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ABSTRACT

The undereducation of at-risk youth is a critical issue overlooked by the education reform movement of the 1980s, as represented by the report, "A Nation At Risk." This group, whose members are predominantly economically, culturally, racially, and ethnically disadvantaged, is leaving school unprepared for further education or available work. Workers' lack of basic skills is creating an inadequate labor force for the United States to compete in a world economy. Three personal narratives illustrate typical at-risk students. The Federal Government has decreased its financial commitment to education. Federal support is required by the following groups: (1) low-income children in need of preschool education; (2) students in need of remediation; (3) children in need of bilingual education; and (4) youth in need of job training. A survey of 49 states and the District of Columbia reported efforts in the following areas: (1) early identification and remediation; (2) career exploration and vocational education; (3) dropout prevention and school-to-work transition; (4) dropout retrieval and second chance programs; and (5) equal funding. The barriers to assisting at-risk youth are the following: (1) failure to perceive their need; (2) resistance to institutional change at the state and local levels; and (3) absence of leadership at the federal level. The appendices include the following: (1) summaries of the reform efforts of 14 states; (2) a chart of the Federal Program Budget Authorization by State, 1986 and 1987; and (3) a list of State contacts. A list of resources is also included. (FMW)

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America's Shame, America's Hope
Twelve Million Youth At Risk

This report is an inquiry into the education reform movement of the 1980's with at-risk youth as the frame of reference. The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation asked MDC, Inc., to bring together a distinguished panel, knowledgeable in the field of educating and training youth, and to launch a study of how at-risk youth had fared in the education reform movement which began roughly with the publication of the National Commission on Excellence in Education's report, **A Nation At Risk**, in 1983. This report was written by MDC staff R.C. Smith and Carol A. Lincoln with the advice and review of the panel whose names appear below.

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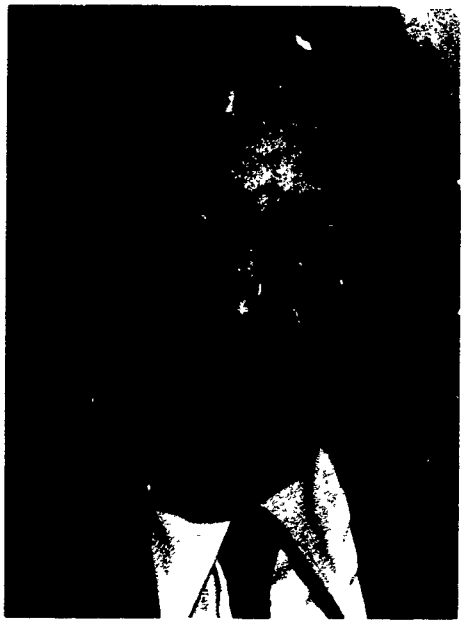
Foreword



Kenneth B Clark
Chairman

The facts and the tragedy of millions of youth at risk throughout America are made disturbingly clear by this report. It cites previous studies, reports, conferences, and programs designed to reduce the extent of the risks. What is equally clear, however, is that in spite of these reports, discussions, and programs, the number of youth at risk throughout the nation has not decreased, but, rather, has increased.

The problems related to at-risk youth appear to be intractable; yet while solutions evade our grasp, society has little difficulty diagnosing the personal, educational, and related social profile of these youth. Reports define the problems in detail. It is generally agreed that a disproportionate number of at-risk youth come from the socially, racially, and economically disadvantaged groups in our society. They are seen as the human detritus of the ongoing cycle of family and group deprivation. The symptoms of this deprivation are constantly negative, but attempts to understand, control, and remedy the causes of the problem are tantalizingly evasive.

As we seek to understand and cure the fundamental underlying problems of youth at risk, we are confronted with the fact that society is not only reluctant to face, but, by its rejection, is responsible for perpetuating the problem. At-risk youth are consciously or unconsciously perceived and treated as if they were expendable. The revelation of their expendability begins in the early stages of their education where they are subjected to inferior schools and low standards of learning. Early in their lives they are programmed to be victims of the prophecy that they cannot benefit from the standards and quality which are provided for children from more privileged groups. This pattern of inferior education, of low standards and expectations, continues through secondary school and culminates in failures, dropouts, and pushouts. The victims become aware that they are ignored, rejected, and neglected, and that schools, which are the inescapable agents of society, are not preparing them to play an economically and socially constructive role. They are the unavoidable victims of the larger pattern of social, racial, and educational discrimination.

Educational literature has been replete with rationalizations for why at-risk youth cannot be

taught and cannot be held to normal standards of achievement. Statements are made to the effect that the cultural deprivation of their families blocks the ability of these young people to learn, and therefore, they cannot be expected to benefit from effective teaching. Earlier explanations for the educational retardation of at-risk, rejected youth were that they were genetically inferior. More recent diagnoses are more sophisticated. Some educators now publicly state that these young people have quite different "learning styles" which interfere with their ability to be taught basic academic subjects. These remain the unstable educational foundations that perpetuate the cycle of youth at risk.

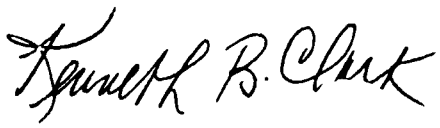
This mockery of democracy is not resolved by the occasional programs seeking to help a few of these students while ignoring the plight of the overwhelming majority of them. It is difficult to understand how a society which claims to be concerned with cost-effectiveness in its overall economy could, at the same time, continue to pay the high cost of producing increasing numbers of an unproductive underclass. An analysis of the ongoing problem of at-risk and demeaned youth reveals that this most precious of all resources, human beings, is being damaged and wasted. The bulk of the young people who are at risk are subjected to psychological genocide. They are robbed of self-esteem and the capacity to achieve. They are trivialized and relegated, at best, to ever decreasing job levels, and at worst, to correctional institutions whose per-capita cost is many times greater than the cost of effective education.

Instead of being encouraged to develop the qualities essential for a constructive role in a society, the whole pattern of their life experience is one of discouragement, despair, and internal and external self-destruction. It is a remarkable achievement when young people, born to these circumstances, can break out and assume productive lives. Yet the very presence of success stories shows that at-risk youth present not so much an intractable problem as a group whose potential society chooses to ignore. We can rescue at-risk youth for lives of opportunity if we have the will.

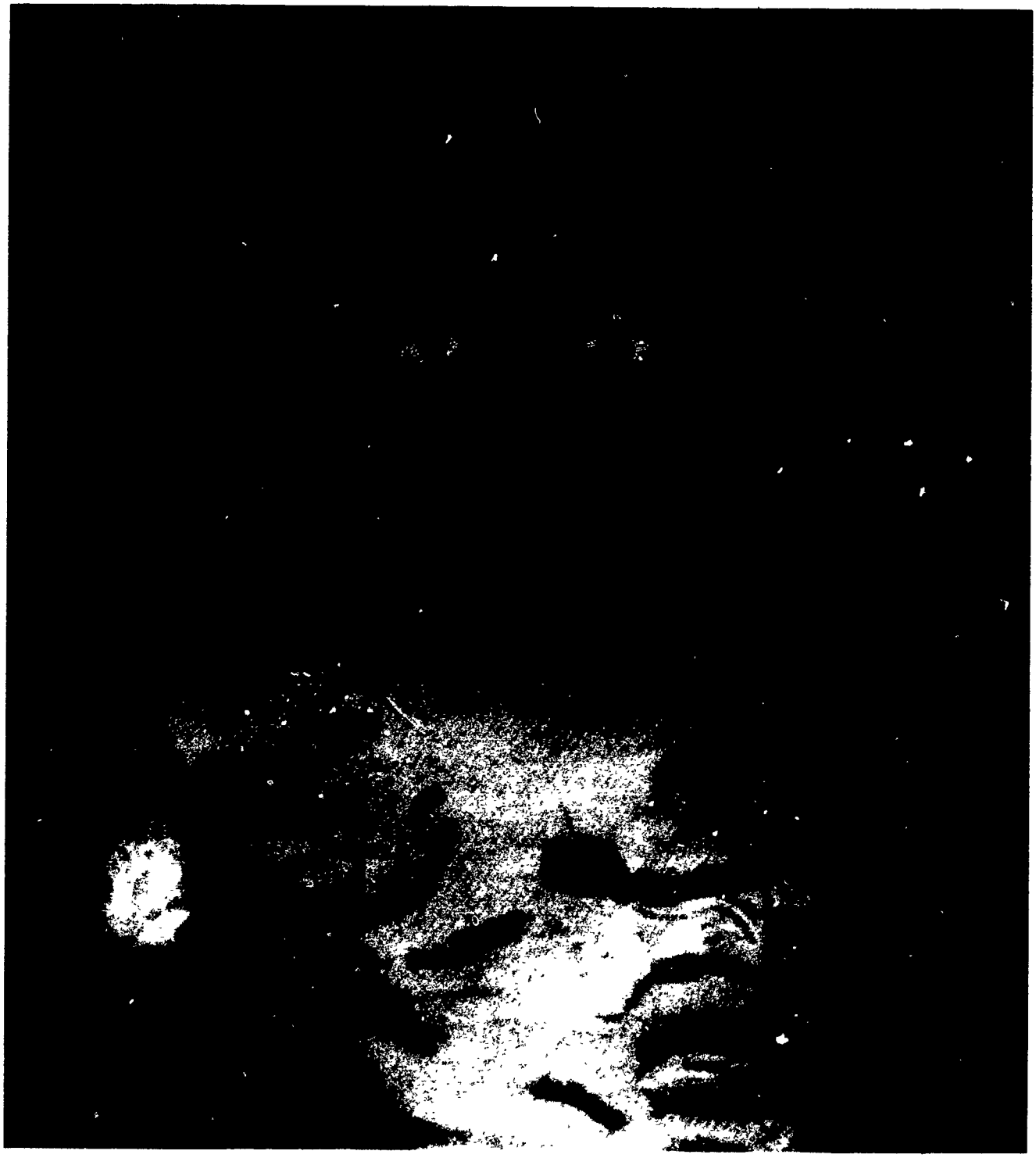
As one wrestles with this persistent cycle of human and social degradation, one is confronted with a fundamental proposition: The decisionmakers of our society and of our educational system do not identify or empathize with these rejected youth. We show them no respect nor the acceptance which is essential for them to develop as socialized human beings.

It appears that the very foundation of democracy is being corroded as our young people are consigned toward America's form of social concentration camps without walls. The plight of youth at risk will not be remedied until the social insensitivities of the larger society are faced and eliminated. A society which continues to erect excuses for abiding the educational inferiority of less privileged young people is perpetuating the pattern of at-risk youth and the fundamental risks of the society as a whole.

This report challenges each of us to turn America's shame into America's hope. All we need is the will to act.



Kenneth B. Clark
July 12, 1988



Sixth grader, Frank Fabars, painted "Self Portrait" while an art student at the North Central Center for Expressive Arts. The Center is a talent program housed at the Charles R. Drew Elementary School of the Dade County School District. Photo by Ryan Fike.

Chapter I
Executive Summary

A crisis exists in the back rows of America's public school classrooms. It has so far eluded the full attention of the much-bruited education reform movement of the 1980's. Yet its threat to our economic future, and to the lives of millions of American youth, is present, grave, and sure to become more costly to meet, the longer we delay in meeting it.

The crisis is the undereducation of a body of students presently constituting one in three in our classrooms, growing each year as a proportion of our educable young. Dominant in this body are the children of poverty—economically, culturally, racially, and ethnically disadvantaged. **They have come to be called youth "at risk" because they are at risk of emerging from school unprepared for further education or the kind of work there is to do. Often they are ready only for lives of alienation and dependency.**

They are said to be failing in school, and yet it is clear that it is we who are failing to educate them. The danger this failure of education poses to these youth and to all of us grows apace. It is best described first in terms of the realities of today's and tomorrow's job market and then in terms of the young Americans who will be expected to fill these jobs.

By 1990, barely two years from now, three out of four jobs will require educational or technical training beyond high school. Projections for the year 2000—12 years from now—are that new jobs will require a workforce whose median level of education is 13.5 years. That means, on the average, that the workers who fill these jobs will have to have some college training. Not to be the boss, mind you, but just to bring home a paycheck. Looked at another way, jobs in which a large proportion of workers have less than four years of high school are among the slowest growing and poorest paying in the economy, being outpaced by jobs requiring higher levels of mathematics, language, and reasoning skills—smarter jobs, then, and far more of them. The private-sector demand for employment is expected to reach 156.6 million by 1990, nearly twice that of 1978.

Who will fill these jobs? Everything points to a serious labor shortage whose shadow is already upon us. The number of young people available for work is declining. In 1978, young people 16 to 24 years of age were 23 percent of our total population. By 1995, they will be only 16 percent. This translates to a decline of about four million. Already, labor shortages have been reported and "help wanted" signs posted in store fronts; modern, retooled manufacturing plants; and service industries.

Fewer youth, more unfilled jobs—that is the prospect. And of these youth, an increasingly higher percentage will be minorities—by the year 2000, one out of every three Americans. The inescapable conclusion is that the youth who are at risk in school today and tomorrow will have to help fill those jobs if our economy is to continue to grow. Can they do it? If we had to answer that question as matters stand today, we would have to agree with the most experienced and thoughtful people who have looked at this problem: The answer is no, not a chance.

The children of poverty, who make up a disproportionate percentage of the at-risk population, can truly be described as educationally neglected. By virtually every standardized test administered to 9th graders and above, blacks and Hispanics score at 70 percent of white scores. The average black 17-year-old reads at the same level as the average white 13-year-old. As these disparities continue, we are in danger of creating the long-feared permanent underclass of unemployed and working poor at the same time we create whole new categories of jobs to go begging. **We are on the way to creating a soup-kitchen labor force in a post-industrial economy.**

The underclass has already begun to take form. The rate of dropping out of school has held steady at about 25 percent since the 1960's. Yet the real, mean earnings of 20- to 24-year-old male dropouts declined 41.6 percent (from $11,210 to $6,552) between 1973 and 1984. The decline for Hispanic young men for the same period was 38.6 percent. **The decline for young black males was 61.3 percent.** Interestingly, in the same period, black male college graduates were able to raise their income by 16.6 percent. It is not difficult to see why the gap between our wealthiest and poorest people is greater than at any time since these statistics were first kept in 1947. This depressing decline in earning capacity for undereducated minorities already is making its ugly mark on family life, breaking up homes, forestalling marriage. The truth is that many young Americans no longer can afford to get married. And for too many of our youth, the easy money of the drug world offers more incentive than our education system. "If you are black, Hispanic, or Indian, and live in the inner cities of this nation," writes Richard Green, Chancellor of the New York City school system, "there is about a 50-50 chance you will never have a long-term permanent career."

Minority youth make up the preponderance of this group of at-risk youth, but they are not the whole story. Studies have shown that the single common

characteristic of at-risk youth is not race or economic disadvantage, but low scores on tests of basic skills—reading, writing, and computing. One-half of all the 1979 juniors who scored in the bottom fifth of the Armed Forces Qualification Test for 16- to 17-year-olds had not graduated by 1981, whereas only 4 percent of those in the top fifth had not graduated. The authors of the study that recently presented these figures, Gordon Berlin and Andrew Sum, observe:
"If we want to reach the lowest-scoring dropouts who constitute the core of the dropout problem, we must address the syndrome that is the major cause of their leaving school: low achievement, falling behind modal grade, poor performance, and a sense that they cannot keep up with their peers."

Each year, nearly one million youth drop out of school. A million dropouts per year means that today, within our pre-school and school-age population, there are 12 million youngsters who will become dropouts by the year 2000. While a modest number—perhaps 2 million—may earn equivalency diplomas by the time they reach their twenties, the overwhelming odds are that at least as many of our high school graduates will be leaving school without the foundation necessary to obtain adequately paying and secure jobs.

We are not successfully reaching the majority of these youth. We are not successfully teaching basic skills or motivating youth to learn them. The implications for the youth are tragic as we have seen. The implications for the nation may be no less so. David T. Kearns, chairman and chief executive officer for Xerox, spoke for many American businessmen when he said: "The basic skills in our workforce—particularly at the entry level—are simply not good enough for the United States to compete in a world economy."

This report is an inquiry into the education reform movement of the 1980's with at-risk youth as the frame of reference. The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation asked MDC, Inc., to bring together a distinguished panel, knowledgeable in the field of educating and training youth, and to launch a study of how at-risk youth had fared in the educational-reform movement which began roughly with the publication of the National Commission on Excellence in Education's report, A Nation At Risk, in 1983. The Foundation asked MDC and the panel to look at the federal role in education reform during the 1980's and to concentrate its efforts on a survey of how the states, which assume primary responsibility for education, were performing. This report was written by MDC staff with the advice and review of the panel whose names appear elsewhere in this report.

It is sometimes forgotten that in A Nation At Risk, the National Commission identified as a federal role focusing the national interest on education and helping fund and support efforts to protect and promote that interest. Since the enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965, the federal role in elementary and secondary education has been closely identified with youth who meet the definition of "at risk"—socio-economically disadvantaged, English-deficient, and physically and mentally handicapped. More recently, students who are homeless, victims of abuse, substance abusers, and delinquents have been added to the list of youth drawing federal concern.

Yet, in the 1980's—the very years in which public recognition of the depth of the problem has begun to grow—the federal commitment to education has declined in real dollars by 23 percent. The federal share of the total education bill has declined from 8.95 percent in 1980 to 6.27 percent in 1987. Elsewhere in this report, we examine the ways in which that commitment has shrunk. At present, the federal commitment is sufficient only to serve:

- One out of every five low-income children in need of pre-school education.
- Two out of every five children in need of remediation.
- One out of every four children in need of bilingual education.
- One out of every 20 youth in need of job training.

What is tragic at this point beyond these dismal numbers is the lack of any policy toward at-risk youth. It is as though they did not exist, or as though we really did believe they are expendable, as Dr. Kenneth Clark suggests in the foreword to this study. Despite warnings from the private sector, from economists, from advocates—indeed, despite repeated public warnings from inside the administration itself—there is no federal comprehension of the problem, no strategy for its solution.

State and local spending for public schools, on the other hand, has increased. State spending has increased 26 percent beyond inflation since 1980—from $46.5 billion to $80.4 billion. Local dollars have increased 29 percent—from $40 billion to $70.5 billion. The bulk of this money, however, has gone to improving teacher salaries and lengthening the school day or school year. One study found that 43 states had strengthened high school graduation requirements, 14 states had adopted some kind of "merit" pay, and 37 had attempted to lure the best candidates among

college students into teaching through scholarships and other incentives. The researcher who produced these numbers noted: "Although standards have been made tougher, only a handful of states have appropriated additional moneys for counseling and remediation for those who will need assistance in reaching these standards." Nobody would question the wisdom of states seeking better teachers and motivating them to succeed. and most educators agree that standards in the classroom need to be higher. But enacting "instant" stricter standards without helping students already behind meet them can only be regarded as folly.

And that is exactly what we have been doing. Terrel H. Bell, former Secretary of Education and the man under whose administration A Nation At Risk was written, recently observed that the school reform movement is benefiting 70 percent of the students. "The other 30 percent are low-income, minority students and we are still not effectively educating them."

Our report confirms this finding. We estimate that only 5 percent of state education funds are being used specifically for service to at-risk youth. Furthermore, there is evidence in this report that some educational reforms actually are harming at-risk youth.

In late 1987 and early 1988, we surveyed each of the states to get a sense of where they were with regard to the broad spectrum of programs for at-risk youth. Based on the results of that survey, we placed the states on a four-phase continuum beginning with bare awareness of the problem and culminating with implementation of a state-wide program for at-risk youth. That continuum, which can be seen as the various stages, or phases, of development of services for at-risk youth, is detailed in Chapter IV.

When MDC surveyed the states' Excellence-in-Education commissions spawned by the A Nation At Risk report in 1985, we found what we thought was an appalling lack of awareness of at-risk youth in these bodies. Only 15 of the 54 commissions responding from 32 states had so much as one recommendation for educational reform aimed at a group that could be described as at risk. We were told, however, in telephone conversations with commission staff and members, and other educators, that the states themselves were farther ahead. However that may be, our survey now suggests that while all of the states have moved into the earliest phase of activity (Awareness), only 14—California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin—can safely be said to have reached the second phase of Action. Another 11—Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, and South Carolina—are showing real progress toward the Action Phase. So, in effect, half of the states at this point—nearing the end of this decade of focus on and funding for excellence in education—are barely aware of the existence of a problem with at-risk youth. Based on these results and those of our examination of federal involvement in the schools, we present findings and recommendations.

Former Secretary of Education William J. Bennett, in a recent report on the educational reform movement, handed out the grade of C+ to the schools but went on to say that the nation remains at risk. "The absolute level at which our improvements are taking place is unacceptably low," he wrote. "Too many students do not graduate from our high schools and too many of those who do graduate have been poorly educated. . . . Good schools for the disadvantaged and minority children are too rare, and the dropout rate among black and Hispanic youth in many of our inner cities is perilously high."

A level of improvements "unacceptably low" and a dropout rate for minorities "perilously high" seem to us to describe what we have seen with regard to service for at-risk youth in the American public schools. We would agree that the nation remains deeply at risk. We would further submit that too many of our youth are already beyond risk. We could not give the states of this nation a passing grade for what has been done for youth at risk up to now. We would have to hand out an F. At the bottom of the states' report card, we might write: "Still failing but at least beginning to pay attention in class."

For the federal government's own recent stewardship of the problem we can think of no appropriate grade. "Absent" is the school term that comes most readily to mind.

One of the more frustrating aspects of our current dilemma is that if one looks closely at the states, and at the processes and programs in place, it becomes clear that in many places progress is being made, some of it dramatic. It also is clear that we know how to teach at-risk youth and that the means to this end turn out to work for all youth. In our report, you will meet a few young people who have experienced failure and are beginning to experience success. Sadly, many others have come out of the school systems of our country

with little more than vague and likely vain hopes. We also have a look at alternative school programs that work in one of the numerous American communities in which programs like these function.

If we know what to do for our at-risk youth—if we know how to educate American youth better—can we afford to do it? We are convinced that the most formidable barriers to assisting at-risk youth do not concern lack of money but failure to perceive them as in need of specific long-term attention, resistance to institutional change at the state and local levels, and an absence of genuine leadership at the federal level.

That is not to say that money is not an issue. Everything costs money and quality education is no exception. But unlike expenditures for the concrete to build roads or the armor for defense, expenditures for education carry a systematic array of expanding societal benefits from one generation to another, while the failure to spend carries penalties of a severe sort, penalties which we have been paying exorbitantly in recent years. They attach to the quality of life in America, social as well as economic. But, by themselves, the economic benefits of real school reform to all of us are worth a look.

The Hudson Institute notes: "If every child who reaches the age of 17 between now and the year 2000 could read sophisticated materials, write clearly, speak articulately, and solve complex problems requiring algebra and statistics, the American economy could easily approach or exceed the 4 percent growth of the boom scenario. Unconstrained by shortages of competent, well-educated workers, American industry would be able to expand and develop as rapidly as world markets would allow. Boosted by the productivity of a well-qualified work force, U.S.-based companies would reassert historic American leadership in old and new industries and the American workers would enjoy the rising standards of living they enjoyed in the 1950's and 1960's."

Clearly, the national economic gains would be exponential. Each of us would share in the benefits of a healthy, expanding economy. Seen this way, the investment in a better, quality education for all young Americans is probably the soundest one this nation could make. Against this order of benefits, the increased educational costs are beggared.

Even if we take the narrower view, focusing economically only on the young people themselves, the bright and dark sides of the coin for all of us show in sharp relief.

- The 973,000 dropouts from the nation's high schools in 1981 will lose $228 billion in personal earnings over their lifetime, while society will lose $68.4 billion in taxes.
- On the other hand, the Committee for Economic Development found that every $1 spent on early prevention and intervention can save $4.74 in costs of remedial education, welfare, and crime further down the road. If we could but raise the mean-tested skills of our nation's 19- to 23-year-olds by one grade equivalent—a goal that would be considered within reach for any computer-assisted remediation program in the country in 50 hours—lifetime earnings would increase by 3.6 percent, according to researchers Berlin and Sum, "and the likelihood of births out of wedlock, welfare dependency, and arrests would decline by 6.5 percent, 5.2 percent, and 6.2 percent respectively."

