



RESEARCH BOOK



Statewide Latino Public Policy
Conference 2010

Securing the Dream: Power, Progress, Prosperity
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The Mauricio Gastón Institute for
Latino Community Development
and Public Policy

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20 YEARS OF COMMITMENT TO LATINO PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

The Mauricio Gastón Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy was established in 1989 at the University of Massachusetts-Boston by the Massachusetts State Legislature at the behest of Latino community leaders and scholars in response to a need for improved understanding of the Latino experience in the Commonwealth. The mission of the Institute is to inform policy makers about issues vital to the state's growing Latino community and to provide this community with information and analysis necessary for effective participation in public policy development.

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Preface by Maria Idali Torres, PhD, Director, Gastón Institute



Ten years have passed since the first Statewide Latino Public Policy Conference, and since the Gastón Institute released its first report on the State of Latino Massachusetts. Our first report in 2000 and subsequent reports in 2002, 2004, and 2006 have been resources for local planning aimed at meeting the needs of Latinos. This year's conference research book is a collection of data updates based on the most recent data available to us at this time. It represents the work of 11 researchers associated with the Gastón Institute. Like earlier reports, these updates are based on demographic and economic data from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) and on field-specific data collected by the state Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (MDESE) and Department of Public Health (MDPH). Each report presents data tables, analysis, and recommendations for policy and practice at the state and local levels. A glossary of key terms and a topical index are included at the end of the book to facilitate utilization of data findings and recommendations.

As a body of information, this collection of reports tell the story of the continuing enlargement, diversification, and dispersion of Latinos in Massachusetts. Chapter 1 and Chapter 4 are based on 2008 American Community Survey. Together, these two reports profile the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of Latinos. While Latinos comprise only 8.5% of the state population, their age structure (tilted toward the younger age groupings) and the constant influx of new immigrants from Latin America is transforming the landscape of schools and workplaces. Although Puerto Ricans continue to be the largest Latino subgroup in Massachusetts, the numbers of Brazilians, Dominicans, Salvadorans, Mexicans, Guatemalans, Hondurans, and others have grown significantly since 2000. The top five heaviest concentrations of Latinos in Massachusetts are found in all three sections of the state: West (the city of Springfield and the Greater Chicopee area, including Holyoke and Easthampton), Central (the city of Worcester), and East (in the Greater Lawrence area, including Methuen and Andover, and the Greater Chelsea area including Revere and Winthrop).

Latinos' demographic status as the largest minority group in the state represents a significant source of human capital (resources) for Massachusetts at a time when non-Latino whites, the largest segment of the population, are aging and when the economy is creating fewer traditional "high road" jobs. As a result, the main sources of employment for Latino adults are blue-collar and service-sector jobs, and even those Latinos in traditionally white-collar jobs tend to earn less than the average salary earned by other ethno-racial groups for the same type of work. Income data presented in Chapter 4 show that two of every five Latino households in Massachusetts have incomes of less than \$25,000, and for some cities such as Springfield (53%) and Lowell (53.7%), a majority of Latino households are in that low-income category. Not surprisingly Latinos are less likely to own a home, and are more likely to live in neighborhoods with low average monthly rents. When they do own a home, however, they tend to pay an average monthly mortgage (\$1,817) higher than whites.

Chapters 2 and 3 focus on Latinos in public schools and use data from the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. Chapter 2 shows that the high marks for which the state of Massachusetts education system is known nationally are yet to reach Latino students, who represent 15% of the total student population but who experience persistent disparities in most indicators of academic achievement when compared with non-Latino groups. The authors find higher dropout rates, more absenteeism, more behavior-related suspensions, and lower MCAS scores in reading and mathematics. In 2009, the cohort graduation rate for Latinos (60%) was 22 points lower than for the overall student population (82%). The difference was significantly wider in cities with larger concentration of Latino students, such as Lawrence (48.1%), Holyoke (48.5%), and Chelsea (49.7%). As Chapter 3 suggests, these disparities are magnified in the experience of Latino students of limited English proficiency (LEP). In an in-depth analysis of outcomes of Latino LEPs, also called English Language Learners (ELLs), the authors report that one of every five Latino students is identified as "LEP" and that only a small number of them go on to attain scores at the highest levels of the Massachusetts English Proficiency Assessment (MEPA). Besides performing at differential levels of English proficiency, as a group they demonstrate different levels of literacy and different degrees of exposure to other aspects of the native language and culture. Faye Karp and Miren Uriarte assert that persistent educational disparities between students of different levels of English proficiency "signal the potential dangerous effect on our Commonwealth's economy down the road if a substantial portion of our youth is not educationally competitive today" (page 29). Low levels of educational attainment and specialized training place Latinos at a disadvantage in the knowledge-based economy of Massachusetts.

Chapter 5 synthesizes data reports issued by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health in 2008 and 2010. The health profile of Latinos in Massachusetts is characterized by a disproportionate burden of chronic disease due to HIV/AIDS, asthma, and diabetes, and of work-related injuries. The impact of the 2006 health care reform policies (Chapter 58) on Latino health remains uncertain. While the American Community Survey data presented in Chapter 1 show that the rates of uninsured among Latino adults in Massachusetts decreased more than for any other ethno-racial group, the Hispanic Pew Center report cited in this chapter shows that Latinos as a group continue to have a higher proportion of uninsured (9%)



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than any other group. Among Latinos, those born in their native countries experience the greatest disparities in medical insurance coverage.

The authors of these five reports, who have given a great deal of thought to the implications of the disparities (in education, economics, and health) for the lives of Latinos, share their suggestions at the end of each chapter. Their recommendations focus especially on education. The most effective strategy to securing the dream may be to adopt a universal approach to education, starting at a very early age in preschool and continuing through higher education and specialized training to match the needs of the highly skilled knowledge-based industry of Massachusetts. Education facilitates immigrant integration and full participation in our communities. Education is also a prerequisite for building individual, community, and organizational capacity required for workforce development, home ownership, and policy-oriented activity. Education provides access to better job opportunities, financial stability, and upward mobility. Education is necessary for the prevention and management of chronic conditions such as cancer, cardiovascular/heart disease, and diabetes as well as work-related injuries; for accessing health information and services; for utilizing health insurance and medications appropriately; and for asserting the rights of workers and patients. We urge state government officials to assume the leading role in ensuring that local school districts transition into a new phase of education reform that aims to reduce absenteeism and desertion among Latino students, particularly those with limited English proficiency.

When all disparities affecting Latinos in Massachusetts are combined, it demands a high level of institutional commitment and accountability from policy makers and administrators alike, and high levels of scrutiny from the Latino community and the general public. Therefore, Latinos must use the power of their numbers to influence policy makers to connect the dots – to link education, employment, and health in new legislation to improve education, create good jobs with the benefits of training, child care, and health insurance, and promote affordable housing and health services for working families. It is critical that Latinos and our policy making allies engage in a statewide campaign to redirect existing resources currently devoted to ineffective practices and failed programs. The future of the Commonwealth's working-age population and tax base may well depend on Latinos' upward mobility. The failure of our state's public policies to ensure the benefits of education attainment and achievement to its Latino population comes at great social and economic costs for Massachusetts, now and in the future.



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CHAPTER 1

The Growing Latino Population of Massachusetts: A Demographic and Economic Portrait

by Phillip Granberry, PhD and Maria Idali Torres, PhD

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This report highlights the growing number, and increasing diversity, of Latinos in Massachusetts. In this state, as well as nationally, Latinos' share of the population continues to increase, in contrast to the aging non-Latino white population. If Massachusetts were to keep all its congressional seats in the reapportionment that will follow the 2010 Census, it would be chiefly due to the growth in its Latino and Asian population. The Latino population is young, with a high rate of dependent children and a very low rate of dependent elders. Its workforce composition remains stable: Latinos continue to be over-represented in blue-collar and service-sector jobs and under-represented in white-collar jobs. Across all occupational sectors (including white-collar jobs), Latino workers earn less on average than those of other ethno-racial groups. Latinos also lag in regard to private medical insurance coverage and homeownership. Owning a home is a tangible mechanism for prosperity in many families and communities, a foundation to securing the dream.

The central policy question is how the growth of the Latino population affects the economic and sociopolitical fabric of Massachusetts.

Introduction

The Growing Latino Population of Massachusetts: A Demographic and Economic Portrait is based on the 2008 American Community Survey (ACS), a yearly nationwide survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau to document ongoing changes in states and communities over time. Unlike the decennial Census, the ACS is based on a sample of the population. Our descriptive analysis uses both household- and individual-level ACS data to estimate population size and percentages, to compare Latinos to other ethno-racial groups (e.g., whites, blacks, and Asians), and to compare the top ten Latino subpopulations in Massachusetts by ancestry. These are Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Brazilians, Salvadorans, Mexicans, Guatemalans, Colombians, Hondurans, Peruvians, and Cubans. We use ancestry, based on migration from Latin America, rather than language: a self-identified Latino born in Massachusetts may have ancestors from a Latin American country but speak only English only (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). For purposes of this report, Brazilians are included in the category "Latino," though most Brazilians self-report using a racial category – white or black – rather than identifying with the term "Latino."

This socio-demographic and economic portrait of the growing Latino Massachusetts is divided into three sections: socio-demographic characteristics (population growth, ancestry, age, gender, marital status); socioeconomic characteristics (education, jobs, wages, housing, medical insurance); and policy implications.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Population Composition and Growth

Latinos comprise the second largest ethno-racial group in Massachusetts, making up 8.5% of the population, and their population increased by nearly 30% since 2000. As illustrated in Figure 1, even though non-Latino whites made up the vast majority of the population in the state in 2008 (78.6%), their population had declined by 4.8% during the 2000s (Figure 2). Non-Latino blacks are the third largest ethno-racial group, and their population increased, but at the lower rate of 9.3%. Asians are the only ethno-racial group that increased at a faster rate than Latinos (33.6%), but they are the smallest of the four major ethno-racial groups and make up only 4.9% of the state's population.¹

Figure 1: Population Percentages by Ethno-Racial Group in Massachusetts

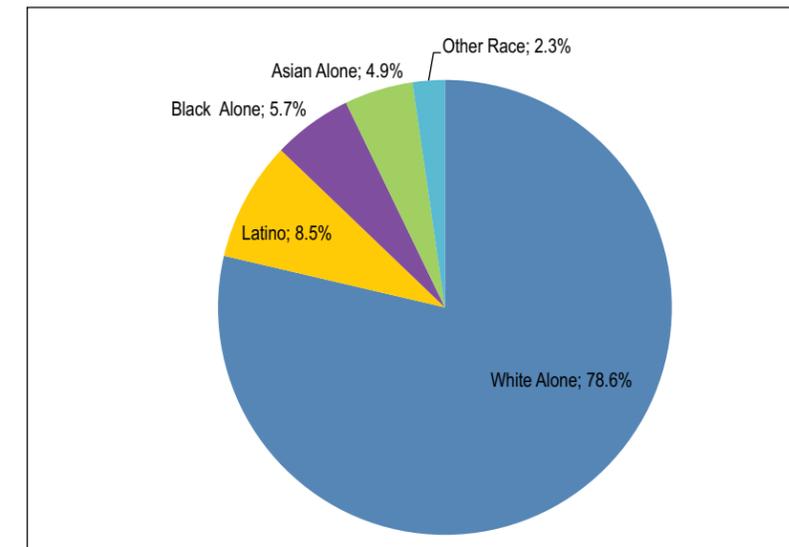
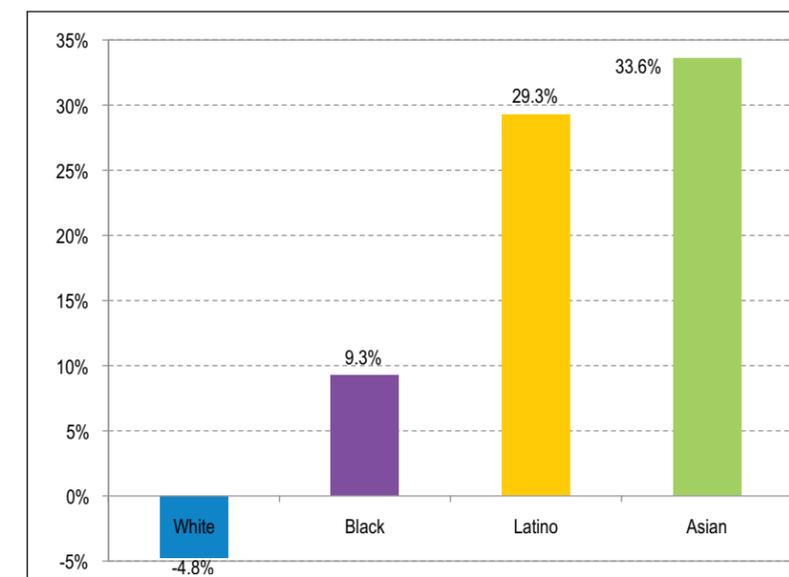


Figure 2: Population Growth by Latinos and Other Ethno-Racial Groups in Massachusetts from 2000 to 2008



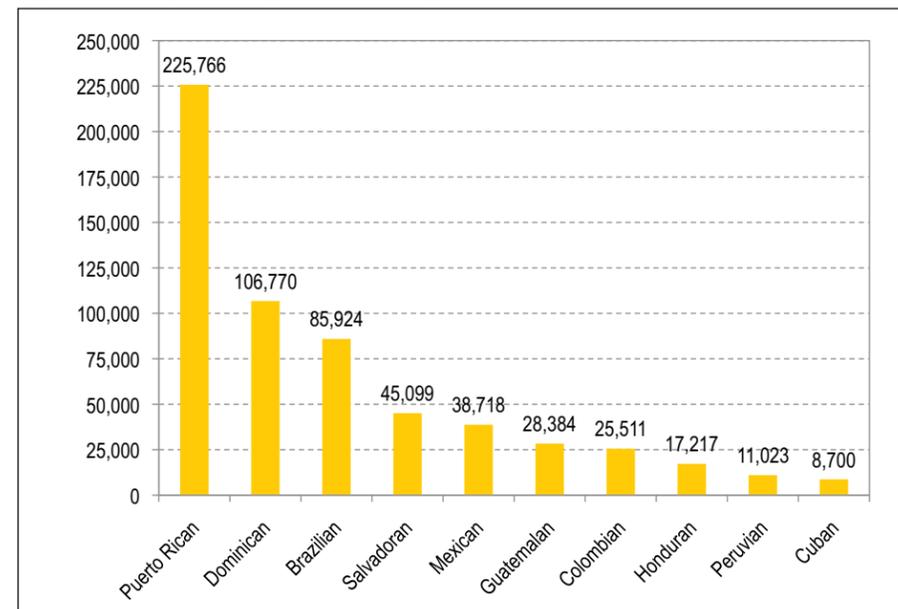
Ancestry and Nativity of Latinos in Massachusetts

Table 1 shows the growth of all Latino sub-populations during the 2000s. While Puerto Ricans remained the primary Latino sub-population, other groups including Dominicans and Brazilians have increased at a faster rate during the past decade. The other top Latino ancestry groups in descending order are Salvadorans, Mexicans, Guatemalans, Colombians, Hondurans, Peruvians, and Cubans.

Table 1: Change in Ancestry of Latino Population in Massachusetts, 2000 – 2004 – 2008

	2000	2004	2008	Change 2000-2004	Change 2004-2008	Change 2000-2008
Total Population	6,349,097	6,201,416	6,497,967	-2.3%	4.8%	2.3%
Latino	427,340	478,929	552,533	12.1%	15.4%	29.3%
Puerto Rican	200,001	218,763	225,766	9.4%	3.2%	12.9%
Dominican	53,350	74,499	106,770	39.6%	43.3%	100.1%
Brazilian	28,921	55,554	85,924	92.1%	54.7%	197.1%
Salvadoran	17,235	28,585	45,099	65.9%	57.8%	161.7%
Mexican	21,201	18,614	38,718	-12.2%	108.0%	82.6%
Guatemalan	12,020	31,171	28,384	159.3%	-8.9%	136.1%
Colombian	14,157	27,685	25,511	95.6%	-7.9%	80.2%
Honduran	5,689	13,365	17,217	134.9%	28.8%	202.6%
Peruvian	4,378	5,591	11,023	27.7%	97.2%	151.8%
Cuban	8,551	6,198	8,700	-27.5%	40.4%	1.7%

Figure 3: Ancestry of the Top 10 Latino Groups in Massachusetts in 2008



Geographical Distribution

In addition to this state-wide demographic report, the Gaston Institute is also producing demographic profiles of 14 urban areas in the state.² Table 2 reports the concentration of Latinos in cities in Massachusetts. Latinos are most concentrated in the Lawrence-Methuen-Andover area, where they comprise 39.0% of the population, and the city of Springfield, where they comprise 36.7% of the population. In Boston, which is home to nearly 20% of the state's Latino population, Latinos account for 16.3% of the city's population.

Table 2: Ethno-Racial Breakdown of the Population in Percentages of Selected Geographic Areas in 2008

	Latino	White	Black	Asian	Other Race
Lawrence, Methuen, & Andover	39.0%	55.0%	1.3%	3.7%	1.0%
Springfield	36.7%	40.5%	19.2%	1.3%	2.3%
Worcester	22.3%	63.8%	7.8%	3.9%	2.2%
Chelsea, Revere, & Winthrop	28.6%	58.1%	6.1%	4.3%	2.8%
Chicopee, Holyoke, & East-hampton	22.2%	72.1%	2.4%	2.2%	1.2%
Lynn, Nahant, & Saugus	16.5%	66.7%	8.5%	6.0%	2.2%
Boston	16.3%	51.1%	20.9%	8.1%	3.5%
Somerville & Everett	11.1%	67.8%	7.7%	8.7%	4.7%
Lowell	11.7%	57.0%	8.9%	20.4%	2.0%
Framingham & Cochituate	10.7%	74.3%	4.8%	7.6%	2.6%
Malden & Medford	8.3%	64.3%	12.9%	11.9%	2.7%
Brockton & Abington	7.6%	58.7%	26.6%	1.5%	5.7%
Cambridge	7.6%	68.3%	8.6%	10.8%	4.7%
Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, & Swampscott	5.9%	87.6%	3.0%	1.7%	1.9%

Age and Gender Distribution

The median age for Latinos is 26 years, compared to 38 years for the total population in Massachusetts. Figures 4A and 4B offer a study in contrasting age profiles, with younger ages much more heavily represented in the Latino chart. The Latino population has greatest concentration in ages 34 and below, while the overall population has the greatest concentration in the age categories from 40 to 54.

Figure 4A: Age Distribution of the Latino Population

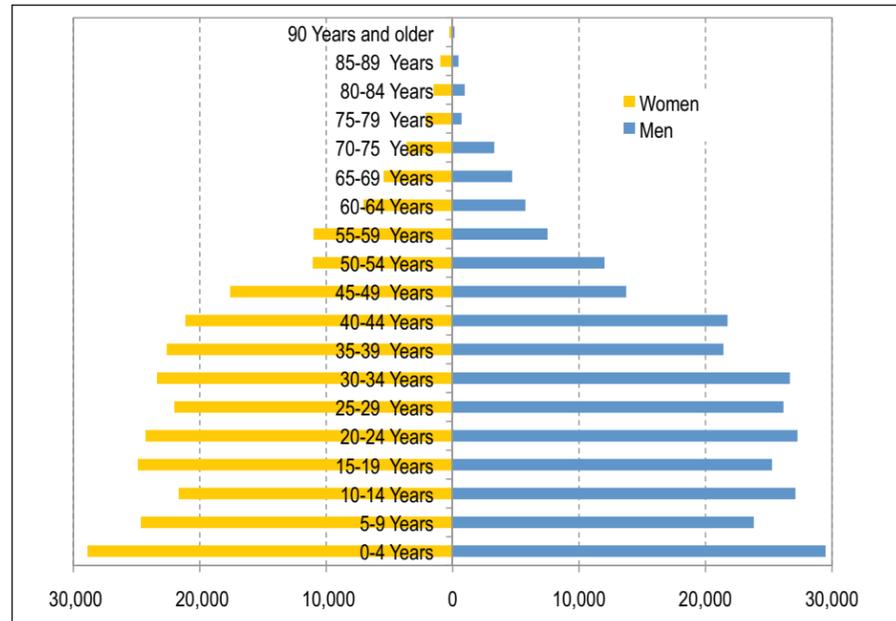
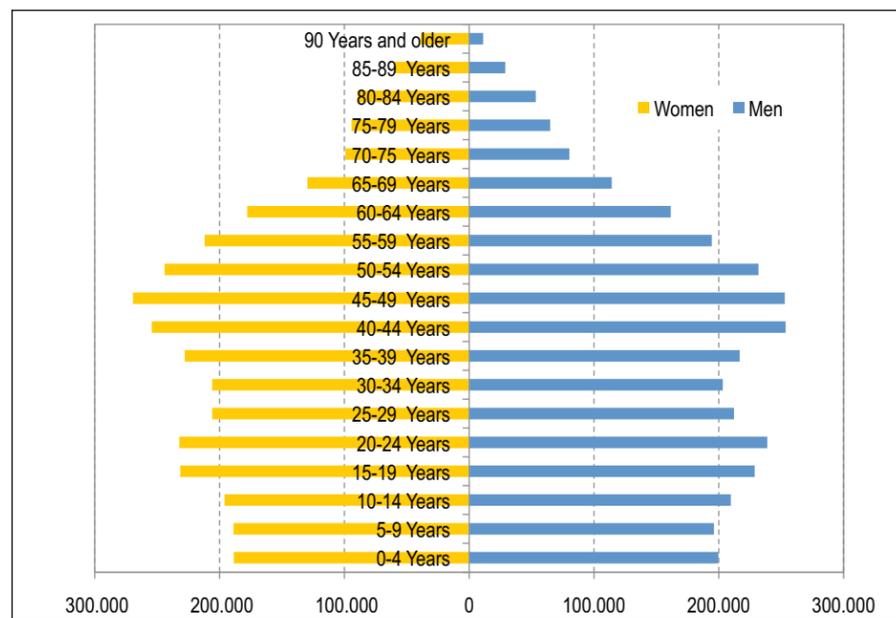
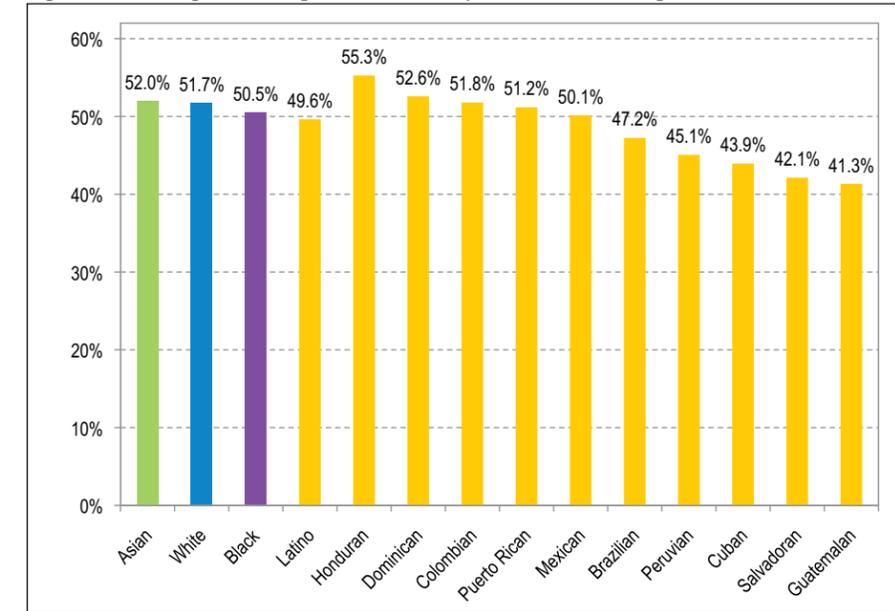


Figure 4B: Age Distribution of the Total Population



The gender dimension of Figure 4 is further delineated in Figure 5. Latinos, with 49.6% of their population female, are the only ethno-racial group that has more males than females. While 55.3% of Hondurans and 52.6% of Dominicans are female, only 42.1% of Salvadorans and 41.3% of Guatemalans are female.

