THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF POVERTY ON THE ACADEMIC

SUCCESS OF LATINO STUDENTS

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate if social psychological consequences of poverty and discrimination have an effect on Latinos' educational outcomes. I refer to social psychological consequences as experiences of negative self-feelings, minority status distress, and self-expectations for the future. I propose that Latinos' self-expectations for the future moderate the relationship between poverty experiences, negative self-feelings, and academic outcomes. I use Howard D. Kaplan's self-referent behavior theory to explain negative self-feelings process; identity control theory to explain the self-expectations for the future; and, the minority status stress model to examine discrimination effects on Latinos. I use the Kaplan Longitudinal and Multigenerational Study (KLAMS) data. The data is analyzed using linear regressions with OLS estimates, binary, and multinomial logistic regressions, and path analyses.

The results indicate that there is no significant difference in the mechanism driving the social psychological consequences of poverty on educational outcomes for whites and Latinos. Poverty experiences affect grades, however, it has no effect on college attendance for either group. Additionally, poverty experiences increase negative self-feelings for both, and in some instances, these are less strong for Latinos. All types of discrimination affect whites and Latinos in the same manner, and self-expectations for the future did not influence the effects between discrimination, negative self-feelings, and academic outcomes for both groups. Additionally, ethnicity did not influence the psychological consequences of poverty on educational outcomes.

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NOMENCLATURE

ICS   Identity Control Theory

KLAMS   Kaplan Longitudinal and Multigenerational Study

NSF   Negative Self-Feelings

SEF   Self-Expectations for the Future

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Latinos are one of the largest and fastest growing minority groups in the United States. Latinos are comprised of those of Mexican origin, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Other Spanish speaking origin. The Census Bureau News (2016) reported that Latinos make up 17.8% of the total U.S. population – 57.5 million, based on 2016 U. S. Census information. The largest Latino populations are found in California – 15.2 million, and Texas - 10.7 million. It is expected that by 2060 Latinos will constitute about 31% of the total U.S. population (Census Bureau News 2016). However, Latinos are educationally disadvantaged relative to other socio-political groups. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2016), only 18.7% of 25 to 29 years old Latinos have earned a bachelor degree or higher, whereas the percentage is 42.9 for non-Hispanic whites. Given this difference, I investigate if social-psychological consequences of poverty and discrimination are interfering in the advancement of Latinos' formal education achievement.

I examine the social psychological consequences of negative self-feelings, minority status distress, and self-expectations for the future. I propose that Latinos' self-expectations for the future moderate the relationship between poverty experiences, negative self-feelings, and academic outcomes. In other words, I suggest that poverty and discrimination are important predictors of educational attainment. This is certainly what a great deal of research has demonstrated.

However, I expect that the relationship between poverty and educational attainment is partially explained by negative self-feelings and the path through negative self-feelings is moderated by self-expectations for future. For example, if one has high expectations for the future, then negative self-feelings should lead to low educational outcomes; however, if one has low self-expectations for future, the effect of negative self-feelings on educational outcomes should be diminished. Instead, poverty and discrimination should affect educational outcomes directly and not through negative self-feelings in case of low self-expectations of future. Therefore, poverty and discrimination would have a direct effect on educational outcomes.

The plan for my dissertation is as follows. Initially, present the theoretical considerations for this dissertation (Chapters 2 and 3): 1) First, I introduce the poverty literature and show how poverty is related to poorer educational outcomes in general and, particularly for Latinos, and state hypotheses therein. 2) Then, I explore the social psychological pathways between poverty and educational attainment for whites (reference group) and Latinos, and consider, 4) Negative-self feelings, 5) Minority stress, 6) Self-expectations for the future (moderating effects). Next, I consider, 7) Identity control theory, and, 8) summarize the mechanism driving poverty and educational outcomes. 9) Then, I discuss discrimination processes, and 10) describe the hypotheses. Next, Chapter 4 discusses the longitudinal data, variables used in the analysis, and methods. Fifth chapter follows the order of the theoretical chapter 2 in testing the hypothesis. In here, I present the results and interpret the analysis. Finally, Chapter 6

gives a more in-depth discussion of the results and its theoretical relevance and suggests

future direction for next research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a long history of investigation of the poverty and its effects. Much of this literature can be summarized by Pierre Bourdieu's (1983) framework for the analysis of how "privileged resources", access to housing, food and higher education are allocated based on wealth and income. Poor people, according to Bourdieu, also lacked the social network and understanding of the institutional system which crippled their efforts to gain access to such privileged resources.

POVERTY

Engle and Black (2008) found that the direct or indirect negative effects of poverty start affecting children early in life. They state, "Poverty limits the chances of educational attainment, and at the same time, educational attainment is one of the prime mechanisms for escaping poverty (p. 243). The vicious cycle appears to be like a 'Catch - 22' paradox (Heller and Sander 2007). I expect that due to the limited opportunities to escape poverty and access a good education, some children experience anxiety, depression, and self-derogation, in other words they experience negative self-feelings when thinking about their future.

I propose that poverty experiences sometimes lead directly to negative self-feelings and low educational outcomes, when the expectations for the future are high. However, to my knowledge there is no previous research examining how these three factors, poverty, expectations for the future, and negative self-feelings, affect academic

attainment. What has been explored is the link between academic expectations, academic performance, and school-related stress. For example, Kaplan, Liu, and Kaplan (2005) in their longitudinal study using the Kaplan Longitudinal and Multigenerational Study (KLAMS) dataset (Generation 2 Time 1 and 2) examined students in early adolescence (junior high) and then later in adolescence (high school) and found evidence of the negative effects of school-related stress on academic performance. Students perceived high stress school environments, for instance, the sense of not belonging, and stress due to academic expectations.

Other studies link parental influence over their children academic performance, and self-feelings (Kaplan, Liu and Kaplan 2001), and dropping out of school, and psychological dysfunction (Kaplan, Damphousse, and Kaplan 1996). In their longitudinal study, Kaplan, Damphousse, and Kaplan (1996) investigated the psychological dysfunction associated with dropping out of school. The researchers found that adolescents not graduating from high school showed a psychological dysfunction, shown by intense and enduring distress (feelings or experiences of failure and rejection).

NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF POVERTY ON EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

Many theories address poverty and its negative effects on educational outcomes. For instance, racial structure and racial inequality, social stratification, and cultural capital theories suggest that poorer communities tend to have negative educational outcomes, derived from educational inequalities.

Racial structure theories argue and demonstrate that racial and ethnic residential segregation in the metropolitan areas continue to be a major problem in the United States

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(Fischer and Mattson 2009; Iceland and Nelson 2008; Iceland and Wilkes 2006; Fischer et al. 2004; Massey 1990; Denton and Massey 1988). The researchers point out that segregation is pervasive and it has stronger effects on minority groups such as Hispanics and Blacks. Segregation effects are revealed in terms of inequality in education, high rate of unemployment, high exposure to crime, single parenthood, poor neighborhoods, and, health and cognition outcomes (Massey 2012; Feagin 2010; Ludwig, Ladd, and Duncan 2001; Bonilla-Silva 2001; Bankstone and Caldas 1998; Massey and Eggers 1990).

Lareau's research (2011) documented how lower income parents depended on the schools and the children to work out college plans, whereas upper income parents become much more personally involved. The strategy by the lower income parents was not as effective for college entrance; such findings are consistent with earlier findings in that children of working-class parents have difficulty to attain academic success. Researchers (Kohn 1959; Kohn, Slomczynski, and Schoenbach 1986; Brooks-Gunn, Klebanov, and Liaw 1995; Conger, Conger, and Elder 1997) have found that children of working-class parents were affected by their parents' low formal education, stratification position, low parent-child interactions at home, and parental inability to participate in children's academic process. Furthermore, other researchers address additional negative social psychological factors obstructing children's educational attainment, such as, parents in the lower class or poverty are less healthy, both emotionally, and physically (Adler et al. 1993), affecting their children's emotional, social, and cognitive development (McLoyd et al. 1994; Liaw and Brooks-Gunn 1995; Conger et al. 1994). For instance, as Brooks-Gunn and Duncan (1995), and Smith, Brooks-Gunn, and

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Klebanov (1997) indicate, children who experience poverty during their preschool and early school years show lower standardized test scores of IQ verbal ability, and achievement, and show lower rates of school completion than adolescents who experience poverty later in life.

NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF POVERTY ON EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION

Over and above the effects of poverty, minority group members suffer from discrimination. For example, living in poor neighborhoods, and attending low quality, low rated, and segregated schools obstruct the educational attainment of Latino children (Rios 2011; Bonilla-Silva 2001; Valenzuela 1999; Donato, Menchaca, and Valencia 1991). Early studies by Valencia (1984) and Espinosa and Ochoa (1986) found significant results related to school segregation, either racial or linguistic, and lower achievement scores in math and reading for Latino children. Linguistic segregation, a more covert form of discrimination, is found within the spectrum of colorblind racism (Feagin 2012; Bonilla-Silva 2001). Linguistic segregation refers to the removal of Latino children from a regular English instruction classroom (Valencia 1984). Consistent with previous research, Eamon (2004), in her study of Mexican-American youth, found that those who were older, poor, and attending low rated schools, had lower levels of cognitive stimulation, were deficient in English, and, showed lower levels of reading and mathematics achievement, when compared to Latinos attending higher rated schools.

Furthermore, Latino children find it more difficult to achieve academic success when their parents are poor or have had poverty experiences; evident by their low

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income, and low educational attainment (Sullivan and Ziegert 2006). The vicious cycle of

poverty, limited resources, and access to poor and low rated schools is detrimental to the

educational attainment of Latino children (Bonilla-Silva 2001).

NEGATIVE SELF-FEELINGS

Negative self-feelings are important concepts within Howard D. Kaplan's Self-

Referent Behavior Theory (1986), and also within Kaplan's general theory of deviant

behavior (Pals and Kaplan 2013b). First, Kaplan defines self-referent behavior as "the

responses of individuals to themselves, are outcomes of the person's history of

experiences in social contexts" (Kaplan 1986:179). Kaplan describes self-feelings as

being internalized self-values, whereby the person remains close to his valued states and

distances himself from disvalued states (Kaplan 1986). The development and

measurement of negative self-feelings (a combination of anxiety, depression, and self-

derogation) became a critical factor in the studies based on Kaplan's general theory of

deviant behavior (Pals and Kaplan 2013b). The theory holds that individuals with

negative self-feelings due to not meeting the conventional world expectations, become

members of groups where deviant behavior is acceptable in order to attain self-esteem.

For instance, Kaplan and Lin (2000) found that negative self-feelings increased deviant

activities in adolescents without a prior deviant identity. On the other hand, Kaplan and

Lin (2005) found that negative self-feelings decreased deviance for those with strong

social bonds to the conventional world.

Generally, however, negative self-feelings are detrimental to an individual's

evaluations of experiences. Negative self-feelings are operationalized as an additive score

of three scales: anxiety, depressive affect, and self-derogation (Kaplan, Martin, and Johnson 1986). Each score is a separate sum of a set of dichotomous indicators: Anxiety is reflected in positive responses to being bothered by bad dreams, headaches, being angry often, having difficulties in sleeping, etc. Depression is reflected in the items of not feeling in good spirits, not being a happy person, not getting fun out of life, etc. Self-derogation is reflected in positive responses to items some of which were originally used by Rosenberg (1965, 1989) in his self-esteem scale: feeling useless, feeling no good, and not having respect for oneself, etc.

Much of the literature on stress and mental health actually separates out factors of negative self- feelings. For example, there is much research about the link between poverty, mental health (Aneshensel and Sucoff 1996), psychological distress (Shulz et al. 2000) and depression (Ross 2000). Additionally, researchers have found that Hispanic and African American youth with low socioeconomic status show increased depression (McLeod and Owens 2004). Wheaton and Clarke (2003) found lingering effects of childhood low socioeconomic neighborhood disadvantage on the persistence of early adult mental health. Meaning, negative stressful experiences as a child crossover to adulthood mental health, regardless of their improved living conditions.

In terms of mental health and academic achievement, Kaplan, Liu, and Kaplan (2005) found a negative effect between school-related stress (early adolescence – junior high school) and academic performance (3 years later – high school). They suggest that high stress school environments and high academic expectations lead to increased school-related stress obstructing academic performance.   Also, when it comes to accumulation

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of disadvantages over the life course of individuals, Miech and Shanahan (2000) found a strong relationship between education and depression, meaning that lower education leads to lower socioeconomic status and therefore to depression, especially at older ages.

I expect those who experience poverty would have high levels of negative self-feelings, and therefore negative educational outcomes, when compared to those without poverty disadvantages. Therefore, I would predict that poverty leads to negative-self feelings for children either white or Latino and this would negatively affect education success.

MINORITY STRESS

The negative effects of stigma and negative labeling have been extensively discussed in theoretical sociological origins (Durkheim 1951; Merton 1957) and social-psychological literature (Goffman 1963; Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch 1972; Link and Cullen 1990; Steele and Aronson 1995; Steele 1997; Correll and Ridgeway 2003; Lovaglia et al. 2004). Additionally, Steele and Aronson (1995) mention that the anxiety of knowing that one is a target of potential discrimination and stereotyping has been much discussed in earlier studies such as those by classical social scientists Gordon Allport (1954) and Ervin Goffman (1963). Indeed, both Allport (1954) and Goffman (1963) suggest that minority individuals suffer from anxiety and distress due to societal stigmatization and they become fearful, insecure, and vigilant about their expectations of rejection.

Mirowsky and Ross (1980) suggest that minority status distress is related to prejudice, discrimination, and low social class: "Minorities tend to occupy disadvantaged

positions in the social structure, and the chronic social stressors associated with these positions produce distress." (Mirowsky and Ross 1980:479-480). They further discuss that this is associated with economic disadvantages. Meyer (1995) in his minority stress theory, refers to Mirowsky & Ross' view, and argues that minority distress is not only associated with economic disadvantages of minorities, but it is also has been linked to mental health deficiencies found in minority groups.

Pearlin (1989) explains that stressful experiences are derived from the social structures and systems of stratification themselves, such as race, and class. For instance, holding a low status position in society is stressful to an individual. Researchers also suggest that stressful life conditions such as marital status, and social status, can lead to negative mental health outcomes such as depression (Turner and Lloyd 1999). Meyer (1995) explains that negative mental health effects are related to an "oppressive stigmatizing environment" (Meyer 1995:52) affecting minorities, even those who are not socio-economically disadvantaged. The general conceptualizations of minority stress is that it must be transformed into concrete stress processes, for example, expectations of rejection and discrimination (perceived stigma), and actual prejudice events therefore resulting in experiences of negative mental and physical health outcomes due to their minority status (Meyer 1995, 2003, 2007).

As the literature reveals, the minority stress model has been applied to diverse stigmatized groups including racial and ethnic minorities, those with mental health and physical challenges and homosexuals (Barnett and Baruch 1987; Meyer 2003; Swim et al. 2001). Furthermore, stress on the stigmatized continues throughout the life course

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(Thoits 2010). Therefore, I argue that members of minority groups, such as Latinos, would show increased minority status distress when compared to whites, due to their perceptions of prejudice and discrimination, and these factors negatively affect their educational outcomes.

