

Racial Differences in the Transition to Adulthood: A Follow-Up Study of the Philadelphia Youth Study

Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr.*
Julie A. Kmec

University of Pennsylvania

Harvard University
Inequality Summer Institute
Cambridge, MA
June 13-16, 2000

* Direct all correspondence to Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr., Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, 3718 Locust Walk Philadelphia, PA 19104 (fff@pop.upenn.edu). This work has been supported by the MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Successful Adolescent Development Among Youth in High-Risk Settings and The Zellerbach Family Fund Training Program for Research Training in the Study of Distressed Neighborhoods, Grant No. HC090. We also gratefully acknowledge helpful comments from Mary Fischer, Sheela Kennedy, Jennifer McKnight, and Amanda Nothaft.

ABSTRACT

Our research derives from the most recent wave of a longitudinal study of nearly five hundred families in urban Philadelphia neighborhoods collected over a nine-year time span. Earlier findings revealed remarkable continuity in success trajectories from early to mid-adolescence despite hazards imposed by poor neighborhoods, low economic standing, and poor schooling opportunities. Despite this stability, qualitative interviews with the adolescents suggested a flattening slope of success and an increasing slope of failure and risk during the transition to adulthood for minority men. We begin this paper by describing the association between the youth's performance in 1991 and their socioeconomic standing in 1999 for different race and gender sub-groups. Findings from logistic regressions support the premonition of a growing racial divergence for minority men. The findings also suggest that early and late adolescent attributes do not mediate the effect of race on early adult success. Our research highlights the role of individual characteristics, the family, and peers in the transition to adulthood and suggests that minority men are the group most likely to be off track in early adulthood and that public school attendance is the strongest predictor of their performance.

At least as far back as the 1965 Moynihan Report, social scientists have pondered over the sources of racial disparities in the development and well-being of youth (Rainwater and Yancey 1967). In his study of poverty associated with black communities in America, Moynihan stressed that characteristics of the black family, rather than characteristics of the system of oppression, required changing. The opinion among most liberal social scientists, a view held by many of the original critics of Moynihan's analysis of the plight of children in black families, was that economic forces, rather than the sub-cultural differences cited by Moynihan accounted for the widening gaps in employment, marriage, and non-marital fertility. Now almost three decades later, most social scientists have come to accept the idea that a racial divergence did indeed take place in the decades following the 1960s (Jordan 1980; Hill 1981; Sowell 1981; Farley 1984). Most researchers also have concluded that while these demographic changes may be economically linked, they are more than that: at the very least, they also express deep divisions in the experiences of whites and blacks in American society. Whether these differences indicate distinctive differences in cultural standards, what William Julius Wilson (1987) referred to as "ghetto-specific" norms and practices, is still an open and much-debated question.

The attempt to identify community-level differences in norms or behavior or "neighborhood effects" associated with the geographical concentration represents one important line of research aimed at resolving this issue. As Wilson, among others, has observed, neighborhood-level differences might point to the existence of variant life styles that shape the course of growing up in disadvantaged communities blighted by limited opportunities and resources as well as distinctively different family patterns or social expectations (see also Anderson 1990). According to Wilson, these neighborhood features in high poverty areas both reflect and help to reproduce social disadvantage. Wilson's theory that the growth of areas of concentrated poverty has generated high-risk settings for youth appeared at about the same time as a seminal article by Christopher Jencks and Susan Meyer (1990) calling for better and theoretically

driven research on neighborhood and school effects. Together, these writings stimulated social scientists in a variety of disciplines to produce a veritable tidal wave of studies during the past two decades exploring neighborhood effects, race differences, and youth outcomes (e.g., Lynn and McGeary 1990; Brooks-Gunn et al. 1997; 1998; Jargowsky 1997; Danziger and Lin 2000). Thus, it is probably fair to say that on the matter of neighborhood effects and their contribution to race differences in successful development, there is not yet consensus.

The reason why is no mystery: there are formidable obstacles to carrying out convincing studies on neighborhood effects (Furstenberg and Hughes 1997). Some obstacles concern the host of conceptual problems having to do with defining neighborhoods and identifying mediating social processes while others involve methodological issues that go to the very heart of establishing compelling causal links between attributes of neighborhoods and outcomes for children and youth. As researchers have begun to investigate these effects, the evidence mounts that in many (though certainly not all) areas of performance the gap between black youth and white youth continues to be large, if not to be widening over time (Jencks and Phillips 1998). Whether widening or not, the persistence of huge racial disparities in the status of black and white youth is a glaring and ugly reminder that American society has not adequately addressed the problem of racial and social inequality.

This paper grows out of one of the efforts during the past decade to come to a better understanding of the sources of these racial differences and their link to economic, social, and perhaps cultural differences in the circumstances of minorities and whites. Our study describes the experiences of inner-city youth in Philadelphia, where we have followed a cohort of nearly 500 families living in mostly poor to moderate income communities. The analysis in this paper is the first to make use of the longitudinal data on the experiences the youth in the study as they moved from early adolescence to early adulthood. This paper focuses on racial differences in the socioeconomic trajectories of the young adults in the

sample because this study is well designed to explore a host of individual, family, and contextual factors that may contribute to the divergent patterns of success among blacks and whites.

The Philadelphia Neighborhood Study

Just over a decade ago, the MacArthur Foundation established a Research Network devoted to understanding successful development during adolescence among youth in high-risk communities. This particular study was one of a series of related projects that looked jointly at neighborhood, school, peer, and family influences during the formative period when youth were entering adolescence (Elder and Conger 2000; Cook et al. 1999; Elliot forthcoming). All of these studies were designed to be longitudinal and all possessed a qualitative as well as quantitative component. The common aim of this research program was to parse out particularly salient experiences that accounted for successful negotiation of the adolescent period, a time that is known to be especially important for establishing long-term prospects of doing well in later life.

While the studies employed similar research designs and shared measures, each had a different emphasis. The research in Philadelphia was especially interested in identifying parent adaptations to neighborhood conditions that might be associated with successful outcomes for the adolescents whom we were following over time. Accordingly, we drew a sample of families with children between the ages of 11 and 15 who were living in poor, working-class, and lower-middle class communities in inner-city areas of Philadelphia. As much as possible, we tried to sample areas of the city that would give us a range of communities for both the white and non-white families in the study. As it turns out, it is not possible to find equivalently bad conditions in white neighborhoods though we did manage to include the poorest white areas of Philadelphia. Even so, none of these completely matched the poorest black and Puerto Rican areas in the study. Details of the research designed are discussed in *Managing to Make It: Urban Families and Adolescent Success* (1999), which reports on the results of the first wave of the study.

After the initial wave of the survey was completed, we continued to talk to a sub-set of 34 families residing in four different communities: a moderate- and low-income black neighborhood and a moderate- and low-income white neighborhood. In each of these communities we examined families whose children were doing both well and poorly to explore similarities and differences across families and communities that might not show up in the survey. While the survey results from the first wave of the study show only small racial and ethnic differences in the well-being of children (largely in academic performance), the qualitative study that followed a subset of families reveal an ominous, though hardly surprising, result. More minority youth, especially males, were beginning to struggle as they entered later adolescence and fall behind. The authors of *Managing to Make It* conjectured primarily from the interviews with this group that beneath their early stability lay a flattening slope of success and an increasing slope of failure and risk in the transition to adulthood .

This pattern of widening racial differences is strongly confirmed by other research that has been conducted in Philadelphia over the past five years on the transition to and through high school. Rates of school failure and drop out are strongly linked to attendance of neighborhood schools which themselves reflect patterns of racial segregation (Neild 1999). Philadelphia has a system of "choice" within the neighborhood schools, the fact is that race still operates to selectively disadvantage black students, both because of where they live and the attempt of the Philadelphia School District to retain racial balance within a largely black public school population.

The second wave of the Philadelphia Neighborhood Study provides an opportunity to study in greater detail how and why black youth, especially males, are encountering serious problems during middle and later adolescence. In 1991, a wealth of data were collected during in-home interviews from 489 parents and children living in 80 census tracts concentrated in broader communities of the city. Information was gathered on perceptions of the neighborhood, schools, and reports from parents and children about parental practices. Child behaviors were assessed by parents, youth, and, in some

instances, by interviewers. The same families were re-interviewed in 1999-2000 by telephone. Many of the key measures were repeated although obviously the phone interviews had to be briefer and updated to take account of the older age of the target youth who were now between the ages of 18 and 22.

Response rates to the phone interview were 80% among parents and 76% among the adolescents. Predictably, it was somewhat more difficult to locate and re-interview youth who were at greater risk of not doing well based on the data from the first wave. In order not to drop this critically important component of the sample, we devised a technique for dealing with the missing cases by using reports on the youth's outcomes supplied from parent interviews and/or administrative records. Augmenting the data in this fashion permitted us to have outcome data on 86% of the youth on the key measure to be examined in this analysis--the socioeconomic level of the young adult in 1999.

