

The Politics of Participation: The Association Between School Racial Composition and Civic Engagement Later in Life

**Sheryl-Amber B. Edmondson, McNair Scholar
The Pennsylvania State University**

**McNair Faculty Research Advisors:
Erica Frankenberg, Ph.D
Assistant Professor of Education
Department of Education Policy Studies
College of Education
The Pennsylvania State University**

**Suet-ling Pong, Ph.D
Professor of Education, Sociology and Demography
Department of Education Policy Studies
College of Education
The Pennsylvania State University**

Abstract

Civic engagement is a primary goal of education, the cornerstone of democracy; therefore inherently linked to diversity. In a nation experiencing multiculturalism and a resurgence of segregation simultaneously one might question how school racial context becomes the means to civic engagement. Researchers debate whether racial composition undermines or facilitates civic engagement, but there is consensus that it affects students' access to civic education resources and sense of community and belonging. Using data from the Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002, this study examines the association between school racial composition and a person's likelihood to engage in civic behavior later in life.

Introduction

School racial segregation continues to impact American democracy; this phenomenon reinforces the importance of research on civic engagement. Recent landmark cases such as *Board of Education v. Dowell*, *Freeman v. Pitts*, and *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* correlate with a significant increase in resegregated K-12 schools in the United States (Martin, 2004; Thro & Russo, 2009). Contrary to the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* ruling, contemporary Supreme Court decisions refuse to acknowledge the necessity of racial integration in schools and the workplace. These cases not only eliminate federal supervision of the integration efforts of public schools, but also make race-based admissions in primary and secondary schools illegal. As schools become more and more segregated, the role of school segregation on civic engagement remains an urgent concern for sociology researchers.

Dating back to its foundation, public school, or “common school” as it was originally named, was a political institution. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were both particularly concerned with finding the nations next great political leaders through the schooling process; public schools were charged with educating qualified leadership for a democratic government. Schools, in theory, were to act as miniature societies; places where citizens would learn to obey the law by obeying school rules; to accept a common set of political beliefs; to provide equal opportunity for all students to be elected into office; and to educate students to be involved in community activities (Spring 2012). Now, not only are schools designed to act as miniature societies, but also as a remedy for many societal ills such as poverty, drugs and racial intolerance.

Several of these societal ills have been found to be assuaged by school desegregation. School desegregation has a host of benefits for students including increased academic achievement and aspirations, lower incarceration rates, higher graduation and employment rates, and tolerance and preference for mixed racial environments (Mickelson & Nkomo 2012). Since the ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education* during May of 1954 it has been a common ideology that the separation of the races has no place in the public domain, particularly in the area of education. It took many years, several policies and countless efforts- some fruitless, some successful- to attempt at desegregating our nation’s public schools, because resisting to do so was now inherently unequal and unlawful. Desegregation did not take place immediately, however, it was not until a year later that the Court handed down a plan for how desegregation was to proceed and, for some states, over a decade before they were to lawfully abide by the order (*Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*). However, it was not long before desegregation orders had been federally abandoned as the result of several cases, a few being *Board of Education v. Dowell*, *Freeman v. Pitts*. These cases resulted in decisions that stated once a district reaches unitary status- once it has been successful in meeting part of the goals of a desegregation plan- the federal court’s business in that portion of the plan is obsolete, in addition to rejecting the use of race in admitting students to public schools. These landmark cases spoke volumes to the peoples of our nation as schools were no longer legally required to desegregate, even if the result could be resegregation.

Over the past few decades there has been a resurgence of segregation in America’s public schools. The effects of this segregation interest researchers and educators alike. The increasing diversity in America and the increasing segregation in schools cause many to wonder how students can be trained as future citizens in a world that looks much different than their classrooms. Frankenberg (2013) contended that children who live in racially segregated communities, more often than not, attend racially segregated schools. From the perspective of the perpetuation theory, children who attend racially segregated schools will, by and large, experience racially segregated environments throughout their lives; likewise, those who experience schooling in a racially diverse context are more likely to experience racially diverse settings in the future (Stearns, 2010). As public schools undertake the task of preparing future active citizens, they must keep in mind how diversity and racial homogeneity in schooling contribute to that outcome.

Civic engagement allows citizens the freedom and space with which to exercise rights, such as petitioning, assembling and speaking- while also holding them accountable to take care of the less fortunate and tackle public issues (McBride, Sherraden, & Pritzker, 2006). The purpose of civic engagement is solidarity and social cohesion amongst the citizens of a nation. In a democratic country such as the United States the ways in which and the extent to which people

participate in their communities is of utmost importance. Multicultural nations have a duty to ensure that citizens are well-equipped with the skills and experiences to live, work, and participate in a diverse milieu. Schools have played a major role in preparing students for life as future citizens. Because public schools are often charged with this task, integrated schooling becomes paramount to life in a nation where many cultures and ethnicities coexist. Schools that represent a diverse student body allow for more positive race relations between future voters and participators and are better equipped to prepare children for life in a multicultural society. In recent years there has been an ongoing debate between researchers about whether diversity or racial homogeneity facilitates civic engagement. This study focuses on the aforementioned discord, and more specifically, whether diversity or homogeneity in schooling is associated with civic engagement later in life.