SELF-EXPECTATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Considering self-expectations for the future creates a competing view to minority distress theory and negative self-feelings. Minority stress theory argues that discrimination leads to negative self-feelings for minorities, and then, such feelings lead to low educational outcomes. Nevertheless, previous research shows that racial minorities in general do not always have higher negative self-feelings. For instance, some researchers indicate that blacks have higher levels of self-esteem (Twenge and Crockers 2002), and lower levels of psychiatric disorders (Breslau et al. 2006) than whites. In contrast, whites have higher rates of depression and higher levels of chronic stress than blacks (Barnes, Keyes, and Bates 2013; Williams et al. 1997). This is not only a "paradox" since blacks are exposed to greater social stressors than whites (Barnes, Keyes, and Bates 2013:1941), but it also contradicts the general predictions of minority stress theory.

Self-expectations for the future come from several sources, for instance from the self, from parents, from other people associated with the individual such as teachers and peers. Self-expectations for the future includes the motivation for self to reach high academic outcomes to achieve a better future. Self-expectations, and academic expectations have been associated with scholastic achievement (Binder 1970; Kaplan,

Liu, and Kaplan 2005). For example, Binder (1970) found that the students' self-expectations when related to academic ability, academic achievement, and self-concept of ability were associated with the scholastic achievement among a rural high school seniors, especially among girls (Binder 1970:366). Self-expectations also come from parents, and these expectations could be positive or negative. Kaplan, Liu, and Kaplan (2005) explain that parental school involvement as well as the educational expectations they have for their children are strong influences on their children's educational experiences. Particularly, they found that mothers' own low self-expectations (i.e., anxiety, depression, low self-esteem) negatively influenced their involvement in their children's education, and this appeared to also be translated into low expectations for their children (Kaplan, Liu, and Kaplan 2005:148). Based on Gecas and Seff (1990), Kaplan, Liu, and Kaplan (2005) reiterate that an earlier than expected adoption of adult and parental roles is a transition that is mostly problematic for the underclass adolescents resulting in negative consequences.

I suggest that the self-expectations for the future affect the path between poverty and educational outcomes. In particular, I hypothesize that the path from poverty to low educational outcome is mediated by negative self-feelings *only if* one has high expectations for the future. However, if one has low expectations for the future, then the path through negative self-feelings does not exist, therefore, poverty would have a direct effect on educational outcomes. I use the Identity Control Theory (Burke et al. 1991) to better explain the process of low or high self-expectations for future, and its effects on academic outcomes.

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There are plenty of social psychological identity theories that focus on identity verification, for example, identity control theory (Burke 2007), Swann's verification theory (Swann Jr, Pelham and Krull 1989) and Kaplan's self-referent behavior theory (1986). Verification and identity control are somewhat similar in that the actors seek to confirm or verify their identities. On the other hand, self-referent theory by Kaplan (1986) focuses on the assumption that people seek self-enhancement and not self-confirmation. Other identity theories focus on group membership to reinforce positive social identity such as Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986). I first discuss Identity Control Theory (ICT).

IDENTITY THEORY

Identity Control Theory (Burke 1991, 2007) focuses on how individuals define themselves and the relationship between that particular identity and their behavior within a social structure. A central concept within ICT is the existence of self-labels and the meanings thereof which are attached to their identities. These labels have meanings and behavioral expectations that define them in terms of their position in society. For example, the label of being a student, daughter, or parent is central to the behavioral social role one plays in society (Burke 2007).

Burke (1991, 2007) explains his identity control theory with a four component cybernetic model which uses a 'feedback loop.' The four components are, 1) the identity standard (the meaning of the identity to the actor), 2) perceptions of the meanings (relevant to the standard identity), 3) the comparator (matches the perceived meanings to the identity standard), and 4) the meaningful behavior in the situation (transmits meaning

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about the identity). For instance, if an individual perceives the meanings of a situation as matching the identity standard, then she continues with her current actions because identity verification has been achieved. On the other hand, in case of discrepancy, she will change her behavior in order to get the meanings and standards to be in order (Burke 2007). Disruption occurs when there is discrepancy between the perceived identity relevant meanings and the identity standard. ICT also addresses identity change. If a disruption occurs, sometimes this can be swiftly fixed and any change to the identity standard would go undetected. However, other times when a disturbance is more pervasive it could end up changing the previously established identity standard and will move towards accepting a change in the direction of the situational meanings in order to maintain the new consistency (Burke 2007).

Swann's self-verification theory centers on the idea that to achieve success in a social relationship one needs to have the ability to recognize how other people perceive you (Swann Jr. Pelham and Krull 1989; Swann Jr. et al. 2009). The researchers maintain that people want to confirm their self-conceptions as a form to gain better control of their social relationship.

Kaplan's (1986) theory of self-referent behavior (SRB) conceptualizes a person as similar to two separate individuals, the one that feels and the other who judges the one being evaluated (Kaplan 1986: 1). Kaplan outlines four modes of self-referent responses: 1) self-referent cognition, 2) self-evaluation, 3) self-feelings, and 4) self-protective/self-enhancing responses. Kaplan's theory assumes that individuals need positive responses

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from others and even from himself or herself; if positive feedback is not achievable then the person will resort to self-protective/self-enhancing responses (Kaplan 1986).

Other identity theories focus on the in/out group relations such as Social Identity Theory (SIT). Social Identity Theory (SIT) is a psychological theory which drives a social self and social comparison process as well as the desire for positive in-group distinctiveness (Hogg, Terry and White 1995; Stets and Burke 2000; Tajfel and Turner 1986). The focus of SIT is that much of the self-concept for an actor is derived from group in-membership.

In this research, I will utilize identity control theory or ICT (Burke et al. 1991, Burke and Cast 1997; Burke 2007; Cast, Stets and Burke 1999; Stets and Burke 2000; Stets and Burke 2005) because it allows me to consider how actors defines who they are through the verification of labels. Additionally, identity control theory specifically addresses how stress results from disruption of the identity process through the "feedback loop." ICT further explains that stress is the relationship between external conditions and the current state of the person. In applying this concept, I suggest that an individual who has high self-expectations for the future, but yet, external conditions (i.e., poverty) that stand in the way, experiences disruption in the identity process (i.e., not able to become a college student). This feedback loop disruption leads to negative self-feelings, which in turn lead to low academic success. In this way, I posit that the relationship between poverty and negative self-feelings is moderated by self-expectations for the future. If the identity standard has been established to reach academic success in the future, but due to poverty this is not achievable, then, there is a disruption in the identity loop. If there is a

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disruption in the identity loop, then, negative self-feelings are experienced, leading to low educational success. Furthermore, I expect these effects to be similar for Latinos or whites.

On the other hand, if an individual has low expectations for the future, and also due to poverty has no expectation to become a college student, then there is no disruption of the feedback loop. Therefore, even though this leads to low educational outcomes, there are no negative self-feelings experiences during this process. I expect these effects to be similar for Latinos or whites.

If the minority stress model is correct, then Latinos in poverty should have lower self-expectations for their future than their white counterparts. Even though, there is much research about how parental attitudes, behaviors, and expectations having significant effects on the school-related experiences and achievements of their children (Goldenberg et al. 2001; Alwin and Thornton 1984; Rumberger 1983; Rumberger et al. 1990; Mickelson 1990; Scott-Jones 1984), and that negative school experiences are related to increased levels of psychological distress (Fine 1986; Kaplan et al. 1994), some researchers indicate that Latinos are not psychologically affected by their lower levels of education. For instance, Mirowsky and Ross (1980) discuss that Mexican heritage groups do not experience lower levels of distress in reference to low levels of education, when compared to other groups such as whites, and Blacks. However, previous research is limited when accounting for the reasons why Latinos show lower levels of distress; this is the issue I attempt to explain with my research. Using identity theory to explain this process, I predict that if negative self-feelings are not increased, then, the identity loop is

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not interrupted. It suggests, that the identity standard for a Latino that has had poverty experiences since childhood, not becoming a college student has been his/her accepted standard.

DISCRIMINATION

Gordon W. Allport (1958) refers to discrimination as differential treatment based on the distinction made on grounds of natural (race, sex, age, and other characteristics) or social categories (national origin), which have no relation to the individual's behavior or abilities. Discrimination against minority groups, such as Latinos affects individuals at different levels. For example, discrimination can affect both at the personal level and at the interpersonal level. According to the Status Characteristics Theory (Berger et al. 1977; Correll and Ridgeway 2003; Simpson, Willer, and Ridgeway 2012; Murray Jr and Hysom 1998), certain performance expectations are attached to certain groups, and status advantages are generalized across situations unless challenged – this is called the Burden of Proof process (Correll and Ridgeway 2003), also known as stereotyping.

When there is no intervention to combat the burden of proof process (Cohen 1993), the pressure of negative stereotypes persist (Steele and Aronson 1995). As an example, Allport (1958) explains that the stereotypes that 'Mexicans are lazy' Allport (1958) evolved from American farmers hiring Mexican farm workers. If a Mexican laborer did not show up to work during religious holidays, or family celebrations, it was generalized that all Mexicans were lazy, without regard to their culture (Allport 1958). Another example of a stereotype would be for example, if Latino students are in the early phases of learning English, they might be labeled as, "Latinos are not smart" without

regard to the challenges Latinos go through while they learn a second language. If there is

no intervention to challenge the idea that Latinos are not intelligent (Cohen 1993), then

Latino students would have to constantly go through the burden of proof to show they

possess intellectual abilities to learn English, and eventually do well in school.

Discrimination at the Personal Level

At the personal level a person may experience discrimination due to the color of

skin, and/or ethnic identity. For instance, a Latino who has dark skin color (Mexican

stereotype), or is identified through other characteristics such as name, language,

neighborhood, custom practices (ethnic identity) would be more discriminated and

therefore suffer greater disadvantages when compared to their white counterparts (Telles

and Ortiz 2008; Murguia and Telles 1996). Such disadvantages are transmitted in the

form of racial profiling through systemic racism (Feagin and Cobas 2013; Feagin 2010;

2006), affecting getting a job, being targeted by police, or being socially categorized

affecting access to an education (Telles and Ortiz 2008; Massey 1990).

I focus on discrimination experiences of white and Latino children, and suggest

that personal discrimination experiences affect academic success for these children. Also,

I suggest that children who experience discrimination have poorer educational outcomes

than those that do not experience discrimination. Additionally, I expect that either white

or Latino children that are discriminated against show poor academic success and also

experience negative self-feelings if they have high expectations for their future.

Furthermore, I expect that for either white or Latino children that are discriminated

against but have low expectations for their future, do not experience negative self-feelings, but still show poorer educational outcomes.

Discrimination through Interpersonal Rejections

At the interpersonal level, I suggest that Latino children can be discriminated against by their school teachers, and also by their peers, therefore, educational inequality persists at these levels. Sometimes, education inequality could be very subtle, for instance, the perception of caring by teachers (Steele 2010). However, it is also possible that young minority students can be separated from their culture and community (Valenzuela 1999) creating a separation between family and educational outcomes. These processes are well explained in the stereotype threat theories.

Steele and Aronson (1995) have investigated some of these mechanisms through stereotype threat theory. The theory suggests that stereotypes affect both those subjected to them and those who are not. The consistent application of stereotypes can create the conditions under which minority groups, such as African Americans, Hispanics and others, are "threatened" and inadvertently fall victim to the stereotypes and continue to perform in consistent stereotypical ways (Cohen 1993; Steele 1997, 2010). When there is no intervention to combat the burden of proof process, then, the pressure of negative stereotypes persist (Steele and Aronson 1995). Manifestations of stereotypical threat are revealed through decreased individual performance (Steele 1997), lower test performance (Johns, Schmader, and Martens 2005; Schmader and Johns 2003; Steele and Aronson 1995), lower expectancies and self-confidence (Schmader, Johns, and Barquissau 2004), less interest in math, science, and leadership (Davies, Spencer, and Steele 2005), and

decreased self-esteem (Taylor and Brown 1988). The pervasive stereotype threat eventually becomes a gateway towards stigmatization (Ashforth and Kreiner 1999).

In her ethnographic study of a large inner-city high school in Houston, Texas, Valenzuela (1999) found that Latino students felt discriminated against due to their ethnic identities and cultural background. Many Latino students lost interest in becoming academically successful, and even though close to graduating, dropped out of high school.

Discrimination by Teachers

I propose that all children (White or Latino) who feel rejected by their teachers show lower educational attainment than those children not rejected by their teachers. Additionally, I expect that if white or Latino children have high expectations for their future but are rejected by their teachers they will experience negative self-feelings. For those white or Latino children that have low expectations for their future, derived from poverty and discrimination experiences, then, they will not experience negative self-feelings when they are rejected by their teachers, but they will show lower educational attainment.

Discrimination by Peers

I believe the mechanism is somewhat different for children who are rejected by their school peers. I predict that white or Latino children who feel rejected by their peers show lower educational attainment than those children who are not rejected by their peers. Based on minority stress theory, I expect the

effects to be stronger for Latino children. If children have high self-expectations to achieve, then I expect self-expectations for the future to moderate the relationship, and negative self-feelings to mediate the rejection by peers on educational attainment. In case of the lack of negative self-feelings then the suggestion is that the feelings are not negative but positive. I expect to not find the mediation of negative self-feelings, but expect to find that for Latino children the effect is directly from poverty and discrimination to negative educational outcomes.

For my study, I use the cumulative disadvantage measure to look at disadvantages derived from poverty (Pals and Kaplan 2013b). I expect that poverty disadvantages affect the educational outcomes of children; and the effects might be stronger for children of a minority group. The consequences will be observed by analyzing the interaction between self-expectations for the future with negative self-feelings, and the effects on educational outcomes.

CHAPTER III

HYPOTHESES

POVERTY

Based on the literature review, and my discussions of the theoretical frameworks

presented, I develop a series of hypotheses.

> H1a: Poverty experiences of parents reduce their children's academic
>
> success. Children whose parents experience poverty have lower academic
>
> success than the children whose parents did not experience poverty.

Furthermore, Latino children find it more difficult to achieve academic success

when their parents are poor or have had poverty experiences because of their low income,

low educational attainment (Sullivan and Ziegert 2006) and because of their limited

resources are unable to access other than low rated schools (Bonilla-Silva 2001). Even

though poverty and discrimination effects on educational inequalities are strong for all

children, Latino children experience these more often, or at a higher rate, if their parents

are poor or have had poverty experiences. Therefore, Latino children overall have lower

academic success when compared to white children.

> H1b: Poverty experiences of parents reduce their children's academic
>
> success. However, Latino children whose parents experienced poverty,
>
> have lower academic success than white children whose parents
>
> experienced poverty.

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I then explore the social psychological pathways between poverty and educational attainment. I consider negative self-feelings, minority stress theory, and the moderating effects of self-expectations for the future.

