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Born and Bred: The Making of a 21st Century College-Bred African American: A Re-examination of Atlanta University's 1910 Study "The College-Bred Negro American" Edited by W.E.B. Du Bois, Ph.D and Augustus Granville Dill, A.M.

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Born and Bred: The Making of a 21st Century College-Bred African American:

A Re-examination of

Atlanta University's 1910 Study "The College-Bred Negro American"

Edited by W.E.B. Du Bois, Ph.D and Augustus Granville Dill, A.M.

by

Michael E. Carter, Sr.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington and C.G. Woodson without whose early work mine would not have been possible. It is also dedicated to my students—past, present and future.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Dr. Cochran, Dr. Gaggi, Dr. Plant my family, friends and colleagues for their support and patience throughout this entire process.

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Born and Bred: The Making of a 21st Century College-Bred African American:

Michael E. Carter, Sr.

ABSTRACT

In 1910 Atlanta University published the findings of an extensive study of universities in the United States which Negroes attended. For this, study both quantitative and qualitative data was collected. The quantitative data was derived from the school catalogs and information provided directly from the Negro colleges (Du Bois & Dill, 1910). Data was collected on student enrollment, courses of study selected by the students and degrees conferred. The qualitative data was derived from survey information provided by 800 Negro, college graduates¹. In addition to basic statistical information respondents were asked to provide information on their hopes, aspirations and expectations upon obtaining a college degree. This information was then correlated by gender and presented in the study titled *The College-Bred Negro American*.

While this study illuminates the agreement among the respondents that the acquisition of college education is the key to success for the Negro—one can also hear a divergence of opinion regarding what type of college education (liberal or industrial) would lead to success for the Negro American.

This thesis analyzes the implications of the Atlanta study, using a variety of methods combining autoethnography with analysis of the data from the US

Census Bureau. Further the thesis concludes with a proposal to initiate a survey that is comparable to the 1910 surveys administered as a part of the Atlanta study.

I have chosen to combine an autoethnographic approach with an objective analysis of the 2004 US Census data in order to determine if the growth in college degrees earned within the African American community represented by the study's original respondents is still occurring in the African American community today.

Chapter One

Born and Bred: The Making of a College-Bred Negro American: An Introduction

It has been nearly one hundred years after researchers at Atlanta University conducted the study *The College-Bred Negro American*. One might expect that the issues or concerns of the study would now be outdated and have little to do with a 21st century college-bred Negro. In 1909, there were 55 Negro college graduates (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 45). This number is truly not a surprise, given the climate and attitudes regarding the education of the Negro. In the early 1900s there were few public schools for the education of Negroes and there was slow progress being made to correct this deficiency (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 17). Few Blacks were being graduated, but, inspired by the promise of a college education, Negro leaders advocated for increased enrollments. During this time, the education provided for Blacks was *separate and far from equal* to the education provided for Whites. The report compiled by “the United States Commissioner of Education for the year ending July 1909, showed that in the whole of the South there were only one hundred and twelve public high schools for Negroes” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 17). Despite this there was, on the part of Negro leadership, a relentless advocacy of education as the panacea for the American Negro (Crouch & Benjamin, 2002; Hubbard, 2003). For example, in *The Crisis* magazine, edited by Dr. William E. B. Du Bois, the writings are quite clear and the numbers are stark. All of the editions of the magazine included

sections—announcements, legal decisions, admission and matriculation rates, and editorials—that were dedicated to illustrating and advocating the benefits of education for Blacks in the United States. The magazine, thusly, also provided historical documentation of progress (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 45).

In 2007—fifty-three years after *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*²,—one might expect that the prejudices, concerns, and inequalities which existed a century ago would have been effectively dealt with and perhaps even eliminated. It is true today that there are more African Americans receiving primary, secondary and college educations than in 1910. It is also true that matriculation rates at all levels of education have exceeded the numbers of Du Bois' time. However, an examination of the numbers in relation to Whites and in context of the years since this study was done gives us cause for concern. African Americans still do not attend and complete college at rates proportionate to their representation in the population of the United States (Appendix A Table 1). In 2004, only 5,593 African Americans (.0001608 or less than 1%) earned college degrees (Appendix A Table 2). If one continues to follow the data through the doctoral level, two other facts become apparent: 1) that the numbers get lower the higher the degree, and 2) females outnumber males at every level (Appendix A Table 2).

The Atlanta University researchers' selection of Du Bois as editor for this study was an apt choice. As stated in the preface of the study, *The College-Bred Negro American* “was an investigation of college graduates among Negro Americans” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. preface). The investigation resulted in a

compilation of quantitative and qualitative research examining one facet of Black life in the United States. Du Bois' use of the budding sciences of anthropology and sociology was renowned, and he would employ these scientific tools on behalf of the Black population (Crouch & Benjamin, 2002; Hubbard, 2003; Lewis, 1993; Lewis, 1995). It is true Du Bois had internalized some of the same condescending perceptions of the "other" as his White contemporaries. One might describe him as having been victimized by what he himself described as "double-consciousness³." He manifested Eurocentric tendencies that influenced his research. His descriptions and expectations of Negroes were colored by his belief that the pinnacle of human development was represented by Anglo-Europeans (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). However, a close examination of the study in question shows none of those predispositions. In actuality Du Bois' sociological research, overall, proved to be groundbreaking. Because of the Atlanta study, and other works such as *The Philadelphia Negro* and *The Souls of Black Folks*, Du Bois is honored as the father of Black sociology.

The Study

In 1910, researchers at Atlanta University collected both qualitative and quantitative data on college-educated Negroes. The quantitative data was derived from school catalogs and information provided directly from the Negro colleges (Du Bois & Dill, 1910). With this data, a rubric was established in order to distinguish between groups of Negro students taking courses considered college-level courses and those considered college preparatory (high-school level and elementary level) courses. This distinction was critical because during this part of

the 20th century few schools provided Negroes with an elementary or secondary education. Thus, it was necessary for colleges to ensure that students received this prerequisite education by providing it themselves (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 17). The litmus test was contact hours: The distinctions between elementary, secondary and college-level course work was determined by the number of hours the student spent in class. The highest number of contact hours was indicative of college-level work (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 12). Listed by institution, the data was then aggregated into various categories. The categories included entrance requirements, geographical location of institution, total college time devoted to different studies, total number of students, number of students in college courses, number of students in high school, number of students in grade level courses, total number of students in professional education, thoroughness of work, (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 12-22). The quantitative findings illustrated that there were growing numbers of African Americans seeking education at all levels at the turn of the twentieth century. In an effort to better demonstrate this—the researchers provided the total number of Negro college graduates for a ninety year period beginning in 1820 and ending in 1909. This period of time was broken down into ten-year spans (all except for the final one: ending in 1909). This data shows that between 1820 and 1909 there was a 536% increase in the number of Negro college graduates (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 45).

The qualitative data was collected by contacting the Negro colleges and requesting contact information on their graduates. This information was used to create a list of (living) graduates in order to send out a survey. There were 800

respondents. The survey consisted of sixteen close-ended questions that solicited personal information: name, age, gender, marital status, residency, number of children, schools attended, degrees earned, status at birth (free or enslaved), early life and training, occupations, ownership of property, assessed value of said property, avocations. In addition there were three open-ended questions regarding the education of children, experience of hindrances to attaining an education, and the respondent's philosophy of life. In the latter categories the respondents were asked to expound on their personal ideology, expectations and aspirations regarding education (Appendix B).

Through the responses generated from the qualitative research that was conducted one is able to hear the "voices" of the participants, as they express their hope, vision and possibility (Du Bois & Dill, 1910). One cannot help but be moved by the progress of Blacks, as articulated in the words of the participants, as they transitioned from slavery and illiteracy to a college degree, and as they expressed their sincere belief that equality, success and even acceptance lay ahead.

While there is both quantitative and qualitative data collected, the findings are presented in a "dove tail" fashion. The sections of the study correspond with the types of questions asked of the respondents. Within each section there are the compiled statistics and qualitative data correlated by an editorial narrative which allows the subject's "voice" to be heard. The method of presentation here is significant in that for the first time, a social scientific study of the Negro did not presume to speak for the Negro but to allow the Negro voice to be heard.

Data of the Graduates

Schools Attended

In all, eighty-one colleges were represented as attended by the graduates: thirty-two Negro colleges and fifty White colleges. The attendance of Negroes to White colleges was not extraordinary. With the steady improvement in the institutions which provided education to Negroes, coupled with their growing desire for education, each year more Negroes applied to Northern colleges (which accepted Negroes) as both undergraduates and graduate students (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 52-53).

Residency

The residency patterns of some of the graduates showed that there was willingness to move from where they were born to attend school as well as a willingness to move for employment. In fact, the data reflects that Negro graduates born in the South remained in the South and that Northern-born Negro graduates moved to the South. It is contended by the researchers that migration was due to the graduate's desire to aid in the improvement of life for their people (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 54-55).

Marital Status

This data directly challenged the myth that Negroes were either unwilling or unable to have stable families. One of the most insidious tools of slavery was the wanton dismantling of the Negro family. Nevertheless, the data shows that among the respondents 67.3% of the males and 31.1 % of the females were married. The researchers heralded these finds as part of the continued progress

toward eradication of the past and a move towards the continued development of stable Negro families (Du Bois & Dill, 1910 p. 56-57).

Number of Children

This section provided a detailed accounting of the number of children born to the graduates, again separated by gender. This data also include the number of children lost (death) by these graduates. Of all the 800 respondents, 378 families collectively reported having 1,411 children (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 58-59).

Occupations

The study found that 53.8% of the respondents were teachers, 20% were engaged in the ministry, 7% were doctors of medicine, and 3.8% were lawyers. The cultural commitment to racial uplift is evident in the graduates' engagement in occupations that not only provided services, but also provided encouragement, pride and a sense of accomplishment for the Negro community. However, it is also important to remember that these occupations were not only critical for the advancement of the Negro but were also necessary because they provided services to the Negro community that was denied to them by the White community. Further, these graduates did this in the face of ongoing discrimination, prejudice and violence (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 65-70).

Property Ownership

495 or 62% of the respondents reported owning property. Acquired properties totaled 19,305 acres of farm land and 1,526 lots. The assessed value of said property in 1910 was \$2,794,537. The researcher's contention is that the

accumulation of “wealth” in the form of property served as an example for the community (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 71-72).

Business

Many of the college graduates reported having business enterprises in addition to their vocation (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 81-82).

Education of Children

Selected samples of participants’ responses:

“It is my present intention to give my boys a full university training in order that they may be equipped to take high rank in whatever calling or profession they chose” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 82-85).

“I have but one daughter. I plan to give her a college education in southern, eastern and European institutions” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 82-85).

“I expect to send my boys thru college and my daughter thru a normal training school” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 82-85).

Early Life and Training

Selected samples of participants’ responses:

Men

“I was carefully reared by parents who had been slaves, attended public schools, removed to Ohio and attended high school” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 59-65).

“I was born and reared on a cotton farm. My early training was such as could be received in an ex-slave home and three months in the year school. Mother and father were honest tho unlettered and strove to make the best of their opportunities and left that impression upon their children. Best of all, I was reared in a Christian home” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 59-65).

“I was a slave until I reached the age of thirteen years. I was taken from my parents at ten years of age. I have been compelled to support myself since 1865” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 59-65).

“I had about nine months of schooling before reaching the age of twenty one years. I received most of my education since I became twenty one years of age” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 59-65).

Women

“I was born in a cabin and attended a country school” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 59-65).

“I was reared on the farm until old enough to earn wages; then I was hired out until about twenty years old, when I entered school for the first time. Steady work and interested parties put me thru school” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 59-65).

Hindrances

Selected samples of participants’ responses:

“Prejudice among colored people against their own college men is a Hindrance” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 85-91).

“My chief hindrance has been all lack of funds. I have always had to hustle for what I have attained and having become accustomed to it I hardly consider that a hindrance now. I have found a certain amount of prejudice everywhere but I have also found that ambition and energy with integrity can override prejudice” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 85-91).

“Lack of opportunity thru prejudice both among the more ignorant of my race as well as among the white people has been a great hindrance to my advancement. I have never been able to receive pay adequate to my qualifications” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 85-91).

Philosophy of Life

Selected samples of participants’ responses:

“If the Negro will be wise and educate himself in the trades and the professions, get homes and own land and build up a strong moral character, he will eventually come into his own and be fully recognized as an American citizen” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 91-99).

“The further of the Negro in this country will depend upon the kind of training given to the Negro youth. The same kind of training which has made other races great is also necessary to make the Negro race great” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 91-99).

“With the highest possible training, the acquisition of property and the launching out into all kinds of business enterprises, the Negro in America will succeed and become a mighty power in the affairs of this country” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 91-99).

Interpretation of Survey Data

Although prejudice, discrimination, and limited access were described as constant and even expected hindrances, the graduates were resolved and resolute that education either—liberal or industrial—business ownership, and land ownership would be the keys to prosperity for the Negro in America. However one can hear within the statements of the respondents hints of the question: which type of college education in particular—liberal (classical) or industrial (practical)—holds the keys to success for the Negro American? For example, two respondents gave the following responses:

“The education of my children will probably depend largely on their own wishes but I should like them to receive training equivalent to the four years’ college at Atlanta University and professional or special training for some particular line of work” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 83).

“Intend to make teachers of some of them. The boys wish to be scientific farmers” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910. p. 85).

This question became a point of contention for the Black leadership.

