northeast and another 41% live in the South¹⁸. By contrast, Black Americans are dispersed across the major metropolitan areas of the United states and therefore, as a whole, do not reap the benefits from the most endowed cities overall such as New York or Washington D.C. Adding to the difference in geographical dispersion, 50% of first generation African Americans come from a married household as opposed to only 35% of black Americans. Proximity to academic

¹⁷ Crowder KD. 1999. Residential segregation of West Indians in the New York/New Jersey metropolitan area: the roles of race and ethnicity. *Int. Migr. Rev.* 33:79–113

¹⁸ Anderson, Monica. 2015, April 9. *Chapter 1: Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population*. <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/chapter-1-statistical-portrait-of-the-u-s-black-immigrant-population/>

institutions (i.e. 7 out of the top 10 universities in the United States are found in the northeast¹⁹) and familial stability further exemplify a concentration of social resources not afforded at the same rates to Black Americans.

Moreover, first generation African American families typically have a legacy of secondary education. Specifically, this means that at least one parent in the household has earned a degree beyond a high school diploma²⁰. Correspondingly, remember earlier that 26% of first generation African Americans has a college degree, compared to only 19% of black Americans²¹. Consider also that the percentage of first generation African Americans who come from the continent of Africa with a college degree is greater than that of the overall American population²². Based on this fact alone, the feasibility of a higher education reverberates throughout many first-generation African American families. Going to college is almost a trend among first generation African American communities even more than it is for Americans. This trend feeds into spirit of first generation African American students, making them more likely to attend college²³.

From the resource disparity between the first generation African American community and the Black American community, it is evident that the threshold from which members of these two groups start their educational career turns out to be very different. Their difference in financial capabilities, assets, location and education create separate paths to university. Application fees and other financial requirements act as

¹⁹ United States News and World Report. (2017). National University Rankings. Retrieved from <https://www.usnews.com/best-colleges/rankings/national-universities>

²⁰ Payne, Amber. (2015). Pew: 9 Percent of U.S. Black Population is Foreign Born. Retrieved from <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/pew-9-percent-u-s-black-population-foreign-born-n338391>.

²¹ Anderson, Monica. 2015, April 9. Chapter 1: Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population.

<http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/chapter-1-statistical-portrait-of-the-u-s-black-immigrant-population/>

²² Ibid.

²³ Albin, Amy. 2015 Jan. 22. Children More Likely to Succeed Academically If Parents Believe they Are College Bound. <https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/children-more-likely-succeed-academically-if-parents-believe-theyre-college-bound>;

Choy, Susan. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2001). Students Whose Parents Did Not Go to College: Postsecondary Access, Persistence, and Attainment, NCEES 2001–126. Washington, DC

hurdles to university for black Americans in particular. Whereas, first generation African Americans can appeal to institutions more than their Black American counterparts, in small part, because of these material advantages; financial requisites for them are more of a formality than a barrier. Cumulative, systemic and persistent material shortcomings are seen as a flaw for Black Americans as opposed to a historical disadvantage in the admissions process.

Psychological Disparity

But are material resources the only thing you need to think about college? It turns out that accessing higher education is an even more complex phenomenon. A psychological factor plays a role in the disparate academic experiences in the African American community stemming from the fact that Black Americans and first generation African Americans have different relationships with the US Educational System.

For first generation African Americans the objective of school proves to be very clear. Part of this results from their voluntary minority status. As articulated by John U. Ogbu, from the University of California Berkeley's anthropology department: "Voluntary (immigrant) minorities are those who have more or less willingly moved to the United States because they [expected] better opportunities (better jobs, more political or religious freedom) than they had in their homelands or places of origin."²⁴ Compared to involuntary minorities or, people that have been conquered, colonized or enslaved, voluntary minorities' cultural schema of the United States differs in several important respects. For first generation African Americans, the attitude towards school is weighed

²⁴ Ogbu, J. U. and Simons, H. D. (1998), Voluntary and Involuntary Minorities: A Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance with Some Implications for Education. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 29: 155–188. doi:10.1525/aeq.1998.29.2.155

with the deprived situation “back home.” Their main motivation is usually to provide their children with an American education.

Black Americans’ relationship with the United States education is framed from their own social economic status and that of white middle class Americans. Black Americans feel that their education is unfairly deficient in comparison to that of middle class white Americans. “They believe and resent the fact that whites have more opportunities...[and] do not believe strongly that the United States is a land of great opportunity where anyone who works hard and has a good education will succeed,”²⁵.

Moreover, historically, college itself has not been framed as a viable option for those in the Black community. During much of America’s history, black Americans were prohibited from traditionally white universities²⁶. Though America boasts itself to be a land of opportunity beyond its borders, this message has not resonated from within the country itself²⁷ especially not in the realm of education.

