



WORKING FOR A BETTER FUTURE:

How expanding employment opportunities for D.C.'s youth creates public safety benefits for all residents.

Improving public safety in the District of Columbia depends on a comprehensive approach that includes multiple strategies spanning all City agencies, as well as the community at large. One facet of such a comprehensive approach is to improve outcomes for youth so fewer are either caught up in the justice system, a victim of crime, or both. This is one in a series of briefs addressing ways that improving youth outcomes can also result in better public safety outcomes for the District as a whole.

INTRODUCTION

A commitment to increasing employment opportunities for D.C.'s youth is important to giving them positive workplace experiences, reducing justice system involvement and improving their work and earning potential into adulthood. Quality and robust job training and

placement assistance share with delinquency prevention programs the ability to reconnect disconnected youth and create pathways to positive outcomes. These programs can help empower D.C.'s young people by promoting a desire for continued education and personal and professional development.

SOME D.C. NEIGHBORHOODS ARE MORE AFFECTED BY UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME.

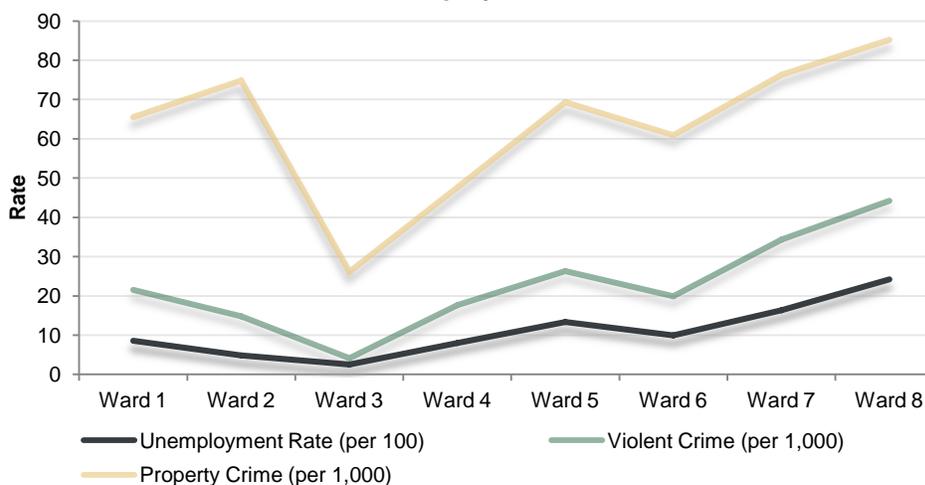
The economic recession has caused the United States to have some of the highest unemployment rates in recent times. Fortunately, crime rates have not experienced a corresponding increase. In fact nationally and locally, crime rates continue to fall despite the economic crisis.¹ However, in Washington D.C., Wards 5, 7 and 8 continue to suffer from comparatively higher crime rates alongside high unemployment. Examining the District by ward shows that levels of crime mirror unemployment. These communities with the highest levels of crime and unemployment are those primarily comprised of people of color. Comparatively they also have the lowest levels of educational attainment and the highest percentage of D.C.'s youth.²

If the national rates are at “crisis levels,” then youth unemployment rates in the District of Columbia are surely in the “disaster zone.”

THE RECESSION HAS HIT YOUTH EMPLOYMENT HARDEST, WITH LASTING NEGATIVE EFFECTS.

Young people in America are experiencing the effects of the economic recession disproportionately. In fact, unemployment rates for youth—51 percent nationally in mid-2011—are at their highest since the end of the 1940s. That figure is much higher for youth of color in D.C., where black youth from economically depressed wards have unemployment rates of as high as 89 percent.³ These figures may be even higher when one considers that employment data is historically conservative, often ignoring discouraged workers who have stopped looking for work.⁴

In 2010, crime rates in Washington D.C.'s wards mirrored the unemployment rate.

