

By Rhonda Tsoi-A-Fatt

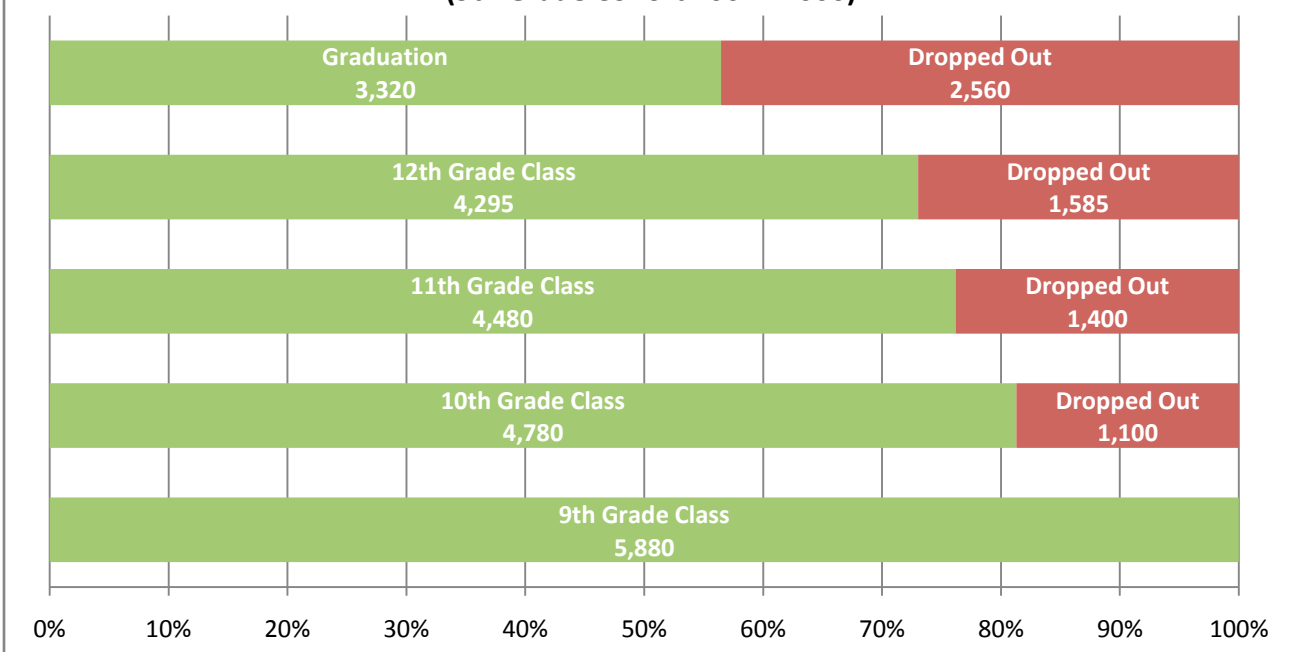
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In communities across our nation, thousands of students drop out of high school every day. For most, academic struggles and lack of support make the dream of completing high school and post-secondary education seem impossible. Dejected and defeated, many youth give up. In Boston, just over half of students who entered the ninth grade in 2002 graduated four years later¹. There were approximately 5,880 students in that ninth grade class². Four years later, 2,560 students were left behind. Most of these students are youth of color, as 86 percent of Boston's school enrollment is minority.³

A young person's development and academic achievement in school is affected by several factors – the school environment, the conditions of the community in which they live, family stability, and peer influences. In low-income communities, the combination of all these factors makes it extremely difficult for youth to develop well, achieve in school, and remain on the path to success. Schools cannot be responsible for solving all these issues and ensuring that youth achieve academic success. It takes the collective effort of an entire community to address these stumbling blocks and remove barriers that impede a young person's ability to succeed.

The purpose of the community profiles project is to highlight data that helps community members, advocates, and policy makers understand the nature and extent of the issues facing large numbers of youth in low-income urban and rural communities. Many communities, such as Boston, already have begun to work on strategically addressing the issue of dropouts in their communities and are making great strides in this regard. Data and research help communities to target their planning and resources toward specific interventions, create services and activities at sufficient scale to address the needs of all youth, and make the case for increased investment.