The American dream can be more alluring to those who are not born into warped American social constructs. Coming to America to take advantage of resources has a different connotation than being denied and trapped within a wall of want. It is this dynamic that further obstructs the path and attitude of higher education for Black Americans- they simply do not view the education system as attainable or fair.

Another psychological justification for the unequal representation in higher education also precipitates from how African American students interact with their role models. Caribbean students receive African American role models with much

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights. (2015). Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Higher Education Desegregation. Retrieved from <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/hq9511.html>; Brown, C.M., & Yates, T.M. (2005). Toward an empirical corpus of historically Black colleges and universities. *American Journal of Education*, 112(1), 129-138.

²⁷ Kenworth, Lane. “It’s Hard to Make It in America: How the United States Stopped Being the Land of Opportunity.” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 6, 2012, pp. 97–109., www.jstor.org/stable/41720937.

enthusiasm, especially those in the corporate field. This motivates them to acquire jobs of that similar caliber once of age, making them therefore “more internally motivated to go to college and obtain a quality education”²⁸. Yet, Black Americans do not connect as strongly to African American professionals due to a lack of cultural congruency. They do not see African Americans in positions of power as reflections of themselves but rather products of an institution²⁹. For this reason, to them, college is not attractive if it leads to the life of those types of role models.

Some believe that the psyche necessary for achieving higher education is engrained within first generation African American communities. According to the research conducted by Debra Viadero, assistant managing editor for the national newspaper *Education Week*, “Caribbean immigrants are more internally motivated to pursue an education than African Americans. She uses a quote from a professor at Michigan State University, Ruben G. Rumbaut, to support her belief; ““They take what they’re doing more seriously, and they generally appreciate the fact that, for them, education is the ticket to social mobility,””³⁰. In turn, first generation African Americans are motivated not just for university but for a better future. Again, this sentiment can be traced back to the voluntary minority status where there is trust in the American education system.

Another Factor

Coupled with the various psychological factors that contribute to the disparate access to higher education are also the reputations of U.S colleges and the countless

²⁸ Ogbu, J. U. and Simons, H. D. (1998), “Voluntary and Involuntary Minorities: A Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance with Some Implications for Education.” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 29: 155–188. doi: 10.1525/aeq.1998.29.2.155

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Viadero, Debra. “Immigrant Children Succeed Despite Barriers, Report Says.” *Education Week*, April 1, 1998. <http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/1998/04/01/29immig.h17.html?qs=caribbean+students>.

opportunities offered in the United States. They attract the most prestigious immigrants, on account of their high motivation level, which is logical considering the aforementioned factors. Concordantly, statistical data has shown that some admission officers deliberately choose to admit first generation African Americans over Black Americans. “This scenario represents an example of ‘statistical discrimination,’ in which admissions officers have nothing against [black Americans] per se but nonetheless use foreign origin as a proxy for other characteristics they find attractive,”³¹ – this behavior magnifies the gap between higher education even further.

Next Steps

The inattention of admissions officers and the nation itself to the distinctions within the African American community have made Black Americans bystanders to their own homegrown resources. The question is where to go from here? Much of the resolution for this issue must come from academic institutions themselves. First, they should acknowledge the disproportionate representations of first generation African Americans as a valid issue. Admissions officers themselves need to be able to identify the key factors that distinguish the different groups that fall under the category “African American”. Additionally, admissions officers must be more conscious in their evaluation of potential candidates so that the application of inclusive policies like affirmative action do not translate discriminately. Perhaps this starts with creating a new category for people to identify themselves, such as having a check box for Black Americans using the term *African American Ascendants*³². This term would adequately differentiate the

³¹ Blank, Rebecca M., Marilyn Dabady, and Constance F. Citro, eds. 2004. *Measuring Racial Discrimination: Panel on Methods for Assessing Discrimination*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

³² Brown, Kevin D. and Turner, Renee E., "Redefining the Black Face of Affirmative Action: The Impact on Ascendant Black Women" (2012). *Articles by Maurer Faculty*. Paper 1284. <http://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/facpub/1284>

manifestation and history of the Black American identity from that of first generation African Americans. A new category would achieve this more deliberately than Samuel L. Jackson use of “American brother” or the census use of the word “or.”

The distinctions in these two identities lead to material and psychological inconsistencies between the two groups of African Americans. Financial and geographical disparities physically hinder Black Americans in the college application process, while psychological disparities turn Black Americans aloof to the idea of subscribing to the American education system. The opposite is true for first generation African Americans, thus for Black Americans, without the means or the will, there is no clear way to college.

In the pursuit for equitable access to higher education is also the still larger goal of nullifying the prejudicial vestiges of America’s past. This effort not only touches the sphere of academia but the nation as a whole. If people first understand the disparity among the African American community then the country can begin to affirmatively rectify its past in all domains. For this to happen absolutely, people need to understand that the African American community is not a homogenous mass but instead a pluralistic group of many peoples with different experiences needs and backgrounds. Not only the devil but also the truth is in the details of a controversy. Convoluting categories only convolutes reality.