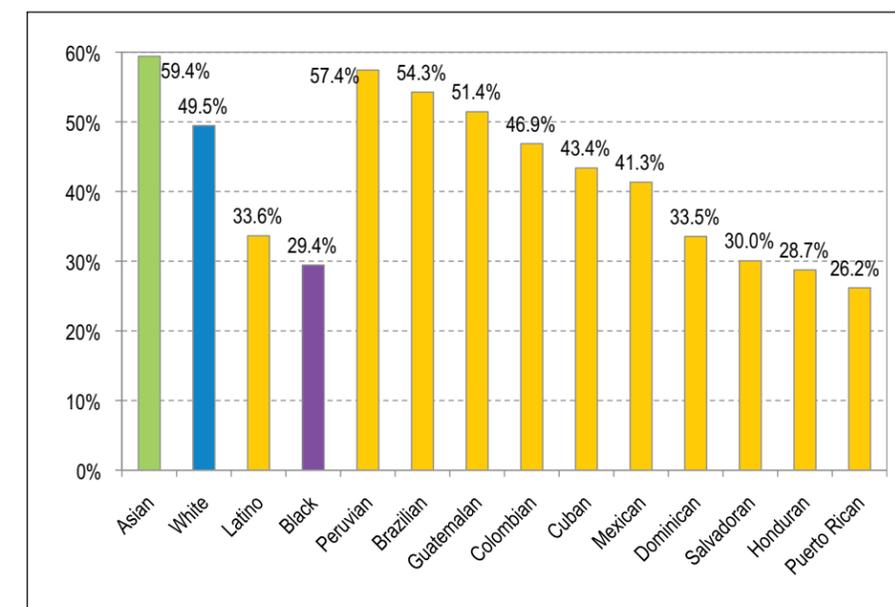
Figure 5: Percentage of the Population Female by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008



Marital Status

Even though Figure 6 suggests that Latinos have lower marriage rates (33.6%) compared to Asians (59.4%) and whites (49.5%), there is wide variation in these marriage rates among Latino sub-populations. Peruvians, Brazilians, and Guatemalans have marriage rates higher than whites. The relatively low rates among Latinos may partly reflect the age distribution and sex breakdown presented above. There are fewer Latino women than men in the state, especially for the young-adult age categories. In addition, marriage statistics start at age 16, and Latinos have relatively much higher proportions of adults in the 16 to 29 age group compared to the total population. This age group is delaying marriage and family formation across all ethno-racial groups and may thus be influencing Latinos' lower marriage rate.

Figure 6: Marriage Rates by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008

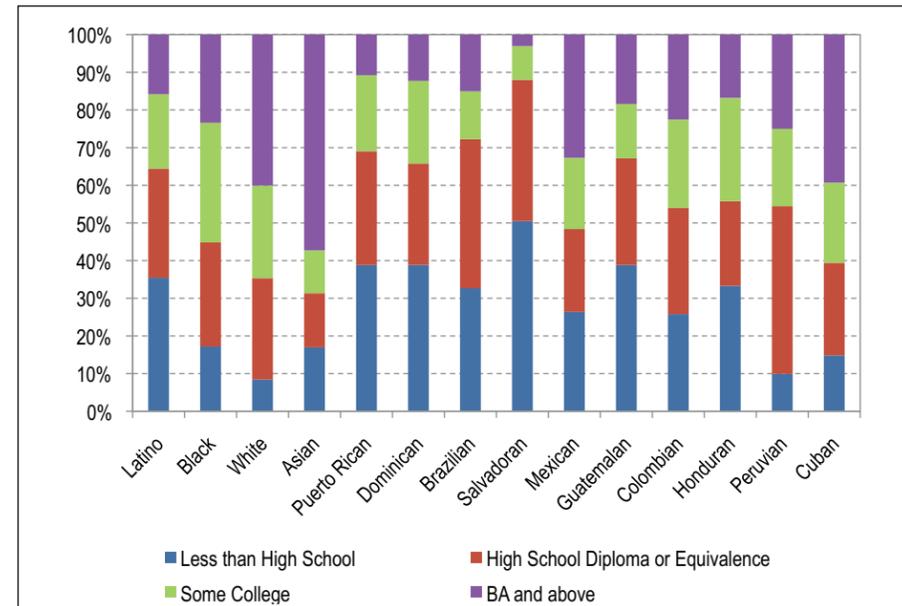


Socio-Economic Characteristics

Educational Attainment

Figure 7 highlights the fact that Latinos have the highest percentages of their population with less than a high school diploma: 35.4%, compared to 8.4% for whites, 17.2% for blacks, and 17.0% for Asians. Although only 9.9% of Peruvian and 14.8% of Cuban adults lack high school diplomas, fully half of Salvadoran adults (50.5%) lack these diplomas, along with and 38.8% of Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Guatemalan adults.

Figure 7A: Educational Attainment by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008



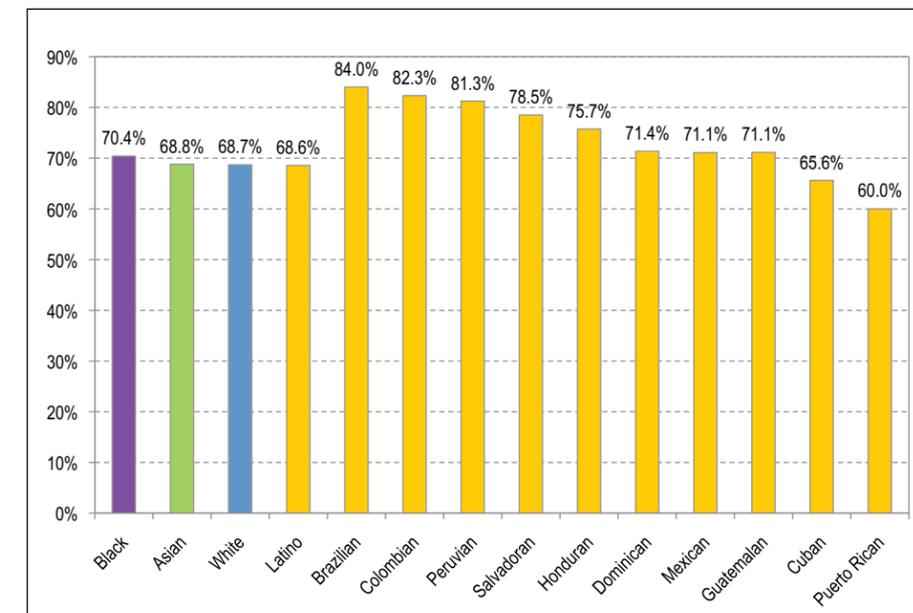
At the other end of the educational scale, Latinos have the lowest percentage of their population with at least a bachelor's degree: 15.8%, compared to Asians (57.3%), whites (40.1%), and blacks (23.4%). Cubans (39.3%) and Mexicans (32.7%) have greater percentages of their population with at least a bachelor's degree, while Puerto Ricans (10.8%) and Salvadorans (3.0%) have the lowest percentages with a college degree.

It is important to note that educational attainment of the population does not necessarily reflect schooling in Massachusetts. Many people migrate to the area, either from their home countries or from other parts of the U.S. Another section of this conference research book examines selected indicators of K-12 educational outcomes for Latino children and adolescents and provides a picture of the quality of our educational systems.

Labor Force Participation and Employment

On average, 68.6% Latinos residents aged 16 and over who are not in school are in the labor force: either employed or officially unemployed (do not have a job, have actively looked for work in the prior 4 weeks, and are currently available for work). Figure 8 shows that Latinos participate in the labor force at similar rates to those other ethno-racial groups; the rates for blacks (70.4%), Asians (68.8%), and whites (68.7%) are only slightly higher. Brazilians (84.0%) and Colombians (82.3%) have the highest labor force participation rates among Latinos, while Cubans (65.6%) and Puerto Ricans (60.0%) have the lowest.

Figure 8: Labor Force Participation by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008



At 9.9%, Latinos experienced relatively high unemployment in 2008 (Figure 9), but there is a great variation in the unemployment rate among sub-populations. Puerto Ricans had the highest rate of unemployment (15.0%), followed by Dominicans and Guatemalans (11.2%). These three groups surpassed the rate for blacks (11.0%). In contrast, Peruvians (5.2%), Brazilians (5.1%), Mexicans (4.6%), and Salvadorans (2.9%) had unemployment rates similar to, or lower than, unemployment rates for Asians (5.4%) and whites (5.2%).

Figure 9: Unemployment Rates by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008

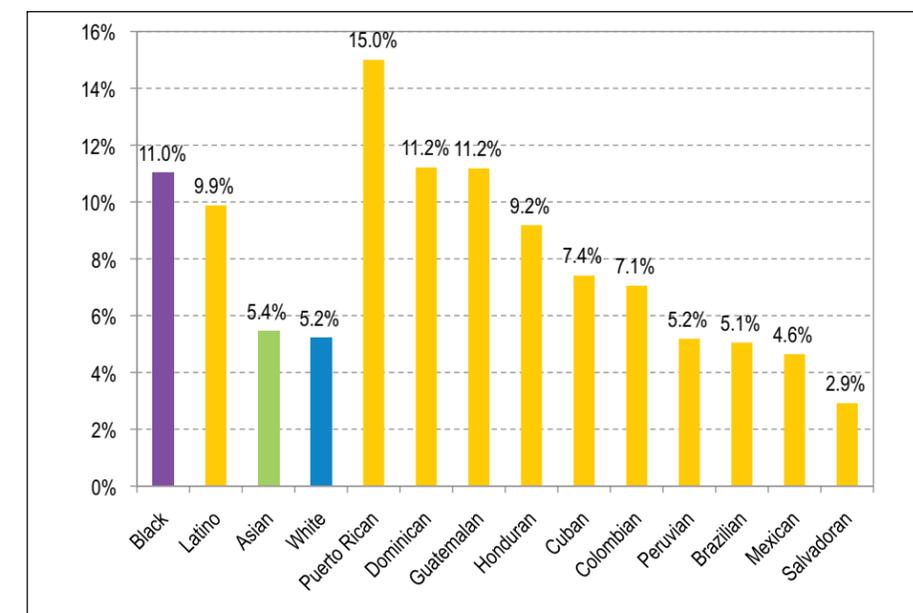
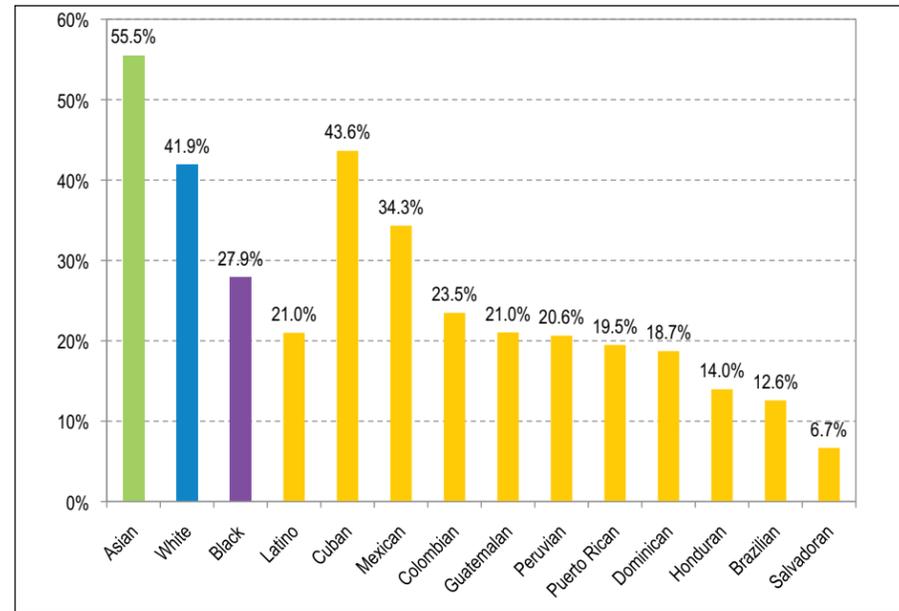


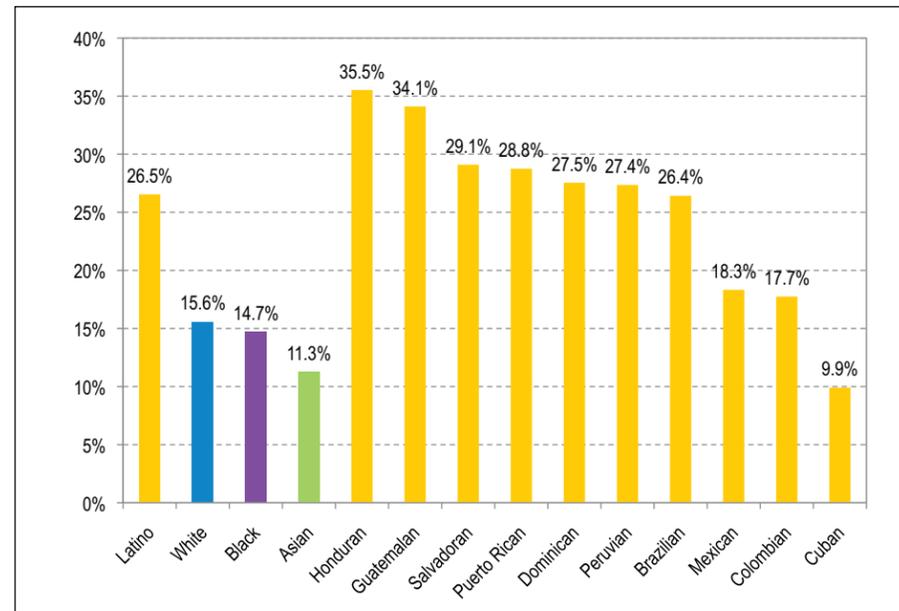
Figure 10A shows that Latinos are under-represented in Professional and Managerial Occupations (21.0%) compared to other ethno-racial groups, with Asians (55.5%) having over twice as many people employed in these occupations. Cubans (43.6%) and Mexicans (34.3%) are the Latino subpopulations with the greatest percentages in these occupations, while Salvadorans (6.7%) have the smallest percentages of these generally considered white-collar jobs.

Figure 10A: Population Employed in Professional or Managerial Occupations by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008



In contrast to white-collar occupations, Latinos in Figure 10B are heavily concentrated in Farming, Construction, Production, and Transportation Occupations, which are generally considered blue-collar occupations. Over a quarter of Latinos (26.5%) are employed in blue-collar jobs. In contrast, only 14.7% of blacks, who are traditionally considered to be competing with Latinos for these jobs, are employed in blue-collar jobs. Over a third of Hondurans (35.5%) and Guatemalans (34.1%) work blue-collar jobs, while only 9.9% of Cubans do.

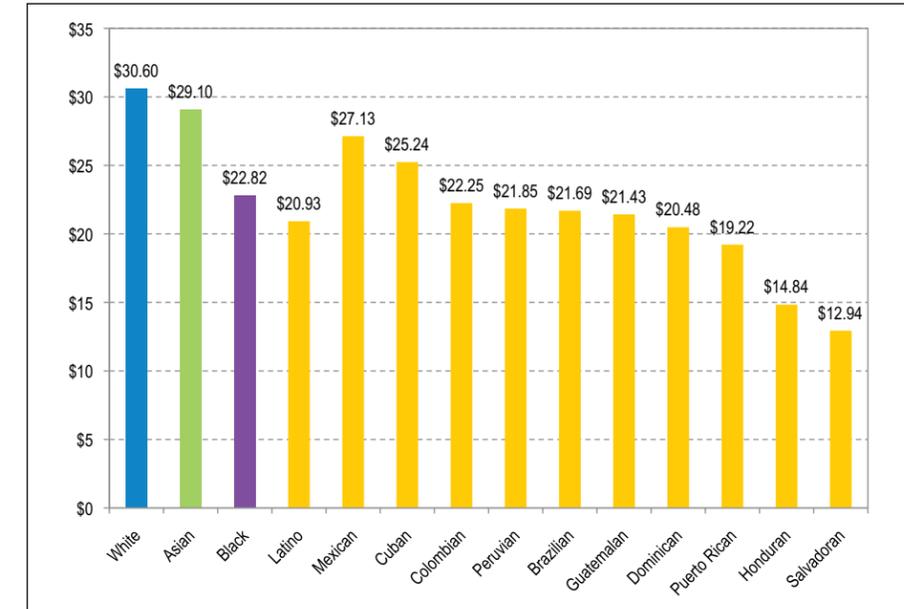
Figure 10B: Population Employed in Farming, Construction, Production, and Transportation Occupations by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008



Hourly Earnings

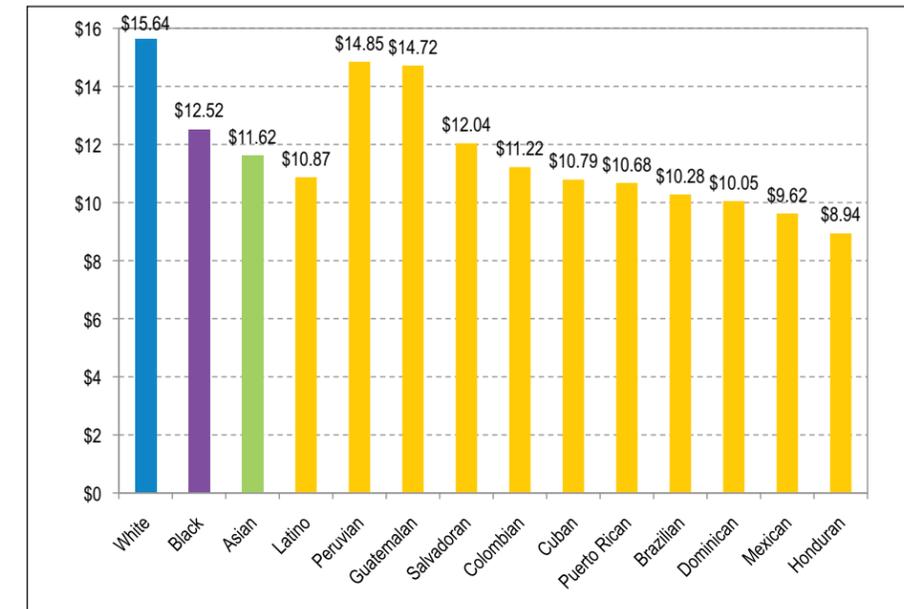
As Figure 11 highlights, Latinos earn the lowest average hourly wages across the three occupational categories. Latinos in Figure 11A earn an average wage of \$20.93, less than their ethno-racial counterparts (whites \$30.60, Asians \$29.10, and blacks \$22.82), and not one Latino subpopulation earns white-collar wages similar to whites. Mexicans earn the highest average white-collar wages (\$27.13), while Salvadorans (\$12.94) earn the lowest.

Figure 11A: Hourly Wages in Professional or Managerial Occupations by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008



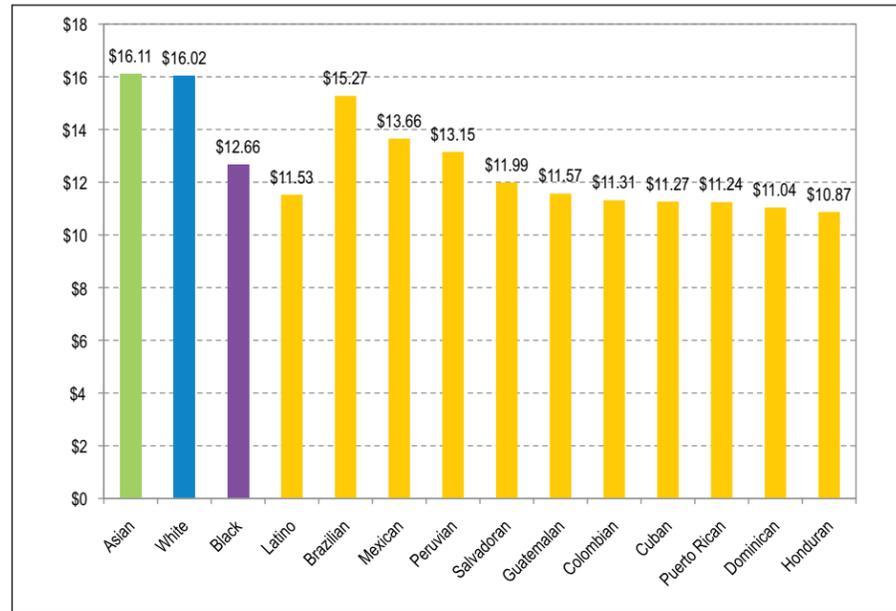
Latinos in Figure 11B earn an average hourly wage of \$10.87, less than their ethno-racial counterparts (whites \$15.64, blacks \$12.52, and Asians \$11.62) in sales and service occupations. Peruvians (\$14.85) and Guatemalans (\$14.72) earn the highest wages of any Latino subpopulation in these occupations, while Hondurans (\$8.94) earn the lowest average hourly wage.

Figure 11B: Hourly Wages in Sales and Service Occupations by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008



Latinos in Figure 11C earn an average hourly wage of \$11.53 for working in occupations that are traditionally considered blue-collar. This is a lower average than for Asians (\$16.11), whites (\$16.02), and blacks (\$12.66). Brazilians (\$15.27) earn the highest blue-collar wages of any Latino subpopulation, while Hondurans earn the lowest (\$10.87)

Figure 11C: Hourly Wages in Farming, Construction, Production, and Transportation Occupations by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008



Housing

Consistent with the finding that Latino workers earn less than others in Massachusetts across all occupational categories, Latinos (32.9%) are significantly less likely than whites (77.2%) to own a home (Figure 12). Dominicans (24.4%) and Puerto Ricans (28.3%) are the least likely to own their homes, while over half of Cubans (55.5%) and Colombians (51.5%) do. As a complement to these figures, it is evident that 75.6% of Dominicans, 71.7% of Puerto Ricans, 44.5% of Cubans, and 48.5% of Colombians are renters, as are 67.1% of Latinos overall.

Figure 12: Homeownership Rates by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008

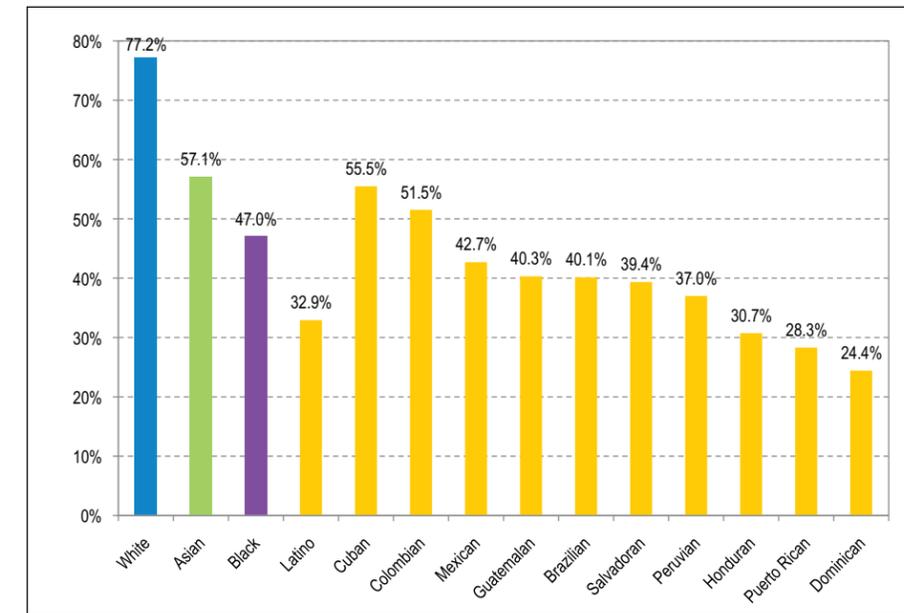
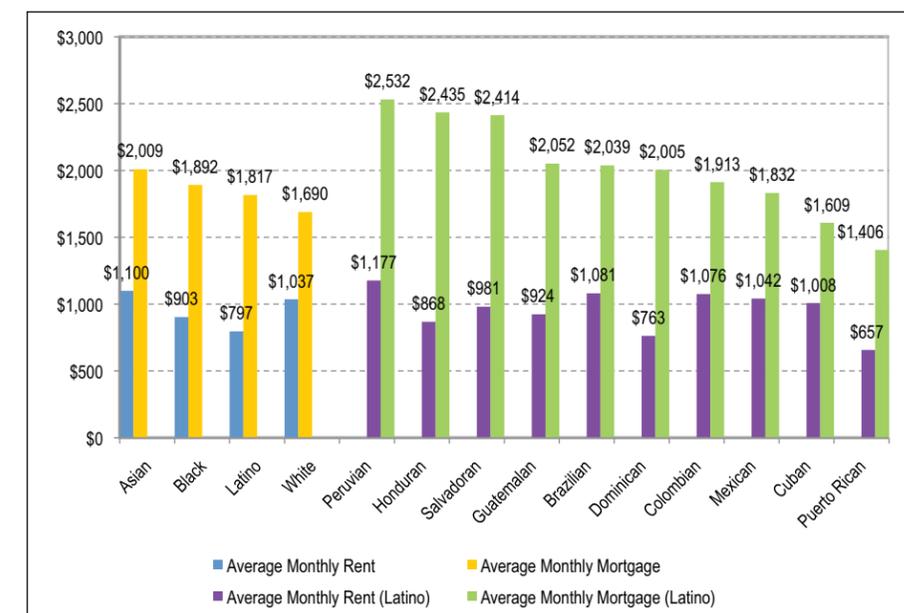


Figure 13 tells two stories about housing costs. Latinos pay the lowest rents (\$797) of any ethno-racial group. Puerto Ricans pay the lowest average monthly rent at \$657, while Peruvians pay the highest at \$1,177. For Latino homeowners, their average monthly mortgage (\$1,817) is more than for whites (\$1,690) but less than for Asians (\$2,009) and blacks (\$1,892). Peruvians pay the highest monthly mortgage of \$2,532, while Puerto Ricans have the lowest monthly mortgage (\$1,406).

