



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

Arnold Chandler | Forward Change

1. Why a Focus on (Gender) Boys and Men of Color (BMOC)?: **A Gender-Specific Cycle of Intergenerational Disadvantage**
2. A Life Course Framework for Improving the Lives of Disadvantaged Populations: **Interrupting the Cycle**

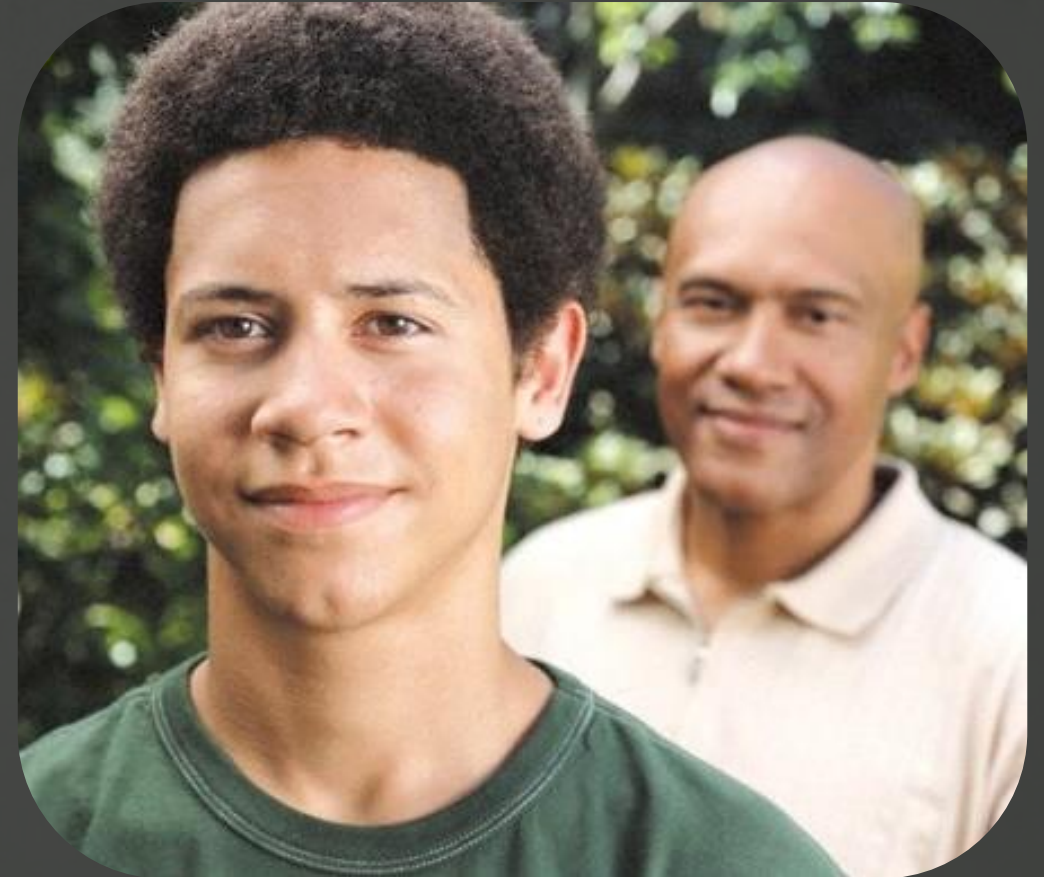
»» Things to keep in mind about gender disparities.

1. Girls doing better doesn't mean they're doing well
2. The lives of males and females are inextricably intertwined
3. Disadvantage operates in gender-specific ways

Why Focus on Boys and Men of Color?

Why Focus on BMOC?

- **Gross disparities in particular negative outcomes:** *Violence victimization and offending, crime and incarceration.*
- **Males of color are showing negative or stagnant trends in key opportunity outcomes relative to females:** *Employment and Earnings, High school graduation, college enrollment and completion*
- **A vicious cycle of intergenerational male disadvantage:** *Disadvantaged families are disproportionately more damaging to male educational outcomes than females.*



Declining Employment and Earnings

»»» Demand-Side Shifts in Employment



**Declining
Employment
and Earnings**

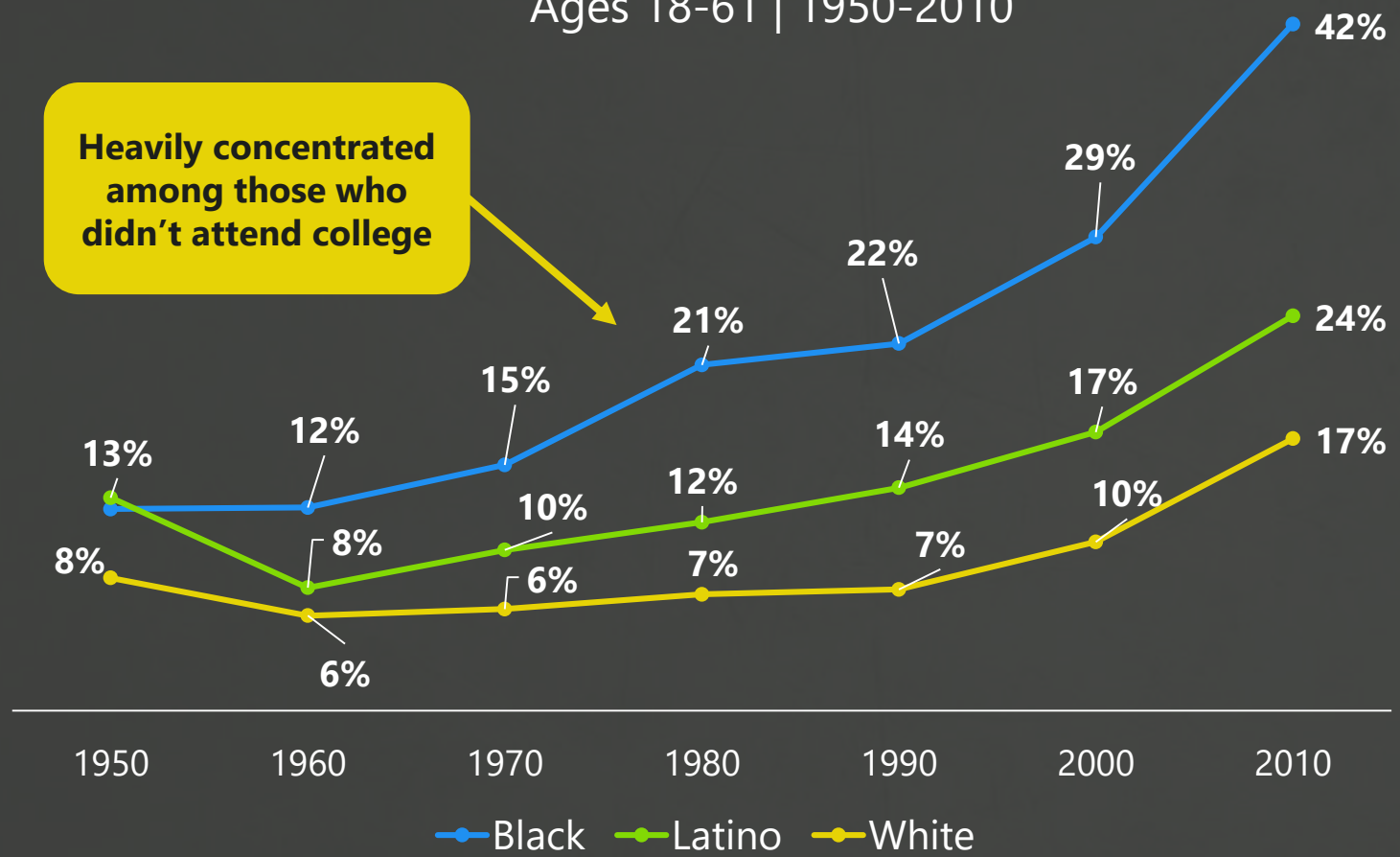
- Technological Change**
- Off-shoring of middle-skill jobs and import competition (China)**
- Decline in Unions**
- Suburbanization of low-skilled jobs ("spatial mismatch")**
- Legal discrimination against felons**
- Illegal Employment Discrimination in Low-Wage Jobs**

Declining Male Employment & Earnings

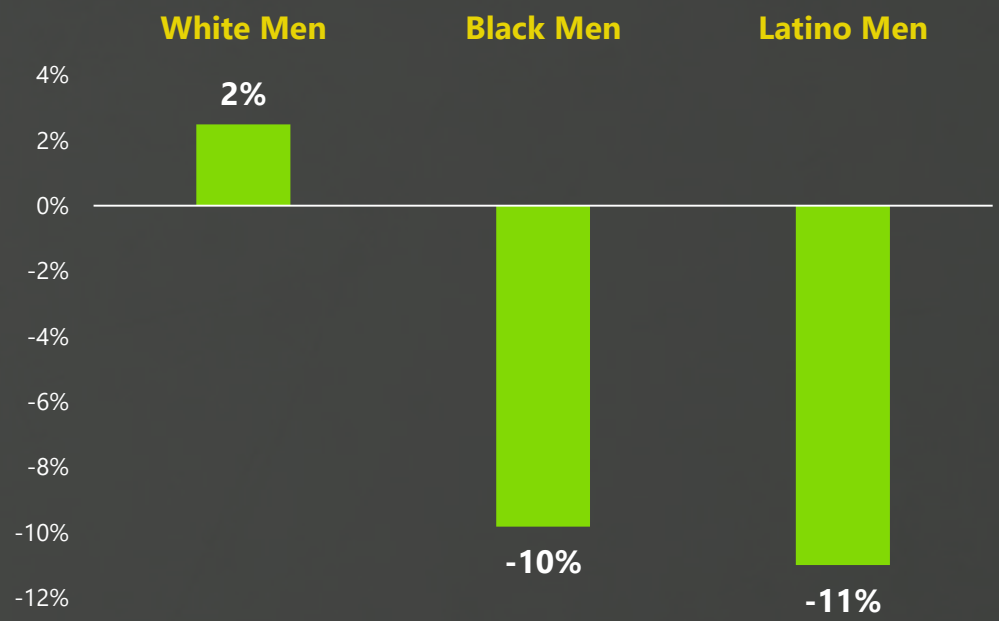
Joblessness Among Native-Born Males

Ages 18-61 | 1950-2010

Heavily concentrated among those who didn't attend college



Change in Median Earnings (1979-2017)



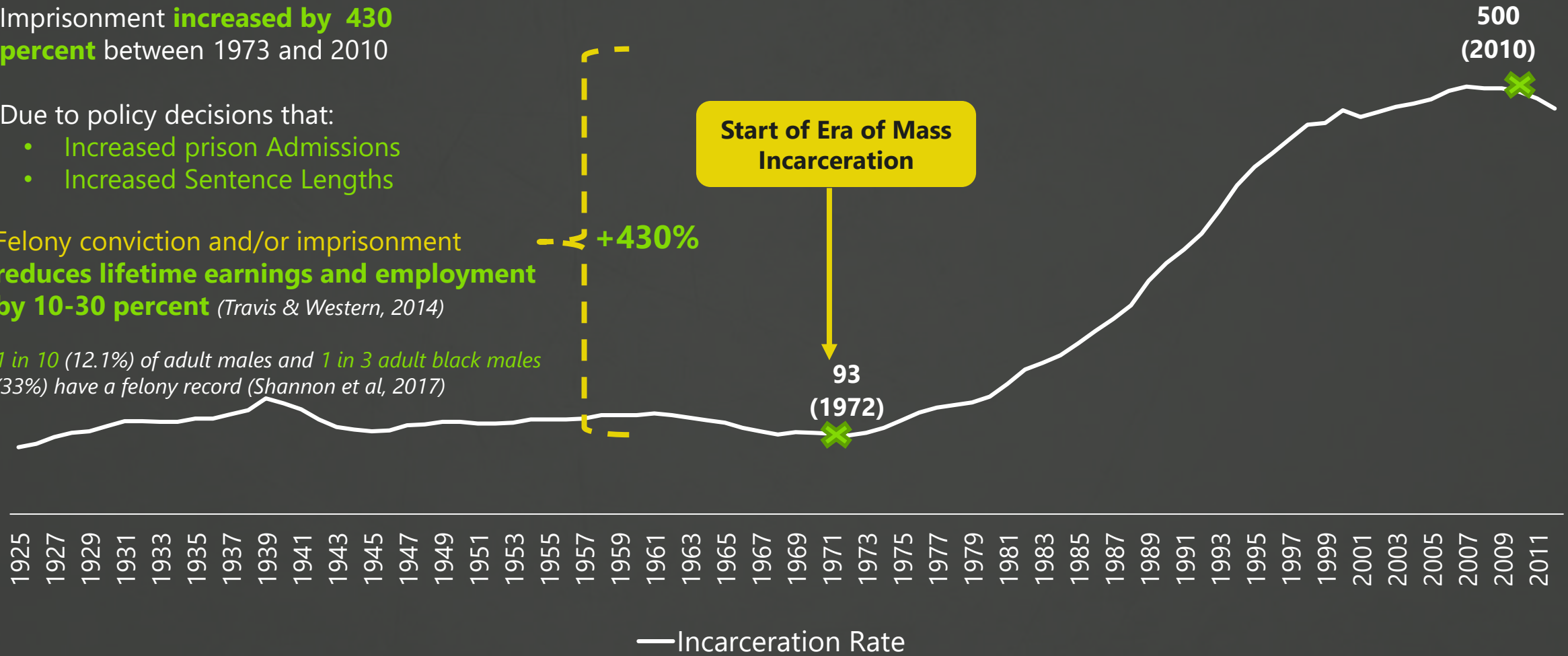
Mass Incarceration and Declining Employment and Earnings

Historical Incarceration Rates (1925-2012)

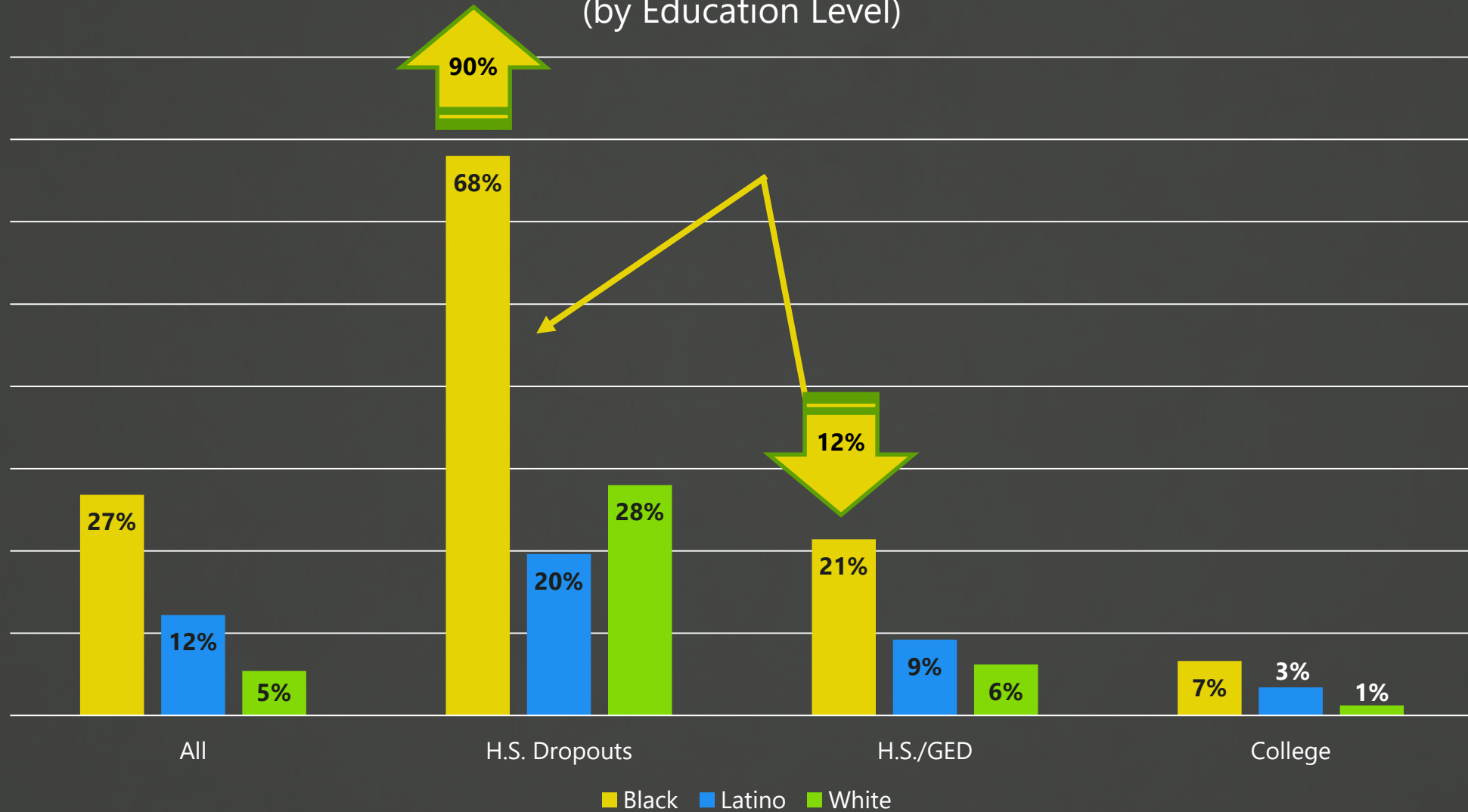
(State and Federal Prisoners per 100K Population)

