REPORT

The Research Alliance for New York City Schools

Moving the Needle

Exploring Key Levers to Boost College Readiness Among Black and Latino Males in New York City

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July 2013

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

College readiness is becoming an increasingly important standard by which to measure school success and student achievement. While high school graduation and dropout prevention remain critical issues for educators, there is a substantial gap in outcomes between students who only earn a high school diploma and those who go on to obtain a college degree. For example, young adults with a bachelor's degree earn almost twice as much—and are half as likely to be unemployed—as those with only a high school diploma.[i]

Given the importance of higher education, it is decidedly problematic that students of color, especially Black and Latino males, are underrepresented among those with college degrees.[ii] Nationally, only 26 percent of Black males and 18 percent of Latino males attain an associate degree or higher, compared to 41 percent of students overall.[iii] Not surprisingly, there are disparities in high school graduation rates as well. According to the Schott Foundation's *50 State Report*, of students scheduled to graduate in 2010, 52 percent of Black males and 60 percent of Latino males graduated from high school, compared to 78 percent of White non-Latino males.[iv]

For many decades, high school graduation rates in New York City lagged behind the nation, and low rates among Black and Latino students in particular were the focus of intense debate and criticism. Efforts to improve graduation rates and close gaps between subgroups of students have actually begun to pay off in recent years. High school graduation rates for Black and Latino males increased by 14 percentage points—from 43 and 45 percent, respectively, among those who entered high school in 2002, to 57 and 59 percent, respectively, among those who entered in 2006.[v] The needle on college readiness, however, has not moved to the same degree. Among students scheduled to graduate in 2010, only 9 percent of Black males and approximately 11 percent of Latino males graduated "college ready."[vi] Thus, while rising numbers of Black and Latino males are graduating from NYC high schools, very few of them are being prepared to attend and thrive in college.

Improving college readiness rates in NYC, especially for young men of color, will require a better understanding of the challenges they face—and of the levers that might serve to increase college readiness and enrollment. Our report, *Moving the Needle*, speaks to both issues by examining the trajectory of Black and Latino males

on their path to college and zeroing in on points along that path where schools might effectively intervene. The report describes college-related outcomes and other indicators that help predict college readiness for Black and Latino male students over time, and discusses key contextual factors that underlie these educational outcomes. It then uses this research to inform the Expanded Success Initiative (ESI), an ongoing citywide effort to improve college and career readiness for young men of color, which the Research Alliance is evaluating.

The Path to College for NYC's Black and Latino Males: A Leaky Pipeline

Our analysis of the educational outcomes of Black and Latino males in New York City over the last decade shows that while graduation rates are improving, college readiness rates for young men of color remain startlingly low. Even Black and Latino young men who enter high school with relatively high 8th-grade test scores are less likely than their White and Asian male counterparts to graduate or graduate college ready, suggesting that some divergence in outcomes actually begins in high school. Antecedents to college enrollment, such as attendance, retention, and "on-track" status, hold promise as levers that could be used to find and support struggling students, thereby increasing college readiness for future cohorts of Black and Latino male students. Taken together, our findings paint a picture of a "leaky pipeline," with students falling off track at various points along the way. Identifying these leaks can provide direction for schools about how they might strategically target supports and interventions to yield the most impact for students.

Understanding the Barriers to Graduation and College

Using New York City data, national data, and relevant literature, the report examines underlying "opportunity gaps" facing Black and Latino males. In contrast to the typical focus on achievement gaps, the concept of opportunity gaps shows how environmental factors influence the likelihood that students will graduate and graduate college ready. Specifically, the report looks at the role of poverty, gender expectations, and language and cultural barriers in shaping the educational experiences and outcomes of young men of color. It also examines school-level practices that negatively and disproportionately affect this population. Black and Latino boys are overrepresented in special education classes, for example, and among those who have been suspended and expelled. They also have less access to rigorous courses. All of these factors help explain the lagging graduation and college

readiness rates among New York City's young men of color. Policies and programs that address these underlying issues may be needed to achieve more equity—and across-the-board success—in the City's public schools.

Implications for Policy and Practice

It is interesting to consider the report's findings against the City's own effort to increase college readiness for young males of color. NYC's Young Men's Initiative (YMI)—the largest investment of its kind in the country—seeks to improve outcomes for Black and Latino males along four dimensions: education, criminal justice, employment, and health. By far, the largest educational component of YMI is the Expanded Success Initiative (ESI), specifically designed to increase the college and career readiness of NYC's Black and Latino males. ESI includes an investment in 40 schools that have shown success in graduating males of color but are only on par with other schools in terms of getting these students ready for and enrolled in college. In addition to financial resources, ESI schools receive professional development, especially around culturally relevant pedagogy, and ongoing support in planning and implementing their ESI programs.

Our analysis of Black and Latino males' outcomes in the NYC school system highlights both the potential of this initiative as well as its limitations. For example, ESI is a school-focused initiative and cannot, therefore, adequately address the entrenched poverty that is so highly correlated with negative educational outcomes. Despite such limitations, ESI does touch on several levers that our analysis suggests are critical to increasing college readiness among Black and Latino young men. Below are the features of ESI that, based on the review of the research literature and the empirical findings presented in the paper, we hypothesize may have the most traction in achieving the aims of the initiative. While this list is not meant to be exhaustive, it suggests possible areas of focus for ESI schools as they work to improve postsecondary outcomes for young men of color:

1. **Focus explicitly on college readiness**: ESI schools not only work to increase academic preparedness, in terms of mastery of specific content and "higher-order" skills like critical thinking and problem-solving; they also aim to enhance "college knowledge" and other aspects of readiness, including help navigating the application, financial aid, and matriculation process as well as the cultural norms on college campuses. These college-focused

supports are especially important for students who are first-generation college goers and/or lack the social network to help them through the college admission process and the transition to college life.

2. **Invest resources in the 9th grade**: In Year 1 of ESI, all resources and programming must be allocated to the 9th-grade cohort in ESI schools (programming will then follow this cohort through their scheduled graduation). Several schools are using these resources to provide bridge programs that help students transition more smoothly from middle to high school. Moreover, many of the college-focused efforts that ESI schools were previously implementing with juniors and seniors are now being targeted toward 9th graders. Focusing on the 9th-grade cohort allows schools to identify students who are off-track for graduation early—an important strategy considering that students off-track by the end of their 9th-grade year are *56 percent less likely* to graduate, much less enroll in college.

3. **Increase opportunities for rigorous coursework**: ESI's academic component encourages schools to revamp their curriculum to better align with the Common Core, to increase the number of Black and Latino males taking AP and honors courses, and to reprogram academic schedules so students can take a higher number of math and science courses. But simply improving access to more rigorous courses is not enough—students must also be adequately supported to succeed in those classes. It will be important to understand how (or if) ESI schools are building in ramp-up courses or providing academic support in foundational skills to the students who will be taking these more advanced classes, particularly in math and science.

4. **Cultivate student leadership/student voice**: Socioemotional supports are critical to help address the environmental factors impeding the success of many Black and Latino boys. ESI's youth development component encourages schools to provide students with peer and adult mentoring, leadership opportunities, and structures such as advisory periods and Freshmen Seminars. Taken together, these efforts should help create a school environment in which male students of color can find support more easily, can have more of a voice on campus, and are less likely to fall through the cracks.

5. **Form strategic partnerships**: ESI's design calls for schools to allocate some of their ESI funding to partner with organizations that provide a range of support to educators and schools. Many of the organizations approved as potential partners provide enrichment programs that are geared toward young men of color and intended to increase their school engagement and improve their relationships with adults in the school. Other partner organizations provide schools with training in particular content areas, including writing instruction and high-level math curricula. In addition, many ESI schools are partnering with higher education institutions to provide students with opportunities to take courses on college campuses and get valuable internship experience while still in high school.

6. **Train school staff in culturally responsive education**: Perhaps the most unique feature of ESI is its focus on confronting underlying biases against young men of color and infusing ESI programming with culturally relevant or responsive education. While it is too early to say how widespread this will be among the 40 ESI schools, there are signs that principals and teachers (of all races and ethnicities) are having explicit conversations around race and gender, confronting their own biases, and challenging each other to rethink their expectations of Black and Latino young men. Schools are working to create a culture in which staff and students value the experiences, perspectives and cultural capital of students typically labeled as disadvantaged and believe in their ability to thrive in high school, college, and careers.

Taking these components of ESI into account, our forthcoming evaluation will assess the impact of ESI on students and the effectiveness of its implementation in schools. Whether through ESI, other school-based efforts, or district-wide policies, increasing college readiness for Black and Latino male students will take more than a strictly academic focus, providing rigorous coursework, or increasing college knowledge, though all are essential. Rather, it will require that schools identify and intervene with students who are off track even earlier on their educational pathways, offering both academic and socioemotional supports. It will require that educators trade in a deficit perspective for one focused on the promise and potential of male students of color. And it will require focusing on opportunity gaps that exist both outside and within our schools. Ultimately, improving college readiness rates

for Black and Latino males will take a multidimensional approach. In coming years, we hope the ESI initiative sheds additional light on strategies that effectively move the needle toward college readiness and success.

Evaluating the Expanded Success Initiative (ESI): Upcoming Reports

Preparing Black and Latino Males for College and Careers: A Description of the Schools and Strategies in NYC's Expanded Success Initiative (Fall 2013)

- This report focuses on the 40 schools chosen to receive ESI funding. It examines the student populations and performance of these schools and provides an overview of the preexisting supports these schools directed toward Black and Latino young men. The report examines the structure of the ESI program, providing an overview of the application process and a snapshot of strategies planned for the first year of the initiative.

Year 1 summary report on ESI implementation and impact (Winter 2013)

- This report will present findings from ESI's first year, with a focus on the initial implementation of the different intervention components across 40 sites. We will explore opportunities and challenges that schools faced during program rollout and examine ESI's early impact on student achievement and other indicators, as well as the initiative's cost in the first year.

Year 2 summary report (Winter 2014)
Year 3 summary report (Winter 2015)
Year 4 summary report (Winter 2016)

- These annual reports will track ESI's progress, focusing on the challenges of continued implementation, further cost analysis, results from student surveys, and an analysis of ESI's ongoing impact on student outcomes.

Executive Summary Notes

[i] Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013.

[ii] It is important to note that while the racial designations used in this report—Black and Latino—reflect the standard classifications used by the government (and often by researchers), they do not reflect the diversity within these groups, including many ethnic, social and economic differences. In particular, the averages we report here obscure the fact that many Black and Latino young men are succeeding in high school, college and beyond.

[iii] Lee & Ransom, 2012.

[iv] Schott Foundation for Public Education, 2012a.

[v] Based on Research Alliance calculations from its data archive compiled from administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education. See Figure 1 and endnote 4 in the full report for more information.

[vi] Unless otherwise noted, the college readiness measure used in the report is based on the New York State Education Department's Aspirational Performance Measure, which is defined as earning a New York State Regents Diploma and receiving a score of 80 or higher on a Mathematics Regents examination and a score of 75 or higher on an English Regents examination. The Research Alliance is currently engaged in ongoing work to develop better indicators of college readiness.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

College readiness is becoming an increasingly important standard by which to measure school success and student achievement. While high school graduation and dropout prevention remain critical issues for educators, there is a substantial gap in outcomes between students who only earn a high school diploma and those who go on to obtain a college degree. For example, young adults with a bachelor's degree earn more than twice as much—and are about half as likely to be unemployed—as those who haven't graduated from college (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). Consider also that almost 60 percent of all jobs in the U.S. now require higher education (Center on Education and the Workforce, 2010) and that higher education is positively associated with job stability, healthy lifestyle choices, and benefits for future children (Baum, 2010). For these reasons, college readiness has implications not only for individuals, but for the communities and cities in which they live.

Given the importance of higher education, it is decidedly problematic that students of color, especially by Black and Latino males, are underrepresented among those with college degrees. Nationally, only 26 percent of Black males and 18 percent of Latino males attain an associate degree or higher, compared to 41 percent of students overall (Lee & Ransom, 2012). Not surprisingly, there are disparities in high school graduation rates as well. According to the Schott Foundation's *50 State Report* (2012a), of students scheduled to graduate in 2010, 52 percent of Black males and 60 percent of Latino males graduated from high school, compared to 78 percent of White non-Latino males.