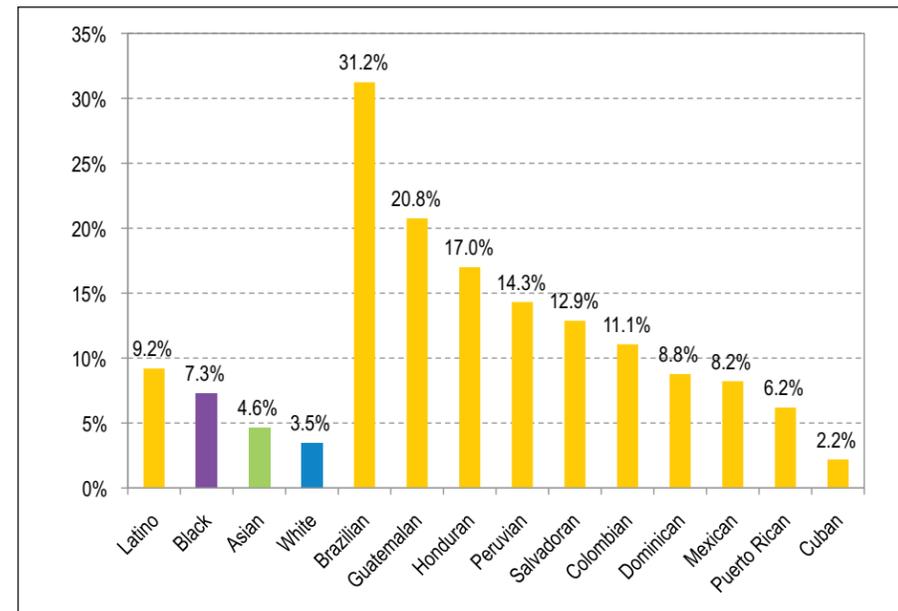
Figure 13: Housing Costs by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008



Medical Insurance

Overall, as Figure 14 shows, Latinos are the ethno-racial group with the highest percentages of individuals without access to medical insurance (9.2% compared to 7.3% for blacks, 4.6% for Asians, and 3.5% for whites). The 2006 Massachusetts Health Care Reform Law envisioned an expansion of medical insurance coverage, but the record is mixed for Latino subpopulations. Newer-arriving populations to Massachusetts – Brazilians (31.2%), Guatemalans (20.8%), Hondurans (17.0%), Peruvians (14.3%), Salvadorans (12.9%), and Colombians (11.1%) – have greater percentages of their population without medical insurance. Subpopulations with longer tenure in Massachusetts, who are more likely to be integrated into the formal labor market, have smaller percentages without medical insurance; these include Dominicans (8.8%), Mexicans (8.2%), Puerto Ricans (6.2%), and Cubans (2.2%).

Figure 14: Medical Uninsurance Rates by Ethno-Racial Group in 2008



Discussion: Implications for Policy and Organizational Change

This report highlights the growing number, and increasing diversity, of Latinos in Massachusetts. In this state, as well as nationally, Latinos' share of the population continues to increase, at the expense principally of the aging non-Latino white population (Dey, 1996; Marcelli & Granberry, 2006). This trend is expected to continue due to increased migration of Latin Americans and their higher birth rates (Singer, 2004).

Massachusetts has always attracted international migrants; 14.4% of the state's 2008 population was foreign-born compared to 12.5% nationwide. Of the top ten countries identified as point of departure by immigrants who came to Massachusetts, Brazil and the Dominican Republic ranked first and second and El Salvador ranked eighth. Indeed, the Latino population in Massachusetts has diversified and dispersed beyond Puerto Ricans living in metropolitan areas. It now includes growing numbers of Dominicans, Brazilians, Salvadorans, Mexican, Guatemalans, and Colombians. This emerging diversification in birthplace and ancestry of the Latino population in the Commonwealth is relatively new (Shea & Jones, 2006). It has become especially noticeable as the numbers of Dominicans and Brazilians

continue to increase in number and disperse throughout the entire state.

The central policy question is how the growth of the Latino population affects economic well-being and the socio-political fabric of Massachusetts. Latinos in Massachusetts have very low elderly dependency ratios and relatively high but declining child dependency ratios. Given how the effects of population growth on economic well-being have traditionally been estimated (Easterlin, 1968; Mydal, 1962), the relatively young age profile of Latinos is likely to benefit the state's (and the nation's) economy in both the near and far term. On the supply side, younger adults are likely to be employed and therefore contribute to production; on the demand side, marriage and family formation are highly correlated with higher levels of consumption. Not only are younger workers needed to contribute to the economic and social welfare of an aging population, but young families will also provide a boost to the economy. Investment in the education and training of younger generations of Latinos will be a kind of bank account that will pay long-term dividends, as their participation in the workforce will be likely to support older generations of residents of the state in the near future.

Latinos are over-represented in blue-collar and service-sector jobs and under-represented in white-collar jobs. Moreover, across all occupational sectors in 2008, Latino workers earned less on average than those of other ethno-racial groups. Latino workers are thus an important component of a state's economy that is continually being restructured, but their contributions to the state's economy have not brought the same rewards that other ethno-racial groups have experienced. While the current uncertainties and expansion of new sectors may produce fear of competition for limited opportunities in the labor market, Latinos, especially foreign-born Dominicans and Brazilians, are playing a vital role in regional production, in serving an increasingly aging white population (Marcelli & Granberry, 2006; Marcelli et al., 2009a, 2009b), and in meeting the child care needs of many working families. Latinos are contributing to the present economic recovery, and states that welcome them now are positioned to receive the benefits of their labor force participation in the near future.

Latinos in Massachusetts appear to have benefited somewhat from the 2006 health care reform policies and subsequent changes in practices, as uninsured medical rates dropped more for Latino adults than for any other ethno-racial group (Long, 2008). However, by 2008, the rate of medical insurance coverage for Latinos in Massachusetts (9.2%) was higher than for any other ethno-racial group in the state. In contrast, we find evidence suggesting that Latinos have not benefited from homeownership as much as other ethno-racial groups. Latinos have the lowest rates of homeownership, and for those who do own homes their average monthly mortgage payment is greater than whites, and is more closely related to blacks and Asians. Owning a home is considered a foundation of the American Dream and is a vehicle for many individuals, groups and communities to acquire wealth over a lifetime. Latinos who rent have the lowest average monthly rent of any ethno-racial group in the state.

Notes

¹ Non-Latino whites, non-Latino blacks, and non-Latino Asians will be referenced as whites, blacks, and Asians for the remainder of the report.

² The ACS reports data in a PUMA (Public Use Microdata Area) that consists of a population of 100,000 or more. Some PUMAs coordinate with a city's geographic boundaries. Other PUMAs consist of more than one city, but provide information regarding a city where many Latinos reside.

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Statewide Latino Public Policy Conference 2010

CHAPTER 2

The State of Latinos and Education in Massachusetts: 2010

by Billie Gastic, PhD, Melissa Colón, and Andrew Flannery Aguilar



Nellie Mae
Education
Foundation

Opening Doors to Tomorrow

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Abstract

Schools are critical public institutions for Latino youth in the Commonwealth, who make up 15% of the public school enrollment in the state. Sadly, despite leading the nation in student achievement, Massachusetts is still leaving its Latino students behind. This is evident from several indicators of Latino students' academic success. School attendance is a significant concern since Latino students lose an average of more than two and a half weeks of school each year due to absences. Latino students are also frequently disciplined for behavioral issues at school. Latinos account for 23% of the incidents that result in disciplinary removals for serious offenses and have the highest in-school suspension rate in the Commonwealth. Many of the highest disciplinary rates are noted in school districts with large Latino student populations. Many Latino students are not academically successful in the Commonwealth. The failure rates for Latino students on the reading/English Language Arts and mathematics MCAS tests far outpace those for other student populations. Also, a greater percentage of Latino students perform at the lowest levels on the NAEP exams in reading and math than do any other students in the Commonwealth. The cumulative effect of this persistent underperformance is reflected in Latinos' high school graduation and dropout rates. Latino students have the lowest four-year cohort graduation rate in the Commonwealth. Among Latinos, females are faring better than males and English Language Learners are the least likely to graduate.

Introduction

Despite leading the nation in student achievement, Massachusetts is still leaving its Latino students behind. Over years and across various measures, Latino students are underperforming in startling proportions. There is a preponderance of evidence of chronic underachievement. Latino students are struggling at all levels – in elementary, middle, and high school. The cumulative effects of this are seen in low levels of postsecondary enrollment and completion.

Latinos are the largest and second fastest growing minority population in the Commonwealth.¹ Latinos call all parts of Massachusetts their home. While established communities continue to grow, many new and “emerging” Latino neighborhoods – and school districts – are taking shape. Fifteen percent of public school students in the Commonwealth are Latino (ESE, 2010a). Relative to other groups, Latinos are a young population, and are therefore disproportionately enrolled in the public schools. Educational reforms at the state and Federal levels intended to improve the educational outcomes of all students have failed to sufficiently improve results for Latino students.

This report compiles the most recent publically available data on Latinos and education in the Commonwealth. The data presented in this report were derived from the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education and the U.S. Department of Education. We describe patterns of growth in the Latino population in the Commonwealth and its public schools. We also examine data on several indicators of Latino students' academic success: attendance, achievement, disciplinary actions, dropout, and high school graduation. Throughout the report, we highlight student outcomes in “priority” public school districts that we have identified on the basis of their high Latino enrollments. This report concludes with a discussion of the current status of legislative efforts related to the education of Latinos in the Commonwealth.²

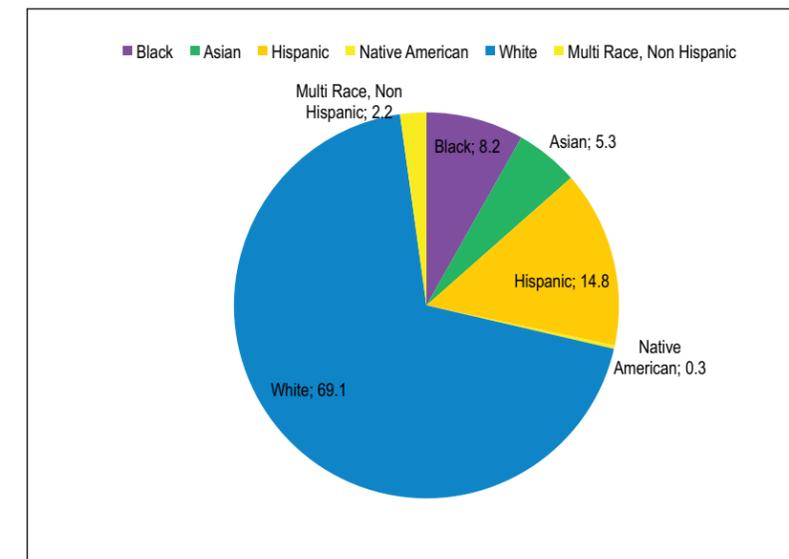
Latinos in Massachusetts

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Latinos represent 8.3% of the population of the Commonwealth.³ While the Commonwealth's population is expected to grow by 14% from 1995 to 2025, its Latino population is expected to grow by 164%.⁴ This makes Latinos the second fastest growing population in Massachusetts, after Asians and Pacific Islanders (whose population is expected to grow by 183% over this period). By 2025, Latinos will account for 14% of the Commonwealth's residents. Latinos are a relatively young population. About 23% of Latinos are school-aged (between the ages of 5 and 17), compared to 16% of the Commonwealth's overall population.

Latino Public School Enrollment in Massachusetts

There were 957,053 students in the Commonwealth's public schools in the 2009–2010 school year (AY2010⁵). This represents a decline of more than 2% (or 22,540 students) since AY2001 (2000–2001) (ESE, 2009a). The Commonwealth has 392 operating school districts, 62 charter schools, and 31 educational collaboratives. Of its 1,831 public schools, 63% are elementary schools, 17% are middle/junior high schools, and 20% are high schools (ESE, 2009d).

Figure 1: Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity, MA, AY2010

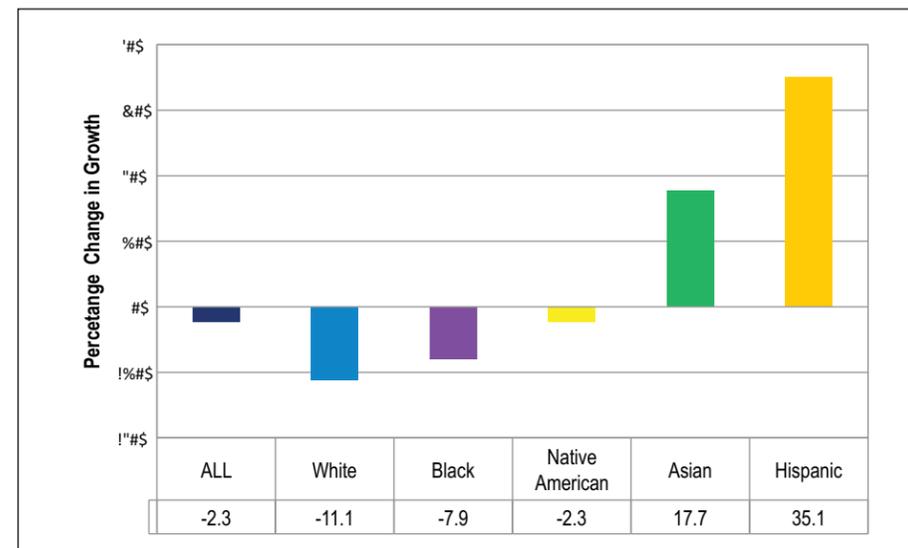


Source: ESE, 2010a

Latinos are the largest minority student population in Massachusetts (141,644 students) (see Figure 1). In comparison, there were 661,324 white students and 78,478 black students attending public schools. Latinos are also the fastest growing student population (see Figure 2). From AY2001 to AY2010, the size of the Latino population increased by 35%, with the result that Latinos grew from 11% to 15% of the total student population of the Commonwealth. During this same period, the proportion of white students dropped from 76% to 69% (Boston Public Schools, 2007; ESE, 2009d).

Between AY2001 and AY2010, English Language Learner (ELL) enrollment in Massachusetts increased by 27%. In 2008-09, there were 57,002 ELLs in the Commonwealth, or 6% of the total student population (Uriarte & Karp, 2009). Spanish is the first language of more than half of the state's English Language Learners (ESE, 2005).

Figure 2: Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity. MA. AY2001/AY2010



Source: ESE, 2010b. Note: This figure does not present data from the “Multi-race, Non Hispanic” and “Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander” categories. ESE began reporting on these categories on AY2006.

While Latino students attend schools throughout the Commonwealth, most Latino students are highly concentrated in just a few school districts. In AY2010, 64% of Latino students were enrolled in 4% of the state's school districts (15 of 392). Table 1 displays data for the school districts with the largest Latino populations. Lawrence, which is almost half the size of Boston (the most populous school district), is the district with the largest percentage (89%) of Latino students. There are four districts where Latinos make up more than 50% of the student population: Lawrence, Chelsea (82%), Holyoke (77%), and Springfield (57%). In Boston, 40% of students are Latino.

Table 1. Rank Order of School Districts according to the Number of Latinos Enrolled and the Percentage of Students Who Are Latino. MA. AY2010

Number of Latinos Enrolled by District AY2010	Latino Proportion of Overall District Enrollment AY2010
State	141,440
Boston	21,927
Springfield	14,255
Lawrence	10,982
Worcester	8,948
Lynn	6,366
Chelsea	4,601
Holyoke	4,544
New Bedford	3,525
Lowell	3,373
Revere	2,458
Brockton	2,186
Chicopee	2,134
Fitchburg	2,019
Methuen	1,800
Somerville	1,738
Lawrence	89.4
Chelsea	81.6
Holyoke	77
Springfield	56.7
Lynn	47.6
Southbridge	42.4
Fitchburg	40.4
Revere	40
Boston	39.9
Worcester	37.3
Somerville	35.9
Salem	32.4
Marlborough	29.4
Everett	29.3
Waltham	28.3
State	14.8%

Source: ESE, 2009c. Note: Excludes charter schools, educational collaboratives, and regional schools.

Educational Outcomes for Latinos in the Commonwealth

Latinos have lower levels of formal education than other groups in the Commonwealth.⁶ Eighty-eight percent of people ages 25 years or older in the Commonwealth have at least a high school diploma compared to 65% of Latinos (63% of Latino males; 66% of Latinas). Even starker is the contrast among those with a Bachelors degree or more. While 38% of adults 25 years or older have a Bachelor's degree or more, this is true for only 16% of Latinos (15% of Latino males; 17% of Latinas) in the Commonwealth.

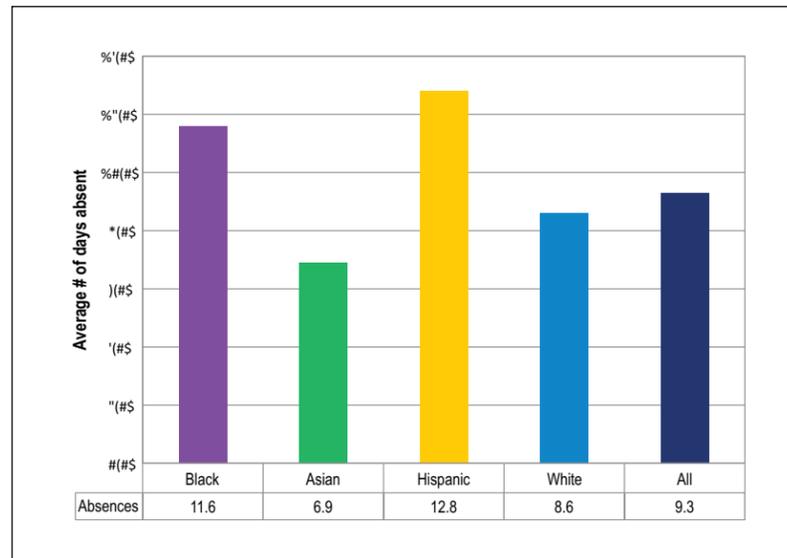
Disparities are also noteworthy across other indicators of Latino academic progress, such as attendance, disciplinary actions, achievement, dropout, and graduation.

Attendance

Attendance is one of the basic measures of engagement. Excessive absences put students at risk for falling behind in their coursework, missing assignments and performing poorly on important exams that determine their progress. Learning cannot take place if students are not in class. If students are absent, they miss important opportunities to build relationships with their teachers and classmates. Many studies indicate that students who attend school on a regular basis perform better on standardized tests and other academic measures than those who are often absent. There is also evidence that connects high rates of absenteeism with dropping out of school (Lavan & Uriarte, 2008).

In AY2009 Massachusetts students were absent for an average of 9 days during the school year. As shown in Figure 3, for AY2006 (by race/ethnicity, Latino and black students missed more days than average. In fact, Latinos lost 13 days – more than two and a half school weeks of school. Latino students have the highest rate of absenteeism of any group in the state.

Figure 3: Attendance by Race/Ethnicity. MA. AY2006.



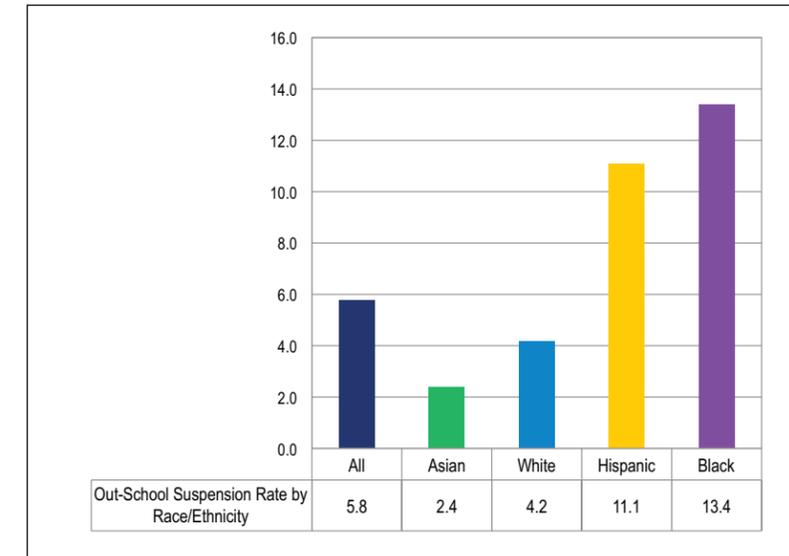
Source: Adapted from Lavan & Uriarte, 2008.

Disciplinary Actions

The achievement gap coincides with what has been called the discipline gap – or the observation that black and Latino students are more likely to be disciplined in school than their white peers (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010). There is evidence of the discipline gap in Massachusetts.

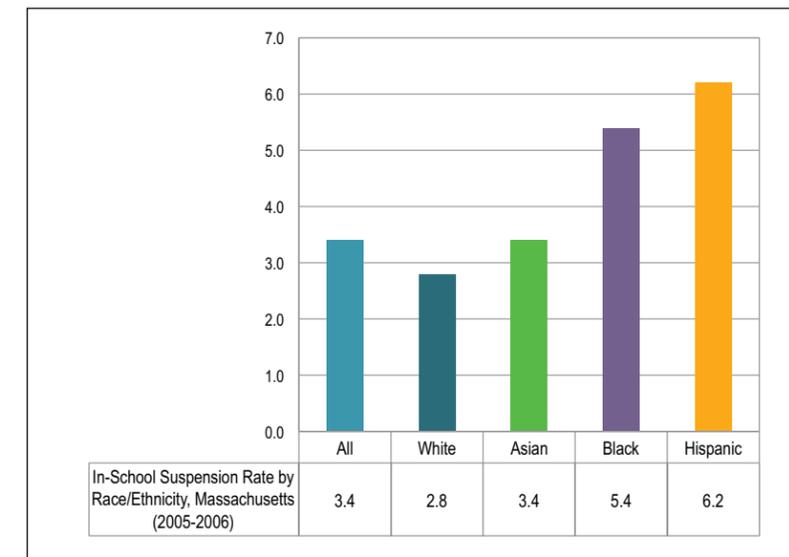
In fact, Latino students account for 23% of the incidents resulting in disciplinary removal for serious offenses (Rennie Center, 2010). Out-of-school suspensions are more common than in-school suspensions in Massachusetts. (Data on out-of-school suspensions are shown in Figure 4) The three districts with the highest out-of-school suspension rates (Holyoke, Springfield, and Lynn) are also among those with the highest percentages of Latino student enrollment. Holyoke is a particularly alarming case, with a 31% out-of-school suspension rate. This is almost 6 times the overall rate of the state. The in-school suspension rate for Latinos (11%) is also much higher than the average for the Commonwealth (6%). In fact, Latinos have the second highest in-school suspension rate, after blacks (13%).

Figure 4: Out of School Suspension Rate by Race/Ethnicity. MA. AY2006



Source: Adapted from Lavan & Uriarte, 2008

Figure 5: In-School Suspension Rate by Race/Ethnicity. MA. AY2006



Source: Adapted from Lavan & Uriarte, 2008

Data on in-school suspensions are shown in Figure 5. The pattern is similar to that of in-school suspensions. Latinos' in-school suspension rate (6%) is double that of the Commonwealth overall (3%). Some of the most "Latino" school districts in the Commonwealth have the highest overall (not just for Latino students) in-school suspension rates. Three largely-Latino school districts stand out as having in-school suspension rates that are more than three times that of the Commonwealth. Lawrence, with the highest concentration of Latino students (89%), has an overall in-school suspension rate of 10% compared to the Commonwealth's 3% in-school suspension rate. Holyoke, whose student population is 77% Latino, has an even higher overall in-school suspension rate (13%). Fitchburg, which is 40% Latino, has an in-school suspension rate of 11%.