In this paper I will review the various definitions of civic engagement and the implications of such diverse definitions on the outcomes of studies. In addition, I will explore the relevant research on the competing perspectives of how the racial composition of schools and communities is associated with civic engagement. Because I am testing the effect of institutional characteristics on individual outcomes I account for the three individual characteristics that could impact my findings- race, socioeconomic status, and immigrant status. Finally, I will then move forward to an analysis of data from the Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002, a nationally representative sample of 10th graders, to find how school racial composition is associated students' propensity to engage in civic behavior later in life.

Review of the Literature

The literature review below will discuss the various definitions of civic engagement and explores how these definitions influence the way in which it is studied. It will then move forward to explore the literature on the association between civic engagement and racial composition. Because of the lack of extensive literature on civic engagement and racial composition in schools I have included literature on civic engagement and the racial composition of neighborhoods. I also argue that mixed racial composition in schools is associated with one's proclivity towards diverse settings later in life. Finally, I discuss the three moderating variables (race, socioeconomic status, and immigrant status) that may affect the relationship between school racial composition and civic engagement later in life.

Definitions of Civic Engagement

Robert E. Putnam first brought the concept of civic engagement into contemporary scholarly conversation with his books *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000) and *Making Democracy Work* (1993). Putnam was far from providing the conclusive work on civic engagement, but is cited by a preponderance of researchers studying the concept. Putnam asserts that since the post-war era Americans participate much less in the lives of their communities, thus becoming civically disengaged. This lack of civic engagement, he contends, has led to a weakened social capital, social networks necessary for community, collective action, and democratic participation (Boggs 2002). Sociological studies about civic engagement vary widely in the ways in which it is both referred to and discussed. In particular, researchers debate about individual vs. collective action; informal vs. formal activity; and homogenous vs. heterogeneous participation.

First, researchers' definitions of civic engagement differ from study to study because of discord concerning the term's meaning. Some define civic engagement by the behavior of an individual; such as participating in service work. In contrast, various definitions deemphasize individual activity, instead focusing on collective action as the primary tenet of civic engagement; specifically the interfacing of individuals toward a public, community or political end. These definitions of civic engagement describe it as collaborating, solving problems through our political process, and influencing the larger civil society. Other definitions distinguish individual and collective action between 'civic' and 'service'. "Service implies doing for and civic implies doing with. Service is about meeting people's needs. Civic is about deliberations and public work aimed at some public issue or challenge." The lack of a clear-cut definition of civic engagement allows scholars the freedom to define it as they see fit; variance in definitions of civic engagement then leads to variance in findings concerning the term. For instance, Robert E. Putnam, renowned political scientist, discussed social capital as the by-product of civic engagement; therefore, his description of civic engagement largely included social activities such as club meetings, friend visits, card games and the like. How civic engagement is defined is dependent upon the perspectives and interests of the definer; this certainly impacts the ways in which it is researched (Adler & Goggin 2005).

Second, civic activities include a variety of activities existing on a spectrum from informal to formal actions performed by individuals alone or individuals participating in a group. In their work *what do we mean by "civic engagement?"* Adler and Goggin (2005) created a *continuum on civic engagement*. At the far left (informal) end of the spectrum are acts such as "helping a neighbor" and "engaging in political discussion with friends" while on the far right (formal) end of the spectrum is "sustained intensive service" (such as AmeriCorps) and "running for public office." Predictably, informal measures of civic engagement would result in higher frequency of the acts performed, as the more formal activities require time, resources and networks that would not be available to those living within the constrained environment of an impoverished neighborhood. For instance, blacks as well as whites living in concentrated poverty neighborhoods are found to be less likely to vote, discuss national politics, and express an interest in political affairs (McLean et al. 2002). While many researchers are specifically interested in political behavior, neglecting to include other forms of engagement will certainly distort a study's findings.

Civic Engagement and Racial Composition

The last important area of civic engagement that researchers debate is how racial context affects participation in civic activities. This debate will be the focus of my study. Racial context has been found by several researchers to be associated with the likelihood that one will engage themselves civically; the racial composition of one's surroundings has been found to either undermine or facilitate civic engagement (Oliver 2010; Matsubayashi 2010; Rogers & Chong 2005). Racial context influences citizens' sense of community and belonging, therefore, leaving them feeling as if they are a part of the whole or ostracized. For example, whites and minorities feel a greater sense of community in homogenous neighborhoods (Oliver, year).

Most researchers agree that civic involvement in one's community is dependent upon the racial composition of that community. The divergent viewpoints that follow, however, dispute whether diversity or homogeneity is a prerequisite for civic engagement. Several researchers claim that homogeneity prompts civic participation (Matsubayashi 2010; Merry 2012; Oliver 2010). Others, however, hold the contrasting position that diverse surroundings foster various

predictors of civic engagement such as political discussion, tolerance of other racial groups, and greater civic interest (Mickelson & Nkomo 2012; Campbell 2008; Bowman 2011). The ongoing scholarly debate regarding the racial composition under which civic engagement is best fostered make it an interesting topic to investigate.

A study titled *E pluribus unum: Diversity and Community in the 21st Century*, Putnam asserts that diversity poses a threat to social solidarity and social capital, the byproducts of civic engagement, and that there exists a tradeoff between diversity and community. In accordance with this theory of contextual effects, findings from similar studies contend that a person's likelihood to engage in politics depends largely on the racial composition of the community in which he/she lives. Matsubayashi, in his work *Racial Environment and Political Participation*, found that people's decision to vote depends significantly on the relative proportion of in-group and out-group members in their surroundings. Furthermore, his results show that those living in racially homogenous areas with few out-group members pay more attention to politics (Matsubayashi, 2010). Likewise, another study found that collective consciousness, typically in regards to race, influences political behavior (Rogers & Chong 2005).