NEGATIVE SELF-FEELINGS

Negative self-feelings are combinations of anxiety, depression, and self-derogation. The use of negative self -feelings is a common way to conceptualize problematic responses.

Negative self-feelings are operationalized as an additive score of three scales: anxiety, depressive affect, and self-derogation (Kaplan, Martin, and Johnson 1986). I expect those who experience poverty would have high levels of negative self-feelings, and therefore negative educational outcomes, when compared to those without poverty disadvantages. Therefore, I would predict that poverty leads to negative-self feelings for children either white or Latino and this would negatively affect education success.

H2: Poverty increases negative self-feelings for children which in turn

lower their educational success.

It is important to mention that if negative self-feelings are not detected in the analysis, then this would be an indication of the feelings being positive feelings instead of negative.

MINORITY STRESS

As I have discussed, members of minority groups, such as Latinos would show increased minority status distress when compared to whites, due to their experience and

perceptions of prejudice and discrimination. These factors negatively affect their educational outcomes.

H3: Due to minority status distress, Latinos experience a stronger relationship between poverty and negative self-feelings than whites. This is because poverty comes with increased prejudice and discrimination against minority groups.

Even though I expect to find that Latinos will show strong negative self-feelings related to minority distress, it is possible that there might be an absence of negative self-feelings. In such a case of lack of negative self-feelings then this would indicate the presence of positive feelings.

SELF-EXPECTATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

I suggest that the self-expectations for the future moderate the path between poverty and educational outcomes. In particular, I hypothesize that the path from poverty to low educational outcome is mediated by negative self-feelings only if one has high expectations for the future. If however, one has low expectations for the future, then the path through negative self-feelings does not exist, therefore, poverty would have a direct effect on educational outcomes. I use the Identity Control Theory (Burke et al. 1991) to better explain the process of low or high self-expectations for future, and its effects on academic outcomes.

H4. Low self-expectations for the future increase negative self-feelings for children which in turn lower their academic success.

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H4a: Those individuals who have high self-expectations for the future, but

live in poverty, are expected to experience interruption in their identity

loop. Therefore, they experience increased negative self-feelings, which in

turn, lead to lower educational outcomes.

On the other hand, if an individual has low self-expectation for the future, due to

poverty, and he/she has no expectation to become a college student, then there is no

disruption of the feedback loop. Therefore, even though this leads to low educational

outcomes, there are no negative self-feelings experience during this process. I expect

these effects to be similar for Latinos or whites.

H4b: Those with low self-expectations for the future, and live in poverty,

are not expected to experience interruption in their identity loop.

Therefore, negative self-feelings do not mediate the effects of poverty and

self-expectations for the future on educational outcomes.

I further predict that if negative self-feelings are not increased, then, the identity

loop is not interrupted. It suggests, that the identity standard for a Latino that has had

poverty experiences since childhood, not becoming a college student has been his/her

accepted standard. Therefore, his/her identity loop is not broken, meaning negative self-

feelings are not increased or are not stronger than for their white counterpart.

H4c and H4c1: Latinos in poverty show lower self-expectations for the future

than similar whites; this means that there is no interruption in Latinos' identity

loop. Negative self-feelings do not mediate the effects of poverty and self-expectations for the future on educational outcomes.

DISCRIMINATION AT THE PERSONAL LEVEL

I concentrate on discrimination experiences of white and Latino children and formulate the following hypotheses:

H5. Poverty experiences increase personal discrimination for the children in both groups, whites and Latinos.

H5a: Personal discrimination experiences affect academic success of all children. The children who report experiences of discrimination have poorer educational outcomes than the children who do not experience discrimination.

H5b: Children who experience discrimination have poorer educational outcomes through increased negative self-feelings, if they have high self-expectations for their future.

H5c1: Children who experience personal discrimination have poorer grades, for those with high self-expectations for the future.

H5c2: Children who experience personal discrimination have lower expectations for going to college.

H5c3: Latino children who experience personal discrimination have poorer educational outcomes if they have low self-expectations for the future.

DISCRIMINATION THROUGH INTERPERSONAL REJECTIONS

Discrimination by Teachers

I propose that all children (White or Latino) who feel rejected by their teachers show lower educational attainment than those children not rejected by their teachers. Additionally, I expect that if white or Latino children have high expectations for their future but are rejected by their teachers they will experience negative self-feelings.

Discrimination by Peers

I predict that white or Latino children who feel rejected by their peers show lower educational attainment than those children that are not rejected by their peers. However, I expect the effects to be stronger for Latino children. As mentioned earlier, I do not expect self-expectations for the future to moderate the relation, but I do expect for negative self-feelings to mediate the rejection by peers and educational attainment. I also expect that for Latino children the effect is directly from poverty and discrimination to negative educational outcomes.

H6a: Interpersonal discrimination experiences affect academic success of all children. The children who report experiences of discrimination have poorer educational outcomes than the children who do not experience discrimination.

H6b: Children who experience interpersonal discrimination have poorer educational outcomes through increased negative self-feelings, if they have high self-expectations for their future.

H6c1: Children who experience interpersonal discrimination have poorer grades, for those with high self-expectations for the future.

H6c2: Children who experience interpersonal discrimination have lower expectations for going to college.

H6c3: Latino children who experience interpersonal discrimination have poorer educational outcomes if they have low self-expectations for the future.

I discuss in the following chapter the dataset, sample and methods. Also, I will explain the results of each of the hypothesis tested.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

DATA

I use the Kaplan Longitudinal and Multigenerational Study (KLAMS) data. The KLAMS data originated in 1971 (Kaplan 1980; Stiles et al. 2000b). The first-generation sample (Generation 1 Time 1, G1T1) consisted of 7,691 seventh graders in eighteen (18) randomly chosen schools (from a total of 36 junior high schools in the Houston Independent School District).

The longitudinal and multigenerational study entailed five follow-up interviews for the first generation, and then three additional interviews for the second generation. In 1994-2000 Generation 2 Time 1 (G2T1) consisted of interviewing the children of the original respondents. A total of 7,519 respondents were interviewed in the first wave of the second generation study. Respondents reaching age 21 during wave 2002-2007 qualified for wave 3 (G2T3; T3). From the original 7,519 respondents in wave 1, only 1,629 were actually interviewed for wave 3 (Pals and Kaplan 2013b).

SAMPLE

For this study, I use KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. Data for Time 1 was collected from 1994 to 2002 and consisted of early-teens (N= 7,519); Time 3 data was collected from 2003-2008 and consisted of young-adults (N=1,629); these are the children (biological, adopted, step, foster) of the original

respondents. I measure parental variables using the Generation 1 Time 7 data which collected in 1994-1998 when the parents were from 35 to 40 years old (N=5,549).

For my analysis, I limited my sample to include only white and Latino adolescents. In addition, I am limiting my sample to adolescents based on the age in the first wave (11-19 years old) and third wave (20-26 years old). One of the outcomes (average grade in adolescence) and several of my independent variables are only asked from those who are in school at the time of the interview, thus, the sample using the average grade as outcome is also limited to only those in school.

I use *listwise deletion* in order to exclude records containing missing values in my three samples as follows: a) The starting N for the young adult sample (using college as an outcome) was 1,168 before listwise deletion and decreased to 1,102 after listwise deletion, b) for the adolescent sample (using dropout as an outcome) the starting N was 4,649 and decreased to 4,483, and, c) for the adolescent sample (those in school, using grades as outcome) the starting N was 4,346 and this was decreased to 4,108.

Descriptive statistics for each of the three samples which as stated earlier includes only Latinos and whites are presented as follows: a) Table 1 refers to the adolescent sample using 'grade' for dependent variable, b) Table 2 refers to the adolescent sample using 'school status' for dependent variable, and c) Table 3 refers to the young adult sample and uses 'college' for dependent variable. The measures are described in the next section.

MEASURES

Dependent Variable

Academic success. I measure academic success by using three indicators: 1) self-reported grades, 2) whether or not one has dropped out or expelled from school, and 3) college attendance. College attendance is measured in young adulthood (G2T3); the other two are measured in adolescence (G2T1).

I use four variables to measure grades in adolescence: self-reported average grade in math, science, reading/English, and an overall average grade. The responses vary from 1 to 10 with 1 meaning "mostly A's" to 10 meaning "mostly F's." I generate the grade variable by calculating the average grade using all 4 reversed order grade variables. The Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficient for these reversed ordered variables is .81. Additionally, the eigenvalues in factor analysis dropped from 2.10 for the first factor solution to .05 for the second factor solution, indicating that these grade variables measure one underlying concept. Eventually, the grade variable (average of the original variables) varies from 1 to 10 and the higher values indicate higher grades. For instance, for Latinos in my sample the average grade was a 7 while for their white counterparts it was an 8 (See Table 1).

Table 1. Analytic Sample with Grades as the Outcome

Variable	Overall		Latino		White	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Dependent Variable						
Grade	8.02	1.65	7.33	1.73	8.18	1.59
Independent Variables						
Latino	.19					
Poverty	.19		.29		.16	
Personal discrimination:						
Color	.06		.07		.06	
Religion	.05		.03		.05	
Interpersonal discrimination:						
Teacher	2.0	.56	2.5	.62	1.9	.54
Peers	5.8	1.00	5.5	.90	5.8	1.03
Moderator Variables						
Negative self-feelings (0-18)	5.21	3.84	5.73	3.95	5.08	3.81
Self-expectations (10-18)	16.13	1.62	15.69	1.90	16.23	1.53
Control Variables						
Age (11-19 years old)	13.01	1.77	13.43	2.00	12.91	1.69
Female	.49		.51		.49	
Mother	.56		.57		.56	
Parental years of education (7-18)	13.57	2.39	12.37	2.30	13.85	2.32
Living with parents:						
0 parents	.03		.04		.02	
1 parent	.19		.24		.18	
2 parents (ref)	.78		.72		.80	
Valid N	4,108		782		3,326	

Source: KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. The sample was limited to white and Latino adolescents; in ages 11-19; who were still in school at the time of G2T1 interview.
Note: the mean for dichotomous variables represents the proportion in category.

To measure whether one has dropped out from the school I combine the responses for the questions, "Are you attending school?" (Yes or No) and, "Why are you no longer in school?" (Dropped out; expelled; and not in school for other reasons). I created a new categorical variable (school status) with three categories: 1) in school, 2) dropped out or expelled, and 3) not in school for other reasons. A total of seven respondents refused to explain the reason not in school. Using another variable asking whether the responded was ever suspended or expelled I categorized three of them in the "not in school for other reasons" category. A total of 94% of respondents are still in school, 3% of respondents have dropped out or been expelled, and 4% of respondents are not in school for other reasons (See Table 2).

Table 2. Analytic Sample with School Status as the Outcome

Variables	Overall Mean	SD	Latino Mean	SD	White Mean	SD
Dependent Variable						
School status:						
In school (ref.)	.94		.92		.94	
Dropped out/Expelled	.03		.05		.02	
Not in school/other reasons	.04		.03		.04	
Independent Variables						
Latino	.19					
Poverty	.20		.31		.18	
Personal discrimination:						
Color	.06		.08		.06	
Religion	.05		.04		.05	
Moderator Variables						
Negative self-feelings (0-18)	5.29	3.90	5.85	3.99	5.16	3.87
Control Variables						
Age (11-19 years old)	13.25	2.04	13.80	2.30	13.12	1.94
Female	.49		.50		.49	
Mother	.56		.58		.56	
Parental years of education (7-18)	13.46	2.44	12.25	2.33	13.76	2.37
Living with parents:						
0 parents	.04		.06		.04	
1 parent	.20		.25		.18	
2 parents (ref.)	.76		.69		.78	
Valid N	4,483		857		3,611	

Source: KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. The sample was limited to white and Latino adolescents in ages 11-19.
Note: the means for dichotomous variables represent the proportion in category.

To estimate long-term effects of poverty, I measured whether the respondents had entered college by combining information from two variables in wave 3; when respondents were in young adulthood: 1) whether they had graduated from either junior college or college, and 2) whether they were currently enrolled in junior college, four year college, or in graduate school. Therefore, everyone who either graduated from college or who was at college at the time of the interview, was coded as 'gone to college.' In my final young adult sample 73% of respondents had attended college (See Table 3).

Table 3. Analytic Sample with College as the Outcome

Variable	Overall		Latino		White	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Dependent Variables						
College	.73		.58		.76	
Independent Variables						
Latino	.18					
Poverty	.16		.26		.14	
Personal discrimination:						
Color	.06		.05		.07	
Religion	.04		.02		.05	
Interpersonal discrimination:						
Teacher	1.68	.47	1.95	.49	1.61	.47
Peers	6.68	1.07	6.18	.96	6.80	1.10
Moderator Variables						
Negative self-feelings (0-18)	5.12	3.77	5.90	3.76	4.94	3.76
Self-expectations (10-18)	16.29	1.50	15.97	1.69	16.36	1.44
Control Variables						
Age (11-13 years old)	12.11	.46	12.14	.99	12.10	.45
Female	.52		.55		.52	
Mother	.59		.62		.58	
Parental years of education (7-18)	13.77	2.29	12.63	2.29	14.01	2.21
Living with parents:						
0 parents	.01		.01		.01	
1 parent	.18		.21		.18	
2 parents (ref)	.81		.78		.81	
Valid N	1,102		199		903	

Source: KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. The sample was limited to white and Latino young adults who were 20-26 years old.
Note: The means for dichotomous variables represent the proportion in category.

Independent Variables

The concept of poverty is measured using the first generation (parental survey), through unemployment, public assistance, welfare, benefits, and poverty income; the presence of any of these indicators demonstrates that the respondent is in poverty. Unemployment is measured by whether the respondent is not working and looking for a job. Respondents that were not working, but also not looking for a job, were not considered to be unemployed. The dichotomous responses were coded "0-Not unemployed," or "1-Unemployed." If any of the respondent's income came from unemployment benefits, then, I coded with 0- "Not on benefits" and, 1- "On Benefits." Assistance is measured by the question asking if the respondent was receiving any welfare or public assistance, the answers are coded, 0- "Not on Assistance," and 1- "On Assistance." Welfare is measured by the question asking if income in the last twelve months came from assistance such as welfare, the answers are coded, 0 - "Not on welfare," and 1- "On welfare."

In order to determine the poverty income, first, I take the annual income per household and divide it by the number of household members, to establish the annual income per person. Then, looking at the poverty thresholds as established by the U.S. Census Bureau (1994), I determine that the average income amount of $4,500 indicates that the respondent is in poverty. Therefore, any amount of $4,500 or less is coded as poverty income (0/.45=1); otherwise, this is coded as not a poverty income (.45 1/9=0). The Kuder-Richardson reliability coefficient for the poverty scale was .64. The Polychoric Principal Component Analysis (PPCA) shows the eigenvalues dropping from

3.05 for the first factor solution to .87 for the second factor solution. To reiterate, the poverty dichotomous measure was created as a 0-1 variable, with 1 indicating the presence of any of the poverty indicators mentioned. In adolescent samples, about 20% of the sample is in poverty (Tables 1 and 2). In the young adult sample, about 16% of the respondents grew up in poverty (Table 3).