Student Achievement

Under the current policy climate, standardized tests assessing student learning are of heightened importance. They are used to determine a student's progress and eligibility for graduation as well as assess whether schools are making adequate yearly progress under the federal No Child Left Behind law (NCLB). In the coming years, teachers' job security will be determined, in part, on the basis of how well their students perform on these tests.

An examination of two measures of student achievement – the MCAS, administered by the Commonwealth, and the NAEP tests, which are used to measure the nation's progress – reveals that after more than a decade of various public education reform efforts in both the Commonwealth and the nation, Latino students are performing at low levels compared to other students. In fact, Latinos are among those groups that are more likely to perform at the lowest possible levels across grade levels and subject areas.

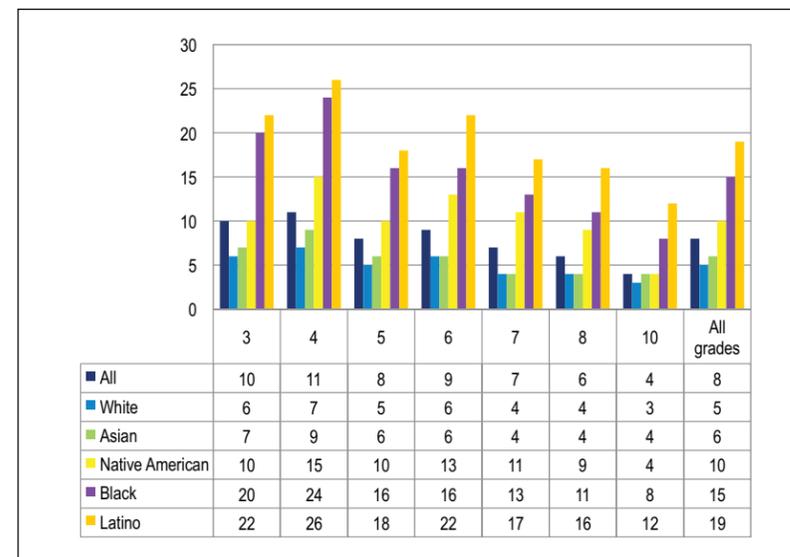
MCAS

Below are the AY2009 data for the three different subject tests of the MCAS: Reading/English Language Arts (Grades 3–8, 10), Mathematics (Grades 3–8, 10) and Science, Technology and Engineering (Grades 5, 8, 10) (ESE, 2009c). Of particular note are those percentages of students performing at the lowest levels – those whose scores constitute a “warning” or “fail” (for 10th grade tests). All high school students must demonstrate proficiency on the MCAS 10th grade tests in order to be eligible to receive a high school diploma as mandated by the state.

Reading/English Language Arts

In each grade that students take the Reading/English Language Arts MCAS test, the percentage of Latino students who receive a “warning” or “failing” grade is in the double-digits. Across all grades, a greater percentage of Latino students are in the “warning” or “failing” category than any other student population. Overall, 19% of Latino students receive a warning, compared to 8% of Massachusetts students overall.

Figure 6: Reading/English Language Arts: Percentage of Students in “Warning” or “Failing” Category by Race/Ethnicity. MA. 2009

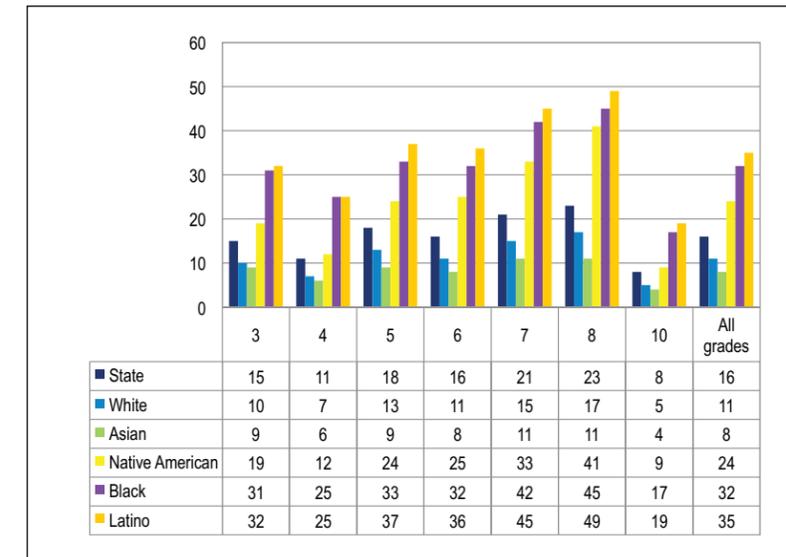


Source: ESE, 2009c

Mathematics

In each year that students take the Mathematics MCAS, the percentage of Latino students who receive a “warning” or “failing” grade is also in the double-digits. In each grade that this test is given (with one exception), a greater percentage of Latino students are in the “warning” or “failing” category than any other student population. In the 4th grade, 25% of Latino and black students are in the lowest performance category. Overall, across all years, 35% of Latino students receive a warning, compared to 16% of students in the Commonwealth.

Figure 7: Mathematics: Percentage of Students in “Warning” or “Failing” Category by Race/Ethnicity. MA. 2009

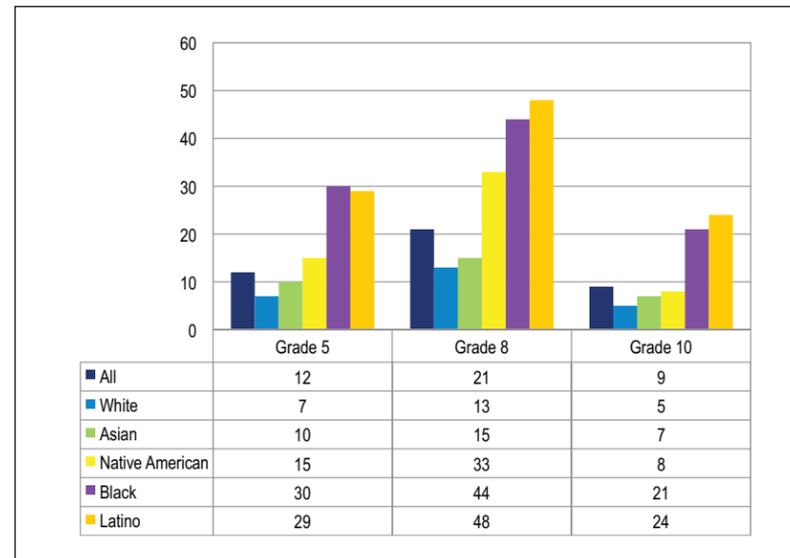


Source: ESE, 2009c

Science, Technology, and Engineering

The MCAS test of Science, Technology and Engineering is the newest of the statewide subject tests. Beginning with the class of 2010, in addition to meeting competency in the ELA and Math, MCAS students must also meet competency in the Science, Technology and Engineering MCAS in order to be eligible to receive a high school diploma. As noted in Figure 8, in each grade that students take this test, the percentage of Latino students who receive a “warning” or “failing” grade is more than twice the average percentage of students in this category for the Commonwealth. Most startlingly, 48% of Latino 8th graders are in the lowest performance category on this MCAS test, compared to 21% of students overall.

Figure 8: Science, Technology and Engineering: Percentage of Students in “Warning” or “Failing” Category by Race/Ethnicity. MA. 2009



Source: ESE, 2009c

NAEP

NAEP, or the National Assessment of Educational Progress, is also referred to as the “Nation’s Report Card.” Students take the NAEP tests in reading and mathematics every two years (ESE, 2009b). Although Massachusetts leads the nation in overall performance, there is still a substantial gap between the scores of Latino and black students and their white peers.

Reading

Massachusetts does better than the nation – and Latinos in Massachusetts do better than Latinos nationally – on the reading NAEP test. However, Latinos are disproportionately performing at the lowest levels within the state on the reading test compared to other groups by race/ethnicity.

Twenty percent of 4th graders in Massachusetts scored below basic on the reading exam compared to 34% of 4th graders nationally. Latino 4th graders had the highest percentage of students in the Commonwealth who scored below basic (44%), followed by blacks (38%), Asians and Pacific Islanders (15%), and whites (13%). The good news is that the Latino “below basic” rate in Massachusetts was lower than it was for Latinos nationally (44% vs. 52%) on the reading test.

Seventeen percent of 8th graders in Massachusetts scored below basic on the reading exam compared to 26% of 8th graders nationally. Latinos had the highest percentage of students in the state score below basic on reading (38%), followed by blacks (36%), whites (13%), and Asians and Pacific Islanders (11%). However, Latinos in Massachusetts outperformed Latinos nationally as the Latino “below basic” rate for 8th graders on the reading test in the Commonwealth was lower than it was for Latinos nationally (38% vs. 41%).

Mathematics

Massachusetts does better than the nation – and Latinos in Massachusetts do better than Latinos nationally – on the math NAEP test. However, Latinos are still more likely than other racial/ethnic groups to be at the lowest performance levels in the Commonwealth on the math test.

Eight percent of 4th graders in Massachusetts scored below basic on the math test compared to 19% of 4th graders nationally. Latino 4th graders had the highest percentage of students in the Commonwealth score below basic (22%), followed by blacks (16%), Asians and Pacific Islanders (4%) and whites (3%). However, as for the reading test results, Latinos’ “below basic” rate for Massachusetts was lower than it was for Latinos nationally (22% vs. 30%) on the math test.

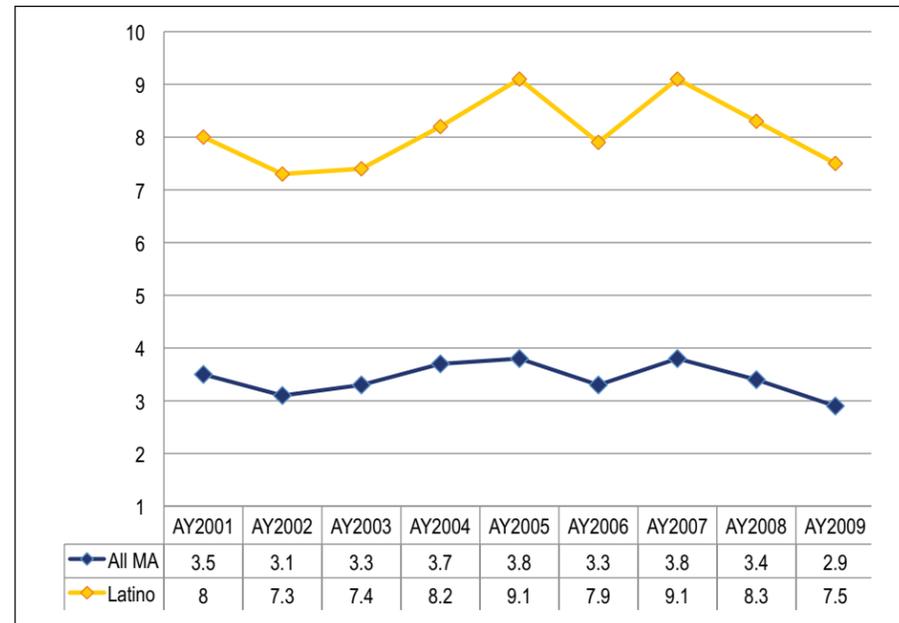
Fifteen percent of 8th graders in Massachusetts scored below basic on the math test compared to 29% of 8th graders nationally. Latino and black 8th graders had the highest percentage of students score below basic (38% each), followed by Asians and Pacific Islanders (10%) and whites (9%). Once again, the Latino “below basic” rate for 8th graders in Massachusetts was lower than it was for Latinos nationally (38% vs. 44%) on the math test.

Dropout Rates

The Commonwealth measures high school non-completion in several ways. Among these are the annual dropout rate and the four-year cohort dropout rate. The annual dropout rate is the percentage of students (in Grades 9-12) who did not return to school by the following October 1 of the reporting year and who have left school before earning a high school diploma (ESE, 2007). This is one measure of non-completion – and is one of the primary ways that the Commonwealth monitors students’ overall progress.

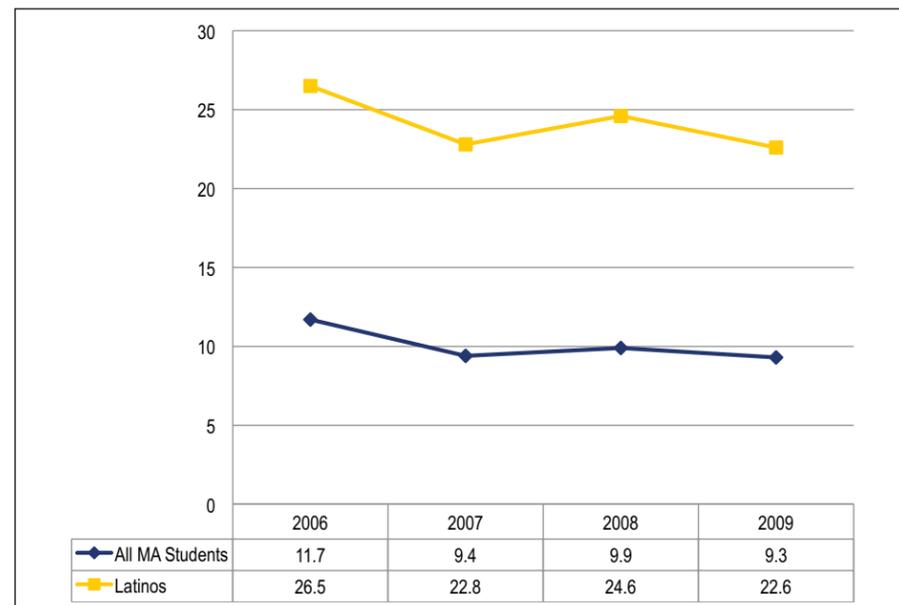
Patterns in the annual dropout rate are shown in Figure 9. There is a large gap between the dropout rate for the Commonwealth as a whole and for Latino students specifically. The Latino annual dropout rate is 2.6 times that of the Commonwealth (8% vs. 3%). The annual dropout rate has fluctuated more for Latino students than for students in Massachusetts more generally. Between AY2001 and AY2009, the fluctuation for Latinos was twice what it was for the Commonwealth. Overall, dropout rates varied by about 1% over this period, while Latinos’ dropout rates fluctuated by 2% from their highest to lowest points. During this nine-year period there was a small decrease in the dropout rate for Latino students.

Figure 9: Annual High School Drop-Out Rate. MA & Latino. AY2000-AY2009



Source: ESE, 2010c

Figure 10: Four-Year Cohort Drop-Out Rates. Latinos. MA. AY2009



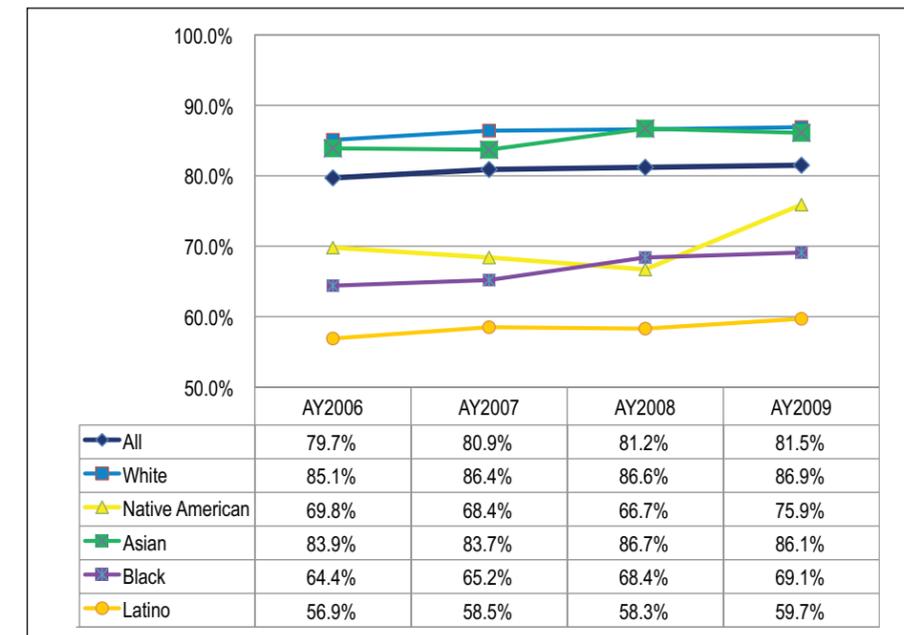
Source: ESE, 2010d

Another way to measure student non-completion is the four-year cohort dropout rate. This rate measures the numbers of students who drop out of a particular cohort, over a four-year period. As demonstrated on Figure 10, the Latino four-year cohort dropout rate is significantly higher than the state rate. In fact, in AY2009, the four-year cohort dropout rate for the state was only 9.3%, while for Latinos it stood at a strikingly high 22.6%. In other words, Latino students are dropping out of high school at more than double the rate of the state average.

Graduation Rates

Another way of measuring students' academic progress is by examining graduation rates. Once again, there are multiple specific ways of calculating graduation rates, one of them being the four-year cohort graduation rate. The cohort graduation rate tracks a cohort of students from Grade 9 through high school. It represents the percentage of that cohort that graduates within a given time (ESE, 2007).

Figure 11: Four-Year Cohort Graduation Rate by Race/Ethnicity. MA. AY2006-AY2009



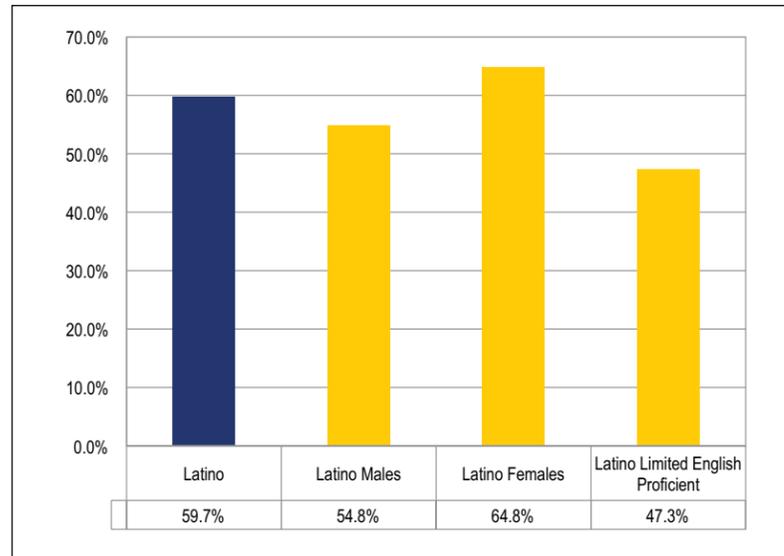
Source: ESE, 2010d

Figure 11 presents data on the four-year cohort graduation rate. Between 2006 and 2009, the cohort graduation rate in Massachusetts rose from 80% to 82%. During this time, the cohort graduation rate for Latino students also rose (to 60% in 2009). Although there has been improvement in the Latino graduation four-year cohort rates, the rates continue to be persistently low. The gap between Latino students and the rest of the Commonwealth remained fairly constant over time, from 23% in 2006 to 22% in 2009. Although more students are completing high school, the Commonwealth has not achieved much success in closing the graduation gap for Latino students.

Four of the five districts with the lowest four-year cohort graduation rates are also those with the largest Latino student populations in the Commonwealth. For example, Lawrence, whose student population is 89% Latino, graduates only 48.1% of its students compared to 81.5% across the Commonwealth. Essentially, this means that less than half of Lawrence students (by cohort) graduate within the expected four years. Many of the districts that are majority-Latino or that have substantial Latino student populations graduate fewer than half of their students in four years. For example, the four-year cohort graduation rate for Holyoke is 48.5%; for Chelsea, it is 49.7%.

Figure 12 disaggregates data on Latinos specifically by sub-categories of interest. Latinas are completing high school at higher rates than Latino males (65% vs. 55%). The lowest cohort graduation rate is observed for Latino English Language Learners; only 47% of these students graduate within four years.

Figure 12: Four-Year Cohort Graduation Rate. MA, Latino Subgroups. AY2009



Source: ESE, 2010d. Note: Latino Limited English Proficient includes both males and females.

Policy Applications and Recommendations

Seventeen years ago, Governor Weld signed the Massachusetts Education Reform Act (MERA). Among MERA's major provisions were the more equitable funding of schools, accountability for student learning, and statewide standards for students, educators, schools, and districts. MERA also introduced the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS) test.

Since then, Massachusetts has continued to be perceived as a national model for public school education. However, evidence points to a persistent achievement gap which disproportionately affects Latino students. As part of its education policy agenda, Massachusetts' leadership continues to design and implement policies and regulations that are intended to reform public schools and close these gaps. Here we describe several current legislative proposals that have implications for Latino students in the Commonwealth.

Senate Bill 2247

In January 2010, Governor Patrick signed legislation that has been described as the next chapter of education reform in Massachusetts. SB2247 aims to improve underperforming schools, promote innovation and choice, and close the achievement gaps that exist in the Commonwealth's public schools. Its key provisions include⁷:

- The Charter School "Smart Cap" provision which expands the number of charter schools in the Commonwealth's lowest performing school districts, many which have large Latino student populations.
- In the Readiness Schools provision, two types of "innovative" in-district public schools will be established – the Readiness Advantage Schools and Readiness Alliance Schools. These schools will be developed and managed at the local level and will have a high degree of autonomy with respect to curricula, budget, staffing, and school district policies.

House Bill No. 3435

Introduced on January 20, 2009 to the Joint Committee on Education, House Bill No. 3435 (sponsored by Representative Alice Wolf of 25th Middlesex district) proposed to change the law regarding school suspensions and expulsions. Its provisions included the creation of mandatory non-exclusionary alternatives to suspension and expulsion, a cap on 90-day school exclusions, and limitations on the use of zero tolerance policies. The bill received wide support and was co-sponsored by over 24 representatives from across the Commonwealth. It was also supported by many organizations including the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, Asian American Legal Defense Education Fund, Children's Law Center of Massachusetts, La Vida, Inc., Massachusetts Advocates for Children, Massachusetts Appleseed, Massachusetts Law Reform Institute, and Western Massachusetts Legal Services. During the 2010 session, HB 3435 was sent to study, and part of the bill may be filed in the next session.

House Bill 1175 – 'An Act to promote educational parity within institutions of higher education'

Throughout the Institute's Listening Tour, communities across the Commonwealth expressed strong support for legislation that would allow undocumented students to pay in-state tuition at public colleges and universities.

Such a bill has been introduced several times by different legislators in the past several years in the Commonwealth. As it was last introduced on January 2009, this bill would provide any person who has attended high school in Massachusetts for at least three years and graduated, the opportunity to pay in-state tuition at any public university to which he or she is accepted. Although at one point the bill had over 35 co-sponsors on the House side and 9 in the Senate, it has not moved.

Advocates have now focused their attention on this bill's Federal counterpart, Senate Bill 729 (The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act of 2009), commonly known as the DREAM Act. Reintroduced by Senator Richard Durbin of Illinois on March 26, 2009, the DREAM Act, in sum, would allow qualifying undocumented students to apply for temporary legal status and to eventually obtain permanent status and become eligible for U.S. citizenship if they go to college or serve in the U.S. military. Given the low rates of college attendance and degree completion for Latino students, this legislation has the potential to expand educational opportunities for many Latino students.

Following the Budgetary Process

Funding for public education is reviewed as part of the Commonwealth's budget process. The state budget process is a multi-step procedure that typically begins in January and lasts for approximately seven months. This is the period when the state, through its legislative bodies, makes decisions about what it will invest (or not invest in) in the next fiscal year. Because the vast majority of Massachusetts students are enrolled in public schools, it is critically important to monitor and participate in the budget process.

Conclusion

As many in the Latino community have shared, there is no more direct path to "securing the dream" than through ensuring a high-quality education for our youth. The implementation (or lack thereof) of these legislative initiatives will determine the extent to which Latino

students will be able to learn and excel. The new wave of educational reform in the Commonwealth must respond to the needs and concerns of the Latino community and its youth. The Commonwealth's future depends on it.

Notes

¹ This report uses the term Latino and Hispanic interchangeably.