Supporters of this theory of homogeneity reject integration as a means to promote civic engagement. The paradoxes of racial integration were explored in a book by J. Eric Oliver. He contended that, although integration is the best way to improve race relations in our nation, it is not an "irreducible good" (Oliver 2010). Citizens feel less of a sense of belonging in heterogeneous communities and so participate in those communities in much lower levels than they would if placed in a homogenous community surrounded by citizens of their own racial group. For instance, Blacks express greater feelings of alienation as the percentage of Whites increase in their neighborhoods; moreover, Blacks civic participation is lower in predominantly White neighborhoods (Oliver 2010 & Wu et al. 2011).

The issue with this theory of homogeneity, however, is that it provides a quick fix for a problem that requires a long-term solution. It does not consider the perpetuation theory: those who experience racially integrated schools grow to have a liking for heterogeneous settings and further are inclined to live and work in more diverse communities (Stearns 2010). Several studies claim that not only is civic engagement weakened in racially heterogeneous communities but that it is best fostered under conditions of segregation. (Oliver 2010). If both racial intolerance and civic engagement are facilitated by segregation, then the founding principles of this nation are not only a falsehood, but a farce as well. Is the very heart of democracy best expressed under conditions which ultimately undermine and defy the concept? The homogeneous condition for civic engagement strengthens the idea of segregation and racial intolerance and isolation; therefore, promoting de facto segregation. Of these studies, few have explored alternatives to these theories, simply accepting segregation as a viable solution. If diversity is a hindrance to civic engagement, then the best proposed solution is to unearth the ways in which people actually do come together in diverse settings, such as within schools.

School Diversity and Politics

Promoting civic values and activities while people are still in their youth is crucial. Schools are universal and are a huge socialization institution for children. Schools provide children with a context outside of home; they may, at times, provide the freedom for students to experience diversity. Schools allow children with limited environments to encounter people and opportunities they may not have otherwise. In this paper, I consider another, more ethical, diverse and democratic way of fostering civic engagement- through the heterogeneous racial

composition of schools. The concept of school diversity is consistent with democratic ideals as noted by philosophers Aristotle and John Stuart Mill. Even recently in landmark Supreme Court cases racial diversity has been found to be a compelling state interest upon grounds to integrate (*Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*). Although many researchers agree that racial homogeneity bolsters civic engagement in communities, it also perpetuates racial isolation in schooling, therefore, possibly undermining civic engagement for future adults. Adults' likelihood to engage in activities that contribute to social cohesion depend largely on how well prepared they are to work with a diverse group of people, whether or not their racial fears and stereotypes have been challenged, and the quality of their intergroup relations and intercultural understanding (Mickelson & Nkomo 2012).

It is within the context of schools that children and adolescents learn to deliberate and collaborate with others that are like and unlike themselves. Kahne et al. (2013) found that discussion of societal issues prompts increases in behaviors such as voting and volunteering, commitment to civic participation, and interest in politics. However, according to John Stuart Mill's marketplace of ideas theorem, diversity in thought is essential for deliberation within a democracy (Mickelson & Nkomo 2012). Diversity within social institutions has also been said to be crucial for racial justice within a democracy. As mentioned earlier in this article, segregated schools, particularly schools with high concentrations of minorities, have been found to have injurious effects on the students who attend them; while integrated schools produce more positive outcomes on adults.

Schools can be effective institutions in cultivating democratic ideals within students. According to Mickelson and Nkomo (2012) integrated schooling is positively related to support of democratic values and greater inclination for aspects of civic engagement. A diverse social environment in schooling gives students the skills necessary for positive interaction with other races and ethnicities later in life. For example, childhood and adult cross-racial contact increases the probability that Blacks will have White friends as adults. Students attending diverse schools are also able to better understand the perspectives of others. Integrated schooling produces cross-racial friendships and positive intergroup relations that are key for participation in a multicultural democracy.

Consistent with Mickelson and Nkomo's review, a study done by Bowman (2011) concluded that how adolescents experience diversity foreshadows their commitment to society as adults. He found that interpersonal interactions with racial diversity were effective in promoting civic engagement. What occurs in the classroom can have a significant impact on a student's commitment to civic participation (Kahne & Sporte 2008). Students' experiences with and exposure to diversity allows them the opportunity to better relate with others within the nation. Those who grow up in racially segregated environments and attend racially segregated schools hold prejudices and fears about others that are harmful to a civil society. Non-existent intergroup relationships perpetuate negative stereotypes which prevent people from getting along. Segregation in schools undermines civic engagement for future adults and defies the concept of democracy in a multicultural nation.

Individual Factors

Historically, race has played a huge role in the civic engagement of Americans. Because of the United States' dark history of segregation and exclusion, minority citizens have been compelled to come together to fight existing inequalities. Grassroots civic engagement is the catalyst for much of the change in federal social policies, such as desegregation, miscegenation

laws, and voter ID laws. A study by Sinclair, Walker, and Gillion (2009) cites authors Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) who concluded that Black and White civic participation changes over time. Black civic participation was related to macro level changes in the political sphere such as Jesse Jackson's presidential bid. While Whites were found to engage in political activities such as writing a congressional representative and signing petitions in 1974, by 1994 these differences were cut in half. By 1994, of the 12 survey items measuring civic engagement, differences only existed in signing petitions, writing letters to representatives, and attending public meetings on local or school affairs. The authors predicted that over time, Blacks' civic engagement would be equivalent to Whites'.

