

Making the Invisible Visible: Advancing Quantitative Methods in Higher Education Using **Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality**

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ABSTRACT

We appeal to critical race theory and intersectionality to examine achievement gaps at a large public university in the American southwest from 2000 to 2015. Using white, highincome women as our reference group, we report linear combinations of marginal effects for six-year graduation rates and developmental course taking across 20 distinct social locations varying according to race-ethnicity, gender, and class. We find substantial achievement gaps that remain unseen in conventional models treating such characteristics as independent. Nearly every group has a significantly lower likelihood of graduation compared to the reference group, and there is substantial variation in estimated achievement gaps. Low-income, American Indian men are approximately 45 percent less likely to graduate within six years relative to the reference group. For high income, black men this gap is approximately 30 percent. Our paper proposes a method and praxis for exploring the complex, interdependent relationship between race-ethnicity, gender, and class.

PURPOSE / METHODS

To examine disparities in completion rates and developmental coursetaking in college, we use an administrative data-set from SPU, a large Hispanic-serving research university in the southwestern United States. Data capture the population of first-time, full-time students matriculating in the fall from 2000 to 2015. We estimate saturated logistic models for three outcomes: the six-year completion rate, developmental English course-taking, and developmental mathematics course-taking. Models are saturated in that they include a full set of gender, race, and class dummy variables, as well as all possible interactions.

| Table 1. Descriptive Statistics, Graduation and Remediation Models | | | | |
|--|-------------|-------------|--|--|
| Variable | 2000 - 2008 | 2000 - 2015 | | |
| Graduated within 6 Years | 0.406 | - | | |
| Developmental English | 0.294 | 0.268 | | |
| Developmental Mathematics | 0.326 | 0.301 | | |
| Any Developmental | 0.431 | 0.397 | | |
| Female | 0.582 | 0.577 | | |
| White | 0.406 | 0.371 | | |
| Black | 0.03 | 0.024 | | |
| Hispanic | 0.444 | 0.499 | | |
| American Indian | 0.069 | 0.058 | | |
| Asian | 0.05 | 0.047 | | |
| Low-Income | 0.539 | 0.498 | | |
| Observations | 6,427 | 13,953 | | |

RESULTS / PROGRESS / OUTCOMES

• Table 1 reveals that over the period 2000–2008, 41 percent of students completed within six years. Developmental course-taking is common over both the sample periods: approximately 40 percent of students were required to take at least one developmental mathematics or English course over these cohort years.

•As shown in Table 3 below, nearly every group (not high-income Hispanic and Asian women) has a significantly lower likelihood of graduation compared to high-income white women. We estimate especially large achievement gaps for students in American Indian and black social locations. For example, American Indian low-income men are approximately 45 percent less likely to graduate within six years relative to the base group (white high-income women). For black high-income men this gap is approximately 30 percent (although cell sizes are unreasonably small), which is surprisingly similar to the estimated achievement gap for low-income white men.

- Every social location, with the exception of high-income white and Asian men, has a higher probability of developmental English placement at SPU than high-income white women. Social locations that have large estimated achievement gaps are low-income Asian men and women (34–35 percent), low-income American Indian men (34 percent), and low-income Hispanic men (31 percent).
- •Black students experience the largest achievement gap in mathematics, with low-income black women being 36 percent more likely to be placed in a developmental course relative to high-income white women. It is clear however, that low-income women of color are much more likely to be placed in such a course when compared to high-income white women.

Table 3: Multilevel Logistic Estimates of Probability of 6-Year Graduation by Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Class, 2000-2008

| Variable | Marginal Effect | Sig. | Standard Error | Cell Size |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|------|----------------|-----------|
| White, High-Income Women (Base) | - | - | _ | 869 |
| White, Low-Income Women | -0.142 | *** | 0.026 | 594 |
| White, High-Income Men | -0.137 | *** | 0.025 | 705 |
| White, Low-Income Men | -0.288 | *** | 0.031 | 440 |
| Black, High-Income Women | -0.226 | *** | 0.069 | 57 |
| Black, Low-Income Women | -0.185 | *** | 0.059 | 76 |
| Black, High-Income Men | -0.305 | ** | 0.126 | 18 |
| Black, Low-Income Men | -0.223 | *** | 0.077 | 45 |
| Hispanic, High-Income Women | -0.033 | | 0.026 | 599 |
| Hispanic, Low-Income Women | -0.225 | *** | 0.024 | 1,094 |
| Hispanic, High-Income Men | -0.172 | *** | 0.029 | 462 |
| Hispanic, Low-Income Men | -0.24 | *** | 0.027 | 699 |
| American Indian, High-Income Women | -0.093 | * | 0.055 | 85 |
| American Indian, Low-Income Women | -0.396 | *** | 0.05 | 186 |
| American Indian, High-Income Men | -0.371 | *** | 0.072 | 66 |
| American Indian, Low-Income Men | -0.453 | *** | 0.066 | 108 |
| Asian, High-Income Women | 0.0009 | | 0.071 | 50 |
| Asian, Low-Income Women | -0.137 | *** | 0.046 | 128 |
| Asian, High-Income Men | -0.211 | *** | 0.069 | 54 |
| Asian, Low-Income Men | -0.217 | *** | 0.055 | 92 |
| Likelihood Ratio Statistic | | | | 48.23 |
| Residual Intraclass Correlation | | | | 0.025 |
| Observations | | | | 6,427 |

DISCUSSION

The achievement gap in higher education is often the topic of conversation in NM. Although well intentioned, the idea of using income as a proxy for the racial/ethnic (or gender gap) is not born out by any empirical analysis that considers the simultaneity of race, gender, and class. A rigorous equity-impact analysis of proposals to limit the NM lottery scholarship or any other type of financial aid / higher education resource is needed before policy decisions are made. We recommend a moratorium on policy changes that only look at household income for awarding universal lottery scholarships. We find that one unintended consequence could be that vulnerable racial and ethnic minorities communities may be disproportionately affected even if they are in the high income bracket. A policy change limiting access to the lottery by income could further exacerbate the "achievement gap" for racial and ethnic minorities. Going forward, policy changes should examine race, gender, and class together for advancing equtity-based policies.

*White high Income White High **Income Women** (Reference *White Low Income Group) Women *White Low Income

*Native American High Income Income Men White High Income Women (Reference

* Hispanic Low Income *Black High Income

CONCLUSIONS

The sedimentation of intergenerational intersecting structural configurations of inequality vis-à-vis race-gender-class in education, employment, wages, wealth, health, and criminal justice for entire categories of people in our state took a long time. Consequently, social justice liberatory movements will also require continued strategic dedicated and sustained social justice efforts over a long period of time; however, as long as historic and ongoing intersecting race-gender-class gaps are not interrogated, they remain invisible and inactionable.

REFERENCES (APASTYLE)

For a full list of references please see:

López, N., Erwin, C., Binder, M., & Chavez, M. J. (2017). Making the invisible visible: advancing quantitative methods in higher education using critical race theory and intersectionality. Race Ethnicity and Education, 0(0), 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2017.1375185

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