Chapter One Notes

1. The term Negro is used throughout this work in order to place the comments and individuals in the proper historical context. The terms Black and African American are used interchangeably well as in an effort to place the comments and individuals in the proper historical context.
2. *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka* was a landmark court decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1954. This decision declared that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” This decision overturned *Plessey v. Ferguson* which allowed for separate but equal school systems for Blacks and Whites. The decision in *Brown* recognized that Black children were being denied equal educational opportunities.
3. Double-consciousness as defined by W.E.B. Du Bois—“After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (Du Bois, 1903/1961).

Chapter Two

Schools of Thought

Research focused on continental Africans was scant at best. Likewise research focused on Diasporan Africans, in the United States and elsewhere, was also scant. In either case, the research conducted was typically euro-centric and egregiously biased. Early European social scientists were inclined to perceive and interpret African and Diasporan African subjects in context of a mindset informed by Blumenbach's hierarchy of human races (1795) and Darwin's theory of evolution (Darwin, 1859). Essentially, most European social scientists considered themselves as the pinnacle of human development, and all others as inferior to them. The existence of other peoples with histories separate and wholly different from their own created a situation for early European "explorers" in which their "discoveries" had to be legitimized and reconciled with their own existence and religious tenets (Vidich & Lyman, 2000). In reconciling the perceived and real differences, these scientists assumed the perspective that these "others" were primitive, undeveloped, lost souls who had to be "rescued" and shown the correct way toward development and salvation. To legitimize this perception, religious edicts, doctrines, and arguments based on philosophies such as Aristotle's doctrine of natural slavery, were used to endorse and support the devaluing of the "other" and the "other's" value system (Vidich & Lyman, 2000). Thus, the information available "examining" the culture of those of African descent was—

and to some great extent still is—written from the vantage point of colonizers and conquerors, whose primary interest was exploitation—of both human and natural resources. Even with the admitted social advances made by “other-ed” groups, such as African Americans, ostensibly there was little shift in the way the “other” was perceived (Vidich & Lyman, 2000).

Against this backdrop in American society, the Negro community genuinely believed and expected that education held the keys to economic prosperity and social and political equality. Having been denied any form of education in the past, the moment that it was possible for Blacks to attend schools—albeit segregated schools—there was no hesitation to participate (Hine, Hine, & Harrold, 2004).

Individuals such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington extolled the promise and virtues of education. They saw the future progress of the Negro in America as inexorably linked to education. However, these pundits disagreed about what type of education would lead to this projected prosperity. The debate fell along these lines: On one side, the researcher W.E.B. Du Bois advocated a liberal-classical education and on the other, the educator Booker T. Washington advocated an industrial-practical education (Du Bois, 1903/1961; Washington, 1901/1970).

Du Bois

Having internalized, to some degree, the ethos of white supremacy, Du Bois experienced what he termed as “double consciousness” (Du Bois, 1903/1961). Within this frame of mind Du Bois found himself trapped between two worlds.

While he despised the treatment *he* received from Whites, he sought their approval since they represented, to him and to many African Americans the pinnacle of culture. He despised the racist treatment of Negroes. And though he viewed Euro-American culture as imitable, he found no moral lapse in Negroes that would justify their continued exclusion from mainstream American culture (Watts, 2006, p. 122).

Du Bois was arguably one of the most educated Negroes of his time. Yet, his internalization of White social and cultural ideals was not uncommon and, to some degree, understandable, given that all of his education was in the Anglo-American and European educational systems. However, there is more at work than just this fact. It is also “a pragmatic assessment of the complete power Whites held over the Blacks” (Watts, 2006, p. 122).

In spite of, or perhaps because of, his own intellectual and psychological challenges, Du Bois’ work with the Atlanta study is a penetrating glance into the minds and hearts of African Americans. And, after more than 100 years of the education of American Blacks, Dubois’ studies and writings have been the foundation for continued research to this day. Even now serious studies can hardly escape referencing Dubois’ works (Crouch & Benjamin, 2002; Hubbard, 2003; Lewis, 1993; Lewis, 1995).

Evident in Du Bois’ work was that the answer to the question of what type of college education was necessary for the success of the Negro was quite clear: the only way to uplift the Negro was the creation of a Negro Intelligentsia class. This class would be made up of a cadre of Negroes who had studied subjects such

as, Greek, Latin, philosophy, literature and politics (Du Bois, 1903/1961). Du Bois believed that with this training, Negroes could be led out of the darkness to access, agency and full American citizenship.

“The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this work and Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men” (Du Bois, 1903/1961).

This group of “thinkers,” this “Talented Tenth” would lead the Negro race to fulfill its destiny. To Du Bois this destiny would include the “acceptance” of the Negro by “the sons of masters” not only because the Negro had something critical to add to the world but also because the Negro had become “cultured.” This determination of being “cultured” was based upon the Negro assimilating all things Anglo-European. This assimilation was the hallmark of Du Bois’ expected “evolution” of the Negro.

Washington

For Booker T. Washington, education was not a province of just a select few. His contention was that education was not meant for its own sake. The value of learning science, mathematics, or physics lay in the ability to apply that knowledge to some practical or functional purpose (i.e., create better farmers and mechanics). The value of knowledge is in the ability to elevate oneself through work and the accumulation of wealth (property and money). Having control over one’s labor, the income derived from said labor, coupled with the knowledge of how to manage and use this income was the basis of Washington’s theory. Only through this control could the Negro improve his or her condition:

“...out of the hard and unusual struggle through which he is compelled to pass, he gets a strength, a confidence, that one misses whose pathway is comparatively smooth by reason of birth and race” (Washington, 1901/1970, p. 40).

Washington believed this endeavor so important that he advocated accepting the current plight of the Negro so that all energies could be focused on the efforts to uplift the Negro, believing this would win the respect of Whites and lead to Negroes being fully accepted as citizens and integrated into all strata of society (Washington, 1901/1970). His absolutely unwavering belief in this ethos lay at the foundation of Tuskegee Institute. Without exception every student that attended Tuskegee participated in the “upkeep” of the school. In addition it was a well know fact that every student who attended would learn an industry. The mantra was “the individual who can do something that the world wants done will, in the end, make his way regardless of his race” (Washington, 1901/1970, p. 155).

At the root of Washington’s ethos, that success awaits all those who are willing to work hard, lay his own life experience coupled with the Protestant tenets integral to the American work ethic. Washington’s experiences, from the very beginning of his pursuit of an education to later endeavors that met with success only served to solidify his internalized beliefs. Similar to Du Bois, Washington’s internalization may have less to do with choice and more to do with power exerted over the Negro by Whites. Blacks were forcibly converted to this brand of Christianity upon their arrival to the United States (Karenga, 1989). This religious conversion was not only effective in creating an expectation of reward in heaven for suffering on earth, but also insured an acceptance of the Protestant ethos regarding success. This ethos was created and cultivated by the works of

Martin Luther and John Calvin (Weber, 1930/1958). Hard work, charity, thrift, and dependability are all legitimized by this religious ideology.

The debate surrounding what type of college education—liberal-classical or industrial-practical—is the way to success for the African American community did not have only two sides, there was another.

Woodson

Woodson's contention is quite different. He contends that both arguments are flawed. This is due to the fact that the education being obtained is established, maintained, and perpetuated by Whites whose vested interest is not in correctly and adequately preparing Negroes for agency, access, economic control or full citizenship. In fact, Woodson dubbed education of this period as "mis-education," in relation to both Blacks and Whites (Woodson, 1933/1998).

The version of history, science, art and literature taught in American schools, even segregated Black schools, only recognized the achievements of White European society as valuable. Only White achievement was recognized as significant, according to curriculums taught in American schools—therein, reducing all other groups to footnotes in history. What is taught assures socialization and perpetuation of the social caste system. For Negroes this is particularly toxic, since within such a system they are marginalized and silenced—leaving them at worst confused, angered, and unfulfilled; and, at best, trapped between two worlds (Woodson, 1933/1998).

Woodson further contends that this marginalization creates an "educated Negro" who is a social elitist, politically ignorant or apathetic, and professionally

stunted. This “educated Negro” believes he or she has outgrown any belief in or need for the society of the Negro.

“One of the most striking evidences of the failure of higher education is their estrangement from the masses...the Negro churches supply the striking illustration” (Woodson, 1933/1998).

Woodson also observes that the “educated” Negro may have an understanding of the many economic forces exerted upon a business venture yet, his lack of self-confidence prevents his efforts in business.

“The impatient, ‘highly educated’ Negroes ...say that...under the present system of capitalism the Negro has no chance to toil upward in the economic sphere. While the ‘uneducated’ Negro businessman...is actually at work doing that very thing which the ‘mis-educated’ Negro has been taught to believe can’t be done” (Woodson, 1933/1998).

Woodson’s answer was in the revamping of what Negroes learn. He believed that by changing what the Negro student learns, the community will benefit. He seemed to be advocating a blend of liberal and industrial education—with a definite leaning to the Tuskegee model. However, he stressed vocational training which includes training in critical thinking.

“After...students have mastered the fundamentals of English, the principles of composition, the leading facts in the development of literature, they should not spend all of their time in advance work on Shakespeare, Chaucer and Anglo-Saxons. They should direct their attention also to the folklore of the African, to the philosophy in his proverbs, to the development of the Negro in the use of the Modern language, and to the works of Negro writers” (Woodson, 1933/1998, p. 150).

“Negroes do not need some one to guide them to what persons of another race have developed. They must be taught to think for themselves” (Woodson, 1933/1998, p. 159).

Chapter Three

The Test of Time

Du Bois, Washington, and Woodson as well as others engaged in heated debates over which type of education was most promising. But through the haze of philosophies and theories and suppositions, there was one clear, unifying assumption for them and for the Negro community at large—that success for the Negro in America was inexorably linked to education. This sentiment resonated in the voices of the respondents in the study “*The College-Bred Negro American.*”

One respondent stated:

“Educate him in the highest and best way possible so as to enable him to be successfully complete in every other element of Americanism in every walk of life” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p, 93).

The findings of the Atlanta study were not used to develop a paradigm or to list criteria of any kind. However, the study gives us insight into the thinking, desires, and the vision of a newly emancipated people, many bereft of anything save self and family. Education as a potent component in the Negro formula for American success was the point around which most of the respondents rallied. They all intended to educate their children. The type of education a child would receive was sometimes based upon gender. And even though the respondents expected that their children would be challenged by prejudice, discrimination, and limited or denied access, and that they, themselves, would be challenged in the financing of a child’s education, the efforts would be made because the cost of not

doing so would chart a course perceived as even more difficult to negotiate. As with education, the respondents were also resolved and resolute in matters of business ownership and land ownership, as together, these were the keys to prosperity, equality, acceptance, and full citizenship for the Negro in America.

For most Negroes, illiteracy was tantamount to slavery. Landlessness was tantamount to poverty. The “Peculiar Institution” of slavery demanded the denial of both to the Negro. With freedom came the opportunity to acquire that which would not only facilitate full American citizenship, but would also restore to the Negro full dignity as a human being. At least this was the belief. Whereas acquisition of property and business ownership may have been considered the building blocks of wealth, education was needed to attain and maintain both. It was the lynchpin of success.

Like many in mainstream America, Negroes, too, internalized the “Jeffersonian Ideal”—the idea of an educated populace, which was able to interact and participate in society and government (Dorn, 2002). The Jeffersonian Ideal, coupled with the Protestant dogma of hard work, charity, thrift and dependability, combined into a powerful and alluring formula that emboldened its believers with the fortitude to pursue the “American Dream.” Having been deracinated from their African homeland and distanced, by centuries and countless acts of cruelty, from their social traditions, language, customs, and history, what real choice did the Negro have? In the Negro’s pursuit of the American Dream, is again a testament of White power over Blacks. Before and after the Emancipation Proclamation, a number of Blacks were repatriated to

Africa. Abraham Lincoln even considered removing Blacks to Haiti as a solution to America's Civil War (Gould, 1981/1996). There was much talk and some efforts made by both Blacks and Whites to remove Blacks to their African homeland or to islands in the Caribbean. The most well known case would be the Back-to-Africa Movement led by Marcus Garvey. But the sweat and blood of millions of Blacks had nurtured the soil of America, and the cruel institution of slavery forced an acculturation of Anglo-American mores that was undeniable. For the majority of Blacks, their destiny was bound up in America, and they intended to be fully a part of it.

An examination of the data provided by the participants of the study reveals the earnestness with which the Negro pursued the American Dream. Their movement from bondage and illiteracy to emancipation and living life in abject poverty then to the levels of education and prosperity is significant. These former slaves owned more than 2 million dollars in property and were employed as doctors, lawyers, ministers, teachers, real estate dealers, mail carriers, draftsmen, civil servants, and bookkeepers. In addition they had business enterprises in addition to their vocation (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 63, 81-81).

From their perspective anything was possible—why not full citizenship?

Two of the respondents noted:

“The Negro race would be much stronger if there were more who could see the benefit of a college education, be it the professional line or in a trade. I think the higher the education of the Negro race will tend towards reducing race prejudice” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910 p. 93).

“Strong, well-trained leadership for the masses. Educational opportunities unrestricted for all as the case may demand. Retention of the right of suffrage and the display of more independence in the matter of voting. A

better trained ministry to inculcate sound moral teaching. The organizing in cities of clubs for civic improvement and for demanding better grammar school training for Negro children and for teaching the masses, as far as possible, the proper meaning and duties of citizenship. Encouraging business enterprises. Vigorously opposing the doctrine of servility and submission—but not service. Co-operation as far as possible and wherever warranted with fair and right-minded whites for civic improvement” (Du Bois & Dill, 1910, p. 95).