It is against this backdrop of cost, wasted money, cost, wasted people, and more cost, that we must look at a greater investment in our school system. The real question is what would it cost us to eliminate some or much of this unconscionable waste? Or, to put it another way, how much are we willing to pay now to avoid paying almost five times as much later?

The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship has recommended that the federal government invest in at-risk youth an additional $5 billion annually over the next 10 years to serve between three and four million additional youth each year. If this expenditure of $50 billion were to be invested, it would still be less than society's loss of tax dollars from dropouts in a single school year over these youths' lifetime.

We are talking common economic sense here, but we are also talking about equity. In the 1970's, when state budgets were fatter, a major consideration in education was equity—the need to assist the poorer school districts with the bigger burden of economically disadvantaged students. In the 1980's, the emphasis has been on excellence in education. But too often, it is as though we had forgotten equity considerations entirely. The bulk of the new money that has gone into educational reform has not been distributed through equalization formulas. Only a handful of states have adopted policies for targeting scarce at-risk-youth funds to districts with the greatest need.

An example of the pernicious nature of this failure of equity is the distribution of computers in our public

schools today. While teacher tutoring, peer tutoring, and various other components including smaller class size must be in place for a successful remediation program, computer-assisted remediation has proved itself with at-risk adults and youth inside and outside the classroom. Yet a recent survey by the Educational Testing Service shows that only a small percentage of computers in schools are being used directly for teaching basic academic skills, and that these are preponderantly in the wealthier school districts rather than in the poorer ones where they are more needed.

The time has come for us to marry the equity considerations of the 1970's with the Excellence-in-Education concerns of the 1980's and begin educating in a way intended to reach every American youth instead of only those lucky, advantaged ones in the front rows.

Inequities on the order discussed here raise the question of whether our at-risk youth are considered expendable by the society into which they have been born. Every bit of evidence we have seen goes to the conclusion that most at-risk youth can learn and will learn, given patience, the proper opportunity, and the right tools. And, perhaps, great expectations from a skillful teacher. Jaime Escalante, whose high school students from a Los Angeles barrio have been routinely passing Advanced Placement calculus exams for several years now, is a fine teacher, but he is not alone. We have the teachers, we have the tools; do we have the will?

We have not shown that we do. The Reagan Administration set as a national goal a 90 percent graduation rate by 1990. In 1982, the national graduation rate was 69.7 percent. The national graduation rate for 1986 was 71.5 percent, a bare two percentage points higher than it had been four years before. And these were years in which the federal commitment to education declined.

Do we have the public will to make this possible? The time is propitious. In most polls, the public has demonstrated a willingness to support the cost of a quality education system. And in polls conducted over the last year, two out of three Americans said they wanted the federal government to be very involved in helping people get an affordable education.

In truth, we all bear a burden for action. As businesspersons and workers, as parents, as citizens, we all owe awareness and the willingness to act to solve the complex of problems put forth here. Acting for the future of our youth is not a spectator sport. While the burden of this report goes to what happens inside the schools, education is a community affair. Significant change will not occur until parents give willing educators their support, and until we as Americans—whatever our race, gender, or age—see our own future and our country's future in the eyes of all American children.

The states have taken a small step forward toward a future in which this nation ceases to treat a large portion of its youth as though they were expendable. Yet much remains to be done and time is short. We need a leap forward, a movement of saving grace for these young people of ours, a tender of this country's regard for its youth no less than for the survival of its economic leadership. The time is now. This opportunity will not come again, nor, perhaps, will another half as full of hope.

Findings

- Awareness that the problems of at-risk youth cannot be solved solely by measures designed to assist advantaged youth has grown among the educational and political leadership of the states.
- Discrete, scattered initiatives on behalf of at-risk youth can be found in all of the states, but often they are funded on a pilot basis without guarantees that success will result in funding for either continuation or replication.
- Although data exist on various sub-categories of at-risk youth, differences in collecting style make it impossible to add the numbers to arrive at an estimate of the size of the at-risk population in each state.
- While 45 states report having legislation bearing on the problems of one or more sub-groups of the at-risk population, most of it is piecemeal in nature, typically supporting a limited number of pilot programs. Funding for programs specifically targeted to at-risk youth rarely exceeds 5 percent of state education expenditures or affects more than 10 percent of the at-risk population.
- While policy statements from commissions, task forces, governors' offices, or state education departments can be found in 23 states in either draft or final form, no single state has an overarching policy addressed to at-risk, school-age youth.
- Lack of public concern for the problems of at-risk youth stands as a barrier to building comprehensive approaches to serving them.
- The potential to serve at-risk youth through the federally funded Job Training Partnership Act—the nation's current national effort at job training and employment—has not been fully realized in the majority of the states. Nevertheless, national funding for JTPA is insufficient to reach more than a small percentage of at-risk youth.
- In many states, information about programs for at-risk youth is not shared well at the state level or between the state and local levels.
- Although state funding for education has increased since 1980, resources continue to be used disproportionately for students who begin their education better off.
- The at-risk problem is both an urban and rural problem. In the cities, funding cutbacks have worsened a grim situation and in rural areas of the South, Southwest, and West, little is in place to serve at-risk youth.
- Little real evaluation or monitoring is being undertaken on programs for at-risk youth outside the limited scope of nationally sponsored demonstrations. In consequence, while many interesting-sounding programs exist, little information is available upon which to base judgments of effectiveness.
- Evidence mounts that certain features of the Excellence-in-Education movement are contributing to the dropout problem
- The educational-excellence reform movement has largely overlooked the need to modify instructional techniques for at-risk youth.

- That Congress and the President restore the federal partnership in education by increasing the federal funding commitment to at least 10 percent of all expenditures for pre-school, elementary, and secondary education (at current levels, this would translate to an increase in federal expenditures from approximately $10 billion to nearly $18 billion) and that the additional funds be earmarked for programs and services directly affecting at-risk youth.
- That Congress pass legislation charging the Department of Education with responsibility and authority for coordinating and managing the federal government's response to the at-risk problem, including the development of a common definition of "at-risk youth" to be used in designing and targeting future programs. This legislation should establish a data base for purposes of documentation, monitoring, and evaluation, and Congress should provide sufficient funds to enable the Department of Education to promote widespread replication of successful program strategies for at-risk youth.
- That the Department of Education undertake an analysis of the unintended and negative consequences for at-risk youth of current education reform and existing job training and vocational programs, and report the results and recommendations for change to Congress by September, 1989.
- That the White House lead a national crusade to make sure that the equity considerations of the 1970's are joined with the excellence in education concerns of the 1980's in a campaign to raise the educational attainment level in our public schools for all of our children.
- That every governor who has not already done so establish a special standing commission on at-risk youth to investigate the nature of the problem in the state, examine the unintended consequences for at-risk youth of current state education reform and job-training policy, and recommend a concerted program of action that includes clear and progressively challenging goals for addressing the problem similar to the continuum of effort described in this report. The membership of the commission should include representatives from all state agencies serving at-risk youth, business and industry, local schools, parents' groups, community-based organizations, and the public. Governors in states where such a commission or task force is already in place should review membership to assure representation of each of these groups.
- That governors vest responsibility in and provide resources to a single cabinet-level agency or arm of state government to implement and coordinate the recommendations produced by the standing commissions.
- That as part of its work, each state commission/responsible agency undertake a campaign to make the public aware of the needs of at-risk youth and the danger this failure of education poses to the state's and the nation's future.
- That this campaign also include a program to educate schools, Private Industry Councils, and community organizations about federal, state, and local programs and practices already in place for at-risk youth and about models of cooperative intervention.
- That each state legislature pass comprehensive legislation establishing state policy for meeting the educational needs of at-risk youth and for increasing the graduation rate each year until it reaches 90 percent. Until the graduation rate equals or exceeds this 90 percent, 60 percent of each new state dollar earmarked for education should be spent for instruction and services for at-risk youth and the localities should match this level of effort wherever possible.
- That the commissioner or superintendent of education of each state develop recommendations for the state board and the legislature on ways to facilitate the restructuring of the schools to better meet the needs of at-risk youth, and that the legislatures provide incentives to local districts to carry out restructuring measures that will benefit the neediest students in the district.
- That the governor and legislature of each state develop measures that will assure equity between richer and poorer school districts in the distribution of funds targeted for educational reform.

Chapter II
Young Americans on the Brink

Drop in on any city or town, and say that you want to talk with the kids who are struggling to make it in school, or who have dropped out, and you will be squired around to a great variety of programs. You will see effort and some success, too. You will feel the struggle going on for the future of these young Americans—you will feel also the despair good teachers feel for the multitude of young people who are not here, not there, not really anywhere.

The names and faces of these kids are similar, city by city; their stories are similar, as well. If the term "at-risk youth" is familiar, you will recognize those whose stories are briefly told in this chapter. If not, you may find—whether or not to your surprise—that these are your children, too.

Here are three young persons who happen to be from Albuquerque, New Mexico, but whose experiences are typical of many of the nation's youth who are on the brink. They include both slow and able learners, minorities and whites, girls and boys. These three are actually luckier than most of the nation's at-risk youth, because they live in a generally progressive city of 350,000 with a reputation for having a good safety net of programs for youth. Although there is a tendency to think that the at-risk youth problem affects only megalopolises where it is compounded by sheer weight of numbers, thousands of at-risk youth live in small and mid-sized towns and in rural outlies; they are as much in need as youth living anywhere else. And while the nation's 14 largest school districts—New York City; Los Angeles; Chicago; Miami (Dade County); Philadelphia; Houston; Detroit; Honolulu; Dallas; Fort Lauderdale (Broward County); Fairfax County, Virginia; Tampa (Hillsborough County); Baltimore; and San Diego—frequently have a disproportionate number of dropouts, they nevertheless account for only 9 percent of the nation's public elementary and secondary enrollment. We might have gone to a dozen other cities north, east, south, or west to find what we found one day in Albuquerque, where we met Carlos, Susan, and Matthew, three youth at risk who had been pulled back from the brink.

Carlos

Slim, animated, a speaker by nature, full of graceful hand gestures, eyebrow punctuations, expressive language, Carlos was a problem to his high school. As he sees it, his high school was a problem to him, as well. Carlos did not like what he felt was the lockstep regimentation of the school; for their part, the school's administrators did not like the way Carlos was handling the everyday discipline of school life. It was a serious conflict of style between them.

"I was getting good grades, you see. I always got pretty good grades, from way back in school. So I would say, one day, this is the day I will not go to school. Then the next day I would be back and they would be on my case and I would tell them, o.k., I will make it up. How can I make it up? They kept saying no, you don't see, you are missing these days. Not many days, now, you see, but it was a big deal to them even though I was keeping up the work and getting good grades.

"Well, I got thrown out once and I thought, well, I got to get back in because, you know, that's the way school is. They had me believing that it had to be that way and I came back. So what happens next? I got into an argument with an assistant principal. Well, it was over some of the same kinds of things. And I was out again, just like that. So I had worked in the summer as a cook, but my mother wanted me to get back in school. Hey, I wanted to get back in school. Not wanting to be in school is not my problem, believe me."

Carlos talks about cooking with a passion that is infectious. "I love it. It is hard, but it is good. I have been cooking since I was in the 8th grade. You use your eye, your ear, your sense of smell. Everything comes into play. You must learn how to make your sauces come up right, consistently, every time. You do this with one hand and you are doing two other things with your other hand. Pressure? Yes, it is pressure. You have to learn how to deal with it. If you love cooking, you deal with it. If it's too much, sometimes you blow it. The waitresses are hollering for their orders and sometimes you blow it and you have to sit down somewhere and cool it for a while. . .then you are o.k. again and you apologize to the waitress and you can go back at it. But you learn to keep your cool. You must be ready. Your stove must shine. You must learn to handle the grease blisters and the standing up and the moving and doing three things at once. A cook does everything. If a customer is out there and needs a glass of water and the waitresses are busy, it's your job to get out there and put that water on the table. Everything. Whatever is needed. Yes, I love it."

If you have had four brothers and three sisters, all grown now, and you have lived in the South Valley in Albuquerque all of your life, you know about the School on Wheels. It is a school for the kids who are, for whatever reason, out of school. Carlos called. He

was told to keep calling, every day, until there was an opening. He did. Then one day he was told to show up the next morning.

"I could see it was different right away. Everybody was so nice. Classes are smaller. Students have a right to speak and help resolve things. Everybody respects you. Everybody is on a first name basis. You don't have a hassle. If you don't feel good, you can go home and come back tomorrow and get it done."

Carlos is 18 now and has moved out of his mother's family's house. He will graduate next year with a high school diploma. He is cooking in a local restaurant for $4 an hour. One of his teachers told us that on a bad day not so long ago, Carlos thought about quitting high school, worried that he would not find a college where he could learn to be a chef. She took him to a computer terminal in the school, where they called up several such institutions right there in Albuquerque. In the School on Wheels, teachers develop jobs or find additional sources of education for their children, hang in there with them until the kids are placed. That is as important to them as seeing that the kids graduate.

Susan

Susan's father has been in and out of prison since she was a little girl. This is not something that you find out right away, but only after talking with her for a while. Susan's mother works in a factory, and she would let Susan deliver her to her job and then take the car on to school. Only Susan didn't go to school. She was in the 10th grade and had no credits toward graduating. She and her friends had a knack for trouble, though, and were constantly exercising it. She remembers the Susan of those days:

"I had a horrible attitude. It was like I didn't care about myself or anyone else. I used to argue with my grandparents terribly and they were just trying to help me. It hurts me now to think of that. I know I was at fault, but it is true that the teachers in that school I was going to did not care if you stayed or went, it was all the same to them. I don't think it mattered a bit whether I got kicked out or dropped out. One day I wasn't there. That was it."

The South Valley grapevine identified School on Wheels to Susan, and she took to it immediately. "It was like a family community. My teacher, I call her my second mother. We go at it a lot, she and I. I've only told her I was going to leave her class two times. (Laughs.) But I love her. It's like everyone here is your friend. I'm much more responsible now. If it wasn't for School on Wheels, I would be nowhere, I would be a dropout."

A pretty girl with her brownish hair tied back on her head, Susan fell in love and gave birth to a daughter two years ago. "I wish I could have waited. We were going to get married. I thought it was forever. (Shrugs.) I know it's me now, nobody else but me. If I want things for me and my daughter, it's all on me. That's o.k."

Life is better now for Susan. Her mother has remarried, and Susan respects her stepfather. She and her daughter live with them. It is three years since she first came to School on Wheels. She is working now as a receptionist and wants to be a child psychologist. "I've been through a lot of things, and I've seen a lot of hurt, and I want to be able to help other kids who are confused and in trouble. I want to make it better for them than it was for me."

We talked with Susan in the principal's office while he tended to business elsewhere. On his desk was a simple nameplate. It said Felipe. He came back after the interview and talked with us. Felipe Perea is a relaxed, smiling man who likes to talk about what the school does. It really isn't a school on wheels at all, but a solid, deceptively large building, the last adobe building in the Albuquerque school system. It is called a school on wheels because the students need wheels of some sort—bikes or cars—to get to their jobs in the afternoon. Classwork in the morning, and jobs in the afternoon—a pretty good prescription it seems to us after many years of looking at school-to-work transition for kids in need of confidence in the work world as well as academic success. Dropouts and potential dropouts are the specific province of this school. Its academic side is funded by the Albuquerque Public Schools and its job side is funded by the federal Job Training Partnership Act.

Mr. Perea explains that students are referred to the school by administrators in the regular high school system. Every six weeks new students are enrolled. There are no letter grades, no failures, no dress code. Perhaps because the kids are even allowed to wear gang insignia if they really want to, nobody does. Credit is given for school and work, and every six weeks there is an evaluation of progress.

The goal is a high school diploma. In New Mexico, up until this year, diplomas have been awarded at two levels, one a simple diploma indicating that the

required work was done, and another a "gold seal" diploma indicating passage of a proficiency exam. This year the legislature has imposed a competency examination that Perea and others consider far more difficult than the old proficiency examination. "It's got chemistry, geometry, some pretty advanced mathematics; it's designed for high school students preparing for college." The kicker is that if you don't pass this exam, you don't get a diploma at all. Perea invited local legislators in to visit the School on Wheels recently, and they admitted that they had not thought of this school population at all in connection with the bill.

Perea points out that the Albuquerque public school system has a 20 percent dropout rate presently—his own school has a 25 percent rate but that is, remember, with kids who are already dropouts. He is concerned that the rate will be greater with the new exam. "We have to ask ourselves, if we are going to make it harder for these kids to graduate, are we also going to make it possible for them to reach the point of graduation," Perea says.

Matthew

Matthew is a slow study, quiet, a bit shy, not one to create problems for himself or others. He came in from his job to talk with us and seemed ill at ease at first, loosening up gradually. Matthew's trouble was that he was slow in school, at least compared to the rest in his class in the South Broadway section of town, where many of Albuquerque's poor blacks live. He was all right in his freshman year in high school, but the water got deep suddenly after that and Matthew dropped out. His sister, employed in food service in a local hospital, latched onto him and sent him where she herself had gone, to the Youth Development, Inc., Walter Street Alternative school, where preparation is for a General Educational Development (GED) diploma. More specifically, she sent him to Janet Schaffer, an effusive, outspoken instructor who feels that the kid hasn't been born yet that she can't teach.

Many of the pupils who learn in the rambling building where she teaches are adjudicated youth, 7th, 8th, and 9th grade dropouts who have been in trouble with the law. They have failed in school and are told that they are failing in society. "The first thing they have to learn," she says, "is that they are not just a piece of junk (she used another word) and that they matter. They find out right away that they matter to me. That's something," she grinned. "Not much maybe, but something."

Matthew dropped out in the 10th grade but Miss Schaffer thinks he should never have made it out of the 7th. We went over some multiplication exercises he did when he first came to this alternative school, and she showed how he customarily reversed the number to total and the number to carry. "I stood here with him and held his hand and told him that he would get that right if it took so long that we both turned into statues," she said. "And he got it right. That's individual instruction." She beamed a proud and at the same time self-deprecatory grin. "I do individual instruction."

Slowly, Matthew began to edge ahead. He had the good example of his sister, another of the 10 children living in this single-parent family, a sweet girl, shy like Matthew, who blossomed under Miss Schaffer. And he had some motivation supplied by a brother who joined the Army and is a sergeant stationed in El Paso, Texas. His mother works as a maid and counts it as a blessing when one of her children moves up and out of South Broadway. "It was a nice place to live until a couple of years ago," Matthew says. "Now we have people getting shot and stabbed. Money and drugs."

Miss Schaffer has a different kind of concern, one that dovetailed with Perea's, although we talked with the two separately and without either knowing we were talking with the other. "They are changing the rules on us," she said. "Beginning in August, as I understand it, they will be requiring a 200-word essay for the GED. If I tell these kids they have to do that, I will have a lot of stomachaches on my hands. I've got some tough cases here, and I'm afraid I will lose some of them."

The theme of "losing" kids ran through our conversations here, as in other metropolitan areas we visited. Miss Schaffer pointed out that a lot of her students live in group homes in the area. "We have a classic runaway group here. One kid got his GED one day and ran away again the next. We don't want to lose any more of them than we can help. And we don't want them to struggle and succeed and then blow it all on some essay. Me? Oh, I'm coaching the essay already."

Carlos, Susan, and Matthew are success stories, but there are far more losses than gains in dealing with dropouts and pushouts from the public school system. The big area of loss is from the 10th grade

dropout wave. Public schools can't seem to help these youth and alternative schools are too few; besides, few of these kids are savvy enough to realize that the alternative schools are different, that they will be coached and helped, and that they can go on and get a diploma. Each kid needs a "connection" to further schooling. Most don't find it, at least not for a long while. In 1985, over half of the 25-year-olds who had dropped out of school as teen-agers still had no equivalency diploma.

We asked the young people we talked with what they would do to make regular school more responsive to the needs of similar students. While each had the kind of personal variation you might expect, each also mentioned smaller classes and more individual attention. "It's not really the teachers' fault," we heard more than once. "They are overwhelmed by numbers." Albuquerque's Miss Schaffer, like other individual instruction teachers we have talked with around the country, does not think that the necessary help has to break the budgetary bank. "If you take a class of 30, figure that six need special help. Fifteen minutes a day. I could do five classes of these kids a day, 30 kids. If we were doing that early enough, we wouldn't have all these basket cases coming up to the 9th and 10th grades. Matthew would have been able to make it in regular school. Fifteen more kids who dropped out and disappeared would have been able to make it too." The idea seems eminently reasonable, especially in the light of recent studies that show that in regular classrooms students are actually engaged in learning only about 12 of the 45-50 minutes of the class because of the distractions caused by classmates, interruptions for announcements, roll call, directions from the teachers, and the like.

What of the tools of modern technology? The School on Wheels has a computer library where the students go to do individualized, self-paced, open entry and open exit learning. They go as fast as they can and are not pushed beyond their depth. Nobody fails; some succeed sooner than others. Miss Schaffer is one of those no-nonsense individual instructors who make sure that you know that she believes that the computer is just "another tool" and no substitute for the teacher. Still, she has a new bank of Apple IIs in her classroom and a youth banged happily away on one of these all during our conversation. Then, with a characteristic burst of enthusiasm, she broke out an instruction book for her new computers to show us: Guided Reading Program. "With this baby," she said, "I just may be able to take learning disability kids and make real progress with them."

Carlos, Susan, and Matthew are among the lucky ones. It takes no special effort to go into an American city and find sadder stories. In one Southeastern city, we found a 28-year-old grandmother and a high school where only one of the 101 students taking college boards scored high enough to qualify for entrance to public four-year, post-secondary institutions. Examples of teen-aged suicides related in some way to perceived failure in school are equally easy to find. More often, however, the at-risk youth who falls through the net winds up on the fringe, the outskirts of society, with nothing much going for him or her. These are the big majority of at-risk youth. Nothing was so telling in our visit to Albuquerque as the information that perhaps only one of 15 of the high school dropouts ended up in an alternative school situation. If all of these kids around the country are seen as failing in regular school, and many who could succeed in an alternative situation cannot be placed there, then who is failing whom? And who speaks now for the many, many youth who fall through the net and land, fully grown, in a country so familiar but at once so alien, that has nothing for them?

How do we go about defining America's at-risk youth, and how many of them are there? Definitions abound, but there is consensus, leaving mostly differences that are not really distinctions. Potential candidates for at-risk status are economically or educationally disadvantaged youth. They are teen mothers, limited English-speaking students, handicapped students, truants, juvenile offenders, substance abusers, minorities, children from single-parent homes, victims of abuse, migrants, and homeless children.

We think that anyone's child can be at risk, if his or her learning styles are not those of the majority. But it is clear as well that the biggest group of at-risk youth are the children of poverty, and that of this group, minorities are preponderant. In 1985, 68.6 percent of all 15- to 24-year-olds living in poverty were white, but this is changing, with blacks living in poverty becoming a greater part of the total and Hispanics moving even faster into the slipstream of poverty. By the year 2000, Hispanics, who are generally far behind in terms of literacy (given the nature of language differences) and skills, will be the largest single minority in the population, ranging from 25 to 30 million, 11 percent of the total population.

Hispanics are the youngest and fastest growing population in the nation, with almost one-third of their total population under 15 and two-thirds under 34. Many schools have been unready for the big influx of Hispanic students, with few Hispanic professionals on hand to assist non-Hispanic professionals in understanding the needs and aspirations of Hispanic children. Additionally many Hispanic children are not placed in strong academic programs, but in general or vocational programs, often with no real attention paid to their aspirations or capacity. It is small wonder that the national Hispanic dropout rate is 39.9 percent.

Migrant students, virtually all minority, often are saddled with the triple disadvantage of poverty, poor English capability, and constant mobility. They drop out of school at a rate unparalleled by any other group in the country—about 50 percent—and usually fall into a pattern of low pay and frecuent unemployment. There are proportionately more at-risk youth among migrants than any other identifiable group in the country.

Native Americans constitute another kind of problem. Many live on reservations, far from services that other youth take for granted. They have a dropout rate of 42 percent and often face bleak futures whether they remain on the reservation or move to the city.

