A Life Course Framework for Improving the Lives of Boys and Men of Color

Arnold Chandler | Forward Change Consulting
Overview

1. Why a Focus on (Gender) Boys and Men of Color (BMOC)?: *A Gender-Specific Cycle of Intergenerational Disadvantage*

2. A Life Course Framework for Improving the Lives of Disadvantaged Populations: *Interrupting the Cycle*
Why Focus on Boys and Men of Color?
Why Focus on BMOC?

• Gross disparities in particular negative outcomes: Violence victimization and offending, crime and incarceration.

• Males of color are showing negative or stagnant trends in key opportunity outcomes relative to females: Employment and Earnings, High school graduation, college enrollment and completion.

• A vicious cycle of intergenerational male disadvantage: Disadvantaged families are disproportionately more damaging to male educational outcomes than females.
Declining Employment and Earnings
Demand-Side Shifts in Employment

Declining Employment and Earnings

- Technological Change
- Off-shoring of middle-skill jobs and import competition (China)
- Decline in Unions
- Suburbanization of low-skilled jobs ("spatial mismatch")
- Legal discrimination against felons
- Illegal Employment Discrimination in Low-Wage Jobs

Autor and Wasserman, 2013
Declining Male Employment

Joblessness Among Native-Born Males
Ages 18-61 | 1950-2010

Heavily concentrated among those who didn’t attend college

Winters and Hirsch, 2012
Mass Incarceration and Declining Employment and Earnings
Rise of Mass Criminalization

• Imprisonment increased by 430 percent between 1973 and 2010 largely because of changes in policy that increased prison admissions and sentence lengths, particularly for drugs in the 1980s (Travis and Western, 2014) and shifts in prosecutorial decision-making among District Attorneys that increased the number of felony charges per arrest (Pfaff, 2011)

• Felony conviction and/or imprisonment reduces lifetime earnings and employment by 10-30 percent. (Travis and Western, 2014)

• The explosion in the market for crack cocaine in the 1980s increased withdrawal from high school and the labor force, particularly among black males, and produced an explosion in violence.

2.3 million in prisons or jails (2012) BJS
Historical Incarceration Rates (1925-2012)
(State and Federal Prisoners per 100K Population)

Incarceration Rate

Start of Era of Mass Incarceration

Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics Online
Change in Violent Crime Rates Relative to Incarceration Rates
1991-2013

Incarceration has had zero effect on the decline in violent crime since 1990

Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics Online, FBI Uniform Crime Reports

Brennan Center for Justice (2105)
California Incarceration Rates in 2010
(Pre-Realignment)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Share of Prison Pop.</th>
<th>Rate per 100K</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>1,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>248</td>
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</tbody>
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California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, US Census 2010
Lifetime Risk of Imprisonment by Age 35 for Males in 2010 (by Education Level)

Western and Pettit, 2010
Rise of Disadvantaged Families
Rise of Single Parent Families

• The decline in “working class” family in America and the class divide in family formation due to broad economic and cultural changes \cite{cherlin2014}

• Decline of “marriageable males” and imbalanced sex ratios (83 black men for every 100 black women) \cite{wilson1996,wolfers2015}

• Incarceration reduced and continues to reduce male parental involvement \cite{travis2014}
In 2012, the Percentage of Children Living in Single Parent Families

**White Children**
- 20.7%

**Latino Children**
- 31.3%

**Black Children**
- 55.2%
Gender-Specific Effects of Family Disadvantage on Educational Outcomes
Gender-Specific Effects of Family Disadvantage on Educational Outcomes

Growing up in a single-parent family:

- Reduces college attendance for boys, but not for girls (Jacob, 2002)
- [Father absence] increases juvenile delinquency among boys, but not girls (Cobb-Clark, 2011)
- Increases behavior problems significantly more among boys than girls (Bertrand and Pan, 2011)
Gender-Specific Effects of Family Disadvantage on Educational Outcomes

Father’s Education Matters a lot for Boys

- A father who graduates from high school reduces juvenile delinquency for boys, but not for girls (Kalb and Williams, 2003)

- Boys are less likely to complete college than their sisters if their father is absent or less-educated than their mother (Buchman and Diprete, 2006)