From the standpoint of the Negro at the turn of the 20th century, the future was bright. There was evidence of Black progress and success for the vanguard of Black leadership, hope for the eventual uplift of the masses, and anticipation of the entry of all Blacks into mainstream America as full citizens. Almost a century later, African Americans are faced by the same concerns and questions of the past. For, generally speaking, much is still the same. African Americans question their continued marginalization in American society; their status as second-class citizens, who are not infrequently disenfranchised; and the economic plight of the masses. What is across the nation described as the “Achievement Gap,” conceptualizes the lack of success among Blacks in educational institutions. How African American youth are educated, what type of education is better, and how can the masses of African Americans move out of crippling economic poverty are issues which continue to be debated. This debate was thrust onto the national stage in August of 2005 when Hurricane Katrina devastated the gulf coast of the United States, leaving in its wake—from Florida to Louisiana—decimated and flooded cities and a dislocated populace. Citizens of the United States watched in horror as the region’s most vulnerable and disenfranchised were left to fend for themselves and, in some instances, die in the aftermath of the storm (Alter, 2005). What followed was the inadequate response of the federal government, the glaring

failures of the local and state governments, and the political parties blaming each other for the failures (Thomas, 2005). The national news media were not exempt from this feast of failures, as racist stereotyping was all too clear in the reporting. For instance, newscasters identified White victims as “finding food” and Black victims as having “looted food” (Alter, 2005). The voice of the economically privileged was revealed in the types of questions asked: Why didn’t they leave? What would possess them to stay? (Alter, 2005, p. 48). The question assumes that these thousands of poor had the means to leave, somewhere to go, and the wherewithal to maintain themselves once they’d arrived.

Finally, there was the collective gasp of horror when the American citizenry “discovered” that there are people in the United States trapped in poverty. Despite the fact that between 2002 and 2004, the U.S. Census reported that 37 million Americans live in poverty and of that number 8.8 million were African Americans (Alter, 2005, p. 46; Appendix A, Table 4). America’s poor and poor Blacks, particularly, are largely invisible. How is it that in what is touted as the “richest country in the world” there exists deficient healthcare and education systems (Alter, 2005, p. 46), and that while the median income of this country is projected at \$33,000 a year, for Blacks it is \$24,000 a year, and for Blacks in parts of New Orleans, it is under \$8,000 a year (West, 2005). For Whites the median income is projected at \$48,784 a year. African Americans make up only 12% of the population. That about 26% of the African American community lives in poverty signifies a significant share of this population. By comparison Whites, who make up 72% of the population, have only about 8%

living in poverty (Alter, 2005, p. 45; Appendix A, Table 4). Home ownership is only slightly better. 46 % of African Americans own a home compared to 74% of Whites. However, the median value of African American homes was about \$50,000 less than their White counterparts (Appendix A, Table 5 & 6).

These facts are exacerbated by the reality that African Americans still do not complete college at rates proportionate to their representation in the population of the United States. In 2004, only 5,593 (.0001608 or less than 1%) of African Americans earned college degrees (Appendix A, Table 2). If one takes just the percentages listed in Appendix A, Table 3 (which show matriculation rates since 1940), one will notice that the percentages increase over several decades and then stabilize with only slight differences during the later years. This would tend to give people the impression there had been steady improvement, as well as the production of a fair number of individuals with degrees within the African American community. However, a researcher should never look at only one set of data or a single type of presentation of the data. If one examines the data found in Appendix A, Table 2, one notes that the actual number of degrees is extremely low, and in some categories, single digits. Comparing these numbers to our percentage of the national population (Appendix A, Table 1), African Americans are still significantly underrepresented.

Given that education was perceived as the panacea of the Negro American, the actual outcome of their posterity would truly confound our African American forebears. The original respondents genuinely believed and expected a college education to unlock access to prosperity and equality. So what happened?

Why more than one hundred years after the first Black students began entering institutions of higher education, African Americans are still challenged with the same questions and concerns? Why are so many members of the African American population still not graduating from college at rates proportionate to their representation within the population? Why are so many African Americans still living in abject poverty and treated not only as less than full citizens, but also as sub-humans?

Even though a college education may not have yielded the outcome expected by the early leadership and those who, in effect, became the “Talented Tenth,” it has brought some benefits to some, if not all, which may be why among many African Americans the belief of the necessity of a college degree still maintains. From my particular vantage point as a “College-Bred Negro,” I am compelled to analyze and respond to these continuing and vexing questions; for I am also, in my turn, accountable to the next generation.

Chapter Four

A View from the Ivory Tower

I wish I could say that prior to graduate school I was familiar with all of the works and writings of Dr. W. E. B. Dubois. This was not the case. Through the progression of my graduate studies I became more exposed to his work. In fact, I found out about this particular study while conducting the research necessary to write a review on Dreeben's 1968 work *On What Is Learned in School*. While looking for a review on Dreeben's work I stumbled across a complete listing of Dubois' works, which included *The College-Bred Negro American* (1910). I made a mental note, and later returned to read the study. Upon reading the study, I began toying with the idea of repeating the Atlanta University study. Buttressed by the review of other works such as *The Middle-Class Negro in the White Man's World* (Ginzberg, 1967), *On What Is Learned In School* (Dreeben, 1968), *Model Minority Myth* (Sue & Kitano, 1973), *The Miseducation of the Negro* (Woodson, 1933), *The Rage of a Privileged Class* (Cose, 1995); conversations with my professors, and discussions with others, it occurred to me that almost one hundred years after the publication of *The College-Bred Negro American* the question of what type of education is the key to success for the African American is still unsettled.

Now, with a topic selected, there sprang a multitude of choices — qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods, ethnographic, autoethnography or case

study, survey or focus groups—I felt overwhelmed by the choices. I found myself drawn to autoethnography—autoethnography uses the researcher as a lens through which to view a society (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). This style of research was not practical when Dubois originally undertook his study. During Dr. Dubois’ time, the accepted form of research was for the researcher to remain “separate,” aloof, and by extension objective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The assumption was that only in this way could the “other” be studied. Though some still hold to this “objective” view of research, it has been accepted by qualitative researchers that it is impossible for them to exclude themselves or their voices from their research (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). In autoethnographies, researchers embrace their emotions and personal experiences—boldly declaring, instead of denying, their shortcomings (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). While I was not previously aware that this type of research and writing existed, I have always presented my works in a narrative fashion—enjoying weaving a tale into the writing in which the reader might become engaged. This is probably due to the influence of hearing my father’s sermons most of my youth. Sermonic presentations generally make use of anecdotes or stories meant to draw in the listener. However, from time to time, this method has been met with disdain by professors who told me that my voice was too prevalent in my writing. It was not until graduate school, and my courses in the College of Education and the Anthropology Department, that the inclusion of my voice in my writing was accepted and encouraged – and, in fact, had a name: *autoethnography*. Armed with this newfound information, the focus of my study began to crystallize. Now I had to choose the type of

ethnography I would complete: Would it be reflexive, the researcher uses their experience with subcultures to examine self-other interactions (Ellis & Bochner, 2000); native, the researcher is a member of a marginalized group and provides a window into their culture for nonmembers (Ellis & Bochner, 2000); personal, researchers fill both the academic and personal roles as they serve as the lens for the study of their culture (Ellis & Bochner, 2000); or a literary autoethnography, a form of social science research in which the author writes an autobiographical text that uses the author's membership and experience in the culture being studied as a prism in order to relate the culture to a non-native audience (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). I selected a literary autoethnography because it is a form of social science research in which the author writes an autobiographical text that uses that author's membership and experience in the culture being studied as a prism in order to relate the culture to those outside of the group being studied (Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

I am a Black, college educated male from a family in which property ownership, entrepreneurship, and acquisition of higher education are norms. It could be reasonably argued that I was born to address this topic. Given my demographics, circumstances and experiences, it is conceivable that I could be placed into the category that Du Bois considered the "Talented Tenth," the Intelligentsia, or the bourgeoisie class. Who better, then, to revisit the 20th century study *The College-Bred Negro American* than a 21st century "college-bred" African American?

The original participants and I do not share the exact same social knowledge. I am certainly not a first-generation college student (Gee, 2005). However, we do share membership in the same racial and ethnic community. Our shared membership in said group enables us to share much the same understanding of context, language, and experience (Carley, 1993). My shared membership in this community makes me a complete member researcher, a researcher who is a full member of the group being studied (Adler & Adler, 1987). This research dynamic is also known as a participant—observer methodology (Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

I have chosen to combine an autoethnographic approach with an objective analysis of the 2004 US Census data in order to determine if the growth in college degrees earned within the African American community represented by the study's original respondents is still occurring in the African American community today.

To begin, I believe it useful to complete the same survey as did the 1910 participants and to provide my responses in the same format. In this way, I invite a comparative analysis of my orientation and experiences with that of my predecessors. I also thereby suggest our shared membership and the historical context that frame it.

Schools Attended

I myself attended three colleges earning a degree from one and I am in the process of earning a degree from another: Malone College, St. Leo College and the University of South Florida. Malone was a predominately White college and

was my first occasion of sharing living quarters with someone from a different ethnic group. I attended St. Leo College while I was a member of the United States Air Force (earning my Bachelor's Degree in 1997). The experience of an adult student taking class with other adults from all over the world was quite different from my experience as a teenager at Malone. At Malone the perspective of the material and concepts were wholly dependent upon the professor as well as Anglo-European and Protestant canons. Conversely, taking courses as an adult student with adults from across the globe with very different world views and experiences created an environment in which the professor's viewpoint was not necessarily the prevailing one. In addition I was able to participate in courses which had a viewpoint other than an Anglo-European or an Americo-centric one. Finally, my most recent experiences while a student at the University of South Florida have been just as diverse as my educational experiences while I was in the military. (I am in the process of completing the requirements for the Master of Arts in the Interdisciplinary Social Sciences degree). I have been able to study abroad in Costa Rica and Cambridge, England, and conduct research in Cuba, in addition to my course work on campus.

Residency

I moved from my parents home to attend Malone College in Ohio. After my freshman year, I enlisted in the Ohio Air National Guard eventually moving to active duty in the United States Air Force. I did not return to college until in my twenties. I have moved for work and school on several occasions. I have never

been one to restrict my options by being unwilling to relocate. The military tends to move personnel quite a lot, so one becomes accustomed to moving.

Martial Status

I was married for 5 years and have been divorced for 18 years.

Number of Children

I have one child, within my marriage. He is 19 years of age.

Occupations

I have been a student, a member of the Ohio Air National Guard, the United States Air Force Reserves, the United States Air Force, and a teacher. While in the military I held various positions during my career: Security Specialist, Telecommunications Operator, Systems Administrator, and Entertainment Director.

Property Ownership

I do own property; however, I prefer not to state the value of said property.

Business

I have had and currently have business interests. I have owned an entertainment company and I currently own rental property.

Education of Children

Though I should like to see my son educated and skilled, I will not insist that he attends college. In fact, he can receive training in any number of fields of endeavor which do not require a college education.

Early Life and Training

I attended a federally funded pre-school program called Head Start. During elementary school I initially attended a predominantly Black public school. My parents moved me to a predominantly White private school for the latter part of elementary school. I began junior high at a predominantly White public school, moving to a predominantly Black public school midway through. For high school I attended rather well mixed public school.

Hindrances

My awareness of the concept of race occurred during Head Start (a preschool program for low income families), when my white teacher used a functionalist approach to explain discrimination to us. She lined us up and explained that we were going to pretend that we were applicants for a job. As each child approached the window to apply for the job, they were either accepted or rejected based solely on color. The teacher explained that this action was discrimination. However, I do not recall ever experiencing any overt discrimination. This may have been due to my parents' status as a prominent minister and a politically active wife or it could have been due to the fact that for most of my childhood race was not a determining factor for access, agency or success. Until junior high school, I lived in areas and attended schools in which Blacks were few.

This fact played an equally important role in my socialization into White society—living and attending school with White children enabled me to see them as my peers; it never occurred to me that I could not achieve what they were

expected to achieve. (For example all through junior high school, I fully believed that I was going to become the first Black President of the United States.) This absence of race as a hindrance changed abruptly when my parents divorced and, for the first time in my life, I lived in a predominantly Black neighborhood and attended a predominantly Black school. I found that I was not accepted by either the Black students or the White students—in a way I was trapped between two worlds. I had no problems with adults; the children were the issue. This remained the cause until the first school dance. When it was “discovered” I could dance I received social acceptance. However, this acceptance was still colored by the reality that I was still perceived as acting White.

Philosophy of Life

As time has passed I have grown to realize that success is not determined by how rich, educated or popular someone is; in fact, I think success is determined by a great deal more than these rudimentary, fleeting gauges. To me success is gainful employment which permits one to care for his or her family, providing what is needed and some of what is wanted; raising responsible, independent children; and commitment to the improvement of one’s community. Finally, being a man of my word, because in the end that is really all I have.

Conclusion

After years of education and exposure to the educational and social systems of the United States, I find that I do not agree that the only way to be a success is by earning a college degree. Making this point more salient to me was a conversation I had with my son midway through his high school years. In this

conversation, my son announced to me that he did not think he wanted to go to college. I did not get upset. In fact, I began discussing with him the many other options he had. I explained to him that he did not have to go to college if he did not want to. He could learn a trade, take an entry-level position with any number of the local government departments, or join the military. However, whatever he decided to do, he had to have a plan for how to undertake and accomplish it. In addition, I told him that while I would support whatever choice he made, he would have to tell his mother about his choice.

This was a conversation that would not have been possible between his grand-father and me. My family has internalized the ethos that education equals success. All of my life it was presumed that I would attend college. I come from a family in which education, entrepreneurship, and property ownership are advocated. My maternal great uncle was one of the first Black graduates of the University of North Carolina. My maternal great grandparents were among the first Black families to own property in that state. My father and stepmother both have their Ph.Ds and my mother has an undergraduate degree and runs a non-profit foundation. There was never any question whether I would attend college.