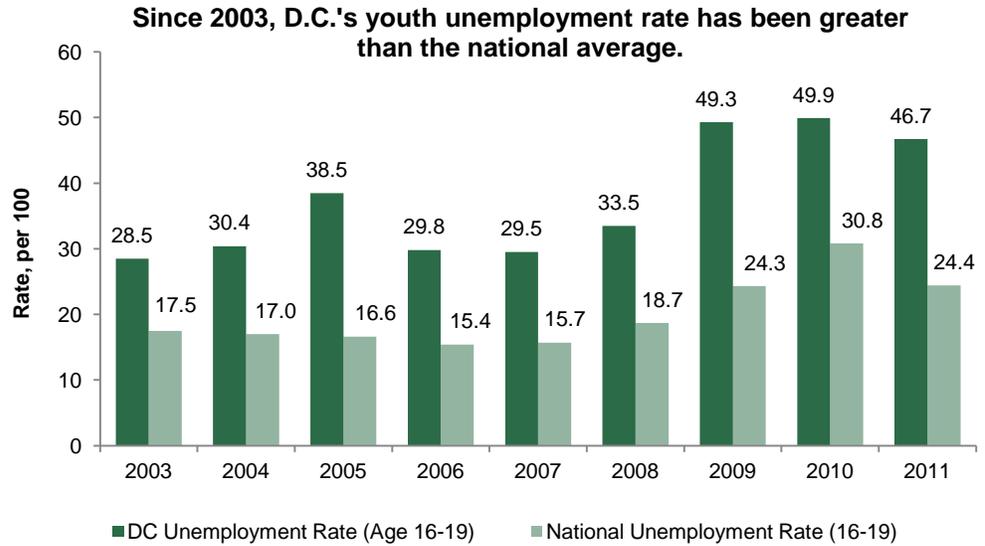


Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, LAUS via the D.C. Networks Analyzer, <http://analyzer.dcnetworks.org/analyzer/qsabforcedata>; Neighborhood Info DC, www.neighborhoodinfodc.org/wards/wards.html.

One of the earliest signs of the recession was a “teen jobs crisis;” not since World War II had national unemployment levels among youth been so high.⁵ If the national rates are at “crisis levels,” then youth unemployment rates in the District of Columbia are

surely in the “disaster zone.” During the period between 2003 and 2011, unemployment among 16 to 19 year-olds in D.C. ranged from between 1.6 to 2.3 times the national average.⁶

In the District, the teen unemployment situation is exacerbated by a connection between poverty, race and joblessness. Employment levels are lowest for those with the lowest household incomes and, among income groups, lowest among black households. For example, Ward 3 had the highest average family income at



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, States and selected areas: Employment status of the civilian non-institutional population, 1976 to 2011 annual averages, www.bls.gov/lau/staadata.txt; Bureau of Labor Statistics, Local Area Unemployment

\$257,396, the lowest percent of black, non-Hispanic residents (5.6 percent) and lowest unemployment rate (2.8 percent) of all wards. In contrast, Ward 8, had the highest percentage of black residents (94 percent) and the highest unemployment rate of (26.4 percent) along with the lowest average family income (\$44,076) among the wards. This nexus of race, poverty and unemployment is where the greatest need for youth employment assistance lies and where D.C. should invest in job assistance programming for youth.

Unemployment highest among poor families, black families in D.C. wards

Ward	% Black, non-Hispanic (2010)	Average Family Income (2005-2009)	Unemployment Rate (2005-2009)
1	33%	\$98,485	9.4
2	13%	\$190,692	5.4
3	5.6%	\$257,386	2.8
4	59%	\$116,668	8.9
5	77%	\$78,559	14.7
6	42%	\$120,526	10.9
7	96%	\$54,677	17.9
8	94%	\$44,076	26.4
District average	51%	\$115,016	11.2

Source: Neighborhood Info DC, Neighborhood Profiles, www.neighborhoodinfodc.org/wards/wards.html

EMPLOYMENT CAN HELP YOUTH AVOID A LIFETIME OF NEGATIVE JUSTICE-RELATED CONSEQUENCES.

Coming into contact with the justice system, whether as a juvenile or an adult, has been shown to have lasting negative consequences on future employment. Once a person has been arrested, convicted, or incarcerated, they can count on difficulty finding quality employment and reduced earning potential for the rest of their lives. While the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has ruled that employers may not have employment policies that constitute blanket exclusions based on arrest records,⁷ the reality is that many employers ask up-front about criminal records and then choose not to hire those individuals who have been arrested.

The impact has been shown to be particularly detrimental for those accused of low-level offenses, which constitute the majority of juvenile cases. In the U.S., 70 percent of youth are held in detention centers for non-violent offenses⁸ and about 33 percent are being held for status offenses (i.e., activities which are not considered offenses for adults, such as truancy, underage drinking and running away).⁹ While oftentimes youth in the juvenile justice system are not considered to have been “convicted” but rather “adjudicated delinquent,” they or potential employers may not understand this distinction. Regardless of the nature of a young person’s offense the consequences of justice system involvement are overwhelmingly negative.

