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“An Important Barrier to ‘Doing for Self’”

By

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BlackEconomics.org thanks IPUMS (Integrated Public Use Microdata System) for providing access to essential data for the analysis undertaken in this Working Paper.

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Abstract

This Working Paper continues BlackEconomics.org's efforts to unscramble the widely held myth that racial discrimination is the primary reason for Black America's economic and social gaps with non-Black Americans. Concurrence with, and adoption of, racial discrimination as the major cause for these gaps—irrespective of its veracity—is problematic because it minimizes important scholarship; it infers that we do not possess a sound definition of “racial discrimination;” and it engenders space from which to self-impose the “soft bigotry of low expectations.” Are we our own worst enemy? Do we lack the knowledge, leadership, motivation, confidence, and courage to clarify who and what we are, give credence to that self-knowledge, and then to “do for self?”

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Introduction

“Racism” is undeniable in the United States and in almost all other nations where racially/ethnically distinct ingroups and outgroups confront the fundamental first law of nature (“self-preservation”).ⁱ Racism, in turn, drives the expansion of differences and produces hierarchical or heterarchical lines of demarcation. Unless totally subdued, however, human nature guarantees that those relegated to lower levels of the hierarchy or at the far ends of the heterarchical spectrum ultimately push back on these differences and interject their inalienable right to be free and to operate at all levels and in all spaces within the socioeconomic sphere. Therefore, social scientists—especially economists—should find the following questions to be important to explore: (i) How are the subdued held in check? and (ii) How do the subdued orchestrate their rise?ⁱⁱ

This Working Paper concerns the first of the two just-given questions in a Black American (Afrodescedant) context. Once an answer is identified for the first question, the logical follow-on question is: How can Black Americans escape the mechanisms used to suppress us, and how best to engineer our rise? Whatever the process of undoing and redoing our operational paradigm, the process of resurrecting ourselves as a new People, and reaching our desired state should be recognized first and foremost as an exercise in “mind renewal.”

The first section of this paper begins with a discussion of what we believe Black Americans’ view as features of our paradigm for change; i.e., what we should “do for ourselves to change our condition.” We conclude that section and move to the second section by highlighting what is often cited as mechanisms that suppress our rise. The second section concludes with a parsimonious and straightforward statistical model for estimating statistical relationships between one important suppression mechanism and selected and related socioeconomic covariates. The resulting estimates, which are presented in the third section, are consistent with extant conditions for Black Americans, and

they point to a likely successful strategy for our rise. Section four recapitulates and concludes.

Black America's Paradigm for Change

Given Black America's heterogeneity, it is natural that we may differ concerning our expected socioeconomic *status quo* after completing our long-awaited "rise." Fortunately, there is no dearth of scholarly literature concerning ingredients that should successfully produce Black America's paradigm for change; i.e., the tools, methods, and strategies for the change we desire. The assignment before us, then, is to develop a plan that is a paradigm for change that is flawless, timely, and dynamic enough to motivate Black Americans to implement the plan relentlessly until we achieve our desired state.

Below we highlight selected, but arguably some of the most important aspects of what should be a well-structured paradigm for change. In other words, we answer the following critical question: "With what should we part and then what should we do to ensure our rise?" Afterwards we commence our analysis of what is a well-recognized deleterious behavior with which we should part if we desire a successful rise.

Partings

First, we consider space limits for this Report Brief and take the liberty to document and support, in part, the remainder of this section with references cited in Endnote "iii."ⁱⁱⁱ

Second, arguably the most important starting point for Black America's rise is a transformation or "renewal" of our minds from "unworthiness," "notions of being imposters," and "being unable to do for ourselves," to "more than worthy," "full confidence in our right to participate," and "more than sufficient acumen, skills, and other abilities to do for ourselves." It is common knowledge that the work and writings of late 19th century and early 20th century popular Black American leaders and scholars, such as Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey, Noble

Drew Ali, and Elijah Muhammad excavated history to reveal Black America's rights to participate fully in the development of the U.S. socioeconomic system.

