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MAKING THE CONNECTION
TRANSPORTATION AND YOUTH DISCONNECTION

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Contents

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MAKING THE CONNECTION
TRANSPORTATION AND YOUTH DISCONNECTION

Since its peak in the aftermath of the Great Recession, the number of teens and young adults disconnected from both work and school in the United States fell for the seventh year in a row. The 2017 disconnection rate is 11.5 percent, a significant drop from the post-recession high of 14.7 percent in 2010. Disconnected youth—young people between the ages of 16 and 24 who are neither working nor in school—are deprived of the opportunity to acquire the foundational skills, credentials, and relationships that will propel them into a successful and rewarding adulthood. As recent Measure of America research has demonstrated, people who experience a period of disconnection as young adults go on to earn less and are less likely to be employed, own a home, or report good health by the time they reach their
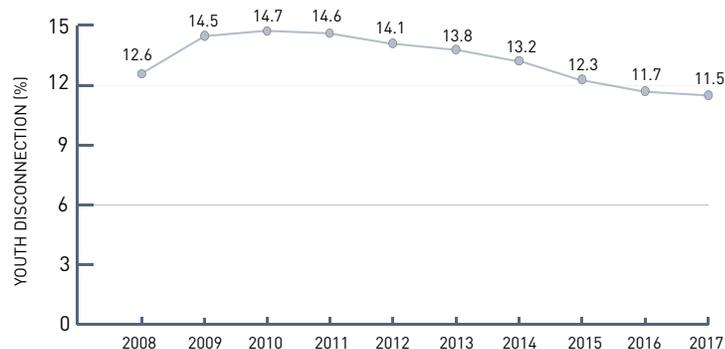
thirties.[1] Thanks in part to a growing economy and improved high school graduation rates, 1.3 million fewer young people are disconnected from school and the workforce than in 2010—a positive development both for these individuals and for society as a whole.

But a look into the latest data also shows some causes for concern. First, the decrease in the national disconnection rate between 2016 (11.7 percent) and 2017 (11.5 percent) was negligible. Second, for some groups, progress has halted or even reversed. The youth disconnection rate for black teens and young adults increased between 2016 and 2017 from 17.2 percent to 17.9 percent. And despite years of decline in the country's overall disconnection rate, disparities between racial and ethnic groups persist. These findings indicate we cannot rely on economic growth alone to solve the problem of youth disconnection in America—societal factors such as poverty, discrimination, and residential segregation also play significant roles.

Making the Connection: Transportation and Youth Disconnection presents the latest available data on youth disconnection for the United States as a whole as well as disconnection rates by gender, race and ethnicity, region, state, and metro area. Determining who remains disconnected, and why, is vital to identifying interventions that will sustain or accelerate the positive trend we have observed over the past seven years. Because reducing youth disconnection will require an understanding of the structural factors driving it, the report also examines a key factor preventing young people from staying in school and the workforce: disparities in access to reliable and affordable transportation. Future reports will address additional structural barriers fueling disconnection.

KEY FINDINGS:

Nationally: The youth disconnection rate for the United States overall was 11.5 percent in 2017—down from 11.7 percent the previous year. This represents a total of about 4.5 million young people, or about one in nine.

Disability: Disconnected young people are more than three times as likely to have a disability of some kind than connected young people—16.6 percent as compared to 5.0 percent. White male disconnected youth have the highest disability rate, 23.0 percent, but in general face fewer structural barriers to school persistence and employment than other groups.

Gender: Boys and young men are slightly more likely to be disconnected than girls and young women, 11.8 percent as compared to 11.1 percent. But this ranking varies by race; among Asian, Latino, and Native American youth, young women have a slightly higher disconnection rate, whereas for black and white youth, young men do. The size of the gender gap is largest for black young people.

Race and ethnicity: Of the country's five major racial and ethnic groups, Asian American youth have the lowest disconnection rate, 6.6 percent, unchanged from their 2016 rate. White youth have the second-lowest rate (9.4 percent), followed by Latino (13.2 percent), black (17.9 percent), and Native American youth (23.9 percent). Latino youth saw the greatest improvement in their disconnection rate between 2016 to 2017, while black teens and young adults are the only group whose disconnection rate increased. Disconnection rates also vary by Asian and Latino subgroup.
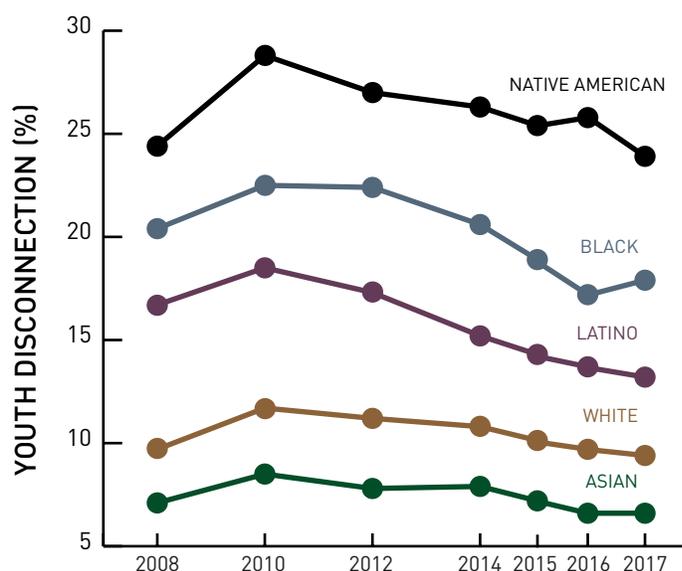
Regions: Disconnection continues to be a particular challenge in the South. The East South Central area, which includes Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, has the highest disconnection rate overall, 14.2 percent. New England has the lowest rate, 8.26 percent.

States: Minnesota has the lowest rate of youth disconnection (6.2 percent), followed by Iowa (7.0 percent) and Massachusetts (7.1 percent). West Virginia has the highest rate, 17.0 percent, followed by New Mexico (16.5 percent) and Mississippi (16.4 percent). Idaho experienced the largest increase in the share of disconnected young people between 2016 and 2017, nearly 25 percent. The state's 2017 rate of 13.6 percent is almost as high as its 2014 peak of 14.0 percent. Alaska saw the largest drop in its disconnection rate, a decrease of 27 percent.

Metro areas: Metro area youth disconnection rates range from a low of 5.6 percent in greater Grand Rapids, Michigan, to a high of 18.0 percent in the Memphis metro area. Metro area disconnection rates vary by gender as well as race and ethnicity. The metro area with the largest racial or ethnic gap is Louisville, KY-IN, where the black-white gap is 17.6 percentage points.

Transportation: An examination of disconnection rates and commute times in two major cities, Washington, DC, and Chicago, reveals a link between transportation and youth disconnection. Average commute time and the youth disconnection rate are strongly correlated across DC neighborhoods. The correlation between the youth disconnection rate and the percentage of workers with very long commutes is also strong. In Chicago, the five areas with the highest youth disconnection rates, all above 20 percent, also have the highest rates of workers commuting an hour or more each way.

The enduring barriers to connection are complex, but through collective efforts tailored especially for those most at risk, we can keep the country's young people on the path to flourishing adulthoods. Through our research and work with stakeholders over the past seven years, we have identified four major areas for action: confronting intergenerational disadvantage, supporting youth who are most vulnerable, keeping youth connected, and reengaging those who are already out of school and work. The report concludes with recommendations for how to take on these challenges and advance us on a path to a more just and inclusive society.

PERCENT VS. PERCENTAGE POINT CHANGE

You will see mention of both "percent change" and "percentage point change" in this report. What is the difference between these measures? "Percentage point change" refers to the absolute difference between two rates—the difference between 20 percent and 40 percent is 20 percentage points. "Percent change," on the other hand, shows how big this difference is compared to the original rate. When a rate increases from 20 percent to 40 percent, that is a 100 percent increase—the rate has doubled.

INTRODUCTION

Spring heralds exciting new beginnings for young people across the country. Many high school seniors are looking forward to prom and graduation and feeling a sense of giddy and disorienting freedom as their high school experience comes to a close. College students are finishing their finals and lining up summer internships, jobs, and classes. Soon-to-be graduates are nailing down their first "real" jobs, or putting off the inevitable with graduate school. These years of emerging adulthood—that intense, exciting, sometimes scary time in the late teens and early twenties when, for many young people, anything and everything feels possible—stand out in our memories with uncommon vividness. They also have an outsized impact on the rest our lives—for good and for ill.

Young people between the ages of 16 and 24 who are in school or working—connected youth—are laying down the tracks they will travel into adulthood and across their lives. They are gathering credentials and contacts, learning cognitive skills and unspoken behavioral norms, developing agency and confidence, and finding out about themselves and others. Young people this age who are neither working nor in school—disconnected, or "opportunity," youth—on the other hand, find themselves derailed, with serious impacts on their current and future well-being.

FIGURE 1 **Seventh Consecutive Annual Decline in the Youth Disconnection Rate**

Source: Measure of America calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2017.
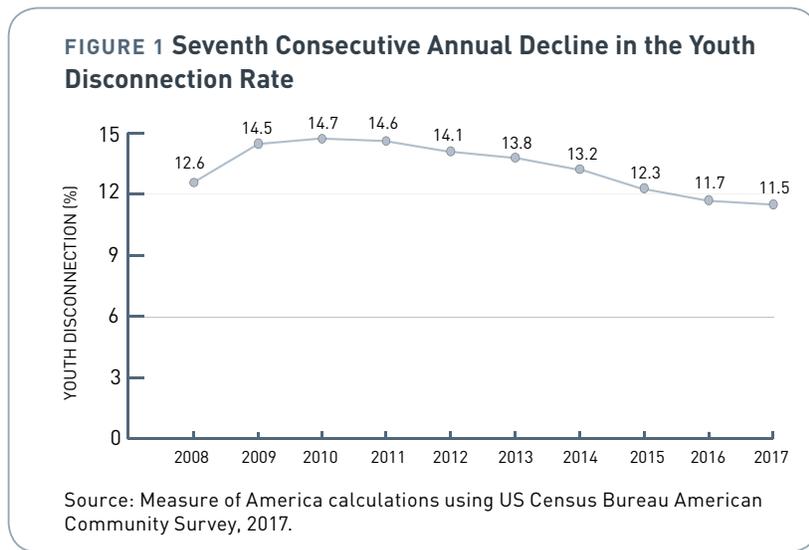
The experience of youth disconnection casts a long shadow across the life course. A recent Measure of American analysis of a unique longitudinal dataset found that, compared to demographically and economically similar peers who were disconnected in their teens and early twenties, those who remained connected earned approximately $31,000 more annually and were 45 percent more likely to own the home in which they lived, 42 percent more likely to be employed, and 52 percent more likely to report excellent or good health by the time they reached their thirties.[2] The effects are also felt by society at large: given the annual difference in earnings between the

This report is the seventh in the Measure of America Youth Disconnection series, which began in 2012.
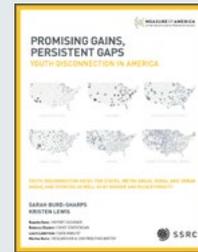
once-connected and once-disconnected, more than $30,000, we estimate that the federal government would gain, on average, $11,900 per year in additional tax revenue for each young person who remains connected. Multiply this figure by the number of disconnected youth in the United States today, and the result is an estimated $55 billion in potential federal revenue gain per year.

Thanks to economic growth, improved high school graduation rates, and new governmental, civil-society, and private-sector efforts, the share of youth who are neither working nor in school has declined from its peak in 2010. But those who remain disconnected face more-complicated barriers to school and work than can be solved by an improving economy alone—barriers like poverty, contact with the criminal justice system, unresolved trauma, and educations that did not prepare them for today's labor market.

This report presents youth disconnection rates for the country as a whole, by gender, by race and ethnicity, by region, by state, and by metro area. It explores factors associated with youth disconnection and makes recommendations for addressing them. It also highlights a key structural cause of disconnection (and a key structural barrier to reconnection): **transportation infrastructure**. In upcoming reports, we intend to highlight additional structural drivers of youth disconnection. Young people certainly need to work hard, but that's just not enough; their efforts must be met in equal measure by societal institutions designed to help them soar.

BOX 2 Who Are Disconnected—or Opportunity—Youth?

Measure of America defines disconnected youth as teens and young adults ages 16 to 24 who are neither in school nor working. This is the definition that MOA has used in its data calculations and analysis on youth disconnection since its first report on the topic, *One in Seven*, published in 2012. It's also the foundation for most other youth disconnection estimates.

MOA's data come from the American Community Survey (ACS). The survey's main advantage over other sources is that its sample size is extremely large, making it possible to calculate youth disconnection rates nationally and by state, as well as for counties, metro areas, and even smaller geographic areas. The ACS also allows for disaggregation by race and ethnicity and by gender for geographies with sufficiently large populations.

DEFINITIONS	AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY (ACS)
IN SCHOOL	Part-time or full-time students who have attended school or college in the past three months.
WORKING	Those who had any full- or part-time work in the previous week.
NOT WORKING	Unemployed in previous week or not in labor force and not looking for a job.
LIVING IN "GROUP QUARTERS"	Surveys people in non-household living arrangements such as correctional facilities, residential health facilities, dorms, etc. If enrolled in educational programs, they are considered connected.
MEMBERS OF ARMED FORCES (group quarters)	Counted as employed and thus as connected.
HOMELESS (group quarters)	Surveyed but likely to be undercounted; surveying the homeless is difficult.

Source: Measure of America.

YOUTH DISCONNECTION NATIONALLY

The US youth disconnection rate fell to 11.5 percent in 2017, the seventh consecutive annual decline in as many years. In 2010, when the nation was still reeling from the Great Recession, one in seven teens and young adults, or 14.7 percent, were out of school and work; today, it's closer to one in nine. This represents a drop in the absolute number of disconnected young people from 5.8 million in 2010 to 4.5 million in 2017—a heartening decline of 1.3 million. The growing economy has created more spots in the labor market for young people, and a larger share of teens are staying in high school and earning their diplomas; the on-time high school graduation rate reached an all-time high of 84 percent in 2018.[3] The 2017 youth disconnection rate of 11.5 percent is actually lower than the 2008 pre-recession rate by more than one percentage point.

The rate of decline appears to be slowing, however; there is scant difference between the 2016 rate of 11.7 percent and the 2017 rate of 11.5 percent. In addition, the disconnection rate *increased* between 2016 and 2017 for black young people, from 17.2 percent to 17.9 percent, despite remaining flat or falling for all other major racial and ethnic groups. These data points suggest that economic growth is necessary but not sufficient to address the obstacles that young people who remain disconnected face.

The data shed light on what at least some of these obstacles are.

Disability. Disconnected young people are more than three times as likely to have a disability of some kind than connected young people—16.6 percent as compared to 5.0 percent. Living with a disability is still an impediment to full participation in society for far too many Americans, despite laws requiring school, workplace, and public accommodations. **See BOX 2**.

> The disconnection rate **increased** between 2016 and 2017 for black young people, from 17.2 percent to 17.9 percent, despite remaining flat or falling for all other major racial and ethnic groups.

YOUTH DISCONNECTION AMONG LGBTQ YOUTH

The American Community Survey (ACS), the source of some of the data for our youth disconnection research, does not currently ask questions about either sexual orientation or gender identity; thus, Measure of America cannot provide youth disconnection rates for LGBTQ young people. In addition, male and female are the only gender options available on the ACS, which is problematic for young people who are transgender or who identify as nonbinary. Such data would be very useful for those working to understand and address youth disconnection, as research suggests that LGBTQ youth disproportionately experience harassment and discrimination in schools and workplaces.

FIGURE 3 **Contrasting Profiles: Disconnected vs. Connected Youth**

Disconnected		Connected		Disconnected		Connected
16.6%	DISABILITY	5.0%		25.3%	LESS THAN HS DIPLOMA	2.8%
24.2%	UNINSURED	10.2%		51.3%	HS DIPLOMA, NO FURTHER EDUCATION	22.1%
38.9%	MEDICAID	19.3%		4.9%	BACHELOR'S HIGHEST DEGREE	8.5%

Disconnected		Connected		Disconnected		Connected
6.9%	LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY	4.1%		33.8%	POVERTY	17.9%
7.5%	NONCITIZEN	6.1%		48.1%	HAVEN'T WORKED IN PAST 5 YEARS	27.6%
6.3%	LIVING IN INSTITUTION	0.3%				

Source: Measure of America calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2017.

