

Work, Work, Work, Work: The Challenges of Measuring Youth Unemployment in the Brooklyns



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Introduction

The Brooklyn Bridge Alliance for Youth is a joint powers agreement between the cities of Brooklyn Park and Brooklyn Center. Their mission is to coordinate a system of high-quality, accessible and fully resourced opportunities that lead to an increase in high school graduation and pathways to college or career and reductions in young people's experience of violence. As a part of that mission, they have a program called Brooklynk that provides work readiness training and summer internships to high school age youth. The program is modeled after Step-Up in Minneapolis.

Ivan Lui, the Data and Quality Coordinator for the Alliance, asked for assistance in developing a way for the Alliance to assess whether youth in the Brooklyns are actively working towards college and career, which can then be used on an ongoing basis to assess and improve of the program. This would be measurement of the youth readiness for college and career in the Brooklyns overall measurement of the engagement of youth in activities that are building college and career readiness. Mr. Lui also requested information on what target values might be for the measurements.

Many different youth activities can promote college and career readiness, which makes measurement especially difficult. Working, engaging in education, and volunteering all can prepare youth for college and careers. However, different types of work, education, and volunteer experience can be more or less impactful on future success. For example, working in retail, working in a parks and recreation program, and interning for a government office yield different opportunities for future college and career. Given that variety, the Alliance requested assistance in developing an overarching measurement of the engagement of youth in activities that are building college and career readiness. These activities include: employment (both

during the school year and during the summer), education, volunteer work, and extracurricular involvement.

In order to develop the measurement program, we engaged in key informant interviews with Step-Up Minneapolis, Right-Track St. Paul, and Tree Trust, conversed briefly with staff from the state Department of Employment and Economic Development, and reviewed relevant literature. We also did causal mapping and stakeholder analysis to frame the measurement program in the context the Alliance is working in.

Literature Review

The most striking thing in our review was the lack of literature discussing youth unemployment measurement, particularly in a US context.

The Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) published a report on youth employment outcomes and monitoring. This report details a number of measurements that are used for measuring youth unemployment. Table 1 displays the G20 youth employment scorecard which addresses several indicators.

Some of these metrics can be assessed by utilizing American Community Survey (“ACS”) data, but due to the need for cross tabulations with age and the geographic scope needed, that data would only be available in five year estimates and would have large margins of error. Additionally data typically has at least a one year delay, making this data source unhelpful for measuring change over time. ACS can however, be useful in determining how Brooklyn Park and Brooklyn Center compare to other cities at this point. Consultants with access to proprietary data and finer grain census data may be able to provide updates for some of these measurements without conducting survey work.

Table 1: G20 Youth Employment Scorecard

Indicator	Definition
Lacking Education Opportunities	
Lacking Basic Skills	Share of youth with a low level of proficiency in numeracy or literacy
Achieving Basic Qualifications	Share of youth 20-24 with at least an upper secondary level of education
Choice in Educational Pathways	Share of upper-secondary students participating in Technical Vocational Education and Training
Achieving High level Qualifications	Share of youth 25-29 with tertiary level of education
Incidence of Skills Mismatch	Overqualified: Share of young workers with education levels higher than those required for the occupation Underqualified: Share of young workers with education levels lower than those required for the occupation
Improving Youth Employment Opportunities	
Employment-to-population Ratio*	Share of employed youth in total youth population
Unemployment Rate	Share of all youth in the labor force who are unemployed
Incidence of long-term unemployment	Share of unemployed youth who have been out of work and looking for work for one year or longer
Incidence of not working or studying	Share of youth not in employment, education, or training (NEET)
Incidence of working in temporary, informal,* or vulnerable jobs*	Share of youth in temporary employment Share of youth in informal employment Share of youth in vulnerable forms of employment (self identified)
Incidence of working part time involuntarily	Share of youth working less than full time in voluntarily involuntarily
Incidence of working in a low-paid job	Share of young workers earning less than 2/3 of median wage
*These metrics are recommended primarily for use in emerging economies	

Of these metrics, the NEET rate, which measures the proportion of youth not engaged in employment, education, or training, is the best single measure for the Alliance's needs. The measure does not account for the various reasons for lack of engagement in education or employment, whether the individuals want to work, or whether they would benefit from additional education or training. The OECD recommends that this measure could be targeted on the youth with the least skills, who would be most likely to benefit from additional education or training. In our context, this could be the NEET rate for youth that have not completed a course of education higher than a high school diploma. That qualification would make the data more difficult to obtain, but may yield more useful information.