Much of the discussion around crime and unemployment, particularly for young people, focuses on the idea that too much free time drives youth toward delinquent behavior – the

‘idle hands’ argument. Numerous studies have shown that activities that keep young people busy can have positive effects on delinquent behavior and a reduction in justice system involvement among youth.¹⁰ However, the issue goes beyond the proverbial notion of idleness leading to trouble.¹¹ Low rates of employment contribute to feelings of worthlessness, futility and disenfranchisement, both at the individual and community levels, which can have effects lasting well beyond adolescence.¹²

Justice system responses to crime are by their nature *reactive*. They seek to divert young people toward positive behavior *after* law-breaking has already occurred. While they can be used as part of a justice response, employment assistance efforts are more effective as a *proactive* approach;



they can be used preventatively, to reconnect disconnected and at-risk youth with the supportive institutions that can keep them out of trouble in the first place. The costs, both fiscal and social, of early intervention in the work lives of youth are substantially lower than reactive justice system responses.¹³

Researchers studying youth and employment have found that having a job is a “protective factor” against potential delinquency among youth, even among those previously involved in antisocial or illegal behavior.¹⁴ This means that youth and young adults are shielded from the need or desire to engage in delinquent activity when they have jobs and they spend less time with other youth who aren’t engaged in positive social activities.¹⁵ Accordingly, employment has

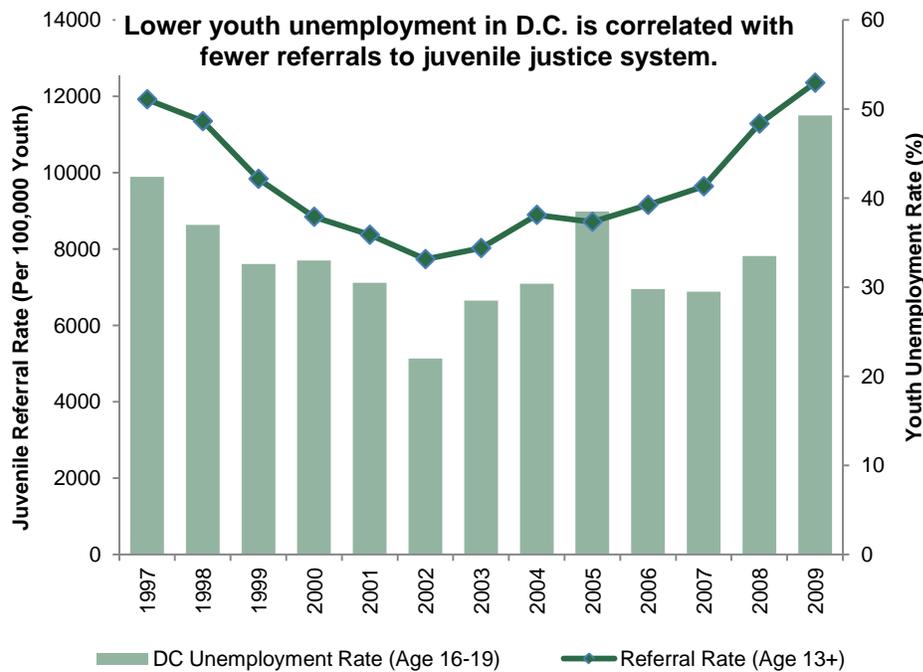
been associated with “significantly reduced crime” in adolescents and young adults aged 17 to 25 years old.¹⁶ In fact, a 10 percent increase in wages is associated with a 1.4 percent reduction in hours spent on illegal activity among young men.¹⁷ Also, employed youth are implicated in significantly fewer violence- and drug-related arrests and show less frequent participation in property crimes.¹⁸ The period of young adulthood, between the ages of 18 and 20 in particular, is an important stage for introduction to the workforce and has also been shown to be a time when young people are most prone to engaging in illegal behavior.¹⁹ The District should therefore make protective factors, like employment programs, a priority.

Job assistance programs for teens—those that seek to provide training, mentoring, placement and supervision—have been shown to have positive effects on individuals, families and communities that lead to greater public safety. Such programs develop positive social behaviors, such as responsibility, punctuality

and respect; increase personal marketability; heal damaged links to community and family institutions; increase overall family income and reduce potentially risky free time.²⁰

YOUTH OFTEN NEED HELP OVERCOMING BARRIERS TO EMPLOYMENT.