In New York City, where the majority of the 1.1 million public school students are Black or Latino, there has been significant progress on high school graduation rates over the past decade, among all groups of students. Yet Black and Latino males continue to lag behind their female and White and Asian peers. The largest differences appear in the proportion of students who graduate from high school prepared for college-level work. In fact, analyses conducted for this report showed that only about one in ten Black and Latino males who entered high school in 2006 graduated in 2010 prepared for college, based on the State's Aspirational Performance Measure.

In response to college readiness rates that do not meet the City's hopes for its students, the New York City Department of Education (DOE) has in recent years pushed schools to focus more explicitly on college. In 2011, for the first time, the DOE made the college readiness rates of individual high schools part of its School Progress reports.[1] Paying closer attention to these kinds of post-secondary outcomes is an important first step. But, moving the needle on college readiness in NYC, especially for young men of color, will require a better understanding of the challenges they face—and the levers that might serve to increase college readiness and enrollment.

This report speaks to both the challenges and potential solutions by illustrating the trajectory of Black and Latino males on their path to college and examining points along that path where schools might effectively intervene. The goals of the report are three-fold: 1) to describe college-related outcomes and other indicators that help predict college readiness for Black and Latino male students over time, 2) to discuss key contextual factors that underlie these educational outcomes, and 3) to use this research to inform the Expanded Success Initiative, an ongoing citywide effort to improve college and career readiness for young men of color, which the Research Alliance is evaluating. We use a combination of data on New York City students and national trends to identify specific barriers to success and highlight opportunities to better support Black and Latino male students on their path to graduation and college.

It is important to note that while the racial designations used in this report—Black and Latino—reflect the standard classifications used by the government (and often by researchers), they do not reflect the diversity within these groups, including many ethnic, social and economic differences. In particular, the averages we report here obscure the fact that many Black and Latino young men are succeeding in high school, college and beyond. Their stories should also be part of the larger discussion about how to improve outcomes across the system.

Chapter 2 of the report presents a descriptive analysis of the educational outcomes of Black and Latino males in New York City, including high school graduation, college readiness, and college enrollment. It also identifies key points along the pathway to college where it might be possible to intervene and support young men of color more effectively. Antecedents to college enrollment, such as attendance,

retention, and "on-track" status, hold promise as levers that could be used to increase college readiness for future cohorts of Black and Latino male students.

Chapter 3 draws extensively on past literature, as well as NYC and national data, to examine the contextual factors underlying the "opportunity gaps" facing Black and Latino males. This discussion challenges us to think about the inequalities that some students face before they even enter the school building. The first part of this chapter describes how gender, socioeconomic status, immigration, and home language may influence educational outcomes. The second part looks at three school-level practices—special education designation, suspension, and limited course access—that disproportionately affect Black and Latino male students. As in Chapter 2, a primary goal of this chapter is to identify levers for improvement and highlight ways we might better support young men of color toward high school graduation and college.

The report concludes with a discussion of the implications of this work for policy and practice, particularly the Expanded Success Initiative. ESI is the primary educational component of the Young Men's Initiative, which seeks to improve criminal justice, employment and health indicators for Black and Latino males, as well as their educational outcomes. ESI is targeting 40 high schools that have shown relative success at graduating young men of color and is providing funding and technical support to help them improve college and career readiness for this group. The theory of action driving ESI is that concentrated efforts in three domains—academics, youth development, and school culture—will increase the likelihood that Black and Latino males not only graduate from high school, but are also prepared to enroll and persist in college and careers. The first in a series on the Research Alliance's evaluation of ESI, this report examines the initiative's design against the information presented in Chapters 2 and 3, both to better understand its potential and to suggest possible adjustments that will increase the odds of success.

While this work is focused on whether students graduate college ready, our analysis shows a "leaky pipeline," with students dropping off at various points along the way. In particular, transition points, such as entering middle school, high school, and college, pose unique challenges and require specific supports to help students stay on track for success. Of course, many students start school with disadvantages that foreshadow the gaps we see later on. While ESI does not attempt to tackle early sources of disparities or the transition to middle school, it does provide targeted supports that help ease the transition to high school and facilitate students' entrance into post-secondary settings. In

future reports, we will examine whether ESI has indeed had an impact on Black and Latino young men's opportunities to graduate college ready.

CHAPTER 2: EXAMINING THE OUTCOMES OF BLACK AND LATINO MALES ON THEIR PATH TO GRADUATION AND COLLEGE

This chapter examines the academic trajectories of Black and Latino men in New York City as they navigate their way through high school and on toward college and careers.[2] There is encouraging evidence that NYC's Black and Latino young men have experienced gains in their high school graduation rates. In spite of these improvements, however, crucial race- and gender-based gaps persist. Similarly, while college readiness rates have improved in recent years, they remain relatively low for all groups of students, and the gaps between groups are markedly wide. The difference between high school graduation and college readiness rates raises the question of whether we are getting better at graduating students from high school, while neglecting to prepare them adequately for a future in college and beyond.

The concept of a "leaky pipeline" forms an apt metaphor to study the academic pathways of students. [3] At a number of points along the way, the NYC public school system loses students of color that it intends to eventually graduate. In this chapter, in addition to examining graduation and college-related outcomes, we also focus on rates of attendance, retention, and on-track status, with the objective of identifying "leaks in the pipeline." In doing so, we document a series of barriers that cumulatively decrease the chances that young men of color will graduate and be prepared to do college-level work. By framing the trajectory in terms of a pipeline, we get a sense of the points where there have been significant improvements as well as the points where substantial losses continue to occur. Drawing attention to these "leaks" helps identify critical points along students' academic trajectories where educators can support young men of color in ways that might make a powerful difference later on.

We should note that this chapter presents the outcomes of Black and Latino males in comparison to those of students in other race and gender groups. While some have raised important critiques of this framework, which focuses on race-based "gaps" (Flores, 2007; Evans, 2005), we believe it is necessary to examine the obstacles that are facing Black and Latino men in particular. Framing the achievement gap in terms of race and gender allows us to understand how one group is faring in relation to

others and draws attention to potential race- and gender-based solutions at the school level, which may help address underlying inequalities.

It is also important to note that the numbers presented here are averages. While sobering gaps between racial/ethnic groups remain, particularly around college readiness, there are success stories hidden in the averages. Many young Black and Latino men have surmounted barriers to have successful academic trajectories spanning high school and college.

High School Graduation and College Readiness Outcomes

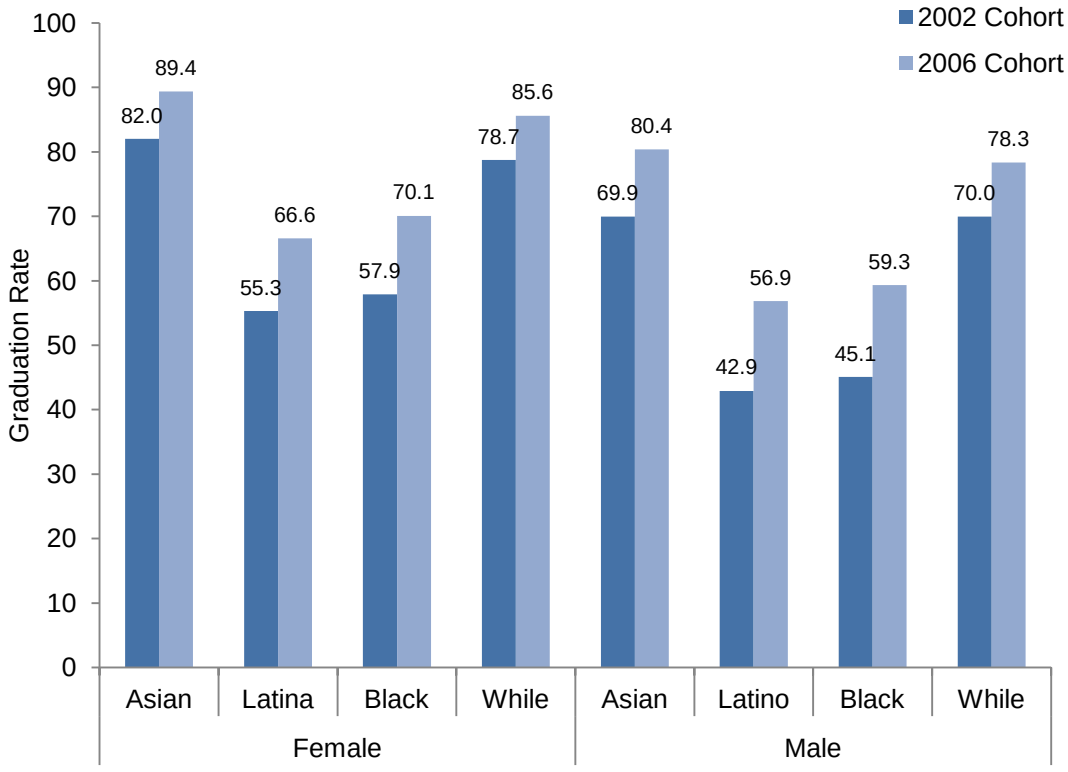
To gain a clear perspective on the college-related outcomes of Black and Latino students, it is important to focus on a series of academic events that occur in close succession to each other. High school completion, college readiness, and college enrollment are closely linked facets of the transition into (and likelihood of success in) higher education. Graduation, of course, signifies that a student has completed secondary-level coursework and demonstrated proficiency in core subjects. College readiness aims to capture the extent to which a student is prepared to take on introductory college-level coursework. College enrollment refers to whether or not a student has matriculated into post-secondary education. It is important to note the contrast between college readiness and college enrollment, considering that many students who enroll in college do not persist past the first year. As we will see in the section that follows, the improvements that have occurred in each of these three areas have not moved in tandem. Gains in the area of high school completion do not imply commensurate progress on college readiness and college enrollment.

The growing literature about college readiness contains multiple definitions of what it means to be college ready, and indeed succeeding in college entails doing well on numerous fronts. College readiness can be measured by looking at enrollment, persistence, or performance in college, as well as college completion. It can also be evaluated based on a student's choice of college, relative to his or her credentials. Throughout this report, we use the New York State Education Department's Aspirational Performance Measure (earning a NYS Regents Diploma and receiving a score of 80 or higher on a Mathematics Regents examination and a score of 75 or higher on the English Regents examination), since it is likely to be the measure that schools are currently aiming to meet. (NYSED, 2011)

- **High School Graduation**

High school graduation is a necessary prerequisite for entering college—and an area that has received considerable attention from policymakers and educators over the last several decades. The encouraging news is that for students in all race and gender groups, graduation rates have been steadily increasing. Figure 1 below shows the graduation rates for cohorts of first-time 9th graders who entered high school in 2002 compared to those who entered in 2006. Across all groups, we see large increases in four-year graduation rates.[4] The graduation rates of Black and Latino men, in particular, increased by 14 percentage points during this time period. Though their starting points for the 2002 entering cohort were lower than those of other groups, their gains as a percentage of that startpoint were larger. For example, graduation rates improved by almost a third for Black and Latino young men during this period, compared to less than 15 percent for Asian and White

Figure 1: Four-Year High School Graduation Rates by Race and Gender Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2002 and 2006



Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.

Notes: See page 43.

young men and approximately 20 percent for Black and Latina young women. These trends are promising, considering that for decades, there was virtually no improvement in the graduation rates of New York City students. While it is beyond the scope of this report to analyze and explain this growth, it does suggest that lower graduation and college outcomes for Black and Latino men are not intractable problems, but rather potentially responsive to improvement efforts at both the district level and inside schools.

While graduation rates for Black and Latino young men have increased, any acknowledgment of these gains must be tempered with an awareness of the large disparities that persist and the fact that the graduation rates for young men of color are still lower than 60 percent. Table 1 below shows that for the 2006 9th-grade cohort, Black and Latino young men graduated from high school at lower rates than their female, White, and Asian counterparts. It is also important to note differences in the types of diploma earned, since students with Local diplomas may not be college ready.[5] Black and Latino young men (and women) were dramatically less likely to have graduated with an Advanced Regents Diploma compared to their White and Asian peers. Just over 6 percent of Black young men and 9 percent of Latino young men received an Advanced Regents degree, compared to 34 percent of White young men and 45 percent of Asian young men.