The OECD also recommends using a number of indicators to get at the quality of the employment and the ability of youth to obtain employment. Some of the indicators in Table 1 are useful as is, such as the proportion of employed youth who are in temporary jobs, while others may benefit from small changes. For youth 16-24, defining low wage work as 75% of the median income may not be the appropriate measure. Since a number of youth are purposefully employed part time due to educational responsibilities, a target hourly wage would be more appropriate. Roughly taking the OECD recommendation for 75% of median income, that would yield a target wage of \$15 per hour.¹

Judith Tanur (1993) describes a challenge in obtaining accurate youth unemployment statistics in her article, "Measuring Youth Unemployment." She identifies an inconsistency in unemployment data for young males. When households are interviewed for the Current Population Survey (CPS), the respondent answers for all individuals over 16 in the household.

¹ The median income in Brooklyn Park for individuals employed during the census year is \$33,979, for male full time workers employed during the entire year it is \$46,062, and for females of the same category it is \$42,179. Assuming a 40 hour work week, youth would be in low wage jobs if they were paid less than \$16.60 for males and \$15.20 for females. (ACS 2014 five year estimate, table DP03)

Those who do not directly report their employment status are reported by proxy, and those reported by proxy have different unemployment rates than those who are reported directly. For young males, proxies report higher levels of unemployment than self-reporters, while for young females, proxies report lower levels of unemployment. Adults largely follow the pattern of young females (32). Since young people are particularly likely to be reported by proxy, this has a big effect on the youth unemployment rate. The difference among young men appears to come from proxies reporting that they are actively seeking work, when they are not, according to the survey standards. A person is only defined as actively seeking work if they have registered with a public or private employment agency, are placing or responding to ads, or similar activities. Merely looking at job listings or talking to friends about jobs is not considered actively looking for work (32). Tanur believes that the difference in proxy reporting can be explained by the expectation that young males should be working or looking for work, so when a proxy reporter is in doubt, they are likely to represent him as having actively looked for work (33).

Tanur also described research completed by the census bureau that suggest that youth are more likely to change their answers after the follow up questions to ascertain whether the behavior is actually considered actively seeking work (33). For our survey, we want to avoid this problem. In order to do this, we will not ask whether the youth are actively seeking work, and rather provide a list of job seeking behaviors and ask whether the respondent has engaged in them over the target time period.

The CPS does not make any distinction among those considered not in the labor force, regarding whether they want to work, but are not engaging in the behaviors considered actively looking for work, or if they don't want to work. This seems especially important for youth, since a large proportion of youth do not have a need or desire to work, and since those

who want to work, are likely less aware of how to search for a job, and may not be be undertaking a job search in a way that is recognized as unemployment. To provide more useful information for the Alliance, our survey will distinguish among those who are not interested in working and those who are interested in working, but may not be actively seeking employment.

Youth unemployment is particularly difficult to measure, since such a large portion of the population is engaged in education, many of whom are not in the labor force, and are not a part of the unemployment rate calculation (Curtain 7). Quite similar unemployment rates can have drastically different proportions of the population who are unemployed. Rather than the unemployment rate, the youth unemployment to population ratio can better address the fraction and amount of people affected by unemployment. To determine the proportion of youth that are the most vulnerable to prolonged difficulty finding and sustaining employment, the proportion of youth that are not in full time work or full time education as a factor of the total youth population (8-9). While this measure does not account for youth who are working part time and studying part time any differently than those who are not engaging in either activity, it does bring together potential tracks for college and career readiness. This measure is similar to the NEET rate, which is a measure of the percent of youth who are not engaged in employment, education, or training, but does not require any of those behaviors to be full time. It may be useful to track both metrics, as they reveal different characteristics about youth employment and education.