This analysis begins by describing the association between the youth's performance in 1991 and 1999 for different race and gender sub-groups. As will be shown, the premonition of a growing racial divergence for black males is strongly supported by the information collected in the second wave of the survey. We then turn to information collected in the initial wave to see if we can identify key factors within the family, individual, or peer group that may have contributed to the social mobility of the youth in general and the decline in the mobility of the minority males in particular.¹

Two research questions frame our analysis. First we address the earlier prediction about the differing slopes of success in the transition to adulthood by asking: How do the trajectories of success during the transition to adulthood vary by minority status and gender? Second, to explain the trajectories for each race-gender group we ask: How do the associations between 1991 performance and 1999 SES vary by race-gender group? Answering these questions will help us understand the

¹ Our minority sample consists of both blacks and Puerto Ricans (104 black men, 135 black women, 17 Puerto Rican men, and 25 Puerto Rican women). We felt it was appropriate to analyze blacks and Puerto Ricans together because they were sampled to be similar on individual, socioeconomic, and neighborhood characteristics. Given that structural processes differ for both racial minorities, we keep this in mind when drawing conclusions. Throughout the paper, we refer to our black and Puerto Rican respondents as "minority."

importance of context in the transition into adulthood and enable us to see how personal and social resources work together, as well as how they accumulate or cancel out over time, for our inner-city sample. Subsequent papers will build on this analysis by considering how changing contexts over time affect the transition into adulthood and how neighborhood context affects later life SES.

Research on Adolescent Behavior and the Transition to Adulthood

Adolescence is widely recognized as an important stage of development in the process of status attainment (Willits 1988). Despite its importance, a number of reasons prevent greater understanding of the complex link between adolescent behavior and early adult attainment. First, much of the existing data is cross sectional so it cannot examine time varying patterns from adolescence into early adulthood. Second, previous research has focused on the effects of adolescent *attitudes* or *aspirations* on adult success than on adolescent behavior (see Coleman et al. 1974; Howell and Frese 1982). Third, there is an absence of research examining long-term effects of specific adolescent behaviors such as adolescent relationships with peers on early adult attainment (Willits et al. 1988).

What is more, most of the existing research on the link between adolescence and adult attainment does not examine gender *and* racial/ethnic differences. Few studies address the consistency across time of ascription and achievement variables in female or nonwhite attainment. Longitudinal studies of gender *and* race-specific transitions into adulthood are even harder to find. Likewise, there has been little systematic research assessing multi-contextual effects on the transition into adulthood. We turn to these issues in this paper.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: THE PREVALENCE OF RACE AND GENDER SEGREGATION

Adolescent transitions into adulthood are not consistent across race and gender groups nor are they simple; adolescent experiences translate into adult success in different ways for male and female minority and white youth. In the following section, we discuss how race and gender segregation might affect the social mobility of minority and white men and women differently. We consider differences in

a number of areas suggested by previous research that forecast the successful transition into adulthood (academics, participation in organized activities, mental health adjustment, and risk behaviors), some of these early indicators have a positive effect on early adult attainment for nonwhites and whites and women and men alike and some may possibly affect gender and racial sub-groups differently (Simmon and Zhou 1994).

Why Does Gender Matter in the Transition to Adulthood?

Gender is a powerful ideological device that produces and legitimates the choices of individuals (West and Zimmerman 1987). Early in life, children learn “appropriate” gender role behavior from adults and use gender categorization in social interaction (West and Zimmerman 1987). During early adolescence, gender remains a salient source of differentiation that one undoubtedly carries with them throughout the transition to adulthood (Maccoby 1998). At the same time, social structures shape the gendered behaviors, outcomes, and successes of individuals. Institutions such as families, schools, and the labor market perpetuate gender segregated tasks, behaviors, and outcomes and socialize women to accept as natural or desirable the roles that may adversely influence their position in the family and labor market (Christoplos and Borden 1978; Marini and Brinton 1984; Alwin 1991). Consequently, women’s and men’s experiences in these settings may lead to differences in certain later-life outcomes (Ruble and Martin 1998). What is more, previous research indicates that young, inner-city women are less likely than men to expect to achieve high educational attainment and work in competitive, traditionally male occupations (O’Connor 2000).

Education is a widely valued goal as well as a means for attaining success in later life (Willits 1988; Featherman and Hauser 1987). However, academic proficiency in high school may provide greater access to educational, occupational, and income opportunities for men than for women. Willits (1988), for example, found that high school grades had a positive association with later educational

attainment but that the association was stronger for men than for women; at all GPA levels, women had lower levels of educational attainment than men and the difference increased as GPA increased.

Adolescent participation in outside activities provides both a reference group and a set of values one can carry through the transition into adulthood (Larson 1994). Involvement in organized activities also does much to foster success and social integration in later life, and involvement in after-school activities can protect students from adverse influences and cultivate social competencies, leadership skills, and self-esteem (Willits 1988; Larson 1994; Carnegie Corporation 1992; Furstenberg et al. 1999). Gender influences the returns to participation in organized activities. Researchers have found that for men, participation in extra-curricular activities in high school was associated with higher levels of educational attainment and occupational prestige at midlife (Glancy et al. 1986). Willits (1988) found that while participation in formal organizations had a positive association with educational attainment, the association was stronger for men than for women.

Men do not always gain disproportionately to women in all areas of success. Because of traditional gender role assumptions that women should maintain personal and family relationships, women may be rewarded more than men for positive peer and parent relations in adulthood. Delinquency and risk behavior remains a focus of research on adolescent and researchers have found a association between adolescent delinquency, substance abuse, and sexually risky behaviors and lower prospects of economic and emotional adjustment in later life (Elliot et al. 1989). Previous research indicates that delinquency is higher for men than for women, and adolescent boys in our sample were more likely than girls to engage in problem behavior (Furstenberg et al. 1999). As a result of this difference in adolescent engagement in risk behavior, the stigma of “deviant” may follow men into adulthood and lead to lower achievement or mobility compared to women.

Why Should We Expect Race Differences in The Transition to Adulthood?

Race may be the most potent source of stratification in the United States. Race dictates where people live (Massey and Denton 1993), where they work, what they do at work, and how much they are compensated for their work (Spain and Bianchi 1996; Browne et al. 1999; Morris and Western 1999), one's social networks (Braddock and McPartland 1987), how much and where one is educated. Nonetheless, findings regarding the effects of race on success trajectories and social mobility are inconclusive because the effects of race are confounded with economic differences in resources, opportunities, and patterns of family formation. It is extremely difficult to make racial comparisons that take full account of poverty experiences because so few whites encounter the same history of poverty in family, school, and neighborhood contexts.

Given the high levels of residential race segregation in the neighborhoods, black youth are chronically exposed to a higher level of material deprivation than whites. This may have consequences for experiences both inside and outside the household. For example, Furstenberg et al. (1999) reported that parents in primarily black communities were more restrictive in monitoring their children; black and Puerto Rican youth were exposed to higher levels of control and scrutiny than their white counterparts. This family strategy possibly could have long-reaching and different effects on the transition to adulthood among minorities and whites.

Other researchers have found race differences in the effect of youth participation in extra-curricular activities on later life outcomes. In a study of the effects of participation in school sports on college attendance of white, black, and Hispanic men, Snyder and Spreitzer (1992) found that the effect of athletic participation was greater for black men as compared to white men when the students were of higher social status and cognitive ability. This suggests that athletic participation provides a source of mobility that differs along racial/ethnic lines.

Peer group influence is especially important for understanding the later life achievement of minority youth. Even though studies of adolescent achievement generally point to the family as the single most important influence in the domain of socialization, race differences in achievement are not fully explained as a result of within-family factors (Steinberg and Darling 1994). In fact, Steinberg and Darling found that peers are stronger sources of influence than parents, and that peers are relatively less potent sources of influence on black compared to white youth. They also reported that the peers of black students seem to *not* encourage academic achievement and therefore counterbalance parent encouragement of school success. Finally in their review of the social consequences of growing up in a peer neighborhood, Jencks and Mayer (1990) brought to our attention “epidemic” models that focus on the way in which peers influence each other. Proponents of this model assume that the likelihood of antisocial or problem behavior increases with exposure to others who exhibit similar behavior. Again, there is reason to suspect from existing research that different influences could be operating through peer mediation for minority and white youth.

There is a possibility that youth from different racial and gender subgroups have distinctively different experiences in the course of growing up. Previous research strongly points to the likelihood that minority males encounter different responses inside and outside the home in the transition to adulthood. These differences may even be sharpened by school and neighborhood context where race and ethnicity matter in determining one’s ability to take advantage of schooling opportunities and where black and Puerto Rican men are likely to encounter discrimination as they interact with people outside of their neighborhoods for employment (Brint 1998; Kirschenmann and Neckerman 1991; Wilson 1997).

A number of leads, then, from earlier research suggest that the trajectory of successful development might differ by both gender and race as youth move from adolescence to early adulthood. Identifying and understanding the patterns of continuity and discontinuity is an important part of seeing

how racial and gender stratification operates in American society, an issue that we will return to in the conclusion of this paper.

DATA AND METHODS

To explore these issues, we draw on original data from the Philadelphia Neighborhood Study to examine youth transitions into adulthood. The neighborhood sample was drawn from eighty-five census tracts in Philadelphia. From each census tract, one to three-block groups were randomly selected and within each selected block group, listed phone numbers were then selected by use of reverse phone directory. The 1991 wave yielded a sample of 489 parents and target children between the ages of 11 and 15.