These differences have direct implications for college readiness and enrollment. Graduating with an Advanced Regents diploma helps ensure that students are not

Table 1: Diploma Receipt Rates by Race and Gender Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2006

	Female				Male			
	Asian	Latina	Black	White	Asian	Latino	Black	White
Percent receiving Advanced Regents diploma	54.3	10.9	10.6	39.6	45.4	9.0	6.2	34.3
Percent receiving Regents diploma	29.3	38.5	41.4	36.6	29.2	33.7	36.6	35.8
Percent receiving Local diploma	5.8	17.2	18.1	9.4	5.8	14.2	16.5	8.3
Percent receiving any diploma	89.4	66.6	70.1	85.6	80.4	56.9	59.3	78.3

Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.

Notes: See page 43.

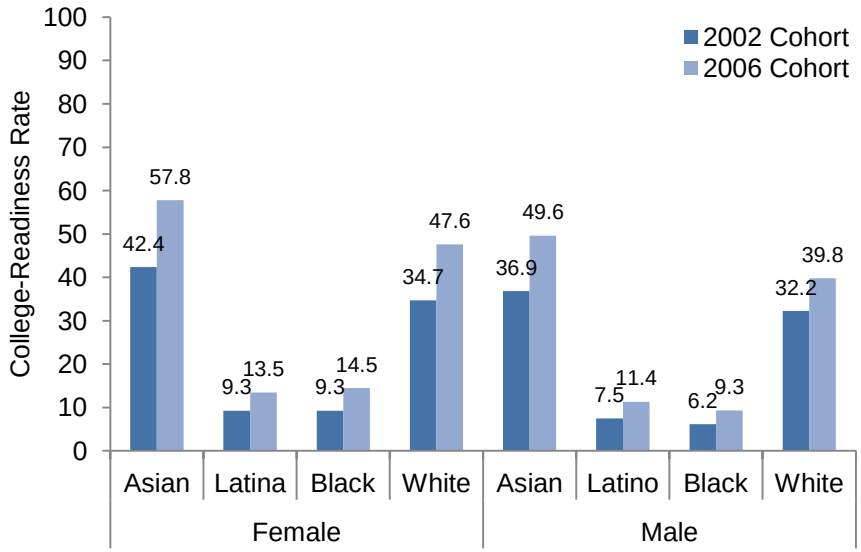
put into remedial classes once they enter college, which can greatly affect their educational trajectory. Community colleges find it difficult to ensure that students in their developmental or remedial education programs succeed. Only a minority of these students complete the required sequence of developmental coursework that enables them to advance to college-level courses. In fact, students in need of remedial support have seen declining success over the last few decades, and only a small fraction of them attain postsecondary degrees (Rutschow & Schneider, 2011). In many cases, students must take multiple semesters of remedial classes, for which they do not receive college credit, to gain access to college-level work. Additionally, students must pay for these developmental course sequences, often using their financial aid packages (Rutschow & Schneider, 2011). The time and money that students in developmental education programs have to commit makes it considerably harder for them to complete a full college program. Given these issues, enrolling in college without being adequately prepared poses serious challenges. It is thus not only important to graduate Black and Latino young men, but to ensure that they graduate with the skills and academic foundation needed to tackle college-level courses and avoid remediation.

- **College Readiness**

Relative improvements in high school graduation rates have not been matched by improvements in college readiness or college enrollment. Figure 2 on the next page displays the college readiness rates (based on the Aspirational Performance Measure) of students in cohorts entering the 9th grade in 2002 and 2006. Similar to the trends we see in graduation rates, the figure shows that college readiness for young men and women from all ethnic backgrounds, including Black and Latino males, has improved in recent years. While only 6 percent of Black male students and just over 7 percent of Latino male students who entered high school in 2002 graduated college ready, those rates had increased by nearly 50 percent for the 2006 cohort of first-time 9th graders—to 9 and 11 percent respectively.

While these gains are encouraging, young Black and Latino men from the 2006 cohort still trailed well behind their White and Asian peers, who were nearly five times more likely to be college ready. Black and Latino young men also had lower college readiness rates, compared with their female counterparts, though it is worth noting that gender differences were also evident among White and Asian students.

Figure 2: College Readiness Rates by Race and Gender Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2002 and 2006



Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.

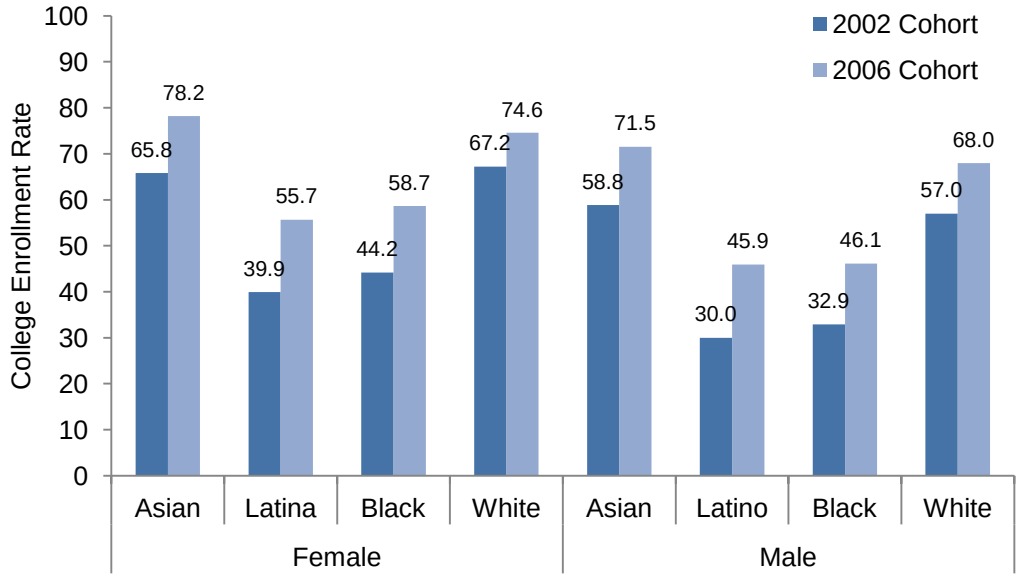
Notes: See page 43.

- **College Enrollment**

Interestingly, for any given cohort, the fraction of students who enroll in college is higher than the fraction of students who are deemed college ready. Figure 3 on the next page shows the college enrollment rates[6] for students who started high school in 2002 and 2006. Asian, Black, Latino and White students of both genders all showed improvements in their college enrollment rates during this time. In particular, Black and Latino men have seen an encouraging increase of 13 and 16 percentage points respectively. However, in spite of the increase in both high school completion and college enrollment, gaps persist between groups of students from different ethnic backgrounds—in both enrollment rates and the types of colleges these students attend.

As shown in Figure 3, approximately 46 percent of Black and Latino young men from the 2006 cohort had enrolled in a post-secondary institution by 2012. Their female counterparts enrolled at far higher rates during the same time period, with approximately 59 percent of young Black women and 56 percent of Latinas enrolling in college. The disparity with Asian and White young men was even greater. There was a more than 20-point difference between the college enrollment rates of Black and Latino young men and those of their White and Asian counterparts.

Figure 3: College Enrollment Rates by Race and Gender Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2002 and 2006



Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education. College enrollment rates are based on data provided to the New York City Department of Education by the National Student Clearinghouse.
Notes: See page 43.

Turning to Table 2 on the next page, we also see a difference in the type of colleges being selected by Black and Latino males. The choice between a two- and four-year institution has implications for college completion, since evidence suggests that students are less likely to earn a bachelor's degree if they start at a two-year college (Berkner, He & Cataldi, 2002; Bowen, Chingos & McPherson, 2009; Long & Kurlaender, 2009). Thus, it is not only important to ensure Black and Latino males have the opportunity to enroll in college, but also make the most informed decision about what type of institution they attend. Of the Black and Latino men who are enrolling in college, a sizeable fraction are choosing to attend a less selective school. Table 2 shows that about half of the Latino men and 43 percent of Black young men who enrolled in post-secondary education went to a two-year college. By contrast, White and Asian men overwhelmingly enrolled in four-year institutions.

Table 2: College Choices by Race and Gender Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2006

	Female				Male			
	Asian	Latina	Black	White	Asian	Latino	Black	White
Percent enrolled in 2-year institution	13.2	25.5	20.7	13.3	14.5	23.1	20.0	14.7
Percent enrolled in 4-year institution	65.0	30.1	38.0	61.2	57.1	22.8	26.1	53.3
Percent enrolled in 2- or 4-year institution	78.2	55.7	58.7	74.5	71.5	45.9	46.1	68.0

Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education. College enrollment rates are based on data provided to the New York City Department of Education by the National Student Clearinghouse.

Notes: See page 43.

- **Does College Readiness Correlate with College Enrollment?**

The above discussion defines college readiness in terms of a specific combination of academic credentials, namely test scores, and diploma type. To examine how these credentials are actually related to college going, we looked at the correlation between students' scores on the Math and English Regents exams and college enrollment for the 2006 9th-grade cohort (see Supplemental Table A-1 on page 42).[7] As expected, there was a positive relationship between doing well on the Regents examinations and going to college. Yet, this relationship, which did not vary much by race/ethnicity or gender, was not quite as strong as one would expect. This is because many students with relatively low Regents test scores went on to enroll in college. For example, a large number of students with Regents passing scores between 65 and 75, who were not deemed college ready according to the State's Aspirational Performance Measure, nonetheless enrolled in college. Ongong analysis by the Research Alliance will shed light on whether these students persist and succeed in college or quickly drop out. These analyses will have implications for determining the accuracy of the Aspirational Performance Measure as a college readiness indicator.

We also examined the relationship between the type of high school diploma students earned and the rates at which they enrolled in college (see Table 3 on the next page). As expected, students who earned Advanced Regents diplomas enrolled in college at much higher rates than those who earned a Local diploma or even a regular Regents diploma. Importantly, although Black and Latino young men were

much less likely to earn an Advanced Regents diploma, those who did were almost as likely to enroll in college as their Asian and White peers. However, Black and Latino young men who earned a regular Regents diploma had lower college-enrollment rates, compared to their Asian and White peers. Therefore, while graduating with a Regents diploma is an important outcome, the data suggest that there are other facets of the high school experience, students' background, and the local environment that affect college enrollment and are not adequately captured by these purely academic credentials.

Table 3: College Enrollment Rates by Race, Gender and Type of Diploma Received Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2006

	Female				Male			
	Asian	**Latina**	**Black**	**White**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**Black**	**White**
Advanced Regents diploma	87.5	85.3	88.9	88.1	86.8	83.3	85.0	88.8
Regents diploma	80.3	77.0	79.3	80.9	77.9	69.1	71.1	78.5
Local diploma	68.4	62.3	61.0	66.0	63.6	55.1	51.7	52.1

Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education. College enrollment rates are based on data provided to the New York City Department of Education by the National Student Clearinghouse.

Notes: See page 43.

Being academically prepared for college involves a clear understanding of the material that college coursework builds on and being able to think critically and manage time wisely. Beyond academic readiness, however, students need other information and skills (termed "college knowledge" by Conley, 2007) to navigate the transition to college. This includes knowledge of different types of colleges and a broad sense of what kind of college campus a student would fit into. Students and their families must be able to successfully complete college applications and file for financial aid. There is considerable evidence that this kind of college knowledge can vary by socioeconomic background. Students from low-income backgrounds are less likely to apply to four-year institutions, even if they are qualified to do so. Additionally, they tend to enroll in four-year colleges that are less selective than the kind of colleges they are qualified to attend (Roderick, Coca & Nagaoka, 2011). Students from low-income backgrounds are also less likely to receive ample parental encouragement for college aspirations (Cabrera & LaNasa, 2001). The transition between high school and college is laden with logistical barriers that can impede even the most academically equipped students (the FAFSA, for example,

which determines eligibility for federal student aid, is lengthy, complex and challenging to complete, as noted by Dynarski & Scott-Clayton, 2006). Thus, addressing gaps in college knowledge within high schools is likely an important piece of the puzzle in efforts to increase college enrollment among NYC's young men of color.