Survey Information from Youth Employment Organizations

Due to the fact that there is so little precedent to draw upon from the literature regarding the best way to approach this issue in an American context, we have decided to supplement our

study of European literature with consultations from local experts. The true experts in this matter would be the youth who are seeking employment, but due to the large amount of surveying that would be required and our limited time, we at the Brookwin Alliance have consulted program officers and frontline staff from organizations near the municipalities that form the Brooklyn Bridge Alliance. The information that was gleaned came from a mix of written answers to survey questions and a few in-person interviews. While we were able to gather a lot of good information, the disappointing finding was that some questions elicited answers with little to no consistency. The questions for the written survey are as follows with information regarding the answers as well:

1. Aside from percentage of youth employed, in your view what are the two most important pieces of data that should be captured concerning youth employment? The most impassioned respondents to this question feel that they must find out what external forces are preventing youth who are interested in employment from receiving it. The answer leads directly into question 2, but they find that it needs to be captured from the perspective of the youth. "If we want to look at what is causing the problem of youth unemployment, we must first identify what the barriers are in prohibiting their success." Other answers proposed capturing data about: how long youth were staying at each type of job, what age range youth job seekers fall into, and socioeconomic status of the employment seeking youth.
2. What is the largest barrier preventing youth who desire it from stable employment? The answers to this question were nearly unanimous in targeting stable housing as the largest barrier to stable employment. As a Tree Trust Frontline worker said, "Much of our youth are

homeless/couch hopping or live in fear of being kicked out of their home. This makes shelter their number one priority.”

All of the youth employment staff that were contacted found that unstable housing, poverty, or both were keeping a large number of youth in their area from employment and that without solving these problems first, the cities will continue to struggle with youth unemployment rates. While housing and poverty were the most common responses from survey respondents, other answers had to do with transportation, child care, and educational responsibilities.

3. What age group needs the most support from organizations concerned with youth employment 15-19 or 20-24? How do their needs differ from other age groups? Would you group the ages differently? An odd thing happened with the four staff that we spoke to from Tree Trust, who all work in the same program division. The program manager believed that 20-24 was the age group that needed more support, but the three staff beneath her believed the opposite to be true. The frontline staff noted the more malleable nature of the younger youth and the fact that the younger kids often do not have anything to put on their resumes at all as reasons for their higher need. The one respondent who found that the older group needed more support gave the fact that the older youth are often kicked out of their homes at 18-19 or have higher financial burdens due to children as reasons for their higher need.

4. Considering the complex factors, do you feel there is an ideal range for the percentage of unemployed youth? This question received the most push-back as a question, and one respondent even left it blank. The general feeling was that the answer was complicated by a number of factors that often hinder the evaluation of youth employment numbers. Multiple

respondents felt that the range has to be tied to the amount of youth who are full time students, and that full-time students shouldn't be expected to work at all. Another respondent said that you must separate the high school population from the non-high school population, and create ideal ranges that are unconnected. Another respondent was willing to put the amount at a quarter to a third of youth as an acceptable range, she did not have empirical reasoning behind this belief; rather, it represented a gut feeling based upon work in the field with youth.

5. Do you have any opinions on the maximum amount that youth should work during the school year? Again this answer was complicated by factors outside of work, mainly educational responsibilities. We only received two numerical answers to the question, 15 and 25 hours per week (specifically for 15-18 year olds). There was however a strong feeling that even though these people are younger than normal working age adults, we must remain aware of the total burden that we are placing on them. One respondent stated "EVERYONE needs a work-life balance and working more than 40 hours a week is not good for your mental or physical health. Other than that, it really is up to the youth to determine what is an appropriate amount for them to handle." The youth employment workers stress that each situation is different because each individual and their situation is different.