Youth with physical and mental disabilities make up another considerable portion of the children at risk. In the age bracket 15 to 24, they number approximately four million, and have a dropout rate of around 40 percent and unemployment rates of between 30 and 50 percent. While these children are being educated increasingly under the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, federal funding for this act has lagged far behind the need.

Rural children, black and white, face a variety of problems. Some rural areas of the Midwest can boast of high graduation rates, yet other rural areas, including some of the counties in Appalachia, have dropout rates as high as 50 percent. The problem is compounded in a number of poor, southern states where illiteracy among black adults approaches 60 percent. Rural areas are sometimes caught in a "damned if you do and damned if you don't" situation. The more they educate their youth, the greater the likelihood their children will leave the area for better jobs elsewhere. Yet, the more they recruit new industry to their area, the greater the probability that older youth will drop out of school to take advantage of the new source of jobs.

For purposes of this paper, we have elected to provide a coverall definition of at-risk youth that is simpler and, we think, adequate to an understanding of the problem:

> An at-risk youth is one who has left school or is predictably in danger of leaving school without the skills to be a productive and self-reliant citizen and to succeed in today's workplace and hence, in society.

Given what we know about these groups in danger, can potential dropouts be predicted? Research suggests that the strongest predictors of which students will drop out include 1) being two or more years behind grade level, 2) being pregnant, and 3) coming from a home where the father dropped out of school. Gary Wehlage, associate director of the National Center on Effective Secondary Schools at the University of Wisconsin, cites marginal characteristics of at-risk youth as 1) being typically in the bottom 25 percent of the class; 2) frequently failing some courses; 3) being behind on credits to graduate; 4) lacking basic skills; and 5) having attitude and conduct problems.

Research indicates that boys and girls drop out of school at approximately the same rate. While there are many predictors of dropping out that apply equally to girls and boys, there are others that seem to affect females more than males. These include the mother's education level, early socialization experiences that teach girls to be less assertive, cognitive differences in the way girls and boys learn, teacher interaction patterns that favor boys' responses and learning styles, and curricular selections that may leave girls without the prerequisites for higher-paying jobs and careers.

As we are teaching in the schools now, these problems add up to one million dropouts a year plus an unknown number of youth who graduate but are prepared for little beyond the simplest entry level jobs.

A million dropouts per year means that today, within our pre-school and school-age population, there are 12 million youngsters who will become dropouts by the year 2000. Last year, nearly three-quarters of the 240,320 17- to 19-year-old dropouts who took the GED exam passed. At that rate we might expect to reclaim 2 million at-risk youth before they reach their twenties. But the overwhelming odds are that at least as many of our high school graduates will be leaving school without the foundation necesary to obtain adequately paying and secure jobs.

To say then, that 12 million of our children are at risk is conservative.

It is clear to anyone who teaches at-risk young people or indeed to anyone who has looked at the problem in a more than cursory way that their needs are different from and of a greater order than those of their brothers and sisters from more fortunate backgrounds. Other needs, shared by all adolescents, are often felt more by at-risk youth because they are not so readily filled at home. David A. Hamburg, president of the Carnegie Foundation, has listed these needs this way:

- The need to find a place in a valued group that provides a sense of belonging;
- The need to identify tasks that are generally recognized in the group as having adaptive value and that therefore earn respect when skill is acquired for coping with the task;
- The need to feel a sense of worth as a person;
- The need for reliable and predictable relationships with other people, especially a few relatively close relationships—or at least one.

Gary Wehlage and his colleagues have concluded from their studies that alienation from teachers and the school is a common characteristic of youth who drop out and that other factors may be overrated as predictors compared to the primary matters of students' perception of teacher interest in them and the effectiveness and fairness of school discipline.

Finally, all students need parental support. A battery of recent studies leaves no doubt that this is a crucial factor in the success of children in school. The approval of caring adults—parents and others—often makes the difference between children who succeed in school and life and children who do not.

The reader should have little difficulty finding Carlos, Susan, and Matthew in these identifying characteristics and needs of at-risk youth. For them, the school system and their family backgrounds combined to form obstacles to their staying in school. They are, each of them, classic dropouts, in the sense that their experience, taken together, touches on the common threads of failure in school.

What can be done? Clearly the schools need help—from parents, from employers, from social agencies, from the community at large. Just as clearly, schools have to be the locus for any reform of education. We must begin there. In the upcoming chapters, we will be describing what has been done at the federal and state levels to assist at-risk youth to date and examining what remains to be done. But before going on we would like to cite one final need of at-risk youth.

It is stated in one sentence spoken by the actor Edward James Olmos, portraying Jaime Escalante, the teacher, in the film "Stand and Deliver." Speaking to doubters on the faculty, he says: "Kids will live up to the level of our expectations."

Escalante's kids from Garfield High School in East Los Angeles were taught calculus in 1982 over the objections of several faculty members, who considered that these Hispanic youth from the barrio would simply be disillusioned by the experience. Eight of Escalante's 13 students passed the Advanced Placement examination and most have since gone on to undergraduate, and in some cases, postgraduate degrees. Garfield has enjoyed oustanding success since then in enabling students to pass the A.P. exam and currently has a calculus class numbering 145.

Escalante expected his kids to pass the course. He demanded a great deal from them, but he let them know that he believed in them. **For at-risk youth, who often have had little support in their lives, no single need in school would rank higher than the need for a skillful teacher with great expectations of them.**

Chapter III
Two Steps Back: What the Federal Government Isn't Doing

Five years ago, the National Commission on Excellence in Education produced the report, A Nation At Risk, which has since been described as "the 35 pages that shook the education world." The language best remembered from this report reads this way: "The educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and a people."

But while the call to arms for educational excellence was clear, it is generally forgotten that this call was issued to the federal government as well as to the states. The Commission made it clear that there was a role for every level of government to help reform our educational system. The federal role, the report said, was the primary one—to identify the national interest in education and to help fund and support efforts to protect and promote that interest.

So much for public education at large. The Commission did not dwell on the problems of the lower third of American youth in schools. If it had, it might have emphasized that it was to this body of youth—those at risk in school—that the federal government had aimed most of its assistance in the past. Since the enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965, the federal role in elementary and secondary education has been closely identified with programs that meet the needs of socio-economically disadvantaged youth, English-deficient youth, and physically and mentally handicapped youth. More recently, students who are homeless, victims of abuse, substance abusers, and delinquents have been added to the list of youth drawing federal concern.

So it is fair—the commission's report to one side for a moment—to ask what the federal record has been first for all youth in education in the 1980's. The answer is unequivocal:

The federal role in education has neither increased nor has remained the same since 1980. In real dollars the federal commitment has declined by 23 percent, and in terms of the share of the education bill footed by the federal government, its contribution has declined from 8.95 percent in 1980 to 6.27 percent in 1987.

This decrease in federal commitment to education has a far greater impact than even these figures suggest for at-risk youth. For it was here that the federal contribution in dollars was greatest, and it is here that the blow falls most harshly. The decrease noted above can be seen as nothing less than a direct threat to the well-being of at-risk youth and to the quality of education offered to one-third of our youth, the one-third whose inability to move ahead has contributed most heavily to the tide of mediocrity.

Consider, for example, that in fiscal year 1987, $3.65 billion of the federal outlays supported the remediation program under Chapter I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Between 1980-87, federal spending for Chapter I actually declined 17.2 percent after adjustments for inflation. Enrollments dropped by more than 500,000. Currently the Department of Education estimates that Chapter I funds are sufficient to serve only about 40 percent of the youth eligible for services—those scoring less than 50 percent on standard tests. While the administration proposed a $200 million increase for fiscal 1988, this amount (5.5 percent) would barely offset inflation since 1987. Certainly it cannot offset declines from earlier years of inflation. Certainly it cannot absorb the significant increase in children needing help. To imagine that it is appropriate for present circumstances is irresponsible.

Other education programs have fared even worse. Most have not had funding increases in a number of years, and several have been scheduled for elimination. A small, but important initiative, the Follow Through Program, is one that has been on the cut list for several years. With just $7.2 million in funds, this program designs and disseminates outstanding models of compensatory education for low-income children in the early elementary grades, seemingly an especially appropriate federal role under "the new federalism."

Another program that has not been allowed to expand to meet needs is Head Start, the pre-school program for low-income children. The consensus is that Head Start is a successful program, and while federal expenditures have grown from $912 million in 1982 to $1.1 billion in fiscal year 1987, the 20.6 percent increase is less than the inflation experienced during that period. More to the point, perhaps, the program currently serves less than 20 percent of all eligible 3- to 5-year-olds.

Head Start and Chapter I funding illustrate an obvious shortfall between what is needed by younger at-risk youth and what the federal government is providing. We decided to examine other federal programs targeted at at-risk youth to see how older youth are faring. Our list of federal programs for at-risk youth included education for the handicapped, bilingual education, vocational education (especially the set-asides for educationally disadvantaged and handicapped children) the Job Training Partnership Act's II-A and B training for youth, Job Corps, and the youth employment activities supported under the Community Service Block Grants. In the appendix is a

state-by-state listing of the allocations for each of these programs as well as for Head Start and Chapter I.

For the nation as a whole, these programs were making the following funds available for service to at-risk youth during fiscal year 1987:

Head Start	**$ 1.1**	**billion**
Follow Through	**7.2**	**million**
Chapter I	**3.65**	**billion**
Education for the Handicapped	**1.3**	**billion**
Bilingual Education	**128.8**	**million**
Vocational Education Set-asides (youth and adults)	**378.0**	**million**
JTPA Title II-A	**736.0**	**million (est.)**
JTPA Title II-B	**750.0**	**million**
Job Corps	**612.5**	**million**
Community Service Block Grants	**6.9**	**million***
Estimated Total:	**$ 8.7**	**billion**

**Amount used by states for youth at-risk out of $335 million.*

In addition, federal departments are making small amounts of discretionary funds available for demonstration programs. Recent grant awards have provided $400,000 from the Department of Labor to five communities to replicate Brooklyn High School's alternative education program; $500,000 from DOL and the Department of Health and Human Services to six communities to demonstrate integrated service programs for teen-age parents; $325,000 from DOL to 18 communities to replicate the Boston Compact school-to-work programs; $1.6 million from DOL and DHHS to 13 states for Youth 2000 grants; $550,000 from DOL to 10 states to implement legislation for at-risk youth; and $24 million from the Department of Education to an estimated 125 educational agencies and community-based organizations for dropout prevention programs.

As with Head Start and Chapter I programs, however, these programs for older at-risk youth were at best serving only a small fraction of the youth eligible and in need of service. In our survey of the 50 states, we found that JTPA Title II-A programs, which can provide education and training-related services to both in-school and out-of-school youth and dropouts, were reaching only 2.1 percent of the 14- to 15-year-olds and 7.3 percent of the 16- to 21-year-olds eligible and in need. (Chapter IV provides greater analysis of the kinds of services youth were receiving under these programs.)

Federal funding for handicapped youth in school typically accounts for only 5 to 15 percent of the total funding (including state and local) directed to this target group in each state. Federal funding for bilingual education has been decreasing in absolute dollars in most states and accounting for a smaller and smaller portion of the states' overall spending for bilingual education. In our survey of the states, half reported that the number of limited English-proficient children was increasing, and only 8 percent reported that the numbers were actually going down during this period of federal retrenchment. Some states, such as New York, have countered the loss of federal revenues by increasing their own allocations by as much as 50 percent.

We were less successful in determining how well vocational education, community service block grants, and the Job Corps were able to serve those potentially eligible for service. States do not generally account for vocational education clients by the age and at-risk categories we put to them, yet there are at least four pots of vocational funds that could be used for at-risk youth. Two of these, set-asides for grants to community-based organizations and sex-equity grants, were touching only an estimated 15,000 at-risk youth. We found 22 states in which a portion of the community-service block grants were being used for at-risk youth, but usually this amounted to less than 5 percent of the total grant. In some of these states, block-grant funds supported just one program in one community. The Job Corps, with a capacity of 40,500, was serving approximately 60,000 youth, aged 16 to 24 in 1987. (The service level exceeded capacity since not all youth stayed in the Corps a full year.)

If we add these disparate pieces together, we can get an estimate of the number of youth in need actually being served by federal funds at present:

One out of every five low-income children in need of preschool education.
Two out of every five children in need of remediation.
One out of every four children in need of bilingual education.
One out of every 20 youth in need of job training.

In addition to being insufficiently funded to come close to meeting the needs, these federal programs have a variety of quirks that limit their effectiveness. Chapter I funds, for example, are allocated to counties and then to school districts based on the

number of children from low-income families living within their boundaries. The districts may determine in which schools they will use the Chapter I funding, but in general they must locate programs in attendance areas having the highest concentrations of low-income children. This selection process makes it possible for a district with 10 very poor schools to target resources to five of them, for example, while another school district with 10 not-so-poor schools targets perhaps its poorest two schools. But those two may have fewer poor children than the five schools in the first district that received no funding. Studies supported by the Department of Education have shown that about 75 percent of all public elementary schools and 36 percent of all public middle and high schools offer Chapter I services. **However, because of the targeting and selection processes used, 13 percent of the poorest elementary schools (half or more of their students coming from poor families) do not have Chapter I programs. By way of contrast, 57 percent of the wealthiest districts (15 percent or less of their enrollment from poor families) do have Chapter I programs.**

JTPA has severe limitations for serving at-risk youth as well. Under JTPA's predecessor, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), economically disadvantaged youth could participate in education and training programs for unlimited time periods and with relatively few restrictions regarding the nature of the training experience. Under JTPA—which was designed more to the needs of the adult workforce—youth programming has taken on different characteristics. For one thing, it is more difficult for operators to offer long-term services to youth, such as remedial education or work experience, because the performance criteria used to measure effectiveness under JTPA place premiums on low cost and quick placements into unsubsidized jobs. In recognition of this, Congress specified that 40 percent of all Title II-A training funds go to serve youth. Unfortunately, the pressure for quick placement has led to a great deal of underspending here. Other funds available under Title II-A, known as the 8 percent allocation, offer greater flexibility because they are not subject to the same performance or eligibility criteria, but states are not bound to use this money for youth and some—as we will see in Chapter IV—do not.

JTPA Title II-B programs for summer employment of economically disadvantaged youth also have suffered in terms of ability to serve at-risk youth in the transition from CETA. Funding levels for 1988, $718 million, are 4 percent below 1987 levels and 13 percent below 1985 levels. These cuts have come at the same time that requirements to provide remediation have been added to the program, thereby improving overall quality but lowering the number of youth who can be served. In 1987, for example, just 565,000 youth were enrolled in the program compared to 748,000 the previous summer.

The Job Corps has had its problems, too. In 1986, the administration proposed rescinding 32 percent of the Corps' Fiscal 1986 appropriation as a budget-cutting measure. This recision plus a proposed reduction in 1987 funding would have reduced the program capacity by almost half (40,500 to 22,000) by closing the more expensive centers, those with a record of turning out graduates more likely to be hired and thus more likely to repay the costs of their training. Although Congress successfully turned back this effort, the uncertainty of allocations from year to year has made it difficult for program directors to consider long-term improvements.

All this suggests that the federal stewardship with respect to at-risk youth in recent years must be characterized by the word neglect, and a not especially benign neglect at that. The performance leads to our first recommendation:

RECOMMENDATION: *That Congress and the President restore the federal partnership in education by increasing the federal funding commitment to at least 10 percent of all expenditures for pre-school, elementary, and secondary education, (at current levels, this would translate to an increase in federal expenditures from approximately $10 billion to nearly $18 billion) and that the additional funds be earmarked for programs and services directly affecting at-risk youth.*

Other problems properly laid at the federal doorstep have less to do with budgets than with the will to act. There are urgent needs to work on standard definitions of dropouts, to improve the national dropout data collection systems, to disseminate model program descriptions, to promote program replication efforts, and to work on inter-agency communication. One recent report on federal policies and programs for youth prepared by J.R. Reingold and Associates, Inc. for the W. T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship, points to a lack of real coordination within federal agencies regarding programs that relate to youth. The report says that the amount of federal collaboration, cooperation, and coordination in terms

of resources is small; that federal agencies have devoted few, or in some cases, no resources to facilitate inter-agency coordination at the state level; that there are insufficient mechanisms or incentives to foster investment in multi-year, long-term, institutional change demonstrations; and that long-term planning has been frustrated by proposals for budget reductions or program eliminations. In view of these circumstances, we offer two recommendations:

RECOMMENDATION: *That Congress pass legislation charging the Department of Education with responsibility and authority for coordinating and managing the federal government's response to the at-risk problem, including the development of a common definition of "at-risk youth" to be used in designing and targeting future programs. This legislation should establish a data base for purposes of documentation, monitoring, and evaluation and Congress should provide sufficient funds to enable the Department of Education to promote widespread replication of successful program strategies for at-risk youth.*

RECOMMENDATION: *That the Department of Education undertake an analysis of the unintended and negative consequences for at-risk youth of current education reform and existing job training and vocational programs and report the results and recommendations for change to Congress by September, 1989.*

Despite the reduced level of federal participation in funding, the current administration has adopted a curiously optimistic outlook on the race between educating our at-risk youth and failing them. The Administration has established a goal of bringing the high school graduation rate up to 90 percent by 1990. It might be well to look at how realistic this goal is today.

The annual wallchart of the Secretary of Education has been used since the 1983 A Nation at Risk report to track the educational reform movement state by state. With the first wallchart came a column labeled "President's Challenge: Gains Needed to Meet Goal of 90 Percent Graduation Rate by 1990." In 1982, the national graduation rate had been 69.7 percent, so by 1990—to meet the President's goal—the states needed to gain 20.3 percentage points. For some states the challenge would be greater, as they lagged far behind the average. For others, like Minnesota, with an 88.2 percent rate, the goal may have seemed more reasonable.

In February of this year the wallchart reported on the graduation rate in the nation for the year 1986. The national rate stood then at 71.5 percent, a bare two percentage points higher than it had four years before. If gains continued to be made at that pace, the graduation rate by 1990 would still be below 75 percent.

It is difficult to find commitment behind the President's goal. In recent years, the federal funding muscle to reach that goal has atrophied. It is clear from statements made by former Secretary of Education Bennett and the President, that the administration expects the states to lift themselves up by their own bootstraps. Unfortunately, as we will show in Chapter IV, the states cannot do the lifting alone.

What is really tragic at this point is not so much the numbers but the lack of any policy toward at-risk youth. It is as though these youth did not exist, or as though we all really did believe that they are expendable. Despite warnings from the private sector, from economists, from advocates—indeed from within the current administration itself—there is no federal comprehension of the problem, no strategy for its solution. The time has come for bipartisan support to put the federal government on record as part of the solution rather than the problem.

RECOMMENDATION: *That the White House lead a national crusade to make sure that the equity considerations of the 1970's are joined with the Excellence-in-Education concerns of the 1980's in a campaign to raise the educational attainment level in our public schools for all of our children.*

Is the national will in place to make this possible? As we have suggested, the time is propitious. In most polls, the public has demonstrated its willingness to support the cost of a quality education system. In polls conducted over the last year, two out of three Americans said they wanted the federal government to be very involved in helping people get an affordable education and more than a third would like to see Washington have more influence in improving local public schools.

But it is equally clear around the nation that the public does not understand the risks we are taking by inaction, or by taking small steps where a bold stride is needed. What cries out for recognition now is the peril facing these youth and the effects of their failure to be a productive part of the labor force—should this happen—on all of us in America today. It is no small part of the federal responsibility to get the message out that we will not fail our youth now.

Chapter IV
A Small Step for At-Risk Youth: What the States Are Doing

As we have seen, the efforts described in the preceding chapter do not pretend to serve—and do not serve—the big majority of at-risk youth. They are demonstrations or part of the diminishing federal program overlay. Taken together, they provide less than 7 percent of the money for public elementary and secondary education. However, the states provide over half of the public funding for elementary and secondary education (53.2 percent) and are in a position to exercise significant leadership on behalf of at-risk youth. As the Committee for Economic Development noted in a recent report: "Despite the commitment of the federal government to improve education of the disadvantaged, state governments have always had primary responsibility for public education."

In preparing the 1985 report Who's Looking Out for At-Risk Youth, MDC staff found themselves reminded of this historic responsibility at every turn. State commissions on excellence in education were not focusing on at-risk youth—only 15 commissions (27 percent of those responding) in 12 states had so much as one recommendation aimed at at-risk youth. However, some states were moving ahead independently of commission endeavors. With further support from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, we determined to learn how the states were progressing.

We wanted to learn what was going on in the governor's office, in the state legislature, and in whatever task forces had been appointed to look into the at-risk youth problem. We wanted to learn what we could about state and local programs designed to assist these youth. We hoped to find measurements of the need and the extent to which that need was being met.

So we assembled a group of field research associates, all of whom were highly knowledgeable in the fields of education, employment, and training of at-risk youth. We assigned them to states generally in their area of the country, often states where they had produced pertinent studies or where they had worked on related inquiries in the past. We familiarized them with the survey instrument and sent them into the field to find out as much as they could. We then met at MDC headquarters for a discussion of the results. Later, during the Spring of 1988, MDC central staff made follow-up calls to determine the outcome of pending legislation and proposals in several states.

Before looking at our general findings, one point ought to be made. The states with megalopolises—Illinois with Chicago, New York with New York City, Florida with Miami—are different to the degree that their influence may not be as visible in these big cities as elsewhere in the state. Indeed, the heart of programs to serve at-risk youth may in certain states beat more vigorously in the big city than in the state at large. Nevertheless, the great majority of school-aged youth in America (91 percent) live outside the 14 largest school districts, and the state responsibilities are paramount in education everywhere. It is these responsibilities that are examined in this report. Following are our general findings, not in order of importance:

FINDING #1: *Awareness that the problems of at-risk youth cannot be solved solely by measures designed to assist advantaged youth has grown among the educational and political leadership of the states.*

The results of our survey of state Excellence-in-Education commissions in 1985 pointed to a lack of awareness of the problems of at-risk youth. This lack was typified by responses indicating that general reform measures of the sort we have discussed would necessarily help all students, and at times, by a stiff-necked defensiveness that took the form of a denial that a group of students predictably at risk existed. While these attitudes are not entirely gone three years later, we found no states that could be fairly described as unaware of the problem. A few states—not necessarily the ones farthest ahead in dealing with the problem—have public education initiatives designed to bring the situation to the attention of the general public.

- Nevada's Task Force On At-Risk Youth, for instance, while producing information on the at-risk problem, has been doing public service announcements about dropouts on television.
- Wyoming, using funds from the Mountain Bell Foundation, mailed out brochures citing statistics for dropouts, substance abuse, teen pregnancy, illiteracy and other problems to every household in the state in an attempt to build community-based support for problems of at-risk youth.

FINDING #2: *Discrete, scattered initiatives on behalf of at-risk youth can be found in all of the states, but often they are funded on a pilot basis without guarantees that success will result in funding for either continuation or replication.*

With awareness has come a good bit of casting about by the states, almost all of it characterized by a certain haphazardness, not necessarily indicating lack of direction as much as lack of central planning purpose. It seems likely that we will look back on this period in the development of an approach to the problem of

at-risk youth as one of trial and error. A number of foundation and corporate-funded demonstrations exist, most of them focused again on the major ci' .s. We looked closely at the membership of state task forces created to assist in policymaking and could see the opportunity for progress in collaboration between educators, the private sector, and community forces—community-based organizations, social agencies, and parents' groups. But there appeared to be no relationship between the number of task forces active and the progress the state was making for at-risk youth.

FINDING #3: *Although data exists on various sub-categories of at-risk youth, differences in collecting style make it impossible to add the numbers to arrive at an estimate of the size of the at-risk population in each state.*

As a result, in a number of states projects are under way to estimate both the need and the effort being put forth in terms of program scope and dollars. Most states that have at-risk initiatives have simply taken off under the assumption that action is more important than measurement. Others have insisted on trying to learn more about the problem and about what already is being done around the state by localities to solve it.

- The State of Washington is conducting an exhaustive inventory of at-risk youth projects.
- Oregon has approached the matter in terms of developing a standard definition of dropouts (not all at-risk youth) and a reporting system, and could be on the way to producing a model of this badly needed service function.

The lack of compatible information on either need or resources in most states makes it difficult to develop national figures with any sense of their reliability. We see this as an area of need peculiarly suited to federal attention, and have made a recommendation (see Chapter III).