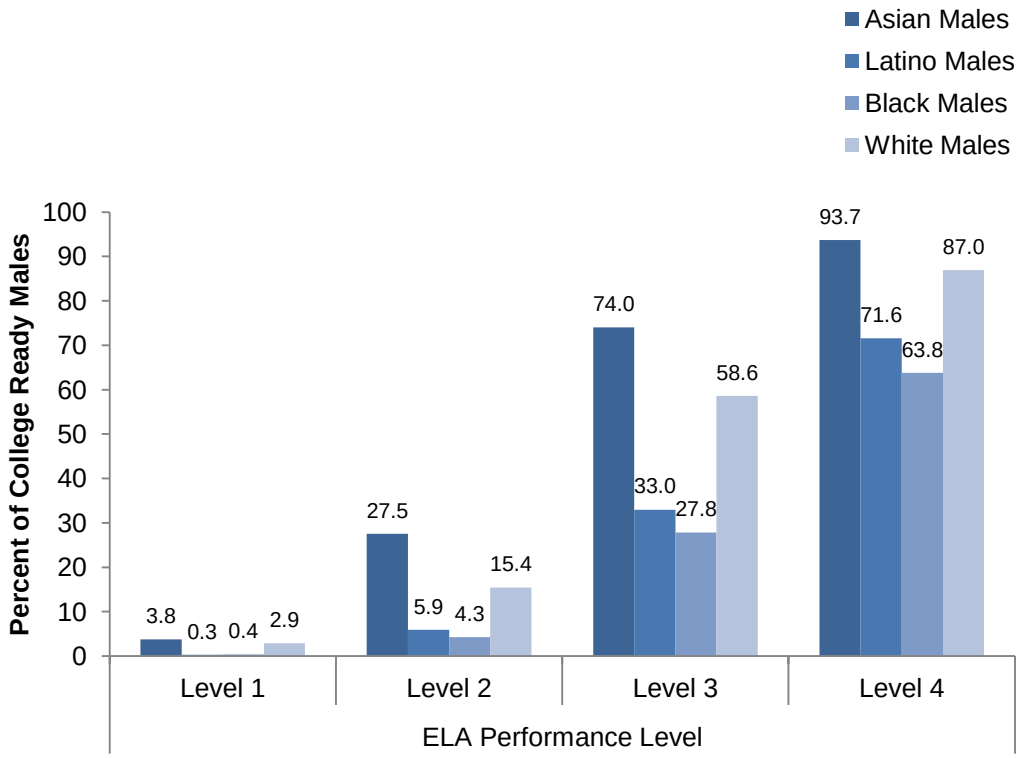
- **How Much of the Divergence in College Readiness Occurs in High School?**

The evidence presented above indicates that, while there have been substantial improvements for Black and Latino young men in terms of high school graduation, these gains have not translated into substantially higher college readiness rates (much less college enrollment and success). Moreover, even though there has been growth, serious race and gender gaps remain. While it may seem that these gaps simply reflect patterns that exist long before students enter high school, there is evidence that some of the divergence is taking place at the high school level. Figure 4 on the next page, for example, shows the college readiness rates of young men who first enrolled in a New York City high school in 2006, grouped according to their 8th-grade English Language Arts (ELA) proficiency. Not surprisingly, college readiness for all groups of students rises with increasing proficiency on this test. However, a substantial racial gap persists even among students who had scored at the higher levels of 8th-grade proficiency. In particular, we see that at proficiency Level 3, White and Asian men were more than twice as likely than Black and Latino men to be college ready. Even among the most proficient students (Level 4), there is an approximately 20-percentage point difference in college readiness rates.

To some extent, 8th-grade ELA test scores can help predict the likelihood that students will graduate college ready. But if 8th-grade performance explained the entire college readiness gap, we would see a much smaller disparity between different groups by race. The fact that many of the 8th-grade boys who score a 3 or 4 ultimately do not graduate college ready suggests that something is happening in high school, even for students who come in relatively well prepared. This may actually be promising news, since it indicates that the high school years are not too late to make a difference for many young men of color.

In summary, less than a third of the young Black and Latino men who enter 9th grade successfully navigate their way to college. It is even more troubling that only about 10 percent of these young men are ready for college-level work, based on the

Figure 4: Percent of Males College Ready After Four Years of High School by Their 8th-Grade ELA Proficiency Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2006



Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.

Notes: See page 43.

State's current Aspriational Performance Measure. The low levels of college readiness are prevalent even among those who start 9th grade at relatively high proficiency levels. Thus, it is clear that students are falling through leaks in the pipeline, including at the high school level.

The aim of this report is not only to provide a description of the outcomes of NYC's young men of color, but also to look further back in the educational pipeline to identify antecendents to these outcomes and to suggest strategies for intervention that directly address some of the barriers young men of color face. Thus, in the next section and in Chapter 3, we highlight points along the way where schools and educators may be able to better support young men of color toward success in college and beyond.

Anticipating Graduation and College Readiness Patterns

While some divergence in outcomes can be attributed to high school experiences, it is important to acknowledge that disparities are often established much earlier. For example, Table 4 below shows the percentage of New York City public school students who were proficient in ELA and math in the 3rd and 8th grades during the 2010-2011 school year (the most recent school year for which data were available). As early as 3rd grade, barely 36 percent of Black boys and 37 percent of Latino boys are proficient in ELA. Their proficiency in math is slightly better, at 46 and 50 percent, respectively, but they still show much lower proficiency than boys in other ethnic groups. These disparities are fairly stubborn and persist through the 8th grade.

Table 4: Elementary and Middle School Outcomes by Race and Gender 2010-2011 School Year

	Female				Male			
	Asian	Latina	Black	White	Asian	Latino	Black	White
ELA proficiency rate								
Grade 3	71.3	45.7	46.5	75.9	61.8	37.1	36.3	67.4
Grade 8	60.2	31.3	35.1	63.6	49.3	22.9	23.2	51.4
Math proficiency rate								
Grade 3	80.8	47.8	47.4	78.0	80.9	50.4	46.3	79.3
Grade 8	85.9	48.6	45.3	75.3	83.1	46.1	40.7	71.9
Attendance rate								
Grade 1	96	92.6	92.7	94.1	95.9	92.5	92.2	94.2
Grade 8	95.5	90.2	90.6	92.7	95	90.4	90.7	92.5
Percent of overage students								
Grade 1	3.2	8	7.7	3.6	4.8	11	11	6.4
Grade 8	14	25.2	24.7	11.4	18.1	31.6	32	15.1

Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.

Notes: See page 43.

Test scores may seem somewhat intractable, but other student data from the early and middle grades, as well as the first year of high school, highlight opportunities to support students and get or keep them on solid academic footing. In the following sections, we describe three strong antecedents or predictors of high school graduation: attendance, retention, and on-track status. Because graduation is a critical precursor to college enrollment, paying attention to these antecedents may

help increase the pool of Black and Latino male students eligible for college. In essence, these antecedents represent opportunities to plug the leaky pipeline.

- **Attendance**

There is compelling evidence showing that attendance rates are related to long-term outcomes, such as high school graduation, *and* more immediate academic outcomes, such as performance in coursework. Research out of the University of Chicago Consortium on Chicago School Research, focused on first-time 9th graders in the 2004–05 school year in Chicago Public Schools, determined that "course attendance is *eight times* more predictive of course failure in the freshman year than eighth-grade test scores; freshman absences can be used to predict 63 percent of the variation in course failures among freshmen" (Allensworth & Easton, 2007). The report also notes that students who entered high school with 8th-grade test scores that placed them in the bottom national quartile but who missed less than one week of classes per semester, on average, scored fewer 'F's than students who had 8th-grade test scores in the top national quartile but missed an additional week of classes.

Research on New York City students also shows that absenteeism in both the middle and early grades can strongly predict negative academic outcomes later on. Kieffer & Marinell (2012), for example, documented the relationship between a decline in attendance and the likelihood of being on-track to graduate by following the outcomes of students with different attendance trajectories. They found that students who started at average levels of attendance in 4th grade and maintained these average levels of attendance during grades 6 to 8 had a 75 percent chance of graduating. In contrast, students who maintained an average attendance rate in early grades but fell behind during the middle grades had only a 57 percent chance of graduating. Students with consistently low levels of attendance from 4th through 8th grade had only a 43 percent chance of graduating. And worse still, students who exhibited below-average attendance rates in 4th grade with even further declines in attendance during the middle grades had only a 25 percent chance of graduating.

The strong association between low attendance rates and poor short- and long-term outcomes highlights the need to carefully track students' attendance rates throughout their academic careers. In New York City, attendance rates for all students hover around 95 percent, but as shown in Table 4, notable differences exist between groups of students. From as early as 1st grade, Black and Latino male

students have attendance rates that, while being above 90 percent, are still lower than their White and Asian male counterparts. This pattern is stable and persists all the way through 8th grade. In contrast with patterns established in other outcomes, for attendance, we see minimal gender differences within each ethnic group. This is particularly true in the lower grades. Thus, it seems that attendance in early grades is related to circumstances that affect children of both genders, rather than factors that specifically affect boys.

Identifying the factors related to absenteeism may in turn help us identify strategies for preventing absences. To some degree, high absenteeism is correlated with the home conditions of many students and their families. The National Center for Education Statistics *Condition of Education* 2006 (Table 24-2) reports that children living in poverty are 25 percent more likely to miss three or more days of school per month. Many of these absences are likely related to ill health; children from low-income families suffer from nearly every disease at disproportionately high rates (Hughes & Ng, 2003). These patterns highlight the need for services and supports that normally fall outside the purview of schools.

At the same time, high absenteeism may also be indicative of disengagement from coursework and school life in general, especially in the middle grades. Our data show a sharp drop in 8th grade attendance rates across every race and gender group. While schools may be limited in their ability to ameliorate the effects of poverty on health, absenteeism due to disengagement is an issue that schools should be able to address. Moreover, unlike tests and grades, which are measured only at specific points in a year, a student's attendance can be monitored regularly. Students who have low or declining attendance should be provided with additional supports, such as home visits and attendance incentives, to help keep them connected to school. These kinds of efforts to improve attendance may well keep more students engaged and on the path toward graduation and college.

- **Retention**

There are longstanding debates in NYC and elsewhere about social promotion and retention policies. Social promotion is the advancement of academically struggling students to progressively higher grade levels in order to keep them among classmates of their own age. Many schools historically implemented social promotion under the belief that struggling students would eventually catch up

academically. Over the last decade, however, an increasing push for accountability has led a number of states to end social promotion policies. Instead, high-stakes statewide assessments are being used to judge whether students are adequately proficient to advance to the next grade.

Both social promotion and retention have their detractors. Critics of retention argue that retention policies are costly and disproportionately impact low-income and minority students, adversely affecting their self esteem, and reducing their chances of eventually graduating from high school. Critics of social promotion argue that the practice undermines the value of a high school diploma and encourages the graduation of students who are poorly equipped for participation in the workforce or higher education.[8] They argue that retention improves the learning of struggling students by exposing them to the same material more than once.

A large amount of research has been devoted to understanding the effects of retention policies on student achievement. Roderick & Nagaoka (2004) found no evidence that retention of 3rd graders in Chicago led to higher achievement growth and documented the fact that retention in the 6th grade was associated with lower achievement growth. A high proportion of the retained students were placed in special education during their retention years, and retained students who could not eventually raise their test scores to a promotional cutoff continued to be at high risk of long-term special education placement. Jacob & Lefgren (2009) found that while the retention of younger students in the Chicago Public School system did not affect their chances of high school graduation, the retention of low-achieving 8th-grade students considerably increased the probability of their dropping out of high school. Thus, retention bears examination, as one of many factors that may deter high school graduation.