² The Gastón Institute's educational research agenda was developed using feedback collected during the statewide Listening Tour. As part of this tour, meetings were held with community stakeholders in Boston, Worcester, Dartmouth, Lawrence, Holyoke, Southbridge and Springfield during May and June 2009.

³ U.S. Census Bureau, 2006-08 American Community Survey. <http://factfinder.census.gov>

⁴ Massachusetts' Population Projections: 1995 to 2025, U.S. Census. <http://www.census.gov/population/projections/state/9525rank/mapsrel.txt>

⁵ AY2010 refers to the academic year beginning in fall 2009 and ending in spring 2010. Throughout this report, all academic years are indicated in this manner.

⁶ American Fact Finder, U.S. Census Bureau. <http://factfinder.census.gov>

⁷ http://www.mass.gov/?pageID=eoeterminal&L=3&L0=Home&L1=Legislation+%26+Policy&L2=Governor+Patrick%27s+Education+Reform+Package%3a+Turning+Around+Low-Performing+Schools+and+Promoting+Innovation+for+All&sid=Eoe&b=terminalcontent&f=Reform_package_fact_sheet&csid=Eoe

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Securing
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Statewide Latino Public Policy
Conference 2010

CHAPTER 3

Educational Outcomes of English Language Learners in Massachusetts: A Focus on Latino/a Students

by Faye Karp and Miren Uriarte, PhD



Opening Doors to Tomorrow

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Abstract

This report analyzes trends in enrollment and outcomes for English Language Learner students (ELLs), a growing population in Massachusetts, in the post-Question 2 policy environment. Where possible, the report presents data on Latino students of Limited English Proficiency (LEP).

Few LEP students, and few of the native Spanish speakers among them, reach the highest level of English language proficiency as measured by the Massachusetts English Proficiency Assessment (MEPA). Though some improvements have been seen in terms of Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS) performance and graduation rates, the rates remain low and the persistence of large gaps between LEPs and their English Proficient (EP) peers is troubling.

The report concludes with state- and district-level policy recommendations.

Introduction

The Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (ESE) defines both English Language Learners (ELLs) and students of Limited English Proficiency (LEP) as students “who are native speakers of languages other than English and who are not able to perform school work in English” (MDOE, 2004).¹ While total student enrollment in Massachusetts has been decreasing, the enrollment of LEP students has been increasing.

The education of all LEPs in Massachusetts has been subject to the guidelines of Chapter 386 of the Acts of 2002 since the fall of 2003. Chapter 386, also known as Question 2 after the 2002 “English only” ballot question which required this law to be enacted, reversed the bilingual education mandate that had been law in Massachusetts since 1971. In contrast, Chapter 386 mandates that ELLs be educated solely in English, using Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) as a method of instruction, unless the student’s parent requests an alternative program option. The law specifies that students’ native language may be used only when necessary and even then on a minimal basis. Chapter 386 intended for most English Language Learners to be placed in SEI classrooms for no more than one year before transitioning to mainstream classrooms, with the assumption that English can be learned “rapidly and effectively” along with other academic subject matter.²

Though Chapter 386 represented a major change in the way our Commonwealth’s ELLs are being taught, the state has not systematically determined the impact of this change on the educational outcomes of ELLs. Others who have begun to analyze the impact of this policy change have identified the following areas of concern: under-enrollment of LEPs (ELL Sub-Committee, 2009; Tung et al., 2009); differences in implementation and outcomes across districts (DeJong, Gort, & Cobb, 2005; ELL Sub-Committee, 2009; Owens, 2010; Rennie Center, 2007; Uriarte & Karp 2009); concentration in one type of program (Owens, 2010; Tung et al., 2009; Uriarte & Karp, 2009); over-enrollment in special education programs (SPED) (ELL Subcommittee, 2009; Tung et al., 2009; Uriarte & Karp, 2009); differential outcomes across language groups (Uriarte et al., 2009); increased annual dropout rates (ELL Sub-Committee, 2009; Owens, 2010; Tung et al., 2009; Uriarte et al., 2009; Uriarte & Karp, 2009); only slight improvement in Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS) outcomes (Owens, 2010; Tung et al., 2009; Uriarte & Karp, 2009); and the persistence of achievement gaps between LEPs and their English Proficient (EP) peers (ELL Sub-Committee, 2009; Owens, 2010; Tung et al., 2009; Uriarte & Karp, 2009).

This report, prepared for the 2010 Statewide Latino Public Policy Conference, examines ELLs in the aftermath of Question 2, with special attention to Latino students, in terms of:

1. The trends in enrollment of students of Limited English Proficiency in Massachusetts and selected districts.
2. The progress of students of Limited English Proficiency in Massachusetts in learning English.
3. The trends in academic outcomes of students of Limited English Proficiency in Massachusetts and selected districts. Graduation rates, dropout rates, and academic achievement (as measured by MCAS) are presented.

The report concludes with state- and district-level policy recommendations.

We present publicly available data from ESE supplemented by data reported in other studies. Because publicly available ESE data on LEPs are largely not disaggregated by race/ethnicity or native language, we are limited in our ability to present outcomes data for Latino LEPs. Where Latino-only statistics are not available, we present data for the total LEP population in Massachusetts and in selected districts which enroll both a high proportion of LEPs and of Latino LEPs.

The Enrollment of English Language Learners in Massachusetts

Before examining the trends in enrollment patterns and educational outcomes among ELLs, it is important to understand their place within the public school system. Figure 1 displays student enrollment disaggregated by native language and language proficiency. Out of the 958,910 students enrolled in Massachusetts schools in AY2010,³ 807,737 (84.4%) are native English speakers (NES) and 149,316 (15.6%) are native speakers of other languages (NSOL), i.e., those whose first language is not English.

The majority of NSOLs in Massachusetts schools (60.4%) are proficient in English and capable of doing schoolwork in English. The remainder are students of Limited English Proficiency (LEPs), i.e., those who are native speakers of other languages and are not able to conduct regular classroom work in English. In AY2010, 39.6% of all native speakers of other languages (or 6.2% of all students in Massachusetts) fell into this category.

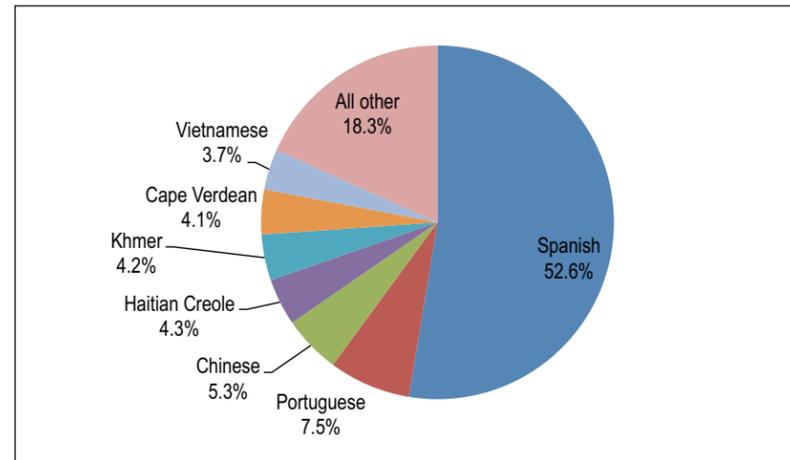
Figure 1. School Populations Defined by Language. MA, AY2010

Total	Total MA Enrollment 957,053		
Native Language	NES 807,737	NSOL 149,316	
Language Proficiency	EP 807,737	EP 90,158	LEP 59,158
Definitions: NES: Native English Speakers; NSOL: Native Speakers of Other Languages (also referred to as First Language is not English or FLNE); EP: Proficient in English; and LEP: of Limited English Proficiency.			
Source: ESE, 2010b			

Over half of all LEP students are native Spanish speakers.

Among LEPs in Massachusetts are speakers of many of the world's languages (Figure 2). In AY2009, the five largest language groups in Massachusetts were: 1) Spanish, 2) Portuguese, 3) Chinese (several dialects), 4) Haitian Creole, and 5) Khmer. Native Spanish speakers represent the largest proportion: 52.6% (30,693) of all LEPs in the Commonwealth. Among Latino⁴ students in Massachusetts, approximately 22.4% are of Limited English Proficiency.⁵ Latino LEP students may be foreign-born or native-born students. The foreign-born students come from a variety of countries of origin, have spent varying amounts of time in the U.S. and in Massachusetts schools, and bring different levels of literacy and education with them when they enter Massachusetts schools.

Figure 2: Percentage of Enrolled LEP Students by First Language. MA, AY2009

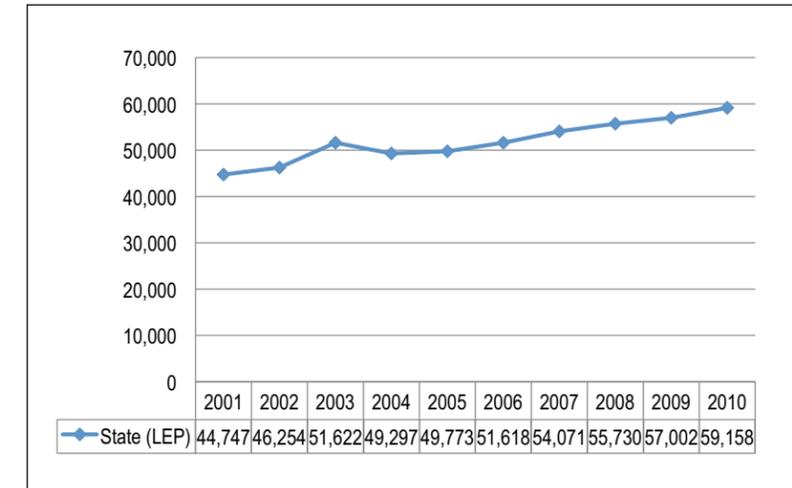


Source: ESE, 2009e

There is a growing enrollment of students of Limited English Proficiency statewide.

Between AY2001 and AY2010, LEP enrollments in Massachusetts increased by 32.2%. Enrollments have increased steadily each year for the past decade, with the exception of a decrease in enrollments in AY2004, the school year in which Chapter 386 was implemented. This decrease was heavily influenced by the sharp decrease in LEP enrollments in AY2004 in Boston, the district enrolling the largest number of ELLs in the state (Tung et al., 2009). In AY2010, 6.2% of all students in Massachusetts were of Limited English Proficiency.

Figure 3. Enrollment of Students of Limited English Proficiency. MA, AY2001–AY2010



Source: ESE, 2010b

The districts with the ten highest enrollments and the ten highest proportions of students of Limited English Proficiency in their enrollments for AY2010 are listed in Table 1. These twelve districts enroll two-thirds (67.1%) of the state's LEP students in their schools. Lowell, Worcester, and Lynn, where at least one in four students is of Limited English Proficiency, have the largest proportions of ELLs in the state. Boston has the largest number of these students (11,271), enrolling 19.1% of the state's LEP students in its schools.

Table 1. Districts with High LEP Enrollments and High LEP Proportions. MA, AY2010

Number Enrolled		Proportion of District Enrollment	
	State 59,158		State 6.2%
Boston	11,271	Lowell	32.4%
Worcester	6,388	Worcester	26.6%
Lowell	4,321	Lynn	25.9%
Lynn	3,465	Holyoke	23.3%
Springfield	3,288	Lawrence	23.1%
Lawrence	2,835	Boston	20.4%
Brockton	2,737	Brockton	17.7%
Holyoke	1,377	Chelsea	16.4%
Framingham	1,271	Somerville	16.0%
Quincy	1,044	Framingham	15.6%

Note: The table presents the 10 districts with the highest number of LEP enrollments (left side) and the 10 districts where enrollments contain the highest proportion of LEPs (right side).
Source: ESE, 2010b

These districts are strikingly similar in several ways. First, most are large, urban districts whose student populations are largely low-income and whose LEP populations are even more so (Owens, 2010, p. 17). Second, of the 35 schools identified in March 2010 by the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education as Level 4 turnaround schools, 33 are located in the districts displayed in Table 1.⁶ Finally, of the ten high-density LEP districts, seven are districts where the majority (over 50%) of LEPs are Latino/a, ranging from 59.8% in Worcester to 98.4% in Holyoke.⁷

Table 2: High-Density LEP Districts with Large Proportions of Latino LEPs. MA, AY2009

	Proportion of LEPs	Proportion of LEPs who are Latino
State	6.2%	56.1%
Holyoke	23.3%	98.4%
Lawrence	23.1%	96.8%
Chelsea	16.4%	82.9%
Lynn	25.9%	76.1%
Somerville	16.0%	70.3%
Boston	20.4%	60.0%
Worcester	26.6%	59.8%

Source: Owens, 2010, p. 20.

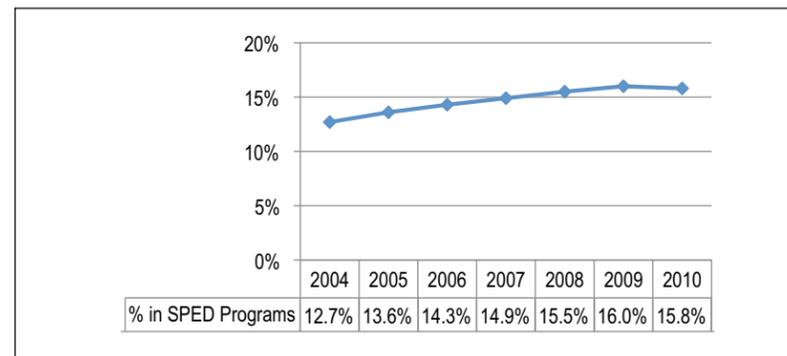
For the remainder of this report, we will present data on Latino LEPs, or when not possible, all LEPs enrolled in these seven districts, i.e., the districts with high proportions of LEPs and with a majority of their LEPs being Latino. These districts are listed in Table 2.

Key Findings

1. The enrollment of LEPs in special education (SPED) has increased.

Between AY2004,⁸ the first year of implementation of Question 2, and AY2010, the SPED enrollment rate among LEPs increased from 12.7% to 15.8%.⁹ This increase underscores potential problems in the identification and assessment of LEP students.

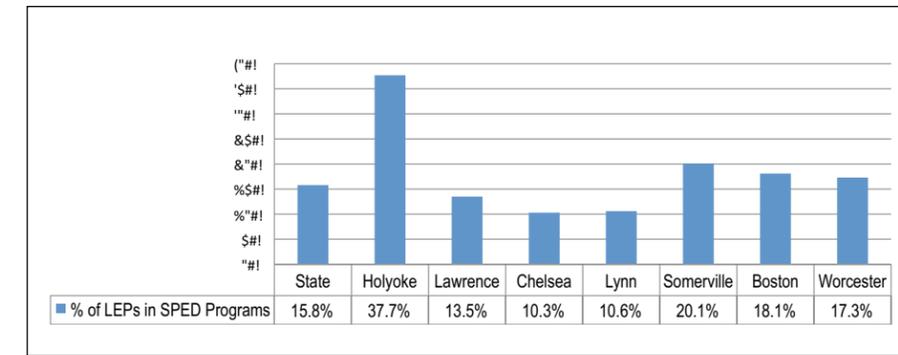
Figure 4. Proportion of LEPs Assigned to SPED Programs. MA, AY2004–AY2010



Source: ESE, 2010c

In AY2010, five of these high-density districts had a proportion of LEPs in SPED which surpassed the state average (Figure 5). In Holyoke, for example, 37.7% of LEPs were enrolled in a SPED program.¹⁰ Between AY2004 and AY2010, all but one of the high-density districts (Lynn) experienced increases in the proportion of LEPs assigned to SPED programs.

Figure 5. Proportion of LEPs Assigned to SPED programs. MA and Selected Districts, AY2010



Source: ESE, 2010c

2. Most LEP students are enrolled in Sheltered English Immersion programs.

In AY2009, 86.1% of LEPs in Massachusetts were enrolled in a program for English Language Learners.¹¹ The remaining 13.9% may be LEP students whose parents have requested placement in general education programs or students transitioning out of ELL programs. One salient exception appears to be taking place in Boston, where only 57.9% of LEPs were enrolled in ELL programs (Table 3). A 2009 report by the Boston Public Schools points to the lack of available SEI slots in schools and to misinformation provided to parents as the main causes of the high enrollments of ELLs in general education programs in Boston (BPS, 2009, p. 3). This anomaly has prompted the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights to review the education provided to ELLs in Boston, which is ongoing at the time of the writing of this report (Vaznis, 2009, 2010).

Statewide, of the students enrolled in ELL programs, the vast majority (94.2%) were enrolled in SEI programs, the default program under Chapter 386 (Table 3). Though SEI is the favored program under the law, if parents exercise their right to waive this placement, districts are responsible for providing alternative programs. In general, the districts examined here do not demonstrate much variety in their ELL programs. In Chelsea, Holyoke, and Lawrence all LEP students are enrolled in SEI; in Lynn and Worcester over 90% attend these programs. Somerville offers the most variety, with 76.7% of their students in SEI. Boston also offers dual language and literacy programs for English Language Learners.

Table 3. Enrollment in Programs for English Language Learners. LEPS. MA and Selected Districts, AY2009

	Total LEP	Percent enrolled in Programs for ELLs	LEPs in Program by Program Type		
			SEI	Other/TBE	2-Way
State	57,002	86.1%	94.2%	3.3%	2.4%
Holyoke	1,460	100%	100%	0%	0%
Lawrence	2,791	85.0%	100%	0%	0%
Chelsea	951	100%	100%	0%	0%
Lynn	3,419	87.1%	99.1%	0.9%	0.0%
Somerville	821	99.3%	76.7%	15.1%	8.2%
Boston	10,579	57.9%	88.1%	6.3%	5.5%
Worcester	5,621	95.7%	93.5%	6.3%	0.3%

Source: ESE, 2009a, pp. 28-36.

3. Only about 20% of LEPs, and an even smaller percentage of Latino LEPs, attain English language proficiency.

Massachusetts tests the proficiency in English of all LEP students using the Massachusetts English Proficiency Assessment (MEPA). As of 2009, the MEPA test delineates five categories of English proficiency; MEPA Level 1 indicates that a student has not yet developed simple written and spoken communication in English, and MEPA Level 5 indicates that a student has achieved effective communication in English with few errors (ESE, 2009e, pp. 20–24).

At the state level, only about 20% of LEPs attained MEPA Level 5, ranging from 13% to 23% depending on grade level. Among native Spanish speakers, a lower proportion – between 10% and 17% depending on grade level – reach MEPA Level 5 (Table 4).

Table 4. Language Proficiency Levels of MEPA Test-Takers. LEPs. MA, AY2009

Grade Span	Total MEPA Test-Takers	Percent Scoring at MEPA Levels:				
		1	2	3	4	5
All LEPs						
K–2	21,202	12%	17%	34%	23%	13%
3–4	11,072	4%	6%	21%	48%	20%
5–6	7,313	6%	8%	24%	40%	22%
7–8	5,921	8%	13%	32%	24%	23%
9–12	9,655	10%	13%	37%	20%	20%
LEP Native Spanish Speakers						
K–2	10,893	14%	19%	35%	22%	10%
3–4	5,990	5%	7%	24%	47%	16%
5–6	4,042	6%	9%	28%	40%	17%
7–8	3,276	9%	14%	35%	24%	17%
9–12	4,655	12%	15%	39%	18%	15%

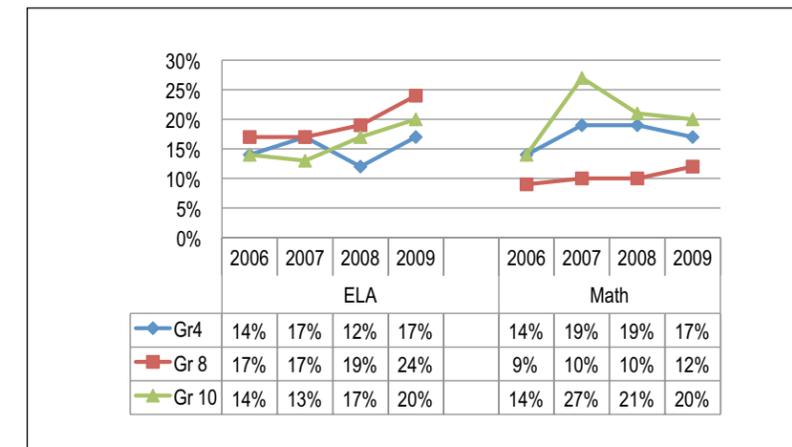
Source: ESE, 2009e, pp. 6, 12

4. Although there have been improvements in LEPs’ MCAS Proficiency rates, the rates remain low and the gaps with the rates for English Proficient students are wide.

Massachusetts measures the achievement of students through MCAS, a series of standardized tests. ELLs are required to take MCAS tests in Reading in Grade 3, English Language Arts (ELA) in Grades 4, 7, and 10, Math in Grades 4, 8, and 10, and Science in Grades 5, 8, and 10). MCAS is scored using four levels of performance: Warning/Failing, Needs Improvement, Proficient, Advanced/Above Proficient. Beginning in 2008, a level of “proficiency” rather than “passing” is the standard for achievement and also is the requirement for graduation from high school.¹² In this section, therefore, we report the MCAS proficiency rates of ELLs at different grade levels.

Between AY2006 and AY2009,¹³ there were some improvements in both ELA and Math proficiency rates¹⁴ for LEP students (Figure 6). The biggest gains were made in 8th-grade ELA (up by 7 percentage points) and 10th-grade ELA and Math (both up by 6 percentage points).¹⁵ Yet, in general, proficiency rates are rather low. In AY2009, only 17% of 4th graders, 24% of 8th graders, and 20% of 10th graders attained proficiency on MCAS ELA; 17% of 4th graders, 12% of 8th graders, and 20% of 10th graders attained proficiency on MCAS Math. In addition, these improvements are tempered by the tendency for the gaps between LEP and EP students to widen during this time period.

Figure 6: ELA and Math MCAS Proficiency Rates for LEPs. MA, AY2006–2009



Source: ESE, 2009f

5. Aggregating the outcomes of ELLs at all levels of English proficiency obscures the true performance of ELLs.

Although the achievement of LEPs is most often reported in the aggregate, the fact that the universe of LEPs consists of students at many levels of English proficiency confounds the understanding of the achievement of LEP students. It also creates undue expectations because, while we can expect LEPs at the higher levels of proficiency (i.e., Levels 4 and 5 in MEPA) to perform similarly to EP students, the same cannot be expected of students at the lower levels of English proficiency. The aggregation of such disparate language abilities into one “LEP score” obscures the actual achievement of students whose outcomes should be appropriately measured by the MCAS. It also creates a “culture of failure” among students who are beginning to learn English and who should not be expected to perform well in the MCAS.

In 2009, the ELL Sub-Committee (pp. 15, 18–19, Appendix B) presented the MCAS scores of ELLs at different levels of proficiency in English, providing a somewhat different perspective on their performance. Their findings were the following:

- **Proficiency in MCAS ELA is possible primarily for students scoring at the highest MEPA performance level (Level 5), and not always for them.** Only 41.9% of 4th-grade test-takers, 60.9% of test-takers in 8th grade, and 54.3% of those in 10th grade attained proficiency in MCAS ELA in AY2009. Overall, their MCAS performance fell short of the proficiency rates of their EP counterparts statewide. Among the districts examined here, ELA proficiency rates (for those scoring at MEPA Level 5) ranged from a low of 0% for 10th graders in Lawrence to a high of 70.8% for 10th graders in Worcester (Table 5).

While LEPs who score at MEPA Level 5 are supposed to have achieved effective communication in English, this mastery has not necessarily translated to high MCAS ELA performance. This suggests that even at this high MEPA performance level, students do not have a sufficient command of “academic English” – the vocabulary, syntax, and paragraph organization that goes beyond conversational English – to succeed in school.

Table 5: MCAS ELA Proficiency Rates of EPs and LEPs Scoring at MEPA Level 5. MA and Selected Districts, AY2009

	Grade 4	Grade 8	Grade 10
State: EP	56.4%	72.8%	83.4%
State: LEP MEPA 5	41.9%	60.9%	54.3%
Holyoke	14.3%	50.0%	50.0%
Lawrence	38.5%	70.0%	0.0%
Lynn	32.3%	68.6%	61.8%
Boston	39.5%	50.0%	47.9%
Worcester	35.3%	56.9%	70.8%

Note: Data for Chelsea and Somerville are not shown as the data request did not originally include these districts.
Source: ELL Subcommittee, 2009, p. 15 and Appendix B.