BOX 4 **Disability and Disconnection**

Percentage of Youth with a Disability
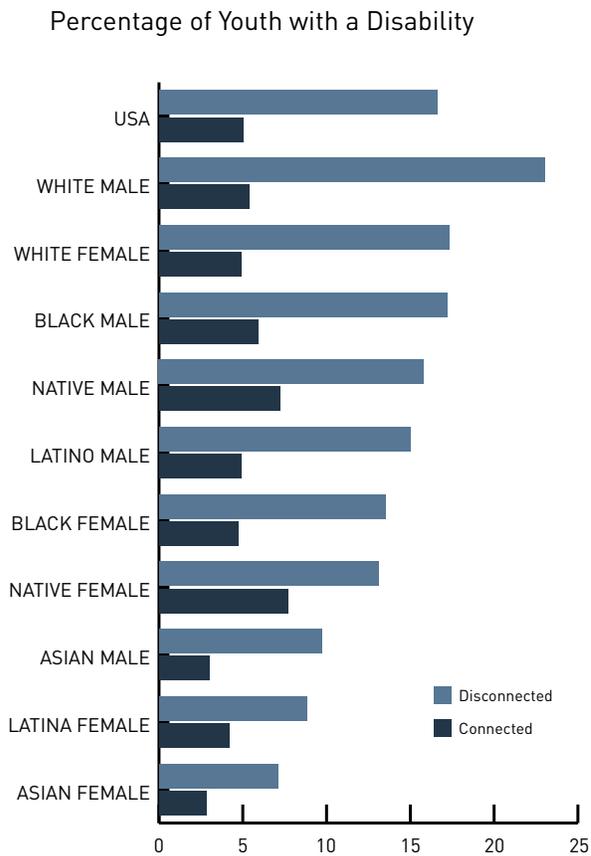
Source: Measure of American calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2017.

Among disconnected young people, the likelihood of having a disability varies by race and ethnicity and by gender. Disconnected young men are more likely to have a disability than disconnected young women across all major racial and ethnic groups. Disconnected youth who are **white and male** have the highest disability rate, 23.0 percent, and are over four times as likely to have a disability as their connected counterparts. White boys and young men in general face fewer structural barriers to school persistence and employment—such as discrimination, residential segregation, poverty, immigration status, or contact with the justice system—than other groups do. Thus disability is a contributing factor to disconnection for a larger *share* of disconnected white young men than disconnected Asian, black, Latino, or Native American young men.

Disability is not a monolithic category. The American Community Survey, the source for our disconnected youth calculations, asks six questions about difficulties a person may have with physical or mental activities. If the answer to any one of the six following questions is yes, the person in question is categorized as having a disability:

Self-care difficulty: Does this person have difficulty dressing or bathing?

Hearing difficulty: Is this person deaf or does he or she have serious difficulty hearing?

Vision difficulty: Is this person blind or does he or she have serious difficulty seeing even when wearing glasses?

Independent-living difficulty: Because of a physical, mental, or emotional condition, does this person have difficulty doing errands alone, such as visiting a doctor's office or shopping?

Ambulatory difficulty: Does this person have serious difficulty walking or climbing stairs?

*Cognitive difficulty:* Because of a physical, mental, or emotional condition, does this person have serious difficulty concentrating, remembering, or making decisions?

We calculated the rate at which connected and disconnected youth responded affirmatively to each of these questions. They are not mutually exclusive—respondents can say yes to one or more of these questions—so the sum total of affirmative answers to each of these questions is higher than the total of youth with a disability.

Disability and Disconnection, continued

Among both connected and disconnected youth, cognitive difficulties are the most common, with 12.5 percent of disconnected youth and 3.3 percent of connected youth reporting this difficulty.

Self-care difficulties, independent-living difficulties, and ambulatory difficulties appear to present the greatest barriers to connection. Disconnected youth are over five times as likely as connected youth to report difficulty in each of these three categories. The starkest difference between connected and disconnected youth is found in ambulatory difficulties; disconnected youth are five and a half times as likely to have serious difficulty walking or climbing stairs. White disconnected men are nine times as likely to have ambulatory difficulties as white connected men. Looking at the differences in the three other categories of disabilities, disconnected youth are about four times as likely to report cognitive difficulties and about two and a half times as likely to report hearing or vision difficulties as connected youth.

To further understand how disability impacts disconnection, we looked at the number of different types of difficulties reported by connected and disconnected youth. Each respondent with a disability could report anywhere between one and six of these types of difficulties. Among connected youth with a disability, 67 percent reported just one, 21 percent reported two, and 12 percent reported three or more types of difficulties. These rates stand in sharp contrast to those among disconnected youth with a disability; 48 percent reported one sort of daily-life difficulty, 30 percent reported two, and 22 percent reported three or more. In other words, disconnected youth with disabilities are nearly twice as likely to have three or more types of difficulties, greatly compounding their challenges.

Motherhood. Disconnected young women are over four times as likely to be mothers as connected women, 26.7 percent versus 6.3 percent. Becoming a mother is a common life experience; 86 percent of US women have at least one child by the end of their reproductive years.[4] But the timing for doing so varies sharply. Connected women tend to postpone the joys and obligations of parenthood and are able to pursue other appealing options in their teens and early twenties, such as continuing their educations, building their careers, or forming stable romantic partnerships. Many disconnected young women lack such options; for them, having a child may offer a rewarding role and an attainable route to adult status. Disparities in unintended pregnancies by poverty and educational attainment are large but narrowing.[5] Once a young woman has a child, the lack of high-quality, affordable child care creates a barrier to reconnection. Of course, some boys and young men are also parents; unfortunately, due to the way the data are collected, we do not have information on the share of connected and disconnected young men who are fathers—a telling data gap in itself.

Poverty. More than one-third of disconnected young people live in a poor household; they are nearly twice as likely to live in poverty as connected young people. Disconnected young women are more likely to live in poverty than disconnected young men, 37.6 percent versus 30.0 percent. Poverty creates myriad barriers to connection, among them the concentration of low-income families in neighborhoods with poor-quality educational, health, and transportation services; the greater exposure of people living in poverty to violence[6] and the resulting trauma; the inability of young people living in poverty to cover the costs of college; and the cumulative impacts of intergenerational, concentrated poverty.[7] Among disconnected young people, Native American men and women and black women have the highest poverty rates, over 45 percent.

Previous Measure of America research showed that while poor young people of every racial and ethnic group were more likely than their affluent counterparts to be disconnected, race and ethnicity determined where groups started in comparison with one another. Black, Latino, and Native American youth were more likely to be disconnected than whites and Asians at the same income level. Native American young people living in households with fairly high incomes (five times the poverty line, or over $120,000 for a family of four) faced roughly the same chance of disconnection as white youth living in households with incomes well below the poverty line and Asian Americans living in households with little to no income.[8]

Limited education. Disconnected youth are nine times as likely to have dropped out of high school as connected youth; one in four disconnected young people left high school without a diploma. The road to dropping out typically begins with academic difficulties and nascent disengagement in middle school, and a chief cause is having a learning challenge of some kind that is not adequately addressed;[9] this speaks to the need for early warning systems, better screening and more robust support for children with learning disabilities, and prompt intervention to forestall a pattern of failure and hopelessness. Connected youth are about twice as likely to have a bachelor's degree (8.5 percent) as disconnected youth (4.9 percent). Young people with a four-year college degree are very unlikely to be disconnected.

Recent employment. Nearly half of disconnected youth have not worked at all in the last five years, compared to about one in four connected youth. This may seem like an obvious link to disconnection, but it's more complex beneath the surface. The kinds of jobs most commonly held currently or most recently by both connected and disconnected youth were entry-level positions in retail and food service, such as cashier and waiter. But connected youth were more likely to have held a job in the higher-paying management, business, science, and arts category than disconnected youth, 18 percent versus 8 percent. Such jobs are more likely to be the first rung on a professional ladder.

Living arrangements. Disconnected youth ages 16–17 are nearly three times as likely as connected youth to be living apart from both parents, 22.7 percent versus 8.3 percent, and twenty times as likely to be living in an institution of some kind. Ninety-two percent of connected teens in this age group live with either both parents (six in ten) or one parent (three in ten). Living apart from family at this age may indicate adverse childhood experiences that caused trauma, and lacking parental guidance in the transition to adulthood poses significant challenges.

Institutional group quarters

non-household living arrangements that include such places as prisons, detention centers, jails, group homes, residential treatment centers, and psychiatric hospitals

YOUTH DISCONNECTION BY GENDER AND BY RACE AND ETHNICITY

Although national youth disconnection rates have been on the decline over the last seven years, the gaps between racial and ethnic groups remain large. While just one in fifteen Asian young people are disconnected, nearly one in four Native American youth and over one in five black youth are neither in school nor working. Considering race and ethnicity as well as the differences between young women and men shows how different population groups face distinct challenges that require tailored responses.

Overall, boys and young men are slightly more likely to be disconnected than girls and young women, 11.8 percent as compared to 11.1 percent. But this ranking varies by race; among Asian, Latino, and Native American youth, young women have a slightly higher disconnection rate, whereas for black and white youth, young men do. The size of the gender gap also varies; it is largest for black young people.

FIGURE 5 **Youth Disconnection by Race and Ethnicity**

ASIAN	WHITE	US TOTAL	LATINO	BLACK	NATIVE AMERICAN
6.6%	9.4%	11.5%	13.2%	17.9%	23.9%
145,600	1,961,700	4,501,800	1,157,300	999,700	67,700
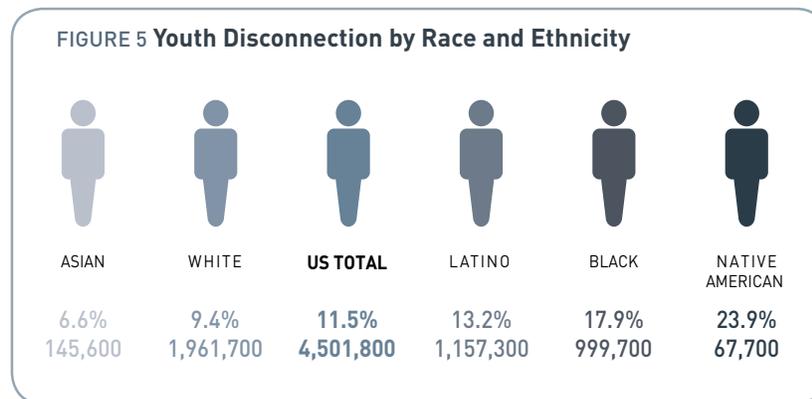
The **Asian American** youth disconnection rate is **6.6 percent**. Unchanged from 2016, the 2017 Asian American rate is the lowest among the five major racial and ethnic groups in the United States. This rate translates to 145,600 young people.

For those Asian young people who are disconnected, language barriers may well be one cause; three in ten disconnected Asian young women and one in four disconnected Asian young men report speaking English "less than well." Citizenship may be another; 42 percent of disconnected Asian young women are not citizens.

Asian Americans are a diverse group, however; see **FIGURE 7** for a breakdown of Asian subgroups. The Indian, Chinese, and Pakistani disconnection rates have steadily declined since 2015, when we first started calculating rates for Asian subgroups, but rates for other groups
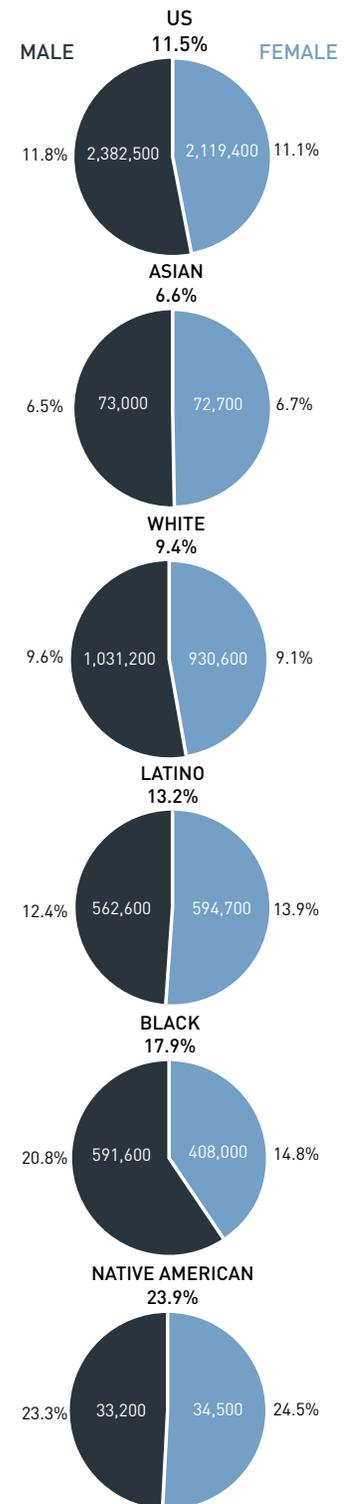
Source: Measure of America calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2017.

have fluctuated. Hmong young people consistently have the highest youth disconnection rate among Asian subgroups and are the only one to have a disconnection rate higher than the national average. Indian and Filipino women have higher disconnection rates than their male counterparts. Nearly two in every three disconnected Indian young women between the ages of 18 and 24 are married, three times the rate for disconnected young women overall, and 58.8 percent are not citizens, the highest rate for any race/gender combination.

The **white** youth disconnection rate is **9.4 percent**, down slightly from the 2016 rate. Whites make up the largest share of the US population and thus not surprisingly also the largest share of the country's 4.5 million disconnected youth: **1,961,700** young people.

White women have a lower disconnection rate than their male counterparts, 9.1 as compared to 9.6. One in four disconnected white women is a mother, compared to one in twenty connected white women, the largest motherhood gap among the racial and ethnic groups.

White disconnected men have the highest disability rate of any race/gender combination, 23 percent. Why this is so is discussed on page 4.

Latinos fall in the middle of the group, with a rate of **13.2 percent**, or **1,157,300** young people. Latino young people have far outpaced other groups when it comes to increased connection; the Latino disconnection rate fell 28.7 percent between 2010 and 2017, compared to the fall of 22.1 percent for the country as a whole.

FIGURE 6 Youth Disconnection by Asian Subgroup and Gender
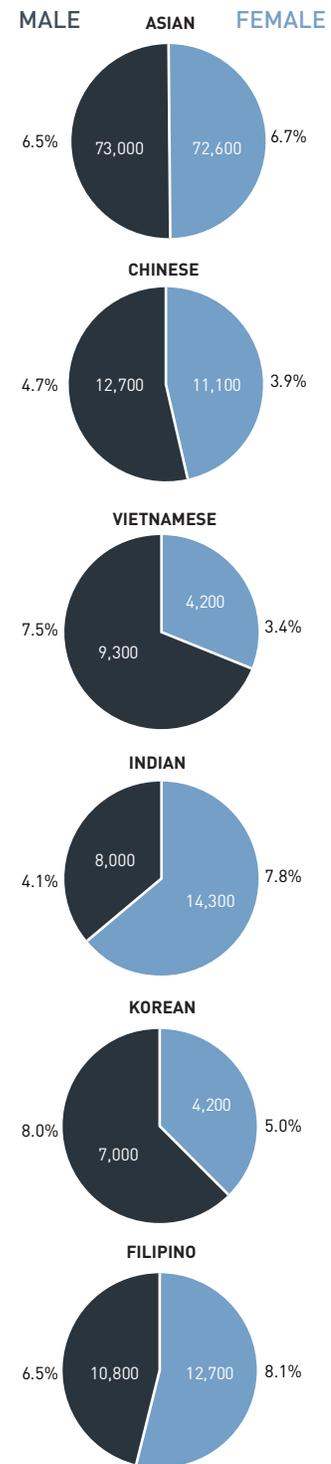
FIGURE 7 Youth Disconnection by Asian Subgroup
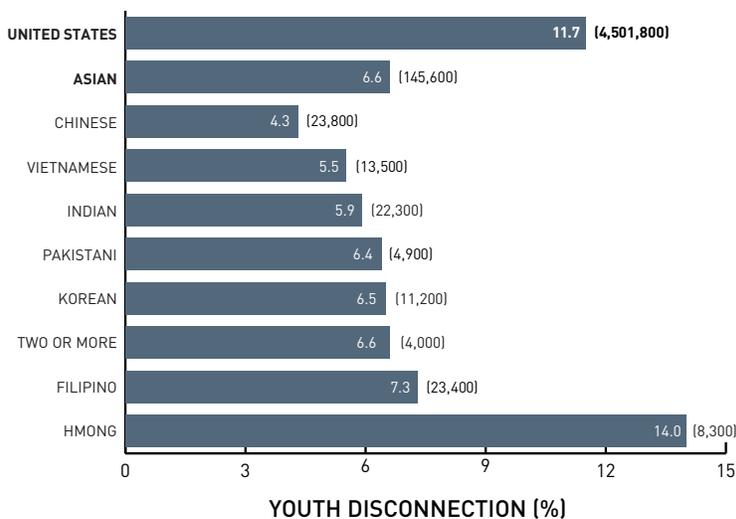
Source: Measure of America calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2017.