In 1998-1999, we recontacted the original youth and parent participants and conducted a second round of telephone interviews with a different set of questions. One difficulty with studying an at-risk sample over a nine-year time span is keeping track of respondents who have moved, been incarcerated, have no telephones, or who are simply unwilling to disclose information about themselves. As a result, a reduction in the number of matched pairs occurred in the second wave because 10 people refused to be interviewed; 95 people could not be traced, either because they moved, were out of the country, or had non-published telephone numbers; 10 were incarcerated; and 2 young adults had died. In 1999, 372 of the original 489 teenagers completed the 1999 wave of the survey (a response rate of 76%).

As a way of dealing with attrition of the sample, we constructed missing data on a number of young adults using parent reports in 1999. Of the 117 young adults who dropped out of the sample between 1991 and 1999, we interviewed 44 of their parents. Of the 44 parents we reached, 36 provided us with sufficient information to construct a score for the youth's level of achievement, the dependent variable in this analysis.² In addition to data gathered from parents we traced (through neighborhood friends and

² We constructed data about the teenagers mainly on their 1999 education status, marital status, child-bearing information, residency status, and employment situation. We felt it was valid to gather data about the young adults from their parent because in a cross-check in cases where both parent and youth were interviewed of parent report of

relative contacts) and administered a shortened version of the survey to 11 difficult-to-reach youth respondents in the early part of 2000. Including these respondents and those whose 1999 data we reconstructed from Time 2 parent reports, we managed to increase our sample of youth respondents to 415 (71 white men, 63 white women, 104 black men, 135 black women, 17 Puerto Rican men, and 25 Puerto Rican women). Adding Time 2 imputed information for 43 youth respondents who dropped out of the sample significantly changed the composition of the sample. Prior to imputing scores for respondents who dropped out, the entire sample's average household SES score in 1991 was 3.11 but after imputation, it fell to 3.02 ($p < .05$). Differences in the change in average 1991 household SES were not significant among minority men. Minority women's 1991 household SES score actually rose significantly from 2.97 to 3.07 after imputation and white women and men's score dropped significantly from 3.29 to 3.09 ($p < .05$).

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

In this paper we focus on the socioeconomic levels of young adults in 1999. We combined respondent's current level of academic achievement and employment situation to create a score on current socioeconomic standing for each respondent. In 1999, respondents identified their current academic standing and their employment status which we combined to create a measure of socioeconomic standing.³ It is difficult to gauge socioeconomic status of youth in their late teens and early twenties since many are either still in school or have just entered the labor force. Consequently, in this analysis we focus on the youth who clearly are not "on track" to attain economic independence in their

young adult high school graduation status versus self-report of graduation from high school, there were only two discrepancies.

³ This variable was coded "1" for high school dropout, "2" for those still in high school or GED preparation, "3" for GED recipient not currently enrolled in school, "4" for high school graduate not elsewhere enrolled, "5" for high school graduate enrolled in technical, craft, or trade school, "6" for attending a 2-year college, "7" for attending a 4-year college, "8" for college graduate, and "9" for graduate/professional degree. In 1999 young adults identified their current employment situation. We coded this variable "1" for idle, disabled, or in jail, "2" if temporarily laid off and not actively looking for work, "3" for currently going to school *or* keeping house *or* looking for employment, "4" for employed part time *or* on medical leave from a part time job, and "5" for employed full time or on medical leave from a full time job.

later twenties. Table 1 indicates how we coded respondents on the outcome variable and identified the category of youth who were “off track.” Because our outcome variable is dichotomous, we use logistic regression in SAS to analyze the models.⁴

Insert Table 1 here.

1991 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES⁵

Adolescent Household SES

In 1991, our youth sample was between the ages of 11 and 15 year old and nearly all were living at home. On the whole, adolescents derived their socioeconomic standing from their household. We measure early adolescent household SES with a scale that combines a measure of household education, household occupational prestige, and household income ($\alpha = .68$). We code 1991 household SES on a six point scale where 1 equals low SES and 6 equals high SES.

Individual Behaviors⁶

We examine four multi-item scales constructed from the first wave of the data. *Academic competence* is a scale composed of aggregate measures of youth, parent, and interviewer reports. In 1991, parents and youth reported on grades, school problem behavior, and grade failure before the ninth and tenth grades. Generally, self-report and parent report correlate well with school records (usually .70 or higher) suggesting that a combination of youth and parent reports provides a reasonably good gauge of school success. In the 1991 sample, parent and youth report of school performance were highly correlated with one other (.62 or higher). The interviewer rated the adolescent’s cognitive ability and

⁴ In preliminary analyses, we estimated a series of cumulative logistic models regressing a three-level (low, middle, and high) measure of current socioeconomic standing on predictor variables. Trichotomizing the dependent variable yielded similar results.

⁵ Table 3 provides a brief summary of the 1991 scales.

⁶ To test if the predictability of the sub-scales was greater than the predictability of the grand scales, we performed correlation tests between the single components of each of the five success outcomes. We found that the components of the scales were no better or worse at predicting the outcome variables so we used the grand scales computed in 1991. Furstenberg et al 1999 found that using the multi-item scales yielded substantial reliability (.70 or greater in most cases).

from these ratings, Furstenberg et al. (1999) computed a six-item scale. The scale correlated well with parent and youth measures of academic competence.

The second scale captures *activity involvement* and includes parent and self-report of adolescent participation in after-school activities (athletics, extracurricular activities at school, organized community sports, church-related activities, and summer recreational programs). The parent and youth reports were combined into a single indicator of activity involvement.

Our measure of *problem behavior* consists of youth self-report of problem behavior and parent report of aggressive behavior [parents rarely knew of their children's risky behaviors so the scale does not include parent assessment of youth risk]. Youth reported on their delinquent behavior (theft, prostitution, drug dealing, vandalism), risky behavior (going to court, running away, engaging in sex), and substance abuse (drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes, using street drugs), their aggressive behavior (hitting or pushing someone) and school truancy.

We measure *self-competence* and *psychological adjustment* with both parent and youth reports. We used both informants because parents often provide an important source of information about their children as well as an alternate perspective on the child's well-being (Furstenberg et al. 1999). Factor analysis suggested that the parent and youth reports be treated as individual constructs. Youth reported on self-esteem, self-efficacy, depression, and resourcefulness (or what we call self-competence) and the parent reported mainly on youth resourcefulness, the ability of their child to get along with peers and emotional problems such as youth depression, anger, anxiety, and the ability to concentrate on tasks (psychological adjustment).

Parent Management Strategies and Family Process

We measure three aspects of family process and two aspects of family management strategies. *Support for autonomy* is a scale composed of the level of involvement of decision-making, constructive and destructive problem solving, and family disagreement. This composite scale yielded an alpha level

of .74. A four-item scale measures *discipline effectiveness*. The items used were: “How often (often, sometimes, almost never) do you [parent]...feel that it is more trouble than it is worth to ask your child to help you?...feel child’s behavior gets worse if you punish him/her?...have difficulty controlling your child?” The items were coded so that high scores indicate more effective discipline. This scale had an alpha level of .64. *Positive family climate* operated as its own indicator ($\alpha = .78$). We include two measures of family management strategies. The first, *institutional connections*, is a composite measure indicating parent involvement in community organizations, school, and religious organizations. The second, *parent investment* is a combination of scales measuring parental verbal encouragement of child, enrollment of child in programs, working with child, praise of child, proactive prevention, and shared activities with child. The composite scale had an alpha level of .78. We include a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not a respondent’s parents were in their first marriage in 1991 (1=married in first marriage, this excludes individuals who were married but once divorced, 0=else). Finally, our model includes a measure of frequency of parental religious service attendance, an indicator of family management, coded where 1=never, 2=less than once a month, 3=1-3 times a month, 4=about once a week, and 5=more than once a week. We include a dichotomous measure of school type in the model to indicate whether the respondent attended a public school (coded 1) or a private/magnet school (coded 0) in 1991.

Peer Influence

In 1991, adolescent respondents were asked how many of the friends they spent most of their time with during the last year... “suggested that the respondent do something that was against the law?”, “damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to them?”, “broke into a vehicle or building to steal something?”, “put pressure of respondent to use drugs/have sex/to drink?”, “cheated on school tests?”, “stole something worth more than \$50/more than \$5?”, “skipped school without an excuse?”, “hit or threatened to hit someone without a reason?”, “used alcohol/marijuana?”, or “sold hard drugs like heroin,

crack, LSD?” (1= “none of them”, 2= “a few of them”, 3 = “about half of them,” 4 = “most of them,” 5 = “all of them”). The sum of these items is our measure of *negative peer influence* in adolescence ($\alpha = .85$).

Respondents were also asked how many of the friends they spent the most of their time with during the last year... “did well in school?,” “participated in religious activities?,” “did community or volunteer work?,” “plan to go to college?,” and “have been involved in school activities or school sports?” The sum of these items is our measure of *positive peer influence* in adolescence ($\alpha = .74$).