FINDING #4: *While 45 states report having legislation bearing on the problems of one or more sub-groups of the at-risk population, most of it is piecemeal in nature, typically supporting a limited number of pilot programs. Funding for programs specifically targeted to at-risk youth rarely exceeds 5 percent of state education expenditures or affects more than 10 percent of the at-risk population.*

- Wisconsin may come closest to having comprehensive legislation in place for at-risk youth, going back to 1985. The legislation defines "at risk" and requires each lead educational agency in the state to identify at-risk youth and implement a p. ›gram for them. Once identified, families of these youth must be notified in writing and given a chance to enroll their children in the district's at-risk progam. Each district gets $64,000 annually for the plan, plus a 10 percent supplement for meeting performance criteria.
- South Carolina's Education Improvement Act goes back to 1984 and commits $56.8 million to compensatory and remedial education of 260,000 students. In 1987, 10,800 four-year-olds with predicted readiness deficiencies were served with home visits and half-day programs at a cost of $11 million.

(If he had lived in a state where programs like these were in place, our Albuquerque slow-learner, Matthew, from Chapter II, might have been given early assistance and might never have dropped out.)

It is important to put the impact of these educational reforms in the context of total spending for education.

- Oregon's 1986 budget identified $8.45 million in state funds for at-risk youth, but this amounted to less than 2 percent of all state education expenditures for elementary and secondary education; when federal and local dollars were added to the state's 1986 budget, the percent of funding reserved for at-risk youth climbed to only 2.28 percent of all education funds.
- In Illinois, $59 million of a $90 million education reform package is specifically geared to meeting needs of at-risk youth, but this money comes to only 3 percent of total state education funds.
- Indiana's 1987 Educational Opportunity for At-Risk Students Act provides $20 million, with each school system given an entitlement based on poverty levels and numbers of single-headed households and educational level of the community, but the state's expenditures for at-risk youth amount to only 7 percent of all of its education budget.

By the time these funds filter down to individual districts and to schools within those districts, they may amount to only a few hundred or few thousand dollars per school; seldom do they amount to the

equivalent of even one new staff position. Eleven states require school districts to come up with some sort of dropout prevention plan and others have scatter-shot legislation aimed at various of the at-risk sub-groups. Most states, however, can be said to be at the very early stages of developing comprehensive legislation and have put little money into the problem.

FINDING #5: *While policy statements from commissions, task forces, governors' offices, or state education departments can be found in 23 states in either draft or final form, no single state has an overarching policy addressed to at-risk, school-age youth.*

It is not difficult to find scattered policy statements from various tasks forces and commissions calling for attention to the problems of at-risk youth, but it is difficult to find real leadership in the area of policy. Policy apears to be most effective when enunciation of it comes from the governor's office (or from the governor's wife, as is the case here and there) or from the state superintendent or commissioner of education. Interestingly, where leadership is strongest, attitudinal changes placing more responsibility with the schools for achievement seem to be taking place.

- Governor and Mrs. Bill Clinton in Arkansas have provided recently an example of overall leadership in this area, sponsoring the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Youth, which has established task forces mobilizing the state to better prepare schools and communities to assist at-risk youth.
- Impressive results can be achieved in fostering awareness and making progress when two successive governors have at-risk youth high on their priority list as with Governors Reuben Askew and Bob Graham of Florida.
- In Georgia, Governor Joe Frank Harris' Quality Basic Education program has shaken up public education, and a recently appointed commission is charged with making sure that at-risk youth do not slip through the cracks.
- In New Hampshire, Governor John H. Sununu has made education his highest priority and Commissioner of Education John T MacDonald has focused his attention on pending legislation requiring the principal to hold the school accountable for educational achievement of students.
- A similar theme is struck in Delaware, where at least one highly placed official in the Department of Education talks of treating children as "clients" and helping schools change from "being opportunity schools to being responsible schools, responsible for results." This kind of attitude separates schools that can succeed with all their students from those who succeed only with the students who would make their way anywhere. (Looking back at our Albuquerque youth in Chapter II, it is possible to see how this kind of attitude might have held the budding chef, Carlos, in school.)

For all of this, the complete lack of overarching policy at the state level suggests how far the states have to come to begin to face the problem. It is interesting that policy—which is thought to set standards and goals—often comes not in the beginning, when it would be welcome for its guidance and encouragement if nothing else, but far later in the process, and then often serves to define what already has been done. This leads us to our first two recommendations for the states:

RECOMMENDATION: *That every governor who has not already done so establish a special standing commission on at-risk youth to investigate the nature of the problem in the state, examine the unintended consequences for at-risk youth of current state education reform and job-training policy, and recommend a concerted program of action that includes clear and progressively challenging goals for addressing the problem similar to the continuum of effort described later in this chapter. The membership of the commission should include representatives from all state agencies serving at-risk youth, business and industry, local schools, parents' groups, community-based organizations, and the public. Governors in states where such a commission or task force is already in place should review membership to assure representation of each of these groups.*

RECOMMENDATION: *That governors vest responsibility in and provide resources to a single cabinet-level agency or arm of state government to implement and coordinate the recommendations produced by the standing commissions.*

FINDING #6: *Lack of public concern for the problems of at-risk youth stands as a barrier to building comprehensive approaches to serving them.*

The sense we have from our state reports is that state officials simply do not feel urgency at the consumer level (the general public, which is called upon to support the schools) for serving at-risk

youth. The attitude that these youth are "other people's children," that their lack of success is their fault, and that schools are better off without them lingers in some quarters.

- Colorado and Nebraska are out to change this, using grants to increase public awareness through conferences.
- Maine has had some success with a widely distributed 16-point policy platform on truancy, dropouts, and alternative education.

Surprisingly, perhaps, we found few examples of efforts to involve and educate at the community level.

- Massachusetts provided the single best example of how this can be done. Through Commonwealth Futures—a school-to-work transition program that operates in six sites, with six more to be added this year—communities with high concentrations of at-risk youth are giving direction to state policy and helping to formulate it. Under the Public School Improvement Act, a public school improvement council has been established in each community and is provided funds ($50 per student) to set up its own priorities. One community used this money to buy a van to transport pregnant and parenting teens to and from school. Others use the money to keep schools open in the afternoon for the use of dropouts and other at-risk youth. Commonwealth Futures is partially supported by the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation and is one of several foundation-funded initiatives that have helped communities focus attention on at-risk youth.
- Significant among other foundation efforts are the Annie E. Casey Foundation's New Futures program and the Ford Foundation's collaboration project. Both of these, as well as the National Alliance of Business' Boston Compact Replication Project, work directly with medium-sized or larger communities to put in place comprehensive programs and strategies to meet the needs of at-risk youth, requiring broad-based and active involvement of business and public agencies.

But the lack of public awareness of the crisis of at-risk youth in the big majority of the states is regarded by many as the most serious lack of all. It leads to our third and fourth recommendations to the states.

RECOMMENDATION: *That as part of its work, each state commission/responsible agency undertake a campaign to make the public aware of the needs of at-risk youth and the danger this failure of education poses to the state's and the nation's future.*

RECOMMENDATION: *That this campaign also include a program to educate schools, Private Industry Councils, and community organizations about federal, state, and local programs and practices already in place for at-risk youth and about models of cooperative intervention.*

FINDING #7: *The potential to serve at-risk youth through the federally funded Job Training Partnership Act—the nation's current national effort at job training and employment—has not been fully realized in the majority of the states. Nevertheless, national funding for JTPA is insufficient to reach more than a small percentage of at-risk youth.*

JTPA is a performance-driven system useful mainly to adults and to youth needing short-term assistance. Structural problems of using the funds for at-risk youth, plus JTPA's paucity of discretionary dollars relative to its predecessor, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, make collaboration between education, training, and employment for at-risk youth problematical. At the same time, several states have showed that a little imagination can alleviate the problem.

- In eight states (Kentucky, Minnesota, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Colorado, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Nevada) at-risk youth have been declared a "family of one," a policy that facilitates making them eligible economically for program funding.
- In New Jersey, where new policy says that if you are a dropout, have problems in school, or are two or more grade levels behind, you are at risk, the definitional change is predicted to add 20,000 to the 127,000 youth served by JTPA last year.

The JTPA 8 percent discretionary fund is important for at-risk youth because this money is not subject to the same performance standards or eligibility criteria and can be used to serve youth for longer periods of time.

- At least 8 states (Alaska, Arizona, Maine, Massachusetts, Oregon, South Carolina, Texas, and Wisconsin) target 8 percent money for at-risk youth.
- Illinois has made good use of this money to re-

define performance standards to provide motivation for the service delivery areas—local recipients of major JTPA dollars—to serve at-risk youth.

- The District of Columbia uses all of its 8 percent money for dropouts.
- New Mexico uses its 8 percent money to buy computer-assisted remediation hardware and to develop guidance systems.

Yet in other states, governors have not chosen to use 8 percent funds for youth. And JTPA has been reaching few youth. Our statistics show that in most states only 7.3 percent of 16- to 21-year-olds and 2.1 percent of 14- to 15-year-olds eligible for the regular, performance-driven programs of JTPA are actually being served. These figures compare to national estimates that JTPA funding is sufficient to serve only 5 percent of all youth and adults eligible for service, a fact that leaves little more to say about the adequacy of the act.

FINDING #8: *In many states, information about programs for at-risk youth is not shared well at the state level or between the state and local levels.*

Our researchers found instances at the state level in which administrators in the same building were unaware of each other's programs serving at-risk youth. State JTPA administrators seem not to be well informed about what is working or not working at the local level; education administrators are not well informed about what JTPA is doing or about what other divisions in their own department are doing.

- Here, again, experiments such as the one in Oregon, which has a state school superintendent's task force tracking at-risk youth, and which expects to have all 300-plus school districts on line this year, may provide a model for improvement.

FINDING #9: *Although state funding for education has increased since 1980, resources continue to be used disproportionately for students who begin their education better off.*

Lack of funds is often cited by the states as a barrier to further progress in serving at-risk youth. Our reports from the states are replete with evidence of retrenchment at the state level, reports of budget cuts feared or in the immediate offing.

It is clear that reductions in federal funding and economic downturns in some states (particularly Western and Southwestern ones) have had a negative effect. In one Southern state, for instance, the education budget was scheduled for a 36 percent cut in 1988. Yet, overall state spending for public schools has increased 26 percent beyond inflation since 1980—from $46.5 billion in 1980 to $80.4 billion in 1987—while local dollars have increased 29 percent—from $40 billion to $70.5 billion, according to a national study.

Another study suggests where much of this money has gone since the onset of the Excellence-in-Education movement, with 43 states having strengthened high school graduation requirements, 14 states adopting some form of "merit" pay, and 37 attempting to lure the best candidates among college students into teaching through scholarships and other incentives. The author concludes that "although standards have been made tougher, only a handful of states have appropriated additional money for counseling and remediation for those who will need assistance in reaching the standards."

Terrel H. Bell, former Secretary of Education, has said that the school reform movement is benefitting 70 percent of the students. "The 30 percent are low-income, minority students and we are still not effectively educating them."

Our report confirms this finding. It is more expensive to serve at-risk youth, as they require, virtually by definition, more services. Yet, as we have seen, the losses in human and economic terms of not serving them are stupendous. Too often, decisions on expenditures are based on short-term (and short-sighted) educational goals. Nevertheless, there are examples of states significantly out-matching federal dollars to serve the at-risk population.

- North Carolina, for instance, is using $20 million in state dollars to supplement $9 million in JTPA funds currently being used to support job placement/dropout centers in the state.
- Alaska, the District of Columbia, and New York also are supplementing federal job-training dollars.

But taken as a whole, the performance of the states has allowed the situation of at-risk youth to rise to crisis proportions, and beyond, so that only an allocation policy in an emergency mode makes sense now.

RECOMMENDATION: *That each state legislature pass comprehensive legislation establishing state*

policy for meeting the educational needs of at-risk youth and for increasing the graduation rate each year until it reaches 90 percent. Until the graduation rate equals or exceeds this 90 percent, 60 percent of each new dollar earmarked for education should be spent for instruction and services for at-risk youth and the localities should match this level of effort wherever possible.

FINDING #10: *The at-risk problem is both an urban and rural problem. In the cities, funding cutbacks have worsened a grim situation and in rural areas of the South, Southwest, and West, little is in place to serve at-risk youth.*

The sad truth is that the numbers are working against at-risk youth at present. Just as minorities are becoming a higher proportion of all youth, funds for at-risk youth are perceived as being in short supply. Too many good programs either are facing funding reductions or are not being increased over levels that never were high enough. This is critically true in the big states such as New York, where our investigator—a man with considerable experience working around the country on projects like this one—estimated that despite allocation of a significant amount of dollars, probably no more than 10 percent of at-risk youth are served. The big cities are probably worse off. In Chicago, JTPA funding cutbacks reduced the important Summer Youth Employment Program by 60 percent in 1987. Once again, programs for at-risk youth are more expensive than the typical training program. Consequently, in a cost-efficient driven JTPA, they are either given short shrift or skimped. But while the megalopolises suffer from insufficient funding, there are vast areas of the rural South, Southwest, and West where few or no services for at-risk youth are in place. Sadly, this is the case in a number of Western oil states where funds for education are declining in a sour economy.

FINDING #11: *Little real evaluation or monitoring is being undertaken on programs for at-risk youth outside the limited scope of nationally sponsored demonstrations. In consequence, while many interesting-sounding programs exist, little information is available upon which to base judgments of effectiveness.*

In 1985, the Consortium of Dropout Prevention (a group of nine school districts across the country formed to gather and share information about dropout prevention practices) surveyed 564 middle and high schools in member districts to look at, among other things, evaluation of programs initiated to prevent dropouts. It found that 13 percent of the programs were being formally evaluated, 26 percent had data of some kind (such as attendance, retention, graduation rates), but that the remaining 61 percent were unable to provide any data about student progress as a result of participation in the program.

These are the conclusions our researchers reached in reviewing programs in the 50 states. The rare programs with good data were usually demonstrations, most of them national ones such as the Public/Private Ventures' evaluations of its Summer Training and Education Program, which is designed to integrate summer and year-round remediation. We did find that Florida's 1986 Dropout Prevention Act requires an evaluation component for every program funded, but the evaluation requirements are not rigorous or standardized. For the most part, though, programs were simply in place, providing the baseline information required by JTPA if they were funded by this federal program, but more often, where nothing in the way of evaluation is required by the states, providing nothing. Lack of reliable information about programs for at-risk youth, and lack of a common data base for collecting such information loom as large problems in any national effort. Again, our recommendation on this point is for assistance at the federal level (See Chapter III).

FINDING #12: *Evidence mounts that certain features of the Excellence-in-Education movement are contributing to the dropout problem.*

While some aspects of general educational reform have been helpful to at-risk youth as well as other students (lower teacher-to-pupil ratios and better teacher salaries, for instance), more difficult examinations and stiffer graduation requirements, without accompanying remediation, seem to be aggravating the dropout problem.

- Writing about Florida in a recent report to the National Commission for Employment Policy, Richard Lacey noted: "One negative, predictable response to stiffer standards has been a rise in the dropout rate...higher academic standards for graduation have forced reductions in vocational education programs."
- The Consortium on Educational Policy Studies in Indiana reports that state's dropout rate reached its lowest level in 1983 (19.4 percent) but had risen to 22 percent in 1986.
- Sum and Berlin noted that few school systems

in the educational reform movement established standards that took into account the relative starting points of existing students and schools, relying solely on standardized academic achievement tests, ignoring other relevant yardsticks like dropout rates, attendance, and college acceptance. "The results were predictable. Dropout rates tended to increase as disadvantaged students found themselves falling even farther behind."

- The Secretary of Education's newest wallchart, which reports annually on state education trends, indicates that 28 states now use minimum competency tests to determine whether students may be promoted and/or graduated.

Our researchers found that, in many cases, state educators sensitive to the needs of at-risk youth believed that these changes were contributing to increasing the dropout rate. In several states, the addition of course requirements was cited as making it difficult for youth to take vocational education or school-to-work transition-oriented coursework, both of which had been used by the schools as a dropout-prevention tool. Furthermore, in districts that did not lengthen the school day to provide time for taking the additional required courses, students were finding it virtually impossible to make up failed courses within the normal four years of study.

The problem with the Excellence-in-Education movement is that it has demanded more skill of everyone instantly, without taking into consideration that the youth who have been behind need time and, more importantly, help, in catching up.

FINDING #13: *The educational-excellence reform movement has largely overlooked the need to modify instructional techniques for at-risk youth.*

Despite the substantial increases in funding by the states for education, very little has changed in the basic delivery of education to students in elementary and secondary schools. Teaching is still done largely by the lecture method. Only a handful of states have even reached the talking stage of "restructuring" their school systems. Few of the nation's schools are offering individualized education of any sort—whether computer-assisted or not—as a basic learning technique available as a regular, viable alternative to students who are having difficulty keeping up in the regular classroom. And yet evidence of the need and the worth of individualized instruction abounds. One researcher studying educational reform in the rural East reports that in a New Hampshire school system, students who are absent from school report first, upon their return to school, to the computer lab to catch up on material they have missed during their absence. Students who have been out two weeks catch up in a day and a half in the lab.

It would seem from our investigation that the easiest thing to do is to apply more money to the school system as it is presently constituted and the most difficult thing to do is to change that system in any significant way. Later in this chapter we will discuss some basic restructuring and equalization efforts that are going on presently. But they serve as examples of what is not going on in the great majority of the states, and remind us of how exploratory and tentative efforts to assist at-risk youth really are.

In looking at the results of our survey, we tried to find a way of describing where the 50 states are today in terms of service to at-risk youth. To do this, we set up a progression of developmental phases of service, beginning with a period of pre-awareness of the problem and continuing on through a final phase of full implementation of policy, legislation, and programming in support of this group of youth. It seemed to us that the phases could be tracked roughly in four progressive steps: (1) awareness, (2) action, (3) consolidation, and (4) implementation. For each of these phases of development, we have drawn up a list of descriptors. (See pages 27 & 28.)

Progress is a relative matter, depending upon the viewpoint of those making the judgment. However, based on studies done during these years, and on our own earlier look at the states' excellence commissions, the period from 1980-85 saw first stirrings of efforts to assist at-risk, school-age youth. While a few leading states had made progress, a number of states remained unaware of the problem. So it may be progress to note, now, that none of the states fall into this category. **At the same time, the big majority of the states, based on this continuum, have not progressed beyond Phase I. We place 36 of the states in this stage, some of them so newly come to their awareness that not all of the descriptors apply to them.**

We have identified 14 states that appear to be described more accurately as in Phase II of our continuum. We did not require that each state exhibit all of the descriptors listed for this phase of

development, but we did insist that to be included the states had to have (1) awareness, (2) some policy, (3) legislation, and (4) program development. Applying these criteria we were able to include, in alphabetical order, California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin. Brief accounts of major activities for at-risk youth in these leading states are included in the appendix.

We felt that another 11 states were showing enough progress from Phase I to merit mention here as states in a position to move quickly into Phase II. In alphabetical order, they are Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, and South Carolina. In no way do we intend this as a prediction that these states will reach Phase II before others not mentioned here, who may be preparing to launch major efforts.

Even relying on criteria as set forth here, judgments such as these are certain to take on a degree of subjectivity. Some will argue with the set of criteria itself and others with our application of it to the states. While we have tried to be fair, and have consulted numerous experts inside the states and outside—even up to the last moment before publication—any limited look of this sort is subject to error and any determination of a group of leading states is an invitation to complaint by others who may feel compelled to argue their own case. We risk this in order to call attention to the leadership states as examples and to the practices that have enabled them to move ahead on this most important front.

We would make two observations about the leading states that are only implied in the criteria developed to define the phases. We can think of no state among them that did not have—and some still have—outstanding leadership from one or more governors or, as is the case more than once, from wives of governors. Secondly, in every case, the educational leadership of these states has clearly moved from a philosophical position that the child and its parents are responsible for learning to the position that the schools are responsible for teaching.

None of the above, however useful in pointing the way ahead, should obscure the basic finding of this study, which is so far from positive as to demand further emphasis. **As we move into the middle of the eighth year of a decade that has featured a movement to excel in our schools, only 14 of the 50 states—hardly more than one in four—have moved out of bare awareness of the situation with regard to at-risk youth into action. That is to say, only a relative handful of states have responded at all to a growing minority of students in our public schools whose continuing rapid departure from education poses a crushing economic threat to our nation at the same time it shames our democratic pretensions.**

Former Secretary of Education Bennett, in a recent report on the educational-reform movement, handed out the grade of a C+ to the schools but went on to say that the nation remains at risk. "The absolute level at which our improvements are taking place is unacceptably low. Too many students do not graduate from our high schools and too many of those who do graduate have been poorly educated. . Good schools for disadvantaged and minority children are much too rare, and the dropout rate among black and Hispanic youth in many of our inner cities is perilously high."

A level of improvements "unacceptably low" and a dropout rate for minorities "perilously high" seem to us to describe what we have seen with regard to at-risk youth in the American public school near the end of a decade of reform with significant increases in expenditures for education. We would agree that the nation remains deeply at-risk. We could not give the states of this nation a passing grade for what has been done for its youth at risk up to now. We would have to hand out an F. At the bottom of the states' report card, we might write: "Still failing, but at least beginning to pay attention in class."

For the federal government's own recent stewardship of the problem, we can think of no appropriate grade. "Absent" is the school word that comes most readily to mind.

It is clear that the moment for leadership is at hand and that we need this leadership at the national as well as at the state level. It may be that there are some states too poor now to be able to do the job on their own without some federal help. Somehow, the states will have to find the strength and the assistance to move on from the early phases of the continuum we have created here. It is not possible to tell with any assurance how many of the nation's at-risk youth are currently being served adequately in the public schools, but the number could be as low as 1 in 25 and is certainly no higher than 1 in 10. The last two phases of the progression to full service for at-risk youth seem to us to represent an evolution to good schooling for all youth. Whether such goals remain chimerical or are realized may decide more than any other single factor this nation's future as a

Policy and Program Development Phase-Descriptor Continuum

Pre-Awareness

- General lack of public discussion. Awareness only of a "dropout problem," but not any specific group at high risk of becoming dropouts. Concerns center on one or more sub-groups, such as "teen-age parents."
- School reform measures aimed at college-bound students. At this stage, problems of students described in terms of "truancy" or other terms implying the student is at fault.
- Schools operate with non-collaborative attitudes toward other community agencies. No attempt to involve those parents or social agencies in the community concerned with youth in school, such as drug counseling agencies and JTPA.
- Overriding philosophy that all children start at the same place in their education and need only have the lessons presented to them, with individual failure to learn attributed largely to lack of effort.
- No policy or legislation dealing with at-risk youth as a special group in need of long-term, special attention. Some programs exist, but no state effort to coordinate them or even to recognize them as applicable to a generic group of students.

PHASE I. Awareness

- General discussion occurring among political and educational leaders with some carryover to the general public. The term "at-risk youth" used popularly.
- School reform still focuses generally on successful students. Some awareness that special attention must be paid to a group of students who are not succeeding and are at risk. Dropout prevention becomes a goal.
- Some awareness of the need for collaboration between schools and other community agencies, frequently expressed in the formation of task forces to study the problems of at-risk youth or to coordinate efforts to assist them.
- Softening of the attitude that all children begin their education with the same advantages. Some concomitant efforts here and there to affect early childhood differentials with pre-kindergarten or kindergarten enrichment programs for poor youth.
- Scattered statements of policy, from the governor's office, the office of the chief educational officer, or one or more of the task forces. Generally, these call for attention to the problems of at-risk youth but typically are not enforceable and do not constitute "state policy" as such.
- Scattered legislation, usually directed at sub-groups of at-risk youth such as teen-age parents, offenders, drug abusers or others who are of special interest to certain state agencies or officials. Legislated allocations vary from none (simple empowerment of the localities to fund programs) to modest. No comprehensive legislative acts.
- Some increase in program initiatives, often involving national or state demonstrations, and a marked increase in local programming for at-risk youth.
- Preliminary efforts to quantify the problem and some census-taking to determine the extent of programmatic effort.