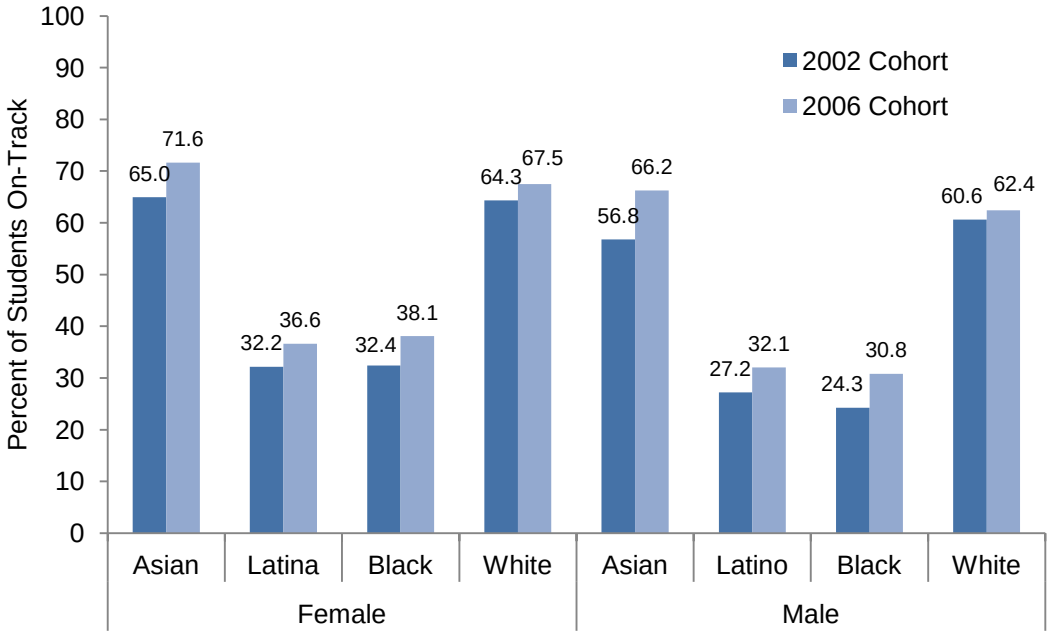
Table 4 shows the percentage of 1st and 8th graders who were older than the expected age for their grade during the 2010-2011 school year. Being overage is typically an indation that a student has been held back from starting formal schooling or retained in a prior grade. By 1st grade, Black and Latino boys are already older than their peers in every other race/gender group, which past research has suggested may be due to differential access to preschools and prekindergarten programs (Sadowski, 2006). Moreover, the fraction of Black and Latino boys who are overaged increases over time, so that by 8th grade, about a third of Black and Latino male students are older than the expected age of students in their class.

While this statistic is sobering, it also points to an opportunity to intervene by identifying and providing extra support to students who are at risk for not being promoted.

- **On-Track Status**

In addition to attendance and retention during elementary and middle school, on-track status after the first year of high school is another important sign of leaks in the educational pipeline. An indicator developed by the Research Alliance defines students as "on-track for graduating with a Regents diploma" if, by the end of 9th grade, they have passed at least one Regents exam and accumulated at least 10 course credits (of the 44 required to graduate) (Kemple & Segeritz, 2013). Figure 5 below shows the 9th-grade on-track rate for students entering high school in 2002 and 2006. Disparities in this indicator highlight that the gender and ethnic differences in high school graduation are foreshadowed by students' on-track status at the end of 9th grade.

Figure 5: Percent of Students On-Track for Regents Diploma After 9th Grade Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2001 and 2006



Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.

Notes: See page 43.

Similar to the college readiness measure in Figure 2, the on-track rate has increased for all student groups. Still, less than a third of Black and Latino men from the 2006 cohort were on-track for a Regents diploma. It is interesting to note that, across all ethnic groups, female students were consistently more likely to be on-track to graduate. For example, in the 2006 cohort of first-time 9th graders, 38 percent of young Black women were on-track, compared to 31 percent of young Black men. The gender difference was somewhat smaller for Latino students—at 37 versus 32 percent. White and Asian students exhibited a similar gender difference.

This on-track indicator lends itself to practical use by educators in schools. Ensuring that 9th-grade students accumulate at least 10 credits and pass at least one Regents examination can go a long way toward keeping them on the path to high school graduation and college. Inversely, not doing so is a potent early warning signal that students require greater levels of support and attention. Careful monitoring of on-track status may be another important lever for improving graduation and college readiness rates among NYC's young men of color.

Summary

This chapter presented data on the graduation and college-related outcomes of Black and Latino males in New York City. While there has been substantial growth in both graduation and college readiness rates among all groups of students, race and gender gaps persist, and college readiness rates remain low. In addition to presenting high school agraduation, college readiness, and college enrollment rates, this chapter also described systemic gaps that emerge earlier on and present opportunities for intervention. We saw, for example, that impediments on the road to college are strongly foreshadowed in the 9th grade. Analysis of the on-track indicator developed by the Research Alliance suggests that educators should target considerable effort toward ensuring that students earn at least 10 credits and pass at least one Regents exam during their freshmen year. Students who are at risk for not meeting this goal should be identified early and offered additional support.

Even before the 9th grade, data on attendance and retention also highlight the importance of supporting students in targeted ways. Preventing absenteeism, especially in the middle grades, can help decrease the likelihood that students will fall off track before they enter high school. Similarly, flagging students who are at

risk for not being promoted in the middle grades can be an important step in keeping students on a path toward graduation and college.

It is noteworthy that a substantial portion of students are lost from the "leaky pipeline" during the transition phases: from elementary to middle school, middle school to high school and high school to college. Each of these transitions brings new challenges and new levels of independence to a student's life, on top of more complex academic material. It is important to understand how students' experiences at each of these points affect their odds of going to college. Each place where students are lost from the pipeline is also an opportunity to "plug the leaks."

The next chapter describes a set of contextual factors that also impact high school and college outcomes for young men of color. These factors are not always incorporated in discussions of student achievement, yet we believe they are essential to consider as part of an overarching strategy to strengthen the educational trajectories of NYC's Black and Latino young men.

CHAPTER 3: OPPORTUNITY GAPS—UNDERSTANDING THE BARRIERS TO GRADUATION AND COLLEGE

While the previous chapter highlighted key academic indicators related to graduation and college readiness among Black and Latino males, other, non-academic factors also demand attention. In contrast to the previous chapter's focus on achievement gaps, this chapter considers a number of "opportunity gaps" that particularly affect young men of color. The concept of opportunity gaps is useful to shift the focus away from assessing how students perform as individuals and toward a more nuanced understanding of how opportunities may have been curtailed for different groups of students. Opportunity gaps that are commonly described in education research include disparities in wealth and income, unequal access to health care, uneven teacher quality, and gaps in available curricula. A discussion of opportunity gaps challenges educators to think about the impact of underlying inequalities that present serious obstacles to some students before they even enter the school building.

This chapter begins by considering several social and environmental factors that may help explain the ongoing underperformance of Black and Latino males in the New York City school system. The topics we focus on in this section are 1) gender differences, 2) poverty, and 3) immigration and home language. The chapter goes on to examine school-level practices that disproportionately impact Black and Latino male students and may play a major role in their educational experiences and outcomes, including special education designation, disciplinary procedures/suspension rates, and course accessibility. The chapter draws heavily on existing literature, as well New York City and national data, to explore the opportunity gaps facing the City's Black and Latino male students. Focusing on these opportunity gaps allows us to consider basic inequalities in students' access to resources and services that may be driving disparities in achievement. Only with a clear understanding of the full range of factors that may be contributing to Black and Latino males' education outcomes can we hope to develop a range of interventions that may effectively boost their performance. Together with Chapter 2, this chapter sets the stage for the practice and policy implications that we describe in Chapter 4, drawing attention to barriers to success that schools may be able to help young men overcome.

Social and Environmental Barriers

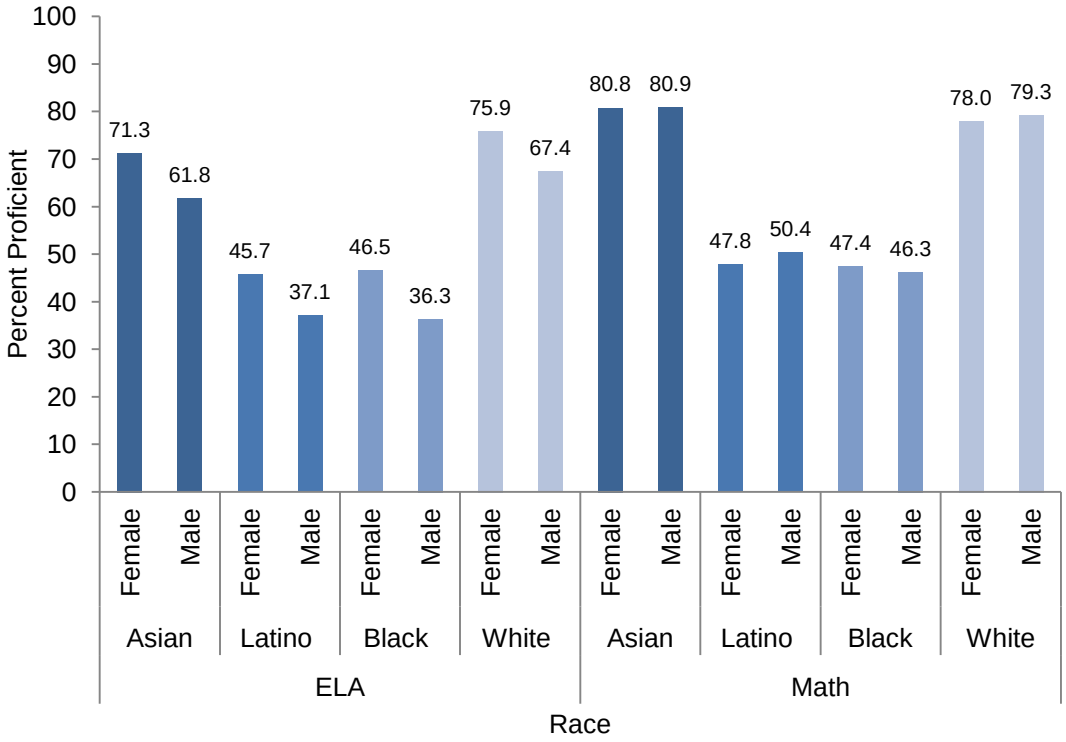
Many aspects of a student's demographic background and home life have been shown to influence educational outcomes later on. In this section, we focus on three areas that we believe schools and educators can actually build capacity to address, in addition to attending to students' academic needs.

- **The Gender Gap**

Gender appears to play a role in students' educational experiences and opportunities from an early age. For example, research has found that delayed entry into kindergarten disproportionately affects male students (Buchman, DiPrete, & McDaniel, 2006; Graue & DiPerna, 2000). Specifically, the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study of the Kindergarten Cohort (ECLS-K) noted that males comprise about 60 percent of the children whose entry into kindergarten was delayed a year after age-eligibility. Not only are more boys starting school after their female counterparts, they are also more likely to be retained a grade or more during elementary school (Alexander et al., 2003; Buchman, DiPrete & McDaniel, 2006; Entwisle et al., 2007). Starting later and being held back matters in light of research that suggests being older than one's peers may have negative effects on a students' perception of their own academic abilities and competence (Alexander, Entwisle & Kabbani, 2001). There is also evidence that boys have more behavior problems in school. A recent study showed that boys across all racial groups received lower grades than their test scores would have predicted, due in part to classroom behavior (Cornwell et al., 2012). Some have explained this phenomenon by describing a gap between how boys are socialized to behave and teacher expectations for conduct in the classroom.

Whether related to delays in entry, increased likelihood of retention, or teacher expectations that are at odds with the socialization of boys, nationally and even internationally boys tend to underperform in coursework, especially in literacy and writing, and they are less likely to graduate from high school or enroll in college than girls (Kleinfeld, 1998; Smith & Wilhelm, 2009). In NYC, students begin to exhibit gender differences in academic outcomes in ELA very early on their academic careers. Figure 6 on the next page shows the percentage of students who are proficient in 3rd-grade subjects by race and gender. In ELA, female students outperform their male counterparts across all racial and ethnic groups. It is encouraging to note that this early gender gap is negligible in math.

Figure 6: Percent Proficient in ELA and Math in 3rd Grade by Race and Gender 2010-2011 School Year



Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.
Notes: See page 43.

Together, these findings suggest that it may be important for interventions to take into account the gender-based cultural norms and expectations faced by many young male students. From an early age, male students lag behind their female peers, particularly in ELA. Programs that creatively engage boys in reading and writing may be an important part of larger efforts to boost the outcomes of young males.