6. In what way is your organization best equipped to support youth unemployment? The youth employment organizations see their role as having three main pieces: Soft skill development, resource distribution and networking. Step-up and Tree Trust see soft skills as the most essential thing for the youth to walk away with from their program. As much as they can these organizations attempt to bridge the gap between the youth they serve and youth

who come from more privileged situations. To do this they provide things like bus cards and tokens, access to computers to conduct job searches, and in certain circumstances money to buy clothes for interviews.

7. Do you find that your youth employment situation is unique from other areas in Minnesota? Do you think the desires of your area's youth regarding employment are unique?

The amount of racial and ethnic diversity that exists within Hennepin county (Tree Trust) and Minneapolis (Step-Up) compared to other areas of Minnesota was cited as something that made the youth these organizations serve unique. They found that the challenges between suburban and urban youth in their own county is the access to transportation, as one Tree Trust employer put it, "It is impossible to get to a job on the other side of town if there are no buses, you have no support systems to available to drive you, and it is -20 outside." The staff however did not feel that the desires of their youth were different from the outstate youth, just that they possessed different needs in order to achieve those desires.

Overall Learnings from Expert Surveys. The responses that we received from the youth employment experts regarding the intricacies of the field in which they work were illuminating in many ways and disappointing in others. In terms of takeaways that are pertinent to the project at hand there is only one clear take away from the responses: that the age range of 16-24 is much too large, and this population needs to be separated. The correct way to divide this group is not as clear. The two options that we see are to make the split based on age or student status. For the purposes of your data collection efforts, the most sensible way to split the population would be between high schoolers and non-high school students. On the non-HS survey you could still capture information about time student status, and control for

the fact that a full-time high school student has a different workload and lifestyle than a full-time undergraduate student.

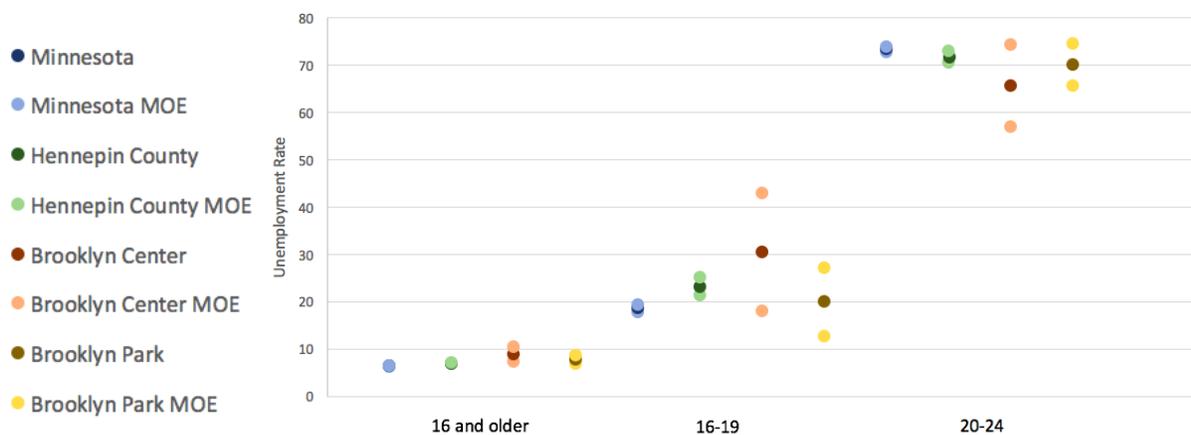
A missing aspect of the survey responses that we received, but was captured in one face to face interview was the question of employment type. In the interview, we asked directly if an internship or paid-employment in an entry level retail or service position was more beneficial than the other. The interviewee noted that both have their benefits. Internships can put beneficial things on your resume but often times those aren't paid and many of the youth that she serves can't afford to work without pay. What she deemed more important than the type of position was the building of soft skills and longevity in a position, constant refrains from the survey staff as well. Especially for youth who participate in these employment programs who tend to have weaker employment networks, she felt that building their resume and experience dealing with stressful or adverse situations.