Several factors conspire to make employment harder to obtain for at-risk youth. First, the recent economic recession has made finding employment more difficult for nearly *everyone*, not just young people. The ensuing tight labor market has meant that jobs typically filled by teenagers have gone to out-of-work adults. According to VanHorn, “when someone steps up with a Bachelor’s degree to get a job that used to be held by a high school student, that [student] gets pushed out of the labor market.”²¹ The practice of living wages—those adequate to meet basic needs—may also mean that even the



most entry-level positions may attract older workers, whom employers perceive as providing more value for the dollar.²²

While teen employment is at its lowest point since the mid twentieth century, not all youth have been affected equally.²³

Employment rates for white middle-class youth—that is, those with means and connections—remain relatively high at around 40 percent while only about 10 percent of poor, black youth have jobs.²⁴

Source: Urban Institute, Every Kid Count in District of Columbia, Annual Fact Book, Years 1997-2009. <http://www.urban.org/communities/dc/every-kid-counts.cfm>, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Local Area Unemployment Statistics, www.bls.gov/lau.

6 JUSTICE POLICY INSTITUTE

Jobs programs for young people are one way to help youth who lack the means and connections to have greater access to the teen job market.

For young people from economically depressed areas in D.C., developing survival skills such as avoiding violence, finding a meal, and staying out of trouble may have taken precedence over honing other marketable workforce skills more valuable to employers. As compared to their more advantaged peers who may have received more preparation from their family, school and overall community environment, youth from low income areas of the District may need additional guidance to meet the expectations of the workplace.

In addition, a young person who comes in contact with the juvenile justice system faces immediate and lasting barriers to employment, opportunity and earning potential.²⁵

Ironically, one study found that a young person's first encounter with the juvenile justice system actually resulted in a temporary increase in their chances of finding employment, most likely due to assistance through a probation program. However, after three years that initial bump erodes and the adjudicated youth is left with the collateral consequences of a juvenile or criminal record.²⁶

The costs of justice system involvement for young people don't just plague them in the traditional job market; some employment programs work with youth building skills and working on credentialing, only to have the teen turned away by an employer for a past adjudication record. Jobs programs must take care to ensure that their employer partners are willing to accept youth with records of

delinquency if they have participated in and completed a job preparedness program.

Employment is crucial for young people, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds. Delayed entry into the market can have lasting consequences in hireability and earnings. In fact, a young person who was unemployed for half of the prior year can expect to earn 4.7 percent less, if employed, in the current year. These residual effects of joblessness diminish over time but even after the third year of work, that missed half year translates into a 2.9 percent decrease in wages.

According to Kahn, "unemployment

experienced by a young man today will depress his earnings for several years to come."²⁷ Despite the widespread knowledge that jobs are scarce and times are tough, employers continue to view inexperienced applicants or those with spotty work histories with suspicion.



Job assistance programs for teens—that provide training, mentoring, placement and supervision—help youth develop positive social behaviors, such as responsibility, punctuality and respect.

INVESTING IN EMPLOYMENT CAN HELP PROMOTE POSITIVE LIFE OUTCOMES FOR D.C.'S YOUTH.

Employment assistance programs are often incorporated into justice system interventions for delinquent youth. However, programs that promote quality work experiences for youth are better utilized as *prevention* strategies by incorporating evidence-based components of effective delinquency prevention programming. For many at-risk youth, entering the world of

work is an uphill struggle. These youth need champions to get a toehold in the labor market.

The literature on delinquency prevention suggests a body of core components which constitute effective programming. Firstly, they create, repair and nurture community connections that reduce the likelihood of delinquency.²⁸ Jobs programs do this by linking youth with employers who will take an active interest in their success. Effective prevention programs also teach practical skills such as those needed in a trade or office as well as social skills such as responsibility, respect and punctuality;²⁹ these skills are naturally suited to employment programs. Finally, delinquency prevention programs seek to engage young people in activities during time when they may otherwise participate in delinquent behavior due to boredom and a lack of supervision. Jobs programs accomplish this through after-school and summer employment.³⁰

Youth work programs also benefit at-risk teens by increasing their chances of early workforce entry.³¹ Getting a job during adolescence has many important benefits which effect family, society and future employment measures. Whereas, delayed entry into the world of work and wages can have lasting negative effects such as a reduced likelihood of stable employment and a lifetime of lower wages. Jobs allow youth to “develop a wide range of beneficial attributes, such as the capacity to take responsibility, develop time-management skills, overcome shyness with adults, and handle money.”³²

Research has shown that reading, writing and math skills may erode through infrequent use over the summer months—known as “summer learning loss”—and that this phenomenon is more pronounced among economically disadvantaged youth.³³ Quality summer employment is especially beneficial for at-risk youth stemming “summer learning loss” by keeping their minds active and introducing new experiences.