Father’s Incarceration Impacts Boys More Negatively than Girls

- Boys are twice as likely as girls to show an increase in externalizing behavior when their fathers are incarcerated (Wakefield and Wildeman, 2013)
Gender-Specific Effects of Family Disadvantage on Educational Outcomes

Improved Conditions Lead to Improvements for Girls, But Not for Boys

- Moving To Opportunity (MTO) Experiment: Experiment revealed that when moving to economically better off neighborhoods, girls saw improved behavior and school engagement outcomes while boys saw worse. *(Clampet-Lundquist et al., 2011)*

- North Carolina School Choice Experiment: When girls attend better schools they respond by getting better grades and taking courses that prep them for college. Boys do not. *(Deming, 2014)*
Stagnant Male Educational Attainment
High School Graduation Trends by Race & Gender
1970-2010 | Ages 20-24

- White Females: 88.6%
- White Males: 84.1%
- Black Females: 81.8%
- Black Males: 74.0%
- Latino Females: 72.0%
- Latino Males: 65.0%

Murnane 2013
College Completion by Race/Ethnicity and Gender
1982, 2012

Baum et al, 2013
A Vicious Cycle of Intergenerational Male Disadvantage
A Vicious Cycle of Male Intergenerational Disadvantage

This cycle is now an intergenerational phenomenon as education attainment shapes the employment prospects of the next generation.

Gender-specific effects on educational attainment.
• Poor neighborhoods are over-policed through aggressive drug enforcement and order-maintenance policing and under-protected from violence due to reduced “police legitimacy” and police effectiveness with regard to violent crime.

• Mass incarceration is also concentrated (Clear, 2007)

- Mass Criminalization (War on Drugs and Incarceration)

Oakland, CA

- Declining Employ and Earnings

- Declining Education Attainment

- Growth of Single-Parent Families

There are 5 million formerly incarcerated individuals residing in US Neighborhoods (Kirk, 2015)

- Rise of concentrated disadvantage

• The rise of concentrated poverty and jobless ghettos since the early 1970s (Wilson, 1996)

• Concentration of negative factors associated with poverty like crime, violence, poor school quality, drugs, disinvestment (Massey, 2007)
A Life Course Framework for Improving the Lives of Disadvantaged Populations: Interrupting the Cycle
Overview of Framework Components

- **Ecological and Contextual Factors**
  - Environmental and experiential factors that shape both human development and life course outcomes:
    - Families
    - Neighborhoods
    - Schools
    - Public Systems

- **Situated Choice**

- **Dimensions of Human Development**
  - What we start with (i.e., genetics) and what develops over people's lives:
    - Physical Health
    - Cognitive development
    - Mental Health
    - Socioemotional Skills

- **Life Course Outcomes**
  - School readiness
  - High School Graduation
  - Incarceration
  - Stable Full-Time Employment
  - Homelessness

- **Randomness**
Dimensions of Human Development

**Physical Health:** genetic predisposition; motor-visual-auditory development, morbidity, brain development, biological embedding of social adversity and toxic substance exposures: chronic adversity, allostatic load/toxic stress, environmental toxin exposure (e.g. air pollution, lead poisoning, etc.), epigenetics, basal cortisol levels

**Cognitive Development:** intelligence, information processing, language, numeracy, literacy, executive functions (e.g. memory, attention, reasoning, problem solving), communication skills

**Mental Health and Sense of Well-Being:** secure attachment, trauma, happiness/contentment, hope, self-esteem/mastery, stigma stress, mood disorders, schizophrenia, psychosis

**Socioemotional Skill Development:** Emotion and behavior regulation; autonomy; determination; self-monitoring/meta-cognition

**Identity Development:** Self-concept, Self-Awareness, Mindset, self-efficacy, gender identity, sexual identity, cultural orientation/attachment

**Substantive and Cultural Knowledge:** Declarative, procedural, evaluative cultural knowledge

**Moral Development:** conscience and moral agency, moral judgment, moral reasoning, altruism, empathy, moral action/behavior (Prosocial behavior), moral emotion, moral character (i.e. virtue, ethics)

**Personality:** Openness, Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, Neuroticism
Dimensions of Human Development

- Physical Health
- Cognitive Dev.
- Mental Health
- Socioemotional
- Identity
- Etc.