Latina women (13.9 percent) are more likely to be disconnected than their male counterparts (12.4 percent); however, they are on the move, with a 31.5 percent drop in disconnection since 2010, the fastest rate of change for any race/gender combination. Three in ten disconnected Latina women are mothers, a higher proportion than that of any other group. Language barriers also disproportionately affect disconnected Latina young women; 22.6 percent report speaking English "less than well."

Among Latino subgroups, only South Americans have a disconnection rate below the national average. Mexican and Central American women have higher disconnection rates than their male counterparts.

Nearly one in five black youth experience disconnection, **17.9 percent**. This rate translates to **999,700** black young people who are neither in school nor working. The 2017 rate is higher than the 2016 rate, 17.1 percent, a concerning development after six years of decline.

Black young men have a much higher disconnection rate than black young women, 20.8 percent as compared to 14.8. Employment discrimination against black men, a well-documented phenomenon,[10] contributes to this disparity, as does disproportionately being at the receiving end of harsh school discipline.[11] An astonishing 18.9 percent of disconnected black boys and young men are institutionalized, nearly three times the rate for disconnected white boys and men; the majority of those institutionalized are in juvenile detention, jail, or prison—a fact that will create barriers to employment in the future. Another distressing finding is the high share of disconnected black boys ages 16 and 17 who are not living with either of their parents: 36.2 percent. The rate for all disconnected youth is 22.7 percent. Separation from one's parents can be both a traumatic event

FIGURE 9 Youth Disconnection by Latino Subgroup

	Youth Disconnection (%)	
UNITED STATES	11.5	(4,501,800)
LATINO	13.2	(1,157,300)
SOUTH AMERICAN	8.4	(37,600)
CENTRAL AMERICAN	12.0	(93,000)
MEXICAN	13.3	(762,400)
OTHER LATINO	13.6	(44,800)
PUERTO RICAN, DOMINICAN, CUBAN	15.1	(211,200)

YOUTH DISCONNECTION (%)

FIGURE 8 Youth Disconnection by Latino Subgroup and Gender
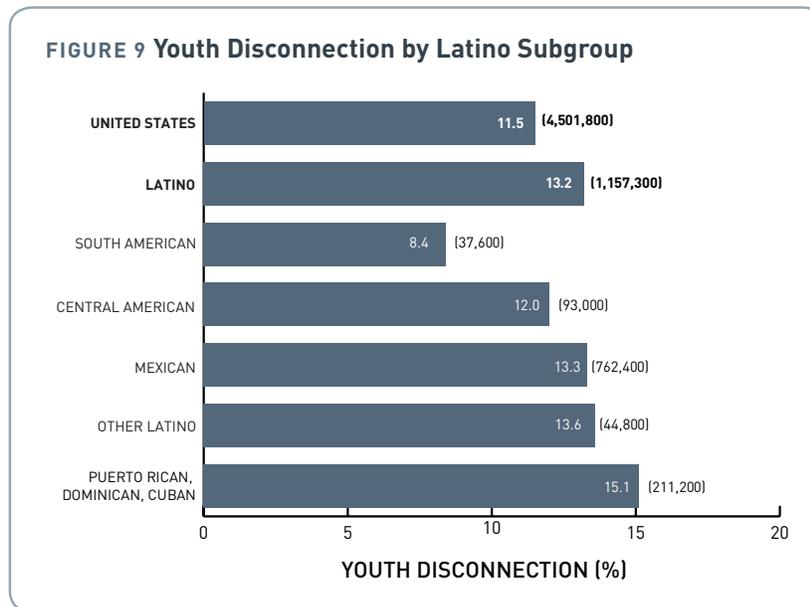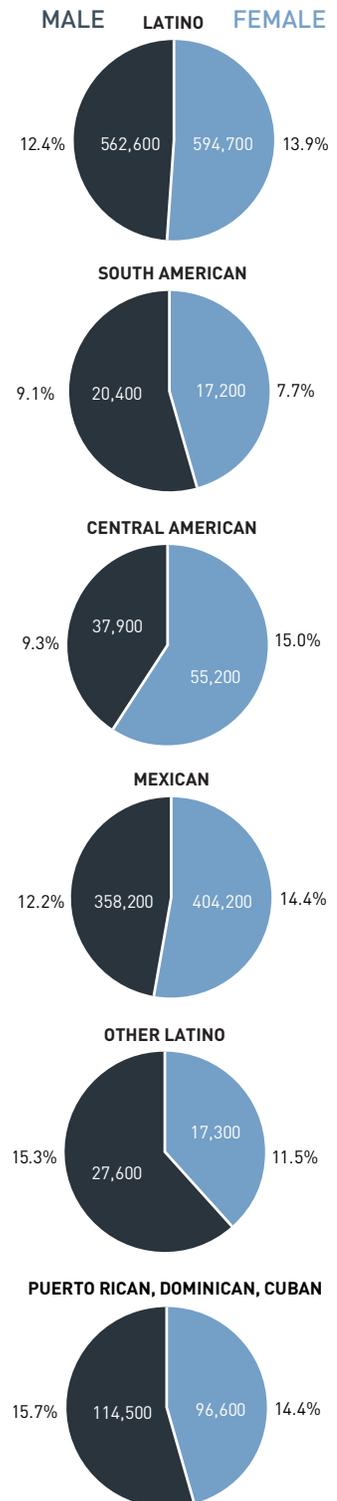
MALE   LATINO   FEMALE

12.4%   562,600   594,700   13.9%

SOUTH AMERICAN
9.1%   20,400   17,200   7.7%

CENTRAL AMERICAN
9.3%   37,900   55,200   15.0%

MEXICAN
12.2%   358,200   404,200   14.4%

OTHER LATINO
15.3%   27,600   17,300   11.5%

PUERTO RICAN, DOMINICAN, CUBAN
15.7%   114,500   96,600   14.4%

Source: Measure of America calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2017.

in and of itself and an indication of adverse childhood experiences in the past, speaking to the need for trauma-informed programming.

Disconnected black young women are more likely to live in a poor household than any other race/gender combination save Native American youth; 45.7 percent do, compared to 37.6 percent of disconnected black young men. Close to three in ten are mothers (28.3 percent), compared to 9.7 percent of connected black young women. Black young women are much more likely to live with one or both parents than black young men; 81 percent do.

FIGURE 10 Youth Disconnection by Race Over Time

YOUTH DISCONNECTION (%)

NATIVE AMERICAN
BLACK
LATINO
WHITE
ASIAN

2008 2010 2012 2014 2015 2016 2017

Source: Measure of America calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, 1-year estimates.
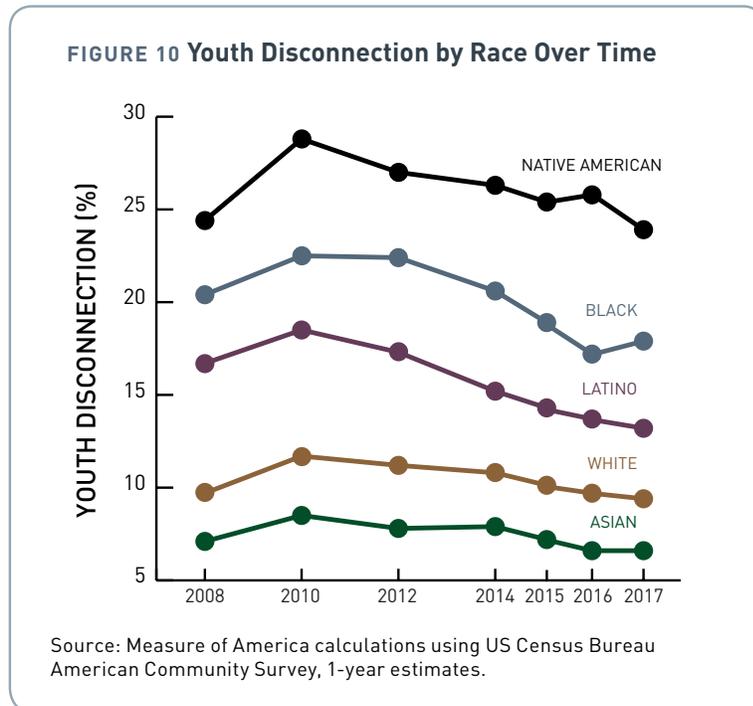
Native American teens and young adults have the highest rate of disconnection, **23.9 percent**, close to one in four. Because the Native American population is the smallest of the five major American racial and ethnic groups, the actual number of disconnected youth is likewise the smallest, some **67,700** young people.

Native American women have the highest disconnection rate of any race/gender combination, 24.5 percent. Three in ten are mothers, and 45.8 percent live in poverty. They are much less likely to have dropped out of high school than their male counterparts (24.3 percent vs. 35.2 percent), and among all groups of disconnected youth, Native American women are the most likely to have a high school diploma as their highest degree; 57.2 percent of 19- to 24-year-olds have completed high school but not continued their educations. These numbers suggest that finishing high school is less of a challenge than continuing on to college or finding employment for this group of young adults. Native American men who are disconnected, on the other hand, are the most likely of all race/gender combinations to have dropped out of high school, 35.2 percent. This sharp gender divide in high school completion calls out for more research.

YOUTH DISCONNECTION BY PLACE

Regions

Disconnection continues to be a particular challenge in the South. The East South Central area, which includes Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, has the highest disconnection rate overall, 14.2 percent, and the West South Central area, which includes Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas, has the second highest, 13.7 percent. The other southern subdivision, the South Atlantic, which hugs the coast from Delaware to Florida and also includes West Virginia, has a rate above the national average, 11.8 percent. Northern regions fare better, particularly New England (8.3 percent) and the West North Central region (the Dakotas, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, and Nebraska, 8.6 percent).

We calculated regional disconnection rates for the three largest racial and ethnic groups: black, Latino, and white young people. For black young people, the East North Central region—Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin—is home to the highest rate of disconnection, 20.5 percent. New England has the lowest, 11.9 percent. Region seems to be exerting a greater influence on disconnection for black youth than for white or Latino youth.

For Latino young people, the highest rate is found in the West South Central region (14.3 percent), the lowest in the West North Central region (10.4 percent). The high-to-low range is much smaller for Latino young people than for white or black young people, just 3.9 percentage points.

For white young people, the highest rate is in the East South Central region, 12.2 percent, and the lowest in New England, 7.0 percent.

FIGURE 11 Youth Disconnection by Region
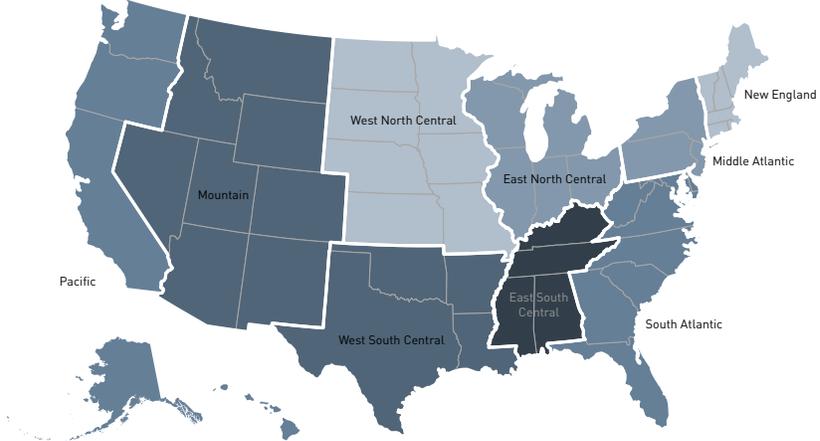
REGION	OVERALL	MALE	FEMALE	WHITE	LATINO	BLACK
United States	**11.5**	**11.8**	**11.1**	**9.4**	**13.2**	**17.9**
New England	8.3	9.8	6.6	7.0	14.2	11.9
West North Central	8.6	8.6	8.6	7.3	10.4	15.9
East North Central	10.6	11.2	10.0	8.6	11.3	20.5
Middle Atlantic	11.1	12.0	10.2	8.7	14.2	18.3
Pacific	11.2	11.3	11.2	9.6	13.0	17.4
South Atlantic	11.8	12.2	11.3	9.9	12.0	16.3
Mountain	11.8	11.5	12.1	9.7	13.3	17.9
West South Central	13.7	13.6	13.8	11.4	14.3	19.2
East South Central	14.2	15.1	13.3	12.2	14.0	19.8

Source: Measure of America calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2017.

FIGURE 12 **Youth Disconnection by State**

6.2%   9.0%   10.6%   11.8%   13.6%   17.0%
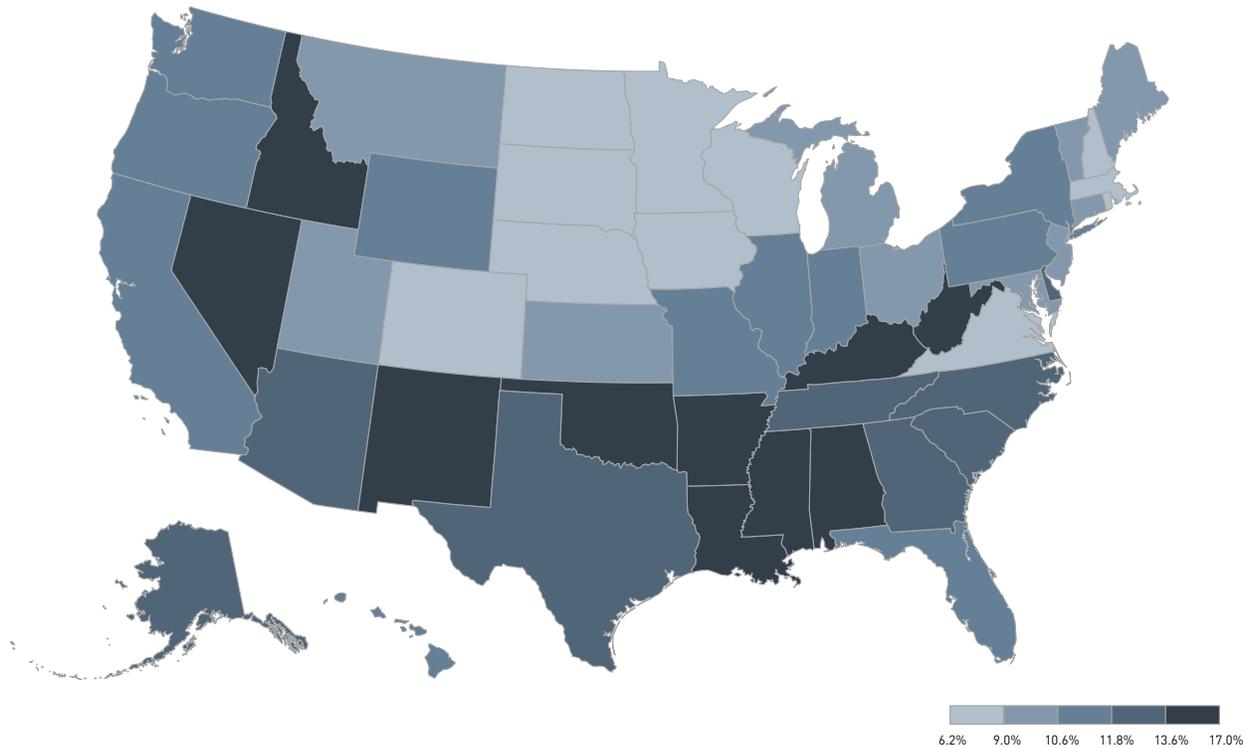
States

The phrase "educate, medicate, and incarcerate" sums up three areas over which states exercise an outsized role: education and health care are two of the largest expenditures in most state budgets, and the majority of US prisoners are held in state prisons,[12] rather than local jails or federal prisons. Given that these three areas of policy, service delivery, and governmental expenditure are particularly consequential for disconnected young people, policy changes at the state level arguably offer particular promise for creating change at scale.