PHASE II. Action

- Full-scale discussion by the state political and educational leadership and broad public discussion as well. May be accompanied by the beginning of a public relations campaign designed to make citizens aware of the implications of the at-risk problem for the economy of the state.

- Better understanding of the proper configuration of true school reform. Awareness that tightening academic requirements must go hand-in-hand with remediation for those students not succeeding under the old requirements.
- Serious efforts at collaboration, such as involving parents in the educational effort of their children, use of private-sector mentoring, and joint programming utilizing federal (JTPA, Chapter I, Vocational Education, etc.) funds along with state and/or local money.
- Recognition that a considerable number of youth in public schools are, for one reason or another, at risk of failure to graduate or of emerging from school unprepared for a working career, and that this problem is associated with poverty although not limited to the children of the poor.
- Serious progress in state policy-setting, involving inevitably, the office of the governor. Leadership statements of a policy nature, although not necessarily constituting enforceable, state-wide policy.
- Significant, although not comprehensive, state-wide legislation likely to be labeled for "at-risk youth"—although sub-groups may continue to be targeted—and to involve major state funding.
- Widespread state and local programming for at-risk youth, often involving school-to-work and usually involving remediation in the middle school grades and even pre-school.
- Beginning awareness of the need for restructuring in both the elementary and secondary grades, by which is meant some fundamental rethinking of the delivery of education, usually involving some individual teaching (including computer-assisted education) and sometimes involving experiments with basic changes in the way the schools are run.
- Beginning awareness of the need to consider additional reforms in the distribution of state funds to assure that funds for poorer districts actually serve at-risk youth specifically.

PHASE III. Consolidation

- Full awareness by educational and political leadership of the economic, social, and human costs at-risk youth represent. Full public discussion.
- Development and emplacement of comprehensive, state-wide policy to assist at-risk youth, which includes clear goals and strong mechanisms to enforce program accountability.
- Passage of comprehensive legislation for at-risk youth, along with sufficient funding to make it possible to put policy and planning into effect beyond pilot communities.
- Broad range of program initiatives reaching all sub-groups of at-risk youth and falling within the range of policy planning done for the state.
- Full consideration of the issue of restructuring and equalization, and determination of the degree to which these reform measures should be enacted in the state.
- Deep involvement of the schools with parents and with other social agencies in the community.

PHASE IV. Implementation

- Implementation of all legislation, policymaking, and planning for at-risk youth.
- Implementation of restructuring and equalization measures.
- Full collaboration between schools and parents and social agencies in the community.

leader or a follower nation.

Another way to look at the efforts made by the states is across a more-or-less chronological continuum from pre-kindergarten on through school-to-work transition programs and dropout and second-chance programs. A look at what some of the states are reported as doing here may be useful to other states looking for ways to get into one or another programmatic phase of service to at-risk youth. What follows here is not an attempt to provide an exhaustive list, but to suggest good practices currently under way and to note—with names and phone numbers in the appendix—a few states involved in them. For convenience, we have divided the chronology of service into four sections--Early Identification and Remediation; Career Exploration and Vocational Education; Dropout Prevention and School-to-Work Transition; and Dropout Retrieval and Second Chance.

Early Identification and Remediation

In a debriefing of our field research associates who had covered the states, one remarked that a sure sign of a state developing awareness of the at-risk youth problem was an interest in Head Start-type early screening, identification, and remediation programs. It certainly is true that the states leading in this area of intervention include many leaders in overall attention to the problem.

- Colorado has had screening of 4-year-olds for early identification of problems since 1985 and has carried this program to the home to assist transition to school and to reach parents in rural areas not involved in their children's education.
- Illinois has put $12.1 million into an early-childhood education project targeted to children at risk of academic failure, from families with low income, or exhibiting physical signs (low birth weight) of potential developmental disability.
- New York requires a local match and puts $27 million in a program serving 12,000 disadvantaged children, with parental involvement and small classes—based directly on the Head Start model.
- Washington's $12.6 million pre-school program also serves as an identification service for handicapped infants.
- Missouri has a Parents as Teachers program which helps parents with parenting skills up until their child's third birthday.
- Early remediation efforts include Arizona's 1984 Early Childhood Education Act which distributes $11.7 million by formula, half to improve programs for all youth K-3, and the other half for special remediation programs.
- Pennsylvania uses $38 million to test at the 3rd, 5th, and 8th grades and provide remediation, a practice that it maintains has reduced the number requiring remediation by 30,000 in three years.
- Rhode Island has set-asides for literacy instruction in K-3 for all students (with classes of 15) and supplementary literacy instruction for educationally disadvantaged students K-12. Lead education officers are held accountable for student literacy outcomes.
- Louisiana has initiated team training of school personnel—teachers and others—to help them identify students with substance abuse or other problems which put them at risk.
- New Mexico's 1986 Education Reform Act expanded programs for limited English-proficient students to the secondary level (to be phased in over four years) and required remediation for all who needed it in grades 1 to 8 starting with the 1988-89 school year.
- Virginia's new Passport Literacy program will test all 6th graders in reading, writing, and arithmetic to see if they are ready for the 7th grade—4th graders are pre-tested, those indicating that they might not pass the test in the 6th grade are given remedial help, and 6th graders not passing go to summer school.

(It would be impossible for our Albuquerque student, Susan, to have reached the 10th grade with no credits for graduation had she been in systems like these.)

Career Exploration and Vocational Education

In some respects, the middle grades have been harder to reach insofar as programs attending to the problems of at-risk youth are concerned. These grades have featured career exploration in the past, but the charge has been leveled many times that the

vocational education classes shunned at-risk youth, considering this a group "too difficult" to work with. Educators with whom we have talked consider that the middle grades remain a difficult area for intervention on behalf of at-risk youth. Nonetheless, a few states did report advances.

- Arkansas has an approach involving working with vocational education personnel to organize Education for Employment task forces composed of business, parents, and educators to increase business involvement in school-to-work programs.
- Ohio is using $19 million in state funds for a stay-in-school program that provides vocational education to 12,000 14- to 15-year-olds, putting vocational education and JTPA staffs together with the dollars to serve this group.
- Rhode Island is using $2.75 million to upgrade its system of vocational education and to allow increased enrollment of 9th graders, disadvantaged, and other needy populations.
- Wisconsin is offering employment preparation classes to all 7 to 12th graders and paid school-supervised work experience to 10 to 12th graders.
- Arizona's task force on at-risk youth is focusing on changes in vocational education to serve more at-risk youth.
- And Wyoming has a state-wide alternative vocational education program targeted to at-risk youth.

Dropout Prevention and School-to-Work Transition

Looking at programs for at-risk youth across this chronological continuum makes it clear how much of the attention on education has gone to dropout prevention—and how much of that attention has been focused, so far, on the grades beyond those where most dropping out already has occurred. This is because the initial interventions in public school in the late 1970's and early 1980's were school-to-work transition programs, good programs but most of them designed only to hold seniors in school long enough to gain a diploma and then help them get jobs. Many schools adopted these as "dropout prevention" programs despite their inability to have impact on the basic at-risk population, most of whom had left school before their senior year. The fact that dropout rates did not go down despite these programs focused more attention on the earlier grades and spawned a new round of efforts designed to reach somewhat lower on the grade ladder although still, too often, not low enough.

Not surprisingly, we found a plethora of dropout-prevention programs in place, among them a few generic at-risk programs that seem to cover most of the bases (see California, Connecticut, New York, Texas and Wisconsin in the leader state summaries) and a number of promising-sounding initiatives.

- Florida's program, based on the Dropout Prevention Act of 1986, allows local school districts to reprogram $90 million in alternative-education funds based on comprehensive dropout plans.
- Michigan provides higher education grants of $2,000 for at-risk youth successfully completing high school.
- New York's Governor Mario Cuomo has proposed Liberty Scholarships to pay college expenses for students eligible for the federal free lunch program—that would be 29 percent of all 7th graders in the state.
- Minnesota has a bill in the hopper that would commit the state to a 96 percent high school graduation rate by 1996.
- Texas passed legislation in 1986 calling for reduction of the dropout rate to 5 percent by the 1997-98 school year.
- Wisconsin has legislated a goal of an annual dropout rate of just 2 percent by 1992.
- Mississippi's pilot program puts youth on an "alternative opportunity track" for a year in the hope that they can return to classes after that period or, if not, have sufficient skills to survive in the labor market.
- North Carolina's 1985 reform legislation provided $15.7 million to put a counselor attuned to the needs of at-risk youth in each school system; next year, there will be $19.4 million to put half-time job placement specialists in each secondary school.
- The approach in South Dakota is to use vocational education and JTPA funds to provide job-skill training and employability development as part of the regular, for-credit curriculum for the 40 percent of the state's students who do not

go on to college. Students may substitute this school-to-work credit for academic credit needed to graduate.

Alternative schools for many years have been a means of attempting to hold youth in the academic setting. And while some have proved to be nothing more than dumping grounds for "difficult" students, others have done a good job, providing the necessary individual attention that the regular school could not or would not provide. Thirty-four of the states reported using some form of alternative school system, although it was apparent that very different purposes were involved.

- Minnesota, for instance, has more alternative schools and programs (100) than any other state its size—many of them targeted at potential dropouts, and operating with local, state, and federal funds.
- The District of Columbia utilizes a number of alternative models, including several supported by JTPA funds.

The real issue regarding alternative schools is whether or not they are simply an excuse for the regular schools not to bother to try to teach students who do not respond readily to the prevalent teaching system. We have seen in our Albuquerque example—which would have produced the same results in dozens of other cities—how costly that practice can be. Some states are committed to the school-within-a-school concept.

- Indiana is one such state and so is Alaska, where a new bill in 1988 would promote school-within-a-school alternatives and certain cultural programs because the state feels that it is dangerous to label and separate young people into alternative programs.
- Kansas, on the other hand, believes in the alternative school, and local educational agencies run a number of open-entry, open-exit computer-assisted instruction alternative education programs there.

The truth is that many alternative schools have much to teach the regular schools about teaching. Providing incentives for learning is an example.

- In Miami, the Academy for Community Education program uses a token economy system in which students earn points for attendance and academic achievement that can be traded in for privileges such as participating in field trips.

But in Miami, as elsewhere, alternative schools are far too few, and hard to get into, with long waiting lists, poor referral systems, and small capacity. Once the alternative schools' lessons have been absorbed, it would seem that ideally what they do best should be done inside the regular schools to hold the students so that they do not drop out. The case seems even stronger when it is considered that dollars that would go to the regular schools have to flow instead to the alternative schools for this task.

Concern also exists about the granting of high school diplomas that carry with them something less than the full high school accreditation. At least two states have developed the dual diploma system. On superficial examination, this idea would seem to be helpful to at-risk youth, but the result is too often an inferior education, a bad bargain made without the consent or understanding of the student or parent. It is also an inadequate strategy for the present day, when real high school diplomas, meaning real mastery of basic skills, are required.

- It was clearly this consideration that prompted the New Mexico legislature to abolish the two-diploma system.
- Under the Commonwealth Futures program, Boston has recently added six alternative schools run by community-based organizations as institutions approved to grant full high school diplomas.

In our view, it is a grave mistake to award two levels of high school diplomas, one meaning less than the other. No better way could be found to ensure continued graduation of students who do not have the basic skills and the educational background to succeed. The challenge to the schools is to teach better, not reward less. If it takes longer to graduate students who begin behind, so be it; the extra cost will be made up for many times by these students' increased economic performance. The extra help they need should be seen as a gilt-edged investment in America's future.

Parents have been involved increasingly in efforts to stem the tide of dropouts.

- Both Minnesota and Kentucky have programs designed to assist parents to gain literacy as their children gain basic skills. Returns suggest that parental involvement serves as a major motivator for the children and that both parent and child benefit immensely.

- New Jersey proposes to have parents working with teachers to teach children basic skills at home.
- Texas plans to use Chapter II Education and Consolidation Improvement Act funds for three projects resulting in development of a parent involvement handbook, a model parent tutoring service, and a model parent service center.

Computer-assisted remediation, one of the most carefully success-tested, yet seldom employed, of remediation techniques, may be ready for its day to dawn.

- South Carolina has long been a leader here, using JTPA 8 percent funds for computer-asssisted remediation in 100 high schools. Called the Governor's Remediation Initiative, it provides grants to schools where at least 40 percent of the 11th graders are below standard on mathematics tests.
- Six Maryland hign schools in Baltimore begin four years of summer computer-assisted remediation for students who are two grade levels below the standard in the spring of their 8th grade year.
- In Oklahoma, private industry (Telex Corporation) is doing successful computer-assisted remediation in vocational-technical schools.

These are only a few examples of this technique in use, but the big story remains the scarcity of computer-assisted remediation across the country, given its proven cost-effectiveness.

JTPA funds have been used to good effect here and there to assist at-risk youth in school, mainly for summer remediation.

- In some instances, incentives are employed, as in Iowa, where JTPA policy calls for a reduction factor in payments to Service Delivery Areas (SDAs) which do not serve at-risk youth.
- In some cases, JTPA has taken the policy initiative as in Maryland where it got the legislature to provide $2 million for an allowance program for classroom instruction, and another $500,000 for work experience.
- But more often the JTPA link is to summer remediation, following Ohio, where 28 SDAs had JTPA summer program remediation before it was required by the U.S. Department of Labor.

School-to-work transition programs have a kind of life of their own, to some extent the result of the spread of Jobs for America's Graduates, a federally and foundation-funded initiative through a number of states. These programs traditionally have had good success assisting seniors (and some juniors) to graduate on time and with the work-oriented necessities. At-risk youth are in considerable number in the JAG programs and others similarly modeled in non-JAG states such as North Carolina and Florida, where a similar program called Job Readiness Training has taken hold.

Dropout Retrieval and Second Chance

Our survey turned up relatively few programs designed to bring dropouts back into the school system, or to provide second chances for school-age dropouts. To the extent that schools should bear responsibility for programs with dropouts, the finding seems significant. It probably is not significant insofar as this responsibility rests with community colleges and other public educational, second chance institutions, which we did not survey. JTPA, as noted before, is not only underfunded but not really written with severely at-risk youth in mind.

- Nonetheless, we did find examples of extended day school (North Carolina), continuing school (California requires students to attend some kind of school until they are 18, whether or not this attendance leads to a diploma), and teen-parenting (in Pennsylvania a new teen-parenting program is in place with day care and support services, reaching 3,000 youth in 1987).
- Oklahoma has in place an interesting effort at dropout retrieval. The state requires all schools to report monthly on dropouts whose names are turned over to vocational-technical schools, much in the manner of an inter-agency referral. Brochures are sent out to recruit these youth to the vocational-technical schools—900 students responded to 8,000 brochures last year.
- Washington is spending $5.5 million over two years to identify dropouts as well as potential dropouts, and to encourage them to go back to school.

- In New York, every county must develop a plan to get youthful offenders back into the school system.

Other efforts on behalf of at-risk youth do not fit securely in the above chronological scheme, but are overarching, with the potential to affect at-risk students of all grades. One of the most impressive of these is teacher training—that is, the effort to prepare teachers for the challenge of helping youth who are behind the others for one reason or another.

- Delaware's comprehensive school improvement agenda includes massive teacher training along these lines.
- The University of Hawaii's laboratory school is working on ways to prepare teachers better for working with this population.
- A provision of Massachusetts' Public School Improvement Act calls for training teachers in recognition of potential dropouts in early school grades.
- Maryland, Minnesota, and Montana hold in-service training for teachers to improve their ability to work effectively with at-risk students.
- In Montana, counselors now must have classroom experience as well as counseling credentials to help them better understand at-risk youth from the teacher's viewpoint.
- New Hampshire has provided teacher training in use of technology for classroom management and to gain efficiencies in teaching.
- Virginia is implementing measures that will make electronic classrooms available to all students. Teachers in the middle schools will have computers for the classroom and be instructed in teaching with them, with the state making loans to the localities to pay for the hardware.

A related effort deals with changing attitudes of educators toward the youth who make up the group we call at risk. No effort is more important than this one, because it strikes at the central prejudices that still exist against minority students and, indeed, against all students who have difficulty moving along successfully with their classmates.

- In Delaware education circles, you can hear discussions which describe students as "clients" and schools as institutions with "responsibilities" to educate them. Compare this attitude with the long prevalent one that schools exist for students to discharge their responsibilities to society. Or with the results of a poll in one state which showed that teachers believed by 63 percent that parents did not care if their kids graduated, by 87 percent that the public will not pay for public school improvements, and by 63 percent that the schools were better off without the dropouts.
- New Jersey has established performance criteria for schools that resemble in some way the performance criteria usually associated with goal-oriented training programs.
- California has 28 performance indicators, including dropout rate, test scores, enrollment in academic courses, that are used to track district success.
- In Tennessee, the legislature has required each district to submit full accountings of accomplishments under educational reform, a measure initiated when former Governor Lamar Alexander promised the reform act would be rescinded if no evidence of improvement in education could be summoned up after five years.

Efforts to improve curriculum also should be noted here.

- Indiana is developing a technology preparation curriculum based on pilot efforts in Oregon, Texas, Pennsylvania, California, and Rhode Island. By 1990, they hope to have a program that includes applied communication, performance-based instruction, and with dual high school and college credit to participants.
- Florida is allowing school districts to modify state-approved courses to assist students at risk; districts may make a wide variety of changes, may teach employability skills through English courses or social studies, may add budgeting skills to mathematics courses.
- Connecticut has come up with three-year grants ranging from $10,000 to $75,000 to the 25 neediest districts to decrease the number of dropouts—with grant money to be used to underwrite professional staff and curriculum development.

All these advances hold promise, yet it must be noted that only the last mentioned requires basic changes in the way education is delivered in this

country. Our survey uncovered very little in the way of major change—restructuring—in schools that would be intended to benefit all of the students, including at risk.

- Minnesota has proposed a School Site Management bill that would turn a local school over to the teachers and their self-selected principal in an effort to free the school from the traditional morass of rules and regulations.
- In New York, the 500 schools with the worst achievement record are in an effective schools consortium.
- Connecticut has a voluntary school effectiveness program which attempts to assure mastery in reading, writing, and mathematics by having the principal and faculty come up with a plan for improvement after examining instruction, curriculum organizational dynamics, and community involvement.

Other efforts of this sort have gone on. But, largely, this big area for improvement—trying to find the best way to educate our coming generations of children, without leaving behind significant numbers—has not been touched.

RECOMMENDATION: *That the commissioner or superintendent of education of each state develop recommendations for the state board and the legislature on ways to facilitate the restructuring of the schools to better meet the needs of at-risk youth, and that the legislatures provide incentives to local districts to carry out restructuring measures that will benefit the neediest students in the district.*

Equalization

Equalization—that is to say, the equalization of funding between the richer and poorer school districts—is a complex subject. The salad days of equalization were in the 1970's when state budgets were flush and state funding tended to follow the federal pattern of categorical programs targeted to areas of need. Three-fourths of the states which are now doing excellence reform did some equalization back then, but the bulk of their current educational-excellence spending is not going out by the equity formulas set up in the 1970's. In 1987-88, for instance, states put about $1.6 billion into reform, yet most of it went to teachers' salaries, career ladders, and merit pay **outside** the equity formulas. Very few states attempt to equalize teachers' pay—the wealthier school districts continue to pay their teachers more than the poorer ones can afford to pay. Nor is it always possible to see progress when dollars are ticketed specifically for poorer school districts. Sending more money to poorer school districts turns out to be far from a guarantee that this money will be used for purposes of assisting the students who are struggling. Whether formula-funded or funded through some other system, equalization dollars may or may not land in the hands of the poorest schools and may or may not reach at-risk youth. Kentucky's Power Equalization Fund put $82.5 million out to poor districts, but Kentucky Youth Advocates says that did not bring per-pupil spending in poor areas up to that of rich areas. They also criticized the measure because districts—and this is one drawback to formula funding—were not required to spend the additional monies on poor students.

There are interesting efforts to deal with equalization as applied to at-risk youth currently.

- Florida weights at-risk students at 1.657 full-time enrollment equivalencies for dropout-prevention purposes, a clear acceptance of the need for more equalization at the point of greatest risk.
- Iowa has new legislation making it possible for localities to tax more for dropout prevention and other at-risk needs—with the result that 69 districts are raising taxes for at-risk programs.
- New Hampshire has gone the way of classic equalization, with a formula that distributes funding based in part on local taxing capacity, providing more for the poorer districts than for the richer ones.
- Pennsylvania is providing $1 million this year to districts with above average dropout rates to fund special programs.
- Connecticut's 1988 bill puts a proxy on student achievement—districts with the lowest scoring 4th graders get more funds based on a weighting factor. The state also targets its dropout prevention grants to the 25 neediest school districts.
- Ohio's Disadvantaged Pupil Program funds school districts to design and operate special programs to improve the educational and cultural status of disadvantaged pupils. It is available only to districts that have 50 students who come from AFDC homes or whose parent

community includes 5 percent receiving AFDC

Other states have taken a different approach. Many have put grants out on competitive bids. That can mean that poorer districts don't get money.

- Maine has a tradition of funding by equalization principles and, in fact, has some districts that get no state aid at all. But with new 1988 dropout-prevention funds, the state plans to give some money to every district so that even those with ongoing dropout-prevention efforts will expand them. However, the bulk of this money will continue to go to areas with chronic dropout problems.

Despite these efforts, true equalization continues to be perhaps the most significant neglected facet of education reform. Equity will continue to remain an issue because the most expensive reforms currently under way have to do with class size, teachers' aides, and the testing and certification of teachers. The poorer districts get no more help here than the others, and will continue to have less of everything. This leads to our last recommendation:

RECOMMENDATION: *That the governor and legislature of each state develop measures that will assure equity between richer and poorer school districts in the distribution of funds targeted for educational reform.*

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of restructuring and equalization efforts for at-risk youth. The weight of our survey goes to the point that the effort to save at-risk youth is beginning late and has a long way to go. While piecemeal efforts can help, only a major, massive effort on the part of the states, with leadership from the federal government, can do the job.

Chapter V
The Future: Can We Get There From Here?

The question that stands as this chapter heading is far from a rhetorical one. It is as real as the crisis in education and training that we have been considering in this report. Before we try to answer it, we might look at where we stand today as a nation with regard to tomorrow's jobs.

Projections for the year 2000—only a dozen years from now—are that new jobs will require a workforce whose median level of education is 13.5 years. That means, on the average, that the workers who fill tomorrow's jobs will have to have **some college-level training.** Not to be the boss, mind you, but just to hold a job.

To put it a little differently, the jobs that will be created between 1988 and 2000 will be substantially different from those that have been created in the past. A number of jobs in the least-skilled categories will disappear, while many high-skilled professions will grow. Overall the skill mix of the economy will be moving rapidly upscale and increasing numbers of workers will be required to have computer, basic academic, problemsolving, and interpersonal skills.

This situation by itself is not alarming. To understand it for the crisis it represents, we have to look at it in conjunction with other generally agreed-upon facts.

First, current projections point to a serious labor shortage in only a few years. The number of young people available for work is rapidly declining. In 1978, young people from 16 to 24 were 23 percent of our total population. By 1995, they will be only 16 percent. This translates to a decline of about four million in the number of people available for work. Already, labor shortages have been reported and "help wanted" signs are posted in storefronts, manufacturing plants, and service industries. At the same time, new technology is expected to fuel a private-sector demand for employment at the level of 156.6 million jobs, nearly twice that of only 10 years ago, in 1978.

But while the baby boom has gone bust and there will be fewer young workers, everybody agrees that blacks and Hispanics will be a far higher proportion of these young workers. Minority birth rates continue to outstrip white birth rates. By the year 2000, one in every three Americans will be a minority—the group composing the bulk of the at-risk youth population.

Fewer workers, more unfilled jobs—that is the prospect. The inescapable implication is that the very youth we have been looking at today and their younger sisters and brothers will be called upon to fill these jobs. If we continue as present, will the children at risk in school today be in a position to do the kind of work we are talking about here? Will high school dropouts and pushouts whose own percentage of college enrollment is declining currently be capable of handling this challenge? Only the most unbridled optimist could answer in the affirmative. Most thoughtful observers agree with the answer provided in a study by the Hudson Institute:

"If the policies and employment patterns of the present continue, it is likely that the demographic opportunity of the 1990's will be missed and that by the year 2000, the problems of minority unemployment, crime, and dependency will be worse than they are now. Without substantial adjustments, blacks and Hispanics will have a smaller fraction of the jobs than they have today, while their share of those seeking work will have risen."