These personalities and mainly Black Scholars thereafter identified the following *status quo* conditions that were in dire need of change:

- A need to change our perceptions/opinions concerning the unfavorable nature of our racial phenotype to include our hate for: The color of our skin; the texture of our hair; the broadness of our nose; the thickness of our lips; and the shape of our eyes. Black Americans believed that our phenotype helped facilitate racial discrimination against us and, therefore, impinged adversely on our economic growth and development. Following his father's passing, Nation of Islam leader Imam Warith Deen Mohammad explained that Black Americans may require a "radical brain transplant" to achieve a complete and successful transformation of our minds that can ensure our rise.^{iv}
- A need to change (overcome and improve) our intra-People relationships, which are complicated and confused because our phenotype differences create economic and status differences that engender animus among us. We realize that our rise is contingent upon becoming increasingly unified.^v
- A need to change (increase and broaden) our knowledge of, and representation in, many fields of study so that we can direct and manage production of goods and services in important industries in which we have little representation today.

Strategies and Mechanisms for Change

Although many Black American organizations (religious, beneficent, political, and educational, etc.) had conducted annual or periodic annual meetings for planning and other purposes, it was not until the **National Black Political Convention (NBPC)** in Gary, Indiana in 1972 that a significant number of Black

organizations acted to initiate a process of collaborative planning specifically designed to increase Black American socioeconomic empowerment across the U.S. The planning that occurred during the NBPC lives on today in ongoing Black American efforts to develop and implement long-term strategic plans for Black America.^{vi}

When questioned about life guarantees, most persons will cite “death” and “taxes.” “Change” is a life outcome that is often overlooked. However, “change” is certainly guaranteed, and it is increasingly important as a producer or preventer of life outcomes. We say all this to warn that the elements noted in the above “paradigm for change” may assume more or less significance in determining Black America’s rise depending on the rate and pace of change. At the same time, changes associated with the mechanism that appear to be a key hinderance to our rise that will be explored in the next section may undergo changes of its own that necessitate a complete rethink of this Working Paper. Unfortunately, this is the nature of today’s breakneck change.

The mechanism—actually an activity that is measured as part of the American Time Use Survey (ATUS)—that is believed to suppress Black America’s rise is “media consumption.” This “media consumption” variable, its metadata, what are expected to be its important covariates, and the mechanism by which it is believed to suppress Black America’s rise are discussed and analyzed in the section below.

Statistical Model

Today’s world is infused and imbued with media. Because we permit it, media defines who we are and shapes our thinking about ourselves and others. If the media used an appropriate definition of “character” (e.g., individuals’ unique identifying traits including their capital (human, cultural, and physical) that they offer to the larger society), then we might be in a world where “character” is defined and assessed properly. Unfortunately, too often, the media forces us to equate phenotype with “character.” Moreover, the media often extends the almost universal practice

of conflating black skin color with that which is **undesired**.^{vii} Taken together, we realize that the media has the power to perpetuate a society and a world that are not ideal for Black Americans.

A 2009 econometric effort to explore the statistical relationship between the media and racial/ethnic discrimination caused us to conclude that the presence of adverse stereotypical images of Black Americans in media (mainly in television programs) was **positively correlated with—not necessarily the cause of—larger gaps in Black-White American unemployment rates than would otherwise occur**.^{viii}

In a November 2022 BlackEconomics.org submission, “Is the Media a Problem for Black America? - Part II,” the header on page 13 is “What Should Black America Do?” It provides a theoretical diagram that reflects how adverse stereotypical television images of Black Americans are positively associated with larger gaps in Black-White American unemployment rates. That is, the diagram reveals a “transmission mechanism” through which television can work its pernicious magic on Black Americans.^{ix}

Based on BlackEconomics.org’s earlier research on the role of adverse stereotypical media images as potential motivators of racial discriminatory behavior, the following three well-known and expert authors are offered as sources: Donald Bogle (2001), Camille Cosby (1994), and Jerry Kang (2005).^x

We have no intent to identify categorically the “first best” statistical method for substantiating claims about the positive correlation between media, racial/ethnic discrimination and, thereby, important economic gaps between Black and non-Black Americans that have already been mentioned. Rather we provide a parsimonious and straightforward regression model that, at a minimum, can confirm the statistical relationships between media and socioeconomic covariates that ultimately produce the aforementioned economic gaps between Black Americans and All Races/Ethnicities in the nation. The model to which we refer is presented as Equation 1:

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \text{[Equation 1]} \\
 & 2024 \text{ ATUS } (\text{Ln MC(MPD)})_i \\
 = & f(\text{FE MSA Size}_i, \text{FE FAMINC}_i, \text{Ln AGE}_i, \text{FE Male}_i, \\
 & \text{FE Black American}_i, \text{FE BA degree or above}_i)
 \end{aligned}$$

Description of the covariates are provided below. (Note that we do not rationalize further our use of these variables.) Our **null** hypothesis in the form of an arithmetic sign for each covariate’s estimated coefficient is indicated in square brackets.