2.3 million in prisons or jails (2012) BJS

- Imprisonment **increased by 430 percent** between 1973 and 2010
- Due to policy decisions that:
 - Increased prison Admissions
 - Increased Sentence Lengths
- Felony conviction and/or imprisonment **reduces lifetime earnings and employment by 10-30 percent** (Travis & Western, 2014)
- *1 in 10 (12.1%) of adult males and 1 in 3 adult black males (33%) have a felony record (Shannon et al, 2017)*

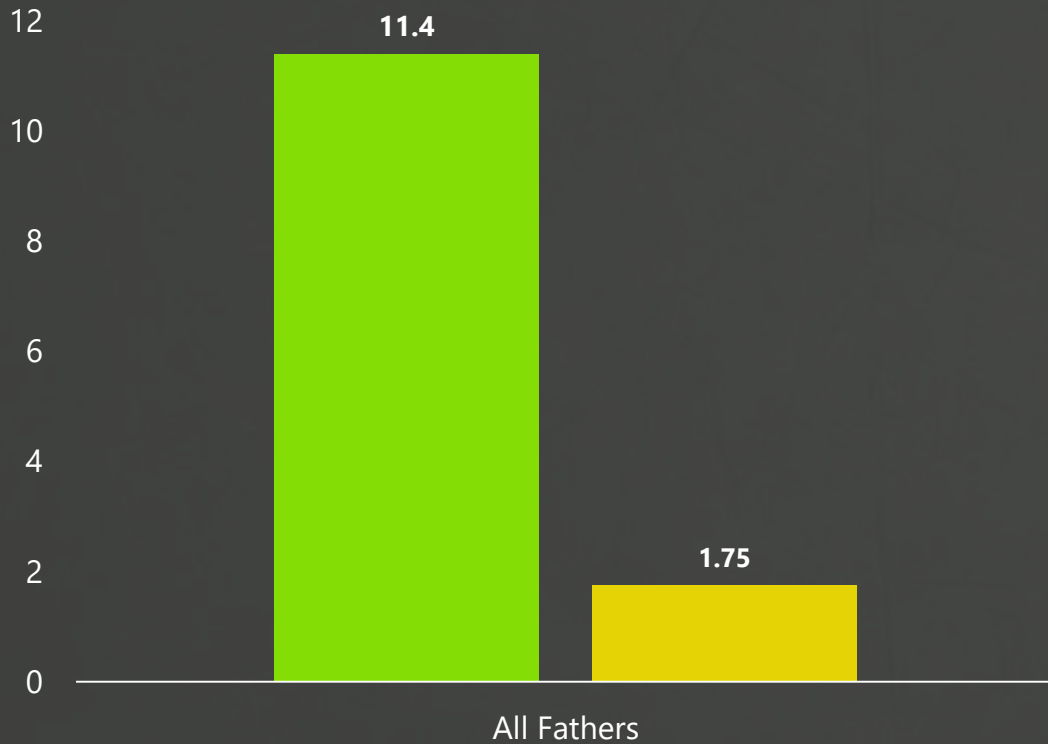


Lifetime Risk of Imprisonment by Age 35 for Males in 2010 (by Education Level)

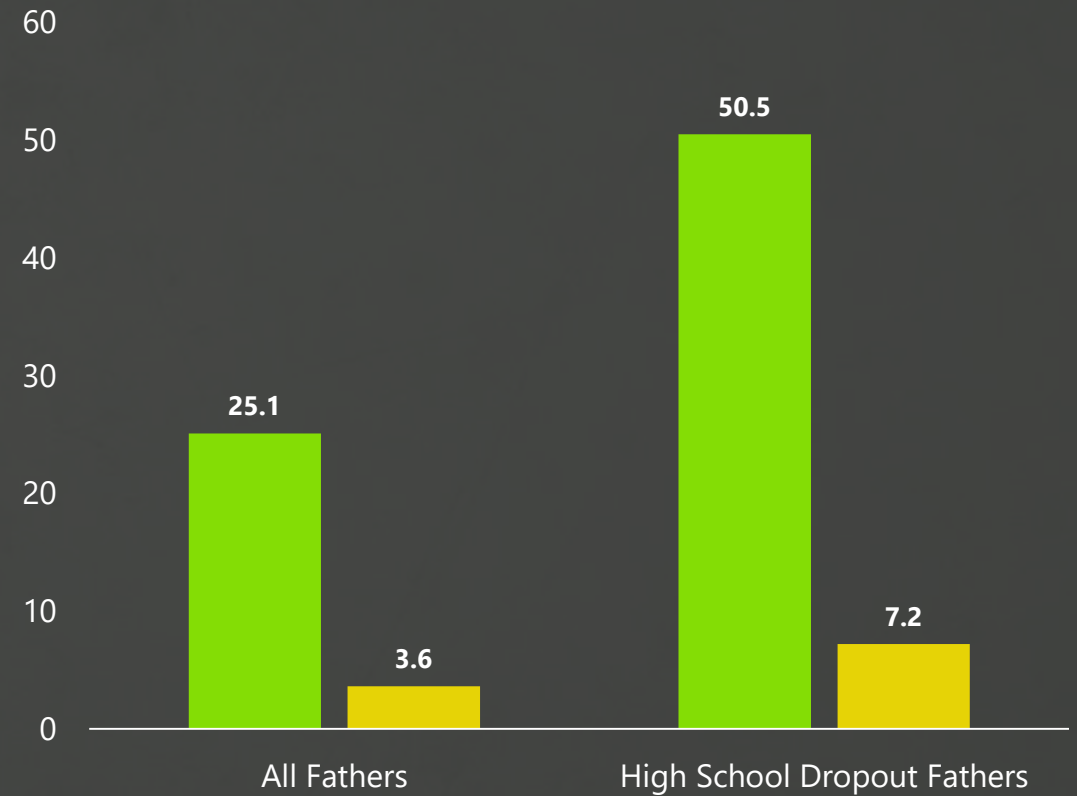


Incarcerated Families

% of Children with Incarcerated Fathers:
On any given day

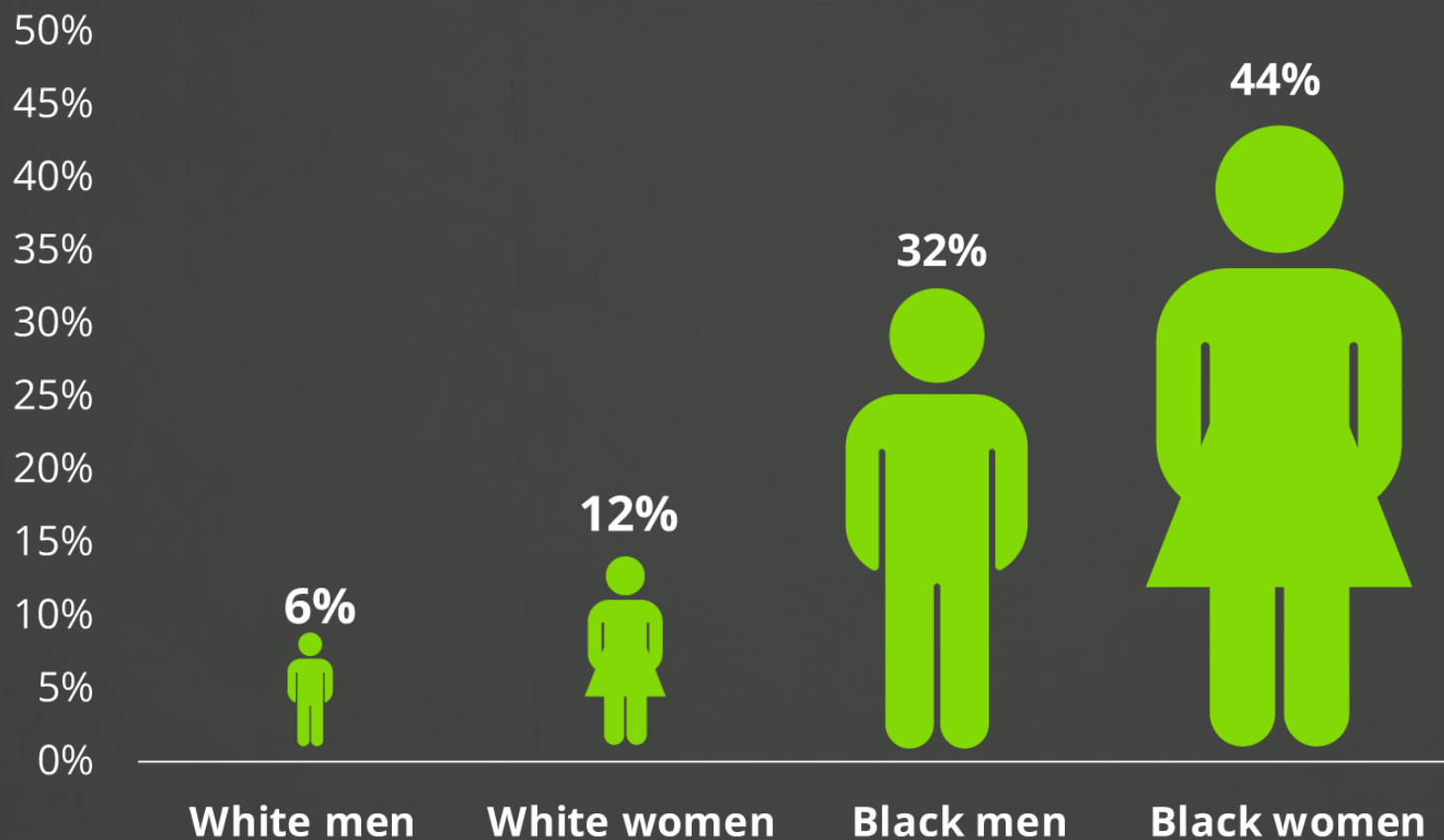


% of Children with Incarcerated Fathers:
Cumulative by child's 14th birthday



Family Members in Prison by Race & Gender

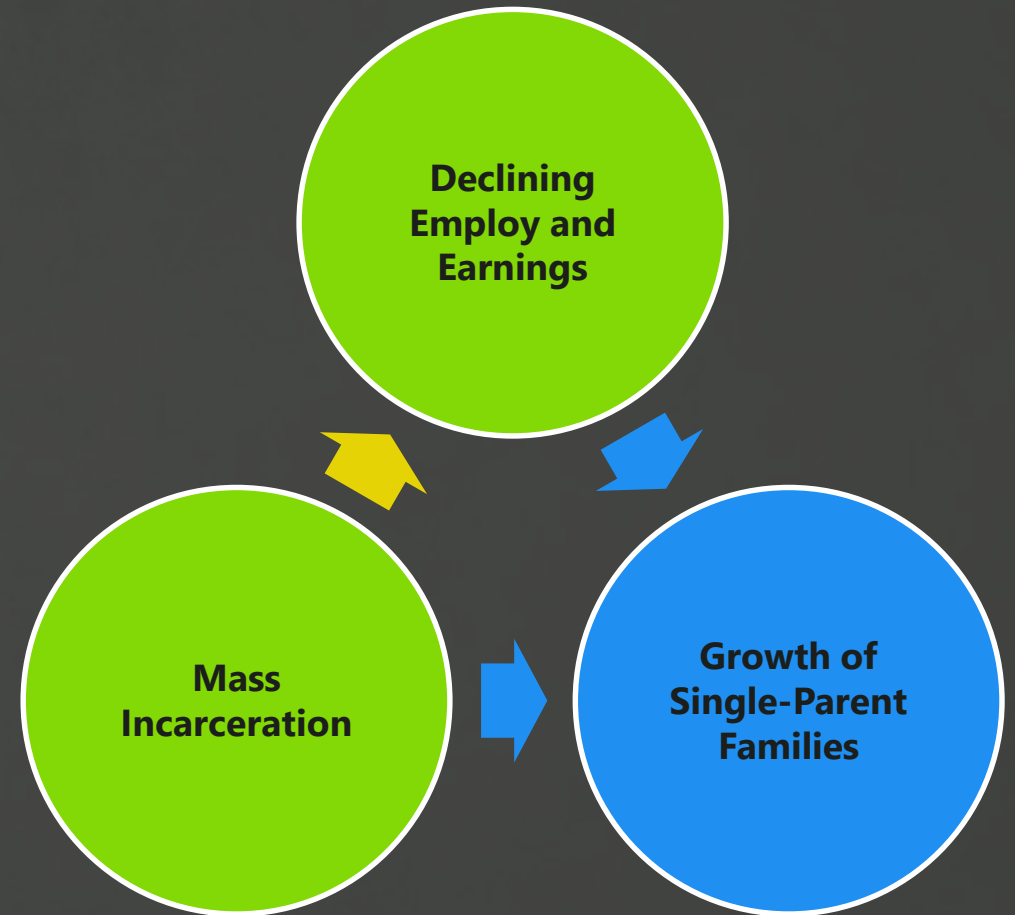
**% with an Incarcerated Family Member
(2006)**



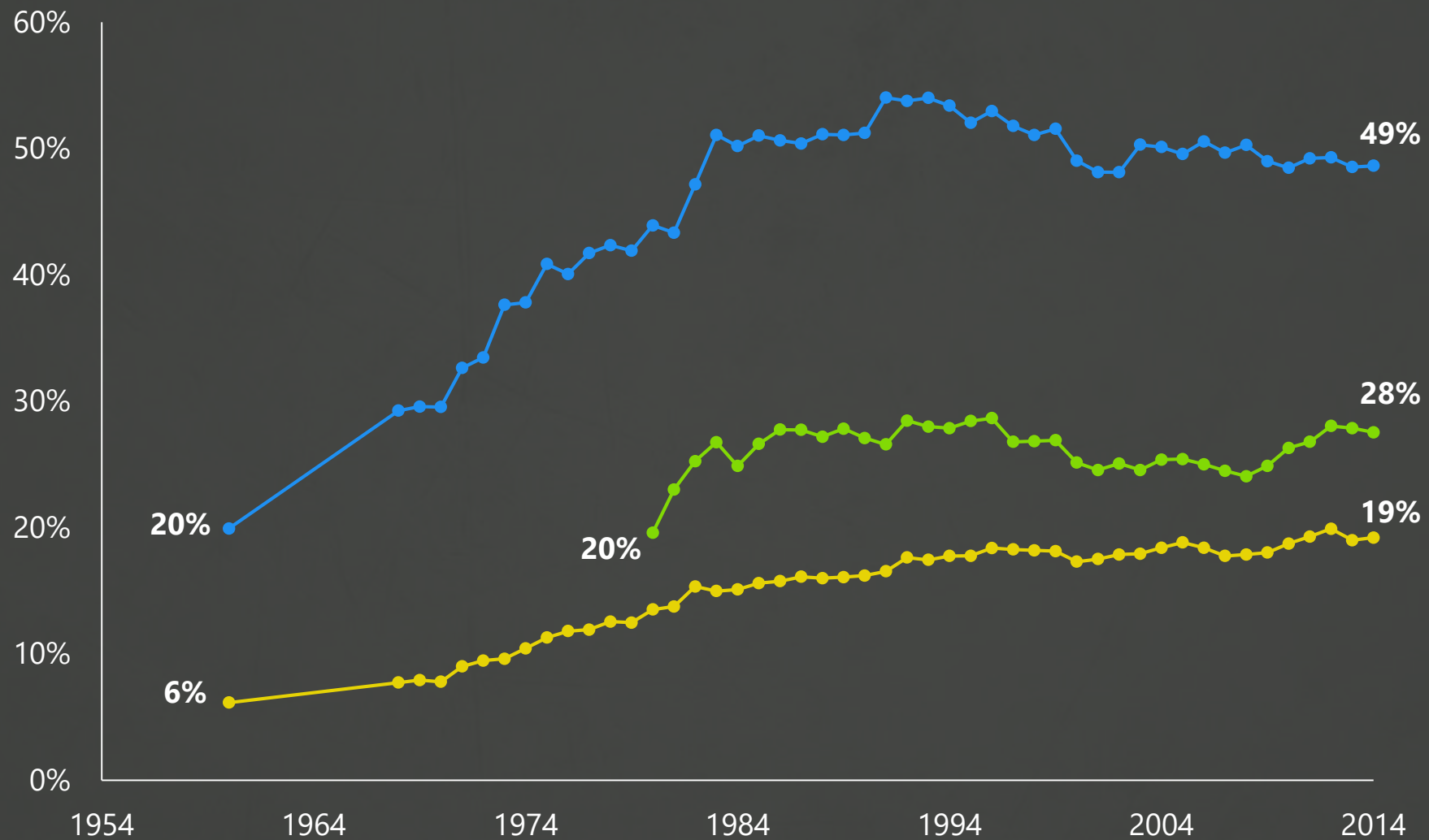
Rise of Disadvantaged Families

»»» Rise of Single Parent Families

- The decline in “working class” family in America and the class divide in family formation led by broad economic changes and buttressed by cultural changes (*Cherlin, 2014*)
- Decline of “marriageable males” and imbalanced sex ratios (83 black men for every 100 black women) (*Wilson, 1996, Wolfers et al. 2015*)
- Incarceration reduces male parental involvement post-release (*Travis and Western, 2014*)