Minnesota has the lowest rate of youth disconnection (6.2 percent), followed by Iowa (7.0 percent) and Massachusetts (7.1 percent). West Virginia has the highest rate (17.0 percent), followed by New Mexico (16.5 percent) and Mississippi (16.4 percent).

Young men are most likely to be disconnected in West Virginia (18.8 percent), Louisiana (17.4 percent), and Mississippi (17.4 percent) and least likely to be disconnected in Minnesota (6.7 percent), South Dakota (7.2 percent), and Iowa (7.8 percent). For young women, the highest rates are found in New Mexico (16.7 percent), Nevada (15.9 percent), and Mississippi (15.3 percent), the lowest in Minnesota (5.6), New Hampshire (5.7 percent), and Massachusetts (6.0 percent). Minnesota girls and young women are the least likely to be disconnected of any gender/state combination.

Disconnection rates for black young people are astonishingly high in Nevada (26.6 percent), Wisconsin (26.0 percent), and Arkansas (24.5 percent). The stark racial disparities in disconnection in these states are reflected in the rates for the large metro areas within them; greater Las Vegas, Milwaukee, and Little Rock have higher black disconnection rates than any other large metro areas. Black young people are the least likely to be disconnected in Massachusetts (8.7 percent), Minnesota (9.8 percent), and Virginia (13.5 percent).

For Latino youth, Alabama (23.6 percent), Connecticut (18.1 percent), and Pennsylvania (16.8 percent) are home to the highest rates, while Michigan (8.1 percent), Maryland (8.9 percent), and Tennessee (9.4 percent) have the lowest rates. Connecticut, a state that scores third in the nation on Measure of America's well-being index (the American Human Development Index), consistently has high rates of disconnection for Latino young people and comparatively low rates for white youth. This disparity between Latino and white youth is also reflected in the metro area disconnection ranking; greater Hartford has the highest Latino disconnection rate among the country's ninety-eight largest metro areas. Connecticut is one of the country's richest states, making the struggles of Latino young people there all the more striking.

TABLE 13 **Youth Disconnection by State**

RANK	STATE	YOUTH DISCONNECTION (%)	YOUTH DISCONNECTION (#)	RANK	STATE	YOUTH DISCONNECTION (%)	YOUTH DISCONNECTION (#)
	United States	11.5	4,501,800				
1	Minnesota	6.2	40,300	27	California	11.3	544,900
2	Iowa	7.0	28,500	28	Illinois	11.3	174,600
3	Massachusetts	7.1	61,300	29	Oregon	11.6	54,500
4	North Dakota	7.1	7,300	30	Florida	11.7	264,400
5	New Hampshire	7.4	11,800	31	Indiana	11.7	97,600
6	Rhode Island	8.4	11,900	32	Pennsylvania	11.7	174,900
7	Nebraska	8.8	20,900	33	District of Columbia	11.9	10,200
8	Colorado	8.8	58,700	34	North Carolina	12.0	150,800
9	South Dakota	8.8	9,300	35	Delaware	12.1	13,100
10	Wisconsin	8.9	62,500	36	South Carolina	12.3	75,100
11	Virginia	8.9	92,400	37	Tennessee	12.6	99,400
12	Utah	9.6	43,600	38	Arizona	12.6	108,500
13	Vermont	9.7	7,700	39	Alaska	13.1	11,600
14	Maine	9.7	13,600	40	Texas	13.1	475,400
15	New Jersey	9.9	101,500	41	Georgia	13.5	176,600
16	Kansas	10.1	38,600	42	Kentucky	13.6	72,800
17	Michigan	10.1	124,600	43	Oklahoma	13.6	65,900
18	Connecticut	10.2	44,500	44	Idaho	13.6	29,200
19	Montana	10.4	12,800	45	Nevada	14.8	48,200
20	Ohio	10.5	145,900	46	Arkansas	15.1	55,600
21	Maryland	10.5	72,200	47	Alabama	15.6	92,800
22	Washington	10.7	88,400	48	Louisiana	16.2	94,600
23	Wyoming	10.7	7,200	49	Mississippi	16.4	64,700
24	Missouri	10.9	80,000	50	New Mexico	16.5	43,000
25	Hawaii	11.1	17,100	51	West Virginia	17.0	35,000
26	New York	11.2	265,800				

West Virginia (16.6 percent), New Mexico (14.4 percent), and Nevada (14.2 percent) are home to the highest rates of disconnection for white young people. West Virginia has held this unenviable top spot for three years running. Rates for white young people are lowest in Minnesota (4.8 percent), Massachusetts (5.8 percent), and Iowa (5.9 percent).

In terms of change over time, Idaho experienced the largest increase in the share of disconnected young people between 2016 and 2017, nearly 25 percent. The state's 2017 rate of 13.6 percent is almost as high as its 2014 peak of 14.0 percent. Alaska saw the largest drop in its disconnection rate, a decrease of 27 percent; the 2017 rate, 13.1 percent, is still above the national average, but nonetheless represents encouraging progress.

FIGURE 14 **Black Youth Disconnection Rate Varies Most by State**

Source: Measure of America calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2017.
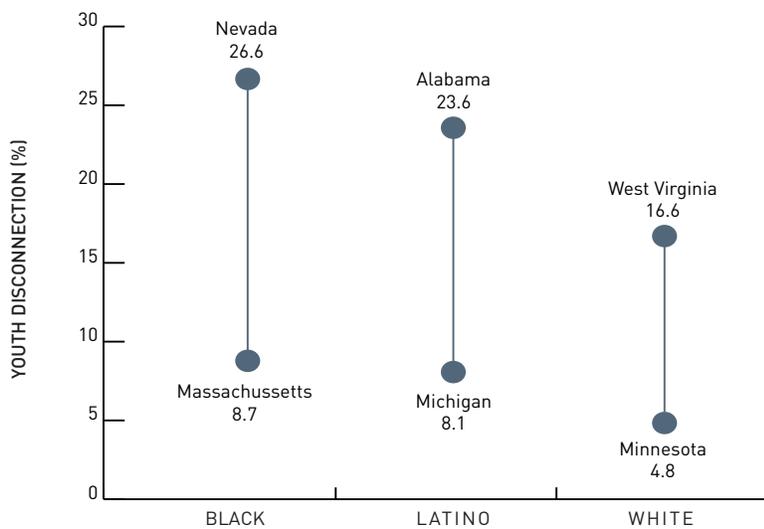
> Policy changes at the state level offer particular promise for creating change at scale.

Metro Areas

A metropolitan area is a central city and its surrounding towns, suburbs, and exurbs; places within metro areas are bound together by strong economic, social, and environmental ties, even when they cross state lines. Because labor markets and higher education and transportation systems are typically regional in nature, rather than being aligned to state or county boundaries, metro areas are a useful unit of analysis for understanding youth disconnection rates.

Metro area youth disconnection rates range from just 5.6 percent in greater Grand Rapids, Michigan, to 18.0 percent in the Memphis metro area, which includes parts of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Arkansas. In addition to Grand Rapids, the metro areas with the lowest disconnection rates include Minneapolis–St. Paul–Bloomington, MN-WI (5.9 percent); Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH (6.1 percent); Durham–Chapel Hill, NC (6.4 percent); and San Jose–Sunnyvale–Santa Clara, CA (6.5 percent). The areas with the highest rates, in addition to Memphis, are

Stockton-Lodi, CA (18.0 percent); Augusta–Richmond County, GA-SC (17.6 percent); Bakersfield, CA (17.3 percent); and Lakeland–Winter Haven, FL (17.1 percent).

Metro areas that rank "best" or "worst" overall are not necessarily best or worst for all racial and ethnic groups or for men and women. For instance, for men, Provo-Orem, UT, is among the five best-performing metros, with a disconnection rate of 6.7 percent, and Little Rock–North Little Rock–Conway, AR, is among the worst-performing metros, with a rate of 18.7 percent, even though neither of these places is in the top or bottom five for all young people. Similarly, for young women, greater Boston and the Twin Cities remain among the five best-performing metro areas, but the next three are Des Moines–West Des Moines, IA; Providence-Warwick, RI-MA; and New Haven–Milford, CT. McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX (17.7 percent); Fresno, CA (17.3 percent); and Chattanooga, TN-GA (16.2 percent), are among the worst performers for girls and women. The rate for Boston girls and women is the best of any metro/gender or metro/race combination, 4.6 percent, and Boston is the only metro area to be among the top five for black, Latino, and white young people (unfortunately, the metro area estimates are not reliable for Asian or Native American young people).

One of the cities where black youth fare best is Minneapolis–St. Paul–Bloomington, MN-WI, where their disconnection rate is 8.72 percent, well below the national rate. They are most likely to be disconnected in greater Augusta (30.4 percent); greater Milwaukee (28.0 percent), which is also among the country's most segregated metro areas; greater Little Rock (27.1 percent); and greater Las Vegas (26.8 percent). The alarming black disconnection rates in these four metro areas are the highest for any metro/race combination.

Greater San Diego, Boston, and Orlando have the lowest Latino disconnection rates, ranging from 9.3 percent to 9.5 percent. The area in and around Hartford, CT, has the highest rate of Latino youth disconnection, 22.9 percent. The white rate in Hartford, 7.3 percent, is one-third the Latino rate.

The metro area with the largest racial or ethnic gap is Louisville, KY-IN, where the black-white gap is 17.6 percentage points.

Youth disconnection rates in America's nearly one hundred most populous metro areas range from 5.6 percent in greater Grand Rapids, Michigan, to 18.0 percent in the Memphis metro area.

TABLE 15 Youth Disconnection in America's Most Populous Metro Areas

RANK	METRO AREA	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24)	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (# ages 16–24)	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24) MALE	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24) FEMALE	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24) BLACKS	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24) LATINOS	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24) WHITES
	United States	11.5	4,501,800	11.8	11.1	17.9	13.2	9.4
1	Grand Rapids–Wyoming, MI	5.6	7,000	7.3				
2	Minneapolis–St. Paul–Bloomington, MN–WI	5.9	26,000	6.8	5.0	8.7		4.7
3	Boston–Cambridge–Newton, MA–NH	6.1	37,200	7.5	4.6	9.1	9.5	5.1
4	Durham–Chapel Hill, NC	6.4	5,000					
5	San Jose–Sunnyvale–Santa Clara, CA	6.5	13,700	5.9	7.1		12.1	
6	Dayton, OH	6.6	6,600					6.5
7	Provo–Orem, UT	7.7	9,300	6.7	8.8			6.9
8	Denver–Aurora–Lakewood, CO	7.8	24,400	7.8	7.7		11.5	5.5
9	Des Moines–West Des Moines, IA	7.9	7,400					
10	Austin–Round Rock, TX	8.2	21,700	8.4	7.9		9.9	5.3
11	Bridgeport–Stamford–Norwalk, CT	8.6	9,500	9.2			14.8	
12	San Diego–Carlsbad, CA	8.6	36,900	8.5	8.8		9.3	7.3
13	Rochester, NY	8.6	12,100	9.9	7.4			6.7
14	Urban Honolulu, HI	8.7	9,900	7.7	10.0			
15	Buffalo–Cheektowaga–Niagara Falls, NY	8.7	11,500	9.2	8.3			7.4
16	Greenville–Anderson–Mauldin, SC	8.8	10,500		9.4			
17	Providence–Warwick, RI–MA	8.9	18,400	11.3	6.3		12.5	7.0
18	Salt Lake City, UT	8.9	14,100	8.0	9.7		12.5	7.1
19	Raleigh, NC	8.9	14,400	8.6	9.2			5.9
20	Cincinnati, OH–KY–IN	9.0	24,000	9.2	8.7	10.5		8.6
21	San Francisco–Oakland–Hayward, CA	9.0	42,600	9.8	8.1	20.8	9.5	7.7
22	Washington–Arlington–Alexandria, DC–VA–MD–WV	9.1	63,900	9.7	8.6	13.6	10.5	6.9
23	Harrisburg–Carlisle, PA	9.2	6,000					
24	Nashville–Davidson–Murfreesboro–Franklin, TN	9.3	22,200	10.5	8.1			9.2
25	Albany–Schenectady–Troy, NY	9.5	11,200	11.0				8.0
26	Kansas City, MO–KS	9.6	25,100	8.3	10.9	16.5		8.9
27	Omaha–Council Bluffs, NE–IA	9.7	11,500	10.5	8.9			7.4
28	Orlando–Kissimmee–Sanford, FL	9.7	30,100	10.2	9.3	12.2	9.5	8.2
29	Syracuse, NY	9.8	9,300	11.9	7.8			8.9
30	Toledo, OH	9.8	8,400	10.3				5.8
31	Worcester, MA–CT	9.9	11,500	8.8	11.0			8.7
32	Portland–Vancouver–Hillsboro, OR–WA	10.0	27,700	9.0	11.0		14.9	9.2
33	Ogden–Clearfield, UT	10.1	7,800		10.4			7.7
34	Seattle–Tacoma–Bellevue, WA	10.1	41,400	9.1	11.1		14.5	9.5
35	Columbus, OH	10.1	23,900	11.6	8.5	17.1		8.5
36	Charleston–North Charleston, SC	10.2	8,900	13.2				
37	Virginia Beach–Norfolk–Newport News, VA–NC	10.2	24,400	9.1	11.4	16.2		6.8
38	Akron, OH	10.2	9,300					8.8
39	Pittsburgh, PA	10.3	25,500	11.8	8.8			9.2
40	Allentown–Bethlehem–Easton, PA–NJ	10.3	10,300					9.4
41	Colorado Springs, CO	10.4	10,100	9.2	11.8			10.7
42	New Haven–Milford, CT	10.4	11,500	14.4	6.4			5.6
43	Los Angeles–Long Beach–Anaheim, CA	10.5	170,300	11.4	9.6	16.4	12.1	8.1
44	Jacksonville, FL	10.6	17,800	12.3	8.8	16.9		8.5
45	Hartford–West Hartford–East Hartford, CT	10.7	16,500	13.2	8.2		22.9	7.3
46	New York–Newark–Jersey City, NY–NJ–PA	10.8	248,500	11.5	10.0	16.7	13.3	7.5
47	Richmond, VA	10.8	16,000	10.7	10.9	11.8		10.5
48	Oxnard–Thousand Oaks–Ventura, CA	10.9	11,300	10.5	11.3		13.4	
49	Boise City, ID	10.9	9,400	12.1				10.4