2024 ATUS (Ln MC(MPD)): The natural log of media consumption in “minutes per day” reported by respondents to the 2024 ATUS (a joint undertaking of the U.S. Department of Labor’s Bureau of Labor Statistics and the U.S. Department of Commerce’s Bureau of the Census) is the model’s dependent (lefthand side) variable. The following IPUMS (Integrated Public Use Microdata System) codes are the sources of data used in the model to represent the value of media consumption:^{xi} 12303 (Television and movies), 12304 (Television, religious), 12305 (Listening to radio), 12306 (Listening to or playing music), and 12308 (Computer use for leisure—excluding computer games).

FE (fixed effect) MSA Size [-]: Assumed the value 1 when the population size of the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) where the 2024 ATUS respondent resided was >500K; 0 otherwise.

FE FAMINC [+]: Assumed the value 1 when Family (household) income was >\$75K; 0 otherwise.

Ln AGE [-]: The natural log of the ATUS respondent’s age.

FE Male [-]: Assumed the value 1 if the ATUS respondent was male; 0 otherwise.

FE Black American [-]: Assumed the value 1 if the ATUS respondent was Black American; 0 otherwise.

FE BA degree or above [+]: Assumed the value 1 when the ATUS respondent held a bachelor's degree or higher level of tertiary education; 0 otherwise.

Missing from Equation 1 above. (but estimated and reported below) are **Intercept** and **residual or error** terms.

We downloaded the ATUS data, transformed (generated natural logarithmic values and produced fixed effect (FE; 1, 0) values) covariates, and operationalized the OLS (ordinary least squares) regression using a Microsoft Office 365 EXCEL "Regression" Add-In from its Analysis Tool Pack.

As already noted, the data used to test the model are from ATUS, which were retrieved from IPUMS. While more socioeconomic covariates could have been tested, we purposely kept covariates to a minimum. Having knowledge of potential consequences of econometric model misspecification, we trudged on with a model intended to only test important (and traditional) socioeconomic covariates that were readily available in the ATUS dataset (e.g., MSA size, family income, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment).^{xiii} In addition, to differentiate ATUS respondents meaningfully, Age and Gender were included among the model's covariates.

Note that because natural logarithmic transformation of the dependent (lefthand side) variable and the Age righthand size (explanatory) variable, the coefficient for the latter covariate can be interpreted as an "elasticity." That is, a 1.0 percent change in the Age of the respondent is associated with a 0.041 percent change (the value of the coefficient on the Age covariate in Table 1) in respondents' media consumption (in minutes per day).

Our falsifiable hypothesis for the estimated statistical results for Equation 1 components is that they will not show sufficient explanatory power (i.e., the "power of the test" will not meet statistical "significance" standards) and should be rejected.

Model Results

Table 1 on page (12) shows OLS regression results for the econometric model depicted in Equation 1 using ATUS statistics for 2024. The “Regression Statistics” panel at the top of the table reveals the size of the dataset used for the regression as 139,535 observations and 139,528 degrees of freedom. The Adjusted R-Square (0.003) and the Significance of the F-Statistic (0.000) are consistent with a “power of the test” that enables a rejection of the model’s falsifiable or null hypothesis, which is noted above. Similarly, t-Statistics and P-values for all Regression Coefficients enable rejection of our falsifiable hypothesis. That is, Table 1 should be viewed as conveying that a high level of confidence should be assigned to the validity of the regression results.