Yet, much to my surprise, I found myself questioning the long-held belief within the African American community that in order to be successful one must acquire a college degree. While I have no disagreement with the premise that it is critical that our children are properly educated at the primary and secondary levels, a fact made clear after spending the last year as a sixth-grade teacher, I am not convinced that a college degree is essential for success. For far too long we

have convinced our youth to participate in the process of college matriculation which may be neither the intent or forte of some of our youth. At the same time, by emphasizing only higher education as the means to success, we devalue skill-based or “blue collar” employment.

The wholesale acceptance of this ideology has left our community wanting for many things, not the least of which is a cadre of workers who are able to control their labor and the income derived from said labor. I advocate education and training based upon interest and ability. A diversification in what we prepare our youth to do and an understanding of money and the power gained by having control over one’s labor and the income derived from it, seems to me to be preferable and more realistic. In addition, we need to rethink how we define success.

There are many ways to “learn” and to be successful, and college is but one avenue. We as a community do not avail ourselves enough of those other avenues. Those of us who have experience and knowledge in these other choices and opportunities too often are content with keeping this wealth of knowledge and experience to ourselves. Our communities’ norms, expectations and philosophy are based on a vision that is virtually a century old. This, in and of itself, is not the problem. What is at issue is that the model for success that was represented by the Du Boisean “Talented Tenth” has not been effective for the College-Bred Negro nor for the masses that were to be uplifted by them—not then and not now. Some may think that my contention that college is not the end all be all is flawed

because, as a college educated, well traveled, well informed, business owner, I am successful. Of course, that would depend on one's definition of "success".

The definition of success, for Du Bois and the respondents of the study: *The College-Bred Negro American* was centered on the Calvinist ideal of the elect. This ideal is centered on the belief that a Protestant follower's prosperity was a sign of God's hand upon their life both temporally and spiritually. For them prosperity was defined as a stable family, financial gain (wealth), property ownership, social benevolence (charity), community acceptance and conformity (Weber, 1930/1958). Du Bois and the respondents added to this list, acquisition of a college degree, and the right to vote.

My argument with this definition lies in the clear demarcation that only a select group can and will be successful. This sacred view of success not only limits who is considered a success, it also limits the opportunities for success (Eliade, 1959). By its very nature this definition presumes the "only" road to success is through obtaining a college degree. Once acquired, the recipient is now above "blue collar" work and is destined for wealth and fame. This definition of success classifies prosperity by the acquisition of wealth instead of financial independence and stability. This definition of success also devalues "blue collar" employment. What about the postal worker that is a responsible employee who, during his or her years of service, buys a house, pays taxes, participates in the community, and raises a family? During this time, they don't break the law, become rap or sports figures, or earn a college degree. Why aren't they seen as a success? To me the postal worker is the epitome of success.

For Du Bois, his vanguard, and the study's respondents, neither their definition of success nor their expectations have come to fruition. Du Bois and the respondents fully expected the cadre of Talented Tenth folks to lead the Negro race to the Promised Land. Where, after they had been assimilated, they would be educated, prosperous and accepted as full citizens of the United States. While one cannot argue that a 536% increase in Negroes earning college degrees is phenomenal, one must remember our number of graduates previously was zero (Du Bois & Dill, 1910). Was there salvation for the masses? Quite the contrary, after reconstruction, Negroes were completely disenfranchised. The successes achieved politically and financially were all wiped away. In fact, Jim Crow instituted and codified in law the creation of Negroes as a permanent servant class thus relegated to the most menial of labor. The industrial revolution provided only minimal relief. While Blacks migrated to the cities in search of employment, in the factories they were once again relegated to the menial labor tasks such as sweeping the floor (Franklin, 1993).

Today's African American's rejection of "blue collar" work and the internalization in the belief of a causal link between a college education and success may be in direct response to our community's historical reality of being forced into the most labor-intensive menial jobs. However, this internalization has fostered a complete rejection and demeaning perspective of "blue collar" work, a sense of entitlement as well as a tendency to foster a cult of victimization, even among those who are part of the "Talented Tenth" (McWhorter, 2000).

To some, for doctors, lawyers, and corporate executives to bemoan their status as victims of a society which still treats them unequally rings hollow (McWhorter, 2000; Franklin, 1993). And in some real sense it should. For this group steady, well-paid work, regular health care, and homeownership is a reality—46% of African Americans own their own homes (U.S. Census, 2007). Why should the masses—the 54% of African Americans who don't own homes and the 26% of African Americans who live in poverty (U.S. Census, 2007)—feel sorry for them?

Today's "elect" acquired the necessary credentialization which enabled them to obtain the types of positions which are expected of the Talented Tenth—professional employment, jobs with "status" thus, assimilating into the Americo-centric society in which they live. Yet, they are unhappy. They claim to have found, much to their dismay, that race still plays a factor. They are enraged to discover that after college, professional training, the right job, the correct address, the proper speech, they are still excluded from White society because in the end they are still not White. This realization creates disillusionment. They have found that no matter how much they have tried to gain acceptance, they will never succeed (Cose, 1993).

Du Bois said it in the early twentieth century and it rings true in the twenty first, the quintessential problem for the United States will be the color line. We could debate if it is class or race, but ostensibly they are the same for African Americans. Regardless of our net worth we are still not White. From its inception the United States has been a country divided and ruled under the precept

of the sacred and the profane. For Whites everyone that is White and anything associated with Whites is sacred. Anything not White is profane (Eliade, 1959). This exclusionary view of the world and the “other” was and is specifically designed to perpetuate the privilege enjoyed by Whites. This privilege exists and is maintained at the expense of the “other.” Whites have done and will continue to do whatever is necessary in order to maintain this privilege; this reality binds their community together. It is very difficult for a group any group to give up a position of status and privilege. However, this reality does not absolve the African American community of its responsibility to itself.

Chapter Five

The Objective of an Education

Whether liberal or industrial, professional or trade, all education is valuable. Du Bois advocated a liberal education focused on creating an intelligentsia class (Du Bois, 1903). Washington championed an industrial education intended to build an educated labor force (Washington, 1901). Woodson trumpeted an education which was a hybrid of the two previous ideas with the added caveats of not only learning the canons dictated by the Americo-centric, Anglo-European Academy, but emphasizing that attention be also given “to the folklore of the African, to the philosophy in his proverbs, to the development of the Negro in the use of the Modern language, and to the works of Negro writers” (Woodson, 1933, p. 150). Regardless of their point of view, all of them agreed that the future of the African American community was contingent upon the education the African American. Given their indefatigable efforts, confidence, and hope, they certainly would not have expected that, one hundred years later, in 2004, only 5,593 (.0001608 or less than 1%) out of 34,772,331 African Americans would have earned college degrees (Appendix A, Table 2).

Education in and of itself was not the goal, however. Education was the lever, the instrument, to lift African Americans out of impoverished conditions which trailed them from slavery into freedom. Yet the masses of African Americans are still mired in poverty. As with early proponents of college

education, the majority of African Americans today continue to embrace the ethos of the past which dictate that the key to success is a college education. Could it be that this concept of success is too narrow? Could it be that the continued faith in this ethos has done a disservice to our youth by limiting the choices that they consider as viable options?

I am reminded of a recent conversation I had with a group of my students which was prompted by the African American male students in the class who insisted that I, an African American, could not be Black. The conversation went as follows:

Student: What are you?

M. C.: What do you mean?

Student: You aint Black; you Cuban, Mexican...somethin

M. C.: Why do you insist that I can't be Black?

Finally after some coaxing from the White male and female students with him ...

Student: cause dat dare...

M. C.: Insist? You think I can't be Black because of the way I speak?

Student: Yah

M. C.: Well, believe it or not I am Black. But my race has nothing to do with how I speak. Just because I don't use slang doesn't mean I am not Black. In fact, you can and should think about learning to speak this way because; you need to speak with people other than your friends and the way you speak with them will not work in other places...like school or work.

Student (White Female): He thinks you out to talk like I'm posed to

M. C.: What do you guys want to be when you grow up?

Student (White Female): Neo-natal nurse

(She had a little difficulty with the term, so I was obliged to help her with it.)

M. C.: So when you are talking with the parents of one of your patients, you are going to say: “yo, so wha’ be up wit yo’r kid?”

Student (White Female): (laughing) Nah, nah, nah, (she instantly changes her speech pattern) I would say: “What a beautiful baby you have.”

M. C.: Exactly. In different circumstances you will need to use Standard English, correctly, and you need to know when those occasions are as well as how to correctly use Standard English.

I then turned to the African American Male student.

M. C.: What do you want to be when you grow up?

Student: I’m gona play football.

M. C.: That is great, and I am all for you going after your dream. But, what do you what to be just in case that doesn’t work out.

Sitting quietly for a moment, looking seriously and puzzled into my eyes he then speaks.

Student: never thought bout it

M. C.: No one has ever asked you what else you are interested in? What else you would like to do?

Student: Nah

M. C.: What else are you interested in? What else do you want to do?

Student: never thought bout it

I do not think negatively about careers as musical artists—rappers—or athletes. However, what does it say about our community that the dreams we give our children are so singularly focused. Several events need to occur in order to address this. To begin with, all forms of education must be explored and advocated as a way to broaden one's choices, to fill one's life with possibilities and to arm one with the tools necessary to live, participate and contribute to their lives and the community in which they live, in the most productive way possible. In addition, a complete redefining of success must occur within the African American community. Finally, in order to find new leaders we must “drop or buckets where we stand” (Washington, 1901/1970)—contrary to the myth, we are not devoid of leadership; we are just not looking into all of our possibilities. Our leaders are those individuals who make it work in spite of their circumstances. Our examples are those people who are law abiding, hard working, family and community committed.

We are left with more questions than answers, and I by know means can answer them all or can say that I have definitive answers to any of them. Why is it that in the twenty-first century African Americans are still confronted with the question of how to achieve academic success and economic empowerment? Why are members of the African American community still not graduating from college at rates proportionate to their representation within the population? Why are so many African Americans still living in abject poverty and treated not only as less than full citizens, but also as sub-humans?

There are several possible answers to the question: Could it be that...?

- African Americans have determined that the promise of integration required a price too high to pay and are thereby seeking to redefine themselves (Baldwin, 1985).
- African Americans have found that the melting pot (Crouch, 2004), and multiculturalism (Giroux & Purpel, 1983) have created a population of African Americans trapped between two worlds, unable to live acceptably in either (Stowell & Oakley, 2002).
- African Americans have discovered their definition of success is flawed and built on the internalization of an ethos that is not theirs (Bond, 1996).
- African Americans realize that the American school system is just as segregated and dysfunctional as it was before *Brown vs. the Board of Education* (Kozol, 2005).
- African Americans believe that no matter what education is acquired they will never be considered or treated as full citizens in the United States (Franklin, 1993).
- African Americans have decided that desegregation was a failure and therefore are rejecting anything that remotely resembles the norms and values of the society which has dominated them.

- African Americans, find their effort to redefine themselves and their culture wholly apart from the society which as dictated their norms for so long, beneficial.
- African Americans lost any remnants of their society which were the foundation of their community (i.e., the extended family model) in their efforts to assimilate during desegregation and are now paying for that choice.

Whatever the reason or reasons, and this is not meant to be an exhaustive list, one way that might be effective in determining the reasons is to repeat the original 1910 study *The College-Bred Negro American*. Though the issues addressed in this thesis have been consistent over a millennia, circumstances within American society are different. Therefore the survey would have to be relevant to the present and framed to reflect modern realities. This purposed study would be framed against the backdrop of questioning the benefits of desegregation, the failure of the Black intelligentsia, the exodus of the Black bourgeoisie, the destruction of the extended family model, and a re-evaluation of African American cultural continuance.

The sample for this study will be first-generation African American college graduates drawn from one private university, one public university, one public college, one private college, one historically Black college, one historically Black university, and one community college. In addition, participants who did not attend college and selected other avenues to earn a living will be included as a separate sample group.

The goal of this project would be to investigate the educational aspirations and experiences of African American some 100 years since Dubois and Washington's original debate and more than fifty-three years after Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, the 1957 Supreme Court decision that overturned Plessey vs. Ferguson (1896). My belief is that by examining these aspirations and experiences we may discover some of the reasons why the African American community is still not graduating students from college at rates proportionate to their representation within the population. The data may also be the foundation of a dialogue describing or redefining success for African Americans and new or revised strategies for self-empowerment and full citizenship.

To this end the participants will be asked to complete a survey (Appendix C) asking them questions such as the following: What is your definition of success? How do you define academic achievement? How would you describe your academic experiences—what were the positive and negative aspects? The expectation and hope is that the survey will not only illicit information regarding the participants' educational philosophy and vision, but will also allow an understanding of what impact education has had on them financially, socially and philosophically (Appendix C) (Creswell, 1998).

Proposed Study

Participants

First-generation African American students will be sought out to participate. For the purpose of the study, first generation will mean the first person in the participants' family—maternal and paternal—to be graduated from

college. Participants will be kept anonymous in an effort to encourage open and frank with their responses. Ideally a total of 800 participants is desired.

Today, African Americans have many educational choices, so it would not be feasible, at this point, to be comprehensive in terms of targeted populations. To address this limitation, the seven institutions of higher learning, that will be the source of participants, will be diverse in nature. Included in the source pool will be one private university, one public university, one public college, one private college, one historically Black college, one historically Black university, and one community college. For the purposes of this study, a private university is one which receives minimal government funding; a public university is predominately funded by a national or regional government; a historically black college or university is one that has historically served the African American community as a response to their exclusion from White colleges. A community college is an institution funded by a national or regional government that offers only Associate degrees in Arts or the Science. (www.answers.com).