RANK	METRO AREA	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24)	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (# ages 16–24)	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24)		DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24)		
				MALE	FEMALE	BLACKS	LATINOS	WHITES
50	St. Louis, MO–IL	11.0	36,500	12.2	9.8	19.9		8.9
51	Cleveland–Elyria, OH	11.0	25,800	11.2	10.9	20.1		7.6
52	Detroit–Warren–Dearborn, MI	11.1	52,400	11.5	10.6	18.8		7.6
53	Baltimore–Columbia–Towson, MD	11.2	36,500	11.8	10.4	16.2		8.9
54	Scranton–Wilkes-Barre–Hazleton, PA	11.2	6,400					8.5
55	Knoxville, TN	11.3	13,400	10.3	12.2			11.2
56	Springfield, MA	11.3	8,800					
57	Milwaukee–Waukesha–West Allis, WI	11.3	20,900	12.1	10.6	28.0		
58	Dallas–Fort Worth–Arlington, TX	11.4	105,000	10.4	12.4	15.7	13.3	8.7
59	Miami–Fort Lauderdale–West Palm Beach, FL	11.4	72,900	11.8	10.9	14.3	11.5	8.8
60	Tampa–St. Petersburg–Clearwater, FL	11.4	36,000	12.0	10.7	13.4	13.0	10.5
61	North Port–Sarasota–Bradenton, FL	11.4	7,700		13.0			
62	Chicago–Naperville–Elgin, IL–IN–WI	11.5	131,400	12.2	10.9	24.3	11.5	7.1
63	Spokane–Spokane Valley, WA	11.6	8,300	10.6	12.7			9.9
64	Atlanta–Sandy Springs–Roswell, GA	11.7	83,700	11.5	11.8	15.0	11.6	9.6
65	Cape Coral–Fort Myers, FL	11.7	7,900	12.3	11.1			11.0
66	Sacramento–Roseville–Arden–Arcade, CA	11.8	32,700	11.6	11.9		10.2	12.6
67	Oklahoma City, OK	11.8	21,700	12.5	11.0			10.7
68	Baton Rouge, LA	11.9	14,500	12.1	11.6	18.1		
69	Phoenix–Mesa–Scottsdale, AZ	11.9	67,100	12.6	11.1	15.6	12.9	10.0
70	Wichita, KS	11.9	10,200	12.9	10.8			12.2
71	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY–IN	12.0	16,800	13.5	10.5	26.1		8.5
72	Charlotte–Concord–Gastonia, NC–SC	12.1	35,800	12.2	12.0	17.6		8.3
73	Jackson, MS	12.1	9,600	13.1		13.5		
74	El Paso, TX	12.3	14,800	11.0	13.7		11.7	
75	Winston–Salem, NC	12.3	9,300	14.6				12.6
76	Philadelphia–Camden–Wilmington, PA–NJ–DE–MD	12.4	88,600	14.0	10.8	22.6	18.3	7.2
77	Indianapolis–Carmel–Anderson, IN	12.4	28,000	11.3	13.5	19.3		10.4
78	Deltona–Daytona Beach–Ormond Beach, FL	12.5	7,900					
79	Columbia, SC	12.7	14,800	13.3	12.1	20.1		7.3
80	Houston–The Woodlands–Sugar Land, TX	13.2	110,800	12.4	14.0	15.8	13.6	12.1
81	Tucson, AZ	13.2	19,400	13.0	13.3		13.7	12.1
82	Greensboro–High Point, NC	13.3	13,300	14.7	11.9			16.3
83	San Antonio–New Braunfels, TX	13.5	43,900	12.7	14.3	19.9	13.8	10.9
84	Birmingham–Hoover, AL	13.7	18,800	15.8	11.6	14.1		13.6
85	Tulsa, OK	13.8	13,100	11.3	16.2			10.8
86	Albuquerque, NM	13.9	14,700	16.3	11.4		12.9	11.5
87	Chattanooga, TN–GA	14.5	10,700	12.7	16.2			14.1
88	Riverside–San Bernardino–Ontario, CA	14.7	88,600	13.8	15.6	20.5	15.4	12.4
89	New Orleans–Metairie, LA	15.3	21,000	17.2	13.3	21.5		9.3
90	Las Vegas–Henderson–Paradise, NV	15.4	36,900	15.0	15.8	26.8	14.6	14.5
91	Little Rock–North Little Rock–Conway, AR	16.5	14,400	18.7	14.1	27.1		12.4
92	Fresno, CA	16.8	21,500	16.4	17.3		18.8	12.3
93	McAllen–Edinburg–Mission, TX	16.9	21,300	16.1	17.7		17.4	
94	Lakeland–Winter Haven, FL	17.1	12,600	15.5	18.7			14.2
95	Bakersfield, CA	17.3	20,800	19.4	15.1		19.4	13.5
96	Augusta–Richmond County, GA–SC	17.6	15,000	18.0		30.4		
97	Stockton–Lodi, CA	18.0	16,900	19.7	16.2		17.4	
98	Memphis, TN–MS–AR	18.0	35,400	20.3	15.6	23.4		11.6

YOUTH DISCONNECTION AND TRANSPORTATION

Those who work regularly on the ground with disconnected youth often point to physical access to school or jobs as a significant barrier for young people in high-disconnection neighborhoods.[13,14] For young people without affordable, accessible transportation options, the distance between home and high-performing schools, career and technical education programs, job training centers, and workplaces can raise high hurdles to connection.

Today's built environment affects the real opportunities young people have to transition successfully into adulthood, and the history of redlining, residential segregation, and disinvestment in central cities is etched in the current patterns of youth disconnection by place and by race.[15] A large body of research points to the importance of place in a child's future prospects. Researchers have found a relationship between neighborhood and social mobility; the neighborhood a child grows up in affects life outcomes, particularly for boys, and neighborhoods that improve prospects for a child tend to be less segregated, have lower levels of inequality, less crime, better schools, and larger shares of two-parent households.[16,17] Urban sprawl has also been identified as one of the built-environment characteristics that contribute to less upward social mobility in neighborhoods, partly due to job accessibility.[18] When affordable housing is far away from job openings, the resulting "spatial mismatch" is particularly troublesome for young people; a recent study finds that youth unemployment is lower in cities with better public transportation, and that cities that improve public transit systems see greater reductions in youth unemployment even after accounting for economic growth, population density, and demographic change.[19] An Urban Institute analysis of the job-search platform Snag in sixteen metro areas finds evidence of such a spatial mismatch of jobs and job-seekers among hourly wage workers.[20]

Transportation also affects educational opportunity. The Center for Cities+Schools points out that neighborhoods at the "housing/transportation/school" nexus are rare, meaning it is often difficult for families to "afford a suitable home in a transit-rich neighborhood with good schools."[21] An Urban Institute analysis of student commutes in Denver, Detroit, New Orleans, New York City, and Washington, DC—all cities with school-choice policies—finds that "black students travel farther than white or Hispanic students."[22] This matters, the study points out, because longs commutes affect punctuality, absenteeism, and participation in before- and after-school activities.[23] Black students may commute farther because of concerns about the quality of schools in their neighborhoods. Somewhat counterintuitively, this study also finds that students who are not low-income travel slightly farther than those who are low-income. This may have to do with having access to a car, something the report notes "can significantly increase the number of schools available to a family." There is evidence that parents weigh commute time, along with school

For young people without affordable, accessible transportation options, the distance between home and high-performing schools, career and technical education programs, job training centers, and workplaces can raise high hurdles to connection.

quality and demographics, when choosing a school for their children.[24] This has implications for how effective school-choice policies are in their goal of breaking the neighborhood–educational outcomes link. In New York City, for instance, where all students participate in a citywide high school choice program, the historical link between a concentration of poor residents and poor-quality public services often means that schools close to the homes of low-income high schoolers are more likely to be struggling than those in affluent (but often faraway) neighborhoods. And indeed, research, including that of Measure of America, has shown little attenuation of this pernicious link.[25]

## A Closer Look at Transportation in Washington, DC, and Chicago

A closer look at commuting in two cities, Washington, DC, and Chicago, illustrates the challenges disconnected youth face in accessing resources outside their neighborhoods.

Two Washington, DC, areas have very low rates of youth disconnection—West DC, which includes Chevy Chase and Georgetown, and Central DC, which extends across the city from the edge of Georgetown to Union Station and from Adams Morgan to the Navy Yard. North DC has a moderate youth disconnection rate, 10.5 percent. Northeast DC, which extends from Capitol Hill to Michigan Park, has a high rate, 20.1 percent, and East DC, the portion of the city on the east side of the Anacostia River, has an extremely high rate, 32.6 percent.

The time it takes workers who reside in each of these areas to commute aligns closely with the youth disconnection rate. In Central and West DC, commuters spend an average of twenty-six and twenty-eight minutes, respectively, commuting each way. In contrast, commuters in East DC spend thirty-six minutes on average traveling to work. The percentage of commuters with very long commutes (an hour or more each way) also tracks closely with the youth disconnection rate. Only 5 percent of commuters in West and Central DC travel an hour or more, compared to 18 percent in East DC.[26]

Residential segregation by race and income is the backdrop for this story. In East DC, 93 percent of all youth and 96 percent of disconnected teens and young adults are black, and 31.4 percent of residents live below the poverty line, compared to 17.4 percent in the city overall.[27]

FIGURE 16 **Long Commutes and High Disconnection in East DC**
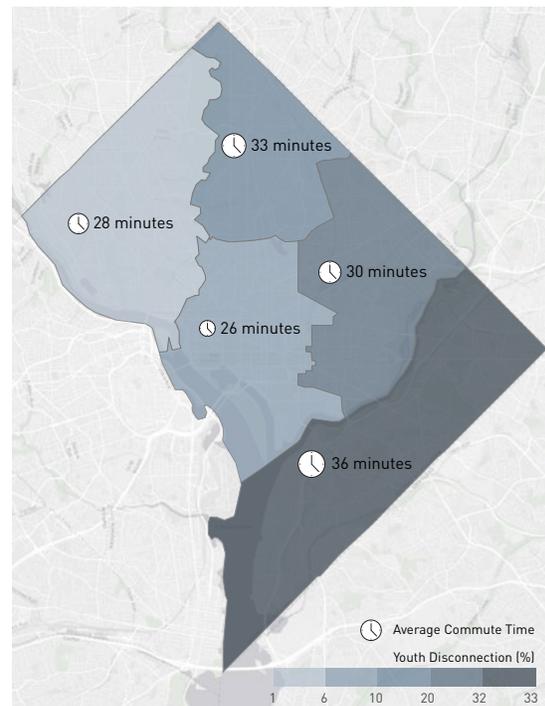
	YOUTH DISCONNECTION (%)		AVERAGE COMMUTE TIME (minutes)
West DC	1.1*		27.9
Central DC	6.0		26.4
North DC	10.5		32.8
Northeast DC	20.1		30.0
East DC	32.6		35.5

*Unreliable estimates

Sources: Disconnected youth: Measure of America calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, Public Use Microdata Sample, 2013-2017. Average commute time: US Census Bureau American Community Survey, Table DP03, 2013-2017.

In Chicago, the five areas with the highest youth disconnection rates, all above 20 percent, also have the highest rates of workers commuting an hour or more each way. On the opposite end of the spectrum, the areas with the lowest rates of disconnection are also those with the smallest share of workers spending an hour or more to get to work. The area with the highest disconnection rate doesn't have the highest percentage of workers commuting more than sixty minutes each way, most likely because it is less than five miles from downtown Chicago. Still, given its proximity to downtown, the 36.5-minute average commute time[28] suggests that this area, where 96 percent of teens and young adults are black or Latino, is poorly served by transportation. The Edgewater, Uptown & Rogers Park area has roughly the same average commute time despite being about twice as far from downtown Chicago. The three areas with the highest rates of workers commuting more than an hour each way are made up of contiguous neighborhoods on the South Side. Nearly all young people in these long-commute areas are either black or Latino, between 94 percent and 98 percent.

FIGURE 17 **Long Commutes Are Most Common in Neighborhoods with High Disconnection**

Lowest Share of Workers with Long Commutes	YOUTH DISCONNECTION (%)	COMMUTE 1HR+ EACH WAY (% of workers)
Central Chicago: Near North Side & Near South Side	2.7*	9.4
North Chicago: Lake View & Lincoln Park	3.4*	10.8
West Chicago: West Town, Near West Side & Lower West Side	8.0	11.1
Highest Share of Workers with Long Commutes		
West Chicago: Austin, Belmonth Cragin & Montclare	20.4	21.0
South Chicago: Auburn Gresham, Roseland, Chatham, Avalon Park & Burnside	23.8	25.2
South Chicago: South Chicago, Pullman, West Pullman, East Side & South Deering	24.4	25.3
South Chicago: Chicago Lawn, Englewood/ West Englewood & Greater Grand Crossing	27.2	24.3
West Chicago: North & South Lawndale, Humboldt Park, East & West Garfield Park	33.7	21.2

*Unreliable estimates

Lowest
and
Highest Share of Commuters Traveling 1hr+ Each Way

Youth Disconnection (%)

3   9   14   16   24   34

Sources: Disconnected youth: Measure of America calculations using US Census Bureau American Community Survey, Public Use Microdata Sample, 2013-2017. Commute an hour or more: US Census Bureau American Community Survey, Table B08012, 2013-2017.

BOX 18 Citi Bike and Disconnected Youth in NYC

Citi Bike Stations

Youth Disconnection (%)

4.0   10.0   12.3   14.0   16.0   28.0
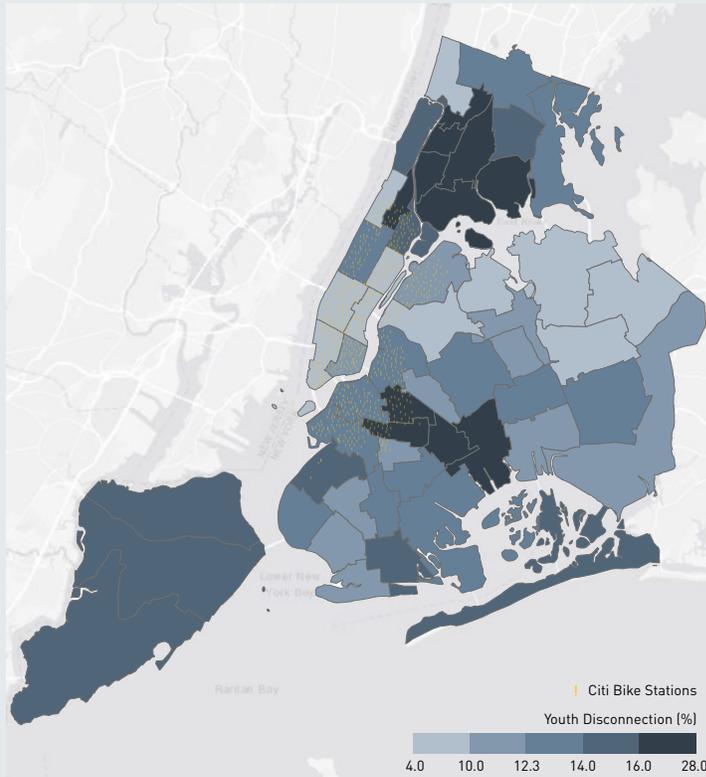
Bike shares have become increasingly popular over the last fifteen years. They have the potential to positively change the transportation landscape, providing a way to get from A to B in areas that lack public transit and for individuals who lack a car or a driver's license. For disconnected youth in New York City, access to Citi Bike would appear to be a welcome alternative in areas with limited subway stops and unreliable bus routes. In the US as a whole, the biggest group of people who bike or walk to work live in very poor households, and in low-income neighborhoods in Brooklyn, most bikers are people of color.[29] In addition, there are options for reduced membership rates for those who receive SNAP benefits and those who live in subsidized housing run by the New York City Housing Authority. How is it working out in practice? Using 2017 Citi Bike data, we analyzed where riders between the ages of 16 and 24 were initiating their bike rides; were young people in neighborhoods with high disconnection rates using Citi Bike? By and large, they were not. To start, Citi Bike docking stations are concentrated in neighborhoods with some of the lowest rates of youth disconnection, with almost no stations in the Bronx, Staten Island, or the eastern parts of Brooklyn and Queens. In addition, we found a moderate negative correlation between the numbers of teen and young adult riders and the rates of disconnection in that location. In other words, neighborhoods with more 16- to 24-year-old Citi Bike riders have lower rates of youth disconnection. This is not a causal effect, but it says something important about the placement of the docking stations—namely, that they are not aligned with the need to connect disconnected young people to school and jobs. Ideally, as the program expands, more bike stations will be added in underserved neighborhoods.

Transportation Support Matters: Case Study of NYC Tech Training Program

The experience of participants in the 2015–2016 NYC Web Development Fellowship, run by the NYC Tech Talent Pipeline, an industry partnership at the New York City Department of Small Business Services, offers valuable lessons about the importance of helping disconnected young people overcome the barriers to transportation. In the program, which specifically recruited out-of-school, out-of-work youth, participants with no prior professional experience or formal education in tech learned the technical and professional skills they needed to land full-time jobs as web developers. Ninety-six percent of the graduates found a tech job after the program, with an average starting salary of $65,000 per year.[30] The sixty-four participants attended free training at a privately run coding boot camp in New York City. Training took place full time for twenty-two weeks, followed by a twelve-week paid internship before the job placement period, during which participants continued to receive technical and professional support and coaching from staff.[31]

Providing holistic support services and resources—including a case manager, an in-depth professional development and soft skills curriculum, food, and MetroCards—was critical to the participants' success in the training program. The unlimited MetroCards proved a particularly valuable form of support; they acted as an unofficial "stipend" in an otherwise unpaid, months-long program, and helped keep participants from dropping out for want of the $121 monthly MetroCard. Providing transportation support also allowed them to benefit from the extracurricular aspects of the program; since exposure, networking, and interviewing are key to landing a job, the program encouraged and sometimes required participants to attend meet-ups, mock interview days, and site visits, all of which required additional subway trips.