As for the six estimated parameters (not including the Intercept), they all reflect expected arithmetic signs (the inverse of the null hypothesis sign given above). There are **inverse** relationships between respondents with annual family income that is \geq \$75K and educational attainment (holding a bachelor’s degree or higher) and the number of minutes expended each day consuming media. Conversely, there are **positive** correlations between media consumption and metropolitan areas greater than 500K in size, the age of respondents, males relative to females, and being a Black versus a non-Black American.

Of course, our main interest is in the Black American and Family income covariates. The coefficients on these variables confirm that Black Americans consume more minutes of media each day than all other racial/ethnic groups, and that families with annual income that is \geq \$75K (and more educational attainment) consume less media per day than households with income that is \leq \$75K (and less educational attainment).

In combination, these results infer the following interpretation:

Black Americans, who are relatively poor (i.e., reflect household incomes of \leq \$75K), consume more media than non-Black Americans and we open ourselves to

imbibing the adverse images and related adverse psychological effects associated with exposure to such media.^{xiii}

The fact that 61.8 percent (65.8 percent of the ATUS dataset) of Black American households that fit the just given income description (\leq \$75K) is sufficient to help partially explain the gap in existing Black American versus All American household income (only 45.3 percent of U.S. households reflect incomes of \leq \$75K) and the related rapidly growing wealth gaps.^{xiv}

The inverse relationships between family income and educational attainment and media consumption shoehorns us into a very practical conclusion: Relatively excessive engagement in “unproductive” (not necessarily unenjoyable or unbeneficial) activities reduces the time available to increase educational attainment, which is highly correlated with family income. In other words, if Black Americans expended less time per day on media consumption, then our educational attainment levels and family incomes could rise—at least theoretically. Favorable changes to these outcomes would be expected (logically) to reduce current economic gaps about which Black Americans raise as a concern persistently today.

Conclusion

Unsurprisingly, there is relatively limited scholarship on statistical relationships between media consumption, discrimination, and economic impacts/outcomes—especially economic gaps between races/ethnicities. One reason is that there is a limited supply of easily accessible, inexpensive, and unified data for all variables required for such analysis. Hence, we were excited to finally recognize that these data were identifiable from the ATUS.

ATUS data, which were made available through IPUMS, were identified for this analysis, and analysis of these data proceeded with ease—even while relying mainly on Microsoft’s EXCEL

software. One of our objectives was to determine the level of difficulty encountered when analyzing ATUS data in EXCEL.

The analytical results presented in this Working Paper fit well with our “Bayesian Priors.” Also, the key findings are consistent with expectations of informed economists in the field:

There are inverse and statistically significant correlations between estimated parameters for media consumption and annual household income (\geq \$75K) and media consumption and educational attainment (respondents hold bachelor’s degrees or higher). That is, households that reflect annual income levels that are near or above the median for the nation, and that include respondents that hold a bachelor’s degree or higher, typically engage in less media consumption.

Non-ATUS statistics (Census Bureau Household Income data) for 2024 reveal that there is ~33 percent gap in median household income between Black Americans versus All of the nations’ households. Also, non-ATUS statistics (USDOE – DES) statistics reveal that there is ~25 percent gap between the ratio of Black American households that include holders of a bachelor’s or higher degree versus All Races/Ethnicities in the nation.^{xv}

These findings infer that households that experience lower levels of income (\leq \$75K) and that do not include holders of bachelor’s degrees or higher levels of educational attainment reflect statistically significant higher levels of media consumption than household that reflect higher levels of income and educational attainment. Stated differently, households that engage in more media consumption reflect outcomes that are associated with economic agents who find themselves along the lower portion of the socioeconomic spectrum.

By extension, because a larger proportion of Black American households are identified at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum than non-Black Americans, it stands to reason that we likely engage in higher levels of media consumption than non-Black Americans. A logical takeaway from this analysis is that

higher levels of media consumption is associated with lower levels of income and educational attainment, which is consistent with Black Americans positioned at the unfavorable side of important economic gaps (e.g., income and wealth).

These results lead us to a logical conclusion that Black Americans may be able to increase our educational attainment and household incomes and reduce important income gaps if we were to simply reduce our media consumption.

In other words, this BlackEconomics.org Working Paper shows that high levels of media consumption may be hindering Black Americans from fulfilling a mandate that we continue to establish for ourselves, which is to improve our outcomes by “doing for ourselves.” But this becomes a tall order if we find it too difficult to engage in small sacrifices, such as reducing or consumption of media entertainment.