TABLE 1:
Boston Public Schools High School Progression
(9th Grade Cohort 2002 - 2006)



Educational success is the cornerstone to creating successful pathways for youth. Many schools in low-income communities are simply not making the mark. The school environment is not functioning well and, as a result, youth are disengaged from school and fail to complete their education. Many schools or districts allocate insufficient staff and resources to address issues such as guidance and counseling, attendance, or additional course help. Disciplinary policies often cause students to spend too many days outside the school building for behavioral infractions. The curriculum is not sufficiently rigorous, and the high-poverty and high-minority schools often have the least experienced teachers.

Boston Public School District falls far behind Massachusetts and the United States in graduating students on time. In 2006, only 56 percent of students who started the ninth grade actually graduated four years later. Research shows that the majority of students drop out early in high school, after having experienced several years of difficulty, beginning at the end of elementary school or in middle school⁴. Attendance, behavior, and coursework achievement are key predictors in the middle school years of continued school engagement in high school⁵. In Boston, however, the largest proportion of students (38 percent) dropped out in 12th grade. This anomaly is one requiring further examination.

Minority youth fare far worse in high school, particularly males. Nationally, only about half of black students who begin high school will graduate four years later and in some of the most challenged communities, that number drops to only about one-third. In Boston, there is an estimated 11 percent gap in rates of high school graduation between black and white male students. While this gap is better than the rest of the nation, it still means that less than half of black males in the city are completing high school.

Table 2:
High School Graduation Rates
(2005-06 School Year)

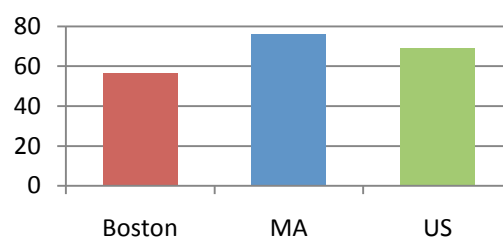


Table 3:
Where Youth Drop Out

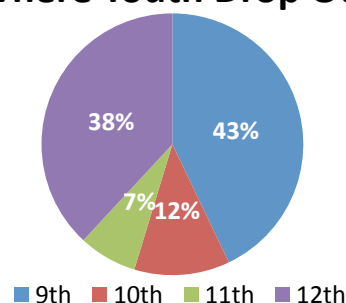
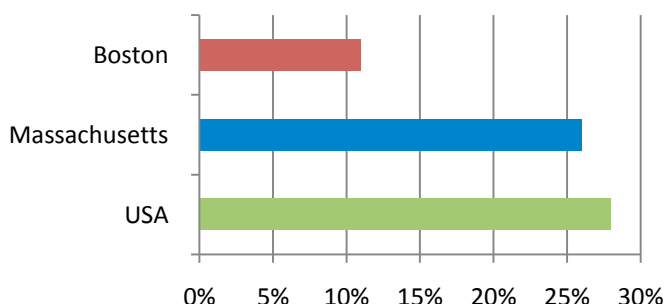


Table 4:
Black-White Gap in High School Graduation Rates



In 2007, 2,000 youth ages 16 to 19 in Boston were neither working nor in school⁶. Absent intervention, the segment of our population with less than a high school diploma will grow faster than any other⁷. It is important to note, however, that youth who drop out of school are not beyond our reach. Many recognize their limitations without an education and seek opportunities to reconnect to educational and work experiences to enhance their skills and future prospects. In a recent national survey of high school dropouts, 76 percent said that they would likely re-enroll in school if given a chance⁸.

Two of the major ways that youth are pushed out of the education system are through harsh disciplinary policies and tracking of students into particular educational levels. Both of these practices have done more harm than good for youth and have contributed to the nation's large dropout problem. The effect is felt more intensely by youth of color, as they are disproportionately affected by the implementation of these policies in school systems.

Nationally, 2.3 million youth are punished for school infractions by out-of-school suspension each year. Almost 96,000 more youth are expelled from school. The policies that made these forms of school punishment so prevalent (zero tolerance policies) began as a way of protecting students from truly dangerous situations. Their implementation, however, has been far too sweeping, punitive, and ineffective, and too many students have suffered a loss of educational opportunities as a result⁹. They lose precious time out of the classroom, and become disengaged from learning. These young people become more likely to drop out of school. Many are also being placed into the criminal justice system unnecessarily¹⁰.

These outcomes are seen in large degree in urban and high minority school districts, where the existence of these policies is far more prevalent¹¹. Boston's rates of suspension and expulsion are comparable with the national average. Black and Hispanic students, however, are far more likely to be suspended or expelled from school than their white peers.