Because the sample had an attrition rate of 15% even after the construction of values for missing cases, we assessed whether or not the non-respondents in wave two were systematically different from those who remained in both waves. Following a standard procedure for testing for sample selection bias, we used logistic regression to compute the likelihood of being in the second wave. We found that respondents from households with low resources in 1991 were *more* likely to drop out than those from households with high resources. Those who were academically less competent compared to those with higher academic competence were more likely to drop out of the sample by 1999. Minorities were more likely than whites to drop out. Female respondents were slightly *more* likely than male respondents to respond in the second wave. We found no evidence of response differences on the basis of early adolescent activity level, mental adjustment, and problem behavior. It is especially important to keep this in mind when we interpret our findings. Because those who are doing well at time one are *more* likely to remain in our sample in 1999, we may *overestimate* the degree of social mobility in our sample.

There are obvious limits to the generalizability of our findings. First, the fact that our sample is drawn from relatively low-income tracts in a single city means that our findings may not generalize to youth in extremely poor or well-off neighborhoods. Second, there is evidence in our data that the youth in the sample may have been too young for the effects of their early adolescent achievement on adult achievement to be fully felt (Sewell and Hauser 1975). For example, it is at this time in the lifecycle when people are usually beginning the transition from secondary to primary labor market positions (Wial

1991). Finally, we have deliberately limited our analysis to the variables we feel are most relevant in predicting early adult socioeconomic levels. At the same time, we do not intend to sell our efforts short. We have a unique data set of high quality on detailed behaviors of youth and their parents that cover a crucial nine-year time span of the adolescent lifecycle. Our data improve upon existing data in a number of ways because they contain time-varying measures of youth socioeconomic status. Dense sampling in several neighborhoods provide enough cases for quantitative analysis, study investigators collected information from *both* parents and youth, and the data include information about both nonwhite and white youth. Furthermore, while existing studies of this sort often confound race effects with socioeconomic status and produce ambiguous race effects, our data was designed to minimize the association between race and class because the sampling frame included a disproportionate share of low-income whites and middle-income black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods.

RESULTS

Characteristics of the Sample in Early Adolescence

Insert Table 2 here.

To examine the effects of race and gender simultaneously in all stages of the analysis, we separated our sample into white and minority men and women. Table 2 reports the means and standard deviations of the variables in the model by race and gender.⁷ As is shown in Table 2, the sample was performing relatively well during early adolescence despite the risks associated with living in an inner-city neighborhood. Reports of academic performance in 1991 showed that one third of the respondents were doing remedial work, and a third were enrolled in advanced course work. Grades were distributed evenly among students getting mostly As, mostly Bs, and mostly Cs or below. One third of the boys and one fourth of the girls had been held back a grade in school and nearly all were attending school on a regular basis. In 1991, both white boys and girls outperformed nonwhite boys and girls academically.

⁷ Although some of the predictor variables are moderately correlated, we tested for multicollinearity and found it was not a problem.

In 1991, 36% of youth were not involved in any after-school or summer programs while 40% were involved in two or more activities. On average, overall grand scale measures indicate no race differences within sex groups. In early adolescence most youth expressed moderate to high levels of self-competence and psychological adjustment indicating that nonwhite and white women and men felt good about themselves and could cope with difficult situations. Only a small number of adolescents (8%) reported depressive symptoms often or almost always and only 10% of parents indicated that their child had serious psychological problems. The risk behavior scale suggests that in time one, most of the teens in the study were not yet engaged in serious problem behavior; no more than 5% of the youth could be classified as having serious trouble (Furstenberg et al 1999).

The neighborhood conditions in which minorities and whites lived differed in early adolescence. On average, white women lived in neighborhoods that were 74% white, had 20% of individuals living below poverty, where 11% of tract residents had college degrees, and where 12% of the households were headed by women. Minority women, on the other hand, lived in neighborhoods that were only 10% white, where 27% of individuals lived below poverty, where only 9% of tract residents had college degrees, and where 21% of the households were headed by women. Among men, a strong pattern of residential race segregation also exists. Like white women, white men were significantly more likely than minority men to live in predominantly white neighborhoods (82% for whites, 17% for minorities), in neighborhoods with lower individual levels of poverty (20% for whites compared to 26% for minorities), and in tracts with fewer female heads of household (11% compared to 20%). In early adolescence, white girls and boys lived in neighborhoods with higher average levels of cohesion, more social control, and fewer problems than minority girls and boys.⁸

The households both race groups lived in during adolescence also differed. On average, white men lived in households with significantly higher socioeconomic levels, higher household assets, in

⁸ Measures of neighborhood cohesion, social control, and problems are based on the respondent's self-assessment of their neighborhood.

households with intact marriages, and in households that rely less on welfare than their minority male counterparts. Among women, whites come from household with higher average assets, households with intact marriages, and households with less reliance on welfare than minorities.

In early adolescence, we found that there were no significant race differences in peer influence; minority and white men and women had roughly similar levels of positive peer influence and negative peer influence. However, men of both races had slightly higher negative peer influence than all women. Parent management strategies were similar across race but with nonwhites more likely than their white counterparts to have higher average scores on effective parental discipline and lower average parental autonomy. Parental investment was, on average, significantly higher for white men as compared with the other race and gender groups.

Cluster Profiles. In the book *Managing to Make It*, the authors developed a cluster analysis approach in which they divided young adolescents into four groups with similar behavior profiles: academically competent, organizationally involved, delinquent, and at-risk (Furstenberg et al. 1999). Forty-eight percent of the sample fell into the “at-risk” cluster and was the largest cluster followed by the academically competent cluster (30%). Seventeen percent of the sample fell into the organizationally involved cluster while only 5% of the sample were in the delinquent cluster. When we look at cluster composition by race-gender group in early adolescence, we do not find that one race-gender group dominates the at-risk or the delinquent clusters nor does one race-gender group dominate the academically competent or the organizationally involved clusters. More specifically, 50% of nonwhite men in our sample, 50% of nonwhite women, 43% of white men, and 48% of white women were considered “at-risk” meaning they were on the verge of serious problems in school, at home, or in their communities (Furstenberg et al 1999). Figure 1 illustrates the race-gender composition of each early adolescent “cluster.” This graph illustrates that there are few significant race differences among minority men and the other race-gender groups in early adolescence.

Insert Figure 1 here

Where Are They Now? A Description of the Sample in Early Adulthood

By early adulthood, sizeable race-gender differences had emerged in academic and employment attainment. Putting education attainment and employment experience together, we find a distinctly different pattern of early adult achievement across race-gender groups. In 1999, only 23% of the white men and 33% of the white women were in the lowest SES category as compared to 50% of minority men and 33% of minority women (See Figure 2). Comparing Figure 2 and Figure 3, which illustrates the socioeconomic standing of each race-gender group in 199, permits us to see the changes in socioeconomic standing of each group.

Insert Figures 2 and 3.

The race-gender gap in attainment in 1999 is due more to gaps in employment than to gaps in education levels. A high proportion of the sample had graduated from high school and we find no significant race differences in this pattern. Eighty-five percent of white men, 73% of minority men, 74% of white women, and 73% of minority women have received either a high school degree or a GED and minorities were more likely than whites to have received a GED. However, in 1999, white men had higher employment achievement than nonwhite men. In 1999, 50% of white men as compared to only 33% of minority men were employed full time. Among women, there were no significant race differences in employment status.

The descriptive data shows a pronounced decline in the status of minority men from early to later adolescence: many of the black and Puerto Rican males are having difficulty in sustaining their status or translating their early educational attainment into further schooling or labor market experiences. Indeed, when we examine the odds ratio of being off track for the different race-gender subgroups, this observation is confirmed and the information in Figure 4 suggests a sharp drop off in the status of minority men.

Insert Figure 4 here.

Compared to minority men, all other race-gender groups have significantly lower odds of being in the lowest socioeconomic category in early adulthood; the odds a minority woman will be in the lowest category are 54% less than those of minority men. White women are 52% less likely to be off track than minority men, while white men are 72% less likely. (When we change our outcome to being in the highest SES_category compared to everything else, we found that minority men were significantly less likely than whites and minority women to be in the highest category). In short, we have shown that in early adulthood, minority males are doing worse than might have been expected from their status in early adolescence.

Compared to white men, white women do not have significantly different odds of begin off track in 1999. This suggests that among blacks and Hispanics, there are significant gender differences but that among whites, there are not. In analyses not shown here, we estimated models separately for minority men and women and white women and men. Models that included interaction terms to test whether or not the slope differences between groups were significant. We found that in most cases, the gender differences among whites were only marginally significant or not significant (interactions not significant). Because of the small number of whites and the absence of profound gender differences, we combined white women and men into one category (whites) and compared them to nonwhite women and men in the multiple regression analyses that are discussed in the next section.

We now turn to the question of why minority males are falling off track in the transition to adulthood. We can explore two general explanations with the data at hand. The first is that different conditions in the circumstances of minority males in the family, peer group, or schools create problems in making the transition into adulthood; the second explanation is that special problems arise later in adolescence that create disparities. If the first explanation is correct, we should find either that conditions in the family, relations with peers, or school experiences were different for the minority men

and others at the time of the first survey. Alternatively, similar conditions may be producing a greater (or lesser) impact on the status trajectory of minority men than for minority women or majority youth. If neither of these scenarios proves to be true, it becomes more likely that experiences during later adolescence, such as different responses to high schools or experiences in the community account for the disjunction in status we have detected.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

Our strategy in the multivariate analysis was to examine blocks of conceptually related variables, first separately and then in a full model, to see if we could reduce the size of the difference in 1999 SES between the minority males compared to minority women and whites of both genders. We first looked at the individual and joint impact of the four measures of success at Time 1 (pro-social involvement, academic competency, psychological adjustment, and problem behavior); next, we entered into the model the block of scales designed to measure family management and family process; following this we considered the scales tapping the quality of school and peer influences; and finally, we included a set of measures of the household resources including parent marital status and household socioeconomic status. We reasoned that if the odds of being off track declined as a result of adding these potential sources of mediation, we might understand why minority males were not faring as well as expected in 1999.