Race is measured as a dichotomous variable comparing Hispanics to non-Hispanic whites. The Latino group includes Mexican American, Mexican National, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and other Spanish speaking respondents. Adolescent Latinos constitute 19% of the total sample size (N=4,483). In reference to school status, an average of 92% of Latinos stayed in school; the average is higher for whites (94%). Latinos were more likely dropped out or expelled from school (5%) than whites (2%). Interestingly, whites were more likely out of school for other reasons (4%) than Latinos (3%) (See Table 2). Latinos lag behind in average grades (73%) and whites (82%) (See Table 1), however according to the linear regression analysis, (presented in the results chapter) this is not a significant difference. Latinos also lag behind in college attendance (58%) when compared to their white counterparts (76%) (See Table 3); however, based on the bivariate analysis (results chapter), the difference is not significant.

Self-expectations for the future are measured according to the answer to the question in adolescent survey: "How far do you really expect to go in school?" If the respondent expected to graduate from college, then I code the respondent as having high expectations for the future. If the respondent expected to not graduate from college, then I code the respondent as having low self-expectations for the future. The range for

expected years of education is from 10 to 18 years. The overall average was to gain 16 years of education for both Latinos and whites.

The concept of discrimination is measured at the personal, and interpersonal levels (all measured in adolescence). Discrimination at the personal level is measured by the questions, "People often put me down because of my color" (yes or no) and "People often put me down because of my religion" (yes or no). Descriptive statistics (Table 1) show that on average 6% of children experience discrimination due to color, and on average 5% of children experience discrimination due to religion.

Discrimination at the interpersonal level is measured by feelings of rejection by teachers and peers. The scale for discrimination by teachers measures the number of times a respondent has agreed to the following statements: 1. "My teachers are usually not very interested in what I say or do," 2. "By my teachers' standards, I am a failure," 3. "My teachers usually put me down," 4. "My teachers do not like me very much." The Kuder-Richardson reliability coefficient for this scale was .55. The Polychoric Principal Component Analysis (PPCA) shows the eigenvalues dropping from 2.93 for the first factor solution to .48 for the second factor solution. Descriptive statistics indicate that 2.5% of Latinos experienced discrimination by teachers; while 1.9% of whites experienced this type of discrimination (Table 1).

The scale for discrimination by peers measures the number of times a respondent has agreed to the following statements: 1. "More often than not I feel put down by the kids at school," 2. "I am not very good at the kinds of things the kids at school think are important," 3. "The kids at school are usually not very interested in what I say or do," 4.

"Most of the kids at school do not like me very much." The Kuder-Richardson reliability coefficient for this scale was .70. The Polychoric Principal Component Analysis (PPCA) shows that the eigenvalues drop from the first factor solution of 2.97 and to 0.53 for the second factor solution. Descriptive statistics show that the average for peer discrimination is overall (5.8%) for the two groups; whites show 5.8% while Latinos show 5.5% (Table 1).

Negative self-feelings are operationalized by anxiety, depressive affect, and self-derogation all of which were adapted by Kaplan and colleagues (Kaplan 1976; Kaplan, Martin, and Johnson 1986; Kaplan and Lin 2000; Pals and Kaplan 2013b). Each is measured by 6 dichotomous indicators measuring anxiety, depressive symptoms, and self-derogation (see the full list of items in Table 4).

Anxiety is a count of six items measuring negative behavioral reactions to stressful events, such as, "Are you often bothered by shortness of breath when not exercising or working hard?" and "Are you often bothered by bad dreams?" and, physiological anxiety symptoms, such as sweaty hands, and pressures and pains in the head."

Depressive symptoms are measured with an additive score of six items. Two of the items measure the depressed affect, for example, "Would you say that most of the time you feel in good spirits?" and, four items measure physiological symptoms of depression such as having trouble sleeping, concentrating, or losing track of what they were thinking.

Self-derogation is an additive score composed of a six dichotomous items which measures negative affect towards one's self, such as "I certainly feel useless at times," and, "All in all I am inclined to feel that I am a failure" (See Table 4). The Kuder-Richardson reliability coefficient for the scale combining all 18 variables was .82. The Polychoric Principal Component Analysis (PPCA) shows that the eigenvalues drop from the first factor solution of 7.33 to 1.58 for the second factor solution.

Table 4. Negative Self-Feelings Scale

Negative Self-Feelings

Anxiety:
1. "Are you often bothered by nervousness?"
2. "Are you often bothered by bad dreams?"
3. "Are you often bothered by shortness of breath when not
      exercising or working hard?
4. "Do you often bite your fingernails?"
5. "Are you often bothered by pressures or pains in the head?"
6. "Are you often troubled by your hands sweating so that they feel
      damp & clammy?"

Depression:
1. "Would you say that most of the time you feel in good spirits?
2. "Do you often have trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep?"
3. "Do you often lose track of what you were thinking?"
4. "Do you often have difficulty keeping your mind on things?"
5. "Do you often have trouble sitting still for a long time?"
6. "Do you wish you could be as happy as others seem to be?"

Self-derogation:
1. "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself."
2. "I certainly feel useless at times."
3. "At times I think I am no good at all.
4. "I feel that I do not have much to be proud of."
5. "All in all I am inclined to feel that I am a failure."
6. "I wish I could have more respect for myself."

Source: KLAMS, Generation 2, Time 1. The Kuder-Richardson
Reliability coefficient for the scale combining all 18 variables was .82.
The Polychoric Principal Component Analysis (PPCA) shows that the
eigenvalues drop from the first factor solution to 7.33 and to 1.58 for the
second factor solution.

Control Variables

In all of my models I control for gender, age, parent's gender, living arrangement and parental education. Gender is a dichotomous variable (male, female) measured in the first wave of second generation survey. About 49% of the respondents were female. The respondents were 11 to 19 years old in the first wave of the interview (the average age is approximately 13 years old). Living with parents is measured according to whether the respondent does not live with his/her parents, lives with one parent, or lives with two parents (reference category). About 24% of Latino adolescents live with one parent while 18% of white adolescents live with one parent (See Table 1).

I also control for whether the parental information (from generation 1 wave 7) comes from the interview with mother or father (sex of the parent; 0=Male or 1=Female). For each child interviewed, either the mother (56%) or the father (44%) provided the answers for the parental variables. To measure parental education I take the average of both the mother's and father's education; the average parental education level is at 13.57 years of education (Table 1). I first transform their education to years of education: 1) some junior high school – 7 years; 2) junior high – 9 years, 3) some high school – 10 years, 4) some vocational or technical school – 11 years, 5) GED –11.5 years, 6) high school – 12 years, 7) graduated from vocational or technical school – 13 years, 8) some college – 14 years , 9) graduated from college – 16 years, 10) some post-graduate education – 17 years, and, 11) a post-graduate degree – 18 years. If one parent's education value was missing then the value from the remaining parent is considered for analysis.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

ANALYSIS

I conduct different regression models to test my hypotheses because I use three different types of outcome variables (average grades, school status, and college attendance). I use linear regression with OLS estimates for models predicting the average grades, binary logistic regression for models predicting college attendance, and multinomial logistic regressions for models predicting the school status. To test whether any of the effects (the effect of poverty, the effect of negative self-feelings, the effect of discrimination, etc.) differ by ethnicity, I use interaction effects with ethnicity. To test the moderating effects of self-expectations for the future, I examine the interaction effects of poverty, negative self-feelings, and discrimination with self-expectations for the future.

Finally, to test the overall social psychological mechanism of poverty and ethnicity affecting educational outcomes I use path analysis models predicting grades, and college attendance. In path models, I calculate the proportion of the total effect of Latino on the school outcomes explained by the model (indirect effect). This allows me to estimate how much of the total effect between ethnicity and school outcome is explained by the social psychological model and how much of it is explained by a particular mechanism. I do not estimate the path models for school dropout because the majority of the variables in the social psychological model (discrimination by teachers and peers and the expectations for future) are not asked from those respondents who

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claimed to not be in school in the first wave of the study. All of my models are estimated in Stata and controlled for by age, gender, whether the mother or the father was interviewed, parental years of education, and living with parents (no parents; one parent).

RESULTS

My first hypothesis (H1a) states that the poverty experiences of parents reduce their children's academic success. This hypothesis was supported cross-sectionally, but not longitudinally (see Table 5). That is, when I examine the data when the children are adolescents, I find that, on average, they show .27 lower grades (p<.001; on the scale from 1 to 10) and 87% (1.87; p<.01) higher odds of dropping out when their parents have experienced poverty. However, the probability of going to college was no different for the children whose parents have poverty experiences when compared to the children whose parents did not have poverty experiences.

Table 5: Poverty Experiences Affecting Academic Success

	1 Grade	2 Dropout	3 Other	4 College
Control Variables				
Female	.52***	.63*	.91	1.67***
Age	-.16***	2.52***	1.67***	.84
Living with parents:				
0 parents	-.46**	4.69***	2.37***	.25+
1 parent	-.34***	2.01*	1.09	.53***
Mother	.01	.51**	.89	.98
Parental years of education	.14***	.83***	1.00	1.57***
Main Effects				
Latino	-.50***	1.24	.55**	.72+
Poverty	-.27***	1.87**	1.83**	.83
Constant	8.12***	.00***	.00***	.06
Valid N	4,108	4,483	4,483	1,102
R-squared	.18			
Degrees of Freedom	8	16	16	8

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3.
Note: Column 1 represents raw coefficients from the linear regression with OLS estimates. The 2nd and 3rd columns are odds ratios from multinomial logistic regression (in school as reference category), the 4th column are odds ratios from binary logistic regression.

My hypothesis 1b (H1b) states that Latino children whose parents experienced poverty, have lower academic success than their white counterparts. I test this by adding an interaction effect between ethnicity and poverty to the base model listed in Table 5. This hypothesis was not supported (see Table 6). Poverty significantly reduces grades, but it does it in the same manner for both whites and Latinos. Additionally, poverty did not affect the probability of going to college for either group. However, I do find a significant interaction effect for dropout. Poverty increases the odds of dropout by 180% for whites, but it does not influence the odds of dropout for Latinos (the multiplicative effect: $2.80*.32=.89$; $p>.05$). This difference in the effect of poverty is in an unexpected direction. I hypothesized that the poverty effect would be stronger for Latinos, however, for dropping out from school, the poverty effect is stronger for whites.

Table 6: Latino Poverty Experiences Affecting Academic Success

	1 Grade	2 Dropout	3 Other	4 College
Control Variables				
Female	.52***	.62*	.90	1.68***
Age	-.16***	2.54***	1.67***	.84
Living with parents:				
0 parents	-.46**	4.84***	2.38***	.25+
1 parent	-.34***	2.03*	1.09	.54***
Mother	.01	.51**	.89	.97
Parental years of education	.14***	.82***	1.00	1.58***
Main Effects				
Poverty	-.32***	2.80***	1.94**	.68+
Latino	-.55***	1.94*	.59+	.61*
Interaction Effect				
Poverty X Latino	.19	.32*	.83	1.96
Constant	8.13***	.00***	.00***	.05
Valid N	4,108	4,483	4,483	1,102
R-squared	.18			
Degrees of Freedom	9	18	18	9

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3.
Note: Column 1 are raw coefficients from the linear regression with OLS estimates. The 2nd and 3rd columns are odds ratios from multinomial logistic regression (in school as reference category), the 4th column are odds ratios from binary logistic regression.

My second hypothesis (H2) states that poverty increases negative self-feelings in children, which in turn, lower their educational success. This hypothesis was supported (see Table 7). Children in poverty, show on average .52 increased negative self-feelings ($p < .001$; on the scale from 0 to 18), compared to those not in poverty. Furthermore, even controlling for poverty, one unit increase in negative self-feelings is related to a .12 ($p<.001$) decrease in grades. Additionally, a one unit increase in negative self-feelings is associated with 10% (1.10; $p < .001$) higher odds of dropping out, and 10% lower odds (.90; $p < .001$) of going to college.

Table 7: Poverty Experiences affecting Negative Self-Feelings and Academic Success

	1 NSF	2 Grade	3 Dropout	4 Other	5 College
Control Variables					
Female	-.03	.52***	.58*	.91	1.63**
Latino	.14	-.49***	1.31	.55**	.75
Age	.18***	-.14***	2.56***	1.67***	.90
Living with parents:					
0 parents	.84**	-.34*	4.47***	2.37***	.24+
1 parent	.55***	-.27***	2.05*	1.09	.56**
Mother	.12	.02	.50**	.89	.98
Parental years of education	-.21***	.12***	.84***	1.00	1.54***
Main Effects					
Poverty	.52***	-.20**	1.78*	1.85**	.83
Negative Self-Feelings		-.12***	1.10***	.99	.90***
Constant	5.37***	8.77***	.00***	.00***	.06
Valid N	4,483	4,108	4,483	4,483	1,102
R-squared	.06	.25			
Degrees of Freedom	8	9	18	18	9

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3.
Note: Columns 1 and 2 represent raw coefficients from the linear regression with OLS estimates. The 3rd and 4th columns are odds ratios from multinomial logistic regression (in school as reference category), the 5th column are odds ratios from binary logistic regression.

Hypothesis (H3) states that Latinos experience a stronger relationship between poverty, and negative self-feelings than whites, due to minority status distress. To test this, I interact poverty with ethnicity in predicting negative self-feelings. As mentioned earlier, poverty has significant effects on negative self-feelings overall, however, the interaction effect between poverty and ethnicity reveals that the effect of poverty on negative self-feelings is not stronger for Latinos. This hypothesis was not supported (See Table 8).

Table 8: Minority Status Moderating the Effect of Poverty
on Negative Self-Feelings

	1 NSF
Control Variables	
Female	-.04
Age	.18***
Living with parents:	
0 parents	.84**
1 parent	.55***
Mother	.12
Parental years of education	-.21***
Main Effects	
Poverty	.67***
Latino	.30+
Interaction Effects	
Poverty X Latino	-.56+
Constant	5.32***
Valid N	4,483
R-squared	.06
Degrees of Freedom	9

*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$, + $p<0.10$
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7 and G2T1.
Note: Column 1 represents raw coefficients from linear
regression with OLS estimates.

Hypothesis H4 states that self-expectations for the future have an effect on negative self-feelings, and academic success for all children. Since self-expectations are only asked of respondents who were in school at the time of their first interview, I am unable to predict the dropout from school. Instead, I will only test the effect of self-expectations for the future on average grade and on college attendance. This hypothesis was supported. Self-expectations for the future affect negative self-feelings, grades, and attending college for everybody (see Table 9). Each additional year of school that the respondent expects to complete decreases their negative self-feelings by .34 (-.34; p< .001), increases grades by .25 (p<.001), and is associated with 17% (1.17; p< .01) higher odds of going to college.