The other area of major concern is the tracking of students into courses based on their perceived ability to succeed. Tracking that occurs in elementary school tends to follow students for the rest of their lives. Those placed in lower level tracks tend to stay there, even if they are performing well academically and would benefit from higher level coursework¹². There is a strong correlation between race, class, and track placement. Black and Hispanic students are disproportionately tracked into lower level courses with less-qualified teachers, reduced expectations, and fewer resources¹³. In Boston, black and Hispanic students are less than one-third as likely as their white peers to participate in gifted/talented courses.

Boston Public Schools

Table 5:
Out of School Suspensions
(per 100 students)

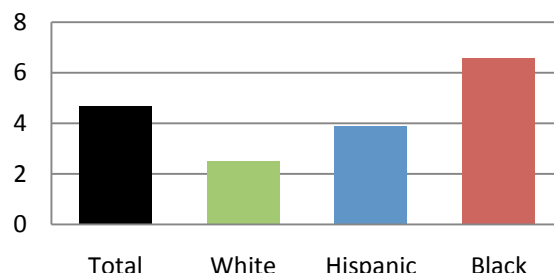


Table 6:
Expulsions
(per 1,000 Students)

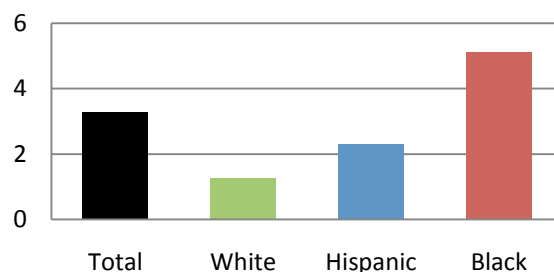
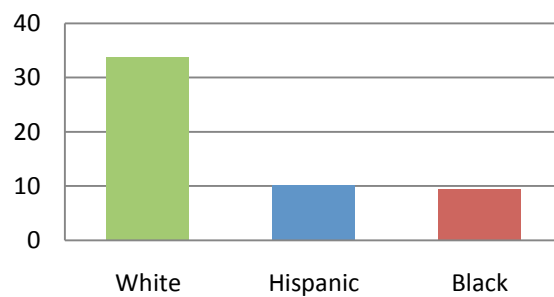
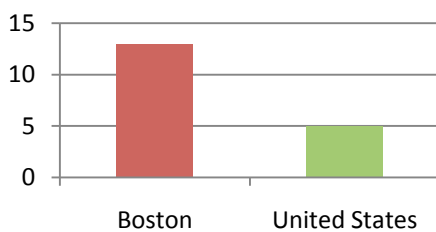


Table 7:
Gifted and Talented Participation
(per 1000 Students)



The community in which youth live plays a significant role in their development. Research shows that community socio-economic status has an effect on achievement, emotional and social well-being, and sexual activity and fertility¹⁴. Youth perception of the community, both in terms of connectedness and safety, is also critical. Positive connections to adults and institutions within the community and opportunities for civic engagement give youth a sense of worth and help them feel connected to the communities in which they live. Unfortunately, low-income communities lack adequate social and recreational resources, such as after-school and youth programs. This dearth of services has an adverse effect on youth development in the community¹⁵. Exposure to violence is associated with a number of behavioral and psychological outcomes and has been found to be distraction in school¹⁶. The constant threat of violence in low-income communities prevents youth from visioning their life prospects, as they are uncertain of even surviving into adulthood¹⁷.

Table 8:
Violent Crimes
(per 1000 people)



In 2006, more than 7,500 violent crimes were reported in Boston, which is a per-capita rate of more than twice the national average. The most recently reported homicide data shows that youth are disproportionately victimized, as young people under the age of 25 represent 34 percent of the general population but 51 percent of the victims. The majority of young adult murder victims are between ages 18 and 24. Further, 68 percent of homicide victims were black, mostly males. Many cities struggle to get a handle on violence, which is so integrally related to educational and employment success. Too many youth are lost, both as victims and perpetrators of violent crime.