THE BENEFITS OF YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS OUTWEIGH THE COSTS.

The negative financial consequence of unemployment for youth goes beyond their inability to contribute to family income. It also means results in less tax revenue immediately and in the long-term due to a reduced lifetime earning potential. There are social costs as well; one study estimated that “opportunity youth”—those who are disconnected or under-connected to institutions of education or employment—represent an annual taxpayer cost of \$13,900 and a social cost (which includes such expenses as healthcare, income assistance programs and criminal justice) of \$37,450. The estimated lifetime fiscal burden of each “opportunity youth” calculates to a lifetime taxpayer cost of \$170,740 and a social cost of \$529,030, per youth.³⁴

However, the investment per participant in job assistance programs for youth can be minimal and may go a long way to reducing or removing the taxpayer and social costs of at-risk youth. For example, DC’s Summer Youth Employment Program, which aims to serve 14,000 young people, had a proposed 2012 budget of \$11.6 million.³⁵ This works out to merely \$829 per participant. Other, higher quality and more intensive programs have seen costs ranging between several thousand dollars to over ten thousand per person, depending on location and the reach and duration of the program.³⁶ Given the estimated lifetime financial and social costs of youth who remain disconnected from the workforce, quality employment programs can provide a good investment for the dollar.

EFFECTIVE JOB ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS CAN HELP YOUTH BUILD POSITIVE LIFE OUTCOMES.

For job assistance programs to be effective, they do not need to reinvent the wheel. Such efforts share many core components with other delinquency prevention programs which have demonstrated effectiveness. For example, successful delinquency programs are those which take into account the individual differences of the targeted population by recognizing who the person is individually, socio-culturally, geographically and in terms of their level of institutional engagement (e.g., in or out-of-school, family involvement, church-goers).³⁷ Such programs also connect participants with positive adults in strong supervisory and mentor roles as well as ensure that the duration of the program is long enough to create results.³⁸

Successful job assistance programs incorporate the basic tenets of delinquency prevention programs in addition to focusing on the job-related aspects. First, they focus on linking youth with quality jobs that will provide the young person with stability and value. Simply placing youth in a low-skill, low-pay job that doesn't offer the opportunity to develop is less beneficial than providing them more meaningful work with the chance to build skills and advance.³⁹ Also, there has been great success with job assistance programs that link to educational institutions and encourage staying in school or GED completion.⁴⁰ These types of programs benefit from the use of *reciprocal*

obligations which guarantee the youth a service or outcome if they fulfill participation and attendance requirements.³⁰

A key finding in youth employment assistance programs is ensuring that the participant remains in the program for an appropriate amount of time. Short-term programs of only a few weeks tend to have little lasting effect on subsequent behavior or success. Effective programs engage young people in more intensive training and work efforts which increase chances of success.⁴¹ Increasing the length of a program also increases its costs; this means that more funding is needed to reach the same number of youth as previously were involved in shorter-term, but less effective programs.

WHAT MAKES A GOOD PREVENTION PROGRAM?

- Recognize the individual differences of targeted populations
 - Level of engagement
 - Socio-cultural characteristics
 - Regional/geographic characteristics
 - Individual interests/proclivities
- Strong supervisory and mentor roles
- Adequate participation time
- Incorporate strong community and institution connections
- Focus on quality jobs with stability and reward
- Link to education

Source: Oregon Commission on Children & Families, *Best Practices: Positive Youth Development* (Salem, OR).