Table 9: The Effect of Self-Expectations on Negative Self-Feelings, and Academic Success

	1 NSF	2 Grade	3 College
Control Variables			
Female	.10	.44***	1.59**
Age	.14***	-.13***	.90
Living with parents:			
0 parents	1.02**	-0.32*	.26+
1 parent	.62***	-.29***	.57**
Mother	.15	.02	.97
Parental years of education	-.18***	.09***	1.53***
Main Effects			
Negative self-feelings		-.10***	.90***
Latino	.08	-.43***	.76
Self-expectations	-.34***	.25***	1.17**
Constant	10.98***	4.78***	.00*
Valid N	4,108	4,108	1,102
R-squared	.06	.31	
Degrees of Freedom	8	9	9

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3.
Note: Columns 1 and 2 represent raw coefficients from the linear regression with OLS estimates. The 3rd column represents odds ratios from binary logistic regression.

Hypotheses 4a and 4b further consider self-expectations for the future. Hypothesis H4a states that individuals who have high self-expectations for the future but live in poverty experience increased negative self-feelings, leading to lower educational outcomes. I also state in hypothesis H4b that those with low self-expectations for the future and in poverty do not experience negative self-feelings, therefore negative self-feelings do not mediate the effect on educational outcomes. Neither of these hypotheses were supported. Self-expectations for the future do not change the effect of poverty on negative self-feelings, the average grades, or the probability of going to college (see Table 10). This means, that poverty has the same effect on negative self-feelings, grades, and the probability of going to college regardless of one's self-expectations for the future.

Table 10: Poverty Effects on Self-Expectations, Negative Self-Feelings, and Academic Success

	1 NSF	2 Grade	3 College
Control Variables			
Female	.11	.44***	1.59**
Latino	.05	-.42***	.77
Age	.14***	-.13***	.91
Living with parents:			
0 parents	.97*	-.31*	.27+
1 parent	.57***	-.28***	.58**
Mother	.13	.03	.98
Parental years of education	-.16***	.09***	1.52***
Main Effects			
Negative Self-Feelings		-.10***	.90***
Poverty	-.18	.30	1.52
Self-expectations	-.34***	.26***	1.17**
Interaction Effect			
Poverty X Self-expectations	.04	-.03	.96
Constant	10.68***	4.77***	.00*
Valid N	4,108	4,108	1,102
R-squared	.07	.31	
Degrees of Freedom	10	11	11

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3.
Note: Columns 1 and 2 represent raw coefficients from linear regression with OLS estimates. The 3rd column represents odds ratios from binary logistic regression.

Hypothesis H4c states that Latinos in poverty show lower self-expectations for the future than similar whites, while H4c1 states that negative self-feelings do not mediate the effect of poverty and self-expectations. Both hypotheses were not supported (see Table 11). While experience of poverty does reduce the expected years of education by .43 (p<.001) and Latinos, in general, have lower expected years of education (by .25, p<.001), Latinos in poverty do not show lower self-expectations than whites (.15, p>.05). As previously tested, negative self-feelings do mediate the effects of poverty on academic success (see hypothesis H4). Therefore, the mechanism of poverty effects on educational outcomes through self-expectations, and negative self-feelings, on either the average grades or college attendance, is the same for whites and Latinos.

Table 11: Poverty Effects on Self-expectations

	1 Self-expectations	2 Self-expectations
Control Variables		
Female	.33***	.33***
Age	-.07***	-.07***
Living with parents:		
0 parents	-.17	-.17
1 parent	-.02	-.02
Mother	-.01	-.01
Parental years of education	.13***	.13***
Main Effects		
Latino	-.25***	-.29***
Poverty	-.43***	-.47***
Interaction Effect		
Latino X Poverty		.15
Constant	15.16***	15.17***
R-squared	.10	.10
Degrees of Freedom	8	9

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7 and G2T1. Valid N: 4,108
Note: Columns 1 and 2 represent raw coefficients from linear regressions.

Hypothesis H5 states that poverty experiences increase the perception of personal discrimination for whites and Latinos. This hypothesis is partially supported (see Table 12). Poverty experiences do increase personal discrimination, but only discrimination related to religion. Children with poverty experiences have 65% higher odds (1.65; p< .01) of being discriminated against because of religion than if they do not have poverty experiences. Interestingly, Latino children have 45% (.55; p<.05) lower odds of feeling discriminated against due to religion when compared to white children. However, the interaction effect between poverty and ethnicity is insignificant. Thus, poverty increases discrimination due to religion in the same manner for both whites and Latinos. Neither poverty nor ethnicity affect discrimination due to skin color.

Table 12: Poverty Experiences on Personal Discrimination

	1 Color	2 Color	3 Religion	4 Religion
Control Variables				
Female	.66***	.66***	.80	.80
Age	1.00	1.00	1.09*	1.09*
Living with parents:				
0 parents	2.34***	2.34***	.80	.80
1 parent	1.21	1.21	.86	.86
Mother	1.07	1.07	.75*	.75*
Parental years of education	.89***	.89***	.92**	.92**
Main Effects				
Latino	1.02	1.16	.55*	.57*
Poverty	1.19	1.33+	1.65**	1.69**
Interaction Effects				
Latino X Poverty		.67		.89
Constant	.32+	.30+	.07***	.07***
Degrees of Freedom	8	9	8	9

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7 and G2T1. Valid N: 4,483
Note: Columns 1-4 represent odds ratios from binary logistic regressions.

Hypothesis 5a states that the children who report experiences of personal discrimination have poorer educational outcomes, than the children who do not report discrimination. This hypothesis is partially supported. Perception of discrimination seems to have different effects depending upon the origin of the discrimination. Discrimination due to color affects all educational outcomes (see Table 13). Those who reported discrimination due to color show, on average, .50 lower grades (p<.001), and 129% (2.29; p<.01) higher odds of dropping out. Additionally, they show 65% (.35; p<. 001) lower odds of going to college.

Those who reported discrimination related to religion show, on average, .24 (p<.05) lower grades. Interestingly, discrimination due to religion does not influence the odds of dropping out, or going to college. Even if not controlled by discrimination due to color, discrimination by religion does not become any more significant.

Table 13: Personal Discrimination on Academic Success

	1 Grade	2 Dropout	3 Other	4 College
Control Variables				
Female	.51***	.67+	.90	1.65**
Latino	-.51***	1.18	.57*	.68*
Age	-.16***	2.55***	1.66***	.86
Living with parents:				
0 parents	-.41**	4.53***	2.46***	.30
1 parent	-.33***	2.13**	1.09	.53***
Mother	.01	.50**	.90	.98
Parental years of education	.14***	.84***	1.00	1.58***
Poverty	-.25***	1.86**	1.83**	.87
Personal Discrimination				
Color	-.50***	2.29*	.47+	.35***
Religion	-.24*	1.32	1.45	.83
Constant	8.22***	.00***	.00***	.04
Valid N	4,108	4,483	4,483	1,102
R-squared	.19			
Degrees of Freedom	10	20	20	10

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3.
Note: Column 1 represents raw coefficients from linear regression with OLS estimates.
The 2nd and 3rd columns are odds ratios from multinomial logistic regression (in school
as reference category), the 4th column represents odds ratios from binary logistic
regression.

Hypothesis H5b states that children who experience discrimination also experience increased negative self-feelings, if they have high expectations for their future. This hypothesis is partially supported (see Table 14). Latino and white children that experience discrimination due to color, and due to religion, also experience an increase in negative self-feelings.

However, self-expectations do not influence the effect of personal discrimination on negative self-feelings (insignificant interaction effects between discrimination and self-expectations for the future). Those who reported discrimination related to color show, on average, 3.62 (p<.001) increase in negative self-feelings. Those who reported discrimination due to religion show, on average, 2.73 (p<.001) increase in negative self-feelings. Interestingly, for each additional year of expected education negative self-feelings decrease by approximately .30 (p<.001), this means, high expectations of future are good for mental health

Table 14: Discrimination and Self-Expectations on Negative Self-Feelings (NSF)

	1 NSF	2 NSF	3 NSF	4 NSF
Control Variables				
Female	.16	.16	.13	.13
Latino	.07	.07	.13	.13
Age	.14***	.14***	.13***	.13***
Living with parents:				
0 parents	.63+	.63+	.98**	.98**
1 parent	.52***	.52***	.59***	.59***
Mother	.11	.11	.17	.17
Parental years of education	-.14***	-.14***	-.15***	-.15***
Poverty	.41**	.42**	.40*	.40*
Self-expectations	-.30***	-.31***	-.32***	-.32***
Personal Discrimination				
Color	3.62***	-.00		
Religion			2.73***	3.48
Interaction Effects				
Color X Self-expectations		.23+		
Religion X Self-expectations				-.05
Constant	9.44***	9.74***	10.30***	10.24***
R-squared	.12	.12	.09	.09
Degrees of Freedom	10	11	10	11

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7 and G2T1. Valid N: 4,108
Note: Columns 1-4 represent raw coefficients from linear regressions with OLS estimates.

Hypothesis H5c1 states that children who experience personal discrimination have poorer grades, for those with low self-expectations for the future. This hypothesis is not supported (see Table 15). Discrimination, when not controlled for negative self-feelings, does affect grades (columns 1 and 4). Discrimination due to color reduces the average grade by .43 (p<.001) and discrimination due to religion reduces the average grade by .30 (p<.001). However, columns 2 and 5 indicate that the effect of discrimination on grades goes through negative self-feelings, as, once controlled for negative self-feelings, personal discrimination does not affect grades. Columns 3 and 6 show how self-expectations influence the effect of discrimination.

Discrimination due to color is the same on grade regardless of one's self-expectations (interaction effect of -.02, not significant). However, I do find a significant interaction effect for discrimination due to religion and self-expectations. At low levels of expectation, discrimination due to religion does not affect grades (1.62, p<10). Significant negative interaction term shows that as the self-expectation for the future increase, the effect of discrimination due to religion becomes negative; meaning that for each additional expected year of education, the effect of discrimination due to religion lowers by .10 (-.10, p<05).

However, even at high levels of expectation, the effect of discrimination due to religion does not become significant. At 16 years of expected education, the effect of discrimination is approximately zero (1.62+(16*(-.10))=.02). Thus, once controlled for negative self-feelings, discrimination due to religion does not affect average grade, even when the interaction effect between discrimination and self-expectations for the future is

seemingly significant. Remarkably, low self-expectations for the future decreases grades

even when taking into account negative self-feelings.

Table 15: Self-Expectations and Personal Discrimination on Average Grades

	1 Grade	2 Grade	3 Grade	4 Grade	5 Grade	6 Grade
Control Variables						
Female	.42***	.44***	.44***	.42***	.44***	.44***
Latino	-.43***	-.43***	-.43***	-.44***	-.43***	-.42***
Age	-.14***	-.13***	-.13***	-.14***	-.13***	-.13***
Living with parents:						
0 parents	-.37*	-.30*	-.30*	-.41**	-.31*	-.30*
1 parent	-.33***	-.27***	-.27***	-.34***	-.28***	-.27***
Mother	.01	.03	.03	.01	.03	.03
Parental years of education	.10***	.09***	.09***	.11***	.09***	.09***
Poverty	-.14*	-.10	-.10+	-.14*	-.10	-.10+
Self-expectations	.28***	.25***	.25***	.28***	.25***	.26***
Negative self-feelings		-.10***	-.10***		-.10***	-.10***
Personal Discrimination						
Color	-.43***	-.06	.25			
Religion				-.30**	-.02	1.62+
Interaction Effects						
Color X Self-expectations			-.02			
Religion X Self-expectations						-.10*
Constant	3.92***	4.88***	4.85***	3.82***	4.87***	4.75***
R-squared	.26	.31	.31	.26	.31	.31
Degrees of Freedom	10	11	12	10	11	12

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7 and G2T1. Valid N: 4,108
Note: Column 1-6 represent raw coefficients from linear regressions with OLS estimates.

Hypothesis H5c2 states that those who experience personal discrimination have less prospects for going to college, if they have low self-expectations for the future. This hypothesis is not supported (see Table 16). Even though discrimination due to color has an effect on going to college, self-expectations do not moderate the effect of discrimination due to color on attending college.

Those who reported personal discrimination due to color show 65% lower odds (.35; p<. 001) of going to college when not controlled for negative self-feelings. When controlling for negative self-feelings, experiencing discrimination due to color lowers the odds of going to college by 51%. However, for each additional year of expected education, the odds for going to college increase by approximately 17% (p<.001). The effect of discrimination due to color does not vary with the expectations of future (interaction term between discrimination due to color and self-expectations is .83, not significant).

Thus, discrimination due to color lowers one's chances of going to college regardless of their expectations for the future. The effect of discrimination due to religion was not analyzed due to too few reported cases in the college sample, making the results unreliable.

Table 16: Self-Expectations and Personal Discrimination on College

	1 College	2 College	3 College
Control Variables			
Female	1.60**	1.58**	1.58**
Latino	.71+	.74	.74
Age	.86	.91	.92
Living with parents:			
0 parents	.34	.31	.29
1 parent	.56**	.58**	.58**
Mother	.98	.98	.97
Parental years of education	1.55***	1.53***	1.53***
Poverty	.89	.88	.88
Negative self-feelings		.91***	.91***
Self-expectations	1.19***	1.17**	1.18**
Personal Discrimination			
Color	.35***	.49*	9.37
Interaction Effects			
Color X Self-expectations			.83
Constant	.00*	.00*	.00*
Degrees of Freedom	10	11	12

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3. Valid N: 1,102
Note: Columns 1-3 are odds ratios from binary logistic regressions

Hypothesis H5c3 states that Latino children who experience personal discrimination have poorer educational outcomes if they have low self-expectations for the future. This hypothesis is not supported (See Table 17). Discrimination due to color lowers grades and chances for going to college for Latino children, however the effects are not stronger, when compared to those of white children.

Discrimination due to religion reduces grades, however, it affects white and Latinos in the same way. Additionally, I tested a three-way interaction effect between discrimination, ethnicity, and self-expectations, and the results were not significant. Interestingly, discrimination due to religion does not affect going to college for either, white or Latinos. Additionally, for each additional year of expected education, grades on average, show, an increase of .28 ($p<.001$), and the odds for going to college increase by 19% ($p<.001$).

Table 17: Personal Discrimination and Latino on Educational Outcomes

	1 Grade	2 Grade	3 College	4 College
Control Variables				
Female	.42***	.42***	1.61**	1.60**
Age	-.14***	-.14***	.87	.84
Living with parents:				
0 parents	-.37**	-.41**	.35	.27
1 parent	-.33***	-.34***	.56***	.55***
Mother	.01	.01	.98	.97
Parental years of education	.10***	.11***	1.54***	1.55***
Poverty	-.14***	-.14***	.89	.87
Latino	-.42***	-.44***	.67*	.75
Self-expectations	.28***	.28***	1.19***	1.19***
Personal Discrimination				
Color	-.40***		.30***	
Religion		-.29**		.77
Interaction Effects				
Color X Latino	-.14		2.49	
Religion X Latino		-.03		.29
Constant	3.92***	3.82***	.00*	.00*
Valid N	4,108	4,108	1,102	1,102
R-squared	.26	.26		
Degrees of Freedom	11	11	11	11

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3.
Note: Columns 1st and 2nd represent raw coefficients from linear regressions with OLS estimates. The 3rd and 4th columns represent odds ratios from binary logistic regressions.