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Table 1.—Correlation Between Media Consumption and Socioeconomic Covariates, 2024

SUMMARY OUTPUT								
<i>Regression Statistics</i>								
Multiple R	0.057614883							
R Square	0.003319475							
Adjusted R Square	0.003276615							
Standard Error	1.32628272							
Observations	139535							
ANOVA								
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F			
Regression	6	817.4232396	136.2372066	77.45037197	4.90895E-97			
Residual	139528	245433.3592	1.759025853					
Total	139534	246250.7824						
	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95.0%	Upper 95.0%
Intercept	3.450870612	0.036224627	95.26310971	0	3.379871031	3.521870192	3.379871031	3.521870192
FE MA Size => 500K	0.031075812	0.007609441	4.083849324	4.43204E-05	0.016161452	0.045990173	0.016161452	0.045990173
FE FAMINC => \$75K	-0.046978552	0.007827594	-6.001659165	1.95791E-09	-0.062320488	-0.031636616	-0.062320488	-0.031636616
Ln AGE	0.040789843	0.00887394	4.596587638	4.29842E-06	0.023397089	0.058182597	0.023397089	0.058182597
FE Gender Male	0.126262126	0.007209067	17.51435033	1.31911E-68	0.112132492	0.140391761	0.112132492	0.140391761
FE Black American	0.045783503	0.012388604	3.695614439	0.000219439	0.021502075	0.07006493	0.021502075	0.07006493
FE EDU ATTAIN BA degree or above	-0.055078608	0.007671984	-7.179187439	7.04743E-13	-0.07011555	-0.040041666	-0.07011555	-0.040041666

Sources: IPUMA ATUS Statistics (University of Maryland and University of Minnesota) and BlackEconomics.org analysis and visualization.

Endnotes

ⁱ While relatively young scholars like Ibram X. Kendi may have their own definition of “racism,” we adhere to the definition given nearly six decades ago by Clarence Mitchell. He was a well-known lobbyist for the NAACP, who clarified that racism was: (paraphrasing) Racism is not just an “idea” about exclusion of all kinds based on race/ethnicity, but it must be defined to include the “power” to operationalize the “idea.” We recall Mr. Mitchell presenting this point on television during the 1960s in response to a noted talk show host’s (Dick Cavett comes to mind, but it may have been some other host) question: “But are not Black Americans racists too?” Mr. Clarence explained that based on his definition, we (Black Americans) cannot be racist or guilty of racism because we did not then (and do not now) generally have the “power” to operationalize the “idea.”

ⁱⁱ Our Google LLM AI BOT Gemini search of World History revealed that during the Middle Ages (1200 A.D. to 1400 A.D.), the *Mamluks*, who were mercenaries, are the only enslaved group to rise to a position of unquestioned leadership/rulership of a nation that formerly held them as captives/slaves.

ⁱⁱⁱ Important references that underpin elements of our “paradigm for change” may best be identified in recently developed “plans” to improve Black Americans’ socioeconomic outcomes. The following document includes a description, quantitative assessment, and ranking of 11 such plans, along with their URLs: Brooks Robinson (2025). “An Expanded Meta-Analysis of Black American (Afrodescendant) Plans.” BlackEconomics.org. <https://www.ltspfba.org/ECOA/m-aobaap082425f.pdf>. (Ret. 052526). Also, the following publications used ATUS data in their analyses of potential adverse impacts of media consumption: (1) Daniel MacDonald (2016). “The relationship between videogames, time allocation decisions, and labour market outcomes – Evidence from the American Time Use Survey.” *International Journal of Time Use Research*, Research Institute on Professions and The International Association for Time Use Research (IATUR), vol. 13(1), pages 34-57. <https://ideas.repec.org/a/leu/journal/2016vol13issue1p34-57.html>; and (2) Sunil Iyengar, Sarah Sullivan, Bonnie Nichols, Tom Bradshaw, Kelli Rogowski, and Mark Bauerlein (2007). “To Read or Not To Read: A Question of National Consequence.” National Endowment for the Arts. <https://www.arts.gov/impact/research/publications/read-or-not-read-question-national-consequence>. (Both Ret. 052726)

^{iv} Imam Warith Deen Mohammad made this comment during one of his many speeches during a Nation of Islam meeting in Chicago at Mosque Maryam circa 1976.