MetroCards were not provided during the internship phase, however. As a result, the less financially stable participants went to fewer professional development workshops, interviews, and extra prep sessions than those who had financial support. Some participants had to give up resources like cell service to cover the cost of getting to their internships and events, which meant they lacked internet access at home and could not fully conduct their job search. During the internship phase, some students said they could not afford to go to meet-ups, access supports on campus, or pay phone or internet bills; others had to forgo paying rent or sought public assistance for food. Because finding a job typically takes at least three months and several rounds of interviews, covering the cost of transportation during this process would have allowed them to focus on the search for a tech job rather than reverting back to their previous employment because they needed to pay the bills.

The dismaying reality for disconnected young people living in poverty is that transportation costs of $30 or $40 per week are simply unaffordable. One potential way to address transportation barriers is to expand the NYC Department of Education program that distributes MetroCards at full or half fare to students for three trips per school day to include all young people under 18, even those who are not in school, or to create a similar program for young people under the age of 24 who are living in poverty.[32]

Transportation: Arriving at Equity

Many drivers of disconnection are deeply entrenched—residential segregation, employment discrimination, and mass incarceration, to name just a few—and are not amenable to quick-fix solutions. Though the reasons low-income young people, particularly youth of color, tend to have poor access to transportation they can afford—such as a lack of political power and disinvestment in poor neighborhoods—are complex, the solutions don't have to be. In areas with good public transit where cost is the barrier, free transportation smart cards for disconnected youth living in poverty is a straightforward solution. Though large-scale light rail and subway projects are complicated, technically and politically, adding bus lines or improving frequency and timeliness of existing lines in low-income communities is far less so. In areas where public transportation is nonexistent, subsidizing ride-share services for young people living in poverty offers great promise. Average monthly transit passes in the ten largest American cities range in cost from $68 in Baltimore to $122 in Los Angeles—from $2 to $4 a day.[33] This small sum should not create an insurmountable obstacle to opportunity in the richest country in the world.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Through our research and engagement with stakeholders over the years, we have learned in greater detail about the challenges related to youth disconnection, as well as what works in addressing them. Though they overlap, these challenges and related recommendations can be organized into four very general buckets: confronting historical and intergenerational disadvantage, especially racism; supporting vulnerable youth; keeping youth connected; and reengaging disconnected youth. What jumps out in reading through them is the need to create a just, kind, inclusive society, one in which all children—not just some—grow up loved and kept safe from harm, attend high-quality schools that meet their diverse needs and prepare them for flourishing lives, find fair and equal treatment in our institutions, and are set on pathways that lead to free, joyous adulthoods. *Note: This is a living document meant to reflect what we have learned and continue to learn. We will update it as new findings shape our understanding of challenges and solutions; we welcome your input.*

1. CONFRONT HISTORICAL & INTERGENERATIONAL DISADVANTAGE
Disconnection is not just an individual issue, but a systemic one as well.

Poverty and low levels of human development. Disconnected youth are, not surprisingly, considerably more likely to come from disconnected communities—areas in which high rates of poverty are evidence of and contributors to isolation from mainstream social and economic systems. Such neighborhoods tend to be ill-served by public transportation, education, and health systems and have low levels of social capital and trust. Addressing poverty is of particular importance to reducing disconnection among young people of color; while the probability of disconnection falls as household incomes rise across all groups, blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans are more likely to be disconnected than whites and Asians at the same income level.[34] High levels of youth disconnection are also associated with low scores on the American Human Development Index, MOA's measure of a population's well-being. In communities with high human development levels, young people have many opportunities to connect to school and work and greater access to adults with the skills, networks, and experience to help them navigate the transition to adulthood.

Residential segregation. Segregated housing patterns that persist today can be traced back directly to a pernicious web of discriminatory housing policies at the local, state, and federal levels from the 1930s through the 1970s.[35] Concentrated racial segregation within metro areas has dramatic but very different consequences for young people depending on their race. The neighborhoods at either end of the connection-disconnection spectrum are extremely segregated; the more segregated black and white residents are from one another within a metro area, the lower the likelihood of disconnection is among white youth, but the higher the likelihood is among black youth.[36]

Disconnection across generations. There is evidence that disconnection becomes entrenched within disadvantaged communities. In towns and communities with high unemployment and low levels of educational attainment among adults, young people tend to be disconnected from work and school as well. The rate of youth disconnection by neighborhood cluster in 2000 is highly predictive of the rate of youth disconnection ten years later, suggesting a cycle of disconnection,[37] a finding supported by research on the persistence of disadvantage in certain highly segregated poor neighborhoods with predominately black populations.[38] Measure of America recently identified ways in which youth disconnection affects individuals in the long term. Thirteen to fifteen years on—when young people enter their thirties—those who had remained connected throughout their teens and young adulthood made approximately $31,000 more annually and were 45 percent more likely to own the home in which

they lived, 42 percent more likely to be employed, and 52 percent more likely to report excellent or good health than those who had been disconnected.[39]

Discrimination. Discrimination fuels and exacerbates disconnection. A recent Pew Research Center survey on views of race in the United States found that 21 percent of black respondents said they have been treated unfairly by an employer in the past year in hiring, pay, or promotion because of their race or ethnicity, as compared to only 4 percent of whites, a five-fold difference.[40] Another study found that job applicants with "black-sounding" names were far less likely to be considered than those with "white-sounding" names, backing up this finding.[41]

> **Recommendation: Address the unequal conditions of daily life to prevent disconnection from happening in the first place**
> The United States does far less to protect its citizens from the effects of misfortune than most of its peer countries;[42] we have fewer universal public services like health care and child care, and investments in public goods like schools and parks are generally far lower. Public investment must also consider and address the history of racist policies and disinvestment that continue to impact the conditions of daily life in marginalized communities today.
>
> **Recommendation: Put an end to discrimination**
> While de jure employment discrimination on the basis of race, gender, religion, national origin, or physical or mental disability is illegal, de facto discrimination in the job market persists. Addressing the many types of discrimination that keep far too many Americans from living freely chosen, rewarding lives has long been and will likely continue to be a central task for all who care about not just youth disconnection but also justice and freedom more broadly.
>
> **Recommendation: Provide high-quality K–12 schooling**
> Another clear investment priority is high-quality K–12 schooling. Children growing up in disadvantaged circumstances need schools with the expertise and resources to provide high-quality academic instruction; a safe, healthy, and respectful environment; and support, both during and out of normal school hours, for children who are at risk or exhibiting dropout warning signs. In some of America's schools, we are exceeding standards in all of these areas. In others, particularly those in high-disconnection communities, we are coming up woefully short.

2. SUPPORT VULNERABLE YOUTH
Certain circumstances put young people at a higher risk of disconnection than their peers.

Disability. Disconnected young people are more than three times as likely to have a disability as connected young people. Despite laws requiring accommodations on the job and in schools, living with a disability is unfortunately still a barrier to employment and education, as evidenced by higher unemployment and lower on-time high school graduation rates.[43,44] Inaccessible transportation systems, workplaces, and schools; prejudice and discrimination; and inflexible schedules add extra hurdles to employment and schooling for people with disabilities.

Caretaking. Disconnected young women are nearly four times as likely to have a child as connected young women. Disconnection may lower the barriers to early motherhood; in the absence of meaningful school and work opportunities, motherhood may be the most appealing and attainable route to adulthood. Once a young woman becomes a mother, reconnecting to school or joining the labor market becomes more difficult. Some young people

who are neither working nor in school are caring not for their own children but for other relatives, such as siblings, parents, or grandparents; unfortunately, we don't have the data required to estimate how many disconnected young people are engaged in these kinds of caretaking activities, nor do the data tell us about young men and fatherhood.

Living apart from parents. Disconnected children ages 16 and 17 are 3.2 times as likely to be living without either of their parents as connected young people of the same age. Connected young people are one and a half times as likely to be living with both their parents as disconnected young people. These statistics put the family situations of disconnected and connected youth in sharp contrast. A majority of connected young people (60 percent) live with two parents, benefiting from the emotional, social, and financial support of two adults, and only 8.3 percent live with neither parent. One in four disconnected young people, on the other hand, live apart from not just one but both parents; this reality indicates a profound family disruption at some earlier point.

Language proficiency and citizenship status. For Latino and particularly Asian young people, lack of language proficiency and citizenship are serious barriers. Nearly 35 percent of Asian disconnected youth overall, and over 40 percent (42.8 percent) of disconnected Asian girls and young women, are noncitizens. This is a marked contrast to 27.3 percent of connected Asian girls and young women in the same age range. Nearly three in ten disconnected Asian youth speak English "less than very well." This is a higher percentage than that of disconnected Latinos (18.7 percent).

Rurality. Measure of America found in a previous report that rural counties as a whole are faring considerably worse than more populous counties in terms of youth disconnection. In completely rural counties, the average youth disconnection rate is 19.3 percent, much higher than the rate for counties in urban centers (12.9 percent) or for suburban counties (11.3 percent).[45]

Recommendation: Give at-risk and disconnected youth the wraparound support they need
Too many young people face not one but many obstacles to educational or employment opportunities; addressing these obstacles is essential for prevention and reengagement efforts. Access to resources like language classes, transportation, and family planning can prevent disconnection in the first place. The same rationale applies to reengagement programs for youth who are already disconnected. While historically, second-chance programs for adolescents and young adults have had limited success, new models have shown great promise in recent years by not only providing job training but also connecting young people to employment and support services. Services like counseling, career mentoring, remedial learning, and help with problem-solving both during and after the life of reconnection programs are essential for successful reengagement and lasting connections. Consensus is growing that the problem of youth disconnection requires that the different agencies and systems that deal with disconnected youth align their resources such that their collective impact is greater than the sum of their parts.

Recommendation: Pay attention to the local context in rural America
Many young people who grow up in rural areas leave after high school, drawn by the opportunities metro areas afford. For those who stay, disconnection is a serious challenge. Efforts to help them should respond to local labor market demands as well as build transferable skills. The recent shift away from the "college for all" mantra is lessening the misguided sense that anything but a four-year college degree is somehow a second-best option. But the alternative must be high-quality career and technical education that is relevant to local employment needs and equips rural youth for security in the new economy.

3. KEEP YOUTH CONNECTED
There are key junctures where young people fall into disconnection.

Dropout. Disconnected youth are nine times as likely to have left high school without a diploma as connected young people. Reconnecting these young people to school is challenging; the road to high school dropout is lined with many discouraging and disheartening experiences in the classroom, with peers, and with school administrators. Bringing young people back to a system that has failed them and in which they felt like failures is not easy. While in theory young people can reenter the education system later in life, the reality is that even well into their thirties, the gaps in educational attainment between those who were connected and disconnected persist. About fifteen years later, over 90 percent of those who remained connected had completed high school, compared to 62 percent of those who experienced disconnection—and those who experienced long periods of disconnection had even lower rates of high school completion, below 50 percent.[46]

Institutionalization. A vanishingly small percentage of connected youth live in institutional quarters, just 0.3 percent. The rate for disconnected youth is twenty times higher—and higher still for some groups. Institutionalization is a particularly grave problem for black young people, especially for black boys and young men.

Recommendation: Support all children so they can enter school on an equal footing
While many assume that the effects of early childhood investments have worn off long before the teens, research shows that the seeds of high school completion are planted many years earlier. Harm to cognitive, social, and emotional development in the early years of a child's life sets them on a lowered trajectory for achievement and well-being across the life course. Interventions at this stage are highly effective and less expensive than seeking remedies at a later point. One way to do this is through two-generation approaches and other interventions that support parents in their efforts to promote healthy child development. Another is to provide high-quality early care and education to at-risk toddlers and preschoolers in center-based preschools with well-trained caregivers and teachers. For every dollar invested in high-quality preschool, benefits of 7.3 dollars result.[47]

Recommendation: Take action on dropout warning signs
Keeping children in school is easier and more cost-effective than luring back those who have slipped from the educational system's grasp. By the eighth grade, the red flags that a child will drop out of high school are already clear: repeating a grade, failing more than one class, and frequent absence from school.

Recommendation: Develop a system with school-to-work alternatives for all young people
One of the lessons from countries like the Netherlands and Germany, where youth disconnection rates are 4.0 and 6.3 percent,[48] is that youth-friendly economies offer multiple established pathways for young people to transition from school to work.[49] In many European countries, the majority of students undertake a vocational track for secondary education.[50] Many of the "jobs of tomorrow," jobs that allow for economic security and job satisfaction and cannot be outsourced, require some postsecondary education but not necessarily a four-year degree. Career and technical paths that are linked to internships, job placement, life skills classes, and postsecondary certificate or degree programs can build bridges to a productive, rewarding adulthood for young people whose interests and aspirations are not best served by a traditional bachelor's degree program. Already, many programs that link career and technical education in high school to postsecondary institutions and jobs have shown promise in the United States.

Recommendation: Implement restorative discipline

In the past decade, restorative justice, a movement for an alternative to punitive justice, has been gaining steam in courtrooms and school districts across the nation. In a school setting, restorative justice focuses on helping students understand the impact of their actions on others and often includes some form of peer adjudication. In the criminal justice system, evaluations of restorative justice programs for juvenile offenders are promising.[51] In schools, restorative discipline, rather than punitive school suspensions and expulsions, may reduce dropout rates and disrupt the school-to-prison pipeline, though more research is needed.[52,53] Educators and policymakers increasingly recognize the disproportionate impact of school suspensions and expulsions on young people of color and youth with disabilities.

Recommendation: Embrace our boys and young men of color

Young men of color in American society today are disproportionately marginalized in school, monitored in their neighborhoods, discriminated against in the labor market, and put behind bars. School discipline practices are pushing African American and Latino boys out of the classroom due to the lack of culturally competent curricula and loosely defined, unevenly applied suspension and expulsion practices. Our education and justice systems must take a different approach, one in which the vast resources now deployed to isolate and disenfranchise black and brown boys and men are instead deployed in support of their hopes and dreams.

4. REENGAGE THE DISCONNECTED

While prevention is the best cure, youth disconnection is a reality that needs to be addressed. Here are some best practices for reengagement efforts.

Recommendation: Set goals and work toward them together

Meaningful progress requires that organizations and individuals active in this area join together to establish measurable, time-bound targets for reducing youth disconnection. These targets should be ambitious, tailored to the on-the-ground realities of different cities, and based on an accelerated, but achievable, rate of progress. In our 2013 report, *Halve the Gap by 2030: Youth Disconnection in America's Cities*, we proposed setting a ten-year goal of cutting in half the gaps between racial and ethnic groups, as well as the overall rate of disconnection, at the neighborhood level. A number of community partners, including the San Diego Workforce Partnership, have taken up the challenge and are currently working toward those goals.

Recommendation: Recognize that short-term engagement results in short-term benefits

Summer employment and other sorts of short-term job placements can be an important first step for at-risk youth, giving them the chance to gain self-confidence, learn the norms of the workplace, and build an employment track record. But evaluations of short-term programs suggest that the positive effects frequently fade within a year or two. Youth struggling with connection require encouragement and attention beyond a one-off match with an employer; they need longer-term relationships with caring adults.

Recommendation: Offer paid work to create virtuous circle

A common reason teens and young adults leave school is the need to contribute to their family income. Whenever possible, programs should offer jobs with wages rather than unpaid internships or token living allowances or stipends. Paying wages addresses sometimes acute financial need. It also helps youth build bona fide employment records, allows them to participate in formal performance appraisals that can provide useful feedback, and gives them the sense of agency, autonomy, and pride that often accompanies a first paycheck.

Recommendation: Provide careers, not jobs

Young people need preparation for a career, not just a (low-wage, low-skill) job. In order to set at-risk youth on a trajectory for success, workforce programs should help them build not just very basic skills (such as preparing a resume, interviewing for a job, and managing their time), but also the higher-order, sought-after skills necessary for a secure career in today's economy. Such skills include mid-level technical skills related to specific fields such as health care, skilled construction, information technology, and maintenance and repair, but could also include more broadly applicable skills like foreign languages, management training, and entrepreneurship.