Hypothesis H6a states that the children who report experiences of interpersonal discrimination have poorer educational outcomes than the children who do not report this type of discrimination. This hypothesis is partially supported (See Table 18).

Those who reported discrimination by teachers show, on average, .72 lower grades (p<.001), but there is no effect of discrimination by teachers on going to college. Those who reported discrimination by peers show, on average, .25 (p<.001) lower grades, and 19% (.81; p<.01) lower odds of going to college.

Table 18: Interpersonal Discrimination on Academic Success

	1 Grade	2 College
Control Variables		
Female	.44***	1.60**
Latino	-.51***	.70+
Age	-.17***	.82
Living with parents:		
0 parents	-.41**	.24+
1 parent	-.31***	.52***
Mother	.01	.97
Parental years of education	.13***	1.57***
Poverty	-.20***	.82
Interpersonal Discrimination		
Teacher	-.72***	1.01
Peers	-.25***	.81**
Constant	8.70***	.09
Valid N	4,108	1,102
R-squared	.24	
Degrees of Freedom	10	10

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3.
Note: The 1st column represents raw coefficients from the linear regression with OLS estimates. The 2nd column represents odds ratios from binary logistic regression.

Hypothesis H6b states that children who experience interpersonal discrimination experience increased negative self-feelings, if they have high expectations for their future. This hypothesis is partially supported (See Table 19). Latino and white children that experience discrimination by teachers and discrimination by peers, also experience an increase in negative self-feelings. However, self-expectations for the future do not moderate the effect of interpersonal discrimination on negative self-feelings.

Those who reported discrimination by teachers show, on average, 2.28 (p<.001) increase in negative self-feelings. Those who reported discrimination by peers show, on average, 1.23 (p<.001) increase in negative self-feelings. Interestingly, each additional year of expected education decreases negative self-feelings by approximately .26 (p<.001). However, the effect of both, discrimination by teachers, and discrimination by peers, does not vary by the level of self-expectations for the future.

Table 19: Discrimination and Self-Expectations on Negative Self-Feelings (NSF)

	1 NSF	2 NSF	3 NSF	4 NSF
Control Variables				
Female	.23*	.23*	.24*	.24*
Latino	.00	.00	.18	.18
Age	.13***	.13***	.20***	.21***
Living with parents:				
0 parents	.98**	.97**	.79*	.78*
1 parent	.49***	.50***	.54***	.54***
Mother	.10	.10	.16	.16
Parental years of education	-.16***	-.16***	-.13***	-.13***
Poverty	.41**	.41**	.31*	.32*
Self-expectations	-.26***	-.27***	-.24***	-.26***
Interpersonal Discrimination				
Teacher	2.28***	1.23		
Peers			1.23***	.81+
Interaction Effects				
Teacher X Self-expectations		.07		
Peers X Self-expectations				.03
Constant	9.05***	9.29***	6.94***	7.26***
R-squared	.11	.11	.17	.17
Degrees of Freedom	10	11	10	11

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3. Valid N: 4,108
Note: Columns 1-4 represent raw coefficients from linear regressions with OLS estimates.

Hypothesis H6c1 states that children who experience interpersonal discrimination have poorer grades, for those with high self-expectations for the future. This hypothesis is not supported (See Table 20). Even though, those who reported discrimination by teachers show, on average, .67 (p<.001) lower grades, and those who reported discrimination by peers show, on average, .24 (p<.001) lower grades, self-expectations do not moderate the effects on the average grades. Even when controlling for negative self-feelings, discrimination by teachers and peers still decrease the average grades.

Table 20: Self-Expectations and Interpersonal Discrimination on Average Grades

	1 Grade	2 Grade	3 Grade	4 Grade	5 Grade	6 Grade
Control Variables						
Female	.39***	.41***	.41***	.40***	.42***	.42***
Latino	-.42***	-.42***	-.42***	-.46***	-.44***	-.44***
Age	-.14***	-.13***	-.13***	-.16***	-.14***	-.14***
Living with parents:						
0 parents	-.41**	-.32*	-.32*	-.37**	-.30*	-.29*
1 parent	-.31***	-.27***	-.27***	-.33***	-.28***	-.28***
Mother	.02	.03	.03	.01	.02	.02
Parental years of education	.10***	.09***	.09***	.10***	.09***	.09***
Poverty	-.13*	-.09	-.09	-.11+	-.09	-.09
Self-expectations	.27***	.24***	.25***	.27***	.25***	.26***
Negative Self-Feelings		-.09***	-.09***		-.09***	-.09***
Interpersonal Discrimination						
Teacher	-.67***	-.46***	-.16			
Peers				-.24***	-.13***	.19
Interaction Effects						
Teacher X Self-expectations			-.02			
Peers X Self-expectations						-.02+
Constant	4.22***	5.07***	5.00***	4.50***	5.13***	4.90***
R-squared	.28	.32	.32	.28	.31	.31
Degrees of Freedom	10	11	12	10	11	12

Valid N; 4,108 *** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7 and G2T1.
Note: Column 1-6 represent raw coefficients from linear regressions

Hypothesis (H6c2) states that those who experience interpersonal discrimination have less possibilities of going to college, if they have low self-expectations for the future. This hypothesis is not supported (See Table 21). Even though, discrimination by peers has an effect on going to college, there is no effect from discrimination by teachers on going to college. Additionally, self-expectations for the future do not moderate the effects of discrimination by teachers and discrimination by peers on going to college.

Those who reported discrimination by peers show 18% lower odds (.82; p<. 01) of going to college. Remarkably, when controlling for negative self-feelings, the effect of discrimination by peers on the odds for going to college become insignificant, indicating that the discrimination by peers affects the odds of going to college through increased negative self-feelings.

Table 21: Self-Expectations and Interpersonal Discrimination on College

	1 College	2 College	3 College	4 College	5 College	6 College
Control Variables						
Female	1.61**	1.62**	1.60**	1.55**	1.56**	1.55**
Latino	.74	.76	.77	.72+	.75	.74
Age	.84	.91	.90	.83	.89	.88
Living with parents:						
0 parents	.27	.27	.28	.26+	.26+	.25+
1 parent	.56**	.57**	.57**	.54**	.57**	.56**
Mother	.97	.97	.98	.97	.97	.97
Parental years of education	1.55***	1.52***	1.53***	1.54***	1.52***	1.52***
Poverty	.86	.86	.87	.85	.85	.86
Self-expectations	1.19***	1.17**	1.22***	1.18**	1.16**	1.10
Negative self-feelings		.90***	.90***		.91***	.91***
Interpersonal Discrimination						
Teacher	.98	1.26	28.16			
Peers				.82**	.91	.32+
Interaction Effects						
Teacher X Self-expectations			.82			
Peers X Self-expectations						1.07
Constant	.00*	.00*	.00*	.01*	.01*	.02
Degrees of Freedom	10	11	12	10	11	12

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3. Valid N: 1,102
Note: Columns 1-6 are odds ratios from binary logistic regressions.

Finally, hypothesis H6c3 states that Latino children who experience interpersonal discrimination have poorer educational outcomes, if they have low self-expectations for the future. This hypothesis is not supported (See Table 22). Discrimination by teachers for whites is associated, on average, with .75 (p<.001) lower grades. However, the effect of discrimination by teachers is lower for Latinos than whites (-.75+.31=-.44). The prospects for going to college are not affected by discrimination by teachers. Discrimination by peers does not vary for whites and Latinos, the average grades or the prospects of going to college affects them the same way. The last table (Table 23) shows a summary of all the hypotheses and results discussed.

Table 22: Discrimination and Latino on Educational Outcomes

	1 Grade	2 Grade	3 College	4 College
Control Variables				
Female	.39***	.40***	1.63**	1.55**
Age	-.14***	-.16***	.84	.83
Living with parents:				
0 parents	-.41**	-.37**	.27	.26+
1 parent	-.31***	-.33***	.56**	.54**
Mother	.03	.01	.97	.97
Parental years of education	.10***	.10***	1.54***	1.54***
Poverty	-.13*	-.11+	.85	.85
Latino	-.47***	-.47***	.67+	.75
Self-expectations	.27***	.27***	1.19***	1.18**
Interpersonal Discrimination				
Teacher	-.75***		.86	
Peers		-.25***		.83**
Interaction Effects				
Latino X Teacher	.31*		1.80	
Latino X Peers		0.03		.93
Constant	4.24***	4.50***	.00*	.01*
Valid N	4,108	4,108	1,102	1,102
R-squared	.28	.28		
Degrees of Freedom	11	11	11	11

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05, + p<.10
Source: KLAMS Wave G1T7, G2T1, and G2T3.
Note: Columns 1st and 2nd represent raw coefficients from linear regressions with OLS estimates. The 3rd and 4th columns represent odds ratios from binary logistic regressions.

Table 23: Hypotheses and Results-Summary

Hyp	Table	Hypotheses	Fully Supported	Partially Supported	Not Supported
H1a	5	The poverty experiences of parents reduce their children's academic success.		✓	
H1b	6	Latino children whose parents experienced poverty have lower academic success than their white counterparts.			✓
H2	7	Poverty increases negative self-feelings on children which, in turn, lowers their educational success.	✓		
H3	8	Latinos experience a stronger relationship between poverty and negative self-feelings than whites, due to minority status distress.			✓
H4	9	Self-expectations for the future have an effect on negative self-feelings, and academic success for all children.	✓		
H4a and H4b	10	H4a. Individuals who have high self-expectations but live in poverty, experience increased negative self-feelings, leading to lower educational outcomes. H4b.Those with low self-expectations and in poverty do not experience negative self-feelings, therefore negative self-feelings do not mediate the effect on educational outcomes.			✓
H4c and H4c1	11	Hypothesis H4c states that Latinos in poverty show lower self-expectations for the future than similar whites, while H4c1 states that negative self-feelings do not mediate the effect of poverty and self-expectations.			✓
H5	12	Poverty experiences increase the perception of personal discrimination for the children in both groups, whites and Latinos.		✓	

Table 23: Hypotheses and Results-Summary (Cont.)

Hyp	Table	Hypotheses	Fully Supported	Partially Supported	Not Supported
H5a	13	Children who report experiences of personal discrimination have poorer educational outcomes, than the children who do not report discrimination.		✓	
H5b	14	Children who experience discrimination also experience increased negative self-feelings, if they have high expectations for their future.		✓	
H5c1	15	Children who experience personal discrimination have poorer grades, for those with low self-expectations for the future.			✓
H5c2	16	Those who experience personal discrimination have less prospects for going to college, if they have low self-expectations for the future.			✓
H5c3	17	Latino children who experience personal discrimination, have poorer educational outcomes if they have low self-expectations for the future.			✓
H6a	18	Children who report experiences of interpersonal discrimination have poorer educational outcomes than the children who do not report this type of discrimination.		✓	
H6b	19	Children who experience interpersonal discrimination experience increased negative self-feelings, if they have high expectations for their future.		✓	
H6c1	20	Children who experience interpersonal discrimination have poorer grades, for those with high self-expectations for the future.			✓
H6c2	21	Those who experience interpersonal discrimination have less possibilities of going to college, if they have low self-expectations for the future.			✓
H6c3	22	Latino children who experience interpersonal discrimination have poorer educational outcomes, if they have low self-expectations for the future.			✓

PATH ANALYSIS

To investigate further the social psychological model explaining the Latino and White difference in school outcomes, I consider a social psychological path analysis (estimated with Stata). Since previous analysis showed no real differences in the mechanism for whites and Latinos, I do not consider the moderation effects of race in the path analysis. I estimate a social psychological path model predicting average grade (cross-sectional analysis) and college attendance (longitudinal analysis).

To establish model fit, I employ a common test for the model fit which includes a chi-square test, comparative fit index (CFI), and root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA). A good model fit would show a value of .95 or greater for the CFI, and a value of .06 or less for the RMSEA (Browne and Cudeck 1993; Hu and Bentler 1999). Both path models statistics show a good model fit, except for the chi-square model fit for the average grade as outcome. Chi-square model fit becomes unreliable with large sample sizes (Fan, Thompson, and Wang 1999).

Path Analysis Predicting Grade

For the path analysis model predicting average grade, I use the KLAMS Generation 1 Time 7 and Generation 2 Time 1 data (valid N = 4,108). First, I remove the effects that are not significant, and then, analyze a reduced model to test the effects of poverty, self-expectations for the future, discrimination, and negative self-feelings on grade. I control for gender, age, living with parents (no parents; one parent), mother, and parental education. I allow correlations between different types of discrimination measures. Based on CFI and RMSEA, the model shows a good fit (CFI = .98; RMSEA =

.044). Model fit chi-square is significant (Chi-Square = 105.44***), thus indicating poor fit, however, this is a common weakness of the chi-square model fit measure with large samples.

The social psychological path analysis model predicting grade (Figure 1) indicates that Latinos are more likely to be in poverty. In addition, the model explains that, 1) poverty leads to low self-expectations for the future, which in turn, lead to lower grades, 2) poverty leads to discrimination due to religion, discrimination by teachers, and discrimination by peers, 3) discrimination increases negative self-feelings, and in turn, decrease grades, 4) discrimination due to color, while not affected by race or poverty status, leads to negative self-feelings and in turn, this has a negative effect on grades. Furthermore, Latino respondents have lower expectations for their future, which in turn, lower grades independently of poverty status.