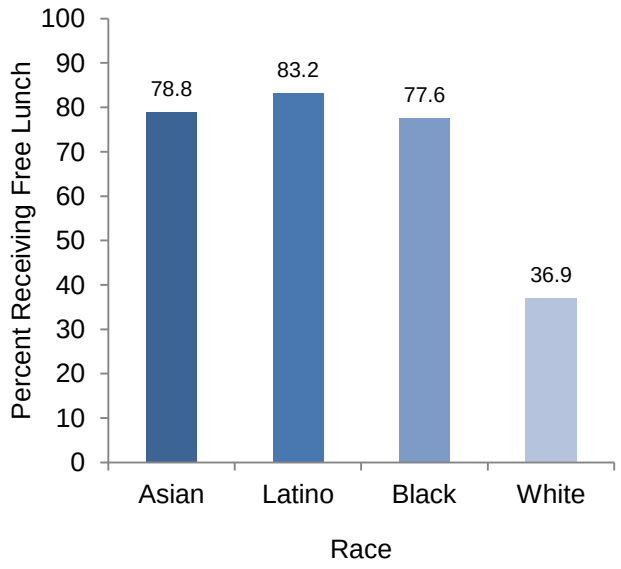
- **Socioeconomic Status**

A large body of evidence has documented the negative impact that poverty has on students' educational experiences and academic outcomes (Boyd et al., 2008; Coleman et al., 1966). Research has shown that students from families with low socioeconomic status (SES)[9] acquire academic skills more slowly than students of higher means (American Psychological Association, 2012; Morgan et al., 2009). Poor families have fewer resources and less social capital to support their children's education than more affluent families. Moreover, poverty is associated with a host

of issues, from health problems to delayed physical and emotional development and language acquisition, that can in turn negatively impact attendance, academic performance, and behavior.

Nationally, children of color are disproportionately represented among those living in poverty. More than one in three Black and Latino children are currently living in poverty (defined as an annual income of about $23,000 for a family of four), compared to one in ten White children (Children's Defense Fund, 2012). This pattern holds true in New York City as well. Poverty rates in Brooklyn and the Bronx, where the majority of the population is Black or Hispanic, are much higher than in the other three boroughs.[10] As seen in Figure 7 below, about 80 percent of NYC's Black and Latino students receive free or reduced priced lunch, a number that is even higher than the national average for the same demographic of students (National Center for Children in Poverty, 2010).

Figure 7: Percent of Students Receiving Free/Reduced Price Lunch 2010-2011 School Year



Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.
Notes: See page 43.

Family poverty is compounded by the fact that schools serving the largest percentages of Black and Latino male students tend to be under-resourced in terms of facilities, supplemental materials, and high-quality teachers (Noguera, 2003). In addition, these schools often have few social workers and counselors (Schott Foundation, 2012b). Attending schools that do not have adequate resources may compound the disadvantages that many students bring from home.

These socioeconomic challenges lie far beyond the purview of most schools. Yet, they have a large impact on students, suggesting the need to allocate at least some existing resources toward addressing students'

needs outside the classroom. Support staff and programs that attend to physical and mental health and wellbeing can help boost important student outcomes (Aos et al., 2004; Blum & Libbey, 2004; Durlak et al., 2011).

While socioeconomic status is an important factor in accounting for crucial gaps in outcomes, it does not tell the entire story. Supplemental Table A-2 on page 42 shows college readiness rates by race/gender among students of the same socioeconomic tier. We see that even within socioeconomic tiers, Black and Latino boys are drastically less college ready than their peers. This calls for interventions that not only target students from poor backgrounds, but also initiatives that take race and gender into account.

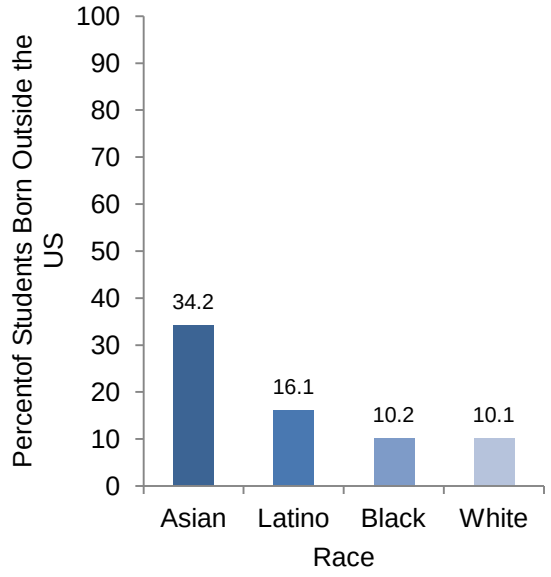
- **Immigration Status and Language Barriers**

Describing Black and Latino students together obscures the variability between and within these groups, especially when considering immigration status and limited proficiency in English, both of which can present serious barriers to success in school. For example, of those who identified as Latino and male between the ages of 16-25 in 2007, only 12 percent of native-born students had dropped out of high school, compared with 37 percent of foreign-born students (Fry, 2009). Schools that have a large enough immigration population often provide language specialists and designated English Language Learners (ELL) classrooms. These resources are usually focused on increasing a child's academic competency and do not necessarily address the myriad challenges that come with acclimating to a new culture or community (Igoa, 1995). Indeed, English proficiency is much more than the ability to read, write, and interpret language. English-language learners face a number of difficult tasks, including establishing relationships with peers and teachers, learning classroom routines, and becoming acquainted with behavioral expectations and school norms (Garret & Holcomb, 2005; Smith-Davis, 2004; Spomer & Cowen, 2001).

In light of the fact that the academic experiences of immigrant students are very often different from than those of their native-born peers, it is useful to examine the proportion of NYC's Black and Latino male students who are from immigrant families. New York City has a large immigrant population, with 36 percent of all residents born in another country (Department of City Planning, 2000). Figure 8 on the next page shows that in 2011, only about 10 and 16 percent of Black and Latino

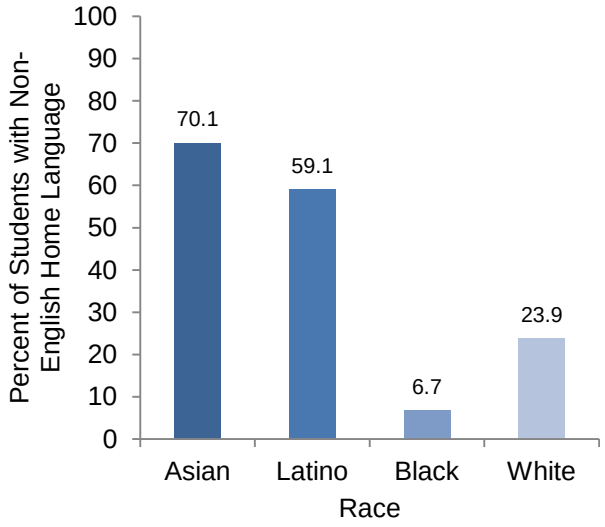
students, respectively, were born abroad. But a much higher percentage of Latino students appear to have immigrant parents. As shown in Figure 9 below, in 2011, close to 60 percent of Latino students in NYC schools were from homes where English is not the main language (compared with only about 7 percent of Black students). Given this fact, it is no surprise that nearly a third of Latino boys are designated as ELL in 1st grade (see Table 5 on the next page). As noted above, there are distinct challenges for these students. Schools that work to support ELL and/or immigrant students by involving families and thinking beyond teaching English for the classroom may be part of what's needed to staunch leaks in the pipeline, particularly for Latino boys.

Figure 8: Percent of Students Born Outside the U.S. 2010-2011 School Year



Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.
Notes: See page 43.

Figure 9: Percent of Students Who Speak a Language Other Than English at Home 2010-2011 School Year



Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.
Notes: See page 43.

It is important to keep in mind that differences across race and gender groups exist even among immigrant and ELL students. Supplemental Table A-3 on page 42 shows the college readiness rates of students in the 2006 9th-grade cohort across different race/gender groups by whether they were born outside the U.S. In light of the discussion above, it is not surprising that foreign-born students had relatively lower college-readiness rates. However, even among these students, Black and

Latino boys show college-readiness rates that are far lower than students in other groups. This suggests the need to understand the barriers that challenge Black and Latino males within the overall immigrant community in New York City.

Table 5: Percent English Language Learners in 1st and 8th Grade by Race and Gender
2010-2011 School Year

	Female				Male			
	Asian	Latina	Black	White	Asian	Latino	Black	White
Grade 1	30.5	28.8	2.7	9.3	34	29.9	3.3	10.2
Grade 8	15.7	16.6	2.6	4.2	19.6	19.9	2.8	6

Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.
Notes: See page 43.

School-Level Barriers

While social and environmental factors can play a pivotal role in students' educational experiences and outcomes, certain school-level practices also affect their educational trajectories. This section focuses on three school practices that have been shown to disproportionately affect Black and Latino male students and to reduce the likelihood that they will succeed in high school and beyond.

• Special Education Designation

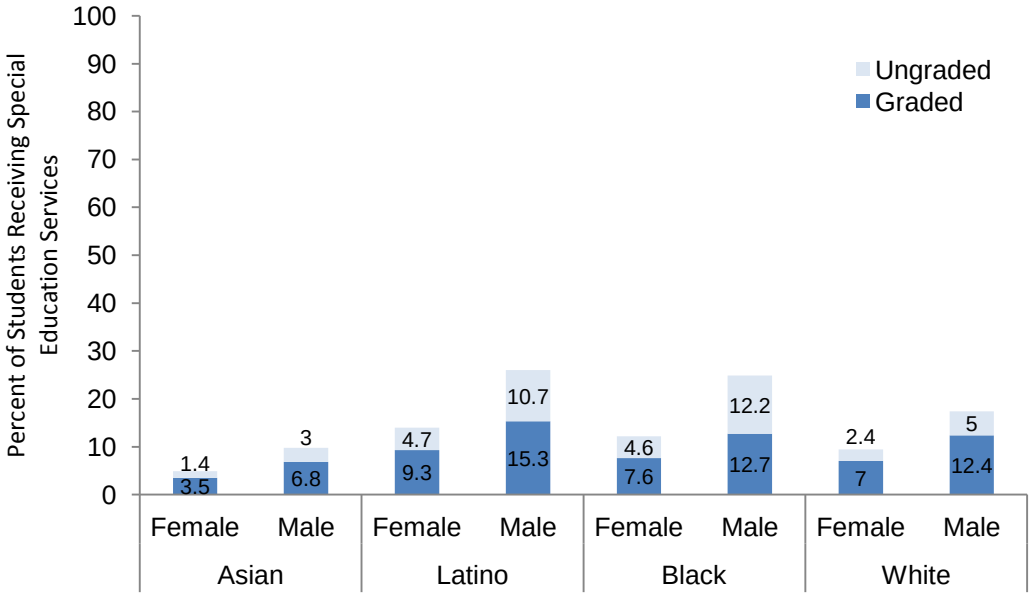
Special education designation is intended to identify students who require certain services and supports to thrive academically. However, when students are misdiagnosed or mislabeled, it can have a deleterious effect on their educational experiences. Typically, teacher referrals and school evaluations are used to recommend certain students for special education services. While many of these students do have physical or mental disabilities, research suggests that others are labeled as special education because of behavior issues (Artiles & Trent, 1994; Dunn, 1968; Fergus, 2010). Some of these students wind up in special education classrooms that are isolated from the rest of the student body and/or lacking in the kind of rigorous coursework required to graduate college ready.

As described above, race and gender may also play a role in how students are perceived and treated by teachers and administrators, who have a fair amount of discretion over which students are classified as "special education." For example, at

a national level, in schools and districts serving mostly minority and low-income students, data shows higher special education referral rates, particularly for Black males (Artiles & Trent, 1994; Blanchett, 2006; Fergus, 2010). The fact that disproportionate numbers of male students of color receive special education services may suggest that these students are being misdiagnosed and designated to special education classrooms for reasons other than special needs. In New York City, a similar pattern of disproportionality exists. As illustrated in Figure 10 below, a much higher share of Black and Latino male students recieve special education services, compared to other race/gender groups. Black and Latino males represent 51 percent of all of students receiving these services and only 34 percent of the whole student population.

These disparities speak to the need for schools to think more carefully about how to recommend students for special education services, but also for staff to address their own expectations of young men of color. Rather than ignoring what might be uncomfortable dialogue, providing professional development around these issues

Figure 10: Percent of Students Receiving Special Education/ Related Services, 2010-2011 School Year



Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.

Notes: See page 43.

may yield important shifts in school culture that could potentially increase engagement among males of color and improve relationships between teachers and students.