^v Nation of Islam leader, Minister Louis Farrakhan described how these differences developed during the October 16, 1995, Million Man March in Washington, D.C. He explained that these differences were manufactured and expanded when slave masters implemented a strategy known as “Willie Lynch Principles.” (Interestingly, there are popular and strong sentiments that “Wille Lynch” is a fictitious personality.)

^{vi} For information about long-term plans for Black America, see “An Expanded Meta-Analysis of Black American (Afrodescendant) Plans.” Op. cit. (Endnote iii).

^{vii} The English language is fraught with cases where that which is black or brown is associated with the unwanted: White is pure and clean, while black is dirty; in food, white is associated with “angel,” while black or brown is associated with “devil”; a white horse is gallant and a symbol of triumph, while a dark (black) horse has little chance of winning; the ideal or joyous day of Christmas occurs when it is “white” with snow, while an adverse economic outcome, as in a stock market crash, is known as a black day—viz. the “Black Monday” that saw the stock market tumble on October 19, 1987.

^{viii} Brooks Robinson (2009). “Black Unemployment and Infotainment.” *Economic Inquiry*. Vol. 47, No. 1; pp. 98-117. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1465-7295.2008.00165.x> (Ret. 051626).

^{ix} Brooks Robinson (2022). “Is the Media a Problem for Black America? - Part II.” BlackEconomics.org. Honolulu, Hawaii. <https://www.blackeconomics.org/BEMedia/imapfbap2.pdf> (Ret. 051626).

^x **Donald Bogle** (2001) *Prime Time Blues: African Americans and Network Television*, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York. **Camille Cosby** (1994), *Television Imageable Influences: The Self Perception of Young African Americans*, University Press of America, Lanham. **Jerry Kang** (2005), “Trojan Horses of Race,” *Harvard Law Review*, 118: pp. 1489-1593.

^{xi} Sarah M. Flood, Liana C. Sayer, and Daniel Backman. American Time Use Survey Data Extract Builder: Version 3.3 [dataset]. College Park, MD: University of Maryland and Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.18128/D060.V3.3>. (Ret. 050926).

^{xii} Model misspecification is generally associated with estimated parameters that are inconsistent and related standard errors that are biased. Hence, hypothesis testing is confounded. Given that we

estimate a cross-section model, another concern about estimated parameters is “multicollinearity,” which is associated with unbiased parameter estimates, but the related standard errors are biased, thereby confounding hypothesis testing of parameter estimates.

^{xiii} For 2024, the Census Bureau reports the following median and mean household income values for Black Alone \$56.0 thousand and \$83.8 thousand, respectively versus \$83.7 thousand and \$121.0 thousand for All Races, respectively. “Table A-2. Households by Total Money Income, Race, and Hispanic Origin of Householder: 1967 to 2024.” <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2025/demo/p60-286.html> (Ret. 052526).

^{xiv} There is widespread agreement that “median” is the preferred measure of central tendency for household income, but “mean” is the preferred measure of central tendency for wealth (net worth), especially for measuring Black versus All Races/Ethnicities economic gaps because:

Average (median) household income conveys a measure of wellbeing for Black American versus All American households when it is assumed to represent households’ spending constraint.

However, average (mean) wealth, which can be viewed as a measure of available economic resources whether ultimately expended by an owning or non-owning household, indicates the level of potential resources available to Black American versus All American households.

Importantly, the gap in Black American versus U.S. median household income is in the 30 percent range for 2024 (see Endnote xiii). However, while median Black American versus All Races household wealth gap is sizeable, the mean version of that gap is egregiously large (a factor of ~5.0).

^{xiv} The ratio of Black American to All Races/Ethnicities households with holders of a bachelor’s degree or higher is computed from the following source: National Center for Education Statistics (2026). “Table 104.2. Percentage of persons 25 to 29 years old with selected levels of educational attainment, by race/ethnicity and sex: Selected years, 1920 through 2024.” U.S. Department of Education. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d24/tables/dt24_104.20.asp?current=yes. (Ret. 052626)