Finally, when young people *do* find work, they may need help in learning how to manage their time and prioritize tasks, so that school achievement doesn't suffer. Increased financial income and independence can sometimes lead to negative outcomes. In these cases, the demands of a job coupled with school, family and personal responsibilities, can have a backlash effect, driving the young person toward self-destructive behavior such as a decreased desire for further education, increased substance abuse and alienation from parents. Structured and supervised job assistance programs can help to place young people in jobs

that fit into their lives, and provide mentors who can work with youth to develop healthy coping skills to better handle work-life balance.⁴²

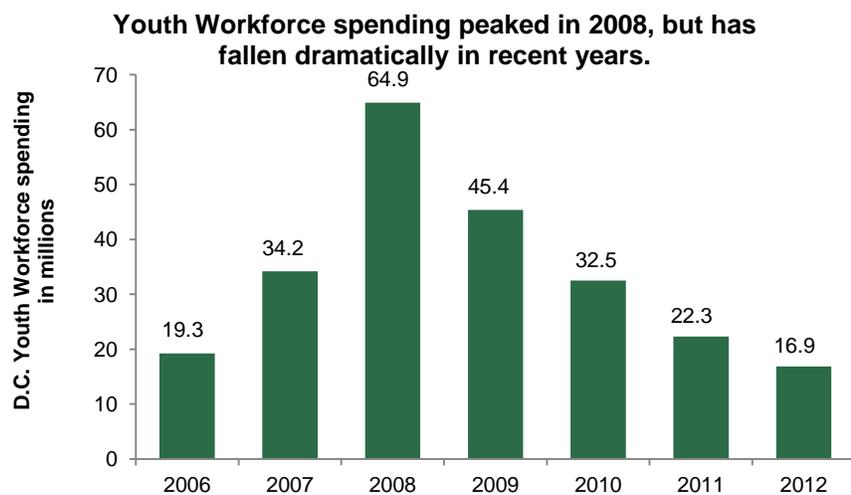
SUCCESSFUL JOBS PROGRAMS EXIST, ALTHOUGH SOME EXCLUDE YOUTH WITH PRIOR JUSTICE CONTACT.

In the District, there are numerous efforts to engage, train and employ young people. Too often, however, this work is fragmented, uncoordinated and focuses on the quantity of youth served over the quality of the intervention. For example, the Workforce Development budget of the Department of Employment Services (DOES), the primary agency responsible for such services, consistently devotes 70 to 75 percent of its workforce dollars to the Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP). The SYEP has a long history in D.C. but has come under fire in recent years for management, quality and spending problems. Even with proper implementation, SYEP is a short-term program with a short-term view. It may put money in teens' pockets for the summer, but it does little to address the larger issues of education and skills deficits among the District's youth most in need. These public dollars would be better spent on quality programming with a deeper and longer-range vision. The SYEP would be best utilized as an add-on to a more robust system of programs that provide quality work experiences

for youth with a focus on lasting development. As it stands, the program does little to effect meaningful change in young people's lives and dominates the District's youth workforce development budget.

The amount that D.C. allocates for youth job programming is hard to determine and difficult to interpret. Recent years have seen the District's budget for youth programming soar, but most of that spending can be attributed to the SYEP program that ran over budget by nearly 200 percent. Since 2008, when local spending peaked at almost \$65 million, youth workforce spending has fallen substantially to just under \$17 million in 2012.

Youth employment efforts among D.C.'s non-profit organizations also fail to meet existing needs. While the combined budgets of such groups is roughly equal to that of the DOES' workforce budget, most organizations devote only a small percentage of their funds specifically to workforce development for youth. Also, a recent survey found that more than one-third of these organizations had to turn youth away, indicating that current needs far exceed capacity.⁴³



Note: All figures adjusted for inflation to equal FY 2012 dollars

Source: DC Fiscal Policy Institute, email message to author, April 16, 2012.

Several promising programs have been operating in D.C. for many years which provide relevant and engaging employment assistance services. Each includes a component that promotes the completion of continuing or completing education as well as nurtures the connection between youth and their communities. Some examples are listed below.

- **YouthBuild U.S.A.** is an employment assistance program for low-income young people ages 16 to 24. In D.C., two organizations operate a YouthBuild program, serving roughly 200 youth. The program teaches job skills by employing participants in home building in their communities and requires youth to work toward their high school diploma or GED. The program can last from 6 to 24 months and claims a 78 percent program completion rate and a 63 percent diploma or GED attainment rate for participants who needed either.⁴⁴
- **YearUp** - Operating in the Washington, D.C. area Year Up enrolls about 200 young people annually. Focused more on IT skills and college credits than many similar programs, Year Up concentrates on “soft skills” training (such as how to manage time, meet employers’ expectations, etc.), providing youth needed credentials and job placement with follow-up and supervision. The program boasts 84 percent employed or college-enrolled graduates within four months of program completion.⁴⁵ Year Up is fully aware of that “young people face significant barriers to success in their pursuit of training and employment because they have criminal convictions”⁴⁶ and it is in their mission to help them overcome these barriers. However, many of the organization’s corporate partners are known for discriminating against applicants with justice system involvement.⁴⁷ This is an area for future close scrutiny to determine if program graduates can gain employment

with these partners despite a prior arrest record.