- **Suspension Rates**

Another set of school practices that disproportionately affect young males of color center on discipline and suspension. Since their introduction through the Guns-Free Schools Act of 1994, zero-tolerance policies have taken hold in many public schools across the country. These policies specify infractions that are grounds for immediate suspension or expulsion from a public school (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008). The underlying goals of zero tolerance are to ensure student safety, enforce behavioral expectations, and decrease school liability for students' actions. Despite these worthy goals, the implementation of zero-tolerance policies has historically been harmful for certain students (Insely, 2001; Sughrue, 2003). According to the U.S. Department of Education (2012), African American students, who represent 18 percent of students overall, account for 35 percent of students suspended once, 46 percent of those suspended more than once, and 39 percent of students expelled. Some researchers have argued that the disproportionate number of suspensions among Black young men is related to racial bias, with Black boys receiving harsher punishments for the same infractions (Caton, 2012; Fenning & Rose, 2007; Thomas & Stevenson, 2009).

After an analysis of 10 years of discipline data from NYC's public schools, the New York Civil Liberties Union (Miller et al., 2011) determined that suspensions were disproportionately given to Black students. The NYCLU found that while African American students comprise 33 percent of all students in New York City schools, they accounted for 53 percent of all suspensions over the past 10 years (Miller et al., 2011). (In contrast, Latino students were suspended at a rate roughly proportional to their share of the overall population.)

School suspensions may have a profound impact on a child's educational trajectory. Every day that a student is absent or taken out of his regular classroom, he is missing lessons, valuable learning experiences, and opportunities to get academic help. It stands to reason that many students who are suspended become discouraged and increasingly disengaged from school and continue to fall further and further behind

over time. Reducing suspensions and expulsions may be one way to improve educational outcomes for young men of color.

- **Course Access**

Access to higher-level coursework during high school can help ensure that students are on track not only to graduate but to graduate adequately prepared for postsecondary work. Course completion and course rigor are good predictors of high school and post-secondary success. In addition, many colleges require at least three years of math and science, and they often advise students to enroll in Advanced Placement courses, which are seen to ease the transition to college-level work. Nationally, however, only 7 and 14 percent Black and Latino graduating students, respectively, have taken at least one AP exam, compared to 61 percent of White students (ETS, 2008).

Algebra II, in particular, is a strong predictor of college enrollment and success, and is a basic requirement for admittance to all state flagship schools (Toldson, 2011). But among New York City public schools serving the largest populations of Black and Latino students, only 10 percent offered Algebra II in the 2009-2010 school year (U.S. DOE Office for Civil Rights, 2012). By omitting Algebra II from high school degree requirements, these schools automatically disqualify a large pool of Black and Latino male students from applying for admission to most four-year institutions (postsecondary institutions in New York State require at least three years of mathematics). Moreover, even in schools that do offer Algebra II, Black and Latino male students are not enrolling in this course at the same rate as their White and Asian counterparts. Among Black and Latino males, 55 and 57 percent took Algebra II, compared to 74 and 85 percent of White and Asian males. And among Black and Latino men who did complete Algebra II, less than half of them took the Algebra II Regents exam. There is also a gap between course and exam taking among White and Asian males, but it is about 10 percentage points smaller. (NYC DOE, 2013).

The mechanisms behind these disparities are unclear: How do schools make decisions about students' sequence of courses? In schools that do offer Algebra II and AP courses, what are the reasons that some students do not participate? Do teacher expectations affect how often male students of color are encouraged to take these courses? Much more research is needed to understand these issues. It seems likely,

however, that the lack of access to rigorous coursework puts Black and Latino male students at a distinct disadvantage in terms of college readiness, enrollment and success. This is yet another area that schools may be able to address as they work to improve educational outcomes for this population.

Summary

There are a number of critical factors—both outside and inside of schools—that may affect the educational trajectories of Black and Latino males. Gender expectations in communities and classrooms may undermine success for some. Poverty certainly plays a role, with a large proportion of Black and Latino students living below the poverty line (nationally and in New York City). Similarly, students born to foreign-born parents, which is the case for many Latino males in the New York City school system, face a number of unique challenges associated not only with learning the language but also acclimating to a new culture and educational environment. Finally, the overrepresentation of Black and Latino boys in special education classes and among those who have been suspended or expelled, combined with an underrepresentation among those taking rigorous courses, likely has a profound impact on their school engagement and academic achievement in high school.

Each of the external factors and school-level practices described in this chapter represent important "opportunity gaps" that may help explain the lagging graduation and college readiness rates of New York City's young men of color. They may also help explain why even those Black and Latino males who graduate do not enroll in college in large numbers. Policies and programs that address these underlying issues may be needed to achieve more equity—and across-the-board success—in the City's public schools.

CHAPTER 4: IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

The previous two chapters have framed college readiness for Black and Latino male students in two distinct ways. Chapter 2 showed that while graduation and college-related outcomes have been improving across all subgroups of students, large racial/ethnic and gender gaps still exist, particularly in terms of college readiness and enrollment. It also illustrated how those gaps start early in students' academic careers: 9th-grade on-track status, attendance, and being promoted on time all predict educational success in later years.

To help contextualize these findings, Chapter 3 described some of the underlying inequities that present young Black and Latino men with serious obstacles on their pathway toward graduation and college. In contrast to the typical focus on achievement gaps, the concept of opportunity gaps shows how environmental factors—including poverty, language, and cultural barriers—help determine the likelihood that students will graduate and graduate college ready. Certain school-level practices also disproportionately affect young men of color, including special education designation, suspensions, and limited course access. Because many of these factors are strongly associated with race/ethnicity and gender, we can see how the outcomes of Black and Latino young men discussed in Chapter 2 are in part the result of forces that lie beyond students' academic abilities.

Together, Chapters 2 and 3 paint a picture of a "leaky pipeline," with students falling off track at various points along the way. Identifying these leaks allows us to highlight ways that schools might strategically target supports and interventions to yield the most impact for students. While environmental factors, including poverty and immigration status, may be difficult for schools to address, acknowledging these challenges can help educators to think more holistically about serving their male students of color. It also suggests the need for external partnerships with organizations that can help meet students' non-academic needs. Beyond that, the data suggest that schools should focus on attendance, retention, and on-track status as early warning signs of success or failure. Considering that even a large proportion of high-scoring Black and Latino male 8th graders do *not* go on to graduate college ready or enroll in postsecondary education, there are clearly opportunities for high schools to serve students more effectively. These schools must ensure that students

are taking adequately rigorous coursework and that they have access to support around SAT preparation, college knowledge, and the application process, especially for first-generation college-going students.

What Is ESI, and How Will ESI Schools Address College Readiness?

It is interesting to compare these findings against the City's own effort to increase college readiness for young males of color. NYC's Young Men's Initiative (YMI)—the largest investment of its kind in the country—seeks to improve outcomes for Black and Latino males along four different dimensions: education, criminal justice, employment, and health. By far, the largest educational component of YMI is the Expanded Success Initiative (ESI), specifically designed to increase the college and career readiness of NYC's Black and Latino males. ESI includes an investment in 40 schools that have shown success in graduating males of color but are only on par with other schools in terms of getting these students ready for and enrolled in college. Each of the 40 schools will receive $250,000 over two-and-a-half years, to create and enhance programming in academic, youth development, and school culture domains (with the latter focusing on the creation of a college-going culture), all specifically focused on Black and Latino young men. In addition to these financial resources, the schools will receive professional development, especially around culturally relevant pedagogy, and ongoing support in planning and implementing their ESI programs.

Examining the theory of action and the range of ESI-funded programs in light of what we found in our analysis of Black and Latino males' outcomes in the NYC school system highlights both the potential effectiveness of this initiative as well as its inherent limitations. Some of the factors discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 are not explicitly or comprehensively addressed by ESI. For example, ESI is a school-focused initiative and cannot, therefore, adequately address the entrenched poverty that is so highly correlated with negative educational outcomes. While schools can partner with external organizations to provide supports around health and wellbeing, very few schools are doing so with ESI funding.[11] Similarly, while ESI does encourage schools to create strategies around attendance and behavior, only a portion of schools are explicitly focusing on these areas, at least in Year 1 of the initiative. (It may be, however, that the other programs they are implementing indirectly increase attendance and decrease suspensions. Further, many of the ESI schools had somewhat lower suspension rates than other schools.) The creation of

supports around English Language Learners is somewhat sparse across the 40 ESI schools, though it should be noted that relatively few of the schools serve a very high proportion of immigrant students. Finally, the overrepresentation of Black and Latino male students in special education classes is not explicitly addressed by ESI; this makes a certain amount of sense, considering that these designations often happen well before high school.

Despite these limitations, ESI does touch upon several of the facets that our analysis suggests are important to increase college readiness among Black and Latino young men. Below are the features of ESI that we hypothesize may have the most traction in achieving the aims of the initiative. While this list is not meant to be exhaustive, it suggests possible areas of focus for ESI schools and potentially other schools as they work to improve postsecondary outcomes for young men of color:

1. **Focus explicitly on college readiness**: Selecting schools that are relatively successful in graduating young men of color reflects a focus on closing the gap between high school graduation and college readiness versus raising graduation rates alone. What ESI does not explicitly focus on are gaps that start very early or students who are most at-risk and very unlikely to graduate. The initiative does, however, help address the fact that even Black and Latino males who come into high school with high test scores still graduate proportionally less college ready than their counterparts (see Figure 4).

   In addition, ESI works to build college-readiness skills, versus academic skills alone. ESI schools not only seek to increase academic preparedness, in terms of mastery of specific content and "higher-order" skills like critical thinking and problem-solving; they also aim to enhance "college knowledge" and other aspects of readiness, including help navigating the application, financial aid, and matriculation process as well as the cultural norms on college campuses. These explicitly college-focused supports are especially important for students who are first-generation college goers and/or lack the social network to help them through the college admission process and the transition to college life.

2. **Invest resources in the 9th grade**: The 9th-grade year is a pivotal transition point for students, and for many high-performing Black and Latino

young men, it marks a precipitous fall off the path to graduation and college. In Year 1 of ESI, all resources and programming must be allocated to the 9th-grade cohort in ESI schools (programming will then follow this cohort through their scheduled graduation). Several schools are using these resources to provide bridge programs that help students transition more smoothly from middle school to high school. Moreover, many of the college-focused efforts ESI schools were previously implementing with juniors and seniors are now being targeted toward 9th graders.

Focusing on the 9th-grade cohort allows schools to identify students who are off-track for graduation early—an important strategy considering that students off-track by the end of their 9th-grade year are 56 percent less likely to graduate, much less enroll in college. Using the on-track indicator developed by the Research Alliance, schools can flag students who fail to receive 10 credits or pass a Regents exam by the end of the 9th grade and offer them targeted support. Another outcome that schools should watch closely in the 9th grade is attendance. As described in Chapter 2, the bar for acceptable absences should be set relatively low, since we know that absences explain a far larger share of the failure rates in freshman-year coursework than do background characteristics and test scores.

3. **Increase opportunities for rigorous coursework**: As noted above, increasing rigor could potentially help close the gap between high school graduation and college readiness and decrease the number of students needing remedial classes when they enter college. ESI's academic component encourages schools to revamp curriculum to better align with the Common Core, to increase the number of Black and Latino males taking AP and honors courses, and reprogram academic schedules so students can take a higher number of math and science courses (beyond the state standard), including Algebra II. But simply providing access to more rigorous courses is not enough if students aren't adequately supported to succeed in those classes. It will be important to examine how (or if) ESI schools are building in ramp-up courses or providing academic support in foundational skills to the students who will be taking these more advanced math and science classes.

4. **Cultivate student leadership/student voice**: Considering some of the challenging environmental factors facing many Black and Latino boys, providing socioemotional supports to students may be critical to their continued engagement in school. ESI's youth development component encourages schools to provide students with peer and adult mentoring, leadership opportunities, and structures such as advisory periods and Freshmen Seminars. Taken together, these efforts should help create a school environment in which male students of color can find support more easily, have more of a voice on campus, and are less likely to fall through the cracks.

5. **Form strategic partnerships**: Part of ESI's design is that schools allocate some of their ESI funding to partner with organizations that provide a range of support to educators and schools. Many of the organizations approved as potential partners provide enrichment programs that are geared toward young men of color and intended to increase their school engagement and improve their relationships with adults in the school. Other partner organizations provide schools with training in particular content areas, including writing instruction and high-level math curriculum. In addition, many ESI schools are partnering with higher education institutions to provide students with opportunities to take courses on college campuses and get valuable internship experience while still in high school.