Income level, like race, plays a role in how and whether one engages him/herself civically in the community. Those who have higher income and higher levels of education are more likely to engage themselves in civic activities such as volunteering and group membership. A qualitative study done by McBride et al. (2006) examined the civic engagement of low-income families as well as barriers to civic engagement that these families may face. They contended that, although civic engagement is positively associated with socioeconomic status, this does not mean that low-socioeconomic families do not orient themselves to civic behavior in other ways that are not commonly measured. Over one-third of respondents indicated some involvement with a church, and about 26% discussed community involvement which included providing for the elderly, raising money for a charity, and spending time working with social organizations. Other responses included neighboring, involvement in children's activities, and voting. The primary barrier to civic engagement respondents often discussed was scarce free time. Some stated that they had jobs and family demands that prevented them from engaging themselves in the community. Socioeconomic status indeed plays a role in how people participate in their communities, is often due to a lack of resources and multiple responsibilities that keeps people of low socioeconomic status from engaging in their communities as much as high socioeconomic status people.

Immigrants in the United States have a unique experience compared to other racial minority groups in the country because of two significant barriers: language and citizenship status. In this sense, immigrants face a kind of double oppression. Immigrants in the U.S. are only studied specifically when it comes to immigration policy while other aspects of their incorporation into American life are ignored. The recent mobilization of Latin American immigrants has sparked an interest in civic engagement as it relates to immigrants in the country. Latin Americans, in some cases, are supported by local organizations, churches etc. to facilitate their incorporation into society. However, as previously contended in this paper, context matters. (Donnelly & Selee, 2010).

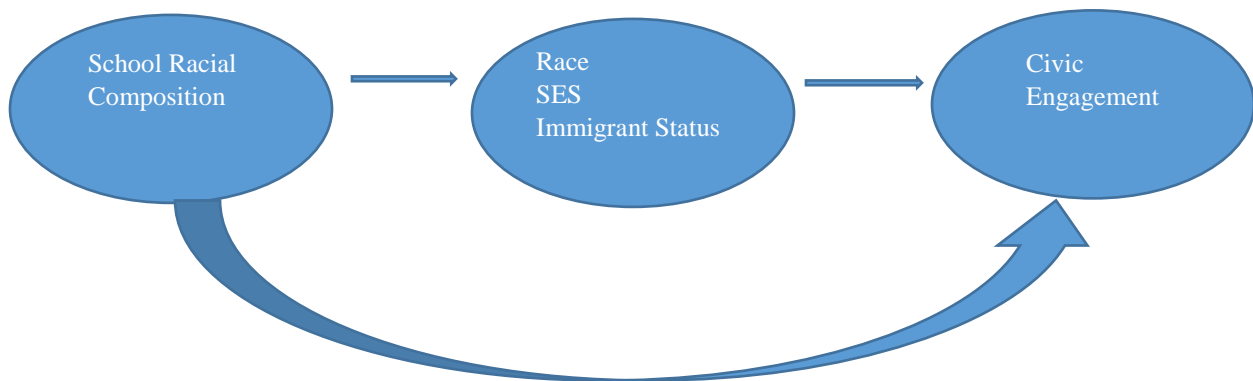
Methodology

The Survey

The Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS 2002) is a nationally representative sample of 10th graders. ELS 2002 was administered to 750 schools and over 150,000 students during the spring term of the year. Students were initially surveyed in 2002 and completed a series of follow-up surveys afterwards until 2012. Surveys were also administered to parents, administrators, and Math and English teachers during the base year. ELS 2002 also includes student assessments in Math and English as well as high school transcripts.

The Study was created to serve the development and evaluation of education policies at various levels of policy-making. I chose this survey to complete my research because it helps me to understand the impact of various institutional and personal background features on student outcomes later in life. The strengths of using this survey include the following: its wide range of measures to analyze, its longitudinal feature, and its nationally representative feature. Many researchers studying civic engagement choose to use a specific school district or area, however, this limits the study's generalizability.

Conceptual Framework



This study relies on the conceptual diagram above that indicates the predicted relationship between the variables utilized. Because I am measuring individual outcomes, I also account for individual differences that might impact the results of this study, such as socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, and immigrant status. I predict that school racial composition will have a direct effect on civic engagement later in life, but also that this relationship may be strengthened or weakened depending upon race, socioeconomic status, and immigrant status.

Research Questions

1. Is the racial composition of the school associated with a person's likelihood to engage in civic behavior later in life?
2. Is this association moderated by race/ethnicity?
3. Is this association moderated by SES?
4. Is this association moderated by immigrant status?