The sample groups will be made up of participants who share a set of specific characteristics and can provide an insight into a particular phenomenon. This closed community will be contacted by requesting each alumni association of the selected institutions to print an invitation in their newsletter inviting all first generation African American graduates to visit the website designed for this study (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, p. 56).

The racial, ethnic, and national identification of the participants will be self identified. This data will not be established for the participants by the

researcher since the participants will fill out the survey on line, never being met by the researcher. This will not be a limitation, considering that social identities are fluid and are generally defined by the individuals themselves—regardless of others' efforts to identify and categorize them.

This study will seek to make case-to-case transfers (generalizations made across similar cases; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005), thus a non-random (non-probability) sample will be selected for this study. Again, I will be restricting my findings and generalizations to the participants and not to any group outside of the study participants (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). Any generalization beyond my participants would be flawed as my sample is not random and may be too small for external generalization.

While working on this section something occurred to me—could I answer the questions I raised by merely having participants who were first-generation college graduates? How could the study of this group alone investigate the possible shift from the accepted formula that education equals success and the ethos from which the formula is derived? In order to better address this new question I would need to include another group of subjects. I would need to expand my sample frame to include a homogeneous, critical case non-random (non-probability) sample who are an extreme case (selecting outlying cases and conducting comparative analyses (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2005 p. 56). I would need to include participants who did not attend college and selected other avenues to earn a living. For these subjects I would add three additional questions on the second survey: Why did you choose to forego college? What is your means of

earning a living? What determined your choice of livelihood? Widening my sample frame to include these individuals will enable me to better address my research questions as well as provide a better discussion regarding the possible reasons for a loss of belief in the traditional African American ethos and formula regarding education and success.

In order to contact these subjects I will run advertisements in the African American papers in the cities where the selected seven colleges are located. These advertisements will briefly explain the study and its purpose and invite African Americans who did not attend college and who also meet the previously stated demographic requirements for the other subject group to visit the website listed and participate in this study. The limitations for this group and the data provided by them are the same.

Instrument

I will create two online (electronic) surveys for my participants to complete. These surveys will provide data for the study. The first survey will be the exact same questions asked of the original participants in the 1910 study. There were a total of 19 questions posed which collected demographic and philosophical data. The second survey will ask 33 questions, 19 of which are re-phrased versions of the original questions. The additional questions are intended to illicit information regarding the participant's possible internalization of the education equals success formula. The surveys (Appendix B & C) will be posted on line for the participants to complete. The responses to the two surveys will establish a measure of validity by asking the same questions, in different forms, in

order to verify and compare the responses between both surveys, thereby integrating a form of triangulation which is intended to add another level of validity to the participants' responses (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz & Sechrest, 1966).

Procedure

Upon arriving at the study's website, the participants will be able to read an explanation of the study and are asked to participate. If they choose to participate, activating the continue button will represent compliance, agreement, and understanding (an informed consent disclaimer will be presented about the continue button). The participants will then be directed to the first of the two surveys. They will be asked to create an identification number consisting of their birthday represented as MMDDYY, plus two alphabetic characters of their choosing. The same ID must be entered on both surveys. This will enable them to remain anonymous and I will be able to match their two surveys. I realize this format may be questionable for some qualitative researchers. Without the data collected from verbal and non verbal responses, there is the concern that the "voice" of the participants will not be clearly projected. The question is understandable since person-to-person interviews enable the researcher to present the participants with further questions to probe for answers as well as providing the researcher the opportunity to observe the participant. Nevertheless, studies have shown that non-verbal responses, in most cases, can be just as informative as verbal responses (Spradley, 1979; Fontana & Frey, 2005). However, for this study I will be mirroring the original 1910 survey format. My intention in the

method I have chosen is also a means to insure distance between the researcher and the participant in order to manage interference in the data collection.

While my ability to ask probing and follow-up questions will be limited by the mixture of more than 30 close- and open-ended questions, this limitation will by no means limit the amount of data. To assist with storing, processing and correlation of this data I will use the software program N7 (QSR, 2002).

Analysis

The data will be analyzed using several different techniques to assist in achieving saturation (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2005). For this study I will use word count, keywords-in-context, and within-case and cross-case analysis.

Word count analysis will be used to identify terms or phrases which the participant uses when answering the qualitative questions during the interview. Once the researcher identifies these items, the frequency which they appear in the data will be determined (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2005). The purpose of counting how many times a particular word appears in the data is to determine what, if any, themes or trends are observed by the researcher.

Keyword-in-context analysis, not only looks for repeated words in the text but also examines the text surrounding the word in order to determine the context or meaning of the word for the participant (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2005). This analysis will enable the researcher to open a window into the community being studied, by permitting an understanding of the terms and what those terms mean within said community, as well as to develop a kind of dictionary or a glossary of terms and their meanings.

Cross-case analysis is meant for use by researchers with multiple cases to analyze. The analysis of cases generates mountains of data. Each case must be analyzed, the participants' responses and "story" narratives written, and conclusions drawn and presented—cross-case analysis provides an effective way for this to be handled (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Cross-case analysis is much like the other techniques discussed above, with the addition of its ability to analyze and display the effect that various forces have on the data. As with all analysis techniques, the researcher must be familiar with the data, and the data are mined for words, phrases, and themes that arise from the participant's responses to the research questions. Instead of merely mining for the themes, commonalties, or attributes in a single case the researcher mines across cases (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Once commonalties among cases are identified, the researcher begins to correlate the data into "clusters." These clusters then are contrasted and compared against each other.

The questions and answers that develop from this analysis (the research findings, conclusions draw, assertions made) are then presented as a narrative as well as a concise diagram that are easily digestible by readers (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Limitations

There are several limitations to this proposed work. First would be my sample. It is correct that a non-random (non-probability) accessible sample limits the ability to generalize beyond the sample groups (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). Another limitation will be the inability to accurately predict or control the

sample size. Further, my planned means of contact and participation in this study—online survey—will effectively lock out all those who do not have access to the internet. The “digital divide” will limit the number of individuals who learn of the study and are able to participate (Mossberger, Tolbert & Stansbury, 2003). There will also be limitations in regards to the data from the U.S. Census Bureau; since the data supplied is voluntary and certain groups are excluded. However, these limitations are no more than the limitations faced by the researchers of the original undertaking and will be addressed through methodology put in place to address these limitations. The most important responsibility a researcher has is to recognize there is no such concept as a perfect study. Because perfection is not possible, one must strive to be rigorous and achieve accuracy and validity.

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Appendices

Appendix A
U.S. Census Data
Table 1 United States Population by Race 2004



The American Community— Blacks: 2004

INTRODUCTION

This report presents a portrait of the Black or African-American population in the United States.¹ It is part of the American Community Survey (ACS) report series. Information on demographic, social, economic, and housing characteristics in the tables and figures are based on data from the 2004 ACS Selected Population Profiles and Detailed Tables.² The data for the Black population are based on responses to the 2004 ACS question on race, which asked all respondents to report one or more races.³

¹ In the federal government, the category "Black or African American" refers to people having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. It includes people who indicated their race or races as "Black, African Am., or Negro," or wrote in entries such as African American, Afro American, Negitan, or Haitian. The terms "Black" and "African American" are used by the U.S. Census Bureau; hereinafter in this report, the term "Black" is used to refer to all individuals who reported they were Black or African American.

² The 2004 ACS datasets, including Selected Population Profiles and Detailed Tables, are available online in the American Factfinder at <<http://factfinder.census.gov>>.

³ For further information on the content and format of the questionnaire, see <www.census.gov/acs/www/Downloads/SQuest03.pdf>.

Table 1.
Population by Race and Hispanic Origin: 2004

(Data based on sample limited to the household population and exclude the population living in institutions, college dormitories, and other group quarters. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see http://factfinder.census.gov/home/enr/data/notes/exp_acs2004.htm.)

Race and Hispanic origin	Population	Percent of U.S. population	Margin of error ¹ (±)
Total	285,691,581	100.0	(0)
White alone, not Hispanic	192,952,875	67.3	0.01
Black alone	34,772,381	12.2	0.03
Not Hispanic	34,142,554	12.0	0.03
Hispanic	629,827	0.2	0.02
Black alone or in combination	35,597,015	12.3	0.02
Not Hispanic	35,630,167	12.5	0.02
Hispanic	966,848	0.3	0.01
Black in combination	1,824,634	0.6	0.01
Not Hispanic	1,457,613	0.5	0.01
Hispanic	367,021	0.1	0.01
Black and White	1,141,232	0.4	0.02

(0) Not applicable.

¹ This number, when added to and subtracted from the estimate, produces the 90-percent confidence interval around the estimate.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004 American Community Survey, Selected Population Profiles, S0201.

Appendix A (Continued)

U.S. Census Data

Table 2 Educational Attainment of the Population 2004

Table 1. Educational Attainment of the Population 15 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 2004

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutionalized population.)

Black alone and Both Sexes	Educational Attainment															
	Total	None	1st - 4th grade	5th - 6th grade	7th - 8th grade	9th grade	10th grade	11th grade	High school graduate	Some college no degree	Associate degree, occupational	Associate degree, academic	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Professional degree	Doctorate degree
15 years and over	26,693	100	210	301	1,039	1,163	1,741	2,511	8,922	5,120	902	830	2,730	858	168	98
15 to 17 years	2,071	2	-	14	380	594	665	375	27	12	-	-	2	-	-	-
18 to 19 years	984	3	1	2	12	22	112	359	276	194	1	2	1	-	-	-
20 to 24 years	2,825	2	6	3	28	61	100	294	1,126	916	64	40	167	11	6	-
25 to 29 years	2,481	7	4	13	15	20	89	152	907	688	77	91	343	63	12	-
30 to 34 years	2,560	9	6	5	18	24	42	151	940	586	136	103	399	102	31	6
35 to 39 years	2,613	9	2	11	15	37	95	141	994	535	109	119	418	98	18	13
40 to 44 years	2,789	17	10	8	38	46	97	204	1,052	554	150	105	369	107	19	14
45 to 49 years	2,575	8	15	18	24	40	79	184	1,027	445	118	115	358	104	23	16
50 to 54 years	2,139	8	11	16	43	57	84	138	735	442	87	108	252	128	13	18
55 to 59 years	1,544	8	10	30	47	50	67	122	554	274	65	57	155	80	14	10
60 to 64 years	1,235	5	15	22	62	46	61	109	491	180	34	33	103	51	13	10
65 to 69 years	921	5	21	38	81	43	74	111	283	111	22	23	57	43	3	7
70 to 74 years	684	-	30	28	87	36	55	63	193	88	19	13	39	23	8	1
75 years and over	1,271	17	79	92	188	88	122	109	316	96	20	21	67	47	7	4
15 to 17 years	2,071	2	-	14	380	594	665	375	27	12	-	-	2	-	-	-
18 years and over	24,622	98	210	287	659	570	1,076	2,136	8,894	5,108	902	830	2,728	858	168	98
15 to 24 years	5,880	6	7	19	420	676	878	1,028	1,429	1,121	66	42	170	11	6	-
25 years and over	20,812	93	203	282	619	487	864	1,483	7,493	3,998	836	788	2,560	847	161	98
15 to 64 years	23,817	78	80	143	683	996	1,491	2,229	8,130	4,825	841	773	2,568	744	150	86
65 years and over	2,876	22	130	158	355	167	251	282	792	294	60	57	163	114	18	12

A dash (-) represents zero or rounds to zero.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey

Internet Release Date: March 2005

Appendix A (Continued)

U.S. Census Data

Table 2 Educational Attainment of the Population 2004

Table 1. Educational Attainment of the Population 15 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 2004
(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutionalized population.)

Black alone and Male	Educational Attainment															
	Total	None	1st - 4th grade	5th - 6th grade	7th - 8th grade	9th grade	10th grade	11th grade	High school graduate	Some college no degree	Associate degree, occupational	Associate degree, academic	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Professional degree	Doctorate degree
15 years and over	12,011	49	107	167	509	574	809	1,114	4,222	2,211	360	302	1,102	339	93	52
15 to 17 years	1,007	2	-	11	208	290	308	166	14	7	-	-	2	-	-	-
18 to 19 years	506	-	1	2	7	19	69	203	117	87	1	-	0	-	-	-
20 to 24 years	1,329	-	0	2	15	36	51	141	575	407	18	18	55	6	5	-
25 to 29 years	1,115	4	3	9	7	11	30	46	463	340	22	29	125	20	5	-
30 to 34 years	1,146	8	4	2	13	7	15	58	462	242	69	41	171	41	10	3
35 to 39 years	1,177	4	2	6	4	26	46	70	477	218	41	45	173	44	12	9
40 to 44 years	1,265	9	5	2	21	26	52	91	517	237	55	35	163	38	8	5
45 to 49 years	1,168	6	13	9	11	23	34	84	520	174	47	38	147	43	18	3
50 to 54 years	965	3	4	9	29	24	40	68	337	200	41	39	99	55	8	8
55 to 59 years	692	4	4	22	22	29	33	50	248	121	27	24	69	28	4	7
60 to 64 years	535	3	8	17	17	26	27	39	230	62	14	7	45	21	10	9
65 to 69 years	392	1	12	19	52	21	36	40	96	45	12	12	21	18	3	5
70 to 74 years	261	-	18	20	33	15	17	26	62	28	4	5	17	9	6	1
75 years and over	453	6	32	37	69	22	53	32	106	43	6	10	15	14	4	3
15 to 17 years 18 years and over	1,007	2	-	11	208	290	308	166	14	7	-	-	2	-	-	-
15 to 24 years	11,004	48	107	156	301	284	501	947	4,209	2,204	360	302	1,100	339	93	52
25 years and over	2,842	2	2	14	231	345	427	510	705	500	20	18	58	6	5	-
15 to 64 years	9,169	48	105	152	278	229	382	604	3,517	1,711	340	284	1,044	333	89	52
65 years and over	10,904	42	45	90	355	517	703	1,016	3,959	2,094	337	276	1,048	297	80	44
	1,106	7	62	76	154	57	106	98	263	117	23	26	54	42	13	8

A dash (-) represents zero or rounds to zero.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey

Appendix A (Continued)

U.S. Census Data

Table 2 Educational Attainment of the Population 2004

Table 1. Educational Attainment of the Population 15 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 2004
(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutionalized population.)