Unfortunately, the surveys and interviews did not bring us any closer to answering questions such as: how much work is too much work for youth, or what are the ideal levels of youth unemployment? The complicating factor of education at this age seemed to make it difficult to settle upon a specific answer for the respondents. Not only does each kid have their own natural predisposition toward working, they also have differing workloads at school. There is also a belief running across all of the responses about the unique needs of each individual that they work with. An underlying notion that getting an accurate picture of the basic needs that are a barrier to youth employment are as essential to capture as the amount of youth employment itself.

American Communities Survey Data

We contacted the Minnesota Department of Employment and Economic Development to find out how they currently measured youth unemployment. They referred us to an American Communities Survey table that describes unemployment rates for a number of subsets of the population.

Figure 1: Youth Unemployment Rates in Brooklyn Park and Brooklyn Center



The unemployment rates have large margins of error for specific ages in smaller geographies, which limits our ability to glean much information about the differences between the state, county, and target cities. The most notable rate in the 16-19 year old unemployment rate, which is higher for Brooklyn Center than any of the comparisons. It is within the margin of error, but is likely an indication of a higher youth unemployment rate. Since the unemployment rate is based on the population in the workforce, it may be due to a higher proportion of youth looking for work, but similar proportions of youth being employed, or a smaller proportion of you being employed with similar proportions looking for work. Additionally, the ACS has data on the unemployment rates separated by gender and

educational status for 16-19 years olds. That data is available in the Appendix. Caution should be taken, because the margins of error are quite large due to the same sample size.

Results from 2016 Youth to Youth Survey

The data used for this analysis was pulled from the 2016 Youth to Youth Survey, which was conducted by the Youth Data Squad. In total 807 youth were surveyed with 622 youth living in Brooklyn Center and Brooklyn Park while the rest reported living in other cities. The youth surveyed ages ranged from 10 years old to youth over 19 years old, with a 50/50 split between female and male respondents. Looking at the racial and ethnic break up of youth, the data shows that the 53% of respondents were African Americans, 19% of respondents identified as European or white followed by , Asian youth at 19%, Hispanic and African youth were 12% respectively, Native American youth were at 10%, and other races amounting to the final 2%. The numbers do not add up because some students are mixed race so they may ticked multiple boxes which is why the numbers don't add up to 100%.

Having reliable and up to date data has been lacking in the US context and has been problematic as the OECD data illustrates. The NEET rate could be used to measure youth that have not completed any education higher than a high school diploma. However, the NEET rate, which ordinarily would be an ideal measure is not as useful because of the difficulty in getting good data in the first place. Hence there is a need to get more accurate measurements and conduct more longitudinal studies that would be better at showing trends over time.

Barriers/Challenges to Youth Unemployment

One thing that is apparent from the survey data is the lack of motivation that youth display towards their community or to any activities that are career-path oriented. One of the survey

questions asks if youth participate in programs or activities in the community center, after school, or during summer holidays. Two-thirds of respondents said that they do participate in activities and programs, but of those that reported participation, 50% were involved in sports, while a mere 5% were involved in any employment-related activity. In fact, when asked what activities youth would like to take part in if they were available, most did not express interest in activities related to employment. About 72% of youth in 2016 wanted to be more involved in sports, as opposed to 66% in 2014. Fewer youth wanted employment opportunities as the number dropped from 55% in 2014 to 38% in 2016.

Missing Actors

There are two groups of actors in the literature and expert interviews that must be better understood for a clear picture of the employment situation to be better understood: Parents and Employers. Especially for the younger group of youth, the stability and beliefs of their parents can play a central role in whether a youth will pursue employment, or perhaps more importantly, if they want to pursue employment. For high school aged youth, we are unsure if you could fully decouple the desires of the parents and the youth in their employment equation.