Bibliography

- Albin, Amy. 2015 Jan. 22. Children More Likely to Succeed Academically If Parents Believe they Are College Bound. <https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/children-more-likely-succeed-academically-if-parents-believe-theyre-college-bound>; Choy, Susan. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2001). Students Whose Parents Did Not Go to College: Postsecondary Access, Persistence, and Attainment, NCES 2001–126. Washington, DC
- Anderson, Monica. 2015, April 9. Chapter 1: Statistical Portrait of the U.S. Black Immigrant Population. <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/04/09/chapter-1->
- Blank, Rebecca M., Marilyn Dabady, and Constance F. Citro, eds. 2004. Measuring Racial Discrimination: Panel on Methods for Assessing Discrimination. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

Brown, Kevin D. and Turner, Renee E., "Redefining the Black Face of Affirmative Action: The Impact on Ascendant Black Women" (2012). Articles by Maurer Faculty. Paper 1284. <http://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/facpub/1284>

Cabrera, A., & La Nasa, S. (2001). On the Path to College: Three Critical Tasks Facing America's Disadvantaged. *Research in Higher Education*, 42(2), 119-149. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40196425>

Crowder KD. 1999. Residential segregation of West Indians in the New York/New Jersey metropolitan area: the roles of race and ethnicity. *Int. Migr. Rev.* 33:79–113.

David, Javier E. "How Immigration Distorts Affirmative Action Policy: Academic." *CNBC*. CNBC, 14 Feb. 2015. Web. 20 Jan. 2017. <<http://www.cnbc.com/2015/02/14/tion-distorts-affirmative-action-policy-academic.html>>

Domonoske, Camila. 2016 October 19. Interactive Redlining Map Zooms in On America's History of Discrimination. <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/10/19/498536077/interactive-redlining-map-zooms-in-on-americas-history-of-discrimination>

Kenworth, Lane. "It's Hard to Make It in America: How the United States Stopped Being the Land of Opportunity." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 6, 2012, pp. 97–109., www.jstor.org/stable/41720937.

Kunkle, Frederick. 2015 April, 9. Black Immigration is Remaking US Black Population, report says. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/black-immigration-is-remaking-us-black-population-report-says/2015/04/09/ded49c58-de29-11e4-a1b8-2ed88bc190d2_story.html?utm_term=.a59c5c353c14

Massey, Douglas S. et al., “Black Immigrants and Black Natives Attending Selective Colleges and Universities in the United States,” *American Journal of Education* 113, no. 2 (2007)

National Center for Education Statistics. (2017).

<https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=98>

National Conference of State Legislatures. (2014). Affirmative Action. Retrieved from <http://www.ncsl.org/research/education/affirmative-action-overview.aspx>

Ogbu, J. U. and Simons, H. D. (1998), “Voluntary and Involuntary Minorities: A Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance with Some Implications for Education.” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 29: 155–188. doi: 10.1525/aeq.1998.29.2.155

Payne, Amber. (2015). Pew: 9 Percent of U.S. Black Population is Foreign Born. Retrieved from <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/pew-9-percent-u-s-black-population-foreign-born-n338391>.

Provasnik, S., and Shafer, L.L. (2004). *Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 1976 to 2001 (NCES 2004–062)*. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2004/2004062.pdf>

Shea, Christopher D. (2017, May, 14) 'Get Out' Star Responds to Samuel L. Jackson's Race Comments. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/14/movies/get-out-star-daniel-kaluuya-samuel-l-jackson-race-comments.html?_r=0

U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights. (2015). Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Higher Education Desegregation. Retrieved from <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/hq9511.html>; Brown, C.M., & Yates, T.M. (2005). Toward an empirical corpus of historically Black colleges and universities. *American Journal of Education*, 112(1), 129-138.

U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2016). *Digest of Education Statistics, 2015* (NCES 2016-014), Table 105.50. <https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=84>.

United States Census. "About." <https://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html>. Last Updated Jan. 12, 2017.

United States News and World Report. (2017). National University Rankings. Retrieved from <https://www.usnews.com/best-colleges/rankings/national-universities>

US Census Bureau Working Paper No.29, US Government Printing Office, Washington DC.1999. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/african-immigrants-united-states>

Viadero, Debra. "Immigrant Children Succeed Despite Barriers, Report Says." *Education Week*, April 1,

Williams/18

1998. <http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/1998/04/01/29immig.h17.html?qs=cari>
bbean+students.

Waters, Mary. Kasinitz, Phillip. Asad, Asad. 2016 June 16. Immigrants and African
Americans. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 2014. 40:369–90 10.1146/annurev-soc-071811-
145449