Educational Attainment																
Black alone and Female	Total	None	1st - 4th grade	5th - 6th grade	7th - 8th grade	9th grade	10th grade	11th grade	High school graduate	Some college no degree	Associate degree, occupational	Associate degree, academic	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Professional degree	Doctorate degree
15 years and over	14,682	50	103	134	530	589	932	1,398	4,700	2,909	541	528	1,628	519	75	46
15 to 17 years	1,064	-	-	3	172	304	357	209	14	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
18 to 19 years	478	3	-	-	5	3	44	156	159	107	-	2	0	-	-	-
20 to 24 years	1,497	2	5	2	13	25	50	153	550	509	46	22	112	5	2	-
25 to 29 years	1,367	3	1	4	8	9	59	106	444	348	55	61	219	43	7	-
30 to 34 years	1,414	2	1	3	5	17	27	92	479	344	67	62	228	61	21	3
35 to 39 years	1,436	5	0	5	11	10	49	70	517	317	68	75	245	54	6	4
40 to 44 years	1,525	7	5	7	17	21	45	113	535	317	95	70	206	69	11	8
45 to 49 years	1,407	3	2	9	14	17	45	101	508	270	71	77	211	62	5	13
50 to 54 years	1,174	5	7	7	14	33	44	69	397	243	47	68	153	73	5	9
55 to 59 years	852	4	6	8	25	21	34	72	306	153	38	33	86	51	10	3
60 to 64 years	699	2	7	4	44	20	34	70	261	118	19	26	58	30	2	1
65 to 69 years	528	4	9	19	29	22	38	71	188	65	9	11	36	25	-	2
70 to 74 years	423	-	12	8	54	22	38	37	131	60	15	8	22	14	2	0
75 years and over	818	10	47	55	119	66	68	77	210	52	13	11	52	33	3	1
15 to 17 years	1,064	-	-	3	172	304	357	209	14	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
18 years and over	13,618	50	103	131	358	285	575	1,189	4,686	2,904	541	528	1,628	519	75	46
15 to 24 years	3,038	5	5	5	190	331	450	518	723	621	46	24	112	5	2	-
25 years and over	11,644	45	98	129	340	258	482	879	3,976	2,288	496	504	1,516	514	73	46
15 to 64 years	12,913	35	35	53	328	479	787	1,213	4,170	2,731	504	497	1,519	448	69	42
65 years and over	1,769	15	68	81	202	110	145	185	529	178	37	31	109	72	5	4

A dash (-) represents zero or rounds to zero.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey
Internet Release Date: March 2005

Appendix A (Continued)
U.S. Census Data
Table 3 Educational Attainment of the Population 1940 - 2004

Table A-2. Percent of People 25 Years and Over Who Have Completed High School or College, by Race, Hispanic Origin and Sex: Selected Years 1940 to 2004
(Noninstitutionalized population)

Age and Year	ALL RACES			WHITE			BLACK			HISPANIC (OF ANY RACE)			NON-HISPANIC WHITE			NON-HISPANIC BLACK		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female

25 YEARS OLD AND OVER

Completed 4 Years of High School or more

2004	85.2	84.8	85.4	85.8	85.3	86.3	80.6	80.4	80.8	58.4	57.3	59.5	90.0	89.9	90.1	81.1	80.8	81.2
2003	84.6	84.1	85.0	85.1	84.5	85.7	80.0	79.6	80.3	57.0	56.3	57.8	89.4	89.0	89.7	80.3	79.9	80.7
2002	84.1	83.8	84.4	84.8	84.3	85.2	78.7	78.5	78.9	57.0	56.1	57.9	88.7	88.5	88.9	79.2	79.0	79.4
2001	84.1	84.1	84.2	84.8	84.4	85.1	78.8	79.2	78.5	56.8	55.5	58.0	88.6	88.6	88.6	79.1	79.5	78.8
2000	84.1	84.2	84.0	84.9	84.8	85.0	78.5	78.7	78.3	57.0	56.6	57.5	88.4	88.5	88.4	78.9	79.1	78.7
1999	83.4	83.4	83.4	84.3	84.2	84.3	77.0	76.7	77.2	56.1	56.0	56.3	87.7	87.7	87.7	77.4	77.2	77.5
1998	82.8	82.8	82.9	83.7	83.6	83.8	76.0	75.2	76.7	55.5	55.7	56.3	87.1	87.1	87.1	76.0	75.2	76.7
1997	82.1	82.0	82.2	83.0	82.9	83.2	74.9	73.5	76.0	54.7	54.9	54.6	86.3	86.3	86.3	74.9	73.5	76.0
1996	81.7	81.9	81.6	82.8	82.7	82.8	74.3	74.3	74.2	53.1	53.0	53.3	86.0	86.1	85.9	74.3	74.3	74.2
1995	81.7	81.7	81.6	83.0	83.0	83.0	73.8	73.4	74.1	53.4	52.9	53.8	85.9	86.0	85.8	73.8	73.4	74.1
1994	80.9	81.0	80.7	82.0	82.1	81.9	72.9	71.7	73.8	53.3	53.4	53.2	84.9	85.1	84.7	72.9	71.7	73.8
1993	80.2	80.5	80.0	81.5	81.8	81.3	70.4	69.6	71.1	53.1	52.9	53.2	84.1	84.5	83.8	70.4	69.6	71.1
1992	79.4	79.7	79.2	80.9	81.1	80.7	67.7	67.0	68.2	52.6	53.7	51.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1991	78.4	78.5	78.3	79.9	79.8	79.9	66.7	66.7	66.7	51.3	51.4	51.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1990	77.6	77.7	77.5	79.1	79.1	79.0	66.2	65.8	66.5	50.8	50.3	51.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1989	76.9	77.2	76.6	78.4	78.6	78.2	64.6	64.2	65.0	50.9	51.0	50.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1988	76.2	76.4	76.0	77.7	77.7	77.6	63.5	63.7	63.4	51.0	52.0	50.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1987	75.6	76.0	75.3	77.0	77.3	76.7	63.4	63.0	63.7	50.9	51.8	50.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1986	74.7	75.1	74.4	76.2	76.5	75.9	62.3	61.5	63.0	48.5	49.2	47.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1985	73.9	74.4	73.5	75.5	76.0	75.1	59.8	58.4	60.8	47.9	48.5	47.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1984	73.3	73.7	73.0	75.0	75.4	74.6	58.5	57.1	59.7	47.1	48.6	46.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1983	72.1	72.7	71.5	73.8	74.4	73.3	56.8	56.5	57.1	46.2	48.6	44.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1982	71.0	71.7	70.3	72.8	73.4	72.3	54.9	55.7	54.3	45.9	48.1	44.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1981	69.7	70.3	69.1	71.6	72.1	71.2	52.9	53.2	52.6	44.5	45.5	43.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1980	68.6	69.2	68.1	70.5	71.0	70.1	51.2	51.1	51.3	45.3	46.4	44.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1979	67.7	68.4	67.1	69.7	70.3	69.2	49.4	49.2	49.5	42.0	42.3	41.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1978	65.9	66.8	65.2	67.9	68.6	67.2	47.6	47.9	47.3	40.8	42.2	39.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

Appendix A (Continued)

U.S. Census Data

Table 3 Educational Attainment of the Population 1940 - 2004

1977	64.9	65.6	64.4	67.0	67.5	66.5	45.5	45.6	45.4	39.6	42.3	37.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1976	64.1	64.7	63.5	66.1	66.7	65.5	43.8	42.3	45.0	39.3	41.4	37.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1975	62.5	63.1	62.1	64.5	65.0	64.1	42.5	41.6	43.3	37.9	39.5	36.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1974	61.2	61.6	60.9	63.3	63.6	63.0	40.8	39.9	41.5	36.5	38.3	34.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1973	59.8	60.0	59.6	61.9	62.1	61.7	39.2	38.2	40.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1972	58.2	58.2	58.2	60.4	60.3	60.5	36.6	35.7	37.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1971	56.4	56.3	56.6	58.6	58.4	58.8	34.7	33.8	35.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1970	55.2	55.0	55.4	57.4	57.2	57.6	33.7	32.4	34.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1969	54.0	53.6	54.4	56.3	55.7	56.7	32.3	31.9	32.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1968	52.6	52.0	53.2	54.9	54.3	55.5	30.1	28.9	31.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1967	51.1	50.5	51.7	53.4	52.8	53.8	29.5	27.1	31.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1966	49.9	49.0	50.8	52.2	51.3	53.0	27.8	25.8	29.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1965	49.0	48.0	49.9	51.3	50.2	52.2	27.2	25.8	28.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1964	48.0	47.0	48.9	50.3	49.3	51.2	25.7	23.7	27.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1962	46.3	45.0	47.5	48.7	47.4	49.9	24.8	23.2	26.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1959	43.7	42.2	45.2	46.1	44.5	47.7	20.7	19.6	21.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1957	41.6	39.7	43.3	43.2	41.1	45.1	18.4	16.9	19.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1952	38.8	36.9	40.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	15.0	14.0	15.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1950	34.3	32.6	36.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	13.7	12.5	14.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1947	33.1	31.4	34.7	35.0	33.2	36.7	13.6	12.7	14.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1940	24.5	22.7	26.3	26.1	24.2	28.1	7.7	6.9	8.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
id 4 Years of College or more																		
2004	27.7	29.4	26.1	28.2	30.0	26.4	17.6	16.6	18.5	12.1	11.8	12.3	30.6	32.9	28.4	17.7	16.6	18.5
2003	27.2	28.9	25.7	27.6	29.4	25.9	17.3	16.7	17.8	11.4	11.2	11.6	30.0	32.3	27.9	17.4	16.8	18.0
2002	26.7	28.5	25.1	27.2	29.1	25.4	17.0	16.4	17.5	11.1	11.0	11.2	29.4	31.7	27.3	17.2	16.5	17.7
2001	26.2	28.2	24.3	26.6	28.7	24.6	15.7	15.3	16.1	11.1	10.8	11.4	28.7	31.3	26.3	15.7	15.3	16.0
2000	25.6	27.8	23.6	26.1	28.5	23.9	16.5	16.3	16.7	10.6	10.7	10.6	28.1	30.8	25.5	16.6	16.4	16.8
1999	25.2	27.5	23.1	25.9	28.5	23.5	15.4	14.2	16.4	10.9	10.7	11.0	27.7	30.6	25.0	15.5	14.3	16.5
1998	24.4	26.5	22.4	25.0	27.3	22.8	14.7	13.9	15.4	11.0	11.1	10.9	26.6	29.3	24.1	14.7	13.9	15.4
1997	23.9	26.2	21.7	24.6	27.0	22.3	13.3	12.5	13.9	10.3	10.6	10.1	26.2	29.0	23.7	13.3	12.5	13.9
1996	23.6	26.0	21.4	24.3	26.9	21.8	13.6	12.4	14.6	9.3	10.3	8.3	25.9	28.8	23.2	13.6	12.4	14.6
1995	23.0	26.0	20.2	24.0	27.2	21.0	13.2	13.6	12.9	9.3	10.1	8.4	25.4	28.9	22.1	13.2	13.6	12.9
1994	22.2	25.1	19.6	22.9	26.1	20.0	12.9	12.8	13.0	9.1	9.6	8.6	24.3	27.8	21.1	12.9	12.8	13.0
1993	21.9	24.8	19.2	22.6	25.7	19.7	12.2	11.9	12.4	9.0	9.5	8.5	23.8	27.2	20.7	12.2	11.9	12.4
1992	21.4	24.3	18.6	22.1	25.2	19.1	11.9	11.9	12.0	9.3	10.2	8.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1991	21.4	24.3	18.8	22.2	25.4	19.3	11.5	11.4	11.6	9.7	10.0	9.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1990	21.3	24.4	18.4	22.0	25.3	19.0	11.3	11.9	10.8	9.2	9.8	8.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

Appendix A (Continued)
 U.S. Census Data
 Table 3 Educational Attainment of the Population 1940 - 2004