- **Outcomes in MCAS Math for students at the highest level of proficiency in MEPA were very low.** In AY2009, MCAS Math proficiency rates for LEP students statewide scoring at MEPA level 5 were 39.9% among 4th graders, 29.0% among 8th graders, and 37.6% among 10th graders. Their MCAS Math performance also fell short of the proficiency rates of their EP counterparts statewide. Among the districts examined here, proficiency rates ranged from a low of 0% among 8th graders in Holyoke to a high of 67.6% (a rate above statewide EP and MEPA Level 5 proficiency rates) for 10th graders in Lynn (Table 6).

Table 6: MCAS Math Proficiency Rates of EPs and LEPs Scoring at MEPA Level 5. MA and Selected Districts, AY2009

	Grade 4	Grade 8	Grade 10
State: EP	50.2%	51.0%	58.0%
State: LEP MEPA 5	39.9%	29.0%	37.6%
Holyoke	14.3%	0%	50.0%
Lawrence	46.2%	40.0%	16.7%
Lynn	35.1%	14.3%	67.6%
Boston	34.1%	26.7%	62.9%
Worcester	45.7%	19.6%	43.5%

Note: Data for Chelsea and Somerville are not shown as the data request did not originally include these districts.
Source: ELL Subcommittee 2009, p. 18 and Appendix B.

6. Tenuous engagement has led to low graduation rates and high cohort dropout rates.

The ultimate success of a school system can be measured by its ability to graduate its students and prepare them for college or the workforce. The 4-year graduation rate tracks a particular cohort of students. Using the Class of 2006 as an example – taking the students who entered 9th grade in AY2003 – the 4-year graduation rate would be calculated by taking the number of those students who graduate in four years or less and dividing that by the total number of first-time-entering 9th graders in AY2003 (accounting for transfers in and out). Students who have not graduated within this 4-year time period – “non-graduates” – may still be enrolled in high school, may have earned a GED or received a certificate of attainment rather than a diploma, or may have dropped out. A cohort dropout rate, therefore, is calculated in a similar fashion. Simply put, the cohort dropout rate is the percentage of students in a cohort who dropped out of school at any time in Grades 9–12 and who did not return to high school during that four-year time period (ESE, 2007a).

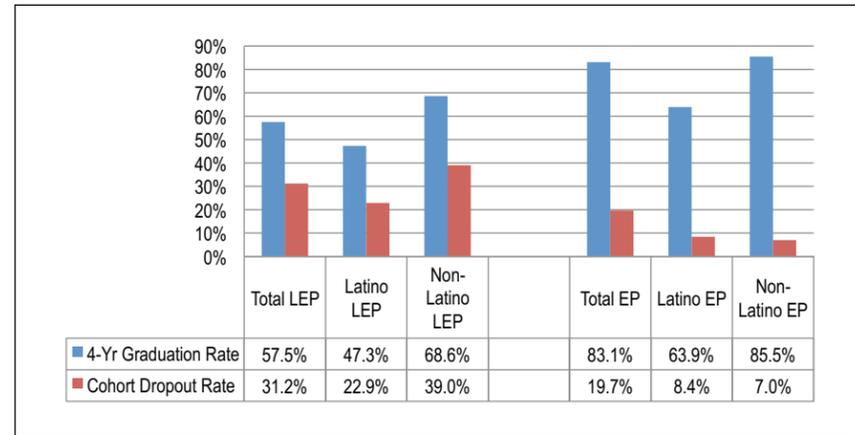
4-Year Graduation Rates.

The trend in the 4-year graduation rate among LEPs has been to increase slightly over time but remain very low. Comparing the Class of 2006 to the Class of 2009, the 4-year graduation rate increased from 54.5% to 57.5% (ESE, 2007b, 2010a). These rates were substantially lower than those of their EP counterparts, 83% of whom graduated in four years (Figure 7). Graduation rates among Latino LEPs, at 43.7% for the Class of 2009, were lower than the overall and non-Latino LEP rates and also lower than for English-proficient Latino students.

Cohort Dropout Rates

One of the reasons for the low graduation rates is the high cohort dropout rate for English Language Learners. For the Class of 2009, 31.2% of this cohort’s LEP students who entered the 9th grade in September 2005 had dropped out by the 12th grade. Among Latino LEPs the dropout rate was lower, at 22.9% of the cohort entering 9th grade in 2005.

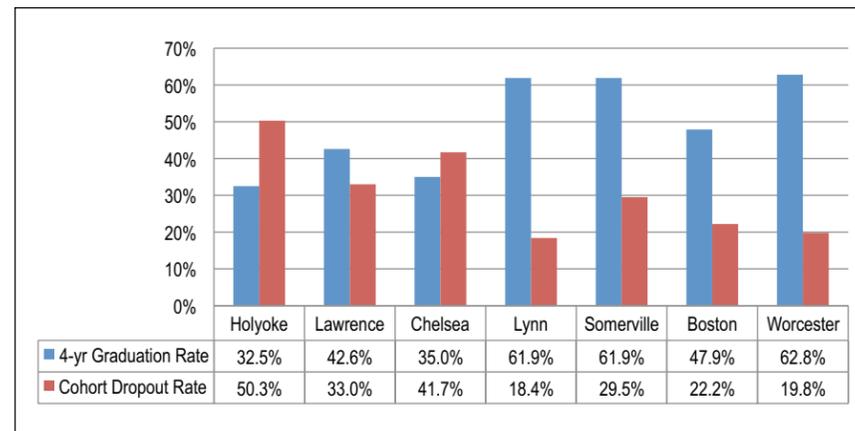
Figure 7: 4-Year Graduation Rates and Cohort Dropout Rates of LEP and EP Students. MA, Class of 2009



Source: ESE, 2010a

Graduation rates ranged from 32.5% (Holyoke) to 62.8% (Worcester) of LEPs. Cohort dropout rates were alarmingly high, ranging from 18.4% (Lynn) to 50.3% (Holyoke). In most cases, graduation rates have increased over time and cohort dropout rates have decreased (Figure 8).

Figure 8: 4-Year Graduation and Cohort Dropout Rates of LEP Students. Selected Districts, Class of 2009



Source: ESE, 2009d

Recommendations for Policy and Practice

This review of statewide enrollment and outcomes as well as district analyses presented here and in other studies suggest that the implementation of Chapter 386 of the Acts of 2002 has not met the expectations of improving the education of ELLs in Massachusetts and the Latinos among them, resulting in slight improvements in some academic outcomes (MCAS, graduation and cohort dropout rates) yet, overall, in increasing disparities in outcomes between LEPs and EPs. Low English proficiency levels, MCAS scores, and graduation rates (coupled with high dropout rates) suggest that SEI may not be the best program model for all LEP students, or that SEI teachers need better training and professional development. LEP

students do not appear to have a sufficient command of academic English to perform well academically or be engaged enough with the curriculum to graduate from high school.

These disparities signal the potential dangerous effect on our Commonwealth's economy down the road if a substantial portion of our youth is not educationally competitive today. Indeed, in January 2010, taking some steps to address the education of LEPs in Massachusetts, Governor Patrick launched a new wave of education reform, signing into law SB2247, "An Act Relative to the Achievement Gap." Among its changes, the law requires superintendents' turnaround plans of low-performing schools to attend to the academic underperformance of LEP students and to introduce alternative programs for LEPs within the confines of Chapter 386. The law also encourages improvement of professional development plans and establishment of LEP parent advisory councils in districts.¹⁶ This law is an important step in better addressing the needs of ELLs, but is not as comprehensive as the wide-reaching recommendations to improve the education of ELLs included in Rep. Jeffrey Sánchez's (15th Suffolk District) proposed reform bill, H486.

Accordingly, we conclude with state- and district-level recommendations which the deleterious data findings in this report serve to underscore. These recommendations echo those made recently by other experts in the field (Horwitz et al., 2009; Koelsch, 2009; Working Group on ELL Policy, 2010). They also dovetail with a number of the ELL Sub-Committee's (2009) recommendations. As this report goes to press, the Commissioner of Elementary and Secondary Education is currently reviewing the ELL Sub-Committee's and other recommendations to narrow student proficiency gaps.

As 26% of students enrolled in the state's Level 4 turnaround schools are ELLs, turnaround strategies need to be particularly mindful of these recommendations. The efficacy of these turnaround plans and of the improvement of education for ELLs in other districts depends on a shift to a new set of values: seeing the value of bilingualism of all students to compete in a knowledge-based, global economy; one that valuing the rich cultural backgrounds that ELLs bring to our schools; and asserting the right of ELLs to appropriate opportunities for learning. These are values to which all districts in Massachusetts should subscribe (ELL Sub-Committee, 2009, pp. 23–24). With large proportions of Latino LEPs enrolled in these turnaround school districts, the Latino community must continue to have a strong voice in advocating for improvements in educating ELLs.

State-Level Recommendations

1. **ESE needs to provide better guidance to districts in interpreting Chapter 386 so that a wider range of student-centered programs can be developed.** Few LEP students, and few of the native Spanish speakers among them, are attaining the highest level of English language proficiency. ELL programs can no longer fall into the "one size fits all" trap, as depressed academic outcomes show that the current implementation of SEI has not improved the education of ELLs. Content instruction appears to be constrained by the requirement that it takes place only in English. Rigid implementation of this policy seems to be negatively affecting LEPs' MCAS and other academic performance and contributing to their disengagement from schooling. While state law favors the implementation of SEI programs, parents are allowed to make choices for their students, with districts required to develop these additional programs to meet ELL students' needs. ELL programs need to be flexible enough so that students' developmental and language proficiency needs are met. In addition, schools need to involve ELL students in the wealth of resources offered to other students: afterschool and extended day programs, AP classes and other college-bound coursework, MCAS preparation programs,

and dropout prevention programs. Again, these types of programs need to demonstrate cultural competence so they will be effective for Latino ELLs and ELLs of other language and ethnic backgrounds (ELL Sub-Committee, 2009, pp. 25–27).

2. **In order for strong program development to occur, the quality of instruction needs to be improved.** Depressed academic performance measures emphasize that teachers require additional and improved professional development opportunities. Indeed, the Commissioner of Elementary and Secondary Education’s 2009 report to the legislature noted the shortage of available and fully trained ESL teachers in Massachusetts: 1) while 303 school districts enroll at least one ELL student, ESL teachers are employed in only 129 districts; 2) a conservatively estimated 33–42% of elementary and secondary content teachers needing training in the four categories of SEI skills/knowledge had not received it; and 3) over 8,000 ELL students across the state did not receive any ESL instruction (ESE, 2009a, pp. 3–8). The ELL Sub-Committee (2009) made a number of recommendations to strengthen licensure requirements, in-service professional development, and pre-service teacher education. Among their recommendations were to: reinstate the bilingual ESL licensure requirements that existed prior to the implementation of Question 2; create a new bilingual/ESL SPED licensure; make the four categories of training competency-based, require the training for re-licensure in all areas of teacher certification (other than ESL or bilingual), and motivate teachers to complete it through Professional Development Points (PDPs) and salary incentives; create a statewide professional development program; and require all teacher preparation programs in Massachusetts to meet certain standards and requirements around ELL instruction in order to qualify for state accreditation (pp. 30–31). The state’s Readiness Centers, though not currently funded, have the untapped ability to play a strong role in providing teachers with more effective ELL professional development. That the state’s Race to the Top Application included provisions for improved professional development is encouraging, but the state needs to strengthen licensure requirements and pre-service education as well.
3. **In order for teachers to be able to most effectively instruct ELLs, data-driven decision making needs to happen at district and state levels.** The state needs to examine how ELLs are faring in Massachusetts schools. Their outcomes must not just be examined in the aggregate; they need to be disaggregated by MEPA score, by program type, by native language, and by other student/school characteristics. The state needs to ensure that districts have access to and know how to use data for program planning and evaluation of LEP student outcomes and progress over time. Parents also need access to and an understanding of these data in order for informed choice to occur. Access to data is not limited to demographic characteristics or academic engagement and outcomes trends. Successful instructional practices and other state-, district-, and school-level strategies for educating ELLs must be documented and disseminated widely (ELL Sub-Committee, 2009, pp. 31–33).
4. **Finally, all of these recommendations hinge upon improved professional development of all educational leaders – at school, district, and state levels.** In the context of the restrictions put in place by Question 2, it is paramount that leaders at all levels be competent in: understanding the laws and their requirements; understanding language acquisition and its implications for program development and instruction; using data for program planning and evaluating; evaluating ELL instruction; and understanding how to implement culturally competent policies and practices (ELL Sub-Committee, 2009, pp. 35). Again, if funded, the state’s Readiness Centers could help district leaders in this area.

District- and School-Level Recommendations

While the recommendations above were targeted to ESE, a number of them hold true at the district, school, and even classroom levels. In addition, we recommend that educators aggressively address priority areas identified in this report:

1. **Dropout prevention. High dropout rates are clearly an alarming problem for Latino LEPs.** Dropout prevention needs to prioritize early intervention including the appropriate assessment and program placement of ELLs. Schools need to implement credit recovery programs that reach out to dropouts by providing them with alternatives to the traditional educational system. ELLs who enter MA schools as adolescents and those who arrive with low literacy in their native language require extra support and monitoring if they are to achieve academic success (Uriarte & Karp, 2009, p. 13).
2. **Academic achievement.** Perhaps the real key to dropout prevention is ensuring that ELLs are sufficiently taught academic content so they will succeed on MCAS and other measures of educational success, and, that ELLs who have attained high levels of English proficiency are adequately prepared to transition into general education classrooms. Mentoring, academic support, and wrap-around services should be present in schools, delivered by culturally competent staff, and organized in ways that are inclusive of ELLs (Uriarte & Karp, 2009, p. 13).

Taken together, these recommendations demand a level of accountability that has largely not been present in Massachusetts. It has been seven years since Chapter 386 took effect in Massachusetts; the state’s failure to undertake a systematic review of this policy’s effect on English Language Learners can no longer be accepted.

In order for English Language Learners, and the Latinos among them, to “secure the dream,” these kinds of recommendations and an increased level of accountability need to be instituted. As the majority of English Language Learners in Massachusetts are Latino, Latinos stand to gain very much by improved ELL instruction and program development.

Notes

- ¹ Accordingly, we use these terms and their acronyms interchangeably in this report.
- ² See Chapter 386 of the Acts of 2002 available at <http://www.mass.gov/legis/laws/seslaw02/sl020386.htm>.
- ³ AY2010 refers to the academic year beginning in fall 2009 and ending in spring 2010. Throughout this report, all academic years are indicated in this manner.
- ⁴ In this report, we treat native “Spanish speakers” as “Latino” students.
- ⁵ AY2009 data. Calculated using ESE 2009c and ESE 2009e.
- ⁶ Indeed, 26% of students in these turnaround schools are LEPs. See ESE (2010d).
- ⁷ In Framingham, 45.9% of LEPs are Latino; in Lowell, 36.7%; and in Brockton, 17.9%.
- ⁸ Data prior to this year (i.e., prior to the implementation of Chapter 386) are not publicly available from ESE.
- ⁹ These data are not publicly available disaggregated by race/ethnicity or native language.
- ¹⁰ Springfield, a district where 13.1% of students are of Limited English Proficiency and where 84.1% of LEPs are Latino/a, had 29.6% of its LEPs enrolled in SPED programs in AY2010.
- ¹¹ These data are not publicly available disaggregated by race/ethnicity or native language.
- ¹² Proficiency includes students scoring at the Advanced/Above Proficient and Proficient levels; passing includes students scoring at Advanced/Above Proficient, Proficient, and Needs Improvement levels.
- ¹³ MCAS data prior to AY2006 are not comparable.
- ¹⁴ Proficiency rates are defined as the percentage of students scoring at the Advanced and Proficient levels on MCAS. See ESE 2009b.
- ¹⁵ However, the gains in 10th grade may be an artificial effect. Large numbers of LEP students have dropped out, as discussed later in this report.
- ¹⁶ See Senate Bill No. 2247 available at www.mass.gov/legis/bills/senate/186/st02pdf/st02247.pdf.

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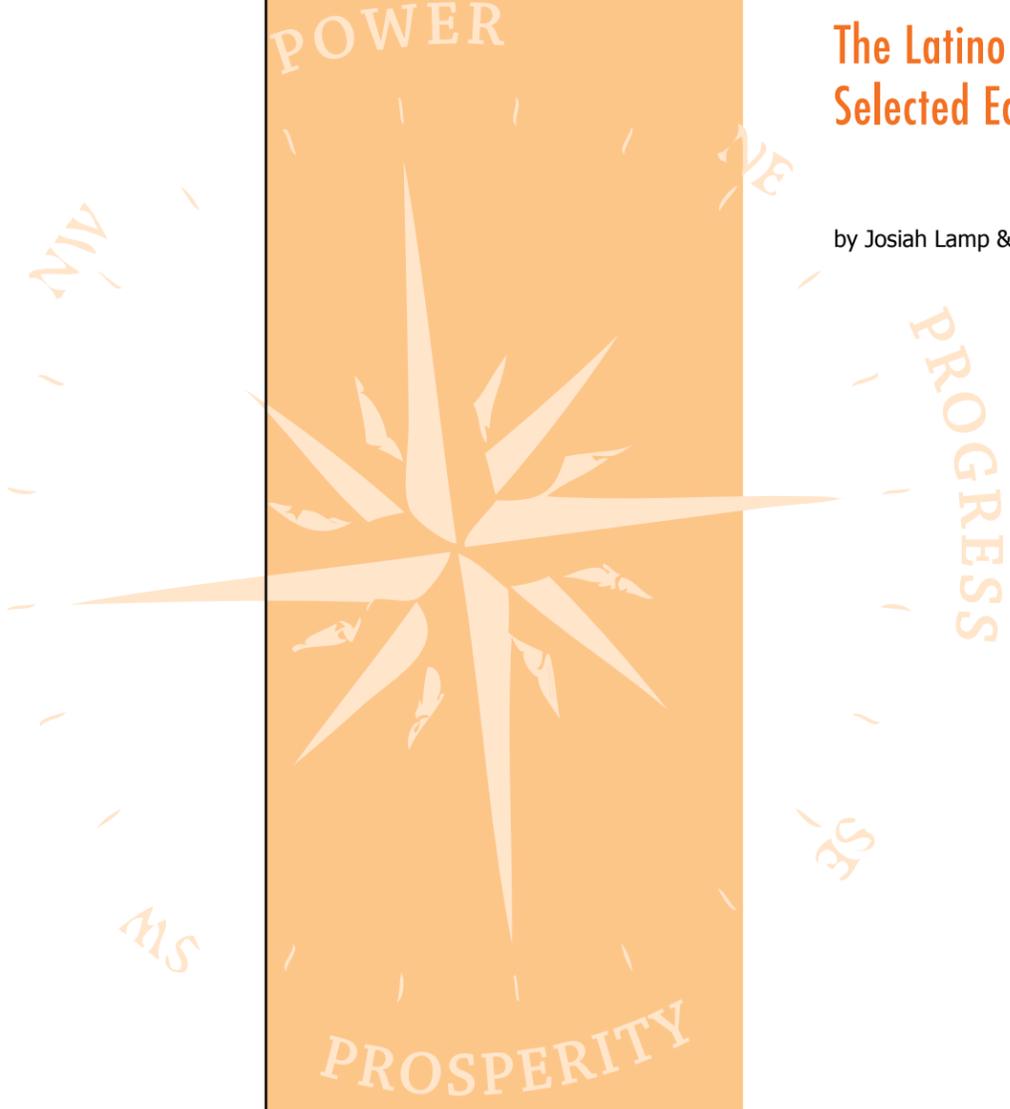


Statewide Latino Public Policy
Conference 2010

CHAPTER 4

The Latino Population in Massachusetts: Selected Economic Indicators

by Josiah Lamp & Ramón Borges-Méndez, PhD



Introduction

This report highlights economic indicators for the Latino and total population in Massachusetts, including income, poverty, education, and occupation in 2008. As allowed by the data, the report compares indicators for the cities of Lawrence, Lowell, and New Bedford, and the Metropolitan Statistical Areas of Boston, Springfield, and Worcester. The information was drawn primarily from the 2008 American Community Survey of the U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, although selected data for Lowell and New Bedford was drawn from the aggregate 2006–2008 American Community Survey in order to achieve an adequate sample size. The report compares economic conditions in the Latino population with the total population, as well as comparing conditions within the Latino population across cities, age, or gender. The 2008 data does not capture the full impact of the current recession, and the 2009 data was not yet available at the time of this report.

Income

Census data, as shown in Tables 1–3, reveals that Latinos have a lower median household income and individual median earnings than the total population, while Latinos also congregate in the lower income cohorts at a higher rate than the total population. As shown in Table 1, Latinos in Massachusetts earned a median household income (MHI) of \$33,212 in 2008, compared to \$65,401 for the total population. Latino MHI was 50.8% of the total population’s MHI.

Table 1: Household Median Income (in 2008 inflation-adjusted dollars)

	Total	Latino	Latino MHI as percentage of Total MHI
Massachusetts	\$65,401	\$33,212	50.8%
Boston	\$51,688	\$30,665	59.3%
Lawrence	\$33,684	\$26,654	79.1%
Lowell	\$53,250	\$19,826	37.2%
New Bedford	\$38,350	\$29,991	78.2%
Springfield	\$36,652	\$19,039	51.9%
Worcester	\$44,890	\$25,772	57.4%

Across the state, cities, and metropolitan areas there was a considerable gap between the Latino MHI and Total Population MHI. The size of the gap, however, differed by city. In Lowell, Latino households earned the lowest median income compared to the general population: \$19,826 to \$53,250, only 37.2% of the total population. In Boston, Springfield, and Worcester, Latino MHI was below the state median income for Latinos. In Springfield, the Latino MHI was \$19,039 in comparison to \$36,652 for the Total MHI, and, in Worcester, the Latino MHI was \$25,772 in comparison to \$44,890 for the Total MHI. Boston’s Total MHI was \$51,688, while Latino MHI was 59.3% of the Total’s at \$30,665. The areas with the smallest differential between the Latino and general populations were Lawrence and New Bedford. With a Latino MHI of \$29,991 compared to \$38,350 for the Total MHI, New Bedford experienced a differential of 21.8%, while Lawrence experienced a gap of 20.9% between the Latino MHI of \$26,654 and Total MHI of \$33,684.

As revealed in Table 2, Latino households in Massachusetts are concentrated in the lower income brackets. Latinos make up 18.1% of households in the cohort below \$10,000 in annual income, in comparison to 6.8% of the total population. On the other hand, only 11.1% of Latino households earn more than \$100,000, compared to 30.2% for the general population. Overall, the income distribution of Latino households takes the form of a bell-shaped curve. It begins with 18.1% of households in the lowest cohort, expands to 22.5% in the \$10,000 to \$24,999 cohort, peaks at 24.4% at the \$25,000 to \$49,999 cohort, decreases slightly to 23.9% in the \$50,000 to \$99,999 cohort, before dipping significantly to 11.1% in the cohort above \$100,000. In contrast, the income distribution for households in the general population takes a more linear shape until it levels off in the higher income brackets. Households in the lowest cohort formed 6.8% of the population, expanded to 13.0% and 18.9% in the middle cohorts, before peaking at 31.0% and 30.2% in the highest cohorts.

The trend of Latino households concentrating in the lower income cohorts holds true for the major cities and metropolitan areas of the state, although nuances emerge. In Boston, Latino households are less concentrated in the brackets below \$50,000 and slightly more in the brackets above \$50,000 than Latino households at the state level. However, Latino households in Boston are still much more likely to earn incomes at the lower cohort levels than households in the total population: 37.2% of Latino households earned less than \$25,000 per year, compared to 18.3% for the general population. Worcester Latinos fared slightly worse with 39.2% earning less than \$25,000, while 45.9% of Latinos in Lawrence and 46.4% of Latinos in New Bedford were in the same range. The cities with the highest percentage of Latino households earning below \$25,000 were Springfield at 53.0% and Lowell at 53.7%. In Springfield, 5.4% of Latino households earned more than \$100,000, nearly three and a half times less frequently than in the general population of the city.