Insert Table 4 here.

Table 4 provides only the summary results of this detailed analytic procedure. We do not show the analysis that leads up to this summary table but the results of the bivariate and multivariate procedures are very similar. Table 4 shows that many of the conditions at Time 1 are indeed linked to the youths' socioeconomic status in 1999. Not surprisingly, how the youth fared academically in 1991 was an important marker of later success. Similarly, whether the youth was attending a public neighborhood school or a private or magnet school was related to socioeconomic attainment in early adulthood. As also might be expected, the economic status of the family in 1991 and parental

involvement in religious activities were linked to their socioeconomic standing in 1999. Family processes, however, were not associated with socioeconomic success nor were peer relationships. However, the skill of parents in managing the child's activities and connections outside the household during early adolescence was related to the youth's success at Time 2. An interesting finding was that the strength of these relationships often differed markedly for the different race-gender subgroups.

None of the potential predictors of socioeconomic attainment diminishes the odds that we reported earlier showing that minority men fare substantially worse than minority females or whites in general. This means that we cannot explain the fact that minority men are worse off in 1999 because of their circumstances in 1991. Therefore, we examined each of the three sub-groups separately to explore whether different predictors were implicated in the patterns of mobility.

Minority Men

The second column of Table 4 presents results for minority men. We find that for this group, early household SES no longer significantly predicts 1999 SES. Family, peer, and school effects diminish the effect of earlier household SES for minority men but analyses reveal that increased frequency of parent religious service attendance reduces the odds of minority men being off track in early adulthood by 35%.⁹ The size of this effect implies that parent involvement in religious activity has a profound effect on early adult attainment for minority men.

As suggested by results in the full model, the effect of academic proficiency in adolescence remains significant for minority men in a model controlling for individual, family, and peer predictors. Each unit increase in academic proficiency reduces the odds of being off track for minority men by 54%, net of other controls. Clearly, doing well in school benefits minority men possibly because academic proficiency in early adolescence makes minority men more likely to receive the positive attention and support from teachers necessary to succeed academically in the future.

⁹ $(.65 - 1) * 100 = 35\%$

The diverse processes parents use to manage their children relate to success in minority male outcomes. The analyses for minority men suggest that different types of parent behavior matter differently for outcomes. Parental management strategies do not effectively influence early adult success yet the out-of-home management strategies parents use are effective in reducing minority's men's odds of being off track. More specifically, increased parental investment yields a decrease of 59% in the odds of minority males falling off track. Analyses of earlier waves of the sample also indicated that parent management strategies were strongest in affecting the extent to which youth themselves become involved in institutional settings (Furstenberg et al 1999). Finally, we were astounded to see how great an influence attending a public school has on minority male's success in early adulthood. For minority men, going to a public versus a private or magnet school yields a devastating effect on their early adult SES. Net of controls, the odds of being off track in early adulthood, are nearly six times greater for minority men who attended public school as opposed to a private/magnet school in adolescence. As Table 4 illustrates, the effect of going to a public school has no significant effect on early adult socioeconomic standing for both minority women and whites. Previous research confirms that a disproportionate share of minority men who attend public schools attend the lower quality public comprehensive high schools as opposed to the higher-quality public vocational high schools. In summary, of the significant predictors for minority men, only four significantly reduce the odds of being off track. Parental church attendance, academic competence, parental investment, and public school attendance matter in determining a minority man's early adult socioeconomic level. Attending a public school in early adolescence actually makes minority men more susceptible to risk of later-life socioeconomic failure.

Minority Women

An interesting finding is that the strength and pattern of effects are different for minority women compared to their male counterparts. For minority women, the predictors of early adult success are not

as numerous. Unlike minority men, the adolescent household SES of minority women significantly predicts early adult socioeconomic status. Net of controls, a unit increase in 1991 SES reduces a minority woman's odds of being in the lowest SES category in early adulthood by 52%. Household resources continue to play an important role in the success patterns of minority women, even taking account of where they went to school. Given that minority women and men had similar (not statistically different) household SES levels in Time 1, this gender difference is somewhat puzzling. For minority women, a one unit increase in the self-competence/psychological adjustment scale increases their odds of being off track by nearly three times. This control variable has an interesting effect for minority women as we would assume that higher self-competence and psychological adjustment would lead to lower odds of being off track. We do not know what to make of this unexpected finding and are inclined not to give it too much credence unless it is confirmed in other studies.

White Women and Men

We now turn to Column 4 of Table 4 which presents results for our white sample. As we noted earlier, the gender differences among whites were minimal so we combined white women and men into one group. Analyses of the white sub-sample reveal that 1991 household SES significantly predicts white women's and men's early adult SES. Among whites, a one unit increase in 1991 household SES level decreases the odds of being in the lowest SES category by 39%. The effect of early household SES is stronger in reducing the odds of being off track for whites than for minority women (and minority men for whom this predictor is not significant). This strong effect of household SES for whites could be a result of the previously identified notion that white face less discrimination, lower poverty rates, and more positive neighborhood conditions than minorities. More specifically, the advantages of living in a household with the highest socioeconomic standing in early adolescence are significantly greater for white women and men than for minority women and men and these advantages for whites remain no matter what control variables we add to the models. For example, neither individual behaviors, family

process, parent management strategies, nor peer influence affects the impact of early adolescent household social capital on success in early adulthood. Increased frequency in parent religious service attendance reduces the odds of being off track in early adulthood for whites. This effect suggests that parental involvement in religious services may act as a method of providing structure and social support for their children. Oddly, having negative peer influence in early adolescence significantly decreases the odds whites will be in the lowest SES category in early adulthood. For every percent increase in negative peer influence, whites experience a 14% reduction in the odds of being in the lowest SES category in early adulthood.

Given that the conditions in early adolescence were not overwhelmingly different for minority men and others or that Time 1 predictors do little to mediate the effect of race on early adult success, it is plausible that experiences during later adolescence (when our sample was between the ages of 11-15 and 18-22) affect socioeconomic standing in 1999. To determine whether or not late-adolescent interventions mediate race effects and are important predictors of early adulthood success, we estimated a second set of logistic regression models in which we add arrest rate (a dichotomous variable coded 1 for ever been arrested by 1999 and 0 if not) and a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not a respondent had given birth to/fathered a child (1=ever had/fathered a child by 1999, 0=not).

By early adulthood, relatively few of the sample was involved with the criminal justice system. Minority men were significantly more likely than white men to have been arrested by 1999. For women, involvement in the criminal justice system is significantly lower than men's. Compared to white women, minority women were significantly more likely to have been arrested. It is important to keep in mind that those involved in the criminal justice system were probably more likely than others to drop out of the sample between time one and time two so we are likely to underestimate involvement in the criminal justice system. Minority women were more likely than white women to be a mothers by 1999 and

among men, minorities were more likely to be fathers than white men. Table 5 reports results from the regression in which we add late adolescent intervening variables.

Insert Table 5 here.

When we add late-adolescent variables controlling for ever having been arrested and ever having been a parent by early adulthood as controls in the full model, we see that these interventions do not change the strong race effects; minority men remain significantly more likely than minority women and whites to be off track. Thus, while introducing the potentially adverse events that occurred in late adolescence increases our ability to predict being off track, they do not help us explain the precarious plight of minority males in early adulthood. In sum, despite the rich array of family, peer, and school data that we examined, we are still unable to account for the failure of many black and Puerto Rican men to make a successful transition to early adulthood. We revisit this result in the conclusion.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Our study focused on the race differences in the success trajectories of nearly 500 inner-city youth living in mostly poor to moderate income communities in Philadelphia. We began by describing the association between the youth's performance in 1991 and their socioeconomic standing in 1999 for different race and gender sub-groups. As we have shown, there is strong support for earlier predictions of a growing racial divergence for minority males; this group was more likely than any other group to be off track in early adulthood and attending a public school was the strongest predictor of their poor performance. This racial effect that works against minority males remains robust and significant even when controls for adolescent attributes are added to the model.

Keeping in mind that the youth on the most downward slope were more likely to drop out of the sample between early adolescence and early adulthood, we likely overestimate the amount of mobility in the sample—especially for minority men who were the group most likely to drop out of the sample between waves. By early adulthood, of those considered “at risk” or “delinquent” in early adolescence,

32% of minority men, 22% of minority women, 14% of white men, and 24% of white women ended up in the lowest level of socioeconomic standing.