Recommendation: Address practical barriers to reconnection

Disconnected young people can be easily stymied in their efforts to reconnect by lacking basic necessities—a few dollars for transportation, a hard-copy resume, a work-ready outfit. Successful reconnection efforts help address these comparatively low-hanging fruit by providing young people with transportation smart cards to attend classes and job interviews, by serving a meal during programming since youth may not have the money to buy lunch, and by addressing many common barriers in one go at one-stop job fairs. For instance, the 100,000 Opportunities Initiative provides disconnected and at-risk youth with a number of on-site resources, including on-the-spot resume reviews, interview practice sessions, and interview clothing stations that young people can visit before meeting potential employers, all at the job fair site.

SPOTLIGHT: Promising Approaches across the United States

COLORADO YOUTH FOR A CHANGE

Colorado Youth for a Change (CYC) helps reengage students who have left or are at risk of leaving school in three large school districts in the state. Recently, CYC redeveloped their data collection and reporting systems to identify ineffective outreach efforts and explore the connection between outreach programs and student outcomes. With database improvements for tracking participants, the new approach allows staff to clearly see all outreach attempts and what happened next. For example, the new system allows CYC to monitor the number of students who drop out more than once. In addition, individualized reports can be sent to schools to show how many youth left school, how many outreach calls were made, how many students could not be contacted, how many students were ready to be reenrolled or have been reenrolled by the program, and perhaps most significantly, the reasons youth gave for not wanting to return to school.

KING COUNTY REENGAGEMENT PROVIDER NETWORK

King County, Washington, is home to a growing number of innovative programs that help opportunity youth return to school or find employment. Until recently, however, they lacked a system that would make their collective efforts greater than the sum of their parts. **The King County Reengagement Provider Network** was developed to address this gap. Every month, the network brings together reengagement providers to coordinate their efforts and to learn from and collaborate with one another. The network goals include shared outreach, data-driven learning, and tracking of regional progress. Since programs began sharing data in early 2016, 1,860 participating youth have earned a credential (a diploma, GED, industry-recognized credential, or associate degree) through network programs. As the network collected data from reengagement programs on a quarterly basis, they noticed that Latino students were earning credentials at disproportionately low rates. This led the network to launch the Latinx Student Engagement Project, a project focused on learning about the needs, interests, and aspirations of Latino youth in an effort to better support them.

NASHVILLE OPPORTUNITY YOUTH COLLABORATIVE

Nashville, TN, is experiencing record-breaking economic growth and expansion. Many young people, however, are not benefiting from this progress. Launched in June 2018, the Nashville Opportunity Youth Collaborative decided to investigate why over 9,000 of their community's young people were not working or in school. The collaborative committed to a youth-led research project that would drive discussion around how to foster an ecosystem that builds individual capabilities as well as enabling institutions. Data-informed conversations led to the development of a strategy to increase access to resources for opportunity youth in high-crime, high-poverty neighborhoods. The collaborative received a $2.6 million grant from the State of Tennessee Office of Criminal Justice Programs' Victims of Crime Act grant program to establish reengagement hubs that will coordinate service delivery to youth in these communities.

OPPORTUNITY YOUTH FORUM

The **Opportunity Youth Forum** (OYF) is a national initiative of the Aspen Institute Forum for Community Solutions that supports a network of over two dozen urban, rural, and tribal communities seeking to design and scale reconnection pathways for opportunity youth. Using a community collaboration approach, communities in the OYF network are bringing together multiple stakeholders and system leaders—including youth themselves—to remove barriers and improve systems that serve opportunity youth. Guided by a racial equity frame and a commitment to youth leadership, the forum put in place an investment strategy that supports a dual focus on piloting innovative programming for opportunity youth while driving systemic change to create more equitable and supportive ecosystems to serve them.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

Who Is Considered a "Disconnected Youth"?

Youth disconnection rates in this report are calculated by Measure of America using employment and enrollment data from the 2017 American Community Survey (ACS) of the US Census Bureau. Disconnected youth, also referred to as opportunity youth, are teenagers and young adults between the ages of 16 and 24 who are neither in school nor working. Young people in this age range who are working or in school part-time or who are in the military are not considered disconnected. Youth who are actively looking for work are considered disconnected.

Several official data sources exist that can be used for calculating youth disconnection. As a result, researchers working with different datasets, or using different definitions of what constitutes disconnection, can arrive at different numbers for this indicator. A good summary of these various definitions can be found on a *Huffington Post* blog piece from October of 2016 **here**.

Measure of America uses the Census Bureau's ACS for four reasons: (1) it is reliable and updated annually; (2) it allows for calculations by state and metro area as well as by more granular census-defined neighborhood clusters within metro areas; (3) it includes young people who are in group quarters, such as juvenile or adult correctional facilities, supervised medical facilities, and college dorms; and (4) it counts students on summer break as being enrolled in school.

Methods

Disconnected youth rates and numbers in *Making the Connection: Transportation and Youth Disconnection* at the national, state, and metro area levels use 2017 data. Estimates at the Public Use Microdata Area level use 2013–2017 (five-year) or 2015–2017 (three-year) data. Time series data are one-year estimates from the relevant year.

The ACS is an annual survey conducted by the Census Bureau that samples a subset of the overall population. As with any data drawn from surveys, there is some degree of sampling and nonsampling error inherent in the data. Thus, comparisons between similar values on any indicator should be made with caution since these differences may not be statistically significant.

In order to arrive at the percentage of disconnected youth, the total number of disconnected young people and the total number of young people overall are calculated for each metro area from the ACS Public Use Microdata Sample. **Not in school** means that a young person has not attended any educational institution and has also not been home schooled at any time in the three months prior to the survey date. **Not working** means that a young person is either unemployed or not in the labor force at the time they responded to the survey. Disconnected youth are young people who are simultaneously not in school and not working. This population cannot be estimated by simply adding the number of young people not enrolled in school to the number of young people not working because many students in this age range do not work and many young workers are not in school.

Calculating Metro Area Youth Disconnection and Identifying the Largest Metro Areas

The US Census Bureau FactFinder provides a list of Metro Statistical Areas (MSAs) by population size. The top one hundred MSAs include Madison, Wisconsin, and Palm Bay–Melbourne–Titusville, FL. But because the standard errors of the youth disconnection estimates for these two metro areas were too large to provide reliable estimates, these two MSAs are not included in this report.

The employment and enrollment data needed to calculate youth disconnection for metro areas are not available directly by metro area from the ACS. Metro areas were built up by Measure of America from the Census Bureau's Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs) that make up metro areas. In cases where a PUMA falls partially within two or more metro areas, it is included in the metro area where it has the largest population. If the PUMA falls partly in and partly outside a metro area, it is included in the metro area.

Due to changes in the definitions of metro areas by the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB), findings from this report for specific metro areas are not directly comparable to findings from Measure of America's first three reports on youth disconnection: ***One in Seven: Ranking Youth Disconnection in the 25 Largest Metro Areas***, ***Zeroing In on Place and Race: Youth Disconnection in America's Cities***, and ***Halve the Gap by 2030: Youth Disconnection in America's Cities***. They are comparable to 2017's report, ***Promising Gains, Persistent Gaps: Youth Disconnection in America***, and last year's report, ***More Than a Million Reasons for Hope: Youth Disconnection in America Today***.

Definitions

Disability: Disability status in this report refers to any enduring emotional, physical, or mental condition that makes everyday activities like walking, dressing, or remembering things difficult and restricts an individuals' ability to work or to perform basic required tasks without assistance. This is self-reported; individuals who report having such a condition in the ACS are counted as having a disability. Those who do not are counted as not having a disability.

Group Quarters: The US Census Bureau refers to people who live in any kind of non-household living arrangement as living in "group quarters". These can be *institutional* group quarters such as correctional or supervised medical facilities or *non-institutional* group quarters such as college or university dormitories, military bases, or group homes. One of the primary advantages of using the ACS as the data source for this research is that the survey includes young people living in group quarters.

Metro Area: Metro areas used in this report are formally known as Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs), geographic areas defined by the OMB and used by the US Census Bureau and other government entities. MSAs constitute counties grouped around an urban center and include outlying suburban and exurban counties from which a substantial percentage of the population commutes to the urban center for work.

Racial and Ethnic Groups: Racial and ethnic groups in this report are based on definitions established by the OMB and used by the Census Bureau and other government entities. Since 1997, this office has recognized five racial groups and two ethnic categories. The racial groups include Asian, black, Native American, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, and white. The ethnic categories are Latino and not Latino. People of Latino ethnicity may be of any race. In this report, members of each of these racial groups include *only non-Latino members of these groups*. All references to Asians, blacks, Native Americans, and whites include only those who are non-Latino. Throughout the report, the Asian racial group combines the OMB categories of both Asian and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander. Due to the very small population sizes of some of the racial and ethnic groups in some states and metropolitan areas, we cannot always present reliable estimates of youth disconnection for these groups. These are denoted in the report's tables.

In recognition of the fact that these racial groups are not monolithic, this report includes youth disconnection rates for the seven of the largest Asian subgroups and the five largest Latino/a subgroups in the United States. The selection of these groups is based on national population estimates from the 2016 one-year ACS. The most populous Asian subgroups also include Japanese Americans and Cambodians, but because the standard errors of the youth disconnection estimates for these groups were too large to provide reliable estimates, they are not included in this report.

Regions: In the discussion of regional differences in disconnected youth rates, we use the nine sub-regions of the United States (New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, Mountain, Pacific) as defined by the **US Census Bureau**.

Unreliable: Estimates with a coefficient of variance of greater than 0.2 are considered unreliable and are omitted from the report.

ENDNOTES

1 Lewis and Gluskin, *Two Futures.*

2 Lewis and Gluskin, *Two Futures.*

3 National Center for Education Statistics, "Public High School Graduation Rates."

4 Livingston and Bialik, "7 Facts about U.S. Moms."

5 Finer and Zolna, "Declines in Unintended Pregnancy in the United States, 2008–2011."

6 For example, people with household incomes of less than $7,500 reported a sexual violence victimization rate of 4.8 incidents per 1,000 persons age 12 or older, which is twelve times the rate reported by those with household incomes greater than $75,000 (0.4 per 1,000). Casteel, Molfe, and Nguyen, "What We Know about Victims of Sexual Assault in America."

7 Sharkey, *Stuck in Place.*

8 Burd-Sharps and Lewis, *Promising Gains, Persistent Gaps.*

9 Feldman, Smith, and Waxman, "*Why We Drop Out.*"

10 Pager and Shepherd, "The Sociology of Discrimination."

11 US Department of Education, "2013-2014 Discipline Estimations by Discipline Type."

12 Sawyer and Wagner, *Mass Incarceration: The Whole Pie 2019.*

13 Russ, "From Isolation to Opportunity: Transportation and Postsecondary Pathways."

14 Piff, "Changing Systems for Opportunity Youth: Six Common Barriers."

15 Lewis and Burd-Sharps, *Zeroing In on Place and Race.*

16 Chetty and Hendren, "The Impacts of Neighborhoods on Intergenerational Mobility I: Childhood Exposure Effects."

17 Chetty and Hendren, "The Impacts of Neighborhoods on Intergenerational Mobility II: County-Level Estimates."

18 Ewing et al., "Does Urban Sprawl Hold Down Upward Mobility?"

19 Brandtner, Lunn, and Young, "Spatial Mismatch and Youth Unemployment in US Cities: Public Transportation as a Labor Market Institution."

20 Urban Institute, "Too Far from Jobs: Spatial Mismatch and Hourly Workers."

21 UC Berkeley Center for Cities+Schools, "Connecting Housing Transportation + Education to Expand Opportunity."

22 Urban Institute Student Transportation Working Group, *The Road to School.*

23 Ibid.

24 Glazerman and Dotter, "Market Signals: Evidence on the Determinants and Consequences of School Choice from a Citywide Lottery."

25 Lewis and Burd-Sharps, *Who Graduates?*

26 US Census Bureau American Community Survey 2013-2017, Table B08012.

27 US Census Bureau American Community Survey 2013-2017, Table S1701.

28 US Census Bureau American Community Survey 2013-2017, Table DP03.

29 Lusk, "You Can't Design Bike-Friendly Cities Without Considering Race and Class."

30 NYC Office of the Mayor, "Mayor de Blasio Announces New Employer, Academic and Philanthropic Commitments for Tech Industry Partnership."

31 Flatiron School, "NYC Web Development Fellowship."

32 NYC Department of Education, "Transportation: MetroCards."

33 ValuePenguin, "The Most and Least Affordable Cities for Public Transit."

34 Burd-Sharps and Lewis, *Promising Gains, Persistent Gaps.*

35 Rothstein, *The Color of Law.*

36 Lewis and Burd-Sharps, *Zeroing In on Place and Race.*

37 *Ibid.*

38 Sharkey, *Stuck in Place.*

39 Lewis and Gluskin, *Two Futures.*

40 Pew Research Center, "On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart."

41 Bertrand and Mullainathan, "Are Emily and Greg More Employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment in Labor Market Discrimination."

42 OECD Data, "Social Spending."

43 Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Table 1. Employment Status of the Civilian Noninstitutional Population by Disability Status and Selected Characteristics, 2018 Annual Averages."

44 National Center for Education Statistics, "Common Core of Data: Table 1."

45 Burd-Sharps and Lewis, *More than a Million Reasons for Hope*

46 Lewis and Gluskin, *Two Futures.*

47 García et al., "Quantifying the Life-cycle Benefits of a Prototypical Early Childhood Program."

48 Eurostat, "Young People neither in Employment nor in Education and Training (15-24 years).

49 Ayres et al., *States of Transition.*

50 Eurostat, "Vocational Education and Training Statistics."

51 Wilson, Olaghere, and Kimbrell, *Effectiveness of Restorative Justice Principles in Juvenile Justice: A Meta-Analysis.*

52 Shollenberger, *Racial Disparities in School Suspension and Subsequent Outcomes.*

53 Augustine et al., *Can Restorative Practices Improve School Climate and Curb Suspensions?*

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Youth Disconnection by State since 2008

RANK	STATE	TREND SINCE 2008 (%)	YOUTH DISCONNECTION RATE (%)					2017	
			2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	(%)	(#)
	United States		**12.6**	**14.7**	**14.1**	**13.2**	**11.7**		**4,599,100**
1	Minnesota		8.4	9.2	9.0	8.3	7.5	6.2	40,300
2	Iowa		7.4	9.4	8.9	9.3	7.4	7.0	28,500
3	Massachusetts		9.1	9.9	9.3	8.4	7.4	7.1	61,300
4	North Dakota		6.5	7.3	8.2	9.2	7.0	7.1	7,300
5	New Hampshire		8.7	10.5	10.7	8.6	8.5	7.4	11,800
6	Rhode Island		10.1	10.6	10.8	11.9	7.5	8.4	11,900
7	Nebraska		6.2	10.0	7.9	9.0	9.2	8.8	20,900
8	Colorado		10.4	12.8	11.8	11.4	10.7	8.8	58,700
9	South Dakota		8.6	13.5	9.0	10.6	9.2	8.8	9,300
10	Wisconsin		8.8	11.2	10.4	10.5	9.1	8.9	62,500
11	Virginia		10.4	12.6	11.9	10.7	9.8	8.9	92,400
12	Utah		9.1	13.5	11.6	12.2	9.2	9.6	43,600
13	Vermont		9.3	9.2	9.8	9.1		9.7	7,700
14	Maine		13.9	11.8	11.9	10.3	11.9	9.7	13,600
15	New Jersey		10.7	13.0	12.5	11.4	10.1	9.9	101,500
16	Kansas		8.2	9.8	10.4	12.2	10.0	10.1	38,600
17	Michigan		12.5	15.2	14.2	13.4	11.6	10.1	124,600
18	Connecticut		8.7	11.5	11.0	10.2	8.5	10.2	44,500
19	Montana		13.7	13.8	14.8	12.5	11.8	10.4	12,800
20	Ohio		12.2	14.6	13.6	12.4	11.1	10.5	145,900
21	Maryland		11.8	13.0	12.9	12.9	11.1	10.5	72,200
22	Washington		11.5	15.4	14.2	13.1	12.3	10.7	88,400
23	Wyoming		13.7	12.9	10.4	9.1	10.3	10.7	7,200
24	Missouri		12.0	14.5	12.6	11.9	10.1	10.9	80,000
25	Hawaii		13.0	15.7	14.1	14.0	11.1	11.1	17,100
26	New York		11.9	14.8	13.6	13.3	12.1	11.2	265,800
27	California		13.0	14.9	14.7	13.5	11.5	11.3	544,900
28	Illinois		11.5	13.1	13.1	12.5	10.8	11.3	174,600
29	Oregon		13.9	15.2	14.9	12.8	11.9	11.6	54,500
30	Florida		14.7	16.5	15.8	14.1	11.8	11.7	264,400
31	Indiana		12.7	13.8	13.4	12.7	10.7	11.7	97,600
32	Pennsylvania		10.3	12.2	13.0	12.3	10.8	11.7	174,900
33	District of Columbia		14.0	17.1	17.0	13.9	14.8	11.9	10,200
34	North Carolina		13.1	15.4	15.3	13.4	11.6	12.0	150,800
35	Delaware		10.4	14.0	12.6	11.5	14.3	12.1	13,100
36	South Carolina		14.8	16.2	17.0	14.6	12.7	12.3	75,100
37	Tennessee		14.4	17.6	16.1	16.1	13.2	12.6	99,400
38	Arizona		16.1	19.0	17.0	15.2	13.7	12.6	108,500
39	Alaska		14.1	15.4	16.9	17.2	17.9	13.1	11,600
40	Texas		14.3	15.5	14.8	14.2	13.4	13.1	475,400
41	Georgia		16.4	18.4	17.8	15.6	12.6	13.5	176,600
42	Kentucky		16.8	18.1	17.1	15.5	14.3	13.6	72,800
43	Oklahoma		12.6	13.8	15.3	15.4	14.2	13.6	65,900
44	Idaho		12.6	13.6	13.1	14.0	11.0	13.6	29,200
45	Nevada		15.9	20.0	17.0	14.5	14.3	14.8	48,200
46	Arkansas		16.9	17.8	18.9	14.9	15.0	15.1	55,600
47	Alabama		15.3	17.3	16.2	17.1	14.1	15.6	92,800
48	Louisiana		16.3	19.7	17.4	17.1	17.5	16.2	94,600
49	Mississippi		15.3	20.7	19.4	17.6	14.5	16.4	64,700
50	New Mexico		15.3	17.5	18.9	15.0	16.4	16.5	43,000
51	West Virginia		15.7	18.8	13.7	15.8	17.3	17.0	35,000