Protective Factor

Risk Factor

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Life Course Outcomes

Ecological/Contextual Factors

0-5
ON TRACK
- SCHOOL READY Cog. & Soc. Skills (Kinder)
- PROFICIENT 4th Gr. Math, Reading, & Socioemo. Skills

6-11
- PROFICIENT, GOOD GRADES 8th Gr. Math, Reading, Middle-School Grades

12-18
- PROFICIENT, GOOD GRADES 8th Gr. Math, Reading, Middle-School Grades
- CRIMINAL OFFENDING (ESP VIOLENT) ARREST, FELONY CONVICTIO, INCARCERATION, RECIDIVISM
- NOT PROFICIENT, FAILS MATH OR ENGLISH 8th Gr. Math & Reading

19-25
- H.S. GRADUATION (COLLEGE & CAREER READY)
- COLLEGE ENROLLMENT
- COLLEGE COMPLETION (4-year college)
- COLLEGE DROPOUT
- CRIMINAL OFFENDING (ESP VIOLENT) ARREST, FELONY CONVICTIO, INCARCERATION, RECIDIVISM

26-35
- STABLE HOUSING
- STABLE FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT @ 300% FPL
- STABLE HOUSING IN LOW DISADV NEIGHBORHOODS
- POSITIVE NET WORTH

PRE-TERM BIRTH/LOW BIRTHWEIGHT
- NOT SCHOOL READY Cog. & Socioemo. Skills (Kinderg)

OFF TRACK
- BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS & DISCIPLINE Behavior problems (antisocial behavior; violence), Suspensions, Expulsions
- UNTREATED SUBSTANCE ABUSE OR BEHAVIORAL HEALTH PROBLEMS
- EARNING BELOW FPL
- DISCONNECTED FROM SCHOOL AND WORK
- LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYMENT OR UNDEREMPLOYMENT (>6 Months)
- HOUSING INSTABILITY OR HOMELESSNESS
- H.S. DROPOUT
- CRIMINAL OFFENDING (ESP VIOLENT) ARREST, FELONY CONVICTIO, INCARCERATION, RECIDIVISM
- NOT PROFICIENT, FAILS MATH OR ENGLISH 8th Gr. Math & Reading
- JUVENILE DELINQUENCY (ESP VIOLENT), ARREST, DETENTION
- NOT PROFICIENT 4th Gr. Math, Reading, & Socioemo. Skills
- PRE-TERM BIRTH/LOW BIRTHWEIGHT
Life Course Outcomes

Key Themes:

- Earlier life outcomes affect later ones.
- There is a need for interventions across the life course, not just early ones. Early intervention is necessary, but not sufficient.
- There are “sensitive” developmental periods for intervention.
- “Causal Density”: Everything is related to everything else which makes “siloed” approaches ineffectual.

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  - Cog. & Soc. Skills (Kinder)

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- Proficient
  - 4th Gr. Math & Reading
- Proficient, Good Grades
  - 8th Gr. Math, Reading, Middle-School Grades

12-18
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- Proficient, Good Grades
  - 8th Gr. Math, Reading, Middle-School Grades

19-25
- H.S. Graduation
- College Entry
- College (4+)

OFF TRACK

- Not School Ready
  - Cog. & Socioemot. Skills (Kindergarten)
- Not Proficient
  - 4th Gr. Math & Reading

- Chronically Absent
- Juvenile Delinquency
  - Arrest, Detention
- Not Proficient, Fails
  - Math or English
  - 8th Gr. Math & Reading

- Teenage Fatherhood
- Premature Death

ON TRACK

- Proficient
  - 4th Gr. Math & Reading
- Proficient, Good Grades
  - 8th Gr. Math, Reading, Middle-School Grades

- H.S. Graduation
- College Entry
- College (4+)

- Child Support
- Chronic Absence
- Juvenile Delinquency
- Arrest, Detention
- Not Proficient, Fails
  - Math or English
  - 8th Gr. Math & Reading

- Teenage Fatherhood
- Premature Death

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Roughly 65% of black and Latino fathers have their first child before age 25. By age 30, roughly 85% of these fathers have had their first child. These fathers have 2 or fewer kids on average around 5 years apart. Thus, by age 35, a majority of the next generation has been born. [Martinez et al, 2012]
Ecological and Contextual Factors
Ecological and Contextual Factors can be