This analysis has not fully taken account of all the information that we will eventually be able to bring to bear in accounting for the sharp decline of status attainment of minority males compared to their female and white (male and female) counterparts. In future analysis, we should examine the role of one possible culprit that we did not consider here, the role of neighborhood conditions. Possibly the risk of living in poor neighborhoods takes a higher toll on minority males who are less likely to find employment, more likely to hang out on the streets, and more likely to suffer discrimination. This question will be explored in the next stage of our analysis.

We also intend to use administrative records from the schools and criminal justice system to verify the self-reported data described in this paper. Possibly, the minority males are under-reporting their negative experiences in high school and encounters with the law. If this were the case, we may be under-estimating the effects of these sources of downward mobility in early adulthood. The additional school data will also allow us to take account of test scores, reading levels, and curriculum tracks in high school, factors that might help us understand the lower rates of employment and matriculation into college.

Finally, it is entirely likely that minority males have less success in the job market if their assets and achievements are simply not treated fairly in the labor market. Certainly, such a conclusion would be consistent with the findings of employers' responses to the prospect of hiring minority males. If the high ratio of being off track among this vulnerable group cannot be explained by their experience during adolescents, this explanation will become less easy to refute by skeptics dismissing the role of racial discrimination.

Table 1. Coding of the 1999 Socioeconomic Standing Dependent Variable^a

	HS Dropout	Still in HS/GED preparation	GED/not enrolled	HS graduate/not enrolled	HS grad enrolled in tech program	Attend 2-year college	Attend 4-year college	College Grad	Attend grad. or prof. school
Idle/Disabled/Jail	low	low	low	low	middle	middle	middle	middle	middle
Temp. Laid Off/Not Looking	low	low	low	low	middle	middle	middle	middle	middle
Looking for Job, in school, housekeeper	low	low	low	low	middle	middle	middle	middle	middle
Part Time or on medical leave from part time job	low	low	low	low	middle	High	high	High	high
Full Time or on medical leave from full time job	middle	middle	middle	middle	middle	high	High	high	High

Source: 1990 & 1999 Philadelphia Neighborhood Study

^a For multiple regression analyses, we dichotomize the dependent variable so 1=low, 0=middle and high.

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations (In Parentheses) of Independent and Dependent Variables in Model, By Race and Gender

	Men		Women	
	White	Minority	White	Minority
1999 Dependent Variable				
1999 Socioeconomic Standing (1=low, 0=else)	.23* (.42)	.50 ^a (.50)	.33 (.48)	.33 (.47)
1991 Independent Variables				
<i>Socioeconomic Background</i>				
1991 Household Socioeconomic Status	2.05* (.52)	1.80 (.60)	2.01 ^b (.62)	1.79 (.57)
1991 Parental Marital Status (1=married once, 0=else)	.64* (.48)	.36 (.48)	.52 ^b (.50)	.29 (.46)
1991 Parent Church Attendance	2.88 (1.26)	3.18 (1.32)	2.72 (1.31)	2.92 (1.29)
<i>Individual Behaviors</i>				
Activity Involvement	.09 ^c (.63)	.08 ^a (.65)	-.10 (.77)	-.07 (.67)
Academic Competence	.0003 ^c (.84)	-.18 ^a (.86)	.25 (.74)	.06 (.74)
Problem Behavior	.16 ^c (.91)	.09 ^a (.71)	-.12 (.70)	-.11 (.51)
Self-Competency and Psychological Adjustment	-.04 (.79)	.006 (.89)	.03 (.83)	-.007 (.80)
<i>Parent Management Strategy</i>				
Parental Support for Autonomy	.14* (.70)	-.06 (.78)	-.03 (.70)	.005 (.78)
Discipline Effectiveness	-.16* (.67)	.08 (.67)	-.12 ^b (.68)	.06 (.63)
Positive Family Climate	.008 (.63)	.01 (.84)	-.04 (.74)	-.007 (.75)
<i>Family Process</i>				
Institutional Connections	2.84 (2.32)	3.16 (2.23)	2.81 (2.43)	3.05 (2.23)
Parental Investment	.29* (.69)	-.18 ^a (.60)	.03 (.48)	.01 (.65)
<i>Peer Influences</i>				
Positive Peer Influence (%)	14.24 (3.84)	15.01 (3.93)	15.07 (4.28)	15.24 (4.06)
Negative Peer Influence (%)	18.40 ^c (4.62)	18.78 (5.98)	16.58 ^{b a} (3.27)	17.35 (4.81)
1991 School Type (1=attended public school, 0=private/magnet school)	.43* (.50)	.75 (.43)	.42 ^b (.50)	.77 (.42)
N	71	121	63	160

* denotes a statistically significant difference between whites and minorities among men; ^a denotes a statistically significant differences between minority women and men; ^b denotes a statistically significant difference between whites and minorities among women; ^c denotes a statistically significant differences between white women and men
Source: 1991 & 1999 Philadelphia Neighborhood Study

Table 3. Summary of 1991 Scale Features

Scale Description	Alpha	Scale Mean	Scale SD	Scale Min.	Scale Max.
1991 Household SES	0.68	2.99	1.07	1.00	6.00
Activity Involvement	0.64	-0.0005	0.68	-1.00	3.36
Academic Competence	0.73	0.0007	0.80	-2.87	1.58
Problem Behavior	0.71	0.002	0.70	-0.48	4.28
Self-Competency and Psychological Adjustment	0.64	-0.0004	0.83	-1.98	2.62
Parental Support for Autonomy	0.74	0.0002	0.75	-3.11	1.52
Discipline Effectiveness	0.68	0.0007	0.66	-3.11	2.37
Parental Investment	0.78	-0.0001	0.64	-2.60	1.67

Source: 1991 & 1999 Philadelphia Neighborhood Study

Table 4. Odds Ratios from Cumulative Logistic Regression of 1999 Socioeconomic Standing on Early Adolescent Predictors

	Full Model	Minority Men	Minority Women	Whites
Minority Women	0.44***	--	--	--
Whites	0.48**	--	--	--
1991 SES	0.64****	0.77	0.48***	0.61*
1991 Parent Marital Status (1=married, 0=else)	0.73	0.49	1.08	0.65
1991 Parent Church Attendance	0.81**	0.65**	0.91	0.73*
Activity Involvement	1.06	1.48	0.97	0.96
Academic Competence	0.64***	0.46**	0.94	0.80
Problem Behavior	0.95	0.74	1.02	1.39
Self-Competency and Psychological Adjustment	1.25	0.72	2.97***	1.66
Parental Support for Autonomy	0.87	0.52	1.08	1.15
Discipline Effectiveness	0.89	0.77	1.06	0.76
Positive Family Climate	1.00	0.76	0.93	1.38
Institutional Connections	0.98	0.96	1.06	0.95
Parental Investment	0.65**	0.41*	0.75	0.54
Positive Peer Influence	0.99	1.02	0.96	0.93
Negative Peer Influence	1.00	1.09	1.01	0.86*
1991 Public School (1=public, 0=private/magnet)	1.35	5.96***	0.90	0.61
-2 Log Likelihood	454.65 ^a	121.52 ^a	165.89 ^a	130.18 ^a
R-squared	26.09%	42.33%	25.78%	27.01%
N	415	121	160	134

*p<.10; **p<.05; ***P<.01; ****p<.001 **bold** indicates statistically significantly different from nonwhite men;
^a significant model fit;

Source: 1990 & 1999 Philadelphia Neighborhood Study

Table 5. Odds Ratios from Cumulative Logistic Regression of 1999 Socioeconomic Standing on Early Adolescent Predictors and 1999 Predictors

	Full Model	Minority Men	Minority Women	Whites
Minority Women	0.46***	--	--	--
Whites	0.50*	--	--	--
Arrested (1=arrested by 1999)	1.72	1.20	5.10**	1.92
Had Child (1=ever had child by 1999)	1.71	0.03***	3.31**	0.73
1991 SES	0.64****	0.67	0.45***	0.62*
1991 Parent Marital Status (1=married, 0=else)	0.75	0.53	1.05	0.66
1991 Parent Church Attendance	0.81**	0.57***	1.02	0.74
Activity Involvement	1.04	2.08	0.94	1.00
Academic Competence	0.64***	0.42***	1.05	0.80
Problem Behavior	0.84	0.57	0.82	1.19
Self-Competency and Psychological Adjustment	1.25	0.71	3.44***	1.67
Parental Support for Autonomy	0.87	0.48*	1.16	1.04
Discipline Effectiveness	0.87	0.66	1.03	0.80
Positive Family Climate	1.00	0.87	0.91	1.37
Institutional Connections	0.98	0.89	1.05	0.95
Parental Investment	0.64**	0.37**	0.65	0.52
Positive Peer Influence	0.99	1.05	0.95	0.92
Negative Peer Influence	1.01	1.11*	0.99	0.86*
1991 School Type (1=public, 0=private/magnet)	1.32	7.35***	0.78	0.60
-2 Log Likelihood	452.25 ^a	111.65 ^a	144.83 ^a	129.30 ^a
R-squared	26.73%	49.46%	32.84%	27.78%
N	415	121	160	134

*p<.10; **p<.05; ***P<.01; ****p<.001 **bold** indicates statistically significantly different from nonwhite men;

^a significant model fit;