Hypotheses

H₁: There will be a negative association between school racial composition and civic engagement later in life

H₂: Blacks and Whites will have higher voting rates than Hispanics; there will be no differences for volunteering

H₃: Students with high socioeconomic status backgrounds will have higher rates of civic engagement in both voting and volunteering

H₄: Being an immigrant will weaken one's likelihood to vote and volunteer

Independent Variable

Racial composition of schools was measured using the variable CP03MIN which indicated the percent minority within a school. From this variable I created a dummy variable PERCMIN, which broke down CP03MIN into quartiles of under 25% minorities in school, 25-49% minorities in school, 50-74% minorities in school and 75% or more minorities within the school. Using this variable over the initial, continuous variable was necessary for analyzing the data and creating graphs.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables for civic engagement were chosen from a list of variables in the third follow-up questionnaire related to civic engagement. Because some scholars separate political and civic involvement, the two variables were chosen so as to each represent one aspect of each. For each of the dependent variables, responses were coded 0 for “no” and 1 for “yes.” The variable chosen to identify political involvement was whether or not one voted in the 2008 presidential election. This variable was chosen very purposely, as this was a monumental time in American political history where macro-level changes affected the civic outcomes of individuals, specifically minority and youth voters. During the 2008 presidential election 23 million young voters cast their ballots, over two-thirds (68%) of whom voted in favor of President Barack Obama. This election caused an increase in young voters, Black and Hispanic voters, new voters, and women (CIRCLE Staff, 2008)

The second dependent variable chosen was whether or not one performed unpaid volunteer service in the past two years (F3D40). This variable was chosen because it includes all areas of service including religious and spiritual organizations, youth organizations, education organizations and more. This item in the questionnaire was the precursor to several items that specify what kind of civic involvement the respondents were involved in and so has a high frequency and a diverse body of possible responses.

Moderating Variables

I chose the public-use race/ethnicity composite variable (a variable that combines all races instead of separating them individually) over all other variable measures of race because it made my analysis of race consistent throughout the study. In addition, for the purposes of this study, I created a dummy variable WBHRACE so as to only look at Black/African-American, Hispanic, and White races; all remaining races are coded as “other.” All other races are very small in number, such as American Indian/Alaska Native, or not specific enough for the study (e.g., “more than one race”).

I chose Generational Status in order to determine whether or not a survey respondent was an immigrant. I then created a dummy variable IMMSTAT where 1 indicates that the survey respondent was born in Puerto Rico or a non-US country, and 0 indicates the survey respondent was a non-immigrant (i.e., born in the United States).

BYSES2QU was chosen to determine the socioeconomic status of the survey respondent at the time the initial questionnaire was administered. Socioeconomic status was determined by combining father’s/guardian’s education, mother’s/guardian’s education, family income, father’s/guardian’s occupation and mother’s/guardian’s occupation. Moreover, BYSES2QU was chosen over BYSES1QU because it includes more updated measures of occupational prestige

from the 1989 General Social Survey over the 1961 Duncan SEI-version used in the first quartile coding variable for socioeconomic status.

Analysis

For this study I use Statistical Programming for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The analysis was performed using a cross tabulation, which summarizes categorical data into percentages. These percentages indicate the percent of people within each group that answered “yes” and “no” to the questions about voting and volunteering. The chi-square test evaluates the statistical significance of the patterns observed in the cross-tabulation. In other words, if the p-value is less than .05, then the observed differences in the output are likely to occur in the real world; if the p-value is greater than .05, then the patterns observed in the output may be due to sampling error.

Limitations

The limitation of this study is that all answers provided by respondents are self-reported, therefore, a respondent could possibly answer “yes” to whether or not they performed volunteer work or voted. Both questions used in the dependent variables are subject to social desirability bias in which respondents ascribe to themselves characteristics that are socially desirable. Voting and volunteering are indeed socially desirable traits in a democracy, which depends on the participation of its inhabitants. Another limitation of this study is that, because it uses a nation-wide sample, Whites are overrepresented, which could impact my results.

Findings

I begin my analysis by performing a cross-tabulation of persons who voted in the 2008 presidential election by school racial composition as shown in Table 1. The percentage of people responding “yes” when asked whether or not they voted in the 2008 presidential election lessens as the percentage of minorities in the school increases. In other words, attending a high-minority school is associated with a lower likelihood that an individual will vote in the future. Based on the Pearson’s chi-squared test all results are statistically significant.

Table 1. Frequencies of Persons Who Voted in the 2008 Election, by School Racial Composition in School

Percent Minority	Yes	N
Under 25% minority	60.3%	3957
25%-49% minority	59.4%	1902
50%-74% minority	56.9%	1171
75% or more minority	55.5%	1559
Total	41.2%	8589

Note: For all (p<.01)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study of 2002, survey question F3D38

Table 2 shows cross-tabulation results of persons who performed unpaid service work during the last two years by school racial composition. Similar to voting, attending a school with 75% or more minorities is associated with a lower likelihood of performing unpaid service work. This

table displays a negative relationship between school racial composition and likelihood of volunteering later in life. All results were statistically significant.

Table 2. Frequencies of Persons Who Performed Unpaid Service Work During the Last 2 Years, by School Racial Composition

Percent Minority	Yes	N
Under 25% minority	40.6%	3968
25%-49% minority	40.2%	1905
50%-74% minority	39.2%	1178
75% or more minority	33.9%	1566
Total	60.9%	8617

Note: For all ($p < .01$)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study of 2002, survey question F3D40

The subsequent tables reveal a more complex association between school racial composition and civic engagement by dividing the tables up by each individual factor described earlier in the paper. Table 3 shows the cross-tabulation results for persons who voted in the 2008 presidential election by school racial composition and individual race. In contrast to Table 1, the relationship between school racial composition and civic engagement is reversed in a few instances when moderated by individual race. An increase in the amount of minority students in a school, for Blacks and Whites, is associated with a higher likelihood of voting in the 2008 presidential election. Being Black or White, appears to significantly moderate the relationship between school composition and civic engagement. For example, schools with 75% or more minorities were associated with the highest likelihood of voting for both Blacks and Whites, although for Hispanics it was to be the lowest.