In other words, we will have continued to waste precious human resources and will be paying an increasing price for that at the same time the work potential of our diverse, private-sector-oriented economy goes unrealized. We will have a soup-kitchen labor force in a post-industrial economy.

"If the policies and employment patterns of the present continue"—that is the operative clause. If they continue, then the answer to the question posed as this chapter head—Can we get there from here?—probably is no, not soon enough to prevent the United States from losing its position as a world leader. Not soon enough to save millions of American youth from the scrap heap.

We have tried in this report to trace the extent of change in the crucial role of the federal government and the states in educating at-risk youth. We had to conclude that the federal commitment has lessened, and this at the very time the level of national concern is being raised. We had to conclude in the last chapter that while change is occurring at the state level, it is occurring slowly and generally with no sense of great urgency. For the worst scenario outlined above to be avoided, that sense of urgency must arise and take command. If that happens nationally and at the state level, it will happen at the local level, in the schools, as well. In this chapter, we will look in more detail at what needs to be done.

One of the more encouraging signs is a growing awareness in educational-leadership circles of the gravity of the problem. In the past few years, literally dozens of reports have been issued out of the organizations

representing this leadership. Along with these reports have been a number of initiatives worth noting in passing, and numerous recommendations worth more careful consideration.

The initiatives include a series of grants to the states to develop models of one sort or another. These include Youth 2000 grants to 13 states to work on a variety of at-risk interventions; grants of $6,000 each to four states by the Education Commission of the States to work on development of model task forces; assistance to 10 states from the Council of State Policy and Planning Agencies as part of a national academy on dropout prevention; and grants of $40,000 each to another 10 states by the Council of Chief State School Officers to develop comprehensive at-risk youth legislation.

Two things seem to us to be worth noting about these initiatives. First, they underscore how very early it is in the process of developing a comprehensive attack on problems of at-risk youth. The initiatives described go to fundamental, long-standing needs. Secondly, by demonstration standards they are funded modestly, with little sense of genuine crisis. This is not meant as criticism of the funders, but to illustrate how little fiscal muscle is being applied now to a problem of crisis proportions.

For all that, the goals of these demonstrations are worthwhile. Model, comprehensive legislation affecting at-risk youth would represent a quantum leap ahead from where most states are presently. Additionally, the Council of Chief State School Officers suggested in their Fall, 1987 meeting, that such legislation make 11 guarantees to youth in school that bear repeating here:

- An education program of the quality available to students who attend schools with high rates of graduation;
- Enrollment in a school which demonstrates substantial and sustained student progress leading at least to graduation;
- Enrollment in a school with systematically developed and delivered instruction of demonstrable effectiveness and with adequate and up-to-date learning technologies and materials of proven value;
- Enrollment in a school with appropriately certified staff;
- A written guide for teaching and learning for each student prepared and approved by the student and parents which maps the path to high school graduation;
- Enrollment in a safe, functional school;
- A program for participation of families as partners in learning at home and at school;
- A parent and early childhood development program beginning no later than the age of four;
- Effective health and social support services to overcome conditions which put the student at risk;
- Educational information about students, schools, districts, and states to enable identification of students at risk and to report on school conditions and performance. The information must be sufficient to let one know whether the above guarantees are being met;
- Procedures by which students and parents can be assured the guarantees are met.

Taken together, these recommendations suggest legislation that guarantees an equal and fully adequate education to all of our children. They take into consideration that all will not learn at the same rate, that some will need more help than others, and that providing that help is as much the business of schools as is the education of those who need only have the assignments handed out. These recommendations have about them the ring of a "bill of rights" for at-risk youth, although the language is, appropriately, aimed at all children. If they were put into effect, they might well make the term "at-risk" obsolete. Or in the words of the Council's past president, David Hornbeck, they could "eliminate the dropout as a feature of the educational system in this country by the year 2000."

It is important to note, however, that at least six of these 11 recommendations call for involvement of parents, health support agencies, and, by implication, others **outside** the school system. It cannot be said too emphatically that the battle for the future of our at-risk youth must be won outside as well as inside the schools. In this battle the schools must realize that nothing less than a genuine collaboration will do. Too often in the past, educators have tried to draw a line at the school door, asserting that the responsibilities of parents and the community ended there. In MDC's earlier report for the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation on at-risk youth (Who's Looking

Out for At-Risk Youth), we noted that state education excellence commissions took a dim view of the need for collaboration. Only two of the 54 responding commissions saw any need for social service or employment/training linkages, only one thought linkages with law enforcement and mental health agencies important, and none saw any role for substance abuse agencies working with the schools.

But if these barriers could be overcome and if the schools were helped to assume their new role as the locus of a holistic learning process, it is possible to imagine great strides. With a little reading between the lines of the Council's recommendations, we might try to imagine what a school in the America of today and tomorrow might look like.

It would be a school, first of all, in which the equity considerations that dominated the 1970's and the educational excellence considerations that have dominated the 1980's would come together in consonance. It would be a school that learned to improve and sharpen education for the brightest and the slowest, and managed to make that education relevant to all and good enough to produce a workforce capable of competing successfully with that of any other nation.

It would be a school that picked up students who already had a "head start" as a result of a parent and early childhood development program, which the school participated in along with other community partners. This effort would capitalize on another research finding described in the same Council meeting by Harold Hodgkinson, senior fellow with the American Council on Education as—"the earlier the programs, the better the return on the investment."

It would be a school that featured a great deal of collaboration and that traded the "closed" atmosphere that dominates too many schools today for a new openness. It would involve parents in a learning-teaching way, building on a number of models of how this can be done successfully. It would involve—in providing "effective health and social services"—other agencies in the community who have a vital stake in the success of the young people in the schools, including employers, employment trainers, and those agencies responsible for our children's health and safety. (The kind of special support teen-age parents like Albuquerque's Susan need would be provided, as would information on preventative measures.)

It would be a school dedicated to keeping its students by teaching them how to succeed. This implies the hiring and continued training—"continuous professional development"—of teachers who see it as their job to discover the learning styles of their students and take the responsibility for teaching to those styles. "A written guide for teaching and learning for each student..." implies something very close to an Individual Educational Program (IEP) of the sort required for special education students, as does the language that follows it... "prepared with and approved by the student and his or her parents." There should, of course, be leeway for students to change their courses of study when they have changed their goals. (It is difficult to see Albuquerque's Carlos dropping out of such a school.)

In turn, this kind of teaching implies fullest use of contemporary technical advances, or in the words of the fourth guarantee—"adequate and up-to-date learning technologies and materials of proven value." Robert Taggart, founder and president of the Remediation and Training Institute, and among the most experienced leaders in remediation, told the Council of Chief State School Officers how to teach basic skills. What works, he said, is "individualized, self-paced, competency-based, multiple media instruction, with high time on task, with self-direction of learners, with one-on-one teaching, frequent feedback, positive reinforcement, accountability, supportive services, and linkages. It's a litany that runs across higher education, secondary education, and our employment and training research. If you can do these things, people will learn basic skills." Gains of an average of two grade in reading or math per 100 hours of instruction are well documented. (Here is a way of teaching that would have helped Matthew enormously.)

Our today and tomorrow school, then, will have computer-assisted remediation available to assist not only at-risk youth, who will put in time at the computer bank and join classes working at their skills levels, but also other students, who may be able to move ahead in certain subjects at their own pace. Students with special aptitudes would have some time set aside to pursue these aptitudes in special programs. And teachers all would understand what the few already are beginning to—that computers don't replace teachers, but merely free them to teach better.

What about class size? There are now 24 pupils in the typical public elementary school classroom, down from 30 in 1961. Research we have seen suggests that

no significant improvements in achievement occur until the class size is reduced to around 10 students. A recent Department of Education report put the cost of reducing all classrooms in the nation to 15 at $69 billion and termed such a move probably a "waste of money and effort." Reducing all classrooms to 15 students strikes us as reflecting the same kind of lock-step mentality that has created the closed, inflexible school thoughtful observers say we must leave behind to history. Yet much research goes to the point that smaller classrooms are especially valuable for at-risk youth. Recent research in connection with Indiana's "Prime Time" program for reduced class size confirmed that both parents and teachers felt that the smaller class size benefited their primary school students significantly. Our school would group students according to educational needs, with small classes for more individualized instruction, including teacher and peer tutoring, where that makes sense, and bigger classes, even including some larger lecture and visual instruction classes, where they make sense.

Our today and tomorrow school would not forget the lessons we have learned, cited in Chapter II, about the needs of all youth, often even more important to at-risk youth. Sue Berryman, director of the Center for Education and Employment at Columbia University, argues that schools should mirror life and that they must be relevant in the sense that they must help students to visualize themselves benefiting in the future. In surveys she found that most teen-age single-parent females saw themselves as "mothers" in life after school and may well have become pregnant on that account, and that vocational-education students were happier with their learning even in schools isolated from the main school because they saw what they were learning as relevant to their life later.

She also underscored an important lesson supported by other research. Children learn better when given mutual responsibility. She suggests a model of Japanese teaching in which grades 1 to 6 are organized into small ability groups for discipline, chores, and other classroom activities, with the students assuming responsibility for correcting each other's behavior and also for completing work on time. Japanese schools also assign one student to assist the teacher as a monitor, to keep order, solving a discipline problem at the same time they teach children supervisory and leadership skills. Such techniques could be extremely useful in our school of the future.

Some of the same ideas emerge from the work of Gary Wehlage and his colleagues at the National Center on Effective Secondary Schools. They have identified characteristics of model alternative-school programs for at-risk youth this way:

- Small size (typically 25 to 100 students with two to six faculty); a clear program identity, teacher autonomy, and a strong sense of collegiality.
- Student commitment to clearly stated rules about attendance, behavior, and the quantity and quality of work required; and a clear understanding of the consequences for breaking these rules.
- Experiential learning that gives students an active role in meaningful work and exposes them to adults who exemplify responsibility, the work ethic, and positive human relationships.

Is it possible to transport these necessities from alternative school to regular school settings? Or are problems of sheer size too great? Research suggests that the teaching style of alternative schools will travel to regular school. Some alternative schools succeed at numbers levels well above the optimal. Regular schools with far more students take on aspects of alternative schools when the leadership is there. One alternative school in Miami is experiencing only a 15 percent dropout rate—compared to 85 percent in others—with only seven teachers for 140 pupils, an average classroom size of 20.

Perhaps even more important, evidence suggests that as restructuring of the sort discussed here takes place in regular school, all students benefit from the greater flexibility that comes into play. It does not seem to be true that reform aimed at the above-average student necessarily "trickles down" to at-risk youth—as we have seen, sometimes actually can be harmful. But there is evidence that the reverse of this process—a kind of "radiating up" effect from reforms that work for the bottom half of the class—is helpful to students at the top. Traditional educational reform of the kind we have had deals mainly with quantity, and with quality as seen as "doing the same things better." Reform designed for at-risk youth, on the other hand, deals with learning, functioning, and collaborative styles and these can profit any and all students.

Is it possible, then, that our today and tomorrow school can become the norm as we move toward the 21st Century? Can we recreate the process of learning inside the schoolhouse, involving the crucial participants both outside and inside? In short—for

this is what these questions come to—can we make the kind of fundamental changes that will benefit at-risk youth at the same time they raise our national expectations for the education of all? Can we win the equity fought for in the 1970's and at the same time have the excellence grasped for in the 1980's?

Some will say, no; it is obviously impractical, too expensive. Everything costs money and a quality education program would be expensive. But unlike expenditures for the concrete to build roads or the armor for defense, expenditures for education carry a systematic array of expanding societal benefits, while the failure to spend carries penalties of a severe sort, which we have been paying exorbitantly in recent years. They attach to the quality of life in the country, social as well as economic. But the economic benefits of real school reform of the sort outlined above are worth a look, first.

Again, the Hudson Institute: "If every child who reaches the age of 17 between now and the year 2000 could read sophisticated materials, write clearly, speak articulately, and solve complex problems requiring algebra and statistics, the American economy could easily approach or exceed the 4 percent growth of the boom scenario. Unconstrained by shortages of competent, well educated workers, American industry would be able to expand and develop as rapidly as world markets would allow. Boosted by the productivity of a well-qualified workforce, U.S.-based companies would reassert historic American leadership in old and new industries and the American workers would enjoy the rising standards of living they enjoyed in the 1950's and 1960's."

If the teaching goal cited here seems a bit unrealistic, it can be modified and even the modified results would answer the current challenge to America's economic well-being. The dark underside of this coin shows up in the language of corporate executives, like David T. Kearns, chairman and chief executive officer of Xerox, in a speech last year: "The basic skills in our workforce—particularly at the entry level—are simply not good enough for the United States to compete in a world economy."

Economist Lester Thurow agrees: "The bottom half of the U.S. labor force simply compares poorly with the rest of the industrial world when it comes to both education and skills."

Clearly, the national economic gains from an equity-excellence education movement would be exponential. Each of us would share in the benefits of a healthy, expanding economy. Looked at this way, the investment in a better, quality education for young Americans is probably the soundest one the nation can make. Against this order of benefits, the increased educational costs are beggared.

Even if we take the narrower view, and look only at direct costs of continued neglect to our nation the picture should be sufficiently harrowing to stir us to action. Again let us look at both sides of the coin:

- The 973,000 dropouts from the nation's high schools in 1981 will lose $228 billion in personal earnings over their lifetime, while society will lose $68.4 billion in taxes.
- On the other hand, the Committee for Economic Development found: "Every $1 spent on early prevention and intervention can save $4.74 in costs of remedial education, welfare, and crime further down the road." If we could raise the mean-tested skills of our nation's 19- to 23-year-olds by one grade equivalent—a goal that would be considered within reach for any computer-assisted remediation program in the country in 50 hours—"lifetime earnings would increase by 3.6 percent," note researchers Berlin and Sum, "and the likelihood of births out of wedlock, welfare dependency, and arrests would decline by 6.5 percent, 5.2 percent, and 6.2 percent respectively."

It is against this backdrop of cost, wasted money, cost, wasted people, and more cost, that we must look at a greater investment in our school system. The real question is what would it cost us to eliminate some or much of this unconscionable waste? Or, to put it another way, how much are we willing to pay now to avoid paying almost five times as much later?

The William T. Grant Foundation's Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship has recommended that the federal government invest in youth an additional $5 billion annually over the next 10 years. By way of illustrating how this additional funding could help, the Commission estimated that it could serve an additional 600,000 students in Head Start, 2.5 million students in Chapter I, 19,000 additional person-years in the Job Corps, and 500,000 more in JTPA, while at the same time providing a fund of $200 million to the states to be used in such ways as youth community and neighborhood service, cooperative education, high school work study, apprenticeship, youth-

operated enterprises, and improved career counseling.

It is important to remember that this recommendation comes at a time when federal spending is a decreasing rather than increasing share of the total education dollar, and when a good bit of this loss has come from a decline in the most significant federal funding pot for disadvantaged children, the Chapter I program.

It is worth noting here that Chapter I is one of the main sources of school funding for computer-assisted remediation, which as we have seen, is a key to improvement of services to at-risk youth. Estimates of the percentage of eligible youth served by Chapter I run between 40 and 50 percent. Our survey suggests that probably no more than 50 percent of the students who do get into the program actually use computers for regular course work in school. We found instances where computers were used for administration rather than for the students and one city where an entire bank of new computers were sitting in storage, unused. "What we are facing," the Chapter I executive in that city told us, "is a deeply entrenched resistance to the use of computer-assisted remediation on the part of some folks in education around here."

Where computers are used, they are not being used as much for subject areas such as reading, math, and science as for teaching students how computers work. The Educational Testing Service's just-published 1988 study of 24,000 students showed that only 5.7 percent of 7th graders used computers almost every day to practice math, while 62.3 percent said they never practiced math on the computer. The contrast was even sharper for the 7th graders when asked how often they used the computer to practice reading. The percentages were 3.1 for "almost every day" but 78.4 for "never." As these youth move up in grades, the situation becomes worse. When 11th graders were asked the same questions, they responded 3.4 percent to 77.9 to the math question and 1.8 to 87.2 percent to the reading question. ETS observes: "In contrast, between 70 percent and 80 percent of students indicated that they had used computers to 'play games' whether in or outside of school." Asked how many hours a week they used a computer to aid instruction in subject areas, only 12.4 percent of the 7th graders and 6.3 percent of the 11th graders indicated more than one hour, while 38.2 percent of the 7th graders and 43.9 percent of the 11th graders said less than 30 minutes. Fully 17.9 percent of the 7th graders and 17.3 percent of the 11th graders responded "none" to this question.

In addition to discovering that computers are not being used much for developing reading and math skills, ETS researchers concluded that equity considerations were coming into play. "There are clear racial/ethnic differences in computer competence, favoring white students over black and Hispanic students. These differences are present even between students who have comparable levels of experience. But the differences are accentuated by greater experience with computers among white students." The relatively greater experience with computers at home helps the white students in this respect, the study concluded, and so does the absence of black and Hispanic role models—over 90 percent of the computer coordinators in the 7th and 11th grade classes were white, the researchers discovered.

These equity considerations are even balder in figures released from another study. The Council of The Great City Schools learned that while there are presently 1.3 computers per 30 students in high schools with less than 5 percent black students, there are only .9 computers per 30 students in high schools with more than 50 percent black students. Put another way, the same comparison yields .9 computers per 30 students in schools with high socio-economic status and .5 computers per 30 students in schools with low socio-economic status. Put more simply, the schools with the economically better-off students have more computers than those with more at-risk students. And it is the at-risk students who clearly have the first-line need for computer-assisted instruction.

In such a situation, leadership may be as important as the amount of money the federal government contributes. If the Grant Commission's recommended investment of $5 billion a year for the next 10 years were accepted the total cost of $50 billion would still be less than our society's loss of tax dollars from the dropouts from one single school year, which, as noted above, will amount to $68.4 billion over the lifetime of the youth. This takes no account of the astronomical costs to society of the rehabilitation of many of these young people through drug programs and prison and the rest, or of the economic loss of their production to our society, or of the youth themselves and their families.

Given all this, it is difficult to understand why more effort has not gone into assisting these at-risk youth. If we do not consider them expendable in our society, why have we failed to put into practice the

lessons that good employment and training programs and good school programs have taught? For more than two decades, we have been proving that the right combination of support and teaching will work for them. It has worked in the Job Corps for youth who were on the margin between society and a life in prison. It has worked for thousands of youth in school-to-work transition programs. And more often each year, it is working for at-risk youth in school.

Two examples may serve for many:

- The Cass Lake-Bena School District in northern Minnesota is on the Leech Lake Indian Reservation. The area has a 70 percent unemployment rate, a high incidence of alcoholism, a high crime rate, and a large percentage of children from single-parent families. Native American students make up 48 percent of all, and their dropout rate for the 1982-83 year was 60 percent. An expansion of the Indian Education Program in the district brought about a dramatic reduction in this dropout rate, down to 28.6 percent in three years. What were the new services? Tutoring, counseling, home-school liaison, transportation for medical and dental care, support for Indian club activities, career exploration and work experience, inclusion of Ojibwe Indian language and culture studies in the curriculum, and a variety of recognition and incentive activities. None of these items is super-costly. All of them are tested and have proved successful in a variety of settings across the country.

- Six years ago Whitfield County, Georgia, the self-proclaimed Carpet Capital of the World, was viewed by area educators as the Dropout Capital of the World as well. Only half of entering 9th graders graduated from high school, lured instead by unskilled jobs in the carpet mills. School officials were the first to sound the alarm, but soon business leaders and parents joined in a community-wide campaign to keep students in school. While the schools put in place an early intervention strategy for high-risk youth and established a school improvement project in the middle school, the Chamber of Commerce created a Stay in School Task Force that persuaded 207 employers, two-thirds of the total in the county, to sign an agreement promising to limit part-time job offers to only those students who maintained satisfactory attendance and grades and to offer no jobs to school-age youth lacking a high school diploma. Now when a student talks about quitting school, a counselor calls one of several local employers who will drop everything to come talk to the student and to encourage him to stay in school. The program has been credited with reducing the dropout rate to 35 percent and with bringing many dropouts back to school. While the community's dropout problem is far from resolved, Whitfield County nevertheless provides a model for creating a caring and responsive environment.

When we consider the costs of success against the infinitely higher costs of failure, the Grant Commission's recommendations seem conservative. They may be more so than President Ronald Reagan's own stated goal of achieving a national graduation rate of 90 percent by 1990, a goal, incidentally, for which no immediate funding increases have been suggested and for which no plan has been proposed.

Enough is certainly known, as the title of one recent report on at-risk youth stated, for progress to be made, and time is too short to delay action. The recommendations above go to the global issues. But while it is clear that movement can be made, much remains at issue at the program level. As we have suggested, it is largely impossible, in the absence of evaluation, to determine which programs work, and how well, or to conclude which features of these programs are essential to making these programs work when they are put in place elsewhere.

Also, there is need for close monitoring of the progress made by the states over the next few years toward the goal of the full implementation of a comprehensive state-wide policy for at-risk youth. Model legislation may work differently in one state than in another, but yet there may be elements that are essential to all. Again, the need is for experienced observers with no stake in the outcome to look over the shoulders of the states with an eye toward assisting in making the best choices among several different, and perhaps mutually exclusive, options.

Perhaps most important of all, there is need for organizations that can assist in raising national consciousness as to the critical situation in regard to at-risk youth. Ideally, these organizations should not have constituencies within state government or the educational superstructure, but should be knowledgeable and in a position to influence opinion.

It is possible that dissemination of the good practices, the options available to the states and localities, is the most difficult achievement of all. We have seen in this report how poorly information is shared between government agencies, educators, and employment and training agencies locally, and at the state and federal level. The need here is for honest brokers who can assist in creation of state and interstate networks to share results of efforts on behalf of at-risk youth. Ideally, these networks should be built into some ongoing institutions and so be self-perpetuating, but first, the perpetuating institutions must be identified and the networks built.

In truth, we all bear a part of the burden for action. As businesspersons and parents, as citizens, we all owe awareness and the willingness to act to solve the complex of problems put forward here. Acting for the future of our youth is not a spectator sport.

The states have taken a small step forward toward a future in which this nation ceases to treat a large portion of its youth as though they were expendable. A small step—but much remains to be done and time is short. If there is to be a leap forward, a movement of saving grace for these young people of ours, a tender of this country's regard for its youth no less than for the survival of its economic leadership, that time is now. This opportunity will not come again, nor, perhaps, will another half as full of hope.

Appendix

California

California's reform efforts have focused on restoring the financial support for education that eroded during the era of Proposition 13 and on addressing the needs of the growing limited English-proficient population. Compliance review procedures require districts to demonstrate progress toward achieving reform goals and to structure extra services for special-needs students for mastery of core academic subjects; 28 indicators such as enrollment and dropout rates and test scores are used to track success.

Although the state provides $36 million for pre-school programs that serve 19,000 low-income 4-year-olds, the bulk of at-risk initiatives are targeted to potential and actual dropouts. Senate Bill 813, passed in 1983, included provisions which resulted in most districts offering a 10th grade counseling program to focus guidance services on at-risk students. Senate Bill 65, passed in 1985, provides an extra $12 million for dropout prevention activities under a Motivation and Maintenance Program. Funds are targeted to the 50 high schools with the highest dropout rates and their approximately 150 elementary and junior high "feeder" schools. Eligible districts may file a single application for several educational grants if they develop an acceptable proposal for a set of coordinated prevention efforts. Once the plan is accepted, funding is received in a block grant.

California law requires school attendance on a full-time basis until the age of 16 and on at least a part-time basis until graduation or the age of 18. While most districts offer alternative school programs, the state also funds continuation schools for students 16 and over who wish to leave or have been dismissed from high school. About a fifth of 11th and 12th graders opt to enroll in Regional Occupational Centers which provide job-skill training at high school sites, businesses, or training centers for at least one hour per day.

Following Washington's example, the state has set up California Clinics which provide three hours a day of instruction for dropouts. Students may take up to 225 hours of instruction after which they are referred to an existing educational program leading to a diploma or equivalent.