The total effect of Latino on grade is highly significant (-.51; p<.001); the path analysis shows that the direct effect (-.42; p<.001) and, indirect effect (-.09; p<.001) are also highly significant. The path analysis indicates that about 17% of the total effect of Latino on grade is explained by the social psychological model considered here.
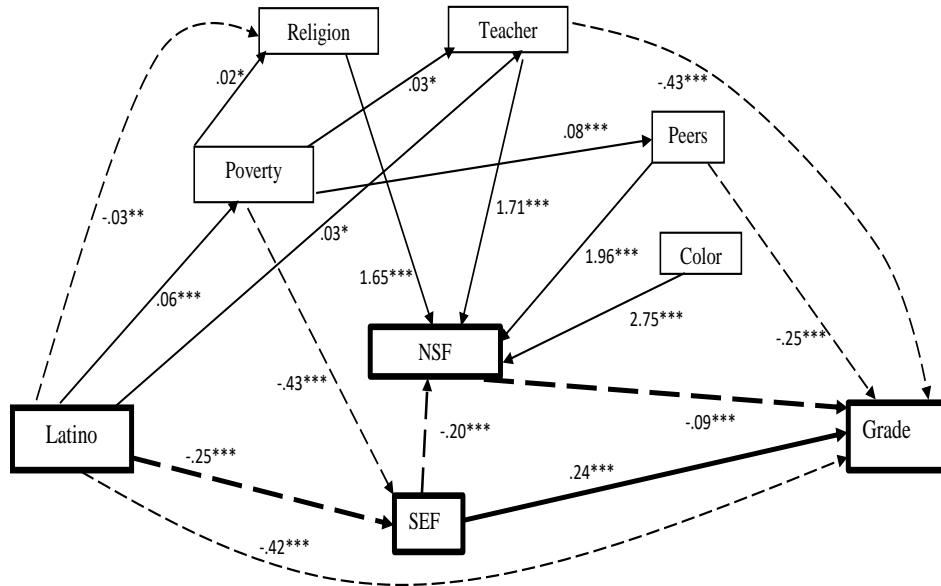
Figure 1. Path Analysis Predicting Grade.
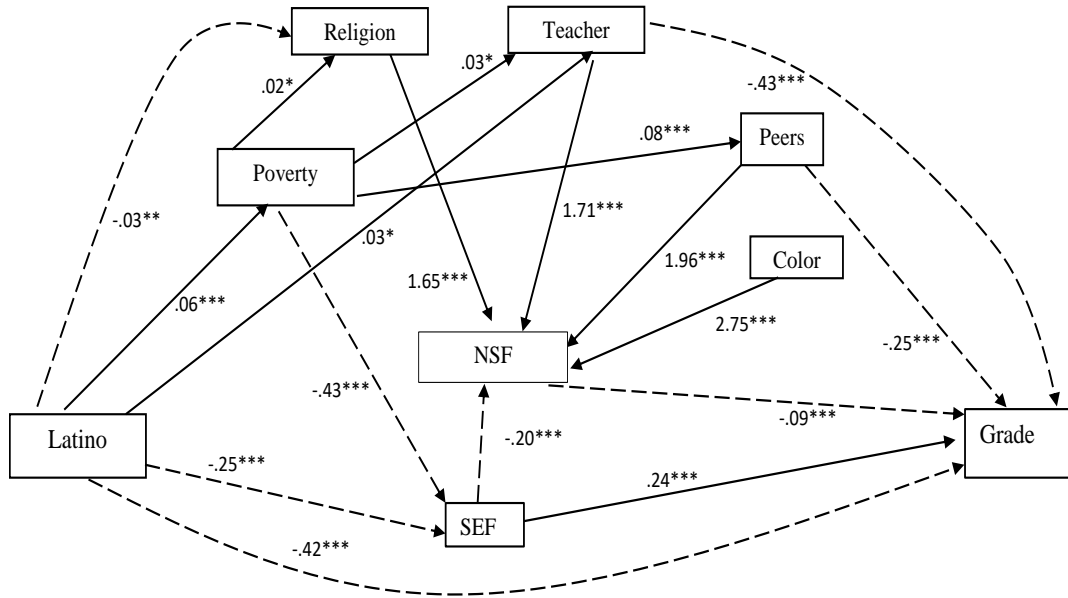
Model 1: CFI = .98; RMSEA = .044; Chi-Square = 105.44***
Source: KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. Valid N = 4,108
Solid lines represent significant increasing effects. Dotted lines represent significant decreasing effects. No line means that there was not a significant effect (and the effect has been removed from the model).
All regressions are controlled for gender, age, living with parents (no parents; one parent), mother, and parental education.

One of the advantages of the path model is to allow a comparison of the strengths of different paths. For this, I focus on three different paths that emerge from this analysis for predicting grade: 1) path from ethnicity to expectations of future and to grade (see Figure 1a), 2) path from ethnicity through poverty to discrimination, and from discrimination to grade through negative self-feelings (see Figure 1b), and 3) path from ethnicity to poverty and through expectations for the future to grade (see Figure 1c).

A larger part of the indirect effect of Latino on grade is through the self-expectations for the future (SEF) path, rather than through the poverty and discrimination path (Figure 1a). For instance, Latinos have lower self-expectations of future (-.25; p<.001), and the total effect of self-expectations for the future on grades is .26 (p<.001; adding the direct path and the path through negative self-feelings. The total indirect effect from Latino to grades is -.09 (p<.001) and the total indirect effect from Latino to grades through self-expectations for the future is -.07 (p<.001). This means, that about 74% of the indirect effect of Latino to grades goes through self-expectations for the future, even without taking the poverty effect into account.
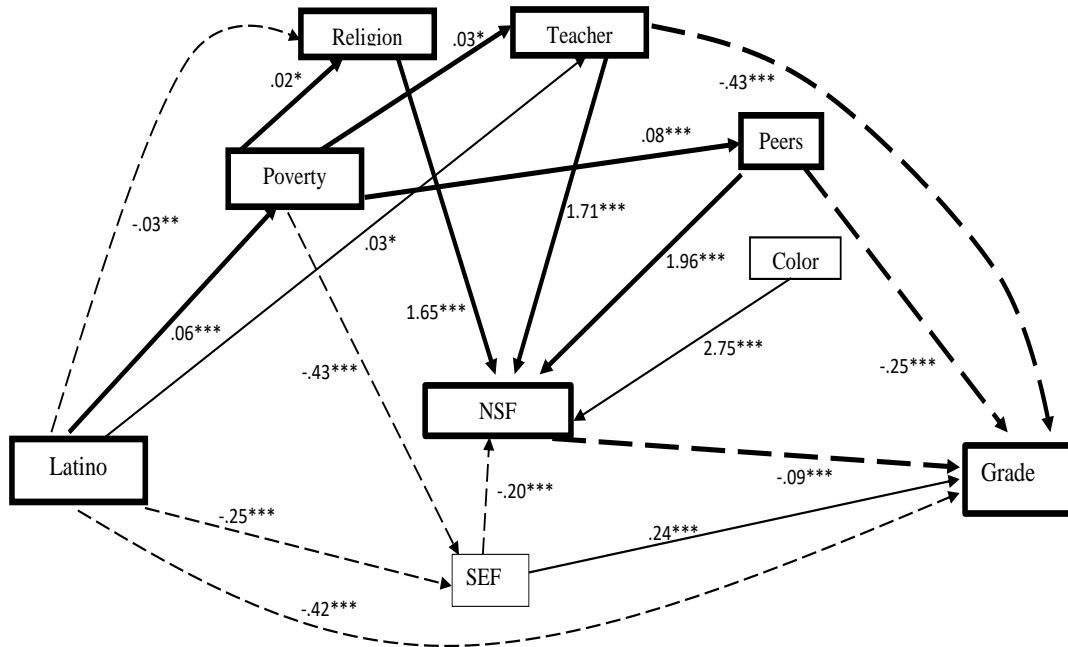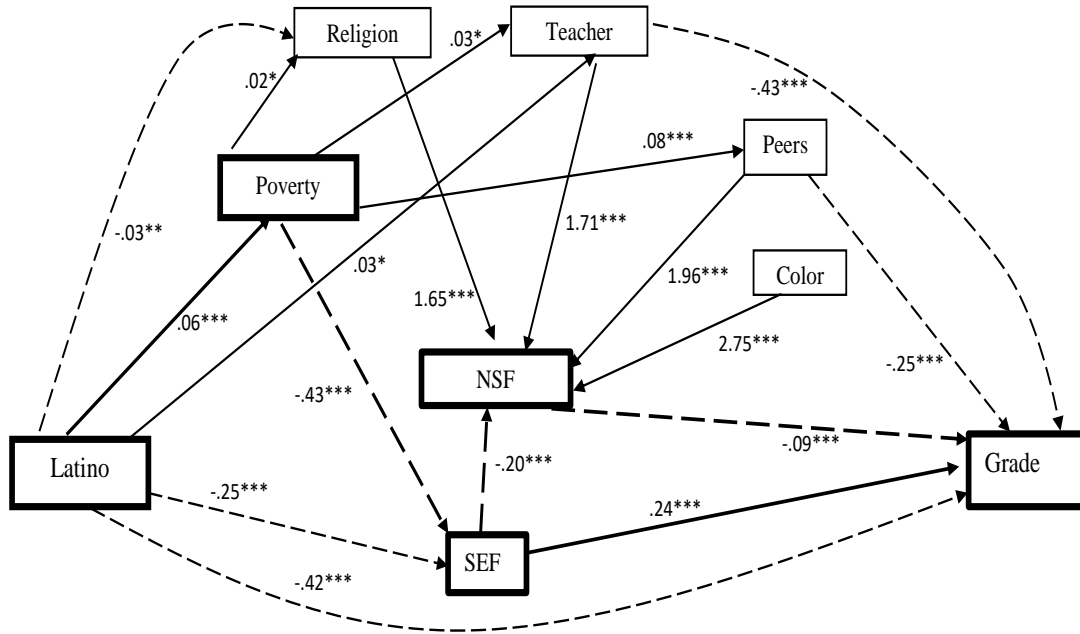
Figure 1a. Path Analysis Predicting Grade.

Model 1: CFI = .98; RMSEA = .044; Chi-Square = 105.44***
Source: KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. Valid N = 4,108
Solid lines represent significant increasing effects. Dotted lines represent significant decreasing effects. No line means that there was not a significant effect (and the effect has been removed from the model).
All regressions are controlled for gender, age, living with parents (no parents; one parent), mother, and parental education.

Next, I will consider the path through poverty and discrimination, without taking the self-expectations for the future effect into account (Figure 1b). The model indicates that Latinos are more likely to be in poverty than whites (.06; p<.001). Taking into account the bolded paths on Figure 1b, the poverty effect on grade through the discrimination path (religion, teachers, peers), and negative self-feelings is, -.05 (p<.05) – i.e., poverty reduces grades. The total effect of Latino to grades through the poverty effect is -.0033, thus only about 3.74% of the total indirect effect from Latino to Grade is explained by the effect through poverty and discrimination.

Figure 1b. Path Analysis Predicting Grade.

Model 1: CFI = .98; RMSEA = .044; Chi-Square = 105.44***
Source: KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. Valid N = 4,108
Solid lines represent significant increasing effects. Dotted lines represent significant decreasing effects. No line means that there was not a significant effect (and the effect has been removed from the model).
All regressions are controlled for gender, age, living with parents (no parents; one parent), mother, and parental education.

The next path I consider is from Latino through poverty to low self-expectations

for the future (Figure 1c). About 7.93% of the Latino to grade indirect effect goes

through the pathway of poverty to self-expectations for the future. For example, Latinos

are more likely to be in poverty (.06; p<.001). Poverty, in turn, decreases self-

expectations for the future (-.43; p<.001). The total effect of expectations to grade is .26

(p<.001). The indirect effect from Latino to poverty to expectations is -.007 (06*(-

.43)*.26), and the total indirect effect of Latino to grade is -.09. Therefore, about 7.93%

of the total indirect effect from Latino to grade is explained by the path through poverty

and self-expectations for the future to grade.

Figure 1c. Path Analysis Predicting Grade.

Model 1: CFI = .98; RMSEA = .044; Chi-Square = 105.44***
Source: KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. Valid N = 4,108
Solid lines represent significant increasing effects. Dotted lines represent significant decreasing effects. No line means that there was not a significant effect (and the effect has been removed from the model).
All regressions are controlled for gender, age, living with parents (no parents; one parent), mother, and parental education.

Overall, the path analysis model shows that a small part of the Latino to grade indirect effect goes through poverty and discrimination without taking the self-expectations for the future effect into account. However, a larger part of the indirect effects of Latino on grade is through the self-expectations for the future path, rather than through the poverty and discrimination path.

Path Analysis Predicting College Attendance

For the college path analysis model, I use KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7 (valid N = 1,102). I analyze a reduced model by first removing the insignificant effects and then, test the effects of poverty, self-expectations for the future, discrimination, and negative self-feelings on college. I control for gender, age, living with parents (no parents; one parent), mother, and parental education. I allow the measures of discrimination to correlate with each other. The model shows a good fit (CFI = .99; RMSEA = .013; Chi-Square = 21.49).

The social psychological path model (Figure 2) indicates that for the young adult sample, poverty does not lead to discrimination. However, Latinos are less likely than whites to report discrimination due to religion. The Latino effect on college attendance goes through, 1) poverty and self-expectations for the future, 2) directly through negative self-feelings, and, 3) through self-expectations for the future (regardless of poverty status). However, these paths are harder to separate from each other than in the model with grade as an outcome. Discrimination does affect one's grade (mainly through increasing negative self-feelings), but for this sample, discrimination is not related to

poverty status. The path analysis indicates that being Latino has a significant direct decreasing effect on attending college (-.07; p<.05). Additionally, the path analysis shows a significant negative indirect effect of Latino on college attendance (-.01; p<.05). Therefore, the total negative effect of Latino on college attendance is -.08 (p<.05). About 13% of the Latino effect on college attendance is explained by this social psychological path model.

Figure 2. Path Analysis Predicting College Attendance.
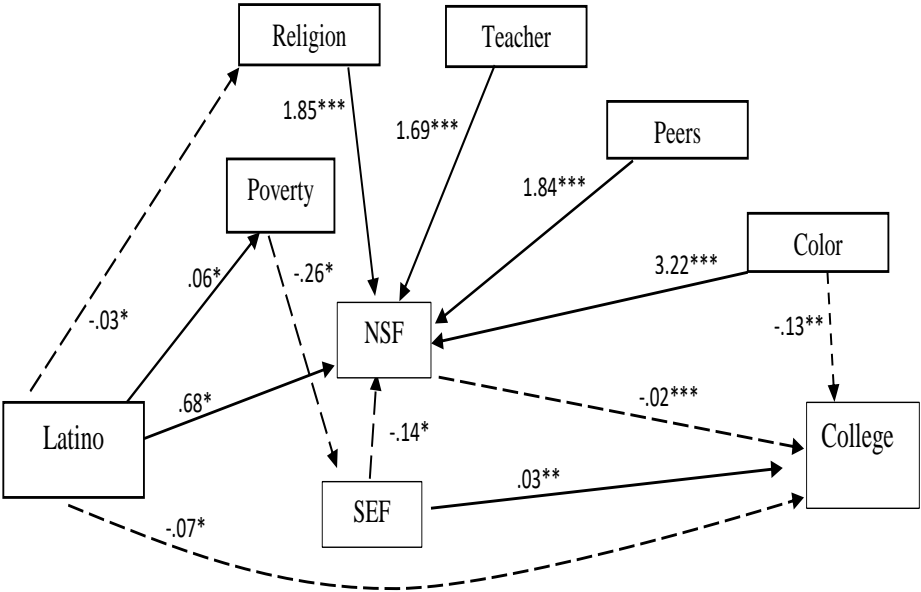
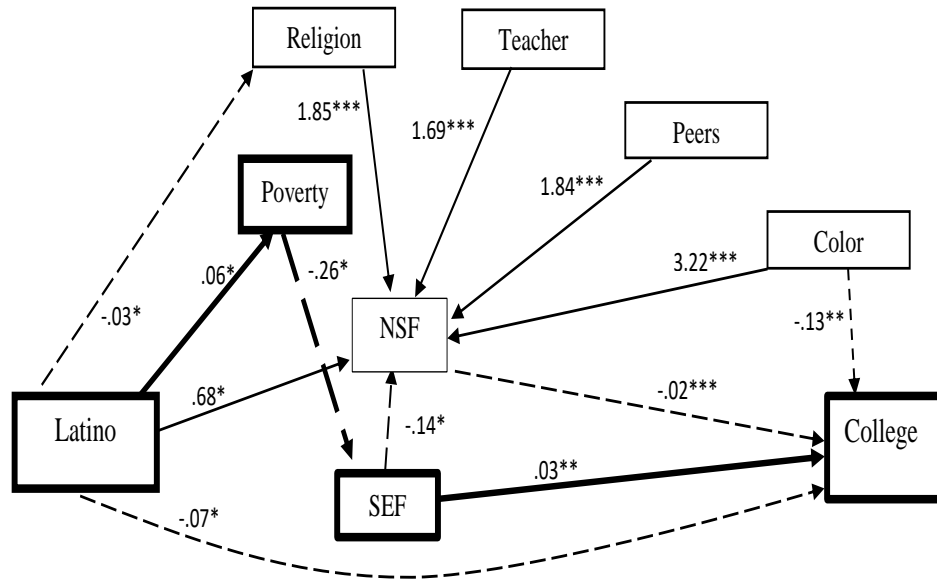Model 2: CFI = .99; RMSEA = .013; Chi-Square = 21.49
Source: KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. Valid N = 1102
Solid lines represent significant increasing effects. Dotted lines represent significant decreasing effects. No line means that there was not a significant effect (and the effect has been removed from the model).
All regressions are controlled for gender, age, living with parents (no parents; one parent), mother, and parental education.