Youth Disconnection by Metro Area, 2017

RANK	METRO AREA	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24)	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (# ages 16–24)	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24) MALE	FEMALE	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24) BLACKS	LATINOS	WHITES
	United States	11.5	4,501,800	11.8	11.1	17.9	13.2	9.4
1	Grand Rapids–Wyoming, MI	5.6	7,000	7.3				
2	Minneapolis–St. Paul–Bloomington, MN–WI	5.9	26,000	6.8	5.0	8.7		4.7
3	Boston–Cambridge–Newton, MA–NH	6.1	37,200	7.5	4.6	9.1	9.5	5.1
4	Durham–Chapel Hill, NC	6.4	5,000					
5	San Jose–Sunnyvale–Santa Clara, CA	6.5	13,700	5.9	7.1		12.1	
6	Dayton, OH	6.6	6,600					6.5
7	Provo–Orem, UT	7.7	9,300	6.7	8.8			6.9
8	Denver–Aurora–Lakewood, CO	7.8	24,400	7.8	7.7		11.5	5.5
9	Des Moines–West Des Moines, IA	7.9	7,400					
10	Austin–Round Rock, TX	8.2	21,700	8.4	7.9		9.9	5.3
11	Bridgeport–Stamford–Norwalk, CT	8.6	9,500	9.2			14.8	
12	San Diego–Carlsbad, CA	8.6	36,900	8.5	8.8		9.3	7.3
13	Rochester, NY	8.6	12,100	9.9	7.4			6.7
14	Urban Honolulu, HI	8.7	9,900	7.7	10.0			
15	Buffalo–Cheektowaga–Niagara Falls, NY	8.7	11,500	9.2	8.3			7.4
16	Greenville–Anderson–Mauldin, SC	8.8	10,500		9.4			
17	Providence–Warwick, RI–MA	8.9	18,400	11.3	6.3		12.5	7.0
18	Salt Lake City, UT	8.9	14,100	8.0	9.7		12.5	7.1
19	Raleigh, NC	8.9	14,400	8.6	9.2			5.9
20	Cincinnati, OH–KY–IN	9.0	24,000	9.2	8.7	10.5		8.6
21	San Francisco–Oakland–Hayward, CA	9.0	42,600	9.8	8.1	20.8	9.5	7.7
22	Washington–Arlington–Alexandria, DC–VA–MD–WV	9.1	63,900	9.7	8.6	13.6	10.5	6.9
23	Harrisburg–Carlisle, PA	9.2	6,000					
24	Nashville–Davidson–Murfreesboro–Franklin, TN	9.3	22,200	10.5	8.1			9.2
25	Albany–Schenectady–Troy, NY	9.5	11,200	11.0				8.0
26	Kansas City, MO–KS	9.6	25,100	8.3	10.9	16.5		8.9
27	Omaha–Council Bluffs, NE–IA	9.7	11,500	10.5	8.9			7.4
28	Orlando–Kissimmee–Sanford, FL	9.7	30,100	10.2	9.3	12.2	9.5	8.2
29	Syracuse, NY	9.8	9,300	11.9	7.8			8.9
30	Toledo, OH	9.8	8,400	10.3				5.8
31	Worcester, MA–CT	9.9	11,500	8.8	11.0			8.7
32	Portland–Vancouver–Hillsboro, OR–WA	10.0	27,700	9.0	11.0		14.9	9.2
33	Ogden–Clearfield, UT	10.1	7,800		10.4			7.7
34	Seattle–Tacoma–Bellevue, WA	10.1	41,400	9.1	11.1		14.5	9.5
35	Columbus, OH	10.1	23,900	11.6	8.5	17.1		8.5
36	Charleston–North Charleston, SC	10.2	8,900	13.2				
37	Virginia Beach–Norfolk–Newport News, VA–NC	10.2	24,400	9.1	11.4	16.2		6.8
38	Akron, OH	10.2	9,300					8.8
39	Pittsburgh, PA	10.3	25,500	11.8	8.8			9.2
40	Allentown–Bethlehem–Easton, PA–NJ	10.3	10,300					9.4
41	Colorado Springs, CO	10.4	10,100	9.2	11.8			10.7
42	New Haven–Milford, CT	10.4	11,500	14.4	6.4			5.6
43	Los Angeles–Long Beach–Anaheim, CA	10.5	170,300	11.4	9.6	16.4	12.1	8.1
44	Jacksonville, FL	10.6	17,800	12.3	8.8	16.9		8.5
45	Hartford–West Hartford–East Hartford, CT	10.7	16,500	13.2	8.2		22.9	7.3
46	New York–Newark–Jersey City, NY–NJ–PA	10.8	248,500	11.5	10.0	16.7	13.3	7.5
47	Richmond, VA	10.8	16,000	10.7	10.9	11.8		10.5
48	Oxnard–Thousand Oaks–Ventura, CA	10.9	11,300	10.5	11.3		13.4	
49	Boise City, ID	10.9	9,400	12.1				10.4

Youth Disconnection by Metro Area, 2017, continued

RANK	METRO AREA	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24)	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (# ages 16–24)	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24) MALE	FEMALE	DISCONNECTED YOUTH (% ages 16–24) BLACKS	LATINOS	WHITES
50	St. Louis, MO–IL	11.0	36,500	12.2	9.8	19.9		8.9
51	Cleveland–Elyria, OH	11.0	25,800	11.2	10.9	20.1		7.6
52	Detroit–Warren–Dearborn, MI	11.1	52,400	11.5	10.6	18.8		7.6
53	Baltimore–Columbia–Towson, MD	11.2	36,500	11.8	10.4	16.2		8.9
54	Scranton–Wilkes-Barre–Hazleton, PA	11.2	6,400					8.5
55	Knoxville, TN	11.3	13,400	10.3	12.2			11.2
56	Springfield, MA	11.3	8,800					
57	Milwaukee–Waukesha–West Allis, WI	11.3	20,900	12.1	10.6	28.0		
58	Dallas–Fort Worth–Arlington, TX	11.4	105,000	10.4	12.4	15.7	13.3	8.7
59	Miami–Fort Lauderdale–West Palm Beach, FL	11.4	72,900	11.8	10.9	14.3	11.5	8.8
60	Tampa–St. Petersburg–Clearwater, FL	11.4	36,000	12.0	10.7	13.4	13.0	10.5
61	North Port–Sarasota–Bradenton, FL	11.4	7,700		13.0			
62	Chicago–Naperville–Elgin, IL–IN–WI	11.5	131,400	12.2	10.9	24.3	11.5	7.1
63	Spokane–Spokane Valley, WA	11.6	8,300	10.6	12.7			9.9
64	Atlanta–Sandy Springs–Roswell, GA	11.7	83,700	11.5	11.8	15.0	11.6	9.6
65	Cape Coral–Fort Myers, FL	11.7	7,900	12.3	11.1			11.0
66	Sacramento–Roseville–Arden–Arcade, CA	11.8	32,700	11.6	11.9		10.2	12.6
67	Oklahoma City, OK	11.8	21,700	12.5	11.0			10.7
68	Baton Rouge, LA	11.9	14,500	12.1	11.6	18.1		
69	Phoenix–Mesa–Scottsdale, AZ	11.9	67,100	12.6	11.1	15.6	12.9	10.0
70	Wichita, KS	11.9	10,200	12.9	10.8			12.2
71	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY–IN	12.0	16,800	13.5	10.5	26.1		8.5
72	Charlotte–Concord–Gastonia, NC–SC	12.1	35,800	12.2	12.0	17.6		8.3
73	Jackson, MS	12.1	9,600	13.1		13.5		
74	El Paso, TX	12.3	14,800	11.0	13.7		11.7	
75	Winston–Salem, NC	12.3	9,300	14.6				12.6
76	Philadelphia–Camden–Wilmington, PA–NJ–DE–MD	12.4	88,600	14.0	10.8	22.6	18.3	7.2
77	Indianapolis–Carmel–Anderson, IN	12.4	28,000	11.3	13.5	19.3		10.4
78	Deltona–Daytona Beach–Ormond Beach, FL	12.5	7,900					
79	Columbia, SC	12.7	14,800	13.3	12.1	20.1		7.3
80	Houston–The Woodlands–Sugar Land, TX	13.2	110,800	12.4	14.0	15.8	13.6	12.1
81	Tucson, AZ	13.2	19,400	13.0	13.3		13.7	12.1
82	Greensboro–High Point, NC	13.3	13,300	14.7	11.9			16.3
83	San Antonio–New Braunfels, TX	13.5	43,900	12.7	14.3	19.9	13.8	10.9
84	Birmingham–Hoover, AL	13.7	18,800	15.8	11.6	14.1		13.6
85	Tulsa, OK	13.8	13,100	11.3	16.2			10.8
86	Albuquerque, NM	13.9	14,700	16.3	11.4		12.9	11.5
87	Chattanooga, TN–GA	14.5	10,700	12.7	16.2			14.1
88	Riverside–San Bernardino–Ontario, CA	14.7	88,600	13.8	15.6	20.5	15.4	12.4
89	New Orleans–Metairie, LA	15.3	21,000	17.2	13.3	21.5		9.3
90	Las Vegas–Henderson–Paradise, NV	15.4	36,900	15.0	15.8	26.8	14.6	14.5
91	Little Rock–North Little Rock–Conway, AR	16.5	14,400	18.7	14.1	27.1		12.4
92	Fresno, CA	16.8	21,500	16.4	17.3		18.8	12.3
93	McAllen–Edinburg–Mission, TX	16.9	21,300	16.1	17.7		17.4	
94	Lakeland–Winter Haven, FL	17.1	12,600	15.5	18.7			14.2
95	Bakersfield, CA	17.3	20,800	19.4	15.1		19.4	13.5
96	Augusta–Richmond County, GA–SC	17.6	15,000	18.0		30.4		
97	Stockton–Lodi, CA	18.0	16,900	19.7	16.2		17.4	
98	Memphis, TN–MS–AR	18.0	35,400	20.3	15.6	23.4		11.6

Youth Disconnection by Gender and by Race and Ethnicity

MAJOR RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS	DISCONNECTED YOUTH RATE (% ages 16–24)					2017		CHANGE IN RATE 2010–2017 (%)
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	(%)	(#)	
United States	**12.6**	**14.7**	**14.1**	**13.2**	**11.7**	**11.5**	**4,501,800**	**-22.1**
Male	12.3	15.2	14.5	13.3	12.1	11.8	2,382,500	-22.5
Female	12.9	14.1	13.7	13.0	11.2	11.1	2,119,400	-21.7
ASIAN	**7.1**	**8.5**	**7.8**	**7.9**	**6.6**	**6.6**	**145,600**	**-21.7**
Asian Male	6.3	8.3	7.4	7.2	6.7	6.5	73,000	-21.4
Asian Female	7.9	8.6	8.1	8.6	6.6	6.7	72,600	-22.0
WHITE	**9.7**	**11.7**	**11.2**	**10.8**	**9.7**	**9.4**	**1,961,700**	**-20.1**
White Male	9.5	12.3	11.5	10.8	10.0	9.6	1,031,200	-22.4
White Female	10.0	11.1	10.8	10.7	9.4	9.1	930,600	-17.4
LATINO	**16.7**	**18.5**	**17.3**	**15.2**	**13.7**	**13.2**	**1,157,300**	**-28.7**
Latino Male	13.6	16.8	16.0	14.0	12.6	12.4	562,600	-26.0
Latina Female	20.2	20.3	18.8	16.5	14.8	13.9	594,700	-31.5
BLACK	**20.4**	**22.5**	**22.4**	**20.6**	**17.2**	**17.9**	**999,700**	**-20.6**
Black Male	23.7	26.0	25.6	23.5	20.1	20.8	591,600	-19.8
Black Female	17.0	19.0	19.3	17.6	14.2	14.8	408,000	-22.1
NATIVE AMERICAN	**24.4**	**28.8**	**27.0**	**26.3**	**25.8**	**23.9**	**67,700**	**-17.1**
Native American Male	25.0	30.9	28.0	26.9	28.1	23.3	33,200	-24.5
Native American Female	23.9	26.7	25.9	25.6	23.4	24.5	34,500	-8.4

ASIAN SUBGROUPS	2017		LATINO SUBGROUPS	2017	
	(%)	(#)		(%)	(#)
United States	**11.5**	**4,501,800**			
Male	11.8	2,382,500	**LATINO**	**13.2**	**1,157,300**
Female	11.1	2,119,400	Latino Male	12.4	562,600
ASIAN	**6.6**	**145,600**	Latina Female	13.9	594,700
Asian Male	6.5	73,000	**SOUTH AMERICAN**	**8.4**	**37,600**
Asian Female	6.7	72,600	South American Male	9.1	20,400
CHINESE	**4.3**	**23,800**	South American Female	7.7	17,200
Chinese Male	4.7	12,700	**CENTRAL AMERICAN**	**12.0**	**93,100**
Chinese Female	3.9	11,100	Central American Male	9.3	37,900
VIETNAMESE	**5.5**	**13,500**	Central American Female	15.0	55,200
Vietnamese Male	7.5	9,300	**MEXICAN**	**13.3**	**762,400**
Vietnamese Female	3.4	4,200	Mexican Male	12.2	358,200
INDIAN	**5.9**	**22,300**	Mexican Female	14.4	404,200
Indian Male	4.1	8,000	**OTHER LATINO**	**13.6**	**44,800**
Indian Female	7.8	14,300	Other Latino Male	15.3	27,600
PAKISTANI	**6.4**	**4,900**	Other Latina Female	11.5	17,300
Pakistani Male			**PUERTO RICAN, DOMINICAN, CUBAN**	**15.1**	**211,200**
Pakistani Female			PR, DR, Cuban Female	15.7	114,500
KOREAN	**6.5**	**11,200**	PR, DR, Cuban Female	14.4	96,600
Korean Male	8.0	6,900			
Korean Female	5.0	4,200			
TWO OR MORE	**6.6**	**4,000**			
Two or More Male					
Two or More Female					
FILIPINO	**7.3**	**23,400**			
Filipino Male	6.5	10,800			
Filipino Female	8.1	12,700			
HMONG	**14.0**	**8,300**			
Hmong Male	18.6	5,700			
Hmong Female					

NOTE: Blank cells indicate the estimate is unreliable