Employers and the tightness of the employment market also can play a huge role in the employment outlook for youth. Youth employment cannot be decoupled from adult employment since they often are in competition for the same positions today. The Youth to Youth survey showed that youth are fearful of disappointment and rejection when engaging in any activity (Sports, work, etc.), and in a tight employment market like today understanding the desires of employers around training and developing skills in young new employees could be invaluable information.

Compiling more detailed information about the youth in the Brooklyns is the most salient need for developing the benchmarks that the Alliance wants, but developing an understanding of the parent and employer factor in the future could further enhance the ability of the Alliance to benchmark data and target programing.

Recommendations

From the analysis that we have conducted we recommend that Brooklynk should develop better measurement tools in order to better capture youth age 16-24 years old. The 15 or 16-24 year old age range is less than 10 years, but in the United States these are some of the most variable years amongst peers, and lumping together an age range that theoretically spans from mid-high school past the completion of a bachelor's degree and from being a legal minor to a legal adult may muddy the process even more.

Splitting up the age range would be beneficial and attempting to standardize the age range to conform with other organizations maybe beneficial in the long run. Many youth employment organizations already divide them up into younger and older groups when organizing programs, and taking the same approach to collecting data for youth would make sense. Again, the Alliance has options on how to best divide the population, a straight split on age or something around educational attachment, but eliminating some of the enormous variability that exists in the target population will aid the Alliance in its goal of developing productive baselines.

Developing more comprehensive surveys around these two (or more) groups will enable the Alliance to tailor its programs and activities to suit the demands and needs of the area youth. We have developed two surveys that potentially could achieve some of the needed disaggregation (see appendix A). We know that there is a desire in the alliance to have strong

quantitative measures, but to develop these, a nuanced understanding of the desires of the area youth is essential. Through our surveys the hope is that a more fleshed out understanding of what the barriers to employment that we know exist, and just how prevalent they are in the broader youth populations.

A final consideration for the alliance has to do with the non-high school affiliated youth population. We know that we know that we want high school students to be in class full-time, and that anything extra needs to be balanced against this full-time educational requirement. Because the goal of the alliance is to increase pathways to career, and college coursework is a part of that equation, there needs to be metric that accounts for what full time looks like for the part-time student.

Conclusion

The Alliance admittedly has their work cut out for them going forward, but this is not an insurmountable challenge. As the the working population of Minnesota continues to gray understanding the employment needs of youth will continue to gain importance, and the alliance is positioning themselves to be on the front end of this issue. The matter of youth employment will likely remain a secondary concern in communities to adult employment, also the notion of what youth employment should look like will continue to shift in relation to adult employment. That is why developing a tool that allows for deep analysis into the desires of youth around employment will be integral to maintaining a pulse on the community as trends shift.

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APPENDIX A – Surveys

Survey 1 - High School Students Survey

- Have you been employed over the past year? (Yes/No)
 - If Yes:
 - How many hours did you work? (less than 5, 5-10, 10-15, 15-20, 20-25, over 25)
 - Was the job (Permanent, Temporary, Seasonal)?
 - How much did the job pay? (Less 9.50, 9.5-15, 15 or more)
 - What was the job (Retail/Food Service, Healthcare, Construction/Landscaping, Office, Child Care, other)
 - Did you learn new skills?
 - Was the job related to your career goals?
 - If No:
 - Did you want to work during the past year?
 - Did you look for work during the past year?
 - Did you apply for a job?
 - Did you interview for a job?
- Are you currently employed (Yes/No)
 - If Yes:
 - How many hours do you work? (less than 5, 5-10, 10-15, 15-20, 20-25, over 25)
 - Do you want to work (more, less, the same)
 - Is the job (Permanent, Temporary, Seasonal)
 - How much did the job pay? (Less 9.50, 9.5-15, 15 or more)
 - What is the job (Retail/Food Service, Healthcare, Construction/Landscaping, Office, Child Care, other)
 - If your current job, are you learning new skills?
 - Is the job related to your career goals?
 - What do you spend you pay on, select all that apply (living expenses, savings, leisure/recreation, other)
 - If No:
 - Did you want to work during the past month?
 - Did you look for work during the past month?
 - Did you apply for a job in the last month?
 - Did you interview for a job in the last month?
- Have you volunteered on an ongoing basis during the past year?
 - How frequently? (once a week or more, less than once a week, but more than once a month, once a month or more)
 - Is the volunteer work related to your career goals?
- Do you play organized sports?
- Are you a part of a student or community group, such as school clubs, girl scouts, 4-H, or religious youth groups,
- Do you intend to (go to 4 year college, go to community or technical college, not go to college)
- Do think about what you are going to do after high school?