Table 9:
Percent of Homicide Victims, by Age

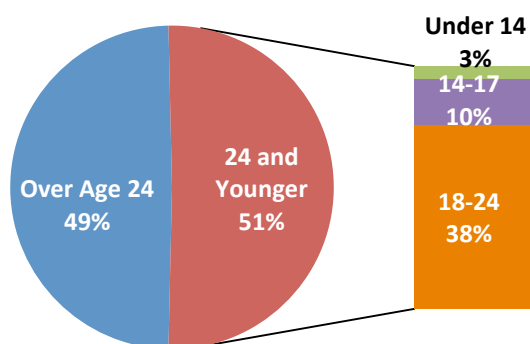
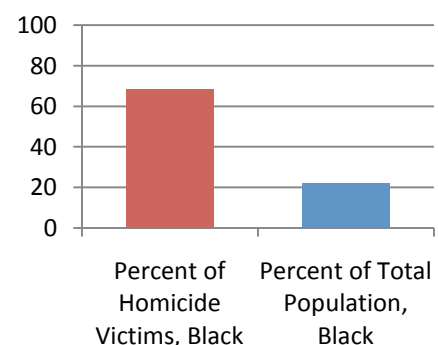


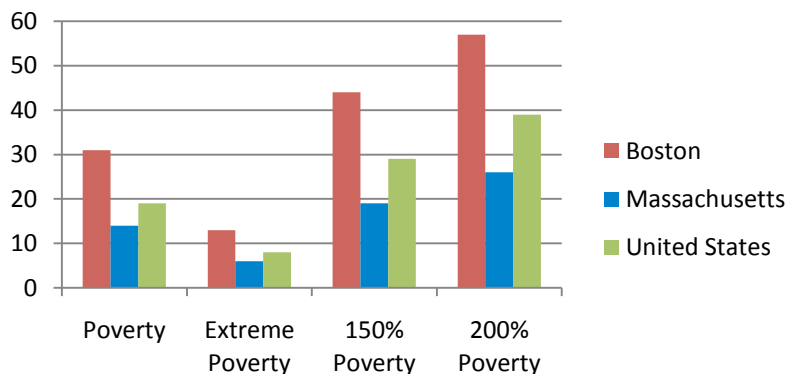
Table 10:
Homicide
Victimization, by Race



Youth in Boston are significantly affected by issues of violence. A recent study cited that 8 percent of high school students did not attend school at least once in the last 30 days because they felt unsafe either at school, or on their way to or from school¹⁸. In addition, 33 percent of high school students reported being in a physical fight, and 16.5 percent of students carry a weapon¹⁹. In the face of conditions of violence and poverty, it is easy to see how youth may feel ambivalence or, worse yet, despair about their futures. In the same survey, 26 percent of students reported feeling sad and hopeless almost every day for two consecutive weeks.

Poverty and family circumstances also play a role in a young person's ability to complete high school and be successful in adulthood. Youth do not exist separate from their families or households. Issues of poverty and fragile families affect their development and academic attainment. Many of Boston's youth grow up in impoverished families, may have fragile living situations, or have parents or caregivers who themselves are not educated. All of these scenarios present extra obstacles to a young person's successful transition into adulthood. These youth need additional services and supports to be successful. In communities such as Boston, the volume of youth facing these issues is far greater than in most other locales. Significant investment is needed to impact outcomes for the youth in the community.

Table 11:
Percent of Children Under 18 Living in Poverty



Child poverty levels grossly outpace poverty levels in Massachusetts and the United States. In 2007, almost one-third of all children and youth under 18 lived below the federal poverty line in Boston. Fifty-seven percent of children lived in low-income households with earnings less than 200 percent of poverty – less than \$34,340 per year for a family of three. A startling 52 percent of children live in families where no parent has full-time, year-round employment²⁰.

In addition to the earnings coming into a home, family situations present struggles for youth. Currently, 19 percent of heads of households in Boston are high school dropouts. These parents or caregivers are not in a position to support the academic achievement of the youth in their homes. Boston's teen birth rate is 28 per 1000, which is comparable to the national average but more than double the birth rate in Massachusetts. Teens who have children are far less likely to graduate from high school²¹. Without flexible educational options for these mothers, they are more likely to drop out and raise their children in poverty. This continues the cycle of poverty because their children are less likely to be successful²².