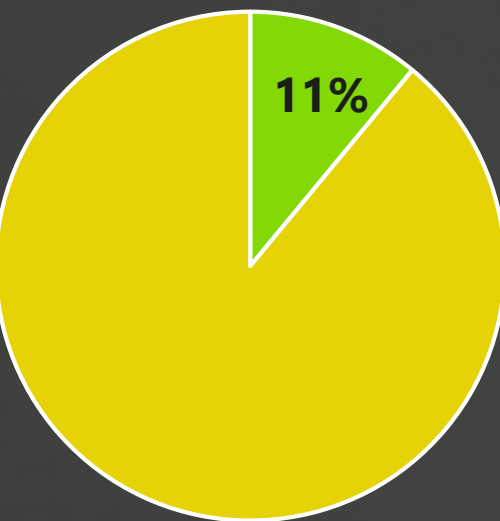


Percentage of Children Living in Single Parent Families (1960-2014)

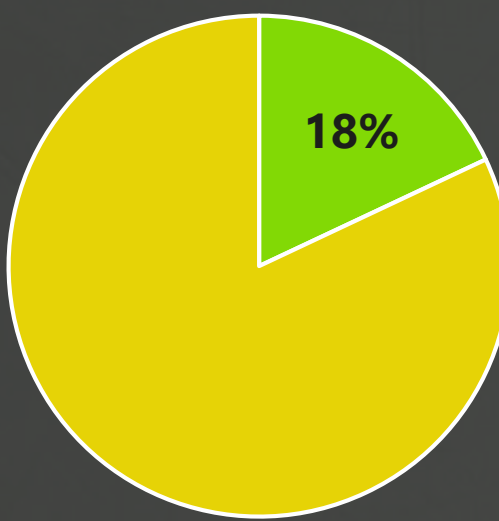


Children Living in Single Parent Families

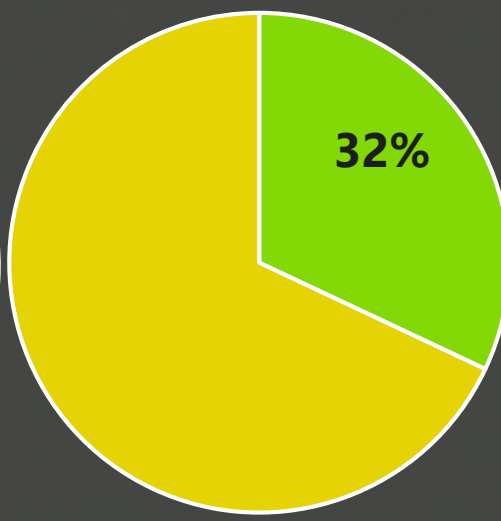
In 2013, the Percentage of Children Living in Single Parent Families



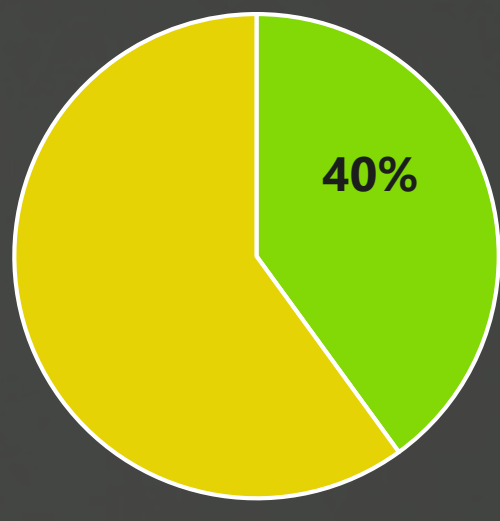
Asian Children



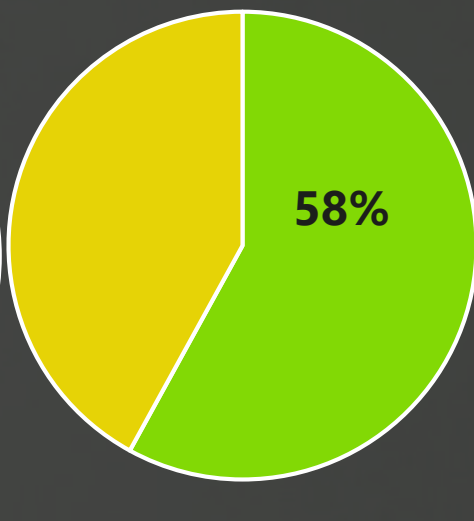
White Children



Latino Children



American Indian Children



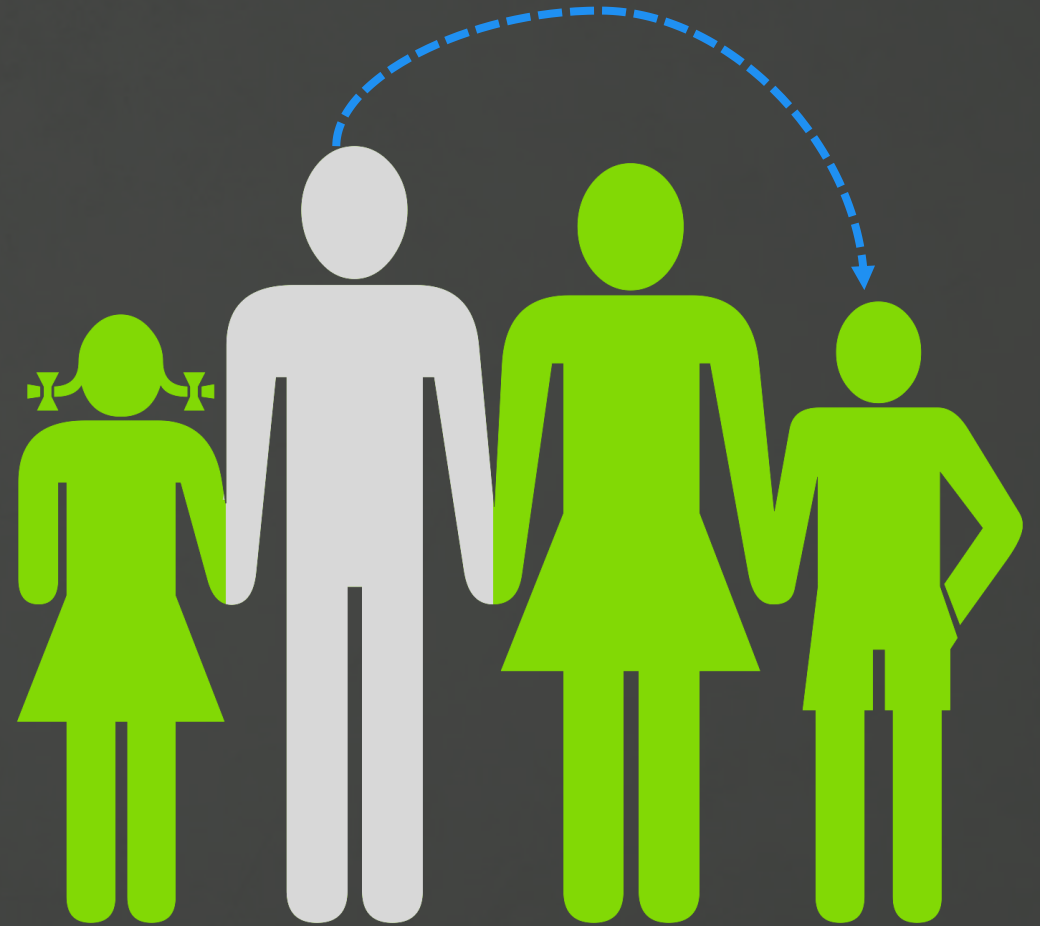
Black Children

Gender-Specific Effects of Family Disadvantage on Educational Outcomes

Gender-Specific Effects of Family Disadvantage on Educational and Employment Outcomes

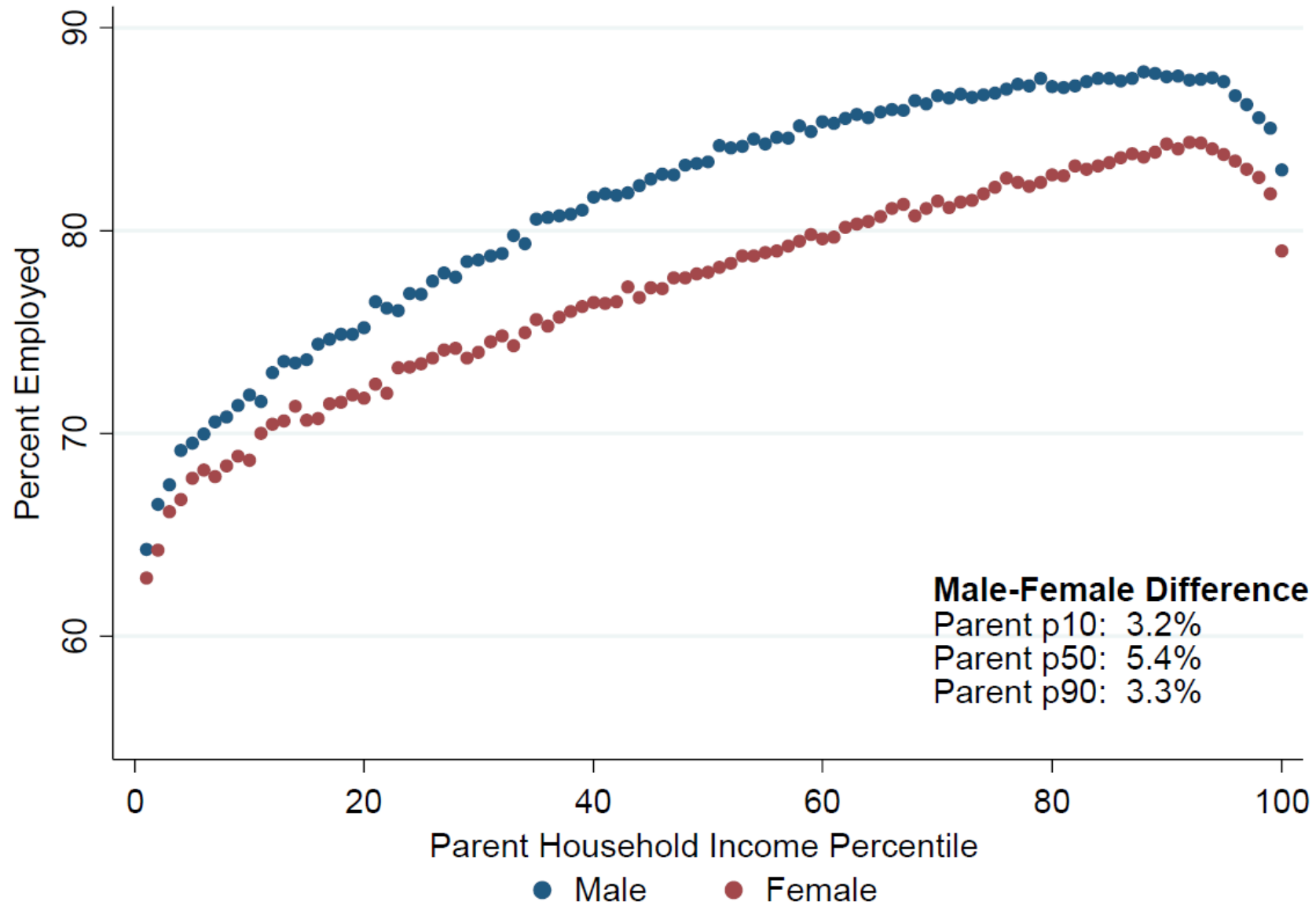
Growing up in a single-parent family:

- Reduces college attendance for boys, but not for girls (*Jacob, 2002*)
- Increases juvenile delinquency among boys, but not girls (*Cobb-Clark, 2011*)
- Increases behavior problems significantly more among boys than girls (*Bertrand and Pan, 2011*)
- With an incarcerated father increases behavioral problems much more among boys than girls (*Wakefield and Wildeman, 2013*)
- Causes behavioral and academic outcomes between boys and girls to substantially diverge starting in Kindergarten: Based on a sample of 1 million Florida kids (*Autor, 2015*)
- Causes a reversal of gender gap in the likelihood that males will work compared to girls. Boys raised in single parent families work less than girls as adults: Based on a U.S. sample of 5 million children and their parents. (*Chetty, 2016*)



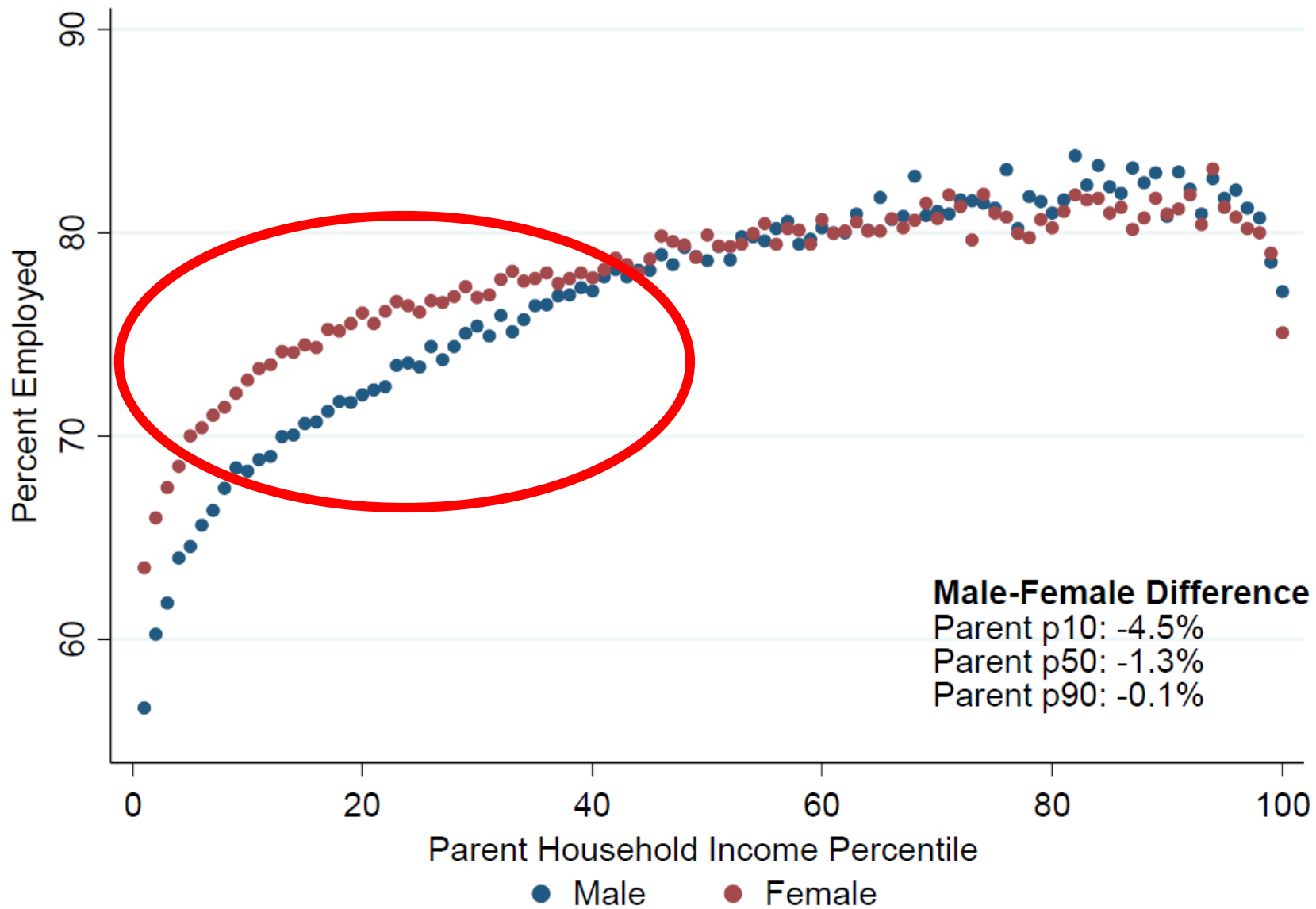
Children's Employment Rates at Age 30 by Gender and Parent Income Percentile