Survey 2 - General Survey of non-high school connected students

- What is your highest level of education (Less than high school, high school diploma, some college, 2 year or technical degree, bachelor's degree)
- Do you have children?
- Are you currently attending school or college?
 - If no
 - Are you planning to attend school or college in the future?
 - If yes
 - Are you attending (Full Time/Part Time)
 - Are you attending to earn a (Bachelor's degree, associate's degree, certificate, not seeking a degree)
- Are you currently employed?
 - If yes
 - Are you employed by more than employer? (Yes/No)
 - Is your primary job (More than 40 hours/30-40 hours/20-30 hours/less than 20 hours) per week?
 - Are you currently working (MORE, LESS, THE SAME) amount of hours as you want?
 - How much does your primary job pay? (Less than 9.5 dollars per hours, 9.5-15 dollars per hour, 15-25 dollars per hour, over 25 dollars per hour)
 - Is your income enough to cover your basic need, including food, housing, and transportation? (Yes, No)
 - Does your employer provide health insurance coverage?
 - Does your employer provide paid time off for illness or other reasons?
 - Is your job (permanent, temporary, seasonal)?
 - How long have you been employed at your current place of work (less than a month, 1-3 months, 3-6 months, 6-12 months, over a year)
 - A year from now, do you intend to be working for your current employer?
 - Does your current job require (MORE, LESS, THE SAME) amount of education as you have?
 - If no
 - Do you want to be employed?
 - If yes, what is your biggest barrier to employment?
 - Are you currently looking for a job?
 - Did you apply for a job in the past month?
 - Have you sent resumes or letters of interest to potential employers?
 - Did you interview for a job in the past month?
- Have you volunteered on an ongoing basis during the past year?
 - How frequently? (once a week or more, less than once a week, but more than once a month, once a month or more)
 - Is the volunteer work related to your career goals?

Appendix B: ACS Data

	Enrolled in School						Not Enrolled in School							
	Unemployed			Employed			Not in labor force			Unemployment Rate				
	Unemployed	Employed	Not in labor force	Unemployed	Employed	Not in labor force	Unemployment Rate	Employed	Not in labor force	Unemployment Rate	Employed	Not in labor force	Unemployment Rate	
Male	9%	35%	56%	21%	19%	62%	19%	62%	19%	24%	21%	40%	39%	34%
Hernepin	9%	29%	62%	23%	28%	49%	24%	49%	24%	37%	21%	42%	37%	33%
Brooklyn Center	5%	27%	68%	15%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	59%	29%	12%	67%
Brooklyn Park	5%	21%	75%	18%	28%	51%	21%	51%	21%	35%	0%	63%	37%	0%
Female	8%	44%	48%	16%	12%	72%	16%	72%	16%	14%	16%	38%	46%	29%
Hernepin	10%	37%	53%	22%	12%	71%	17%	71%	17%	14%	25%	37%	38%	41%
Brooklyn Center	19%	26%	56%	42%	16%	79%	5%	79%	5%	17%	0%	0%	100%	N/A
Brooklyn Park	6%	28%	65%	19%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	51%	49%	0%	51%

Appendix C: Causal Mapping for Brooklyn