- **Intensity** (e.g. deep poverty)
- **Duration & Recurrence**
- **Dynamism:** Change over time to higher or lower intensity

**DOSE-RESPONSE**

- **Protective Factor**
- **Risk Factor**

**Ecological and Contextual Factors**
- Family Income
- Neighborhood Poverty
- School Quality
- Deviant Peers
- Labor Markets
FAMILY (and kinship networks inc. "fictive kin")

- Race/Ethnicity
- Genetics
- Parental age at child’s birth
- Documentation Status
- Incarcerated Parent
- Parental death
- Language spoken at home
- Additional supportive persons (e.g. grandparents, aunts/uncles, fictive kin)

Family Resources
- Pre-natal and neo-natal care
- Quality of early caregiving
- Health insurance
- Parental Income and Wealth
- Parental Education

- Family structure and instability
- Housing stability/instability

Parental Attention, Expectations, Skills
- Parental attention
- Parental Expectations
- Parenting skills, practices (e.g. harsh parenting) and beliefs

Parental Social Support, Abuse/Neglect
- Child maltreatment: neglect/abuse (physical, emotional, sexual), domestic violence
- Foster Care Placement
- Parental Social Support (e.g. social networks, extended family)
SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC SYSTEMS (Policies and Agencies)

- **School System**: resources, peer effects, teacher quality, institutional practices (i.e. administration, discipline), climate, instructional practices, curricula

- **Juvenile Justice** Systems: Referral, Detention, Community Supervision

- **Criminal Justice** System: Policing practices/effectiveness, Incarceration (state sentencing policies and practices), Prosecutorial policies and practices, Community Supervision policies and practices, Re-entry programs and services
PLACE (Neighborhoods, Places of Routine Activities and Metros)

• Concentrated Disadvantage and Concentrated Affluence
• Violence and Crime (victimization and secondary exposure)
• Racial Segregation/Social Isolation
• Street culture and underground economy
• Residential instability/”Coercive Mobility”
• Employment opportunities/Labor Markets
• Housing quality/Neighborhood Deterioration (e.g. uncollected garbage, abandonment)

• Neighborhood institutional infrastructure (e.g. CBOs, Nonprofit service providers, organizers)
• Social capital and community involvement
• Neighborhood collective efficacy
• Toxic substance exposure
• Policing: place-focused law enforcement practices and tactics (e.g. aggressive street drug enforcement, racial profiling, stop-and-frisk)
• Church
• Day care/After School Programs
• Shopping Centers
• Metro-level income and racial segregation, inequality and intergenerational mobility
PEERS and NETWORKS

- **Social and Emotional Support** (e.g. relationship with a caring adult outside the family; close friends)
- **Negative peer socialization**
- **Social Capital** (bridging and bonding)
SOCIETY & CULTURE

• Market-based racial discrimination:
  - labor market
  - housing
  - retail
  - Financial

• Legal and law-enforcement discrimination

• Educational Discrimination

• Implicit bias and explicit bias

• Patriarchal forms of masculinity and gender relations
Key Takeaways from the life course framework

• The vicious intergenerational cycle described is not inevitable, but rather is the product of both policy decisions and structural forces: At every step, policy and resource decisions were and are being made that can either amplify or dampen the impact of big, impersonal forces like structural shifts in the economy. We can interrupt this cycle!

• It requires a “two-generation approach” that involves both:

1. Changing conditions (and removing barriers) confronting BMOC through policy and systems change;

2. Helping BMOC become more resilient to bad conditions through applying programs, services and practices that we know work for males of color


Centers for Disease Control (2010) "Homicide Rates Among Persons Ages 10–24 Years, by Race/Ethnicity and Sex, United States". Available at http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/youthviolence/stats_at-a_glance/hr_age-race.html


Citations


John M. Leventhal, Julie R. Gaither and Robert Sege (2014) "Hospitalizations Due to Firearm Injuries in Children and Adolescents", Pediatrics; originally published online January 27, 2014: Available at http://pediatrics.aappublications.org/content/early/2014/01/22/peds.2013-1809