Married Parent Households



Children's Employment Rates at Age 30 by Gender and Parent Income Percentile

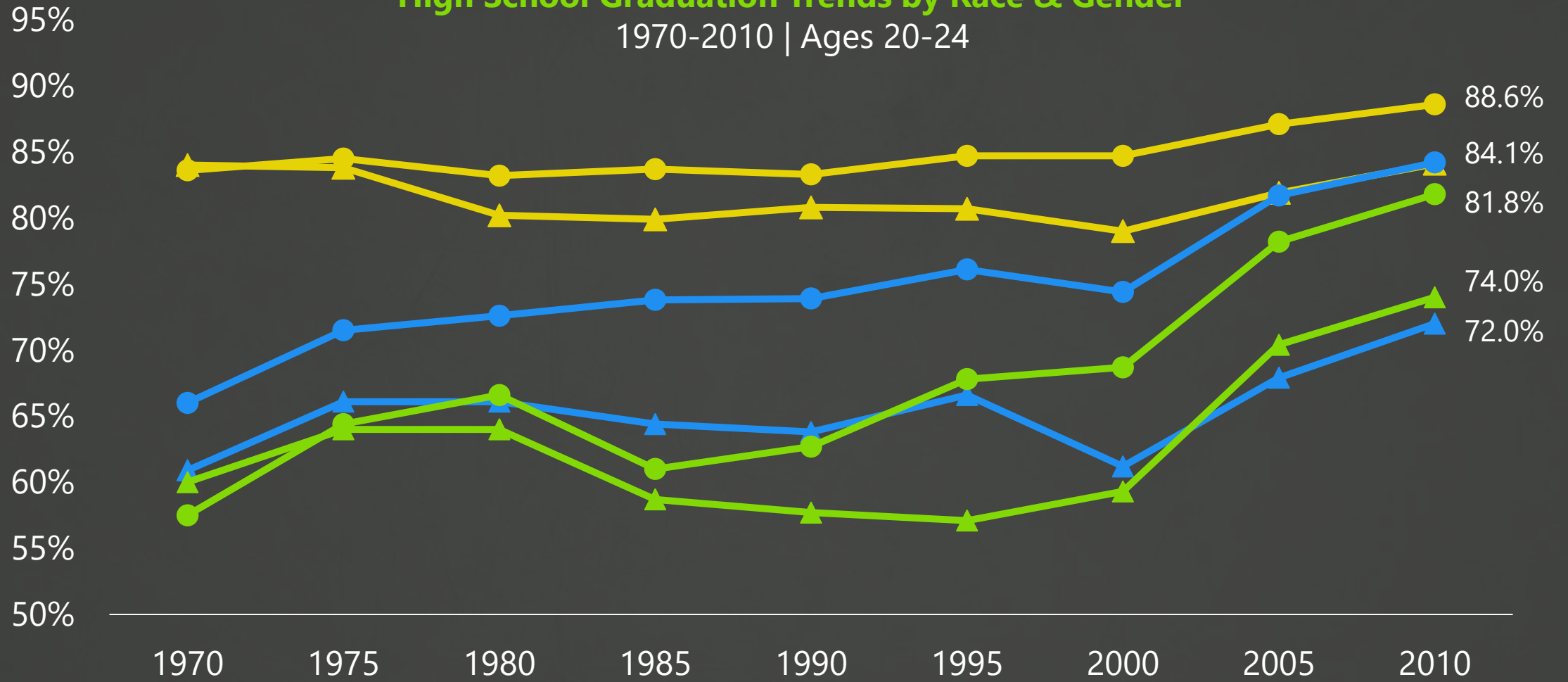
Single Parent Households



Stagnant Male Educational Attainment

High School Graduation Trends by Race & Gender

1970-2010 | Ages 20-24



● White Females

▲ White Males

● Black Females

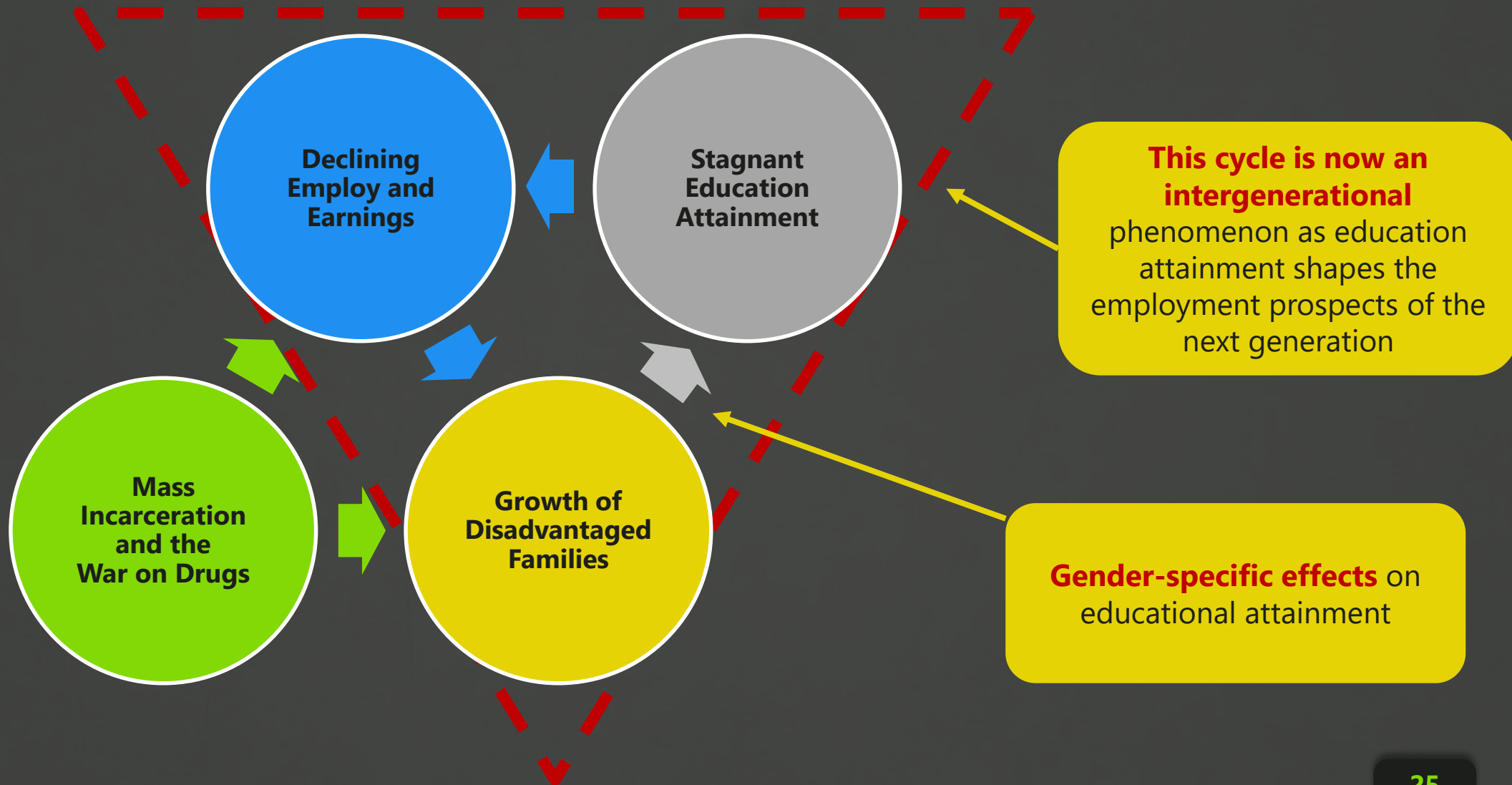
▲ Black Males

● Latino Females

▲ Latino Males

A Vicious Cycle of Intergenerational Male Disadvantage

>>> A Vicious Cycle of Male Intergenerational Disadvantage



Oakland, CA

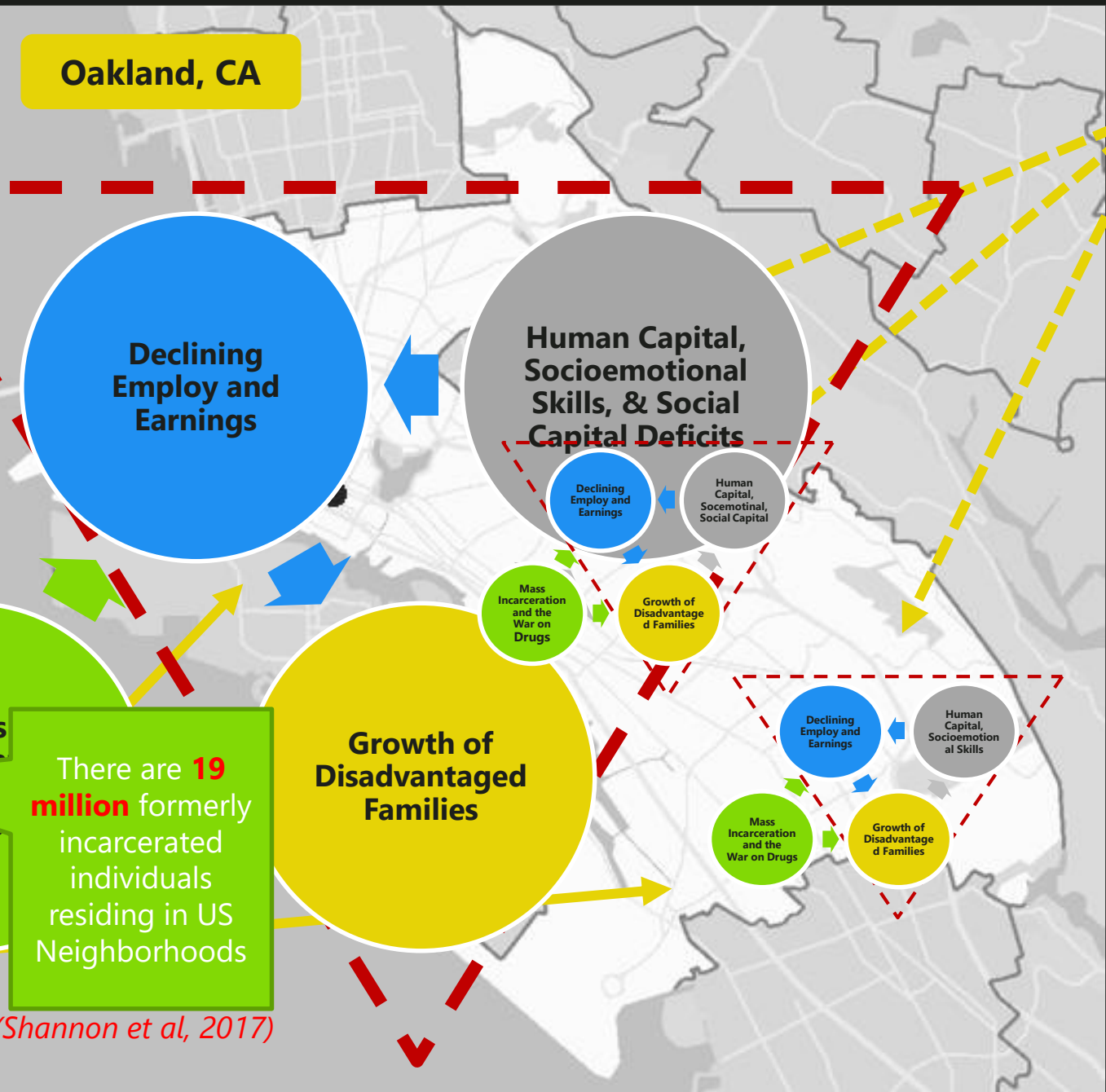
Rise of concentrated disadvantage

- Poor neighborhoods are **over-policed** through aggressive drug enforcement and order-maintenance policing and **under-protected** from violence due to reduced "police legitimacy" and police effectiveness with regard to violent crime

- Mass incarceration also concentrated in poor neighborhoods (Clear, 2007)

Mass Criminalization (War on Drugs and Incarceration)

Mass Incarceration and the War on Drugs
There are 19 million formerly incarcerated individuals residing in US Neighborhoods (Shannon et al, 2017)



- The rise of concentrated poverty and jobless ghettos since the early 1970s due to economic decline, and racial & economic segregation (Wilson, 1996)
- Concentration of negative factors associated with poverty like crime, **violence**, poor school quality, drugs, disinvestment (Massey, 2007)

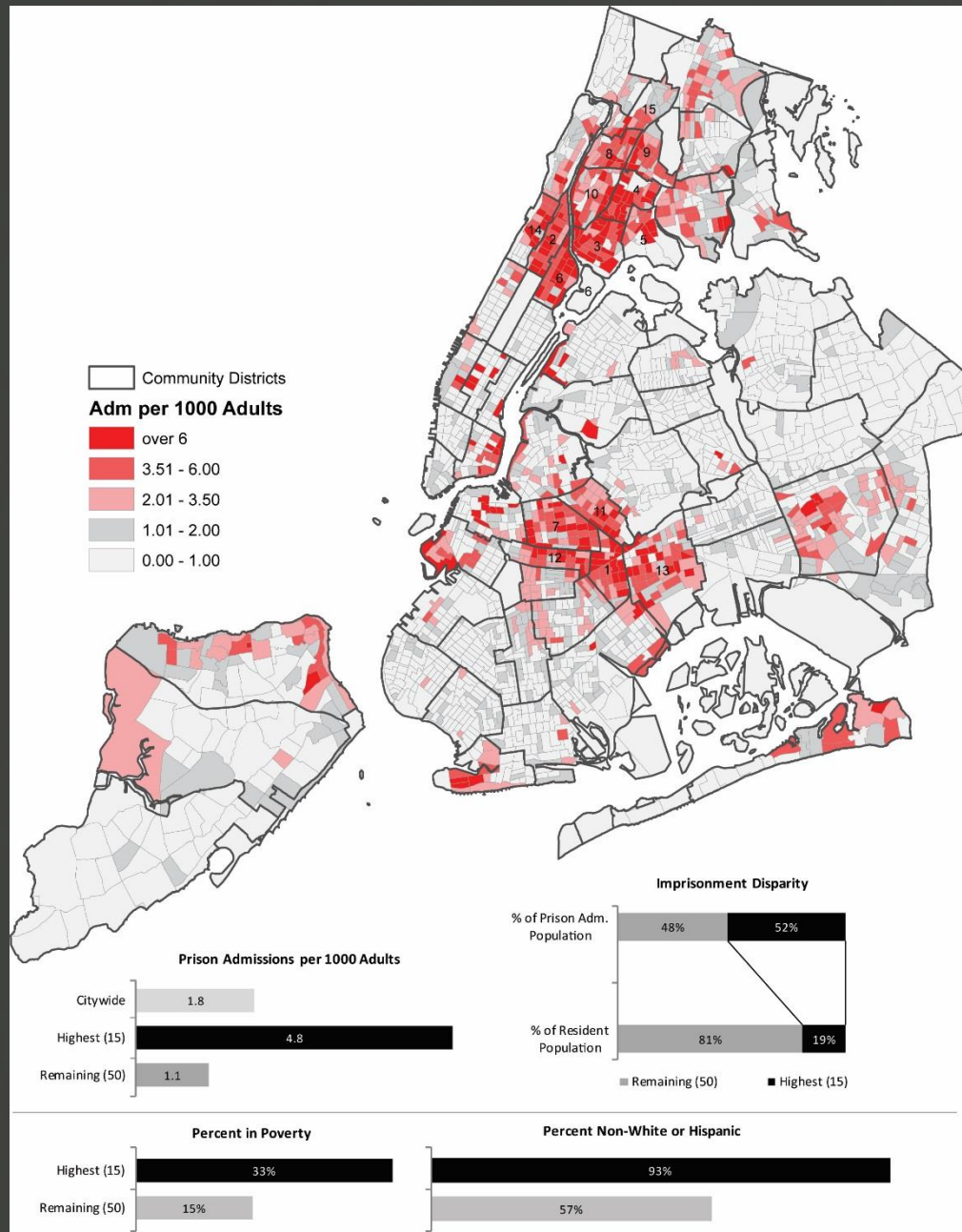


FIGURE 10-1 Distribution of incarceration in New York City (2009). People admitted to prison per 1000 adults by census tract of residence with community district borders.

NOTE: About half (52 percent) of the people sent to prison from New York City in 2009 came from 15 of the city's 65 community districts. These 15 community districts have the highest prison admission rates among the city's community districts and are labeled on the map according to rank from 1 to 15. They are collectively labeled "Highest (15)" and compared with the city's remaining 50 community districts, labeled "Remaining (50)," in the figure above.

SOURCE: Prepared for the committee by The Justice Mapping Center, Rutgers University School of Criminal Justice: Maps designed and produced by Eric Cadora and Charles Swartz.