Source: 1990 & 1999 Philadelphia Neighborhood Study

Figure 1. 1991 Cluster Analysis by Race-Gender Group

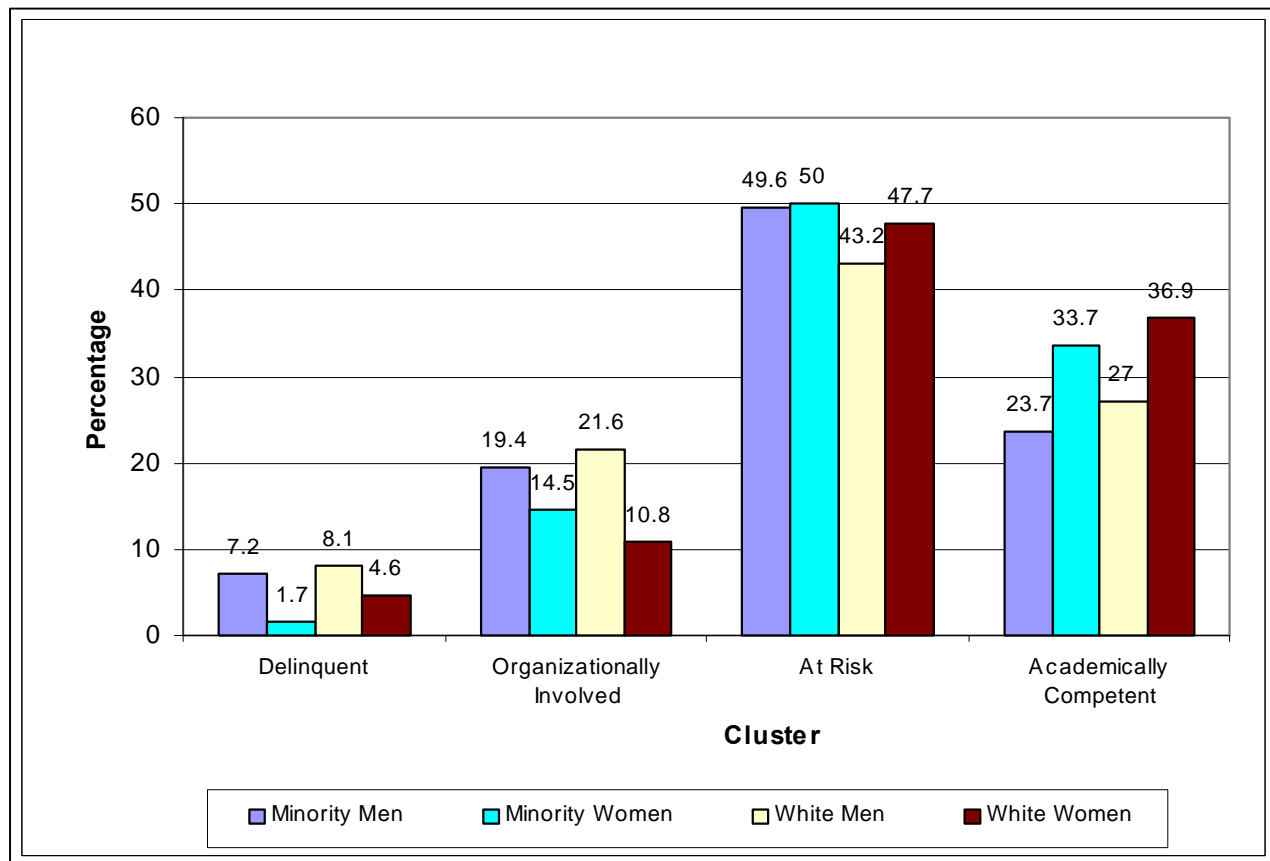


Figure 2. 1999 Socioeconomic Standing by Race-Gender Group

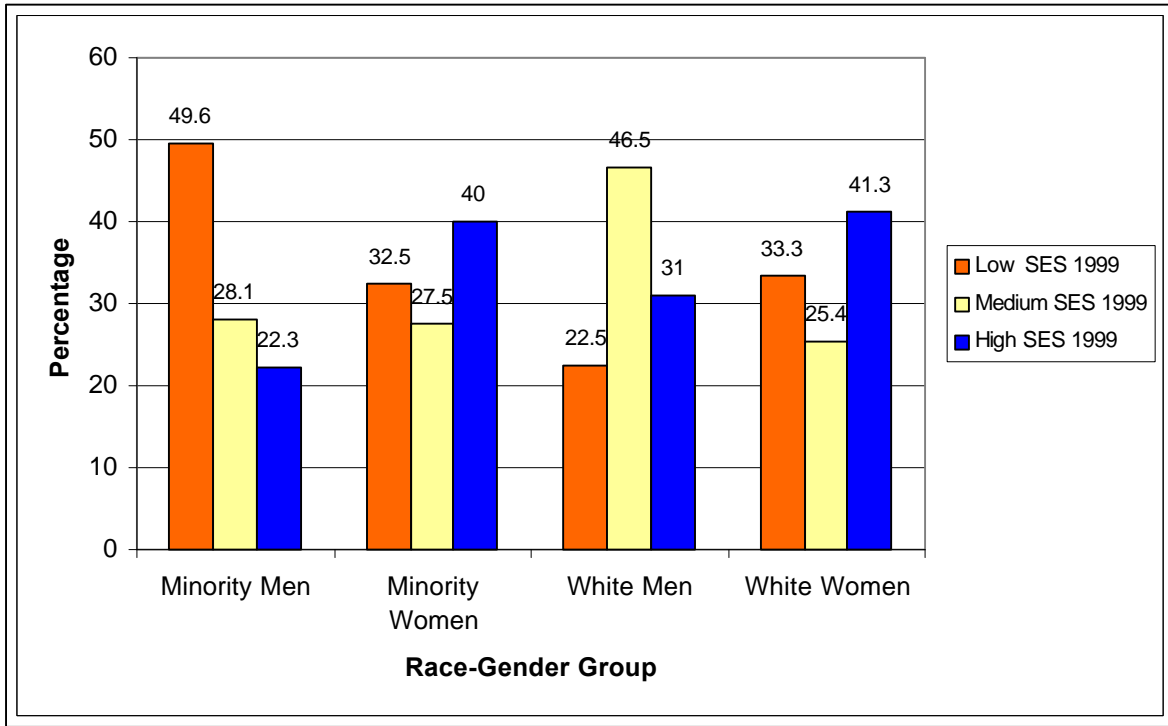


Figure 3. 1991 Socioeconomic Standing by Race-Gender Group

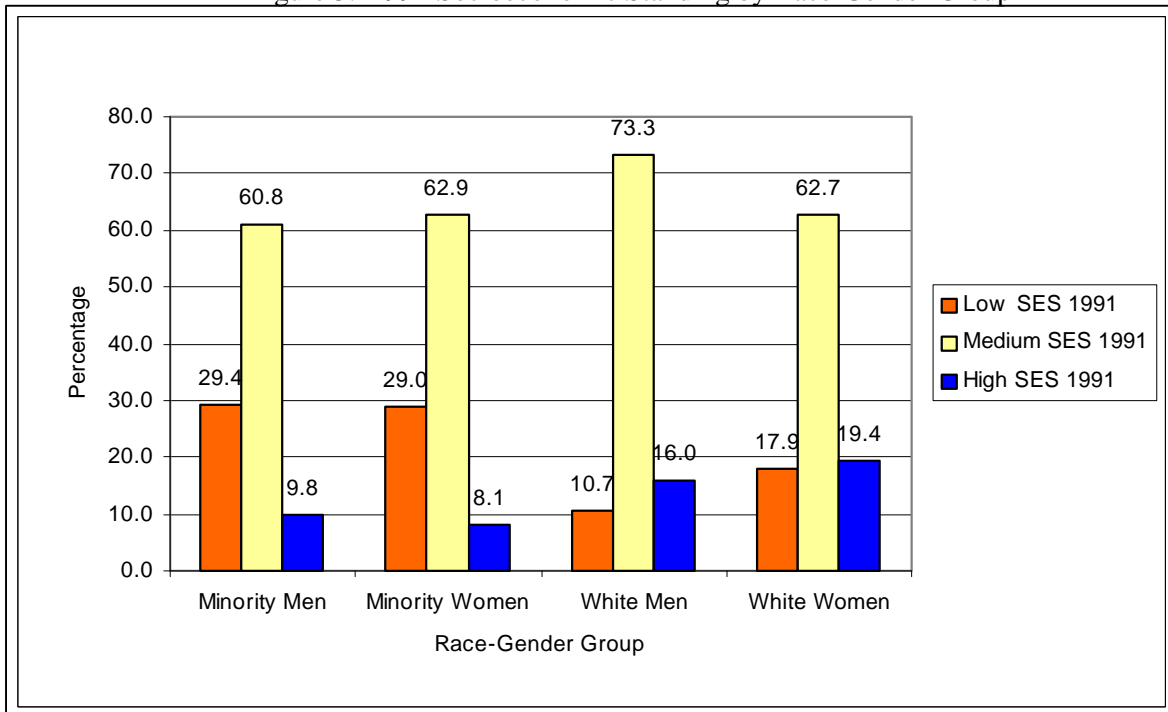
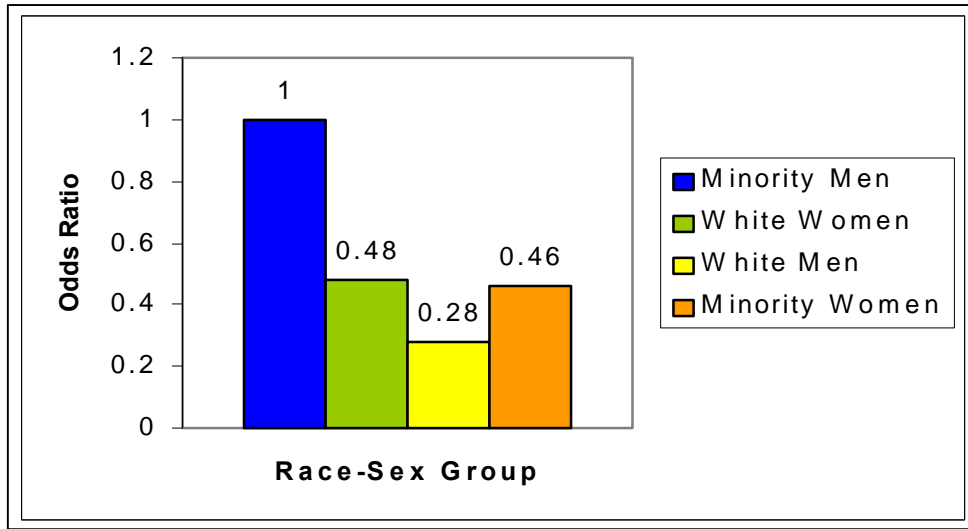