Table 12:
Births to Teen Mothers (per 1000 girls)

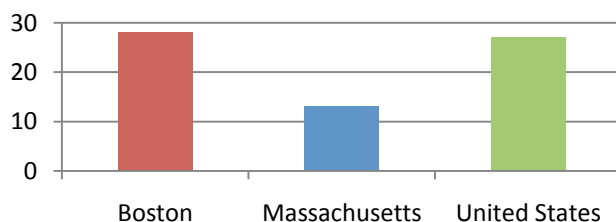
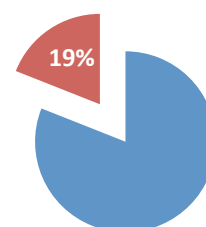


Table 13:
Children in Homes Where Head of Household Is High School Dropout



Employment is an important part of youth development and successful progression into young adulthood. A key predictor of consistent employment in adulthood is early exposure to the world of work through summer and year-round employment, internships, and service opportunities in the teen years. Youth who have been employed tend to have higher earnings in young adulthood²³. Teen employment exposes youth to careers, promotes job readiness and develops their skills in particular industries. Community-based employment programs that support the development of soft skills such as communication, work ethic, appropriate dress, interviewing skills, etc. provide the preparation that youth need to be successful in the workforce. These types of programs also have significant value with regard to educational outcomes. Youth employment programs reduce absences from school, and can promote positive academic attitudes and increase the likelihood that students will take academic courses²⁴. Youth also begin to have higher expectations for themselves and to set higher life goals as a result of being exposed to the world of work.

In addition to the many developmental benefits, youth employment is also helpful for the quality of community life, particularly during the summer months, when youth work the most. Youth engage in less criminal activity while employed²⁵, therefore the level of crime in a community is reduced when its young people are put to work. In addition, the dollars earned and spent by these youth were most often spent within the community, having an important economic impact²⁶.

Despite all that is known about its benefits, youth employment in our nation is currently at its lowest point in 60 years²⁷. In Boston, the youth employment situation is far worse than the national average. Almost three-fourths of youth ages 16 to 19 are not employed. When the data is disaggregated by race, it shows that minority youth work less, with black youth being the least likely to have employment. Eight in ten Black youth ages 16 to 19 are either unemployed or not participating in the labor force.

Table 15:
Percent of Youth Not Working, by Race

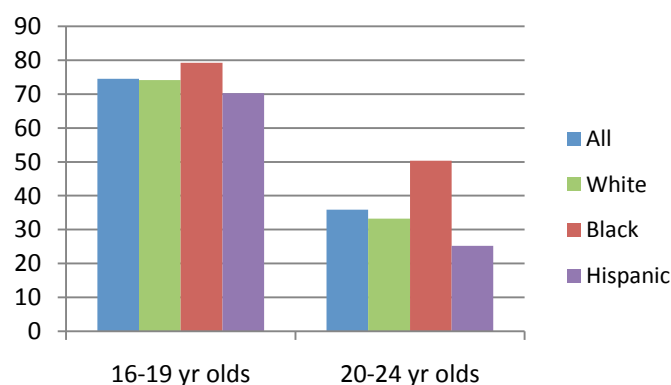
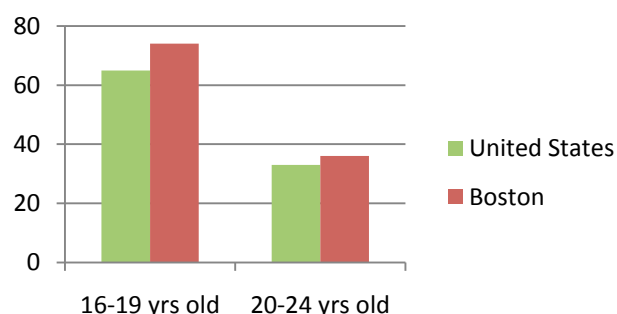


Table 14:
Percent of Youth Not Working



In many urban areas, there are few jobs located in close proximity to low-income neighborhoods, as many businesses have relocated to suburban areas. Often, youth are competing with unemployed adults for low-wage employment. The end of crucial government-funded programs has significantly hampered the ability of communities to support youth employment. While some communities continue to invest local funds in summer employment, it does not nearly meet the vast need for employment and pathways to careers for youth in low-income communities.

SOURCES

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Table 7:	Civil Rights Data Collection 2006
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Table 14:	American Community Survey 2007
Table 15:	American Community Survey 2007

ENDNOTES

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- ¹¹ *Opportunities Suspended*
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- ¹³ Datnow, *The Gender Politics*.
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ABOUT CLASP

The Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP) is a national nonprofit that develops and advocates for policies at the federal, state, and local levels to improve the lives of low-income people.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Rhonda Tsoi-A-Fatt is a Senior Policy Analyst in the area of youth policy. She specializes in approaches to address the high-school dropout issue. Her current work focuses on community and systemic solutions to support youth development and engagement in learning, with a particular focus on youth of color.

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