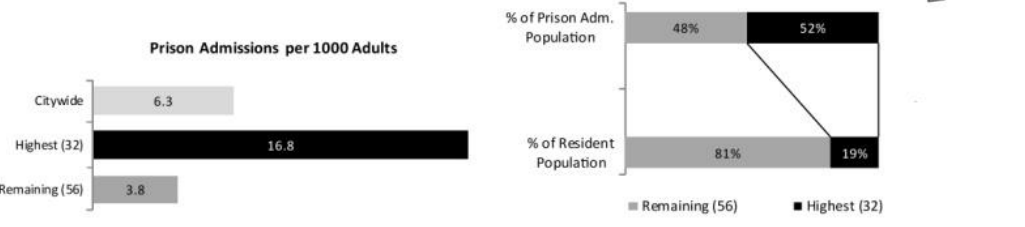
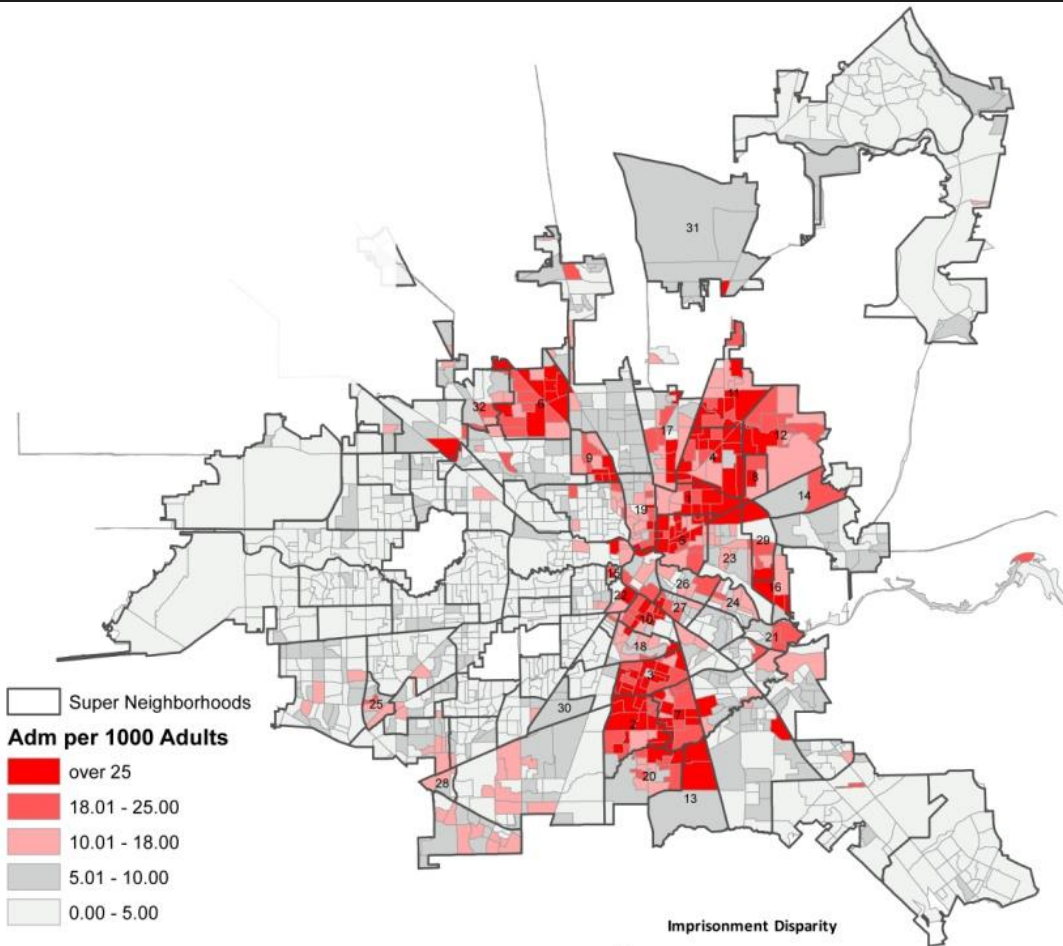


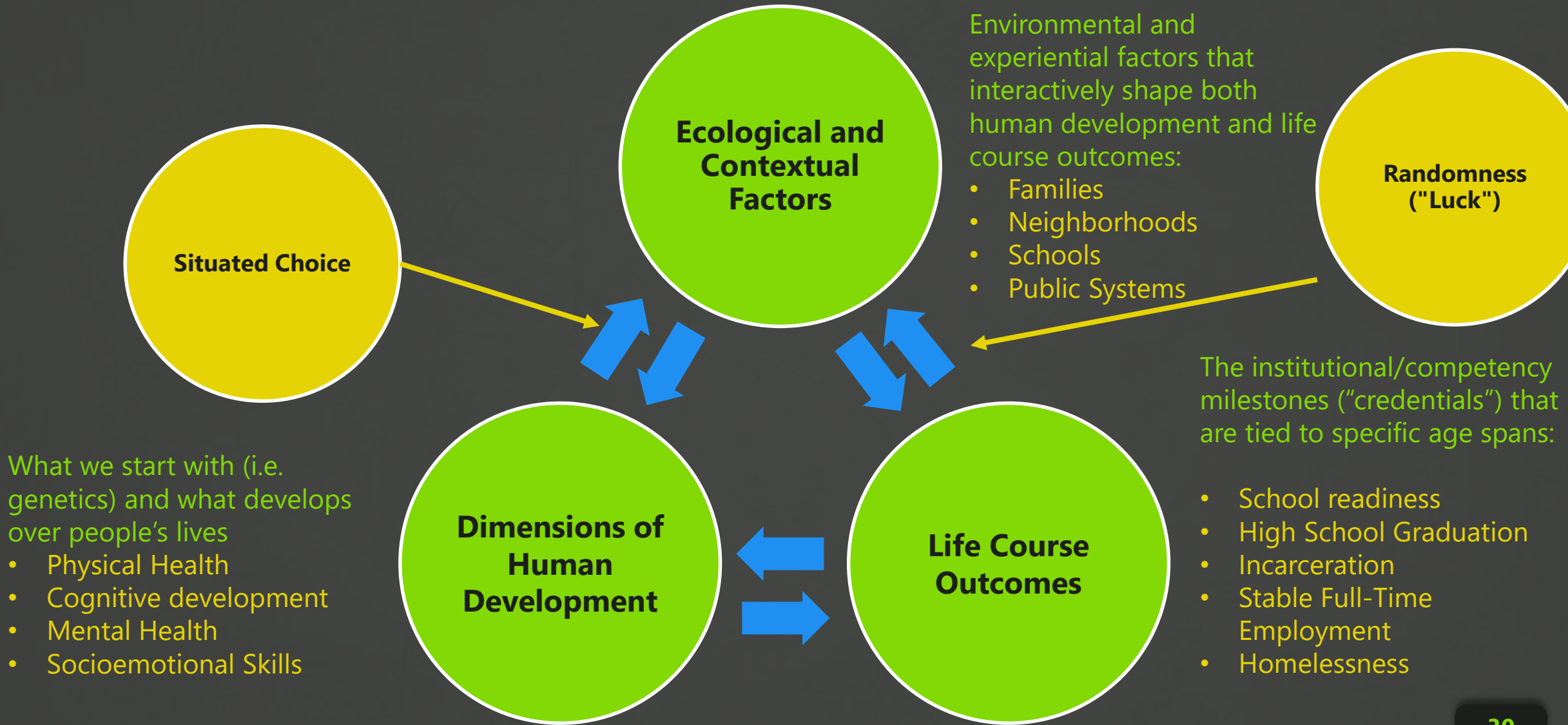
FIGURE 10-2 Distribution of incarceration in Houston, Texas (2008). People admitted to prison per 1000 adults by census tract of residence with super neighborhood borders.

NOTE: About half (52 percent) of the people sent to prison from Houston in 2008 came from 32 of the city's 88 super neighborhoods. These 32 super neighborhoods have the highest prison admission rates among the city's super neighborhoods and are labeled on the map according to rank from 1 to 32. They are collectively labeled "Highest (32)" and compared with the city's remaining 56 super neighborhoods, labeled "Remaining (50)," in the figure above.

SOURCE: Prepared for the committee by The Justice Mapping Center, Rutgers University School of Criminal Justice: Maps designed and produced by Eric Cadora and Charles Swartz.

A Life Course Framework for Improving the
Lives of Disadvantaged Populations:
Interrupting the Cycle

Overview of Framework Components



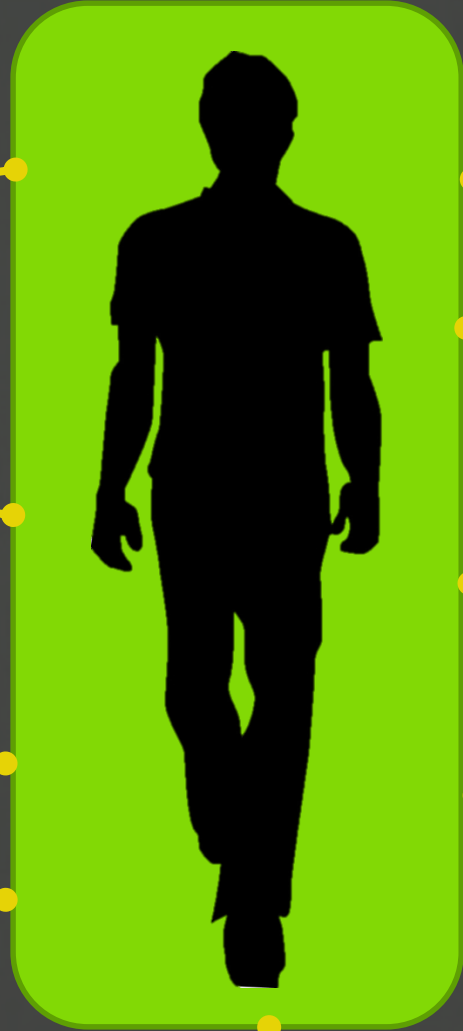
Dimensions of Human Development

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

Cognitive Development: fluid and crystallized intelligence, information processing, language, numeracy, literacy, **executive functions** (e.g. **memory, attention, reasoning, problem solving**), mathematical reasoning, scientific thinking, verbal and written communication skills

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

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



Identity Development: **Self-concept**, Self-Awareness, **Mindset**, self-efficacy, racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, sexual identity, cultural orientation/attachment; Sense of Belonging

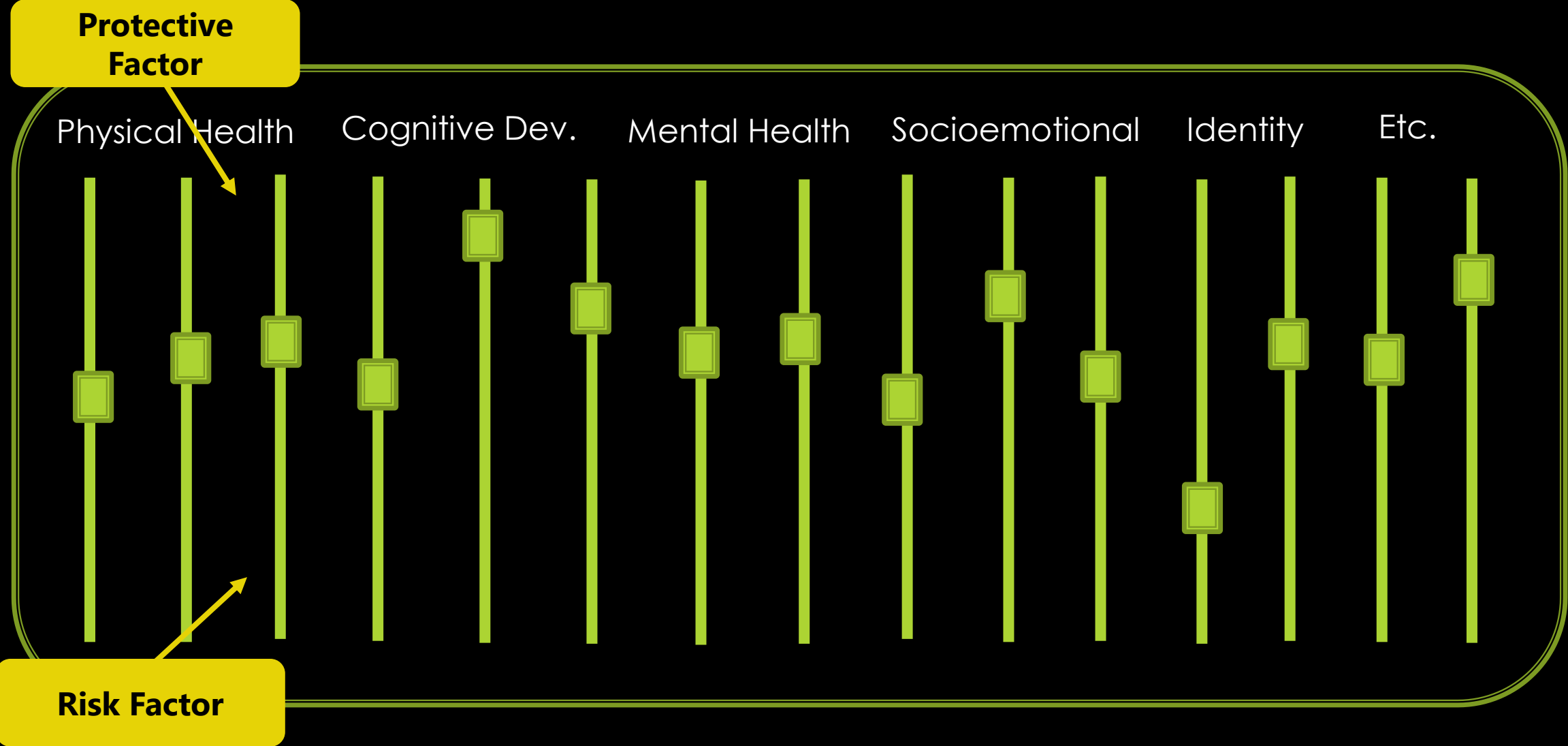
Beliefs, Content and Cultural Knowledge: personal beliefs, expectations for the future, Declarative, procedural and evaluative content and cultural knowledge.

Meaning-Making/Spiritual Development: Global and Situational Meaning (e.g. "The Meaning-Making Model") including beliefs, goals, subjective sense of meaning; sense of "life's purpose"; spiritual development and practice and/or religious affiliation and practice

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

Personality: Openness, Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, Neuroticism

Dimensions of Human Development



Society, Culture & History
Institutions and Public Systems
Place
Peers, Mentors and Networks
Schools and Childcare
Family

0-5

6-11

12-18

19-25

26-35

ON TRACK

OFF TRACK

Physical Health

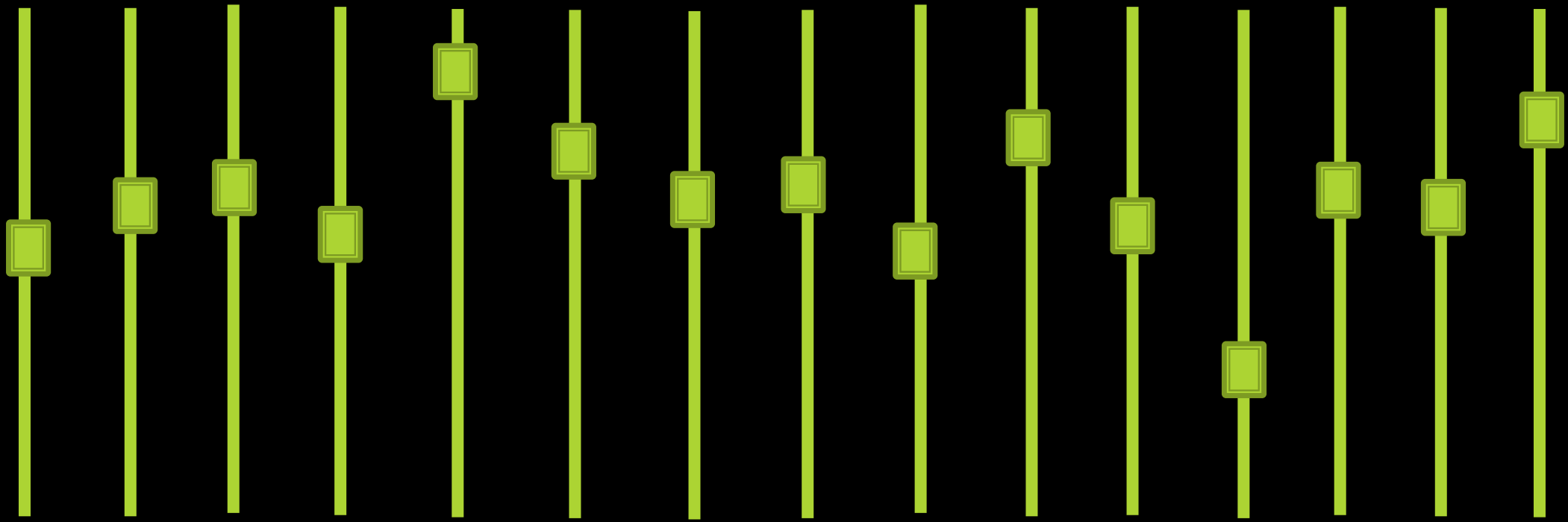
Cognitive Dev.