6. **Train school staff in culturally responsive education**: Perhaps the most unique feature of ESI is its focus on confronting underlying biases against young men of color and infusing ESI programming with culturally relevant or responsive education. While it is too early to say how widespread this will be among the 40 ESI schools, there are signs that principals and teachers (of all races and ethnicities) are having explicit conversations around race and gender, confronting their own biases, and challenging each other to rethink their expectations of Black and Latino young men. Schools are working to create a culture in which staff and students value the experiences, perspectives, and cultural capital of students typically labeled as disadvantaged and believe in their ability to thrive in high school, college, and careers.

Taking these components of ESI into account, our forthcoming evaluation will assess the impact of ESI on students and the effectiveness of its implementation in schools. Our second in this series of reports will describe more specifically how ESI schools are planning to use initiative funding across the three domains (academic, youth development and school culture) and the degree to which schools are creating new programs versus enhancing existing ones. A subsequent report will examine ESI's impact on students in terms of both academic measures (e.g., credit accumulation, taking and passing Regents exams, etc.) and non-academic measures (e.g., self-efficacy, college knowledge, etc.). We will also report on the effectiveness of ESI implementation across the 40 schools in terms of fidelity to their proposed work plans, intensity of programming, and sustainability.[12] Finally, we will be able to say more about the potential for other schools not participating in the initiative to apply the lessons learned in ESI.

It will be important to keep in mind with our forthcoming evaluation that wide variability exists among the target population. The averages we presented in this report, for example, mask the fact that some Black and Latino male students are much more at-risk for dropping out of high school altogether, while others are succeeding in high school and entering college. In fact, a recent study examining a national sample of 2012 graduates found that Latino students enrolled in college at a higher rate than their White counterparts (Fry & Taylor, 2012).

The variability in outcomes suggests that there should also be variability in the types of support available to students. Rather than consider Black and Latino males as a monolithic group with the same needs, it is important to offer different kinds of programming for different students, including heavier intervention for those who need it earlier on, as well as smaller doses of support that help students surmount immediate hurdles. As a set of strategies and programs, ESI may not be able to address the needs of the most vulnerable students, but it is well positioned to serve young men of color who need help transitioning from middle to high school, those with adequate basic skills to take on rigorous coursework, and those who require more knowledge about college application and enrollment processes. A program should be judged not on its ability to do everything for everyone, but on its capacity to accomplish what it sets out to do for the population it is intended to serve. In this way, ESI's potential impact is aligned with its goal of increasing college readiness in schools that are already relatively successful in graduating their young men of color.

Whether through ESI, other school-based efforts, or district-wide policies, increasing college readiness for Black and Latino male students will take more than a strictly academic focus, providing rigorous coursework, or increasing college knowledge, though all are essential. Rather, it will require that schools identify and intervene with students who are off track even earlier on their educational pathways, through both academic and socioemotional supports. It will require that educators trade in a deficit perspective for one focused on the promise and potential of male students of color. And it will require focusing on opportunity gaps that exist both outside and within our schools. Ultimately, improving college readiness rates for Black and Latino males will take a multidimensional approach. We hope that ESI sheds additional light on which strategies have the most impact on moving the needle toward college readiness and success.

Notes

[1] The high school Progress Reports award letter grades to schools based on student progress toward graduation, performance on standardized tests and coursework, and student attendance, as well as surveys of parents, students, and teachers about their schools. The 2011 Progress Reports were the first to measure how many students in each high school take and perform well in advanced courses, graduate ready for college, and enroll in a college after graduation (NYC DOE, 2011).

[2] The analyses conducted for this chapter are based on longitudinal data files constructed by the Research Alliance from administrative record databases provided by the New York City Department of Education. The analyses focus on students who first enrolled in a New York City public high school in October 2002 and October 2006, assessing their high school outcomes, graduation rates, and college readiness rates in October of 2006 and October 2010, respectively. We also assess college enrollment rates for these students through December 2008 and December 2012, respectively.

[3] This term has been used to describe the progressive drop off of women from careers in Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) fields (Blickenstaff, 2005). We have invoked the "leaky pipeline" framework here to address a similar phenomenon for young men of color in public schools.

[4] The graduation rates presented for New York City students in this report are the percentage of students in each cohort who obtained an Advanced Regents, Regents, or Local diploma by October of their fourth year following initial enrollment in high school. It should be noted that, in keeping with New York City Department of Education calculations, these calculations do not include students who transferred to a school outside of the New York City public school system. Students who earn a GED or IEP certificate from a New York City school are counted as non-graduates.

[5] The requirements for the Local Diploma changed for recent 9th-grade cohorts, and the diploma was ultimately phased out for students entering 9th grade in September 2008. The requirements for a Regents Diploma are that a student must earn at least 44 course credits and score 65 or higher on the five required Regents exams: English, Math, Science, Global History, and US History. To earn an Advanced Regents Diploma, students must meet these requirements and score 65 or higher on two additional Regents Examinations–one in a science and one in a language other than English.

[6] In Figure 3 we calculate college enrollment rates using enrollment at any college within two years of scheduled graduation (to account for the many students who do not graduate from high school within four years of starting). For the 2006 cohort, which was scheduled to graduate in 2010, the college enrollment rate includes everyone known to have enrolled in college through Spring 2012—the most recent year for which this data was available at the time of analysis.

[7] As in the analyses discussed in the previous section, college enrollment refers to enrollment at any college within two years of scheduled high school graduation.

[8] For more information, see the Education Commission of the States website, http://www.ecs.org/html/issue.asp?issueid=94

[9] SES is often defined by parents' level of education and occupational status, as well as the source and amount of yearly income.

[10] The poverty rate is 30 percent in the Bronx and 23 percent in Brooklyn, compared with 16 percent in Manhattan, 15 percent in Queens, and 12 percent in Staten Island (ALIGN, 2011).

[11] These observations are based on fieldwork we have conducted in the 40 ESI schools, which we will be describing in a subsequent report.

[12] *Fidelity* refers to the extent to which implementation matches a school's work plan. *Intensity* refers to the degree of implementation in terms of frequency, duration, and number of students served. *Sustainability* refers to a school's capacity to implement their programs beyond the funding period.

Supplemental Tables

Table A-1: Correlation Between College Enrollment and Regents Exam Scores Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2006

	N	Correlation with English Regents score	Correlation with Math Regents score
Female			
Asian	4,592	0.41	0.32
Latina	12,971	0.50	0.43
Black	11,622	0.51	0.44
White	4,074	0.44	0.34
Male			
Asian	4,837	0.47	0.40
Latino	12,194	0.50	0.42
Black	10,525	0.50	0.43
White	4,510	0.51	0.42

Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education. College enrollment rates are based on data provided to the New York City Department of Education by the National Student Clearinghouse.

Notes: See page 43.

Table A-2: College Readiness Rates by Socio-Economic Status, Race, and Gender Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2006

	Female				Male			
	Asian	Latina	Black	White	Asian	Latino	Black	White
Do Not Receive Free/Reduced Price Lunch	67.4	21.1	20.4	55.5	59.0	16.5	11.6	49.6
Receive Free/Reduced Price Lunch	52.5	11.9	12.3	34.0	45.2	10.2	8.5	26.4

Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.

Notes: See page 43.

Table A-3: College Readiness Rates by Birth Country, Race, and Gender Among Students Who Entered 9th Grade in 2006

	Female				Male			
	Asian	Latina	Black	White	Asian	Latino	Black	White
Not Foreign Born	65.6	13.7	14.1	46.2	57.6	11.8	9.1	40.1
Foreign Born	47.7	12.6	17.0	52.6	40.2	9.9	10.9	38.7

Source: Research Alliance calculations from longitudinal data file of first-time 9th graders, compiled using administrative records provided by the New York City Department of Education.

Notes: See page 43.

Figure and Table Notes

General Figure and Table Notes:

Calculation of graduation, college readiness, college enrollment, and on-track rates include all students who were enrolled in a New York City High school as a first-time 9th grader in a given year and did not transfer outside the system during the four years following initial entry into high school. These calculations do not include students who transferred into a New York City high school from other school systems after their 9th-grade year.

A total of 60,727 first-time 9th graders comprise the 2002 cohort and 65,784 first-time 9th graders comprise the 2006 cohort.

Rounding may result in slight discrepancies when calculating sums or differences.

Figure Notes:

Figure 1: Graduates include those who earned a local diploma or a New York State Regents or Advanced Regents Diploma as of October of their fourth year following initial enrollment in high school. For example, graduation rates for students who began high school in September 2006 reflect the percentage of these students who earned a diploma as of October 2010. Students who received a GED or IEP certificate are considered non-graduates.

Figure 2: For the purposes of this analysis, a student is classified as college ready if they met the New York State Education Department's Aspirational Performance Measure: earning a Regents Diploma or an Advanced Regents Diploma within 5 years, passing at least one Math Regents Examination with a score of 80 or higher, and passing at least one English Regents Examination with a score of 75 or higher.

Figure 3: College enrollment rates are based on data provided to the New York City Department of Education by the National Student Clearinghouse (NSC). College enrollment reflects enrollment at any college within two years of scheduled graduation (to account for the many students who do not graduate from high school within four years of starting). For the 2006 cohort, which was scheduled to graduate in 2010, the college enrollment rate includes students who enrolled in college through Spring 2012. College enrollment rates from NSC data likely underreport actual rates because approximately 5 percent of post-secondary institutions do not report data to the NSC.

Figure 4: See definition of college readiness in Figure 2 notes above. Proficiency on the 8th grade statewide English Language Arts (ELA) assessment is defined as scoring at level 3 or level 4.

Figure 5: A student is considered to be on-track at the end of 9th grade if she earned 10 or more course credits and passed at least one Regents Examinations with a 65 or higher.

Figure 6: Proficiency on the 3rd grade statewide English Language Arts (ELA) and Math assessments is defined as scoring at level 3 or level 4.

Figures 7, 8, and 9: Figures include all students enrolled in kindergarten through grade 12 in NYC public schools in the 2010-2011 school year.

Figure 10: Figure includes all special education students in NYC public shcools (kindergarden through 12th grade)in the 2010-2011 school year. Ungraded refers to students who receive 'Special Class Services', which are services provided for children with disabilities in a self-contained classroom. They serve children whose needs cannot be met within the general education classroom, even with the use of supplementary aids and services. The Graded category contains students who receive 'Related Services', which are services given to special education students to help support and assist their participation in a regular school program.

Table Notes:

Table 1: During the period covered in this paper, the New York State Education Department increased the requirements for a Regents Diploma and phased out the use of Local diplomas. See New York City Department of Education (2012b), and New York State Education Department (2012). The diploma types in the table are defined as follows:

- *Regents Diploma:* As of 2011, requires that students earn a minimum of 44 course credits (one for each semester-long class that a student passes) and pass a minimum of five end-of-course Regents Examinations with a score of 65 or higher.
- *Advanced Regents Diploma*: As of 2011, requires a score of 65 or higher for all five end-of-course Regents Examinations included in the Regents Diploma, plus two additional Regents Examinations– one in a science and one in a language other than English.
- *Local Diploma:* Requires that students earn a minimum of 44 course credits but does not require passing scores on Regents Examinations. Beginning in 2012, the Local Diploma was phased out, and students must earn a Regents Diploma to graduate from high school in New York State.

Table 2: Students who enrolled in both a two-year and four-year college (e.g., transferring from one to the other) within the first two years following scheduled graduation from high schools are only included in the percentage of students enrolled in a four-year college.

Table 3: Table shows percent of students who enrolled in any level of college within two years of scheduled graduation from the Fall 2006 cohort of first-time 9th graders (i.e no later than Spring 2012).

Table 4: Proficiency on the 3rd and 8th grade statewide English Language Arts (ELA) and math assessment is defined as scoring at level 3 or level 4.

Annual attendance rate is the days a student is present divided by total days on roll.

Overage for 8th grade is defined as 14 or older as of December 31st of the year in which the student first entered 8th grade. Overage for 1st grade is defined as 7 or older as of December 31st of the year in which the student first entered 1st grade.

Table 5: Table shows the percentage of 1st and 8th grade students classified as English Language Learners in NYC public schools during the 2010-2011 school year.

Table A-1: Table shows Pearson correlations between college enrollment within 2 years of scheduled graduation and Regents exam scores. For students who took the same Regents exam multiple times, we used the highest score

Table A-2 and A-3: See definition of college readiness in notes to Figure 2 above.

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