Figure 4. Odds of Being Off Track in 1999 Relative to Minority Men



Differences significant at $p < .10$; Source: 1991 & 1999 Philadelphia Neighborhood Study

REFERENCES

- Alwin, Duane. 1991. "Changes in Family Roles and Gender Differences in Parental Socialization Values." Pp. 201-224 in *Sociological Studies of Child Development* Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler (eds.). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Anderson, Elijah. 1990. *Streetwise: Race, Class, and Change in an Urban Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brint, Steven. 1998. *Schools and Societies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Browne, Irene. 1999. *Latinas and African American Women at Work*. NY: Russell Sage.
- Brooks-Gunn, Jeanne, Greg J. Duncan, and J. Lawrence Aber (eds.). 1997. *Neighborhood Poverty: Context and Consequences for Children*. Volume I. NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- _____ (eds.). 1998. *Neighborhood Poverty: Policy Implications in Studying Neighborhoods*. Volume II. NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Carnegie Corporation. 1992. *A Matter of Time*. NY: Carnegie Corporation.
- Christoplos, Florence and JoAnn Borden. 1978. "Sexism in Elementary School Mathematics." *The Elementary School Journal* 78: 275-77.
- Coleman, James and the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee. 1974. *Youth: Transition To Adulthood*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cook, T.D., Herman, M.R., Phillips, M., & Settersten, R.A., Jr. 1999. "How Neighborhoods, Families, Peer Groups and Schools Jointly Affect Changes in Early Adolescent Development." Working Paper of the Institute of Policy Research at Northwestern University.
- Danziger, Seldon and Ann Chih Lin. 2000. *Coping with Poverty: The Social Contexts of Neighborhood, Work, and Family in the African-American Community*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Elder, Glen H. Jr., and Rand D. Conger. 2000. *Children of the Land: Adversity and Success in Rural America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Elliot, D.S., D. Huizinga, and S. Menard. 1989. *Multiple Problem Youth: Delinquency, Substance Use, and Mental Health Problems*. NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Elliot, D.S., S. Menard, A. Eliot, B. Rankin, D. Huizinga, and W.J. Wilson. Forthcoming. *Disadvantage: Successful Youth Development in High-Risk Neighborhoods*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Farley, Reynolds. 1984. *Blacks and Whites: Narrowing the Gap?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Featherman, David L. and Robert M. Hauser. 1976. "Changes in the Socioeconomic Stratification of the Races, 1962-1973." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:621-651.
- Furstenberg, Frank Jr. and Mary Elizabeth Hughes. 1997. "The Influence of Neighborhoods on Children's Development: A Theoretical Perspective and a Research Agenda." Pp. 23-47 in *Neighborhood Poverty: Policy Implications in Studying Neighborhoods*, Volume 2. Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Greg J Duncan, and J. Lawrence Aber (ed.). NY: Russell Sage.
- Furstenberg, Frank F., Thomas D. Cook, Jacquelynne Eccles, Glen H. Elder, Jr., and Arnold Sameroff. 1999. *Managing to Make It: Urban Families and Adolescent Success*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Glancy, Maureen, Fern K. Willits, and Patricia Farrell. 1986. "Adolescent Activities and Adult Success and Happiness: Twenty-Four Years Later." *Sociology and Social Research* 70: 242-250.
- Hill, Robert. 1981. *Economic Policies and Black Progress: Myths and Realities*. Washington, DC: National Urban League.
- Howell, Frank M. and Wolfgang Frese. 1982. *Making Life Plans: Race, Gender, and Career Decisions*. Washington, D.C: University Press of America.
- Jargowsky, Paul A. 1997. *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios, and the American City*. NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Jencks, Christopher, and Susan Mayer. 1990. "The Social Consequences of Growing Up in a Poor Neighborhood." Pp. 111-186 in *Inner-City Poverty in the United States*. Laurence E. Lynn, Jr., and Michael G.H. McGeary (eds.) Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Jencks, Christopher and Meredith Phillips. 1998. *The Black-White Test Score Gap*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Kirschemann, Joleen, and Kathryn M. Neckerman. 1991. "'We'd Love to Hire Them, But...': The Meaning of Race for Employers." In *The Urban Underclass*. C. Jencks and P. Peterson (eds.). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Larson, Reed. 1994. "Youth Organizations, Hobbies, and Sports as Development Contexts." Pp. 46-65 in *Adolescence in Context: The Interplay of Family, School, Peers, and Work in Adjustment*. Rainer K. Silbereisen and Eberhard Todt (eds.). NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Lynn, Laurence E., Jr., and Michael G.H. McGeary. 1990. *Inner-City Poverty in the United States*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E. 1998. *The Two Sexes: Growing Up Apart, Coming Together*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press.
- Marini, Margaret M. and Mary Briton. 1984. "Sex Typing in Occupational Socialization." Pp. 192-232 in *Sex Segregation in the Workplace: Trends, Explanations, Remedies*. Barbara F. Reskin (ed.) Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

- Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of an Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Morris, Martina, and Bruce Western. 1999. "Inequality in Earnings at the Close of the Twentieth Century." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25:623-657.
- Neild, Ruth. 1999. "Same Difference: School Choice and Educational Access in an Urban District." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- O'Connor, Carla. 2000. "Dreamkeeping in the Inner City: Diminishing the Divide Between Aspirations and Expectations." Pp. 105-140 in *Coping with Poverty: The Social Contexts of Neighborhood, Work, and Family in the African-American Community*. Sheldon Danziger and Ann Chih Lin (eds.). Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Rainwater, Lee and William L. Yancey. 1967. *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy: A Trans-action Social Science and Public Policy Report*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Ruble, D.N., and C.L. Martin. 1998. "Gender Development." Pp. 933-1016 in *Handbook of Child Psychology* Volume 3, 5th ed. N. Eisenberg (ed.). NY: Wiley.
- Sewell, William H. and Robert M. Hauser. 1975. *Education, Occupation, and Earnings: Achievement in the Early Career*. NY: Academic Press.
- Simmons, Roberta G. and Yingzhi Zhou. 1994. "Racial, School, and Family Context Among Adolescents." Pp. 149-173 in *Adolescence in Context: The Interplay of Family, School, Peers, and Work in Adjustment*. Rainer K. Silbereisen and Eberhard Todt (eds.). NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Synder, Eldon E, Elmer Spreitzer. 1992. "Social Psychological Concomitants of Adolescents' Role Identities as Scholars and Athletes: A Longitudinal Analysis." *Youth & Society* 23: 507-522.
- Sowell, Thomas. 1981. *Ethnic America*. NY: Basic.
- Spain, Daphne and Suzanne Bianchi. 1996. *Balancing Act: Motherhood, Marriage, and Employment Among American Women*. NY: Russell Sage.
- Steinberg, Laurence and Nancy Darling. 1994. "The Broader Context of Social Influence in Adolescence." Pp. 25-43 in *Adolescence in Context: The Interplay of Family, School, Peers, and Work in Adjustment*. Rainer K. Silbereisen and Eberhard Todt (eds.). NY: Springer-Verlag.
- West, Candace and Don. H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender and Society*. 2: 125-151.
- Wial, Howard. 1991. "Getting a Good Job: Mobility in a Segmented Labor Market." *Industrial Relations* 30(3): 396-416.
- Willits, Fern W. 1988. "Adolescent Behavior and Adult Success and Ill-Being: A 37-Year Panel." *Youth and Society* 20:68-87.
- Willits, Fern K., Donald M. Crider, and Robert C. Bealer. 1988. "Observations on Opportunity and Change: Data from a Two-Panel Study." *Rural Sociology* 53:321-333.

Wilson, William J. 1987. *Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1997. *When Work Disappears*. NY: Vintage Books.