Mental Health

Socioemotional

Identity

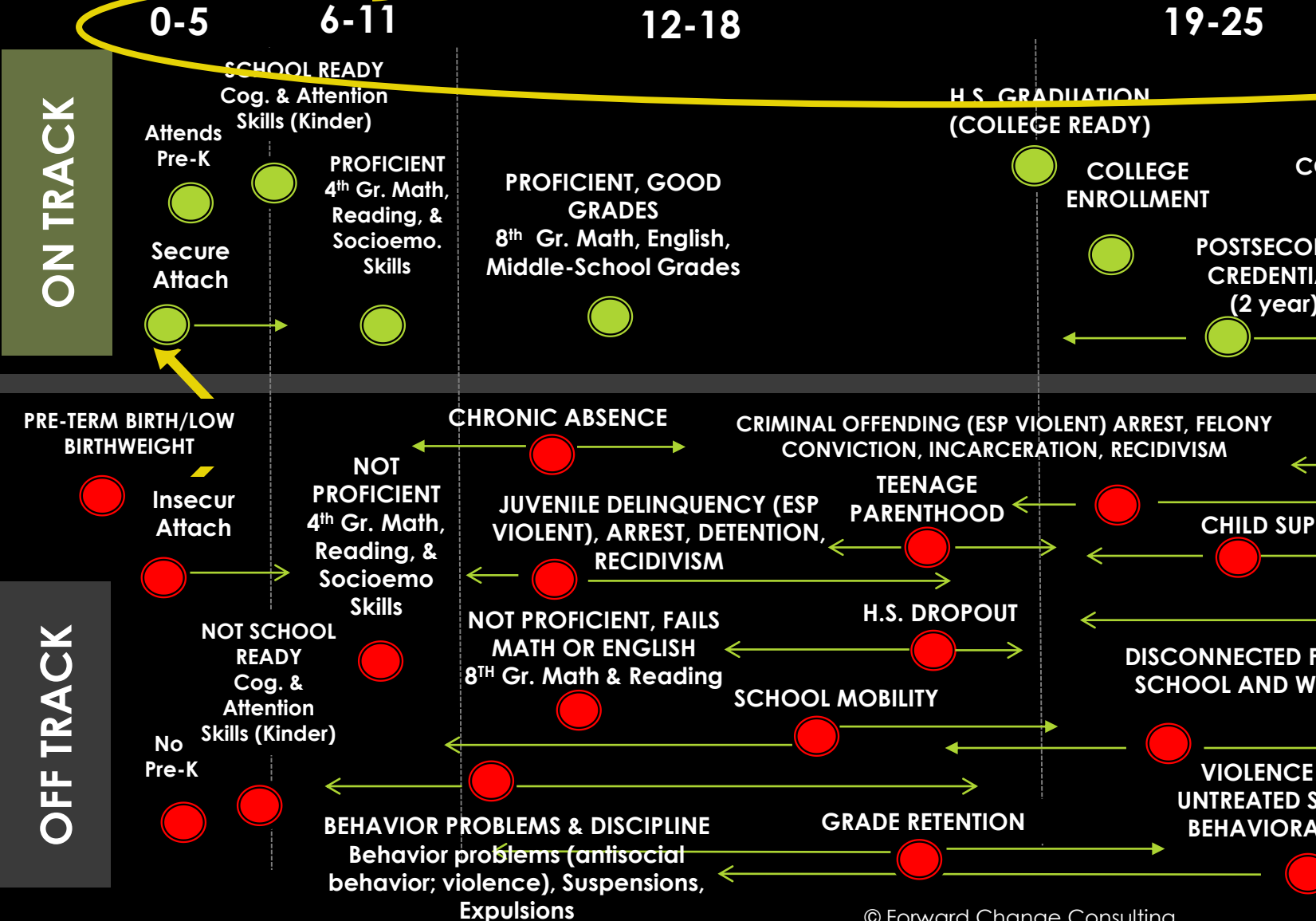
Etc.



Life Course Outcomes

Society, Culture & History
 Institutions and Public Systems
 Place
 Peers, Mentors and Networks
 Schools and Childcare
 Family

Ecological/Contextual Factors



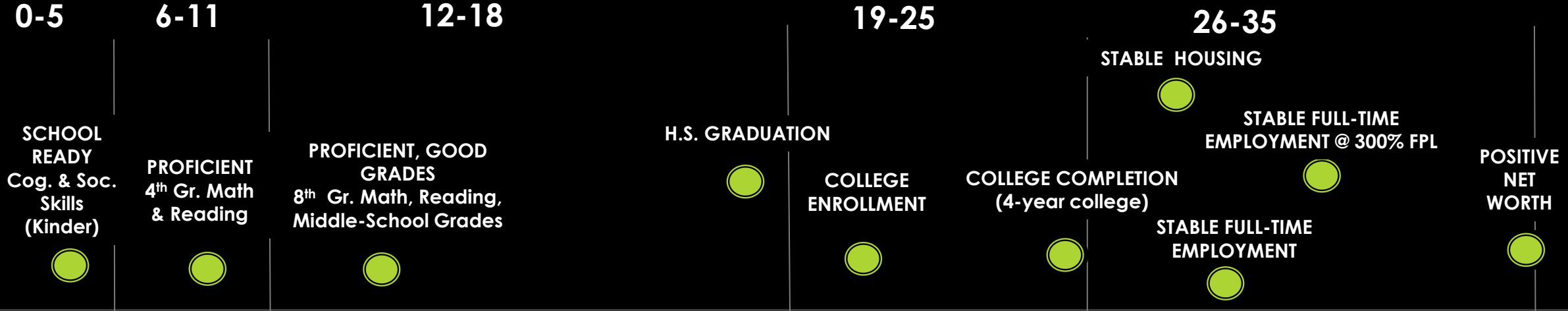
Key Takeaways

- **Earlier life outcomes affect later ones.**
- There is a need for interventions across the life course, not just early ones. **Early intervention is necessary, but not sufficient.**
- There are **"sensitive"** developmental periods for intervention
- **"Causal Density"**: Everything is related to everything else which makes "siloed" approaches ineffectual
- We need to **build recovery pathways to getting back on-track** as well as preventing young people getting off-track

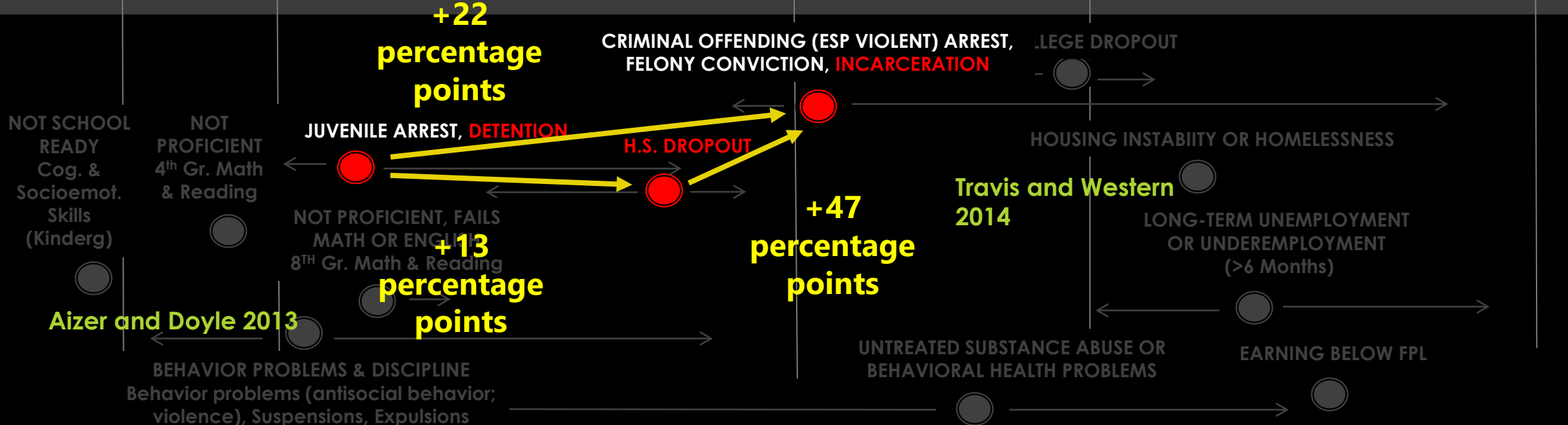
Society, Culture & History
 Institutions and Public Systems
 Place
 Peers, Mentors and Networks
 Schools and Childcare
 Family

Life Course Outcomes

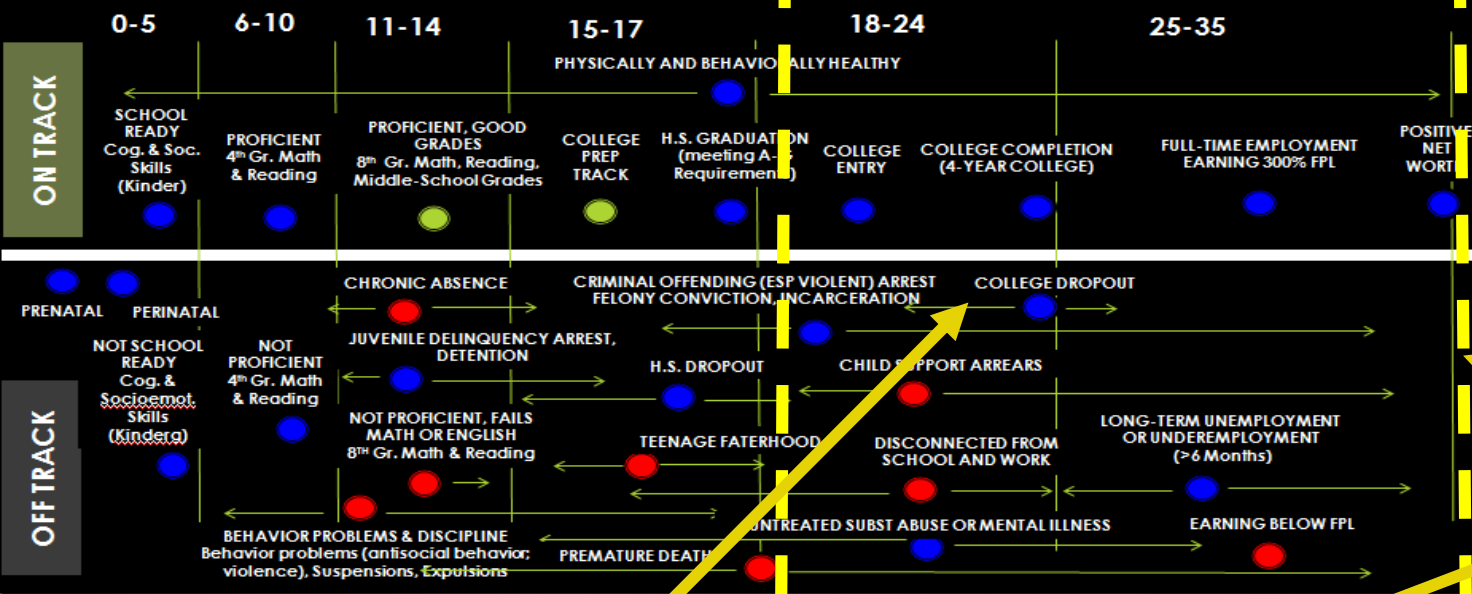
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Society
Peers and Networks
Place
Schools and Systems
Family

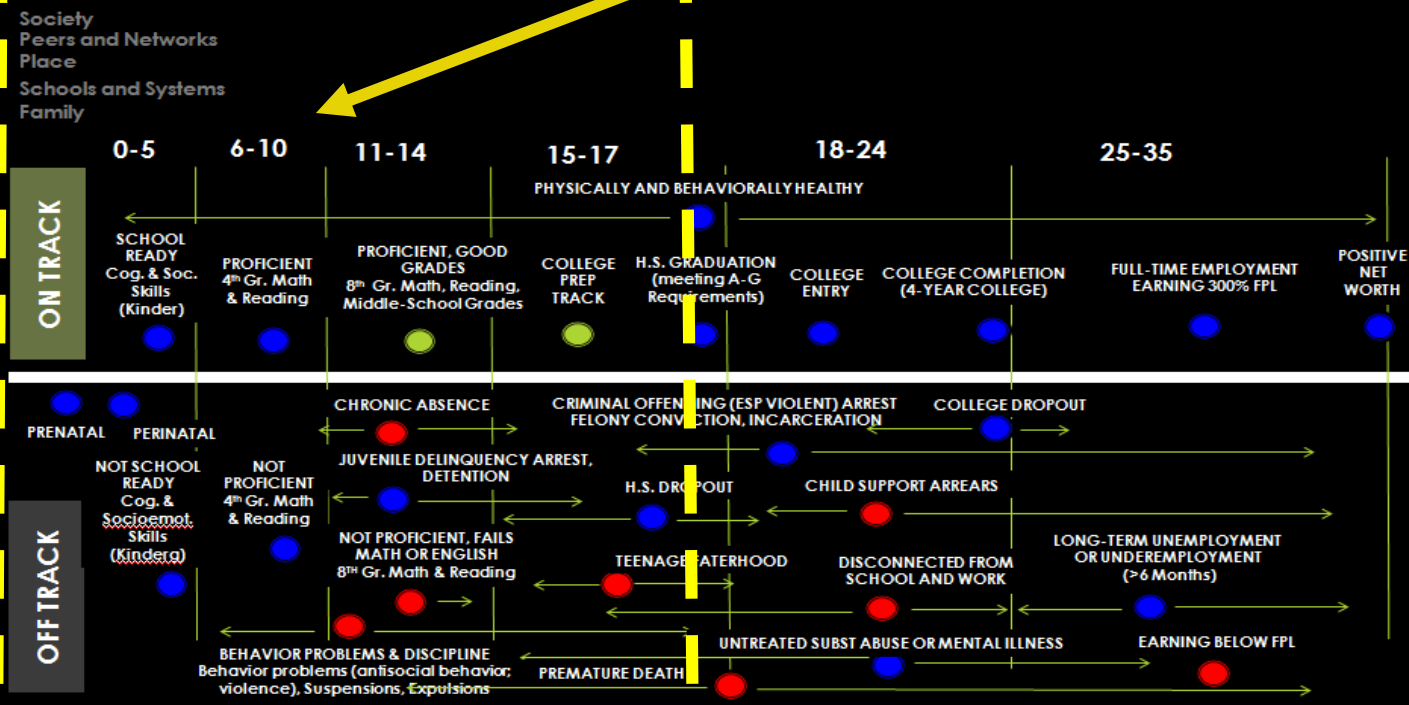


Generationally Linked Life Courses: Adopt a Two-Generation Approach

Father's Life Course (or Mother's)

While these are later life course interventions, they have early life course implications for the next generation.

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



Child's Life Course

Ecological and Contextual Factors

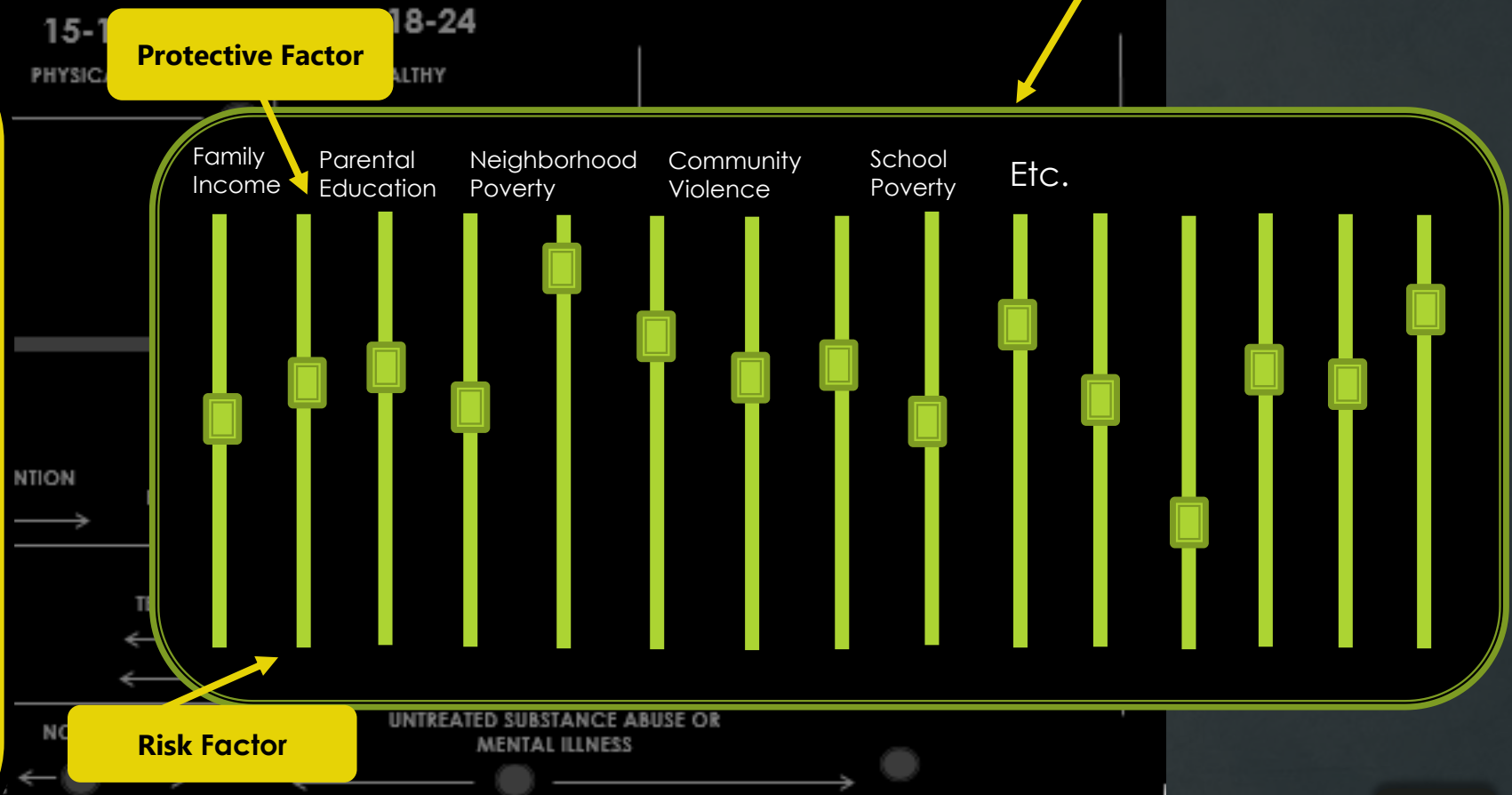
Ecological and Contextual Factors

Society, Culture & History
Institutions and Public Systems
Place
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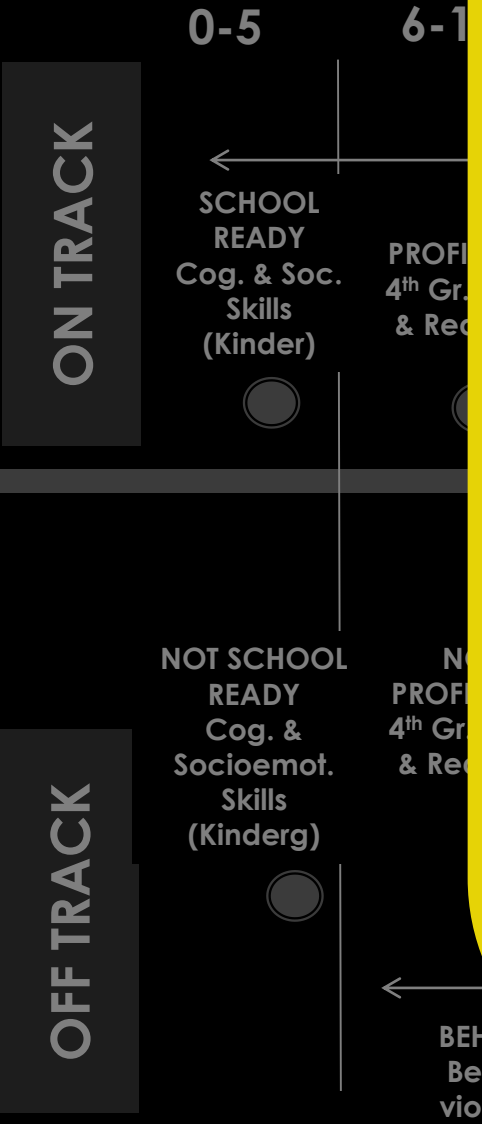
Ecological and Contextual Factors can be