Table 2: Household Income in the Past 12 Months, Total Population and Latino Population, 2008

	Massachusetts		Boston MSA		Lawrence		Lowell		New Bedford		Springfield MSA		Worcester MSA	
	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino
Population	2,467,323	169,072	1,707,169	111,613	25,188	16,160	36,463	4,800	38,035	4,075	262,916	29,149	292,767	19,362
Less than \$10,000	6.8%	18.1%	6.5%	16.3%	13.2%	16.2%	10.3%	25.1%	13.6%	20.5%	7.8%	25.2%	5.3%	19.0%
\$10,000 to \$24,999	13.0%	22.5%	11.8%	20.9%	25.1%	29.7%	17.3%	28.6%	24.3%	25.9%	17.2%	27.8%	12.5%	20.2%
\$25,000 to \$49,999	18.9%	24.4%	17.5%	23.8%	27.3%	26.3%	21.6%	17.7%	24.4%	30.7%	23.3%	23.2%	18.9%	26.0%
\$50,000 to \$99,999	31.0%	23.9%	30.0%	26.0%	24.2%	20.6%	35.3%	22.1%	28.2%	18.9%	33.2%	18.4%	33.8%	24.3%
Over \$100,000	30.2%	11.1%	34.2%	13.0%	10.2%	7.2%	15.6%	6.5%	9.4%	4.0%	18.5%	5.4%	29.5%	10.5%

Table 3: Individual Median Earnings by Gender and Work Experience, Total and Latino Population, 2008

	Massachusetts		Boston MSA		Lawrence city		Lowell		New Bedford		Springfield MSA		Worcester MSA	
	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino
Total	\$35,668	\$23,236	\$37,279	\$24,022	\$22,238	\$21,103	\$30,477	\$22,964	\$30,281	\$20,381	\$29,540	\$20,269	\$36,689	\$24,626
Male	42,421	26,711	45,832	28,084	25,880	24,689	37,409	29,221	32,967	20,663	35,540	23,118	45,523	26,414
Worked full-time, year round in the previous 12 months	55,555	35,364	60,074	36,013	35,078	30,186	43,477	36,857	42,113	29,235	47,073	32,140	55,584	35,058
Other	11,545	10,628	12,002	11,629	16,468	15,801	9,191	15,441	13,985	13,103	8,162	6,265	11,130	5,090
Female	29,530	20,121	30,876	20,411	20,602	18,909	22,866	21,015	25,641	16,978	23,226	17,921	29,470	21,013
Worked full-time, year round in the previous 12 months	43,452	29,908	45,969	30,104	26,239	24,042	33,436	24,162	33,769	24,278	38,098	31,175	41,359	27,385
Other	11,615	10,514	11,813	10,088	11,396	10,346	10,209	2,499	11,838	11,224	9,746	10,762	12,147	11,790
Female:	349,415	85,000	222,801	46,952	9,409	8,355	9,265	3,650	12,953	2,992	50,057	21,660	36,511	10,121
Under 5 years	7.0%	11.9%	6.0%	11.0%	11.2%	10.6%	13.5%	16.9%	8.2%	18.4%	8.9%	12.2%	8.9%	15.8%
5 to 17 years	15.9%	25.8%	15.1%	23.4%	26.7%	28.1%	16.1%	20.5%	23.6%	29.4%	21.3%	29.7%	14.2%	22.4%
18 to 34 years	29.2%	30.6%	29.1%	30.2%	23.4%	25.8%	25.6%	21.9%	28.7%	30.4%	30.4%	29.0%	32.5%	34.5%
35 to 54 years	23.3%	19.4%	24.5%	20.6%	21.8%	19.3%	23.2%	24.2%	25.0%	16.6%	22.7%	19.8%	19.8%	18.6%
Over 55 years	24.5%	12.2%	25.3%	14.8%	16.9%	16.2%	21.6%	16.5%	14.4%	5.2%	16.7%	9.3%	24.7%	8.7%

Table 3 highlights the individual median earnings of Latinos in comparison to the total population. In 2008, Latino individual median earnings fell well short of the general population. For the state of Massachusetts, Latinos earned \$23,236 in comparison to \$35,668 for the total population. For both the total population and the Latino population, men earned more than women. Latino men had individual median earnings of \$26,711 while Latinas had earnings of \$20,121. In the total population, men had individual median earnings of \$42,421 and women had earnings of \$29,530.

Depending on the city where they live, Latinos experienced varying individual median earnings. Latinos in Worcester showed the highest median earnings at \$24,636, while Latinos in Boston earned nearly as much with \$24,022. In Lowell, Latinos earned slightly less with \$22,964 and in Lawrence their earnings were \$21,103. With the lowest individual median earnings, Latinos earned \$20,381 in New Bedford and \$20,269 in Springfield. Compared to the general population, Latinos earned less in all areas. However, the discrepancy was most dramatic in Boston where Latinos earn only 64.4% of what the total population earns and least dramatic in Lowell where Latinos earn nearly 95% of what the total population earns.

The income gender gap also fluctuated depending on the city or metro area observed. Latino males universally earned higher incomes than Latino females when considering those who worked full-time for 12 months in the previous year. They earned as high as \$29,221 in Lowell and \$36,013 in Boston in comparison to Latinas in those cities who earned \$21,015

and \$30,104, respectively. It was in these areas that discrepancies in income by gender were the largest. At the same time, Boston, Lowell, and Worcester also experienced the highest individual median earnings for Latinas. Finally, it is important to note that there is a wide range of earnings for Latinos and Latinas in the census category of “other.” This category includes any person who did not work full-time for the past 12 months, including part-time workers, temporary workers, and workers whose employment did not last the entire previous year. At the state level “other” Latinos earned \$10,628 compared to \$10,514 for Latinas. Yet, at the local level experiences vary considerably. In Lowell, “other” Latinos earn \$15,441, whereas Latinas earn only \$2,499. In contrast, “other” Latinas earned higher incomes in Springfield and Worcester, with Worcester Latinas earning as much as \$11,790 compared to \$5,090 for Latinas. These differentials by gender warrant further study; however, the general pattern of lower Latino incomes in comparison to the total population holds true.

Poverty

Table 4: Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months by Gender and Age, Total and Latino Population, 2008

	Massachusetts		Boston MSA		Lawrence city		Lowell		New Bedford		Springfield MSA		Worcester MSA	
	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino
Male	277,255	64,902	178,739	35,823	7,482	5,826	7,363	2,455	8,698	2,536	41,312	15,899	24,713	8,398
Under 5 years	9.7%	16.3%	8.3%	15.2%	20.8%	24.7%	13.1%	18.9%	16.0%	22.3%	10.6%	14.6%	13.7%	23.6%
5 to 17 years	22.5%	34.3%	21.0%	30.2%	33.5%	39.9%	26.2%	40.5%	31.9%	35.7%	26.8%	37.3%	24.0%	38.8%
18 to 34 years	28.1%	22.7%	28.6%	22.4%	14.7%	5.9%	24.7%	22.2%	18.8%	22.4%	29.9%	26.0%	24.1%	15.6%
35 to 54 years	20.9%	16.4%	20.9%	18.4%	21.9%	21.5%	21.1%	11.5%	19.6%	19.1%	19.5%	14.8%	22.2%	16.1%
Over 55 years	18.8%	10.3%	21.1%	13.8%	9.2%	8.1%	15.0%	6.8%	13.7%	0.5%	13.1%	7.2%	16.0%	5.9%
Female:	349,415	85,000	222,801	46,952	9,409	8,355	9,265	3,650	12,953	2,992	50,057	21,660	36,511	10,121
Under 5 years	7.0%	11.9%	6.0%	11.0%	11.2%	10.6%	13.5%	16.9%	8.2%	18.4%	8.9%	12.2%	8.9%	15.8%
5 to 17 years	15.9%	25.8%	15.1%	23.4%	26.7%	28.1%	16.1%	20.5%	23.6%	29.4%	21.3%	29.7%	14.2%	22.4%
18 to 34 years	29.2%	30.6%	29.1%	30.2%	23.4%	25.8%	25.6%	21.9%	28.7%	30.4%	30.4%	29.0%	32.5%	34.5%
35 to 54 years	23.3%	19.4%	24.5%	20.6%	21.8%	19.3%	23.2%	24.2%	25.0%	16.6%	22.7%	19.8%	19.8%	18.6%
Over 55 years	24.5%	12.2%	25.3%	14.8%	16.9%	16.2%	21.6%	16.5%	14.4%	5.2%	16.7%	9.3%	24.7%	8.7%

Table 4 shows the poverty status of Latinos and the Total Population by gender and age in 2008. Reading down each column, the first level of analysis is the distribution of poor males and females by age category for Latinos and the Total Population. Each figure represents the share of males or females below the federal poverty according to their age characteristics. The second level of analysis compares these figures at the state level and across selected cities or MSAs of the Massachusetts.

The age profile of Latino poor males differs from the age profile of poor males in the Total Population. Relative to poor males in the Total Population of Massachusetts, Latino poor males are more concentrated in the young cohorts of the population. About 16.3% of Latino poor males are under five years of age compared to 9.7% of males in the Total Population. Similarly, about 34.3% of Latino poor males are between five and seventeen years old compared to 22.5% for males in the Total Population. As it can be seen in Table 4, Latino poor males tend to be less concentrated in the older age categories compared to poor males in

the Total Population. These differences may be related to the fact that Latinos are a younger population as whole, Latinos continue to be active in the labor force until later in life, and other socio-demographic factors related to the aging of American society.

The age profile of Latino poor females in Massachusetts resembles the age profile of Latino poor males, although there are some important differences. About 11.9% of Latino poor females are under five years of age compared to 7% of poor females in the Total Population. Similarly, about 25.8% of Latino poor females are between five and seventeen years old compared to 15.9% for females in the Total Population. In contrast to the age profile poor females in the Total Population (and Latino poor males), the share of Latino female poor is slightly higher in the 18-34 years of age cohort, about 30.6% compared to 29.2%. Latino female poor are less concentrated in the older age categories compared to poor females in the Total Population. As with Latino males, this is related to the fact that Latinos are a younger population as whole, that Latinos continue to be active in the labor force until later in life, and other socio-demographic factors related to the aging of American society.

The comparison of the age/gender profile of the poor across cities of Massachusetts shows greater nuances than at the state level. In all of the cities analyzed, the pattern of distribution of the Latino male poor by gender and age cohort resembles the state pattern. Latino males in poverty are strongly concentrated in the young age cohorts of the population. Roughly 50% (or more) of the Latino male poor population in the cities analyzed (except Boston) are below 17 years of age. As the state pattern, the concentrations of poor Latino males are lower in the older age cohorts relative to poor males in the Total Populations of these cities. In New Bedford, the age profile of the Latino male poor differs slightly from the cities above. The concentrations of Latino male poor are higher in three of five cohorts relative to poor males in the Total Population.

The age distribution of the Latino female poor in Boston, New Bedford, Springfield, and Worcester resembles the state pattern. Latino female poor are strongly concentrated in the first three young age cohorts. Roughly between 65% (Boston) and 78% (Springfield) of the Latino female poor are in the first three age categories. The concentration of Latino female poor is particularly high in the 18 to 34 years of age cohort, which in all four cities captures about 30% or more of the Latino female poor. The shares of Latino female poor are lower in the older cohorts relative to the shares of poor females in the Total Population.

Lawrence and Lowell show slight variations to these patterns. In Lawrence, the share of Latino female poor under five years of age is lower than the share of female poor in the Total Population, 10.6% and 11.2% respectively. In Lowell, the contrast is in both categories. The share of Latino female poor is lower in the 18-34 years of age cohort relative to poor females in the Total Population, and it is higher in the 35-54 years of age cohort. An important dimension of this descriptive analysis is that poverty is sinking deeper into the age profile of the Latino female poor relative to the Latino male poor. Whereas for Latino males poverty is not so heavily concentrated in the 18-34 years of age cohort, for Latino female poor it is, especially at the city level of analysis.

Table 5: Poverty Status of Families by Family Type and Presence of Related Children Under 18 , 2008

	Massachusetts		Boston MSA		Lawrence city		Lowell		New Bedford		Springfield MSA		Worcester MSA	
	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino
Total	1,568,641	121,410	1,077,446	78,405	17,527	12,385	22,122	2,538	23,291	3,895	165,971	21,497	197,370	14,124
Families with income below poverty level:	7.1%	26.7%	6.1%	21.5%	19.6%	25.2%	15.5%	54.2%	20.7%	31.8%	10.9%	39.1%	6.1%	29.5%
Married couple family:	2.2%	4.8%	2.0%	3.2%	1.4%	1.5%	2.5%	1.1%	4.0%	6.5%	2.9%	10.0%	1.8%	3.6%
With related children under 18 years:	1.1%	3.4%	0.9%	2.0%	1.1%	1.5%	1.3%	0.0%	2.2%	6.5%	1.6%	6.4%	1.0%	3.6%
Female householder, no husband present:	4.3%	19.2%	3.5%	15.4%	15.0%	21.0%	10.7%	45.4%	15.2%	22.2%	6.9%	25.7%	3.9%	25.4%
With related children under 18 years:	3.8%	18.0%	3.1%	14.7%	14.8%	21.0%	9.3%	41.6%	14.3%	21.7%	6.6%	25.0%	3.6%	23.3%

Table 5 shows the poverty status of families by family type and presence of children less than 18 years of age in 2008. The figures are analyzed at the state level and for selected cities in Massachusetts. At the state level, almost 27% of Latino households are below the federal poverty line, compared to 7.1% in the total population, almost three times as many. This gap is prevalent across the cities analyzed: Boston, Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, Springfield and Worcester. The gap is narrower in Lawrence in which 25.2% of Latino families are below the poverty line relative to 19.6% in the total population of the city. The gap is the broadest in Lowell where 54.2% of Latino families are below the poverty line compared to 15.5% in the total population of the city. New Bedford, Boston, Worcester, and Springfield fall between (in increasing order).

When poverty status is disaggregated by family type there is no major difference between the share of Latino married couples below the poverty line and the share of married couples below the line in the total population, 4.8% and 2.2% respectively. Even though the share of Latino families below the poverty line is consistently higher, the shares are comparable across all of the cities analyzed. Springfield and New Bedford show the highest shares of Latino married couple families under the poverty line, 10% and 6.5% respectively. The comparable shares remain when the presence of children under 18 is taken into account.

Marked contrast exists, however, between Latinos and the total population when the shares of families headed by women are compared, both at the state and city level. At the state level, about 19.2% of Latino female householders are below the poverty line compared to 4.3% in the total population. This gap is also high when the presence of children under 18 is taken into consideration. With different degrees of magnitude, the gap exists in all of the cities analyzed. Lawrence has the narrowest gap between Latino female householders below poverty and the total population. The broadest gap is in Lowell, as can be seen in Table 5. New Bedford, Boston, Springfield and Worcester fall between Lawrence and Lowell.

Occupation and Education

Table 6: Occupation for Civilian Employed Population, Total and Latino Employed Population 16+, 2008

	Massachusetts		Boston MSA		Springfield MSA		Worcester MSA	
	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino
All occupations:	3,390,763	241,185	2,409,024	170,952	336,851	31,946	409,375	27,213
Management, business, and financial occupations	16.2%	8.1%	18.0%	9.2%	11.7%	5.3%	15.2%	5.4%
Professional and related occupations	25.8%	13.7%	26.8%	12.8%	24.2%	18.5%	25.1%	12.5%
Service occupations	16.6%	30.2%	15.6%	32.2%	18.0%	25.0%	15.9%	23.5%
Sales and Office occupations	24.9%	21.0%	24.9%	21.8%	25.2%	22.4%	24.0%	20.9%
Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	0.2%	0.0%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.7%	0.2%	0.0%
Construction, extraction, maintenance, and repair occupations	7.3%	7.2%	6.5%	6.6%	7.7%	7.4%	8.2%	7.1%
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations	9.1%	19.5%	8.0%	17.2%	13.0%	20.8%	11.5%	30.5%

Table 6 shows the occupational distribution for the Total and Latino civilian employed population in Massachusetts with 16 years of age and older in 2008. Data is disaggregated in seven major occupational groups for the state and the three largest MSAs. At the state level, relative to the total population Latinos are less represented in occupational categories that tend to require high levels of education and that command better wages. Only 8.1% of Latinos are in Management, Business and Financial occupations compared to 16.2% of the total population. Similarly, 13.7% of Latinos are in Professional and Related Occupations compared to 25.8% of the total population. Latinos tend to be predominantly concentrated in occupational groups that require less education, command lower wages and are less stable. About 30% of Latinos are in Service occupations relative to 16.6% of the total population. Latinos are also more concentrated in Production, Transportation and Materials Handling occupations, 19.5% compared to 9.1% in the total population. Interestingly, Latinos show comparable shares to the total population in Sales and Office Occupations, and in Construction, Extraction, Maintenance, and Repair occupations. These comparable shares may be the result of various labor market dynamics, such as the proliferation of unstable employment in clerical, construction, and maintenance occupations (outsourcing, part-time, non-union, contract work) for which employers tend to prefer vulnerable workers, and the deterioration of labor market conditions which has crowded skilled and unskilled workers in some occupational categories in construction and in the manufacturing sector. Representation of Latinos and the total population in Farming, Fishing, and Forestry occupations is minimal.

To a large extent, the patterns of occupational concentration for Latinos and the total population at the state level are reproduced in the three selected MSA. The gaps of representation and the levels of concentration are reproduced in Boston, and Springfield, although in Boston the level of Latino representation in Management, Business and Financial occupations is better than in Springfield (and Worcester). Latinos, relative to the total population, seem not to be doing better at the city level since they continue to be employed in occupations that tend to be less remunerated and stable. In Worcester, in contrast to Boston and Springfield, Latinos are better represented in Production, Transportation, and Material Handling Occupations.

Table 7: Educational Attainment by Gender for Massachusetts and Selected Populations, Total and Latino Populations Over 25 for 2008

	Massachusetts		Boston MSA		Lawrence city		Springfield MSA		Worcester MSA	
	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino	Total	Latino
Total	4,397,927	297,933	3,064,478	202,204	41,619	25,931	449,459	47,284	522,491	34,488
Male:	2,087,962	146,676	1,462,649	100,727	19,360	11,439	211,096	22,301	251,403	16,847
Less than 9th grade	5.0%	19.9%	4.8%	21.7%	18.0%	25.5%	4.3%	15.1%	4.2%	14.6%
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	6.8%	17.4%	6.0%	15.6%	14.1%	16.6%	8.6%	21.5%	7.7%	21.0%
High School Diploma or Equivalence	27.2%	31.5%	24.7%	29.8%	29.5%	28.4%	33.2%	34.1%	31.2%	38.1%
Some college, no degree	15.8%	12.8%	15.7%	13.5%	15.7%	15.2%	17.8%	14.1%	15.1%	6.6%
Associate's degree	6.1%	3.5%	5.8%	3.2%	8.3%	4.9%	8.7%	5.5%	7.3%	2.9%
Bachelor's degree	21.9%	9.9%	23.4%	10.4%	11.5%	7.5%	16.3%	7.0%	20.8%	12.5%
Graduate or professional degree	17.1%	5.2%	19.5%	5.8%	2.9%	1.9%	11.1%	2.8%	13.8%	4.2%
Female:	2,309,965	151,257	1,601,829	101,477	22,259	14,492	238,363	24,983	271,088	17,641
Less than 9th grade	4.9%	19.2%	4.6%	19.9%	20.4%	23.4%	5.0%	20.0%	4.0%	15.1%
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	5.9%	14.9%	4.9%	12.5%	14.4%	17.5%	8.7%	22.9%	6.1%	14.0%
High School Diploma or Equivalence	26.1%	26.3%	25.1%	25.4%	25.8%	23.9%	27.7%	23.7%	29.9%	34.0%
Some college, no degree	17.0%	17.2%	16.1%	17.9%	14.7%	18.6%	18.3%	13.9%	18.4%	16.4%
Associate's degree	8.8%	5.8%	8.3%	5.5%	7.9%	6.6%	10.8%	6.2%	10.0%	5.8%
Bachelor's degree	21.6%	11.1%	23.3%	12.2%	7.2%	6.7%	17.9%	8.9%	19.9%	10.4%
Graduate or professional degree	15.6%	5.7%	17.7%	6.5%	3.8%	3.2%	11.6%	4.4%	11.7%	4.2%

Table 7 shows the educational attainment of Latinos by gender compared to the total population in Massachusetts and selected metro areas in 2008. Overall, the educational attainment of Latinos lags behind the total population. Relative to the total population, Latinos tend to be concentrated in educational categories with a high school diploma or less. About 68.8% of Latino males have just a high school diploma or less, and about 29% of this group has less than a 9th grade education. In the total population the figures are 33% and 5% respectively. The situation for Latino females is not much different, although slightly better: about 60% of Latino females have a high school diploma or less, and 19% of this group has less than a 9th grade education. Such gap clearly represents a major disadvantage for Latino men and women to participate in the predominantly knowledge-driven economy of the state. The high shares of Latinos in the low achievement education categories may be due in part to the young age profile of Latinos, but still this does not account for the large gap.

In spite of the above mentioned differentials, it is also possible to see some bright areas in which both Latino males and females show comparable levels of educational attainment relative to the total population. The shares of Latino males and females with a high school diploma or equivalence are comparable to the total population, at the state level and in metro areas. In selected educational categories, Latino females are doing better than Latino men, even when Latino women may have to overcome greater obstacles such gender discrimination. Latino females are showing higher shares of individuals with a post high-school education relative to Latino men, and even comparable shares to the total population in some categories, as in the share of Latino females with “some college” education. At the

state level, 17.2% of Latino females have “some college” education compared to 17% in the total population. Latino females also have higher shares with “some college” in Boston and Lawrence, although not in Springfield and Worcester. For Latino males the corresponding figures are below Latino females and the total population at the state and all metro areas (except Springfield).

A glance at the figures on educational achievement for selected metro areas shows two major trends worth mentioning. On the one hand, the state patterns are largely reproduced at the metro level. That is, Latinos are concentrated in the low educational achievement categories, with comparable figures to the total population in a couple of categories (high school diploma and some college) for both Latino males and Latino females. On the other hand, the gap in post-high school educational categories is broader between Latinos (both males and females) in metro areas with significant concentrations of higher education institutions such as Boston and Worcester. This gap may be due to a two-way dynamic of higher levels of achievement in the total population combined with limited access of Latinos to such institutions. The gap in post-high school education between Latinos and the total population in Lawrence and Springfield is relatively narrower, perhaps due to lower levels of educational achievement in the total population of these two cities.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

Census data from the 2008 American Community Survey shows that Latinos in Massachusetts are at an economic disadvantage relative to the total population in every dimension analyzed: income, poverty status, education, and occupational status. Such a gap, with some nuances, remains clear in selected metro area/cities such as Boston, Lowell, Lawrence, Springfield, New Bedford, and Worcester. Also, major gaps remain between Latinos and the total population when age, family, and gender characteristics are taken into consideration, both at the state and city levels of disaggregation.

Three key findings are important to emphasize. First, Latino poverty for both males and females is strongly concentrated in the young age cohorts of the population. Latinos have high rates of children and youth in poverty. For Latino females, poverty status extends for a longer period into their working age (18–34) years than for Latino males. Secondly, and very strikingly, Latinas seem to be experiencing greater poverty, in spite of showing relatively better levels of education than Latino males and even comparable levels of education relative to the Total Population in selected categories (“Some College”). This finding might be related to the child rearing responsibilities of women in single-headed households, lower wages relative to men, and their concentration in poorly paid service occupations, among other factors. Finally, Latinos, given their income, educational, and occupational profile are likely to be a strong disadvantage in knowledge-driven industries such as health, education, high-tech, and other professional fields. The concentration of post-high school educational institutions in Massachusetts increases competition in the labor market. Actually, the “status gap” remains strong in areas with high concentrations of such institutions such as Boston and Worcester. What policy actions can be taken to address some of these disadvantages?

Education: Children & Youth

Policy actions are required on several fronts. First, cities, regions, the state (including federal), and diverse actors such as non-profits, foundations, and universities must work to improve the capacity of communities to create new organizations that can implement integrated/place-based approaches to poverty alleviation, especially to address child and youth poverty.

Most recently, the administration of President Barack Obama implemented several policy initiatives along such lines, such as the Promise Neighborhoods Program of the Department of Education. Unfortunately, the capacity of Latino communities and community-based organizations in the state is too weak to participate and reply to such federal calls.

Another strategic line of policy action in this area is to open opportunities for the children of immigrant families to go to college and for the families supporting them. Governor’s Deval Patrick’s New Americans Agenda Report in 2009 (www.mass.gov/ori) strongly advocates for such actions, in addition to a slew of policy recommendations in several policy areas. Moving into an implementation stage some of the positive, pro-immigrant policies outlined in such a report would be a critical step to address lacking federal reforms, which is being filled by misguided state policies that erroneously blame immigrants for all kinds of social problems.