- **STRIVE** is a New York-based program that seeks to “transform the lives of at-risk populations by providing support and training that lead to livable wage employment and societal reintegration.” The model has been replicated elsewhere and the STRIVE brand is available to other communities for franchising. StriveDC has operated in the District since 1999 and serves roughly 150 students per year.⁴⁸ The program is not solely focused on young people, but roughly one-third of participants are between the ages of 18 and 24. STRIVE takes participants through a two-stage job preparation process beginning with a 4-week soft skills training followed by a 5 to 10 week hard skills training. Following graduation, students are helped to find jobs and STRIVE follows-up with retention and advancement counseling for up to two years. The program boasts a 61.4 percent full program completion rate, an 89 percent job retention rate at three months and an average starting wage of participants of \$11.74. Depending on the level of program participation and completion, STRIVE estimates a cost per participant of \$5500 to \$9500. Strive is funded primarily through government grants in addition to contributions and fund-raising.
- **Job Corps** is a federally-funded, residential education and training program for youth ages 16 to 24. The program operates on a large scale, enrolling approximately 60,000 new students in 2008 in 123 Job Corps centers. The Potomac Job Corps center is the local D.C. branch and serves roughly 500 students per year. Participants have the opportunity to complete a diploma or GED during their tenure while also learning technical job skills. Job Corps has been shown to be a relatively successful program but requires a significant level of

commitment from its young participants. Most enrollees live on-site for an average of eight months for all participants and twelve months for those who complete a technical training program or GED. Unfortunately, the admission criteria stipulate that participants may not “require any face-to-face court or institutional supervision or court-imposed fines while enrolled in Job Corps.”⁴⁹ This rule may present a significant barrier to many of those youth who would benefit most.

Other national promising programs include:

- **Twin Cities RISE!** - Founded in Minneapolis/St. Paul in 1994, Twin Cities RISE! (TCR) uses an innovative approach of outcomes contingent funding. That is, the program receives funds from the state to support the program, but only if TCR reaches its stated participation, graduation and job retention goals. To date, the program has been very successful and has never been denied funding due to poor outcomes. TCR incorporates a strong focus on personal empowerment training to counter the deleterious effects of life in depressed communities. The program also provides job skills training, personal mentoring and job placement assistance, claiming a 355 percent increase in participant income, an 81 percent participant job retention of one year and more than a seven-fold return on investment through tax revenue and reduced recidivism of program graduates.⁵⁰
- **Youth Apprenticeship Programs** - Programs partnering in- and out-of-school youth with private businesses for mentoring and apprenticeship have proved successful. These programs are popular in Europe, particularly in Germany⁵¹, and also in the U.S. states of Georgia⁵² and Wisconsin.⁵³ Young people are introduced to a trade with on-the-job training and under the tutelage of a skilled tradesman.

An evaluation of a printing industry-specific program in Wisconsin showed positive results in increased school attendance, higher earnings and more long-term education plans among participants. As part of these programs, local governments sometimes offer apprenticeship tax credits to employers who agree to hire youth.⁵⁴

- **The Home Builders Institute (HBI)** conducts several programs which aim to teach construction trade job skills for young people ages 13 to 24. HBI has also paired with Job Corps and YouthBuild programs. They claim an 80 percent success rate in finding jobs for program graduates.⁵⁵

RECOMMENDATIONS

While youth in the juvenile justice system stand to gain from employment programs, providing such job programs to *all* youth who need them is a more effective approach to public safety. Connecting youth to jobs programs helps participants avoid the collateral consequences of justice system involvement and improves their long-term life outcomes while learning valuable skills translatable to adulthood. The following are some things D.C. should do to help promote public safety and ensure that all youth have the opportunity for success:

1. **Invest more in quality employment programs for youth**, including efforts that link youth with work that interests them, has potential for advancement and development and connects them to their community. While vocational and service jobs are a part of our economy, youth should not feel they are being pigeonholed into this type of employment. Programs that focus on work that is meaningful and local have shown the most success.