I first focus on the path through poverty and self-expectations for the future (Figure 2a). Latinos are more likely to be in poverty (.06; p<.05). Those in poverty have lower self-expectations for the future (-.26; p<.05). Additionally, the path shows, an indirect increasing effect of self-expectations for the future on college attendance (.03; p<.01). Overall, through this pathway, we see that Latinos are more likely to be in poverty and therefore are more likely to have lower self-expectations of future, and therefore have lower odds of attending college than whites.

Figure 2a. Path Analysis Predicting College Attendance.

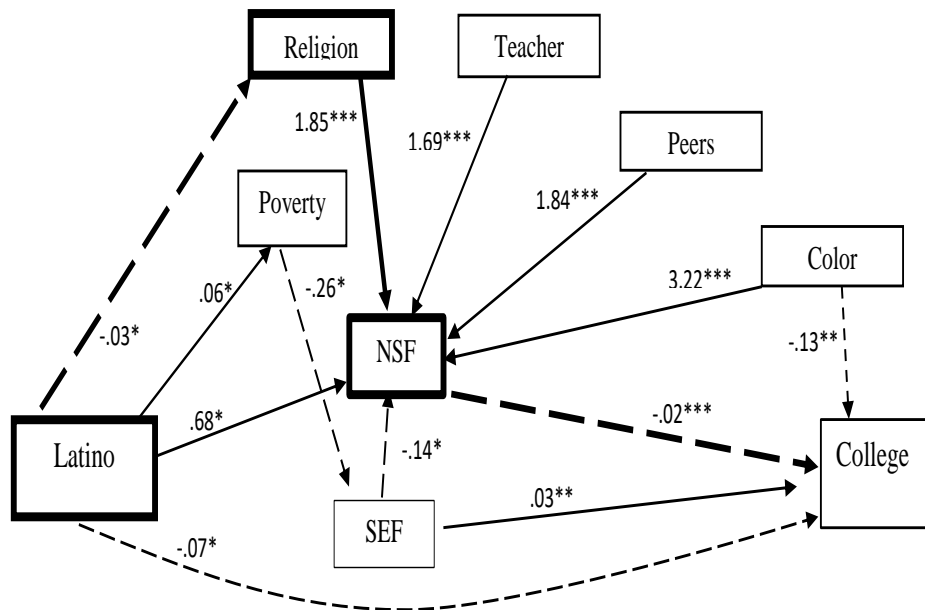Model 2: CFI = .99; RMSEA = .013; Chi-Square = 21.49
Source: KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. Valid N = 1102
Solid lines represent significant increasing effects. Dotted lines represent significant decreasing effects. No line means that there was not a significant effect (and the effect has been removed from the model).
All regressions are controlled for gender, age, living with parents (no parents; one parent), mother, and parental education.

The next pathway (Figure 2b) shows an indirect effect of Latino to negative self-feelings through religion. First, there is a direct effect of Latino to religion, meaning that Latinos report lower discrimination due to their religion (-.03; p<.05) than whites. Then, an indirect effect of religion through negative self-feelings, and this shows that those discriminated by religion show higher negative self- feelings than those not discriminated due to religion (1.85; p<.001).

Figure 2b. Path Analysis Predicting College Attendance.

Model 2: CFI = .99; RMSEA = .013; Chi-Square = 21.49
Source: KLAMS Generation 2 Time 1 and 3, and Generation 1 Time 7. Valid N = 1102
Solid lines represent significant increasing effects. Dotted lines represent significant decreasing effects. No line means that there was not a significant effect (and the effect has been removed from the model).
All regressions are controlled for gender, age, living with parents (no parents; one parent), mother, and parental education.

It is important to mention that the majority of the effects in the path analysis model describing the effects of Latino on college attendance, goes through negative self-feelings, however this outcome requires further investigation, i.e., Latinos show higher negative self-feelings. It is possible that this happens because, 1) for college, the sample is smaller (N=1102) when compared to the grade sample (N=4108), 2) the respondents are younger for the college sample at the time of the measurement of negative self-feelings (11-13 years old), when compared to the grade sample (11-19 years old). It is possible, that the younger respondents are going through psychological, and developmental changes, therefore the more frequent the negative self-feelings. It is also possible, that generational factors might be involved in this process.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to investigate if social psychological consequences of poverty had an effect on Latinos' educational outcomes. I suggested that poverty and discrimination were predictors of educational attainment, and proposed that negative self-feelings, and self-expectations for the future moderated the relationship between poverty experiences, and academic outcomes. I used Pierre Bourdieu's poverty theory (1983) to understand the effects of poverty on education success; Howard D. Kaplan's self-referent behavior theory (1986) to understand the negative self-feelings process; identity control theory (Burke et al. 1991) to understand the process of self-expectations for future; and, minority status stress theory (Meyer 1995) to examine discrimination effects on Latinos. A summary of my quantitative analysis, theoretical implications, strengths and limitations and future direction of my research follows.

My study revealed that poverty experiences of parents did matter because it reduced their children's average grades, and increased the odds for their children (White or Latino) to drop out of school. I had hypothesized that the poverty effect would be stronger for Latinos, however, for dropping out from school, the poverty effect was stronger for whites. For grades, the effect of poverty did not differ between Latinos and whites – they were affected by poverty in a similar manner. Also, unexpectedly, poverty did not affect the probability of going to college for either whites or Latinos. Even though poverty did affect grades, this was a short-term effect that did not extend towards college

attendance. Perhaps, some resilience coping mechanisms helped these individuals overcome adversities derived from poverty. Also, it is possible, that other factors shortened the poverty effect, for example, federal educational aid may have improved the probabilities of attending college.

Poverty increased negative self-feelings for all children (White or Latino) which, in turn, lower their educational success. This strongly supported Kaplan's theory or referent behavior. Negative self-feelings generate a kind of cycle that leads to lowering of educational outcomes. It might be noted that this also can be seen as support for Identity Control theory if we think of negative self-feelings as being substantiated through the lack of educational achievement.

Minority status distress theory suggested that while both whites and Latinos would be affected by poverty, the effects would be stronger for Latinos. However, this was not supported. It is possible that other factors were involved. For example, Latinos might be more resilient to adversities derived from poverty and therefore, negative self-feelings are not affected differently than for whites.

Self-expectations for the future were important and had an effect on negative self-feelings, and academic success for all children (White and Latino) in school. Also, it is important to mention that poverty did not change the effects of self-expectations on negative self-feelings. Self-expectations had the same effects on negative self-feelings, and academic success for those who had experienced poverty and for those who had not experienced poverty. I hypothesized a self-expectations for the future mechanism by using identity control theory and the feedback loop cybernetic model, to visualize the

process. Then, I hypothesized that Latinos in poverty would show decreased negative self-feelings due to lower self-expectations about going to college (this would appear to be more in sync with an established identity standard of not becoming a college student). However, this particular prediction was not supported. Latinos in poverty did experience lower self-expectations for the future, but the effects were the same on negative self-feelings and on academic success, for both, whites and Latinos. High expectations for the future led to higher grades and higher chances of going to college. Therefore, the mechanism driving self-expectations effects on negative self-feelings, and academic success operated similarly for both groups.

Poverty increased the effects of personal discrimination experiences for both, white and Latino children. Even though, poverty experiences did increase personal discrimination, this was only the case for discrimination related to religion, and not due to skin color. Interestingly, Latino children reported less discrimination due to religion when compared to white children. Minority stress theory (Meyer 1995), would lead us to expect that being a minority would result in more discrimination experiences; however, for discrimination due to religion, whites were affected more than Latinos.

It is possible, that Latinos experience less discrimination because they practice a Christian based religion. According to the Pew Research Center (2018) about 70% of the U. S. population practices Christianity. The Christian based religion majorities are Evangelical Protestant (25%), and Catholic (21%). About 48% of Latinos consider themselves Catholic. At the same time, the majority of whites also practice Christianity, but they are divided up among different denominations, without any clear majority. Such

heterogeneity creates more possibilities for misunderstandings and arguments due to religion and might contribute to higher perception of discrimination among more religiously divided whites than more religiously homogeneous Latinos.

Poverty had an effect on personal discrimination in the same way for whites and Latino children. Furthermore, discrimination due to color had an effect on all educational outcomes for white and Latinos. Surprisingly, discrimination due to religion affected only the average grades, but it did not influence the possibilities of going to college for either whites or Latino respondents. Additionally, Latinos did not show stronger discrimination effects because of their minority status. It is possible, that Latinos are more resilient than expected, and have built a strong mechanism system to cope with distress.

Whites and Latinos who reported experiences of discrimination due to color and due to religion, also experienced an increase in negative self-feelings, and this relationship was not influenced by self-expectations for the future. However, expectations for future education did influence negative self-feelings; that is, higher expectations for future education led to lower levels of negative self-feelings.

For both Latinos and whites, perceived discrimination increased negative self-feelings and these self-feelings affected grades. In other words, while there was no direct effect of discrimination on grades; there was an effect that occurred through negative self-feelings. Interestingly, there was no effect from discrimination by teachers on college attendance, for either whites or Latinos. All children experienced negative self-feelings,

but Latinos' negative self-feelings were not stronger when compared to their white counterparts.

Additionally, the social psychological model for achievement in terms of grades explains about 17% of the white and Latino gap in grades (Figure 1). Interestingly, the model showed that a larger part of the indirect effects of Latino on the average grades goes through the self-expectations for the future path, rather than through the poverty, discrimination, and negative self-feelings path. This process indicates that self-expectation for the future is an important factor in this mechanism leading to the grades outcome.

The path analysis model for college attendance (Figure 2) shows that about 13% of the Latino and white gap in college attendance is explained by the social psychological model. First, I find that poverty does not play an important role in explaining the difference in the rate of college attendance between Latinos and whites. Rather, the model revealed that the majority of the effects of Latino on college attendance, goes through negative self-feelings. This means, in this sample, Latinos have higher negative self-feelings than whites. This is in contrast to other studies that often find lower levels of depression and self-esteem among minority population in the U.S. than among whites (Barnes, Keyes and Bates 2013; Blazer, Kessler and McGonagle 1994; Hughes and Demo 1989; Williams et al. 2007). It is possible that Latinos show higher negative self-feelings because the college sample size is smaller (N=1102) and the sample included younger respondents when compared to the grade sample (N=4108). Negative self-feelings in the college sample is measured in young adolescence (11-14 years old). It is

possible, that the younger respondents are going through psychological, and developmental changes, therefore the more frequent the negative self-feelings.

Overall, my research shows that, 1) there is no significant Latino and white difference in the social psychological mechanism of the poverty consequences on educational outcomes, 2) poverty experiences affect grades, however, they have no effect on going to college, 3) poverty experiences increase negative self-feelings for whites and Latinos, 4) all types of discrimination affect whites and Latinos in the same manner; ethnicity did not influence the effects of discrimination, and, 5) self-expectations for the future did not moderate the effects between discrimination, negative self-feelings, and academic outcomes for both groups.

A considerable portion of the Latino and white discrepancy in grades is explained by lower self-expectations for the future that, in turn, lead to higher negative self-feelings, and therefore, lower grades. Poverty experiences also contribute to lower expectations for future, and thus, indirectly contribute to explaining the Latino/white discrepancy in grades. However, adolescent poverty experience does not explain the Latino/white discrepancy in college attendance. Instead, a considerable portion of the white and Latino discrepancy in college attendance is explained by Latino's higher negative self-feelings, which directly lead to lower college attendance.

My study contributes to current literature by integrating social psychological theories to examine the social psychological mechanism of Latinos educational outcomes. Another strength, is that with the use of the longitudinal generational data, I

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was able to test multiple theories and hypotheses and, apply them on multiple educational outcomes. Additionally, the data enables studying how effects at one point in time affect outcomes at later points in time.

For my study, while being Latino has negative effects on some educational outcomes, the social psychological mechanisms involved do not differ by ethnicity. It is unlikely that Latinos did not experience discrimination or that it had no effect. However, for the measures I have, the discrimination had no effect. One of the limitations might be the personal discrimination measure, as it contained only two questions, therefore it was not comprehensive. Even though the KLAMS data questionnaires contained an adequate number of discrimination questions, these were only asked of Hispanics and not asked of whites, therefore those questions could not be used for the current measure. Future investigation might consider expanding this measure, and also investigate if generational factors are involved.

Another limitation is the self-expectations for the future which measures the responses of those in school at the first interview; it is obvious that the ones with high self-expectations stayed in school, and therefore went through the social psychological mechanism, hence largely supporting identity control theory. However, it is not clear how those that dropped out of school early, or were not in school for other reasons, would have answered the self-expectations for the future question. Perhaps, those not in school would have indicated lower self-expectations for the future, therefore the identity control theoretical model that I proposed would have been supported. Self-expectations for the

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future however, are measured early enough (in adolescence) to allow me to predict in long term who did and did not go to college.

Self-referent behavior theory was fully supported as hypotheses testing negative self-feelings and the effects on academic success were supported. The poverty, and the identity control theories were partially supported. Poverty affected whites and Latinos grades the same way but it did not affect college attendance. Of course, this study focused on the social psychological consequences of poverty and did not focus on structural consequences of poverty. Self-expectations for the future, affected whites and Latinos similarly, if they had high self-expectations for the future. The minority stress model was not supported, however, it provided guidance for the understanding of the process of discrimination, and negative self-feelings of the minority group, in this case, Latinos.

Even though, my in-depth investigation explained some of the social psychological consequences of poverty on the educational attainment of Latino students, a large number of factors affecting Latinos lagging behind in education remain unanswered, and beyond the scope of this project. It is important that future research expands on the hidden factors (i.e. generational, class, social support), and employ improved discrimination and self-expectations measures.

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