For schools with less than 25% minorities, when separated by individual race, two out of three of the racial categories have greater affirmative responses than when no individual factors are accounted for as in Table 1. Schools with 25%-49% minorities tend to hold some of the highest affirmative responses for voting in the 2008 election across all racial categories. Interestingly, schools with 50%-74% minorities see a 5% drop in affirmative responses for two of the three racial categories in comparison to schools with 25%-49% minorities.

In all four categorizations of racial context, Hispanics fair much lower in voting than Blacks and Whites, especially in schools with 75% or more minorities where only 43.7% of respondents attested to voting in the election. Also, interesting to note is that the notion that Whites do not benefit from being in diverse schools is contradicted by the data presented below. Schools with 75% or more minorities are associated with a higher likelihood to vote in the election than schools with less than 25% minorities for Whites. Across all racial compositions Blacks hold the highest affirmative responses for voting. Individual race indeed moderates the association between school racial composition and civic engagement later in life. All differences were shown to be statistically significant across school composition.

Table 3. Frequencies of Persons Who Voted in the 2008 Presidential Election, by School Racial Composition and Individual Race

Percent Minority	Black	Hispanic	White	N
Under 25% minority	66.7%	49.2%	61.8%	3957
25%-49% minority	75.8%	49.6%	62.7%	1902
50%-74% minority	70.9%	50.2%	57.3%	1171
75% or more minority	74.5%	43.7%	23.5%	1559
Total	1076	1208	4556	8589

Note: All other races excluded from table; For all ($p < .01$)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study of 2002

Table 4 depicts the cross-tabulation results for persons who performed unpaid volunteer work by school composition and individual race. In schools with under 25% minorities Black and White, respondents reported affirmative responses at similar rates with only a .5% difference between them. Respondents from schools with less than 25% minorities and 50%-74% minorities reported similar affirmative responses across the board for all racial categories. Schools with 25%-49% minorities produced the highest percentage of affirmative responses for Blacks and Hispanics. However, none of the above statistics were statistically significant.

Similarly to Table 2, Table 4, overall, depicts a negative relationship between school racial composition and civic engagement later in life. The only differences observed that were statistically significant were within schools with 75% or more minorities. Compared to the average shown in Table 2, Blacks and Whites reported higher affirmative responses for performing unpaid volunteer work. Hispanics, however, report the lowest percentage of affirmative responses. With majority of the racial contexts Hispanics reported almost identical percentages of affirmative responses.

Table 4. Frequencies of Persons Who Performed Unpaid Volunteer Work During the Last 2 Years, by School Racial Composition and Individual Race

Percent Minority	Black	Hispanic	White	N
Under 25% minority	41.5%	34.1%	41.0%	3968
25%-49% minority	46.2%	34.6%	40.3%	1905
50%-74% minority	41.2%	34.1%	39.9%	1178
75% or more minority	37.3%**	26.5%**	34.8%**	1566
Total	1082	1215	4564	8617

*Note: All other races excluded from table; **($p < .01$)*

Source: Education Longitudinal Study of 2002

Just as in voting, schools with 75% or more minorities reported a higher number of affirmative responses from Blacks over all other racial categories. According to the data, race tends to moderate the relationship between school composition and civic engagement later in life only in schools with 75% or more minorities.

Table 5 displays the cross-tabulation results of persons who voted in the 2008 election by school racial composition and socioeconomic status. The data from Table 5 shows compelling results. The statistics for voting in the 2008 election are more similar across socioeconomic status than racial contexts and vary greatly by socioeconomic status. Within each racial context the patterns are similar, about 45% of students in the lowest quartile report voting in the 2008 election, about 55% of students in the second quartile report affirmative responses, about 56% of students in the third quartile, and around 67% of students in the highest quartile. The percentage of affirmative responses for voting deviates greatly from the averages shown in Table 1. There tends to be a negative relationship between school racial context and civic engagement later in life for those within the lowest and second quartiles while a positive relationship is shown for those in the third and highest quartiles. The statistics in the second quartile are the only percentages that come close to those depicted in Table 1.

In schools with 75% or more minorities, those in the third and highest quartiles have an identical likelihood of voting in the 2008 election. Socioeconomic status appears to moderate the relationship between school racial composition and civic engagement significantly. There are few similarities across racial composition, for the differences exist mainly across socioeconomic status. Pearson’s chi-squared test showed all results were statistically significant.

Table 5. Frequencies of Persons Who Voted in the 2008 presidential Election, by School Racial Composition and Socioeconomic Status

Percent Minority	Lowest Quartile	2 nd Quartile	3 rd Quartile	Highest Quartile	N
Under 25% minority	45.2%	56.2%	62.2%	73.8%	3836
25%-49% minority	48.7%	57.5%	60.4%	69.5%	1822
50%-74% minority	46.7%	59.6%	61.0%	65.4%	1117
75% or more minority	49.0%	58.3%	60.9%	60.9%	1417
Total	2081	2094	2026	1991	8192

Note: For all (p<.01)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study of 2002

Table 6 displays the cross-tabulation results of persons who performed unpaid service work by school racial composition and socioeconomic status. Like Figure 5, socioeconomic status is positively associated with performing service work regardless of school racial context, for all racial contexts show similar patterns. The differences exist between the quartiles, with there being about a 20% difference in percentage of affirmative responses between the lowest and highest quartiles. Students in schools with 75% or more minorities are at the biggest disadvantage, reporting the lowest percentage of affirmative responses within each quartile. This

category of racial context deviates from the percentages of affirmative responses shown in all other racial context. All results were statistically significant.