Exposure to Risk and Protection Matters According to:

1. **Timing:** when it happens
2. **Intensity:** how bad it is
3. **Duration:** how long it happens
4. **Sequencing:** protective states are better earlier
5. **Compoundedness:** what it happens with



Society, Culture & History
 Institutions and Public Systems
 Place
 Peers, Mentors and Networks
 Schools and Childcare
 Family



FAMILY (and kinship networks inc. "fictive kin")

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

Family Resources

- Pre-natal and neo-natal care
- Quality of early caregiving
- Food security
- Health insurance

- Parental Income and Wealth
- Parental Education
- Family structure and instability
- Housing stability/instability

Parental Attention, Expectations, Skills

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

Parental Social Support, Abuse/Neglect

- Child maltreatment: neglect/abuse (physical, emotional, sexual), domestic violence
- Foster Care Placement
- Parental Social Support (e.g. social networks, extended family)

Society, Culture & History
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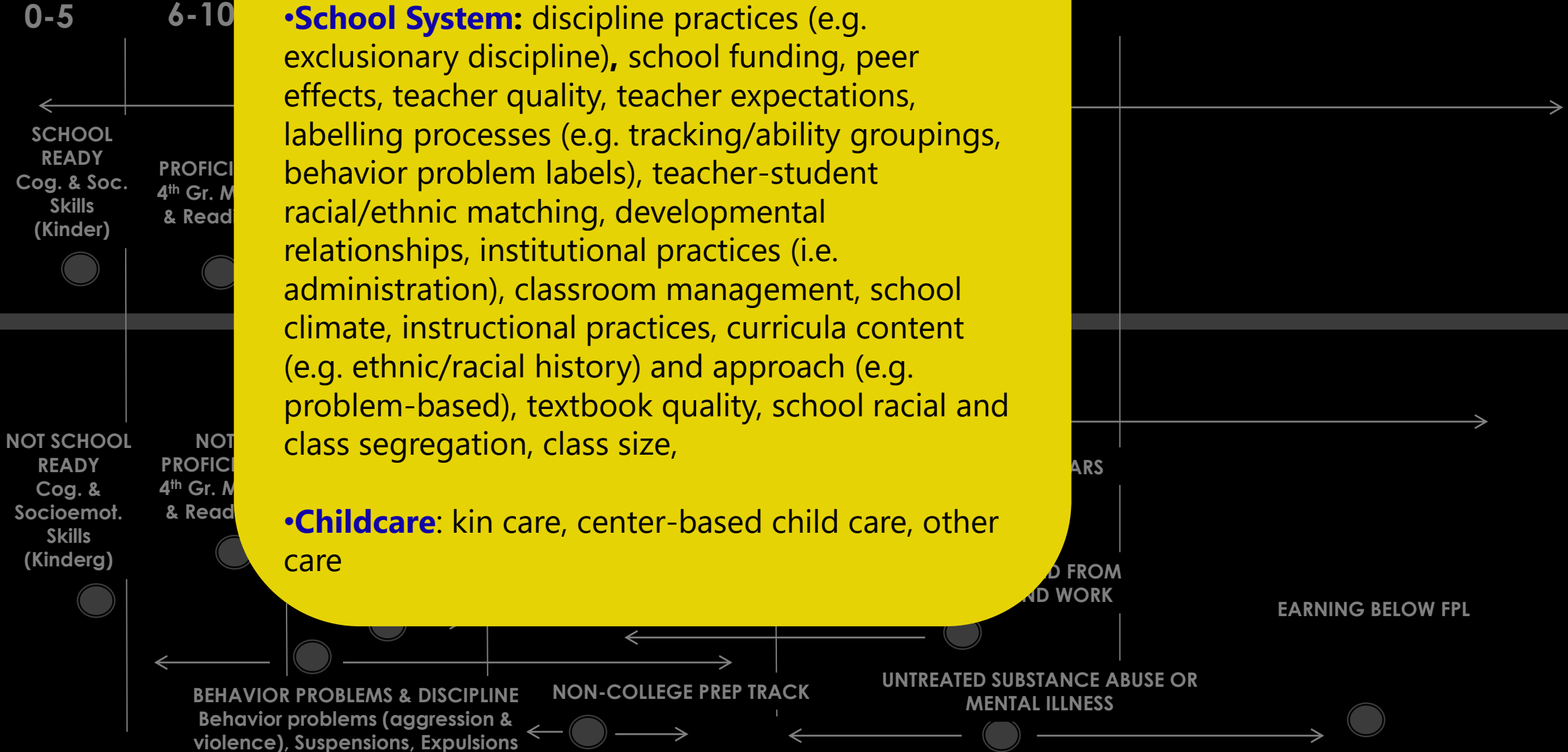
SCHOOLS AND CHILDCARE

•**School System:** discipline practices (e.g. exclusionary discipline), school funding, peer effects, teacher quality, teacher expectations, labelling processes (e.g. tracking/ability groupings, behavior problem labels), teacher-student racial/ethnic matching, developmental relationships, institutional practices (i.e. administration), classroom management, school climate, instructional practices, curricula content (e.g. ethnic/racial history) and approach (e.g. problem-based), textbook quality, school racial and class segregation, class size,

•**Childcare:** kin care, center-based child care, other care

ON TRACK

OFF TRACK



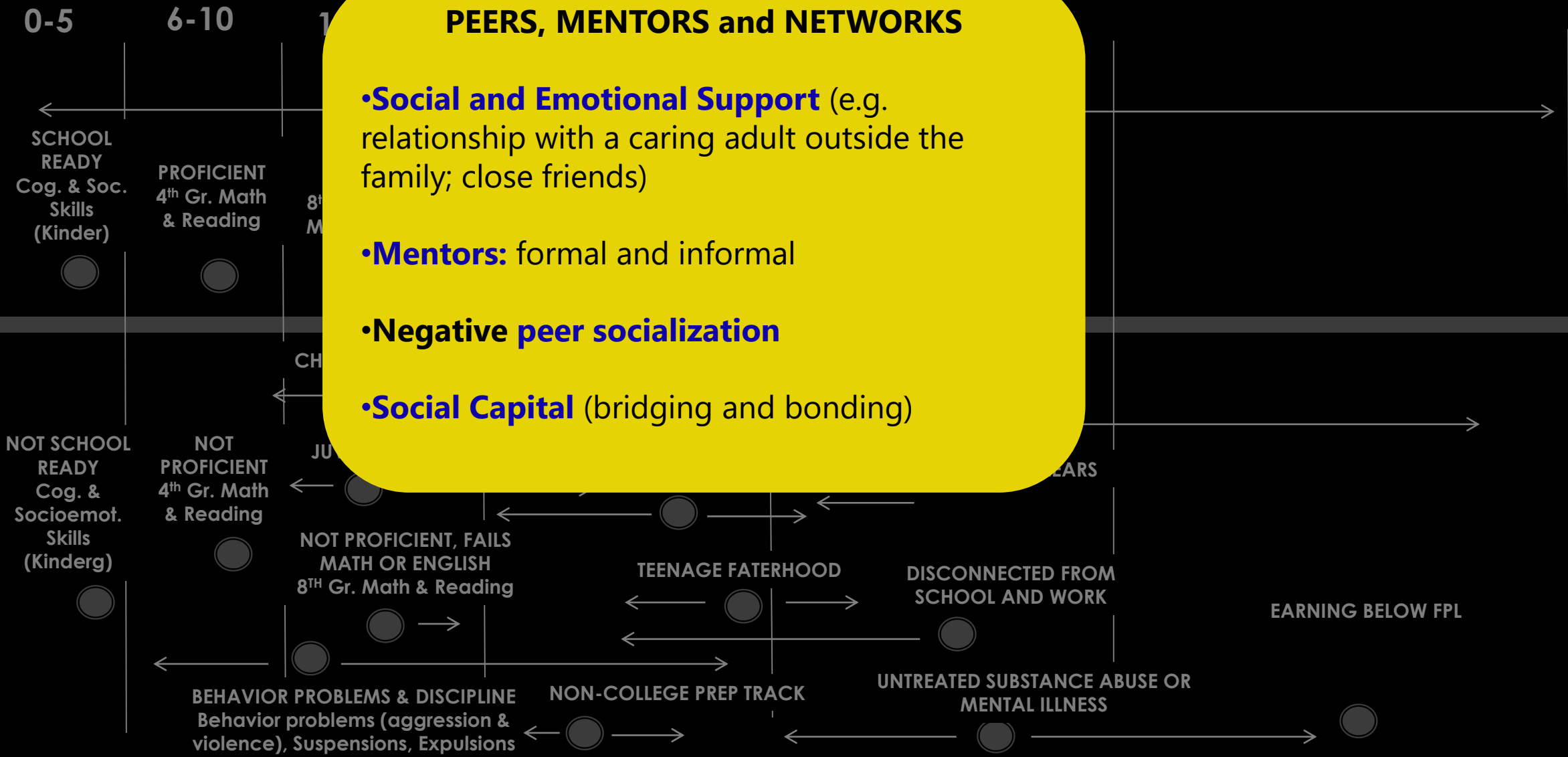
Society, Culture & History
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Family

ON TRACK

OFF TRACK

PEERS, MENTORS and NETWORKS

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



ON TRACK

OFF TRACK

PLACE
(Neighborhoods, Places of Routine Activities and Metros)

- **Concentrated Disadvantage** and **Concentrated Affluence**
- **Violence and Crime** (victimization and secondary exposure)
- **Racial Segregation/Social Isolation**
- **Street culture and underground economy**
- **Residential instability/"Coercive Mobility"**
- **Employment opportunities/Labor Markets**
- **Housing quality/Neighborhood Deterioration** (e.g. uncollected garbage, abandonment)
- **Neighborhood institutional infrastructure** (e.g. CBOs, Nonprofit service providers, organizers)
- **Social capital and community involvement**
- **Neighborhood collective efficacy**
- **Toxic substance exposure**
- **Policing**: place-focused law enforcement practices and tactics (e.g. aggressive street drug enforcement, racial profiling, stop-and-frisk)
- **Religious Institutions**
- **Day care/After School Programs**
- **Shopping** (e.g. supermarkets)
- **Metro-level income and racial segregation, income inequality and intergenerational mobility**

0-5 6-10

SCHOOL READY
Cog. & Soc. Skills
(Kinder)

PROFICIENT
4th Gr. Math & Reading

NOT SCHOOL READY
Cog. & Socioemot. Skills
(Kinderg)

NOT PROFICIENT
4th Gr. Math & Reading

BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS
Behavior problems (aggression, violence), Suspensions, Expulsions

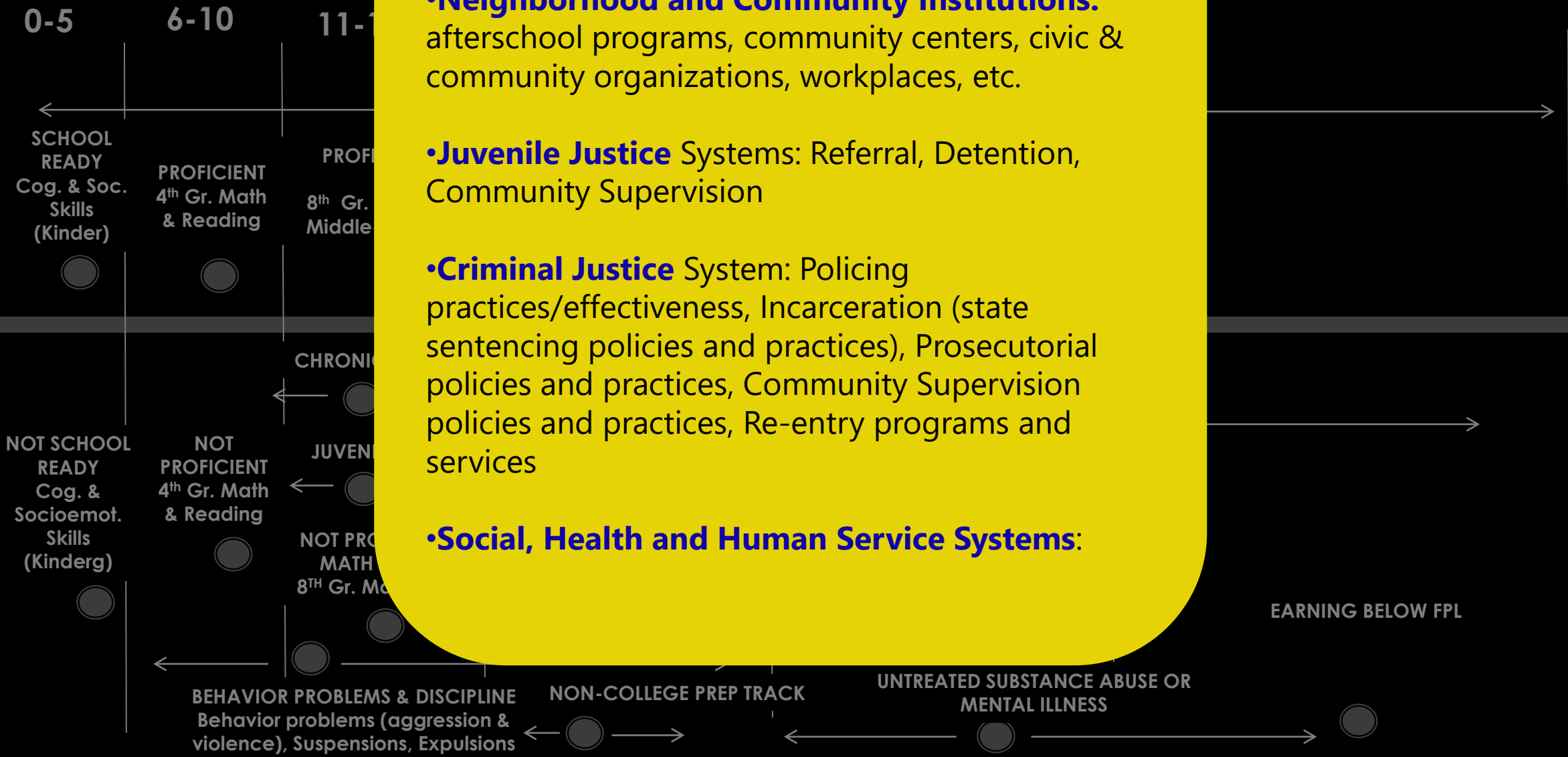
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INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC SYSTEMS

- **Neighborhood and Community Institutions:** afterschool programs, community centers, civic & community organizations, workplaces, etc.
- **Juvenile Justice** Systems: Referral, Detention, Community Supervision
- **Criminal Justice** System: Policing practices/effectiveness, Incarceration (state sentencing policies and practices), Prosecutorial policies and practices, Community Supervision policies and practices, Re-entry programs and services
- **Social, Health and Human Service Systems:**