1989	21.1	24.5	18.1	21.8	25.4	18.5	11.8	11.7	11.9	9.9	11.0	8.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1988	20.3	24.0	17.0	20.9	25.0	17.3	11.2	11.1	11.4	10.1	12.3	8.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1987	19.9	23.6	16.5	20.5	24.5	16.9	10.7	11.0	10.4	8.6	9.7	7.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1986	19.4	23.2	16.1	20.1	24.1	16.4	10.9	11.2	10.7	8.4	9.5	7.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1985	19.4	23.1	16.0	20.0	24.0	16.3	11.1	11.2	11.0	8.5	9.7	7.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1984	19.1	22.9	15.7	19.8	23.9	16.0	10.4	10.4	10.4	8.2	9.5	7.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1983	18.8	23.0	15.1	19.5	24.0	15.4	9.5	10.0	9.2	7.9	9.2	6.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1982	17.7	21.9	14.0	18.5	23.0	14.4	8.8	9.1	8.5	7.8	9.6	6.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1981	17.1	21.1	13.4	17.8	22.2	13.8	8.2	8.2	8.2	7.7	9.7	5.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1980	17.0	20.9	13.6	17.8	22.1	14.0	7.9	7.7	8.1	7.9	9.7	6.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1979	16.4	20.4	12.9	17.2	21.4	13.3	7.9	8.3	7.5	6.7	8.2	5.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1978	15.7	19.7	12.2	16.4	20.7	12.6	7.2	7.3	7.1	7.0	8.6	5.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1977	15.4	19.2	12.0	16.1	20.2	12.4	7.2	7.0	7.4	6.2	8.1	4.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1976	14.7	18.6	11.3	15.4	19.6	11.6	6.6	6.3	6.8	6.1	8.6	4.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1975	13.9	17.6	10.6	14.5	18.4	11.0	6.4	6.7	6.2	6.3	8.3	4.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1974	13.3	16.9	10.1	14.0	17.7	10.6	5.5	5.7	5.3	5.5	7.1	4.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1973	12.6	16.0	9.6	13.1	16.8	9.9	6.0	5.9	6.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1972	12.0	15.4	9.0	12.6	16.2	9.4	5.1	5.5	4.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1971	11.4	14.6	8.5	12.0	15.5	8.9	4.5	4.7	4.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1970	11.0	14.1	8.2	11.6	15.0	8.6	4.5	4.6	4.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1969	10.7	13.6	8.1	11.2	14.3	8.5	4.6	4.8	4.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1968	10.5	13.3	8.0	11.0	14.1	8.3	4.3	3.7	4.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1967	10.1	12.8	7.6	10.6	13.6	7.9	4.0	3.4	4.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1966	9.8	12.5	7.4	10.4	13.3	7.7	3.8	3.9	3.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1965	9.4	12.0	7.1	9.9	12.7	7.3	4.7	4.9	4.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1964	9.1	11.7	6.8	9.6	12.3	7.1	3.9	4.5	3.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1962	8.9	11.4	6.7	9.5	12.2	7.0	4.0	3.9	4.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1959	8.1	10.3	6.0	8.6	11.0	6.2	3.3	3.8	2.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1957	7.6	9.6	5.8	8.0	10.1	6.0	2.9	2.7	3.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1952	7.0	8.3	5.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	2.4	2.0	2.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1950	6.2	7.3	5.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	2.3	2.1	2.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1947	5.4	6.2	4.7	5.7	6.6	4.9	2.5	2.4	2.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1940	4.6	5.5	3.8	4.9	5.9	4.0	1.3	1.4	1.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

25 TO 29 YEARS OLD

Completed 4 Years of High School or more

2004	86.6	85.2	88.0	85.9	83.7	88.1	87.9	90.1	86.1	62.4	60.1	66.2	93.3	92.1	94.5	88.7	91.3	86.6
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Appendix A (Continued)

U.S. Census Data

Table 3 Educational Attainment of the Population 1940 - 2004

2003	86.5	84.9	88.2	85.7	83.8	87.6	87.6	86.4	88.5	61.7	59.6	64.2	93.7	92.8	94.5	88.5	87.4	89.4
2002	86.4	84.7	88.1	85.9	84.1	87.7	86.6	85.0	88.0	62.4	60.2	65.0	93.0	92.1	93.8	87.6	85.8	88.9
2001	86.8	85.3	88.3	86.4	84.6	88.3	86.3	85.4	87.0	62.4	58.3	67.3	93.4	93.1	93.7	86.8	86.0	87.5
2000	88.1	86.7	89.4	88.3	86.6	90.0	85.9	86.6	85.3	62.8	59.2	66.4	94.0	92.9	95.2	86.8	87.6	86.2
1999	87.8	86.1	89.5	87.6	85.8	89.3	88.2	87.7	88.6	61.6	57.4	66.0	93.0	91.9	94.1	88.7	88.2	89.2
1998	88.1	86.6	89.6	88.1	86.3	90.0	87.6	87.6	87.6	62.8	59.9	66.3	93.6	92.5	94.6	87.6	87.6	87.6
1997	87.4	85.8	88.9	87.6	85.8	89.4	86.2	85.2	87.1	61.8	59.2	64.9	92.9	91.7	94.0	86.2	85.2	87.1
1996	87.3	86.5	88.1	87.5	86.3	88.8	85.6	87.2	84.2	61.1	59.7	62.9	92.6	92.0	93.1	85.6	87.2	84.2
1995	86.8	86.3	87.4	87.4	86.6	88.2	86.5	88.1	85.1	57.1	55.7	58.7	92.5	92.0	93.0	86.5	88.1	85.1
1994	86.1	84.5	87.6	86.5	84.7	88.3	84.1	82.9	85.0	60.3	58.0	63.0	91.1	90.0	92.3	84.1	82.9	85.0
1993	86.7	86.0	87.4	87.3	86.1	88.5	82.8	85.0	80.9	60.9	58.3	64.0	91.2	90.6	91.8	82.8	85.0	80.9
1992	86.3	86.1	86.5	87.0	86.5	87.6	80.9	82.5	79.5	60.9	61.1	60.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1991	85.4	84.9	85.8	85.8	85.1	86.6	81.7	83.5	80.1	56.7	56.4	57.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1990	85.7	84.4	87.0	86.3	84.6	88.1	81.7	81.5	81.8	58.2	56.6	59.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1989	85.5	84.4	86.5	86.0	84.8	87.1	82.2	80.6	83.6	61.0	61.0	61.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1988	85.7	84.4	87.0	86.5	84.8	88.2	80.7	80.6	80.7	62.0	59.4	65.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1987	86.0	85.5	86.4	86.3	85.6	87.0	83.3	84.8	82.1	59.8	58.6	61.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1986	86.1	85.9	86.4	86.5	85.6	87.4	83.4	86.5	80.6	59.1	58.2	60.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1985	86.1	85.9	86.4	86.8	86.4	87.3	80.6	80.8	80.4	60.9	58.6	63.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1984	85.9	85.6	86.3	86.9	86.8	87.0	78.9	75.9	81.5	58.6	56.8	60.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1983	86.0	86.0	86.0	86.9	86.9	86.9	79.4	78.9	79.8	58.3	57.8	58.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1982	86.2	86.3	86.1	86.9	87.0	86.8	80.9	80.5	81.3	60.9	60.7	61.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1981	86.3	86.5	86.1	87.6	87.6	87.6	77.3	78.4	76.4	59.8	59.1	60.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1980	85.4	85.4	85.5	86.9	86.8	87.0	76.6	74.8	78.1	58.6	58.3	58.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1979	85.6	86.3	84.9	87.0	87.7	86.4	74.8	73.9	75.4	57.0	55.5	58.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1978	85.3	86.0	84.6	86.3	86.8	85.8	77.3	78.5	76.3	56.6	58.5	54.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1977	85.4	86.6	84.2	86.8	87.6	86.0	74.4	77.5	72.0	58.1	62.1	54.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1976	84.7	86.0	83.5	85.9	87.3	84.6	73.8	72.5	74.9	58.1	57.6	58.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1975	83.1	84.5	81.8	84.4	85.7	83.2	71.0	72.2	70.1	51.7	51.1	52.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1974	81.9	83.1	80.8	83.4	84.1	82.7	68.2	71.1	66.0	52.5	55.1	49.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1973	80.2	80.6	79.8	82.0	82.4	81.6	64.2	63.1	64.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1972	79.8	80.5	79.2	81.5	82.3	80.8	64.1	61.8	66.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1971	77.2	78.1	76.4	79.5	80.8	78.3	57.5	54.1	60.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1970	75.4	76.6	74.2	77.8	79.2	76.4	56.2	54.5	57.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1969	74.7	75.6	73.8	77.0	77.5	76.6	55.8	59.8	52.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1968	73.2	73.7	72.7	75.3	75.5	75.0	55.8	58.1	53.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1967	72.5	72.1	72.9	74.8	74.3	75.3	53.4	51.7	55.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1966	71.0	70.9	71.2	73.8	73.2	74.4	47.9	48.9	47.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

Appendix A (Continued)
 U.S. Census Data
 Table 3 Educational Attainment of the Population 1940 - 2004

1965	70.3	70.5	70.1	72.8	72.7	72.8	50.3	50.3	50.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1964	69.2	68.8	69.5	72.1	71.8	72.4	45.0	41.6	47.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1962	65.9	65.8	66.1	69.2	69.2	69.3	41.6	38.9	43.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1959	63.9	63.9	64.0	67.2	66.9	67.4	39.5	40.6	38.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1957	60.2	57.9	62.4	63.3	60.7	65.7	31.6	27.4	35.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1952	57.1	55.3	58.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	28.1	27.9	28.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1950	52.8	50.6	55.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	23.6	21.3	25.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1947	51.4	49.4	53.3	54.9	52.9	56.8	22.3	19.6	24.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1940	38.1	36.0	40.1	41.2	38.9	43.4	12.3	10.6	13.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

Appendix A (Continued)

U. S. Census Data

Table 3 Educational Attainment of the Population 1940 - 2004

Completed 4 Years of College or more																		
2004	28.7	26.1	31.4	28.9	25.8	32.1	16.9	13.4	19.7	10.9	9.6	12.4	34.5	31.4	37.5	17.1	13.6	20.0
2003	28.4	26.0	30.9	28.3	25.3	31.5	17.2	17.5	17.0	10.0	8.4	12.0	34.2	31.4	37.1	17.5	17.7	17.4
2002	29.3	26.9	31.8	29.7	26.5	33.1	17.5	17.4	17.7	8.9	8.3	9.7	35.9	32.6	39.2	18.0	17.9	18.1
2001	28.4	25.5	31.3	28.5	25.1	32.1	16.8	15.6	17.9	10.5	8.2	13.3	33.7	30.4	36.9	17.2	16.0	18.2
2000	29.1	27.9	30.1	29.6	27.8	31.3	17.5	18.1	17.0	9.7	8.3	11.0	34.0	32.3	35.8	17.8	18.4	17.4
1999	28.2	26.8	29.5	29.3	27.6	30.9	15.0	13.1	16.5	8.9	7.5	10.4	33.6	32.0	35.1	15.0	13.1	16.5
1998	27.3	25.6	29.0	28.4	26.5	30.4	15.8	14.2	17.0	10.4	9.5	11.3	32.3	30.5	34.2	15.8	14.2	17.0
1997	27.8	26.3	29.3	28.9	27.2	30.7	14.4	12.1	16.4	11.0	9.6	10.1	32.6	31.2	34.1	14.4	12.1	16.4
1996	27.1	26.1	28.2	28.1	27.2	29.1	14.6	12.4	16.4	10.0	10.2	9.8	31.6	30.9	32.3	14.6	12.4	16.4
1995	24.7	24.5	24.9	26.0	25.4	26.6	15.3	17.2	13.6	8.9	7.8	10.1	28.8	28.4	29.2	15.3	17.2	13.6
1994	23.3	22.5	24.0	24.2	23.6	24.8	13.7	11.7	15.4	8.0	6.6	9.8	27.1	26.8	27.4	13.7	11.7	15.4
1993	23.7	23.4	23.9	24.7	24.4	25.1	13.2	12.6	13.8	8.3	7.1	9.8	27.2	27.2	27.1	13.2	12.6	13.8
1992	23.6	23.2	24.0	25.0	24.2	25.7	11.3	12.0	10.6	9.5	8.8	10.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1991	23.2	23.0	23.4	24.6	24.1	25.0	11.0	11.5	10.6	9.2	8.1	10.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1990	23.2	23.7	22.8	24.2	24.2	24.3	13.4	15.1	11.9	8.1	7.3	9.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1989	23.4	23.9	22.9	24.4	24.8	24.0	12.7	12.0	13.3	10.1	9.6	10.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1988	22.5	23.2	21.9	23.5	24.0	22.9	12.2	12.6	11.9	11.4	12.1	10.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1987	22.0	22.3	21.7	23.0	23.3	22.8	11.4	11.6	11.1	8.7	9.2	8.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1986	22.4	22.9	21.9	23.5	24.1	22.9	11.8	10.1	13.3	9.0	8.9	9.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1985	22.2	23.1	21.3	23.2	24.2	22.2	11.5	10.3	12.6	11.1	10.9	11.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1984	21.9	23.2	20.7	23.1	24.3	21.9	11.6	12.9	10.5	10.6	9.6	11.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1983	22.5	23.9	21.1	23.4	25.0	21.8	12.9	13.1	12.8	10.4	9.6	11.1	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1982	21.7	23.3	20.2	22.7	24.5	20.9	12.6	11.8	13.2	9.7	10.7	8.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1981	21.3	23.1	19.6	22.4	24.3	20.5	11.6	12.1	11.1	7.5	8.6	6.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1980	22.5	24.0	21.0	23.7	25.5	22.0	11.6	10.5	12.5	7.7	8.4	6.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1979	23.1	25.6	20.5	24.3	27.1	21.5	12.4	13.3	11.7	7.3	7.9	6.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1978	23.3	26.0	20.6	24.5	27.6	21.4	11.8	10.7	12.6	9.6	9.6	9.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1977	24.0	27.0	21.1	25.3	28.5	22.1	12.6	12.8	12.4	6.7	7.2	6.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1976	23.7	27.5	20.1	24.6	28.7	20.6	13.0	12.0	13.6	7.4	10.3	4.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1975	21.9	25.1	18.7	22.8	26.3	19.4	10.7	11.4	10.1	8.8	10.0	7.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1974	20.7	23.9	17.6	22.0	25.3	18.8	7.9	8.8	7.2	5.7	7.2	4.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1973	19.0	21.6	16.4	19.9	22.8	17.0	8.1	7.1	8.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1972	19.0	22.0	16.0	19.9	23.1	16.7	8.3	7.1	9.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1971	16.9	20.1	13.8	17.9	21.3	14.6	6.4	6.4	6.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1970	16.4	20.0	12.9	17.3	21.3	13.3	7.3	6.7	8.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1969	16.0	19.4	12.8	17.0	20.6	13.4	6.7	8.1	5.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1968	14.7	18.0	11.6	15.6	19.1	12.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