Table 6. Frequencies of Persons Who Performed Unpaid Volunteer Work During the Last 2 Years, by School Racial Composition and Socioeconomic Status

Percent Minority	Lowest Quartile	2 nd Quartile	3 rd Quartile	Highest Quartile	N
Under 25% minority	32.2%	36.4%	40.5%	51.4%	3846
25%-49% minority	33.2%	33.3%	41.0%	51.5%	1825
50%-74% minority	32.7%	36.2%	44.3%	50.0%	1124
75% or more minority	29.3%	35.3%	36.8%	46.4%	1424
Total	2095	2097	2031	1996	8219

Note: For all ($p < .01$)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study of 2002

Table 7 displays the cross-tabulation results of persons who voted in the 2008 presidential election by school racial composition and immigrant status. Observations of the data show a negative relationship between school racial composition and civic engagement later in life. School racial context tends to make a significant difference in an immigrant's likelihood to vote. Only 31.1% of immigrant students within schools with 75% or more minorities reported voting in the 2008 election while 48.8% of immigrant students in schools with less than 25% minorities reported voting. In contrast, over 60% of non-immigrants attending schools within all racial contexts reported voting. Across each racial context the statistics vary greatly, with some showing 30% differences in voting between immigrants and non-immigrants. However, for non-immigrants.

Table 7. Frequencies of Persons Who Voted in the 2008 Presidential Election, by School Racial Composition and Immigrant Status

Percent Minority	Immigrant	Non-immigrant	N
Under 25% minority	48.8%	61.9%	3463
25%-49% minority	37.2%	64.1%	1633
50%-74% minority	35.8%	62.1%	989
75% or more minority	31.1%	62.7%	1205
Total	821	6469	7290

Note: For all ($p < .01$)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study of 2002

Non-immigrants in schools with 25%-49% minorities reported the highest percentage of affirmative responses for voting in the 2008 election while immigrants in schools with 75% or more minorities reported the lowest percentage of affirmative responses. Being an immigrant exacerbates the negative relationship between school racial composition and civic engagement later in life. Non-immigrants, however, regardless of school racial context tend to report high percentages of affirmative responses for voting. All results are statistically significant across racial context.

Table 8 shows the cross-tabulation results for persons who performed unpaid volunteer service in the last two years by school racial composition and immigrant status. For immigrants, there was a lot of variation in affirmative responses by school racial composition. About 50% of immigrants in schools with under 25% minorities gave affirmative answers, while about 30% of immigrants in schools with 75% or more minorities gave affirmative. In contrast, this difference was not as big for non-immigrants whose affirmative answers varied only 4 percentage points from under 25% minorities in schools to 75% or more minorities in schools.

Schools with less than 25% minorities showed the highest percentage of affirmative responses for both immigrants and non-immigrants. Surprisingly, about 10% more immigrants reported performing unpaid volunteer service than non-immigrants. Schools with 75% or more minorities show the lowest percentage of affirmative responses. This exemplifies a negative relationship between school racial composition and civic engagement later in life as shown in Table 2. In schools with 50%-74% minorities there was only a .9% difference in affirmative responses between immigrants and non-immigrants, with non-immigrants reporting more.

Immigrants in schools with under 25% minorities are more likely to perform unpaid volunteer work than non-immigrants under the same school racial context. Because of the variation in affirmative responses by school racial context, I can conclude that racial composition matters more for immigrants than non-immigrants in terms of their likelihood to perform volunteer work in the future. Results from the chi-square test show statistical significance only across schools with less than 25% minorities and 75% or greater minorities.

Table 8. Frequencies of Persons Who Performed Unpaid Volunteer Work During the Last 2 Years, by School Racial Composition and Immigrant Status

Percent minority	Immigrant	Non-immigrant	N
Under 25% minority	50.6%*	41.3%*	3471
25%-49% minority	42.2%	40.8%	1635
50%-74% minority	40.0%	40.9%	995
75% or more minority	29.4%*	37.1%*	1211
Total	822	6490	7312

Note: *($p < .05$)

Source: Education Longitudinal Study of 2002

Discussion

The findings from this study suggest that, as the percentage of minorities in a school increases, an individual's likelihood to engage in civic behavior later in life diminishes. However, this relationship is moderated greatly by individual characteristics such as race, socioeconomic status, and immigrant status. Although there appears to be a negative relationship between school racial composition and civic engagement later in life, in various instances this relationship becomes positive depending on individual characteristics. For instance, Blacks reported more affirmative responses for voting in the 2008 election as the percentage of minorities in their school increased. Hispanics tended to be most impacted by school racial composition because there was greater variance in the percentages of affirmative responses between school racial composition. In addition, Hispanics had a significantly lower likelihood of voting in the 2008 election than Whites and Blacks. Because the three individual factors are not mutually exclusive it could be possible that many of the Hispanic respondents could have been immigrants without voting rights and thus unable to vote.