Last year the State Job Training Coordinating Council's Youth Committee prepared the report, "Tomorrow's Workers At Risk." As an outgrowth of the report, the state set aside $1 million of JTPA 6 percent funds for incentive grants to areas meeting youth-spending requirements, achieving a high-risk-youth positive termination rate, and implementing remediation programs for at-risk youth.

Connecticut

Connecticut has enacted dropout prevention legislation, adopted state policy on dropout prevention, established an interagency task force on at-risk youth, and begun work on a State Education Department Position Paper on At-Risk Students. In 1988, the state adopted new distribution procedures to direct more state aid to poor districts and districts producing the lowest scores on state-wide mastery tests. In addition, for the past eight years, Connecticut has supported a School Effectiveness Project, providing consultants to districts volunteering to participate.

Substitute Senate Bill 882, passed in 1987, targets annual dropout-prevention grants for up to three years to the 25 school districts in greatest need. The bill reserves funds for a few competitive grants to other school districts and requires each grant recipient to identify at-risk students, collect dropout data using a common definition and uniform methodology, and engage in a comprehensive planning process and needs assessment. State Board policy encourages all districts, not only grant recipients, to engage in similar activities.

A Dropout Need Index was developed to identify those 25 districts most in need of funds from the state's 117 school districts. The index factors enrollment loss data; 4th, 6th, and 8th grade mastery test data; and the concentration of poverty based on counts of recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The size of the grants, which ranged from $10,000 to $75,000 in school year 1987-88, is based on the dropout need index, relative wealth of the district, and district enrollment.

While the dropout legislation added $750,000 to 1987-88 school funding, a variety of other state-funded programs are in place. A Priority School Districts project provides help in diagnostic skills testing, teacher training, and curriculum development to the 15 districts with the lowest basic-skills test scores. Other funds, often available on a competitive basis, support:

- 8 to 10 summer school grants ($1 million)
- a demonstration project for high-risk babies with handicaps or developmental delays ($350,000)
- 15 extended-day kindergarten projects ($1 million)
- 8 adolescent-parents programs and several school-based health clinics (approximately $500,000)
- breakfast programs for 2-year-olds ($364,000)

Florida

Florida's attack on the problems faced by at-risk youth was kicked off in 1970 when the state provided categorical funding for secondary school occupational specialists. These personnel, which continue to work in the schools today, are assigned responsibility for identifying dropouts, providing counseling services, and conducting exit interviews with students withdrawing from school. In 1978, legislation provided funding for alternative education, which by 1982 grew to a state-wide allocation of $90 million. Two years later, a state task force evaluated those programs and developed recommendations which culminated in 1986 with passage of the Dropout Prevention Act.

The new act encourages districts to reprogram the funds previously used for alternative education to support, in addition, early identification and intervention activities. Districts wishing to receive dropout-prevention funds are required to develop comprehensive plans that include educational alternative programs, teen-age parent programs, programs for substance abusers, disciplinary programs, and youth-services programs (educational programs for youth under state care). In addition districts must provide for parental, community, and business involvement; interagency coordination of services; a system of early identification of potential dropouts; dropout-retrieval activities; and employability skills, and other activities related to preparation for work. At least one person must be assigned responsibility for implementation and administration of the plan and a biennial evaluation plan must be carried out. An optional component of the legislation allows districts to modify state-approved courses to produce interdisciplinary courses or to make other modifications which will enhance the effectiveness of a dropout-prevention program.

Florida uses a weighted FTE system to determine each district's allocation level. Students enrolled in dropout-prevention programs earned 1.657 FTEs for their districts for the time spent in dropout-prevention activities in 1987-88. The 1986 act also allocated $4.5 million for competitive community-based dropout-prevention program grants and for support of a Center for Dropout Prevention.

Other legislation has established pilot and demonstration programs for disadvantaged pre-schoolers, at-risk youth needing individualized planning and counseling in grades 4 to 8, teen parents, abuse victims, and latchkey children. Florida also funds a compensatory education program, a migrant handicapped pre-school program, and a Youth Conservation Corps. In 1987, the state initiated a Compact program which pairs businesspersons with youth needing mentoring and other services.

Illinois

Early intervention and prevention programs dominate Illinois' strategies for meeting the needs of at-risk youth. In 1983, the state created Parents Too Soon, a comprehensive teen pregnancy initiative that now operates in 125 areas with an annual budget of $12 million. The state also funds a $37 million reading program for K-6th grade students and a $45 million pre-school program. In 1988 the state joined the State Policy Academy on Dropout Prevention directed by the Council of State Policy and Planning Agencies.

Illinois' 1985 educational-reform package earmarked over two-thirds ($59 million) of its $90 million budget for activities directly affecting at-risk youth. In addition to the reading and pre-school programs, the package provided for a $10 million Truant's Alternative and Optional Education Program which provides optional educational services for 20,000 youth. The pre-school effort, first funded at $12 million, is expected to grow to $122 million by FY 1990. It targets at-risk 3- and 4-year-olds using classroom and home-based formats. Reading funds are based on district size and need; districts may use the funds to create special classes or lower pupil/teacher ratios.

The state has made extensive use of advisory groups. In 1986, the state received a Clark Foundation grant to develop state policy for school dropout prevention and employment readiness for disadvantaged youth. The Governor established the Illinois State Task Force on At-Risk Youth and designated four regional coalitions from areas having the highest student attrition rates. The coalitions were charged with developing a catalog of effective programs and with making policy recommendations to the Task Force. There also is an ad hoc Youth Employment Task Force representing state youth service agencies, community-based groups, and program providers that has recommended adoption of a comprehensive state youth policy. Other groups include a Working Group on Bilingual Training, private citizens' commissions, and an urban dropout legislative task force.

In 1987, Governor James R. Thompson initiated a "Class of 1999" project which serves as an umbrella for activities aimed at educating a higher percentage of Illinois' youth. One goal of the project is to eliminate youth unemployment by guaranteeing a job to all youth after high school.

The state JTPA office has attempted to increase services to at-risk youth by modifying program performance standards to encourage longer-term remedial education activities. Eight percent funds support a Work Experience and Career Exploration Program for 14- to 15-year-olds in the 25 districts with the greatest dropout rates.

Maryland

Support for at-risk youth has come from a variety of sources in Maryland including the governor's office, the legislature, and several state departments. The result has been increased public awareness of the needs of at-risk youth and a wide variety of programs serving this group.

Significant efforts date back to 1973 when an early identification and intervention program that screens all entering first graders for learning disabilities was instituted by the legislature. Since that time, 15 other pieces of legislation affecting at-risk youth have passed including a $12 million program for children with special education needs that have resulted from disadvantaged environments, a $3.3 million extended elementary education program for 4-year-olds, a $1.7 million adult basic education program for 16-year-olds and older, and a $2 million allowance program for youth aged 14 to 21 enrolled in JTPA programs. Other measures have funded suicide and child abuse prevention programs and programs for disruptive and special education students.

Former Governor Harry Hughes declared 1985 the Year of the Child and charged the departments of human resources, education, and mental health and hygiene with developing an interagency plan for children with special needs for use in setting program and budget priorities. His successor, Governor William D. Schaefer, created a sub-cabinet for children's needs and elevated to cabinet status the Office on Youth.

Leadership on the at-risk issue is also coming from state Superintendent David Hornbeck who has proposed that Maryland adopt Wisconsin's policy of guaranteeing every child an education. The Education Department has developed public awareness materials; an inventory of programs that serve at-risk youth; in-service training for teachers; and an attendance, follow-up, and evaluation system.

In late 1987, the Governor's Employment and Training Council's Education Task Force proposed an at-risk policy and program concept that would bring together the local educational and Private Industry Council systems to cooperatively plan and implement comprehensive, integrated, school-based, multi-year, year-round programs for at-risk youth. The proposal would combine $5 million in state funds with $5 million from foundation resources, $10 million from local JTPA summer funds, and $1 million from state JTPA 8 percent funds. If approved by the legislature, the initiative will provide basic skills remediation, work experience, motivation/leadership development, support services, and school-to-work transition services on a year-round basis starting in September, 1988.

Massachusetts

Massachusetts is attacking the at-risk youth problem by giving increased power to local communities to generate program and policy ideas. One of the largest efforts is the Commonwealth Futures program which has the long-term goal of developing a coordinated state-wide strategy for helping the communities with the highest proportion of at-risk youth deal more effectively with dropout prevention and reentry.

The Futures program began in the Fall of 1986 with the identification of 21 communities and two regional school districts with the highest concentrations of at-risk youth. Each of these were invited to compete for grants that would help the communities implement community-wide service plans for at-risk youth. At the state level, both a Steering Committee and an interagency work group assist the project by addressing barriers to local program implementation, securing necessary funds and technical assistance, and creating a common request-for-proposal process. By 1990 the state expects to have worked with at least 18 communities.

The state has adopted a broad definition of at risk to facilitate the use of JTPA and other categorical funding for Commonwealth Futures and other at-risk youth programs. In addition to economic disadvantage, 11 other criteria may qualify youth for JTPA programs. Efforts are under way to establish a common information system for use by several state

agencies serving dropouts and potential dropouts.

Massachusetts' Public School Improvement Act has provided $2 million for dropout-prevention programs and authorized the creation of School Improvement Councils made up of parents, teachers, and administration. Schools with councils are eligible to receive grants totaling $50 per student for locally designed improvement programs. Another reform measure is helping to improve the ability of teachers to recognize potential dropouts in the early grades. The state has also provided $15 million in support of 20 plus "Carnegie" schools which are testing the principles put forth by the Carnegie report on education.

During 1987 the Governor requested a $1 million Teenage Pregnancy Prevention Challenge Fund for comprehensive prevention and service coordination projects. Each participating community must have a teen-age pregnancy coalition that includes state agency directors, school superintendents, teachers, representatives of colleges and universities, Private Industry Council chairs, municipal officials, local legislators, parents, teens, and a variety of other community leaders. Other state funds support health care clinics for pregnant and parenting teens in six cities and a state-wide compensatory education program.

Minnesota

Minnesota, with the highest graduation rate of the 50 states (91.4 percent), nevertheless has adopted the goal of increasing its graduation rate to 96 percent by 1996. The state began work in 1987 on a draft Learners At Risk policy. Several components of the policy have been legislated into effect while others remain under development. Minnesota is one of 10 states participating in the Council of State Policy and Planning Agencies' policy academy on dropout prevention.

One of the first pieces of the policy to be enacted was the High School Graduation Incentives Program which became operational during the 1987-88 school year. The program encourages youth aged 12 to 21 who have experienced or are experiencing difficulty in the traditional education system to enroll in alternative programs. Students may enroll in programs approved by the State Board (Minnesota has over 100 alternative education programs), postsecondary courses, or public secondary education programs. State funds follow the student to the education system selected. Eligible students include those who are performing two grade levels below other students of the same age, are one year or more behind in obtaining credits for graduation, are pregnant or parents, or are chemically dependent. Younger students also may qualify if they are absent from school excessively. Response from students and parents has exceeded expectations. A survey conducted in December found that 1,400 youth had requested a district or school change; half of these were youth who had already dropped out of school and half were in school at the time of their request.

Another 1987 act created four area learning centers which focus on academic and learning skills, trade and vocational skills, work experience, and transition services for secondary pupils and adults. The centers will receive an initial grant of $37,500 and may use a variety of other funds to support the overall program. Students may elect to attend fulltime or parttime and will receive a high school diploma; $20,000 has been reserved for an evaluation of the centers in 1989.

In 1988 the legislature adopted 15 new Learners At Risk Initiatives. One requires districts to provide educational programs for pregnant minors and teen parents and to coordinate these programs with social services and employment and training programs. Another provides planning grants for developing employment programs for at-risk youth involving creation of housing for the homeless. The sum of $100,000 was allocated for development of televised GED instruction and $500,000 will be made available by competitive bids for development of pre-kindergarten programs for poor children with significant developmental delay.

New York

New York has implemented a variety of independent initiatives affecting at-risk youth and has proposed many more. In his 1988 State-of-the-State address, the Governor called for a 50 percent cut in the dropout rate over the next five years and for creation of a Liberty Scholarship program. Under the latter proposal, every 7th grader qualifying for the free lunch program (about 29 percent of all 7th graders) would be eligible for financial support covering the costs of attendance in college. Meanwhile, the State Job Training Coordinating Council Youth Committee has drafted a youth-at-risk policy statement and has convened state-wide

hearings on the statement.

Prior to broadening its concerns to all at-risk youth, the state focused on programs for teen-age parents. The Adolescent Pregnancy Program, initiated in 1984, currently provides $8 million for comprehensive services delivered through school-based centers. Offenders also have received special attention. To promote broader use of nonjudicial remedies for truants and offenders, each county must develop a plan for getting offenders back into school.

In February 1988, the state awarded 58 competitive grants for Youth-At-Risk and Community Partnership Programs. A total of $7 million will be awarded ultimately to establish comprehensive educational and social services programs. Sixty percent of the funds must be used by the schools to purchase services from community agencies.

New York funds its own compensatory education program and supplements federal employment and training funds by $54.49 million for at-risk youth initiatives. The state also supports alternative programs for 16- and 17-year-olds and provides $27 million for pre-school programs for the economically disadvantaged; $28 million supports an Attendance Improvement/Dropout Prevention effort that offers counseling, diagnostic screening, alternative education or work experience to 100,000 plus middle school students.

To improve the overall quality of education, the state has supported an effective schools movement which involves the 500 schools in the state with the lowest test scores and highest dropout rates. Currently the state requires all schools to submit a Cards Plan for reporting achievement levels and dropout rates. Although state aid has increased by 57 percent over the last five years, the Board of Regents has proposed an additional 9.4 percent increase in state aid and new funds for programs for at-risk youth.

Oregon

Oregon's at-risk youth efforts began taking form in 1983 when the state joined a national demonstration coordinated by Public/Private Ventures of Philadelphia. The State Employment Initiatives for Youth was created to design and implement new educational and employment strategies for youth. A 14-member Youth Coordinating Council promoted interagency cooperation and identified and supported proven alternative education and employment models. Today the Council gives policy and funding advice to the Governor's Student Retention Initiative, a two-year-old effort to help schools and communities start programs for at-risk youth.

With a two-year budget of $8.1 million (including $5.6 million in federal funds), the Initiative provides technical assistance, information about model programs, strategies for developing adequate local funding, and seed money for local proposals. Over half of the funds are available on a competitive basis; another $2.2 million is distributed to schools on a per-pupil basis for drug-abuse prevention. A goal of the Initiative is to increase the proportion of youth graduating or participating in alternative education or training programs from 75 percent to 90 percent by 1992.

At-risk youth are one of six priority concerns of the State Board. In 1986, the Board called for a "greater emphasis on early identification and response to the needs of students at risk of academic failure or underachievement, and on the provision of alternative programs which motivate and encourage potential dropouts to continue their education." A Superintendent's Task Force on At-Risk Youth is overseeing efforts to develop a dropout accountability system which will require all districts to report numbers and characteristics of dropouts starting in September, 1988.

Oregon is using a Youth 2000 grant to help 12 cities form public/private partnerships of community, business, and education leaders. The Business Liaison Project is modeled after Portland's Leader's Roundtable which formulated a plan of action for youth ages K-21, with special focus on at-risk youth. The Portland project helped call attention to an underutilized statute allowing the use of basic school support money for alternative education. In 1987, Senate Bill 667 facilitated the movement of students to alternative schools and extended basic-support funds to alternative sites.

JTPA 8 percent funds support education, remediation, and employment models for at-risk youth. The state also funds five school health clinics, children's mental health services ($1.6 million), and an early intervention pilot for children at risk of developing mental or emotional problems.

Pennsylvania

Two major initiatives for at-risk youth came out of

Pennsylvania's general education reform. The first was the Test for Essential Learning and Literacy Skills, a minimum competency testing program administered in the 3rd, 5th, and 8th grades which allocates $38 million for remediation. The second was the Student Assistance Program which provides counseling and support to students with family-related, drug, or other personal problems. However, since 1986, at-risk youth have been priorities of several state agencies.

In 1987, Governor Robert P. Casey formed the Economic Development Partnership as a mechanism for bringing together business, labor, education, and government leaders to address economic concerns facing the state. As part of that effort, state agencies compiled a single source of programs related to economic development and discovered that more than $700 million was available per year to educate, train, and employ youth. The work of the task force resulted in several new policies and programs for at-risk youth including a Youth Initiatives Program which uses federal vocational education, state, and JTPA 8 percent funds for 12 pilot training and job placement programs. Both JTPA and the Community Services Block Grant offices made at-risk youth a high priority in annual planning guidelines, and JTPA increased the pool of eligible at-risk youth by defining as a family of one any youth who is a parent, offender, drug or alcohol abuser, dropout, or at least two grades behind in school.

New initiatives from the Office of the Superintendent include assignment of a full-time at-risk youth staff advisor and development of a resource book on students at risk. The Superintendent also established the Secretary's Advisory Council for At-Risk Youth, composed of business members, higher education, the United Way, and state and local education group leaders to spearhead introduction of comprehensive legislation for at-risk youth. Pennsylvania is one of 10 states receiving funds from the Council of Chief State School Officers to develop comprehensive legislation within the next year.

In 1987, the legislature passed the Statute on Dropouts, requiring the education department to gather data and fund programs for dropouts ($1 million in competitive grants for 1988-89). The state also supports a Youth Conservation Corps, 47 Teen Pregnancy and Parenting Initiatives ($710,000 to match $1.6 million in federal funds). and 18 Successful Students Partnership programs that coordinate academic, social, and other community resources to support potential dropouts ($650,000). The Governor's 1988 budget request seeks expansion of several of these programs and $14 million for incentives to districts that lower dropout rates.

Rhode Island

The Rhode Island Literacy and Dropout Prevention Act of 1987, which went into effect July 1, 1988, seeks to increase the effectiveness of schools by promoting smaller classes in kindergarten through 3rd grade and by focusing the instruction of students in those grade levels on literacy. Under the law, each district must screen all children first entering school to determine their level of educational readiness in the skills of reading, writing, speaking, listening, and mathematics. For grades K-3, districts must focus instruction on literacy using such techniques as small class size and individualized instruction. Districts also must provide supplementary literacy instruction for educationally disadvantaged students in all grades, giving priority to those who are most disadvantaged. An annual allocation of $250,000 supports screening expenses, while the literacy programs are funded through state aid set-asides—3 percent of the total state operations aid in FY 88-89, 4 percent in FY 89-90, and 5 percent thereafter. Other parts of the law provide competitive grants for:

- dropout-prevention programs ($250,000)
- school-site management programs ($250,000)
- training programs for parents of pre-school children and parent-involvement programs ($100,000)

An additional $100,000 supports the operation of a state advisory council broadly representative of the school population, including teachers, parents, administrators, and school board members.

Shortly after passage of this act, Governor Edward D. DiPrete's 1991 Task Force called for a state-funded pre-kindergarten program for at-risk 4-year-olds and an extended day kindergarten program for at-risk kindergarten students. The Task Force has also called for incentive programs to lower class size and for state funding of the cost to limit kindergarten classes to 15 pupils by 1991.

Rhode Island is engaged in an educational finance program that will bring the state's average share of the cost of public elementary and secondary education up to par with the average local share by 1991. The 1991 Task Force has recommended that the

balance between state and local funding reach 60/40 by 1996. The state has also developed a standardized definition of "dropout" and will, in January 1989, report district-by-district dropout rates. Another $2.75 million initiative seeks to upgrade the state's vocational education system and to increase enrollments of 9th graders. disadvantaged students, and other needy groups.

Texas

In 1986, the Intercultural Development Research Association reported that only 12 percent of Texas' 1,080 school districts had a dropout program (despite a state dropout rate of 33 percent) and that dropouts were costing the state $17.12 billion in lost tax revenue and increased costs in welfare, crime, and incarceration. The Texas legislature responded in 1987 with House Bill 1010 which mandates the assignment of an at-risk youth coordinator in each school district and provision of a remedial and support program for any student in grades 7 to 12 testing below state achievement levels or at risk of dropping out of school.

Other provisions of the bill require the state education agency to develop a plan for reducing the projected cross-sectional and longitudinal dropout rates for the state to not more than 5 percent by 1997-98 and to establish a state-wide dropout information clearinghouse. The bill also created an Interagency Coordinating Council to coordinate policies and services for students who drop out of school or who are at risk of dropping out of school.

Earlier in 1987, the state education agency presented its long-range plan for 1986-1990. With at-risk students as one of its focal points, the plan calls for closing of the achievement gap between educationally disadvantaged students and other populations, and for programs to reduce the dropout rate. The plan also emphasizes parental involvement, increased community-school partnerships, and development of methods to accurately identify and assist the slower learner. Two other objectives are to continue efforts to realize equalization and equity in the distribution of state funds and to increase public awareness of the relationship between changes in Texas' economic base and the concomitant need for students to succeed in school.

The Texas legislature has created a Joint Interim Study Committee to study the dropout problem and to present its recommendations to the 71st legislature in January, 1989. There is also a state education Task Force on Dropouts which is developing a resource directory, a program evaluation model, and standards for dropout data collection.

Dropout retrieval efforts have been promoted through the state JTPA organization which made $1.1 million available in 1987-88 for the operation and evaluation of comprehensive alternative model programs for dropout and low functioning out-of-school youth. JTPA is a major source of support as well for 50 comprehensive competencies program centers which provide individualized, self-paced instruction in basic skills for both in-school and out-of-school youth.

Washington

Washington's commitment to at-risk youth has been steadily growing since the early 1980's. A variety of pilot programs and special studies have focused resources on early intervention and prevention strategies and on second-chance programs for older students.

In 1985, the House Education Committee conducted a study of early school leavers which led to revised collection procedures for dropout statistics. One year later, another legislatively mandated study forecast that 344,000 or 36 percent of all students in the state would be at risk in the year 2000. Currently the state is using a Youth 2000 grant to inventory youth-at-risk projects operating in the state.

Among Washington's early intervention strategies is the $12.6 million Early Childhood Education and Assistance Program which enrolls 2,000 low-income children in pre-school programs modeled after Head Start. Other efforts include a Remediation Assistance Program that serves 28,000 students in grades 2 to 6 and 7 to 9; Project Even Start, a $1.6 million literacy-training program for teen-age and other parents of children in pre-school or early grades; and Project Success, a pilot operating in 11 sites in Spokane and several rural counties, which provides individually designed interventions such as home visits, child care, parent education, and parent breakfast clubs to high-risk elementary students and their families.

Programs for older students include 13 model dropout-prevention programs first funded in 1985 and the Student Retention and Retrieval Program, a $5.5

million, two-year effort to identify dropouts and potential dropouts and encourage them to stay in or return to school. In addition, state funds support a dozen privately operated Educational Clinics which provide basic skills or GED training to dropouts and referrals from the public schools. The Clinics have achieved a 66 percent successful completion rate. State dollars also help support over 125 alternative schools and supplement federal allocations for migrant and bilingual education.

Recently the Governor appointed a Youth 2000 Task Force to identify issues, problems, and program solutions for at-risk youth. Other oversight is provided by the Washington Roundtable, a group of influential business executives who have helped win legislative support for at-risk youth programs.

Wisconsin

Wisconsin has a legislated goal of reducing its annual dropout rate from 3.5 percent (10,000 students each year) to 2.0 percent by 1992. The state also has established 20 educational standards intended to guarantee every Wisconsin student equal access to a quality education. Among these standards is a Children At Risk statute which defines "children at risk" and shifts responsibility for education from the child to the local school board and community.

Under the 1985 law, each school board must identify children at risk in the district, develop and implement a plan of programs and activities to serve their needs, notify each child in writing of being identified and, upon request of the child or parent, enroll the child in the district's at-risk program. Needs may be met through curriculum modifications and alternative programs, remedial instruction, parental involvement, pupil support services, community support service programs, preparation for work programs, and other proven approaches.

School districts with 50 or more dropouts or a high school dropout rate exceeding 5 percent in the previous school year, must have their plans approved by the state superintendent. Every district receives $64,000 to implement the plan and to appoint a children-at-risk coordinator. Districts having a dropout rate of 5 percent or more for the previous year and meeting certain performance criteria are eligible to receive a 10 percent supplement to the per-pupil aid for each at-risk student enrolled in the district program. Each program is tracked and evaluated.