ON TRACK

OFF TRACK



Society, Culture & History

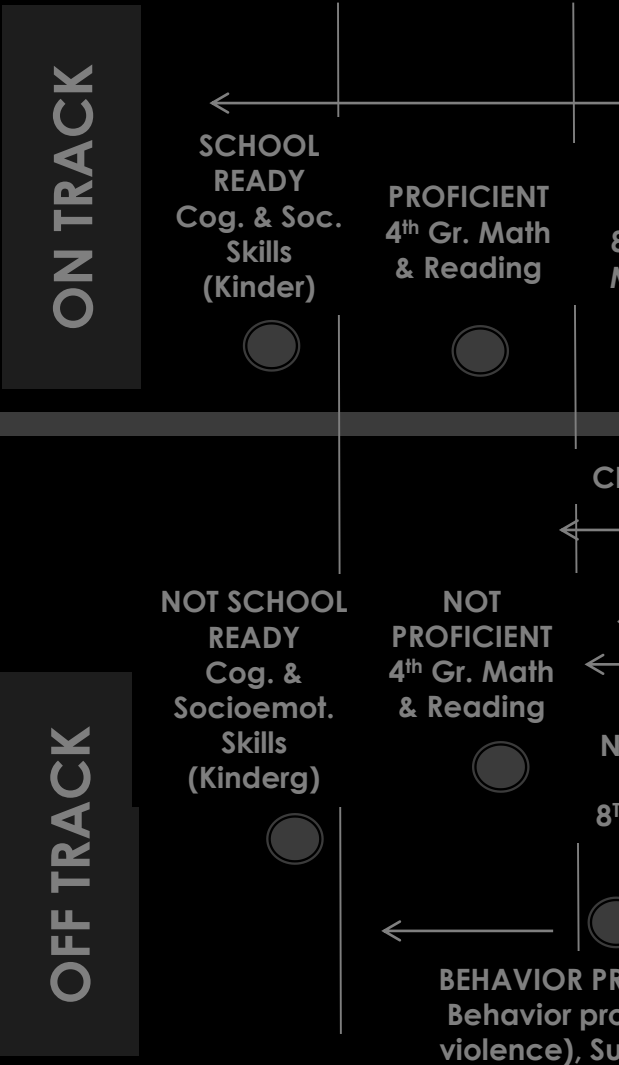
Institutions and Public Systems

Place

Peers, Mentors and Networks

Schools and Childcare

Family



SOCIETY, CULTURE & HISTORY

- **Racism and Implicit Bias**
- **Market-based racial and gender discrimination:**
 - labor market
 - housing
 - retail
 - financial
- **Legal and law-enforcement discrimination**
- **Educational Discrimination**
- **Legacy of all past forms of discrimination**

Macro-Trends

- Demographic change (e.g. immigration)
 - Rise and Decline in Violence and crime
 - Rise in Mass Incarceration
 - Rise in Income inequality
 - Rise in Income segregation (e.g. concentrated poverty & concentrated affluence)
 - Decline in Male Employment and Earnings
 - Deindustrialization
- **Political Economy Shifts**
 - Rise of Neo-liberalism
 - **Gender norms: patriarchal forms of masculinity and gender relation**

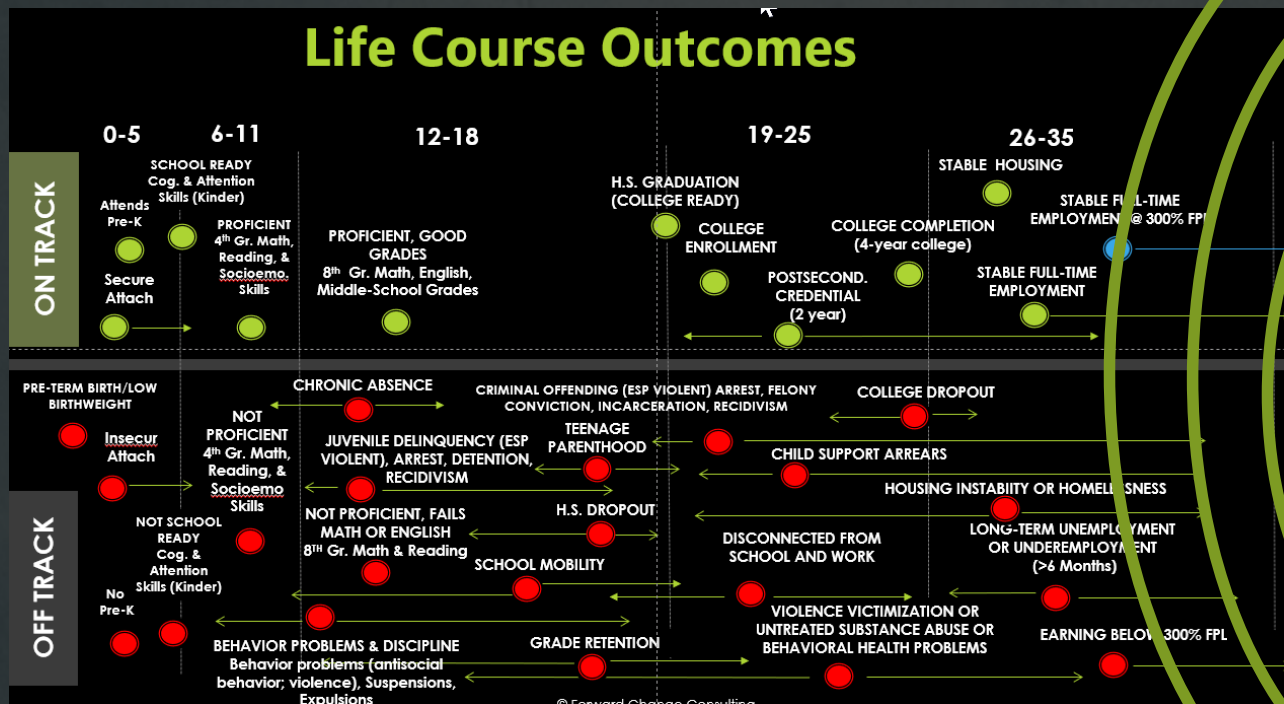
Life Course Systems Framework

Environmental Factors

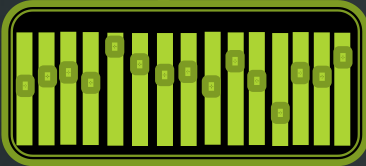
Society, Culture, History

Duration Matters

Life Course Outcomes



Developmental Characteristics



Timing Matters

Public Systems

Place, Peers, Schools

Family



Key Takeaways from the life course framework for intervention strategy

1. **Changing conditions** (and removing barriers) confronting BMOC through **policy and systems change**
 - Focused on State & Local with some Federal Policy change
 - Tie savings from punishment reform to “reinvestment”
2. Help children become more **resilient** to bad conditions through **applying programs, services and practices** that we know work for males of color
3. **Both are indispensable!**

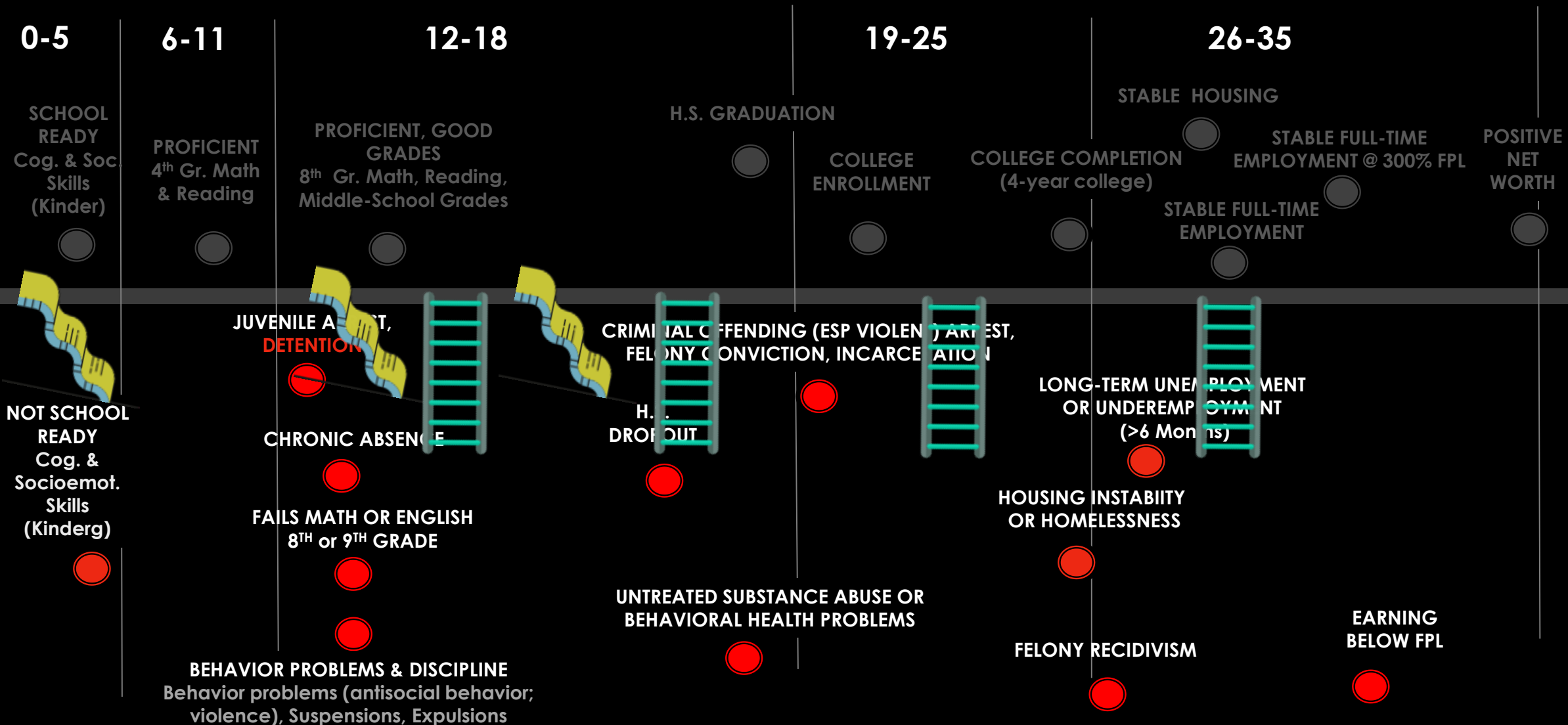
Key Takeaways: Intervention Principles

- Must adopt a **life-course approach**:
 - **Early predicts/causes later** through patterns of cumulative advantage/disadvantage
 - **Intervention is necessary across the life course**: early intervention is necessary but not sufficient
 - **Timing Matters**: there are sensitive periods for intervention
 - **History matters**: the legacy of past inequalities shape current realities
 - **Agency matters**: environments shape people and people shape environments
 - **Equifinality**: There are multiple pathways to the same negative outcome (often fewer ones to a positive outcome)
- **Place Matters**
- **Race and Class Matter**
- **Causal Density**: Everything is related to everything else which makes “siloeed” approaches ineffectual
- **Adopt a two-generation approach**: Tying interventions together that change outcomes for children and parents simultaneously
- **Gender-Specificity**: That is “gender-specific” in its analysis of causes, correlates and solutions
- **Support Successful Pathways**: Prevent off-ramp pathways and create recovery pathways
- **Balance social control vs. social support** for producing key outcomes

Less Chutes, More Ladders

ON TRACK

OFF TRACK



Family

Schools & Childcare

Place

Peers, Mentors & Networks

Institutions & Public Systems

- Parental SES
- Race/Ethnicity
- Parent age at birth
- Child Maltreatment
- Family Structure
- Family Instability
- Parental Incarceration
- ACEs
- Child insurance cover
- Housing Disadvantage
- Parental Caregiving
- Parent Expectation, Attention and Skills
- Food Security
- Blended Family
- Parent Documentation

- Childcare avail + quality
- Pre-K avail + quality
- Teacher Quality + turnover
- Teacher demo & expectations
- Peer Effects
- School Clime & Discipline
- Classroom Management
- Curriculum & Pedagogy
- Class Size & School Resources

- Racial Segregation
- Income Segregation
- Seg. of Poverty
- Seg. of Affluence
- Income Inequality
- Concentrated Poverty
- Concentrated Disadv
- Median Fam Income

- Violent Crime & Homicide
- Concentrated Incarc
- Residential Instability
- Physical Disorder
- % Foreign Born
- Collective Efficacy
- % Owner-Occ Housing
- Adult Educ Attainment

- Antisoc, Delinquent Peers
- Relation with Caring Adult
- Positive Mentor Relation
- Friends School Attachment
- Mean GPA of friends
- Same Age, Younger, Older Friends
- % friends 1st or 2nd gen immig

- Juvenile Justice System
- Criminal Justice System
- Neighborhood and Community Institutions
- Social, Health and Human Service Systems
- Affordable Housing System
- Workforce Dev System

0-5

6-11

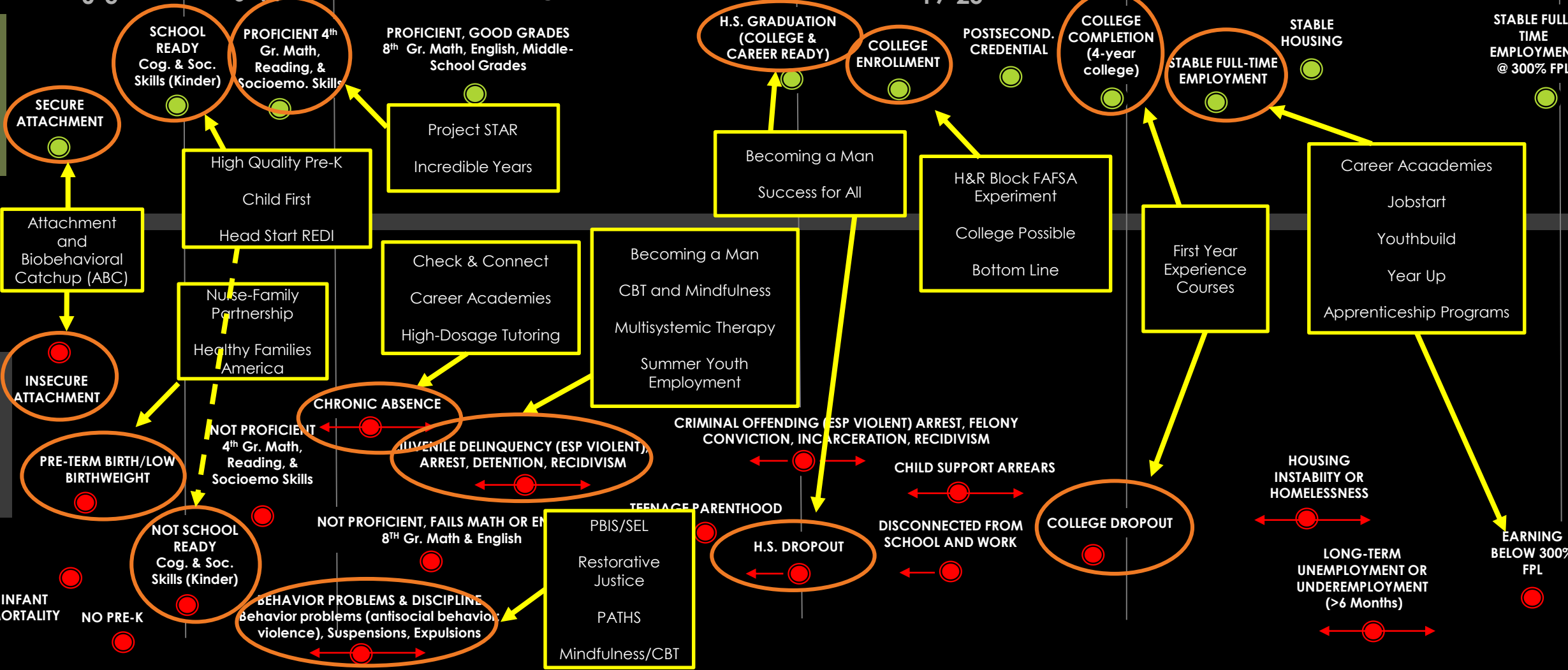
12-18

19-25

26-35

ON TRACK

OFF TRACK



Attachment and Biobehavioral Catchup (ABC)

High Quality Pre-K
Child First
Head Start REDI

Project STAR
Incredible Years

Becoming a Man
Success for All

H&R Block FAFSA Experiment
College Possible
Bottom Line

First Year Experience Courses

Career Academies
Jobstart
Youthbuild
Year Up
Apprenticeship Programs

INSECURE ATTACHMENT

PRE-TERM BIRTH/LOW BIRTHWEIGHT

NOT SCHOOL READY
Cog. & Soc. Skills (Kinder)

INFANT MORTALITY
NO PRE-K

NOT PROFICIENT
4th Gr. Math, Reading, & Socioemo Skills

CHRONIC ABSENCE

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY (ESP VIOLENT), ARREST, DETENTION, RECIDIVISM

CRIMINAL OFFENDING (ESP VIOLENT) ARREST, FELONY CONVICTION, INCARCERATION, RECIDIVISM

TEENAGE PARENTHOOD

H.S. DROPOUT

DISCONNECTED FROM SCHOOL AND WORK

COLLEGE DROPOUT

HOUSING INSTABILITY OR HOMELESSNESS

LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYMENT OR UNDEREMPLOYMENT (>6 Months)

EARNING BELOW 300% FPL

BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS & DISCIPLINE
Behavior problems (antisocial behavior, violence), Suspensions, Expulsions

NOT PROFICIENT, FAILS MATH OR EN
8th Gr. Math & English

PBIS/SEL
Restorative Justice
PATHS
Mindfulness/CBT



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