In fact, when looking at Table 7 which depicts frequencies of persons who voted by school racial composition and immigrant status there are great disparities between the affirmative responses for voting of immigrants and non-immigrants. These differences are exacerbated as the percentage of minorities in the schools increases. In contrast, there were not huge differences in volunteering between immigrants and non-immigrants. Volunteering is an activity that requires no American citizenship but is free and open to all who live in the country. Immigrants in schools with less than 25% minorities reported more affirmative responses for volunteering than non-immigrants. For immigrants especially, school context matters, as there is more variance in affirmative responses for volunteering by school composition. This finding suggests that ability to engage in civic activities should be taken into account when studying the topic.

Socioeconomic status appeared to be a significant moderating factor. The percentage of affirmative responses for voting and volunteering did not vary much by school racial composition but rather by socioeconomic status. Respondents within each quartile were more similar by socioeconomic status than school racial composition. A respondent's socioeconomic status almost defies racial composition making its effects negligible. Higher socioeconomic status is associated with a significant increase in affirmative responses for both voting and volunteering, while the opposite is true for those of low socioeconomic status. Important to note is that many minority students attend minority-segregated schools of low socioeconomic status which places them at the biggest advantage in regards to civic engagement later in life. Students who attended schools with high concentrations of minorities consistently displayed lower levels of civic engagement. For these reasons, integrated schooling, as a means to positive life outcomes, is still vital. The success of American democracy relies tremendously on the civic participation of its citizens. Multiculturalism, therefore, is a fact that must be embraced and encouraged by school administrators in order for a united, active citizenry to exist. Promoting civic engagement amongst our citizens will prove for better race relations, solidarity, and high levels of social capital. The malady of segregation inhibits diversity and so inhibits the civic participation of Americans in the life of their communities. Integrated schooling could very well prepare our youth to be concerned with the welfare of those within their communities and nation by exposure to different races and ethnicities. This, then, will allow them to peacefully live, work and learn collectively. Integration is not simply a question of the welfare of minority students, but a question of the health of our nation.

References

- Adler, R. P., & Goggin, J. (2005). What do we mean by "civic engagement?". *Journal of Transformative Education*, 3(3), 236-253.
- Boggs, C. (2002). Social capital as political fantasy. *Social capital: Critical perspectives on community and "Bowling alone"*, 183-202.
- Bowman, N. A. (2011). Promoting participation in a diverse democracy a meta-analysis of college diversity experiences and civic engagement. *Review of Educational Research*, 81(1), 29-68.
- Campbell, D. E. (2006). Why we vote: How schools and communities shape our civic life. Princeton University Press.
- Campbell, D. E. (2008). Voice in the classroom: How an open classroom climate fosters political engagement among adolescents. *Political Behavior*, 30(4), 437-454.
- CIRCLE Staff. (2008). Young voters in the 2008 presidential election. *CIRCLE Fact Sheet*.
- Fox, J., Donnelly, R., & Selee, A. (2010). *Context matters: Latino immigrant civic engagement in nine US Cities*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.
- Frankenberg, E. (2013). The Role of Residential Segregation in Contemporary School Segregation. *Education and Urban Society*, 45(5), 548-570.
- Jacobsen, R., Frankenberg, E., & Lenhoff, S. W. (2012). Diverse Schools in a Democratic Society New Ways of Understanding How School Demographics Affect Civic and Political Learning. *American Educational Research Journal*, 49(5), 812-843.
- Kahne, J., Crow, D., & Lee, N. J. (2013). Different pedagogy, different politics: High school learning opportunities and youth political engagement. *Political Psychology*, 34(3), 419-441.
- Martin Jr, B. F. (2004). Fifty years later, it's time to mend brown's broken promise. *U. Ill. L. Rev.*, 1203.
- Matsubayashi, T. (2010). Racial environment and political participation. *American Politics Research*, 38(3), 471-501.
- McBride, A. M., Sherraden, M. S., & Pritzker, S. (2006). Civic Engagement Among Low-Income and Low-Wealth Families: In Their Words. *Family relations*, 55(2), 152-162.
- McLean, S. L., Schultz, D. A., & Steger, M. B. (2002). Social capital: Critical perspectives on community and "Bowling alone". NYU Press.
- Merry, M. S. (2012). Segregation and civic virtue. *Educational Theory*, 62(4), 465-486.
- Mickelson, R. A., Nkomo, M. (2012), Integrated schooling, life course outcomes, and social cohesion in multiethnic democratic societies. *Review of Research in Education*, 36(1), 197-238.
- Oliver, E. J. (1999). The effects of Metropolitan economic segregation on local civic participation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 43(1), 186-212.

- Oliver, E. J. (2010). *The paradoxes of racial integration*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. 133-136.
- Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian political studies*, 30(2), 137-174.
- Rogers, R., & Chong, D. 2005. Racial solidarity and political participation. *Political Behavior*, 27(4), 347-374.
- Sinclair-Chapman, V., Walker, R. W., & Gillion, D. Q. (2009). Unpacking civic participation: Analyzing trends in black [and white] participation over time. *Electoral Studies*, 28(4), 550-561.
- Spring, J. (1991). *American education. An introduction to social and political aspects*. Addison-Wesley.
- Stearns, E. (2010). Long-term correlates of high school racial composition: Perpetuation theory reexamined. *The Teachers College Record*, 112(6), 5-6.
- Thro, W. E., & Russo, C. J. (2009). Parents involved in community schools v. seattle school district no. 1: An overview with reflections for urban schools. *Education and Urban Society*, 41(5), 529-543.
- Woyshner, C. *The National PTA, Race, and Civic Engagement*.