Other state statutes require districts to provide remedial reading services for underachieving students in grades K-3 and to administer a standardized reading test in the 3rd grade. In addition, districts must offer interested 7 to 12 graders an Education for Employment Program that includes employment-preparation classes and paid school-supervised work experience in grades 10 to 12. This is a cooperative effort by the state education agency and the Parker Pen Corporation to help develop Wisconsin's economy. Other business/education partnerships on behalf of at-risk youth are promoted by an interagency task force.

State funds also support pre-school programs and a Precollege Scholarship Program which provides year-round academic assistance to minority students in grades 6 to 12. JTPA and Carl Perkins funds are targeted to school dropouts, at-risk youth, and single parents. Remediation and services to at-risk youth dominate the use of JTPA 8 percent funds.

Federal Program Budget Authorizations by State, 1986, 1987

These charts provide federal program budget authorizations by state for the years 1986 and 1987.

The figures provide only rough estimates of the funds available to the states during those years. In many cases the states probably had more funds to spend than these figures indicate because they do not take into account carryover funding from previous years. The figures also do not take into account funding cuts or increases authorized by the Congress after November, 1987. The purpose of the charts is to indicate the approximate amount of federal funding available to the states that could be used to support programs and services for at-risk youth.

Programs Listed:

- Head Start
- Follow Through*
- Chapter I Compensatory Education, Basic Grant
- Chapter I Neglected and Delinquent Children Set-Aside
- Chapter I Handicapped Children Set-Aside
- Chapter I Migrants Set-Aside
- Educationally Handicapped, Early Childhood Set-Aside
- Educationally Handicapped, Pre-School Set-Aside
- Educationally Handicapped, Basic Grant
- Bilingual Education**
- Emergency Immigrant and Refugee Education**
- Vocational Education, Basic Grant (Youth and Adults)
- Vocational Education, Consumer and Homemaking Set-Aside (Youth and Adults)
- Vocational Education, Community-Based Organizations Set-Aside (Youth and Adults)
- JTPA Title II-A (Training for Youth and Adults)
- JTPA Title II-B (Summer Program)
- Community Service Block Grants (All Uses)

*Follow Through grants are made to sponsoring agencies (universities and related institutions) and may or may not be used by these agencies in their home states

**Figures for Bilingual Education and the Emergency Immigrant and Refugee Education represent actual grants rather than budget authorizations, 1987 data unavailable

$ in thousands	HEAD START	
	1986	1987
ALABAMA	$20,711	$22,432
ALASKA	$2,173	$2,331
ARIZONA	$8,757	$9,573
ARKANSAS	$10,570	$11,488
CALIFORNIA	$96,399	$105,231
COLORADO	$9,307	$10,053
CONNECTICUT	$9,602	$10,407
DELAWARE	$2,130	$2,319
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	$5,982	$6,416
FLORIDA	$27,974	$30,675
GEORGIA	$24,049	$26,227
HAWAII	$3,808	$4,146
IDAHO	$2,786	$3,067
ILLINOIS	$51,221	$55,586
INDIANA	$14,072	$15,433
IOWA	$7,420	$8,147
KANSAS	$6,350	$6,922
KENTUCKY	$19,629	$21,205
LOUISIANA	$21,309	$23,299
MAINE	$4,235	$4,596
MARYLAND	$13,496	$14,642
MASSACHUSETTS	$22,323	$23,974
MICHIGAN	$41,762	$45,609
MINNESOTA	$10,490	$11,448
MISSISSIPPI	$50,260	$52,822
MISSOURI	$17,593	$19,079
MONTANA	$2,535	$2,760
NEBRASKA	$4,070	$4,444
NEVADA	$1,434	$1,570
NEW HAMPSHIRE	$1,929	$2,091
NEW JERSEY	$29,856	$32,260
NEW MEXICO	$5,990	$6,550
NEW YORK	$74,868	$81,743
NORTH CAROLINA	$21,395	$23,209
NORTH DAKOTA	$1,471	$1,625
OHIO	$41,367	$45,054
OKLAHOMA	$12,148	$13,100
OREGON	$8,024	$8,710
PENNSYLVANIA	$43,004	$46,555
PUERTO RICO	$41,478	$45,556
RHODE ISLAND	$3,297	$3,570
SOUTH CAROLINA	$13,257	$14,457
SOUTH DAKOTA	$2,330	$2,566
TENNESSEE	$17,939	$19,528
TERRITORIES	$5,096	$4,936
TEXAS	$45,688	$50,142
UTAH	$4,189	$4,629
VERMONT	$2,006	$2,171
VIRGINIA	$14,373	$15,721
WASHINGTON	$11,208	$12,284
WEST VIRGINIA	$8,644	$9,369
WISCONSIN	$14,817	$16,182
WYOMING	$1,341	$1,438
UNALLOCATED	$75,261	$83,295
TOTAL	$1,013,424	$1,102,442

FOLLOW THROUGH		CHAPTER I—COMP ED		CHAPTER I—NEG & DEL		CHAPTER I—HANDICAPPED	
1986	1987	1986	1987	1986	1987	1986	1987
$286	$286	$62,716	$69,979	$312	$359	$385	$362
$0	$0	$5,016	$5,575	$188	$185	$1,944	$2,076
$198	$198	$31,535	$34,398	$536	$513	$551	$570
$76	$76	$36,253	$41,003	$257	$274	$1,503	$1,528
$714	$714	$287,891	$328,981	$2,740	$2,976	$1,421	$1,310
$54	$54	$28,887	$32,549	$323	$362	$2,558	$2,667
$70	$70	$33,438	$37,732	$1,216	$1,373	$2,206	$2,249
$0	$0	$8,856	$9,927	$169	$152	$2,486	$2,576
$70	$70	$13,825	$15,476	$482	$570	$2,652	$3,064
$398	$398	$126,831	$145,715	$1,472	$1,352	$4,705	$4,337
$319	$319	$81,565	$92,033	$803	$768	$1,634	$1,318
$124	$124	$9,890	$10,550	$57	$96	$309	$273
$75	$75	$8,857	$9,932	$57	$87	$154	$141
$268	$268	$144,481	$160,260	$942	$1,095	$21,227	$21,448
$158	$158	$46,229	$53,484	$735	$718	$3,865	$4,233
$138	$138	$27,293	$29,937	$365	$350	$307	$262
$67	$67	$21,367	$23,794	$505	$603	$1,071	$1,167
$133	$133	$54,399	$61,207	$3[illegible]4	$426	$1,384	$1,496
$0	$0	$74,544	$85,371	$638	$604	$2,133	$2,053
$0	$0	$13,025	$15,232	$173	$181	$610	$651
$0	$0	$52,844	$59,448	$1,239	$1,111	$1,241	$1,168
$181	$181	$67,789	$79,084	$399	$560	$9,306	$10,099
$284	$284	$122,975	$134,617	$1,404	$1,303	$7,363	$7,458
$84	$84	$37,663	$42,300	$364	$206	$249	$251
$231	$231	$57,448	$64,701	$312	$323	$504	$471
$228	$228	$49,643	$55,512	$286	$246	$1,236	$1,180
$86	$86	$10,071	$11,125	$144	$167	$370	$382
$0	$0	$15,948	$17,829	$106	$117	$151	$153
$0	$0	$5,443	$5,881	$157	$192	$286	$327
$0	$0	$7,161	$8,145	$80	$80	$609	$512
$297	$297	$101,627	$114,164	$1,284	$1,377	$3,482	$3,889
$160	$160	$24,359	$27,058	$300	$316	$206	$264
$627	$627	$321,529	$360,701	$3,426	$3,447	$26,467	$28,501
$278	$278	$72,400	$81,753	$973	$1,047	$1,510	$1,456
27	$27	$7,071	$8,012	$62	$64	$313	$330
$173	$173	$109,123	$124,756	$1,488	$1,620	$4,394	$4,102
$0	$0	$34,646	$35,186	$169	$158	$722	$595
$71	$71	$26,950	$29,396	$689	$777	$3,351	$3,585
$237	$237	$148,850	$176,987	$1,035	$1,132	$12,502	$14,452
$166	$166	$109,268	$111,859	$203	$221	$277	$272
$0	$0	$11,748	$13,172	$18	$8	$408	$549
$137	$137	$47,255	$53,351	$673	$738	$480	$428
$0	$0	$9,204	$10,092	$76	$92	$250	$230
$121	$121	$64,078	$72,746	$810	$857	$563	$563
$0	$0	$12,598	$14,077	$0	$0	$412	$436
$173	$173	$201,061	$234,598	$1,196	$1,415	$5,428	$5,532
$0	$0	$10,574	$11,794	$163	$194	$789	$969
$0	$0	$6,286	$7,637	$88	$132	$1,346	$1,529
$200	$200	$58,769	$66,643	$610	$631	$969	$945
$162	$162	$40,232	$44,299	$75	$75	$2,251	$2,314
$72	$72	$28,018	$31,906	$193	$192	$800	$884
$26	$26	$46,816	$52,414	$706	$612	$1,499	$1,677
$0	$0	$3,831	$4,287	$149	$162	$873	$888
$0	$0	$22,226	$24,835	$0	$0	$0	$0
$7,167	$7,167	$3,062,400	$3,453,500	$31,214	$32,616	$143,713	$150,170

	CHAPTER I—MIGRANTS		ED HAND—EARLY CHILD		ED HAND—PRE-SCHOOL	
	1986	1987	1986	1987	1986	1987
ALABAMA	$1,842	$1,835	$0	$768	$324	$2,031
ALASKA	$3,531	$4,876	$0	$244	$84	$525
ARIZONA	$6,346	$6,104	$0	$698	$254	$1,595
ARKANSAS	$4,144	$4,304	$0	$454	$271	$1,702
CALIFORNIA	$74,927	$82,256	$0	$5,558	$2,320	$14,558
COLORADO	$2,374	$2,407	$0	$707	$182	$1,141
CONNECTICUT	$2,773	$2,733	$0	$528	$499	$3,130
DELAWARE	$804	$783	$0	$244	$80	$504
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	$51	$59	$0	$244	$41	$258
FLORIDA	$20,976	$22,066	$0	$1,924	$930	$5,834
GEORGIA	$2,097	$1,916	$0	$1,160	$458	$2 77
HAWAII	$0	$0	$0	$244	$55	$345
IDAHO	$3,434	$3,374	$0	$249	$164	$1,027
ILLINOIS	$2,263	$2,200	$0	$2,312	$2,245	$14,090
INDIANA	$774	$1,040	$0	$1,051	$554	$3,475
IOWA	$134	$109	$0	$563	$566	$3,552
KANSAS	$2,778	$3,183	$0	$528	$294	$1,846
KENTUCKY	$2,305	$2,098	$0	$711	$470	$2,948
LOUISIANA	$4,937	$4,547	$0	$1,064	$571	$3,582
MAINE	$2,496	$2,675	$0	$244	$277	$1,738
MARYLAND	$335	$308	$0	$811	$673	$4,223
MASSACHUSSETTS	$4,877	$5,071	$0	$982	$794	$4,985
MICHIGAN	$7,331	$7,761	$0	$1,706	$1,369	$8,590
MINNESOTA	$1,198	$1,233	$0	$868	$897	$5,626
MISSISSIPPI	$2,048	$1,938	$0	$567	$188	$1,177
MISSOURI	$1,109	$978	$0	$986	$652	$4,088
MONTANA	$243	$257	$0	$244	$171	$1,072
NEBRASKA	$364	$350	$0	$345	$314	$1,971
NEVADA	$521	$532	$0	$244	$98	$611
NEW HAMPSHIRE	$83	$90	$0	$244	$113	$710
NEW JERSEY	$2,023	$1,967	$0	$1,287	$1,540	$9,667
NEW MEXICO	$1,677	$1,530	$0	$358	$138	$862
NEW YORK	$4,401	$4,521	$0	$3,154	$687	$4,301
NORTH CAROLINA	$3,246	$2,885	$0	$1,082	$634	$3,979
NORTH DAKOTA	$564	$602	$0	$244	$116	$726
OHIO	$1,298	$1,351	$0	$2,050	$851	$5,343
OKLAHOMA	$1,510	$1,268	$0	$742	$629	$3,947
OREGON	$6,522	$6,789	$0	$524	$134	$842
PENNSYLVANIA	$1,825	$1,949	$0	$2,037	$844	$5,295
PUERTO RICO	$1,382	$1,691	$0	$902	$188	$1,182
RHODE ISLAND	$111	$177	$0	$244	$131	$821
SOUTH CAROLINA	$272	$291	$0	$650	$573	$3,598
SOUTH DAKOTA	$40	$43	$0	$244	$220	$1,378
TENNESSEE	$251	$208	$0	$838	$714	$4,481
TERRITORIES	$19	$53	$0	$500	$38	$84
TEXAS	$51,244	$51,840	$0	$3,817	$2,167	$13,598
UTAH	$529	$605	$0	$510	$247	$1,549
VERMONT	$498	$602	$0	$244	$52	$326
VIRGINIA	$335	$349	$0	$1,047	$1,005	$6,308
WASHINGTON	$10,217	$10,531	$0	$899	$613	$3,847
WEST VIRGINIA	$51	$52	$0	$336	$276	$1,734
WISCONSIN	$988	$779	$0	$938	$968	$6,078
WYOMING	$290	$291	$0	$244	$39	$244
UNALLOCATED	$6,762	$7,066	$0	$611	$0	$0
TOTAL	$253,149	$264,524	$0	$49,994	$28,710	$180,000

ED HAND—BASIC GRANT		BILINGUAL/ EDUCATION	EMERGENCY IMMIGRANT & REFUGEE	VOC ED—BASICS		VE-CONSUMER & HOMEMAKING		VOC ED-CBOs	
1986	1987	1986	1986	1986	1987	1986	1987	1986	1987
$25,128	$28,830	$666	$0	$14,852	$15,989	$616	$644	$141	$118
$2,490	$2,657	$336	$0	$1,498	$2,247	$45	$48	$36	$30
$14,103	$16,180	$2,104	$0	$9,526	$10,519	$382	$399	$93	$78
$12,221	$14,021	$151	$423	$8,310	$8,967	$344	$360	$79	$66
$104,748	$120,177	$9,491	$21,968	$65,198	$69,625	$2,672	$2,792	$630	$515
$12,141	$13,929	$1,033	$727	$8,761	$9,675	$360	$377	$84	$72
$17,284	$19,829	$506	$170	$7,868	$8,447	$327	$341	$74	$62
$3,210	$3,684	$4	$0	$2,566	$3,849	$78	$81	$36	$30
$841	$965	$598	$612	$2,405	$3,608	$73	$76	$36	$30
$45,503	$52,205	$1,868	$31,118	$29,927	$32,725	$1,216	$1,270	$289	$242
$25,139	$28,842	$635	$102	$20,660	$22,345	$852	$890	$199	$165
$3,179	$3,647	$397	$383	$3,749	$4,038	$122	$127	$36	$30
$5,238	$6,009	$142	$0	$3,732	$4,038	$139	$146	$36	$30
$57,356	$65,804	$1,328	$2,125	$32,686	$35,339	$1,336	$1,396	$308	$261
$26,810	$30,758	$1,440	$0	$18,920	$20,223	$780	$815	$177	$150
$15,578	$17,873	$286	$306	$9,253	$10,102	$377	$393	$87	$75
$10,945	$12,558	$41	$0	$6,895	$7,722	$287	$300	$65	$57
$19,603	$22,493	$85	$0	$13,803	$14,902	$574	$600	$131	$110
$19,991	$22,982	$616	$281	$15,832	$17,865	$635	$663	$153	$132
$7,389	$8,478	$271	$0	$4,170	$4,419	$175	$183	$39	$33
$24,271	$27,846	$1,144	$834	$12,475	$13,058	$520	$543	$116	$97
$35,217	$40,404	$1,283	$889	$16,574	$17,324	$715	$747	$152	$123
$41,788	$47,943	$2,460	$341	$29,929	$31,479	$1,220	$1,275	$279	$233
$22,578	$25,904	$529	$280	$12,856	$13,601	$539	$564	$119	$101
$14,462	$16,593	$201	$77	$9,898	$10,666	$408	$426	$94	$79
$27,005	$30,983	$106	$68	$16,147	$16,939	$684	$715	$150	$125
$4,118	$4,724	$948	$0	$3,757	$4,038	$115	$120	$36	$30
$8,406	$9,644	$103	$0	$4,942	$5,409	$208	$217	$47	$40
$3,779	$4,335	$83	$0	$3,169	$4,038	$96	$101	$36	$30
$4,149	$4,760	$0	$0	$3,744	$4,038	$127	$133	$36	$30
$46,020	$52,799	$1,067	$1,016	$18,537	$19,614	$788	$824	$174	$145
$8,117	$9,313	$2,729	$132	$5,158	$5,777	$211	$221	$50	$43
$69,399	$79,621	$10,674	$7,715	$49,138	$51,362	$2,038	$2,130	$459	$371
$30,490	$34,982	$242	$0	$22,572	$24,500	$939	$981	$215	$181
$3,133	$3,595	$455	$0	$3,087	$4,038	$94	$98	$36	$30
$53,041	$60,854	$277	$741	$34,780	$37,101	$1,432	$1,497	$324	$274
$17,723	$20,333	$1,225	$0	$10,072	$11,474	$393	$411	$97	$85
$11,504	$13,198	$457	$82	$8,283	$8,770	$338	$353	$78	$65
$50,777	$58,257	$624	$148	$36,881	$39,311	$1,524	$1,592	$346	$291
$12,115	$13,899	$477	$0	$13,004	$14,501	$527	$551	$128	$107
$5,160	$5,920	$475	$569	$3,741	$4,038	$130	$136	$36	$30
$19,794	$22,705	$641	$0	$12,717	$13,755	$523	$547	$121	$102
$3,643	$4,180	$623	$0	$3,356	$4,038	$102	$106	$36	$30
$26,205	$30,066	$449	$96	$17,077	$18,473	$712	$744	$162	$137
$6,305	$7,251	$130	$0	$1,647	$1,828	$69	$72	$27	$13
$78,591	$90,167	$5,188	$0	$47,455	$54,279	$1,886	$1,970	$469	$401
$11,136	$12,776	$568	$0	$5,803	$6,458	$234	$245	$57	$48
$2,280	$2,616	$311	$0	$2,652	$3,988	$81	$84	$36	$30
$28,092	$32,230	$731	$0	$17,340	$18,665	$735	$768	$166	$138
$18,019	$20,674	$645	$0	$12,193	$13,552	$504	$527	$119	$100
$12,488	$14,328	$0	$0	$6,956	$7,354	$288	$301	$65	$54
$20,467	$23,482	$315	$0	$15,641	$16,746	$650	$679	$145	$124
$2,596	$2,979	$109	$0	$1,768	$2,652	$54	$56	$36	$30
$11,518	$16,518	$0	$0	$0	$6,640	$0	$0	$0	$0
$1,163,287	$1,338,000	$59,563	$71,200	$743,965	$816,148	$30,273	$31,633	$7,176	$6,000

	JTPA TITLE II-A		JTPA TITLE II-B		COMM SERVICE BLOCK GRANT	
	1986	1987	1986	1987	1986	1987
ALABAMA	$44,191	$41,041	$17,000	$13,001	$6,148	$6,947
ALASKA	$4,896	$5,465	$1,855	$1,761	$1,007	$1,137
ARIZONA	$18,433	$21,040	$8,338	$6,937	$3,142	$3,550
ARKANSAS	$20,705	$21,789	$8,072	$7,143	$4,531	$5,121
CALIFORNIA	$189,598	$187,764	$76,760	$61,653	$29,723	$33,590
COLORADO	$17,145	$20,405	$7,162	$6,691	$2,899	$3,277
CONNECTICUT	$13,010	$12,083	$8,943	$6,540	$4,022	$4,545
DELAWARE	$4,446	$4,588	$1,686	$1,558	$876	$989
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	$6,537	$6,071	$7,410	$5,419	$5,475	$6,187
FLORIDA	$62,193	$60,379	$27,641	$20,214	$9,689	$10,949
GEORGIA	$35,029	$37,852	$14,639	$12,541	$8,965	$10,132
HAWAII	$5,268	$5,926	$2,539	$1,974	$1,393	$1,574
IDAHO	$7,592	$8,826	$3,010	$2,882	$876	$989
ILLINOIS	$99,856	$105,554	$45,506	$34,163	$15,745	$17,793
INDIANA	$45,011	$41,803	$20,375	$14,900	$4,852	$5,483
IOWA	$20,170	$21,868	$8,087	$7,116	$3,607	$4,076
KANSAS	$9,123	$10,437	$4,953	$3,622	$2,720	$3,074
KENTUCKY	$33,518	$39,581	$14,103	$12,878	$5,619	$6,350
LOUISIANA	$47,400	$59,970	$17,353	$19,338	$7,827	$8,845
MAINE	$7,323	$6,801	$3,386	$2,476	$1,752	$1,979
MARYLAND	$20,897	$19,408	$12,651	$9,252	$4,592	$5,167
MASSACHUSETTS	$27,706	$25,732	$18,607	$13,607	$8,308	$9,389
MICHIGAN	$95,763	$89,100	$37,858	$28,821	$12,349	$13,955
MINNESOTA	$22,127	$23,755	$10,628	$7,823	$4,013	$4,535
MISSISSIPPI	$28,795	$31,642	$10,778	$10,316	$5,302	$5,992
MISSOURI	$33,249	$30,879	$15,380	$11,247	$9,223	$10,423
MONTANA	$6,219	$6,974	$2,364	$2,286	$1,201	$1,358
NEBRASKA	$5,902	$8,046	$3,247	$2,661	$2,324	$2,626
NEVADA	$7,064	$7,175	$2,579	$2,327	$876	$989
NEW HAMPSHIRE	$4,446	$4,588	$2,023	$1,558	$903	$1,020
NEW JERSEY	$39,730	$37,107	$24,150	$17,661	$9,132	$10,320
NEW MEXICO	$11,704	$14,630	$4,834	$4,784	$2,138	$2,417
NEW YORK	$122,489	$120,132	$55,187	$40,358	$28,931	$32,694
NORTH CAROLINA	$37,703	$35,016	$16,303	$11,922	$8,874	$10,029
NORTH DAKOTA	$4,446	$4,588	$1,646	$1,558	$876	$989
OHIO	$91,248	$94,602	$39,276	$30,647	$12,994	$14,684
OKLAHOMA	$22,136	$25,305	$8,293	$8,261	$4,261	$4,815
OREGON	$26,487	$25,332	$10,012	$8,220	$2,670	$3,017
PENNSYLVANIA	$97,824	$90,851	$40,135	$29,351	$14,113	$15,949
PUERTO RICO	$71,395	$74,045	$26,078	$24,310	$14,041	$15,867
RHODE ISLAND	$5,976	$5,550	$3,260	$2,384	$1,855	$2,097
SOUTH CAROLINA	$22,084	$23,829	$9,033	$7,858	$5,126	$5,793
SOUTH DAKOTA	$4,446	$4,588	$1,646	$1,558	$1,035	$1,169
TENNESSEE	$40,486	$40,580	$16,351	$13,287	$6,569	$7,424
TERRITORIES	$3,571	$4,878	$1,206	$1,059	$1,371	$1,978
TEXAS	$95,882	$133,423	$38,662	$43,440	$16,050	$18,138
UTAH	$9,194	$8,539	$3,613	$2,642	$1,799	$1,468
VERMONT	$4,446	$4,588	$1,646	$1,558	$934	$1,055
VIRGINIA	$26,335	$29,887	$14,137	$10,338	$5,336	$6,031
WASHINGTON	$38,477	$35,735	$14,298	$11,175	$4,009	$4,531
WEST VIRGINIA	$24,773	$23,007	$9,038	$7,108	$3,730	$4,215
WISCONSIN	$33,040	$32,668	$14,168	$10,666	$4,057	$4,584
WYOMING	$4,446	$4,588	$1,646	$1,558	$876	$989
UNALLOCATED	$0	$0	($133,576)	$11,566	$0	$35,944
TOTAL	$1,781,930	$1,840,008	$635,976	$635,976	$320,235	$398,236

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