Appendix A (Continued)

U.S. Census Data

Table 3 Educational Attainment of the Population 1940 - 2004

1967	14.6	17.2	12.1	15.5	18.3	12.7	5.4	4.2	6.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1966	14.0	16.8	11.3	14.7	17.9	11.8	5.9	5.4	6.4	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1965	12.4	15.6	9.5	13.0	16.4	9.8	6.8	7.3	6.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1964	12.8	16.6	9.2	13.6	17.5	9.9	5.5	7.5	3.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1962	13.1	17.2	9.2	14.3	18.7	10.0	4.2	5.7	3.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1959	11.1	14.8	7.6	11.9	15.9	8.1	4.6	5.6	3.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1957	10.4	13.5	7.5	11.1	14.5	7.8	4.1	3.3	5.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1952	10.1	13.8	6.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	4.6	3.2	5.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1950	7.7	9.6	5.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	2.9	2.4	3.2	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1947	5.6	5.8	5.4	5.9	6.2	5.7	2.8	2.6	2.9	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1940	5.9	6.9	4.9	6.4	7.5	5.3	1.6	1.5	1.7	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)

Notes:

- Starting in 2001, data are from the expanded CPS sample and were calculated using population controls based on Census 2000.
- Data in the column labeled "Black" include Black and other races from 1940 to 1962; from 1963 to 2003, data are for the Black population only.
- Starting in 2003, respondents could choose more than one race. The race data in this table from 2003 onward represent those respondents who indicated only one racial identity.
- Beginning with data for 1992, a new question results in different categories than for earlier years. Data shown as 'Completed 4 Years of High School or more' is now collected by the category 'High School Graduate'. Data shown as 'Completed 4 Years of College or more', is now collected by the categories, 'Bachelor's degree', 'Master's degree', 'Doctorate degree', and 'Professional degree'. Due to the change in question format, median years of schooling cannot be derived.

Source: 1947 and 1962 to 2002 March Current Population Survey, 2003 and 2004 Annual Social and Economic Supplement to the Current Population Survey (only institutionalized population, excluding members of the Armed Forces living in barracks); 1950 Census of Population and 1940 Census of Population (residential population).

Contact: U.S. Census Bureau, Education and Social Stratification Branch, (301) 763-2464.

Internet Release date: March 2005

Appendix A (Continued)
U.S. Census Data
Table 4 Poverty Rate for Blacks 2004

The poverty rate was higher for Blacks than for non-Hispanic Whites.¹⁴

- About 26 percent of Blacks were living below the poverty level in the 12 months prior to being

surveyed, compared with about 9 percent of non-Hispanic Whites.

- The poverty rate was generally higher for children (under age 18). About 36 percent of Black children and about 11 percent of non-Hispanic White children lived in poverty.

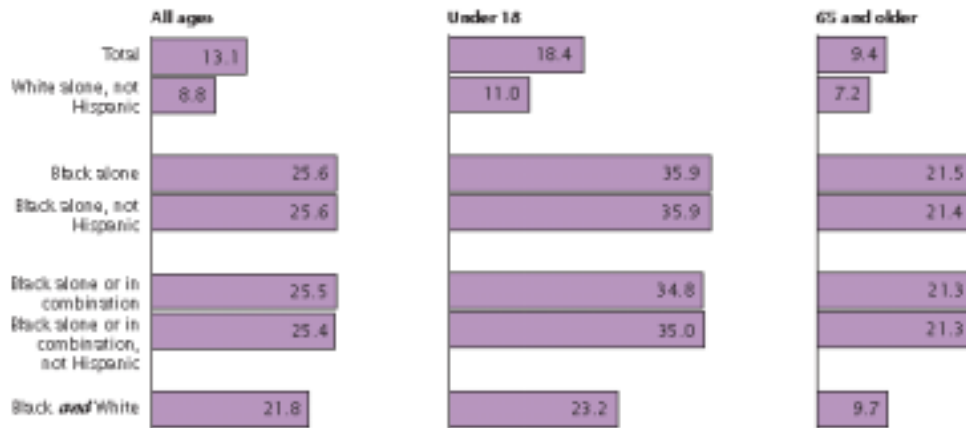
¹⁴ In accordance with the U.S. Office of Management and Budget's (OMB) Statistical Policy Directive 14, the Census Bureau uses a set of money income thresholds that vary by family size and composition to determine who is in poverty. If a family's total income is less than the threshold for the family, then that family and every individual in it are considered to be in poverty. For example, the poverty threshold for a family of three with one child under 18 for the 1-year period

preceding the ACS interview was \$14,874. Poverty status was determined for all individuals except for unrelated individuals under 15 years old. The official poverty definition uses money income before taxes and does not include capital gains or noncash benefits. For more information on poverty in the ACS, see <www.census.gov/prod/2005pubs/acs-01.pdf> and <www.census.gov/acs/UseData/Def/Poverty.html>.

- Among those aged 65 and older, Blacks had a poverty rate of about 22 percent, compared with about 7 percent for non-Hispanic Whites.

Figure 15.
Poverty Rate by Age Group: 2004

(Percent of specific group in poverty in the past 12 months. Data based on sample limited to the household population and exclude the population living in institutions, college dormitories, and other group quarters. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see http://factfinder.census.gov/home/ken/datatnote/sisp_acs2004.html)

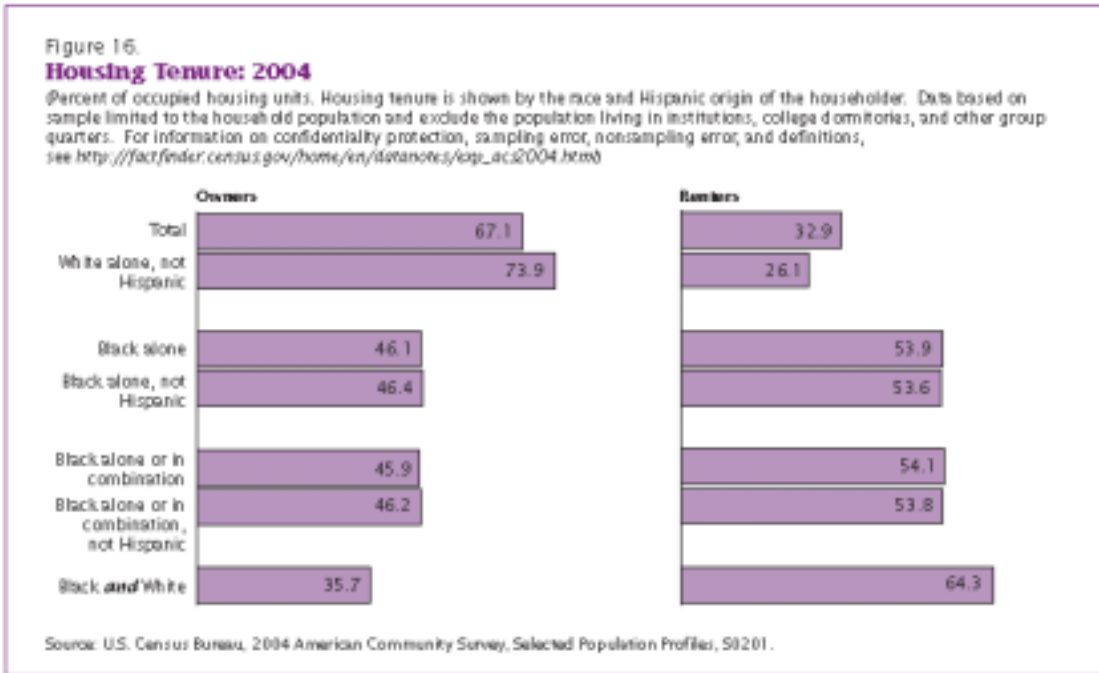


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004 American Community Survey, Selected Population Profiles, S0201.

Appendix A (Continued)
 U.S. Census Data
 Table 5 Black Households in Owner-Occupied Homes 2004

Nearly one-half of Black households lived in owner-occupied homes.

- A majority of Black households, about 54 percent, lived in renter-occupied homes and about 46 percent lived in owner-occupied homes.
- In comparison, about 74 percent of non-Hispanic White households lived in owner-occupied homes.



Appendix A (Continued)
U.S. Census Data

Table 6 Value of Owner-Occupied Homes for Black Households 2004

The median value of owner-occupied homes for Black households was \$104,000.

- The median value of Black owner-occupied homes was about \$104,000. This was about \$50,000 less than the median value of non-Hispanic White

owner-occupied homes (about \$154,000).¹¹

- The median monthly rent payment of Black households in renter-occupied homes was

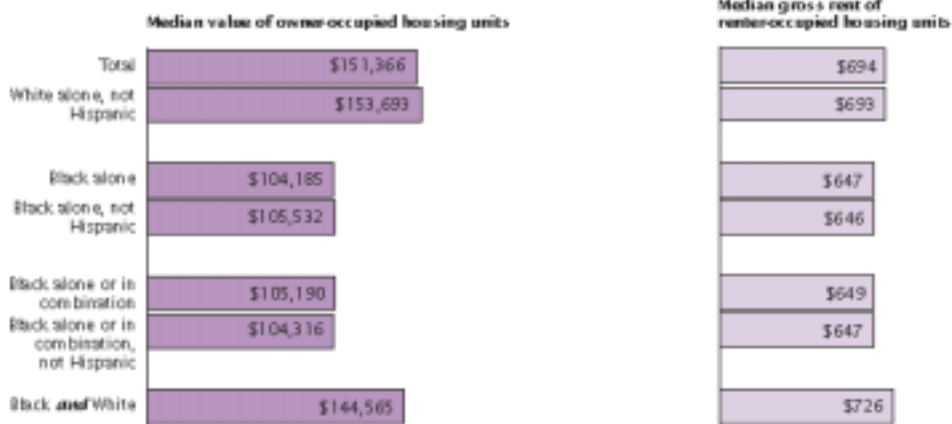
about \$647. This was about \$50 less than the median monthly rental payment made by non-Hispanic White households (about \$693).¹²

¹¹ Differences between the geographic distribution of Blacks and non-Hispanic Whites may affect home values and rental costs.

¹² The monthly rental payment represents gross rent (i.e., the amount of the contract rent plus the estimated average monthly cost of utilities and fuel).

Figure 17.
Selected Housing Characteristics: 2004

Housing units are classified by the race and Hispanic origin of the householder. Data based on sample limited to the household population and exclude the population living in institutions, college dormitories, and other group quarters. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see http://fe027.indxx.census.gov/home/tn/datatnote/spxp_04_004.html



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004 American Community Survey, Selected Population Profiles, S6201.

Appendix B
Original Survey

1. Sex (Male or Female)
2. Address (State only)
3. Born in (State and place)
4. Marital Status
5. Number of children
6. Early life and training
7. Education
8. Honorary degrees
9. Occupation since graduation, with terms of service
10. Membership in learned societies
11. Publications
12. Public offices held, and political activity--
13. Activity in charitable work and work of social reform
14. Amount of land owned
15. Assessed value of real estate, land and houses
16. Total property owned (market value)
17. How shall you educate your children?
18. What have been your chief hindrances?
19. Briefly, what is your present practical philosophy in regard to the Negro race in America

Appendix C
Reworking of Original Survey

For anonymous identification create an ID by: using the day, month, and year of your birthday represented as MMDDYY

1. Male or Female
2. Where were you born?
3. What state do you currently live in?
4. Are you: Single, Engaged, Married, Divorced
5. How many children do you have?
6. What do you see as the priorities that need to be addressed in school to best prepare your child/children for life as an adult?
7. How are your child's/children's expectations for adult life similar and different to yours?
8. What was your childhood like? What stands out in terms of some of your happiest memories? What are your most troublesome memories?
9. When you look to the future, what are your great expectations for your child's/children's life? What are your greatest concerns?
10. Did you participate in an early childhood program? (i.e. Headstart, etc.)
What did you think of the program?
11. Where did you receive your elementary, junior high and high school education?
12. What have been the highs and lows of your educational experiences?
13. Did you attend college?
14. If not, why did you choose to forgo college?
15. What type of training did you receive in preparation for employment?

Appendix C
Reworking of Original Survey

For anonymous identification create an ID by: using the day, month, and year of your birthday represented as MMDDYY

16. Where did you go to college? What did you study?
17. What degrees did you earn?
18. What types of jobs have you held? How long have you worked at each?

What determined your choice of livelihood?
19. What have been the highs and lows of your educational experiences?
20. How do you think you were prepared by your school experiences?
21. What organizations are you a member of?
22. Are you published (books, articles...etc)?
23. Have you held any political offices or been political active? If so, what offices and/or how?
24. Have you done or do you do any volunteer work?
25. Do you own a home?
26. Do you own any land or businesses?
27. What is your net worth? (Debt minus assets)
28. What type of education are your or will your children receiving?
29. Have there been any obstacles to you or your children obtaining an education?
30. What do you think needs to occur for the continued improvement of the life for African Americans
31. What is your definition of success?
32. How do you define academic success?

33. How would you describe your academic experience?