12 JUSTICE POLICY INSTITUTE

2. **Dedicate more resources to help youth in the wards with the most need to access the job market.** Prevention efforts are most critical in the areas where race, poverty and joblessness collide, forming an onerous barrier to employment for young people.
3. **Use evidenced-based models that have been shown to positively impact youth.** Evaluation research has identified specific programs and theoretical frameworks that have shown promising results. Typically, successful employment programs incorporate components of evidence-based positive youth development and delinquency prevention models, on which there is abundant literature.
4. **Ensure that employer partners accept youth who have successfully completed job preparedness programs regardless of justice system contact.** More and more employers are adopting a “Ban the Box” approach to recruiting; that is, they do not ask about justice system involvement on preliminary job applications. Youth employment programs in D.C. should adopt similar measures, allowing those with justice system involvement a better opportunity to benefit from the transformative power of meaningful work.
5. **Consider innovative incentives for increasing youth participation in programs.** For example, programs that include reciprocal obligation, where youth are guaranteed a benefit such as a GED or adjudication expungement upon program completion, could help increase youth involvement and youth outcomes.

¹ Devlin Barrett, “Crime Down Across Nation,” *The Wall Street Journal*, December 20, 2011.

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204879004577108403536584094.html>.

² Neighborhood Info D.C., “D.C. City Profile,” accessed April 2012. www.neighborhoodinfodc.org/city/nbr_prof_city.html.

³ Andrew Sum and Ishwar Khatiwada, *Vanishing Act: Watching the Teen Summer Job Market Disappear*, (Boston, MA: Center for Labor Market Studies, 2011) www.spotlightonpoverty.org/ExclusiveCommentary.aspx?id=343287c4-3d4f-4237-9b62-45a58743ed77

⁴ Stefan Karlsson, “The unemployment rate underestimates the jobless problem,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 5, 2011. www.csmonitor.com/Business/Stefan-Karlsson/2011/1205/The-unemployment-rate-underestimates-the-jobless-problem.

⁵ Employment Policies Institute, “The Teen Unemployment Crisis: Questions and Answers,” accessed April 2012. <http://epionline.org/teen.cfm>

⁶ Bureau of Labor Statistics, “States and Selected Areas: Employment Status of the Civilian Noninstitutional Population, 1976 to 2011 Annual Averages,” accessed April 2012. <http://www.bls.gov/lau/staadata.txt>; Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Local Area Unemployment Statistics,” accessed April 2012. <http://www.bls.gov/lau/>.

⁷ U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, “Policy Guidance on the Consideration of Arrest Records in Employment Decisions under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,” accessed April 2012. http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/docs/arrest_records.html

⁸ Justice Policy Institute, *The Costs of Confinement: Why Good Juvenile Justice Policies Make Good Fiscal Sense* (Washington, D.C., May 2009). <http://www.justicepolicy.org/research/78>.

⁹ Howard N Snyder and Melissa Sickmund, *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 2006 National Report* (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2006).

¹⁰ National Institute of Justice, *Preventing crime: What works, what doesn't, what's promising* (Washington, D.C.: 2002); Hans Grönqvist, *Youth Unemployment and Crime: New lessons Exploring Longitudinal Register Data* (Stockholm, Sweden: Stockholm University, 2011). <http://www.sole-jole.org/12129.pdf>

¹¹ Brain A. Jacob and Lars Lefgren, “Are Idle Hands the Devil's Workshop? Incapacitation, Concentration, and Juvenile Crime,” *The American Economic Review* 93, no. 5 (Dec., 2003): 1560-1577.

¹² Harold E. Weiss and Lesley W. Reid, “Low-quality employment concentration and crime: An examination of metropolitan labor markets,” *Sociological Perspective*. 48, no. 2 (2005): 213–232; John MacDonald et al., *Neighborhood effects on crime and youth violence: The role of business improvement districts in Los Angeles* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2009).

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¹³ Clive R. Belfield, Henry M. Levin and Rachel Rosen, *The Economic Value of Opportunity Youths* (Washington, D.C.: Corporation for National and Community Service, 2012).

<http://knowledgecenter.completionbydesign.org/sites/default/files/307%20Belfield%202012.pdf>

¹⁴ Delbert S. Elliott, "Serious violent offenders: Onset, developmental course, and termination. The American Society of Criminology 1993 Presidential Address," *Criminology*, 32, no.1 (1994).

¹⁵ Irving A. Spiegel, *Reducing youth gang violence: The little village project in Chicago* (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2007).

¹⁶ Robert J. Sampson and John H. Laub, *Crime in the making: Pathways and turning points through life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

¹⁷ Justice Policy Institute, *Employment, wages and public safety* (Washington, D.C.: 2008). www.justicepolicy.org/research/1956.

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