Finally, and no less important, is to implement school reforms to support English Language Learners and reduce Latino dropout rates, especially in districts with high concentrations of Latinos and poorly performing schools, such as Holyoke, Springfield, Worcester, and Lawrence, among other cities. An important policy tool in this regard is the recently enacted legislation which creates the Innovation Schools Program of the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. College readiness programs to prepare Latino children and youth in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM disciplines) would be quite important in the context of the dominant knowledge-based economy of the state. Colleges and universities are crucial actors in forming partnerships to grow such programs.

Workforce Development

In addition to education, workforce development is another strategic policy area that can improve Latino socioeconomic standing. The scope of workforce development policy must move beyond “work-first” approaches that mainly seek short-term placements without regarding training and access to good jobs connected to meaningful ladders of occupational mobility. In addition, workforce development should take regional and sectorial approaches with a “dual customer” emphasis. That is, workforce development efforts need to be both demand and supply driven, thus taking into consideration both the needs of employers and workers. In the context of the Workforce Development Investment Act (2008), most workforce development programs are combining the resources of multiple stakeholders in order to achieve the programmatic flexibility needed to respond to the fast pace of change in labor markets, particularly in knowledge-driven sectors. The emerging collaborations include local one-stop centers, foundations, think-tanks, universities, CBOs, unions, and the private sector. There is no “one-size-fits-all” prescription to address the needs of diverse regions, workers, and employers. Supporting the incorporation of Latinos into labor unions is another important strategic avenue of raising the standard of living of Latinos. Finally, living wage support policies can directly improve the quality of jobs and wages of the increasing numbers of working poor Latinos, people who cannot make ends meet in spite of working full-time..

Social and Work Support Policies

Given the characteristics of Latino poverty, women, families, and children require special supports to pull out of poverty. In recent years, federal devolution, privatization, and straight cutbacks have reduced the implementation of social policies for poverty reduction, to help unemployed workers, and to support struggling families. Starting in 2008, the current recession has deeply impacted Latinos, other minorities, and the population as a whole. As a result, the various stimulus packages by the federal government have increased the flow of

funds, yet these flows are beginning to dry up, especially to support unemployed workers. In this context, social policies continue to have mainly a remedial thrust. Social policy must be re-oriented to prevent families and individuals from falling into poverty, and to build the human capital stock of Latinos (and other populations). Returning to the labor market after long spells of unemployment will require new human capital acquisition, as well as the development of alternative forms of employment such as small-business development and community economic development.

In 2009, Governor Deval Patrick's Asset Development Commission issued its final report (www.mass.gov/Ehed/docs/dhcd/adc/adcfinalreport.pdf). The report points to a wealth and income gap opening in the state and American society as whole. Most dramatic, the report documents the increasing number of two bread-winner families, of full-time employed individuals who are in poverty (working poor), and of households who very vulnerable to relatively small economic dislocations. These families and individuals require work and family support programs that make available affordable child care, retraining opportunities, financial education, family leave policies, affordable health care and retirement.



Statewide Latino Public Policy
Conference 2010

CHAPTER 5

The Health of Latinos in Massachusetts: A Snapshot

by Dharma E. Cortés, PhD and Rodolfo R. Vega, PhD



Introduction

People's health outcomes are shaped in part by non-biological factors. Most immediately, limited access to health care services can have a deleterious impact on individuals' health outcomes (Andrulis, 1998). In turn, access to healthcare services is influenced by socioeconomic factors such as whether a person has health insurance or the financial means to pay for their health care. Familiarity with the health care system is another important factor that may influence an individual's access to healthcare services (Morgan et al., 2008). Language also plays an important role in health outcomes. For instance, individuals with limited English proficiency may find it hard to communicate with providers who do not speak their language, and to access the information they need in order to manage their health conditions.

This report provides a snapshot on specific health issues that affect the Latino population in Massachusetts: HIV/AIDS, asthma, diabetes, obesity, occupational health, cancer, and oral health. The data presented here were obtained from databases and reports issued by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health such as the Massachusetts Community Health Information Profile (MassCHIP), A Profile of Health among Massachusetts Adults (MDPH, 2008), and Health of Massachusetts (MDPH, 2010), among others.

Information on the disparate impact that some of these conditions have within the Latino population and across regional areas is provided in order to highlight the role that contextual factors such as place of birth, gender, and area of residence play on health outcomes. The information presented in this report further confirms that health outcomes do not occur in a vacuum, but rather are embedded in the complex social, economic, and demographic web that envelops Latinos in Massachusetts.

Sociodemographic Profile of Latinos in Massachusetts

Age

More than half (65%) of all Latinos in Massachusetts were born in the United States, and this subgroup is significantly younger (median age = 19) than foreign-born Latinos in the state, whose median age is 37 (Pew Hispanic Center, 2008). Overall, Latinos in the state, with a median age of 26, are a younger population than white non-Latinos and black non-Latinos (median ages 41 and 31, respectively).

Poverty

A significant number of Latinos in Massachusetts live in poverty. Specifically, slightly more than one-third (33%) of Latinos 17 and younger live in poverty, compared to 6% of non-Latino whites and 21% of non-Latino blacks. In the age group 18-64, the percentages living in poverty are about 22% for Latinos, 2% for non-Latino whites, and 9% for non-Latino blacks (Pew Hispanic Center, 2008).

Health Insurance

In 2006, the Massachusetts legislature passed Chapter 58 of the Acts of 2006 of the Massachusetts General Court (entitled "An Act Providing Access to Affordable, Quality, Accountable Health Care"). One of the goals of Chapter 58 was to expand affordable health insurance coverage to about 530,000 uninsured residents within three years, and thus provide near-universal health insurance coverage to the Commonwealth's residents. As a result, about 97%

of all Massachusetts residents now have health insurance coverage (Cortés, 2010). However, Latinos remain the group with the highest proportion of uninsured individuals. About 9% of Latino residents are uninsured, compared to 3% of non-Latino whites and 7% of non-Latino blacks (Pew Hispanic Center, 2008). Foreign-born Latinos fare worse: about one-sixth of them (16%) lack health insurance, compared to the 6% rate for Latinos born in the United States. Finally, Latino (20%) and black (17%) adults are more likely than white (10%) adults to report that they do not have a personal doctor (Pew Hispanic Center, 2008).

Language Use

Only about 19% of Latinos in Massachusetts ages 5 and older report speaking only English at home. Among those who do not speak only English at home, about 53% report speaking English very well and 47% report speaking English less than well (Pew Hispanic Center, 2008).

Overall Health and Leading Causes of Death

Self-reported health is a predictor of objective health outcomes such as later mortality, morbidity, and access to health care; it is useful as a proxy for unmet health needs and the burden of chronic disease (Connelly et al., 1991; Idler & Angel, 1990; Rutledge et al., 2010). Individuals' self-assessment of their overall health is influenced by sociodemographic factors such as education, economic status, and living conditions (MDPH, 2010). In light of the sociodemographic profile of Massachusetts' Latino residents it is not surprising that they rate their health significantly worse than whites and blacks. For 1993 to 2007, the average percentage of Latinos who reported fair or poor health was almost 34% compared to 10.5% of white residents, and 17% of black residents (MDPH, 2008). In 2008, Latinos continued to assess their health as fair or poor at a higher proportion (26%) than blacks (18%), and whites (11%) (MDPH, 2009e).

Below we present a table that shows the ten leading causes of death among Massachusetts Latinos, as well as among whites, blacks, and Asians. Latinos and blacks are the only two groups that show the same ten leading causes of death (though ranked differently), whereas whites and Asians share six out of ten leading causes of death. Perinatal conditions, HIV/AIDS, homicide, and chronic liver disease do not appear among the ten leading causes of death for whites or Asians (MDPH, 2009b).

Table 1: Ten Leading Causes of Death among Latinos Compared to Other Racial/Ethnic Groups: MA, 2007

Leading Cause	Latinos	White Non-Latinos	Black Non-Latinos	Asian Non-Latinos
Cancer	1	1	1	1
Heart Disease	2	2	2	2
Unintentional Injuries	3	5	5	5
Diabetes	4	9	4	7
Stroke	5	3	6	3
Perinatal conditions	6		10	
Homicide	7		7	
HIV/AIDS	8		8	
Nephritis	9	8	3	8
Chronic liver disease	10		9	

Source: MDPH (2009b)

Regional Death Rates

Latinos in Springfield have the highest age-adjusted death rate¹ from all causes followed by Latinos in Holyoke, Revere, New Bedford, Worcester, Fitchburg, Lowell, Brockton, Boston, and Haverhill in that order. It is important to note that, with the exception of Springfield, where Latinos have the second highest rate of death due to all causes, Latinos trail behind both whites and blacks in age-adjusted death rates. Regional data available on causes of death by cities indicate that Latinos residing in Revere have the highest age-adjusted rate of death caused by cancer (although very similar to the rates for Latinos in Springfield), diabetes, and stroke, but that heart disease (the second leading cause of death among all Latinos in the state) as cause of death is number twelve in Revere (MassCHIP data). Latinos in Revere also have the highest death rates due to chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and pneumonia/influenza.

HIV/AIDS

Since the AIDS epidemic's onset, Latinos in Massachusetts have been disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS. While only 9% of the Massachusetts population is Latino, 25% of people living with HIV/AIDS in Massachusetts are Latinos (MDPH, 2009c). The age-adjusted prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS among Latinos (1,438 per 100,000) is 10 times greater than for non-Latino whites (139 per 100,000). Latinos' age-adjusted average annual rate of death between 2005 and 2007 (22 per 100,000) was 7 times greater than for whites (3 per 100,000) (MDPH, 2009c).

Between 2005 and 2007, Latino men and Latinas had similar HIV infection diagnoses rates: 27% of women diagnosed with HIV were Latinas, as were 26% of men diagnosed with HIV (MDPH, 2009c). However, the mode of HIV exposure varies across gender lines. Among Latino men, male-to-male sex accounts for 38%, injection drug use 25%, and heterosexual sex with partners with unknown risk and HIV status (presumed heterosexual exposure) 17% of reported exposures. Among Latinas, 33% of exposures occur through presumed exposure through heterosexual sex with partners with unknown risk or HIV status (presumed heterosexual sex) and 32% are related to heterosexual sex with partners with known risk and/or HIV status (MDPH, 2009d).

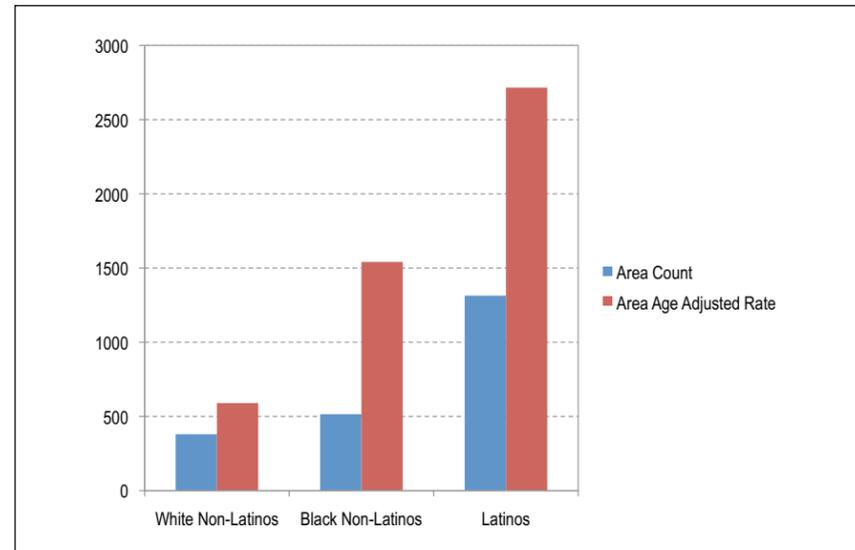
The largest proportion of Latinos (51%) who have been recently diagnosed with HIV reside in the Western Health Service Region followed by the Northeast Health Service Region (31%) and the Central Health Service Region (26%) (MDPH, 2009c). In Western Massachusetts injection drug use is the leading HIV risk factor among Latinos, whereas male-to-male sex is the most prominent risk factor in Eastern Massachusetts (MDPH, 2010). Among the cities with over 20 people diagnosed with HIV infection between 2005 and 2007, Lawrence, Holyoke, Chelsea, Springfield, Chicopee, Everett, Revere, Lowell, Framingham, and Lynn had the highest proportions of Latinos diagnosed with HIV infection (MDPH, 2009c).

Asthma

From 2005 through 2007, the three-year average annual prevalence of current asthma among adults in Massachusetts was similar across white (9.8%), Latino (10.5%), and black (10.4%) residents (MDPH, 2009a). However, the three-year average annual prevalence of lifetime asthma was higher for Latinos (17.3%) than for whites (14.6%). Among children, the prevalence rates of current asthma between 2005 and 2007 show higher rates for blacks (16%) than for Latinos (13.1%) and whites (9.1%), but the differences are not statistically significant. There are, however, significant differences in the three-year average annual prevalence of lifetime asthma between Latino (17%) and white children (13.4%) (MDPH, 2009a).

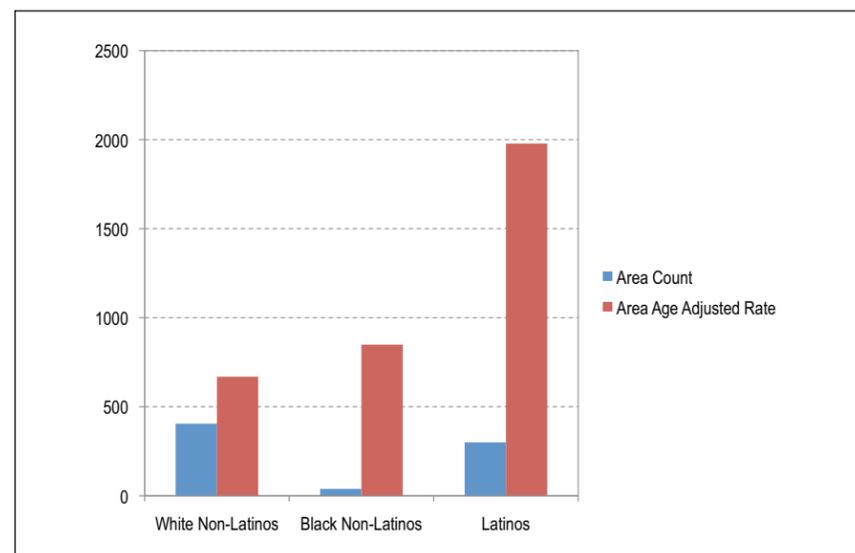
There are racial and ethnic differences in access to asthma care. For example, asthma emergency room visits among Latinos are almost three times higher than the rates for whites across the state, and the rates are even higher among black residents (MassCHIP data). The same is true for asthma inpatient hospitalization rates: Latinos have rates that are almost three times higher than whites, but lower than for blacks (MassCHIP data). However, Latinos in Springfield visit the emergency room for asthma-related care at rates that are almost five times higher than whites in Springfield (see Figure 1), six times higher than whites statewide, and two times higher than Latinos statewide. The emergency room visit rate for asthma among Latinos in Springfield is also almost two times higher than blacks' rate. Latinos in Lowell also visit the emergency room for asthma related episodes at higher levels compared to whites and blacks in Lowell (see Figure 2), as well as Latinos, blacks, and whites statewide.

Figure 1. Asthma Emergency Room Visits: Springfield



Source: MassCHIP, 2005 Calendar Year Hospital Emergency Visits.

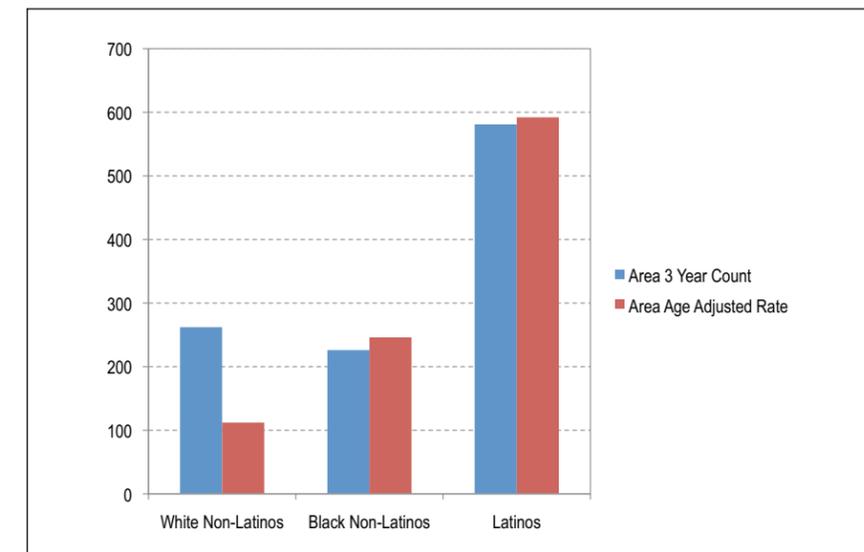
Figure 2. Asthma Emergency Room Visits: Lowell



Source: MassCHIP, 2005 Calendar Year Hospital Emergency Visits

Latinos also experience disproportionate rates of asthma inpatient hospitalizations in the Springfield area. Their asthma hospitalization rate is five and two times higher than white and black residents in Springfield, respectively. However, at the state level, the asthma inpatient hospitalization rate is higher for blacks than for Latinos and whites.

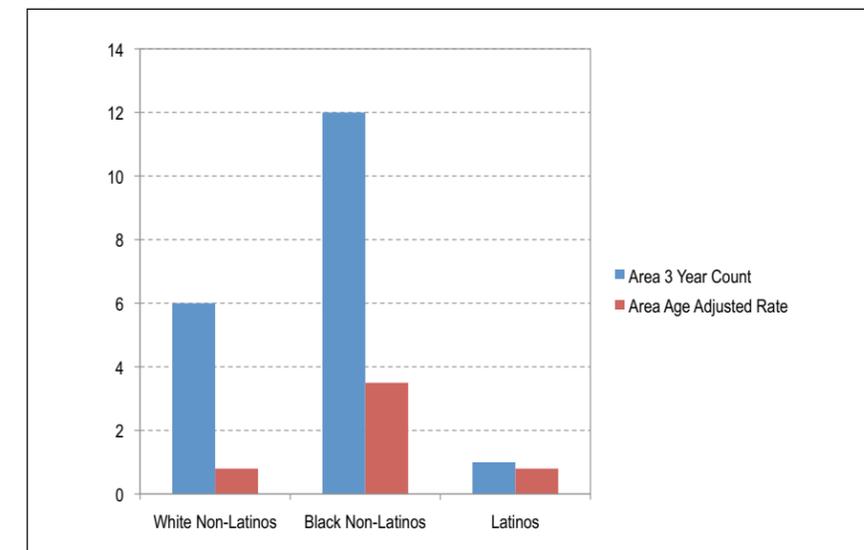
Figure 3. Asthma Inpatient Hospitalizations: Springfield



Source: MassCHIP, 2004-2006 Calendar Year Hospital Discharges (Uniform Hospital Discharge Data Set)

In Boston, the asthma mortality rate for Latinos is the same as for whites (MassCHIP data). However, the asthma mortality rate among Latinos in Springfield is 6 times higher than for whites and almost 3 times higher than the rates for Latinos in the state. Asthma mortality rates are also significantly higher among Latinos in Worcester (See Figures 4,5, and 6.)

Figure 4. Asthma Mortality: Boston



Source: MassCHIP, 2005-2007 Mortality (Vital Records) ICS-10 based

Figure 5. Asthma Mortality: Springfield

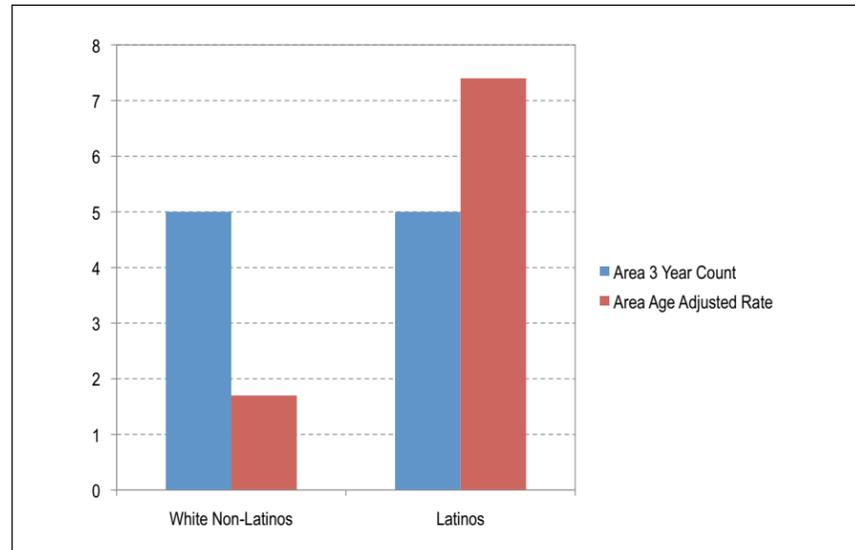
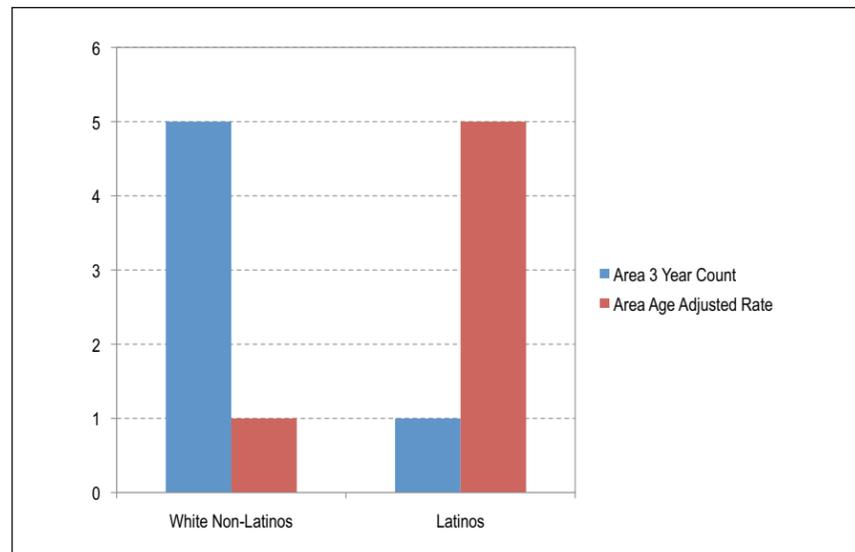


Figure 6. Asthma Mortality: Worcester



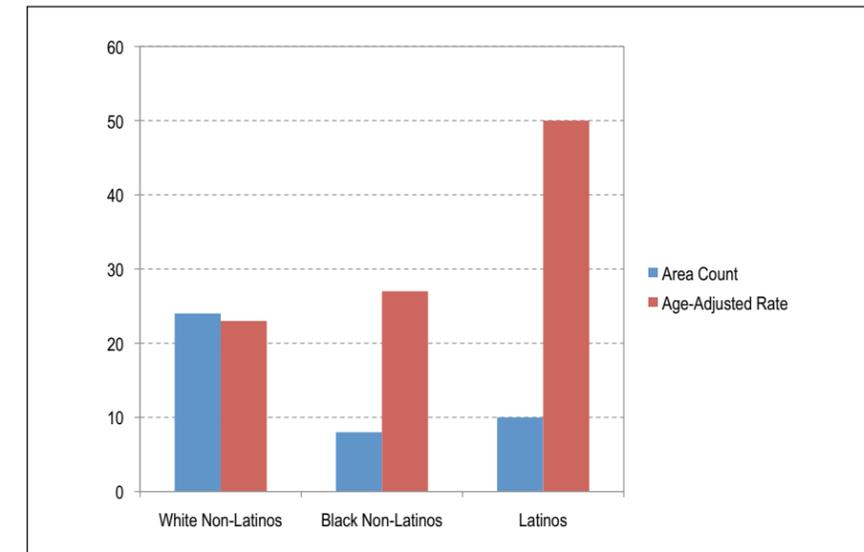
Source: MassCHIP, 2005-2007 Mortality (Vital Records) ICS-10 based

Diabetes

Black and Latino populations have nearly twice the rate of diabetes as white populations (MDPH, 2010). Latinos' diabetes-related mortality rates are higher than the rates for whites but lower than blacks' rates (MassCHIP data). Black adults (13%) and Latino adults (13%) are more than twice as likely as white adults (6%) to report that they have ever been diagnosed with diabetes (MDPH, 2009e). Latino and black residents have higher death rates from diabetes than white residents (MDPH, 2010).

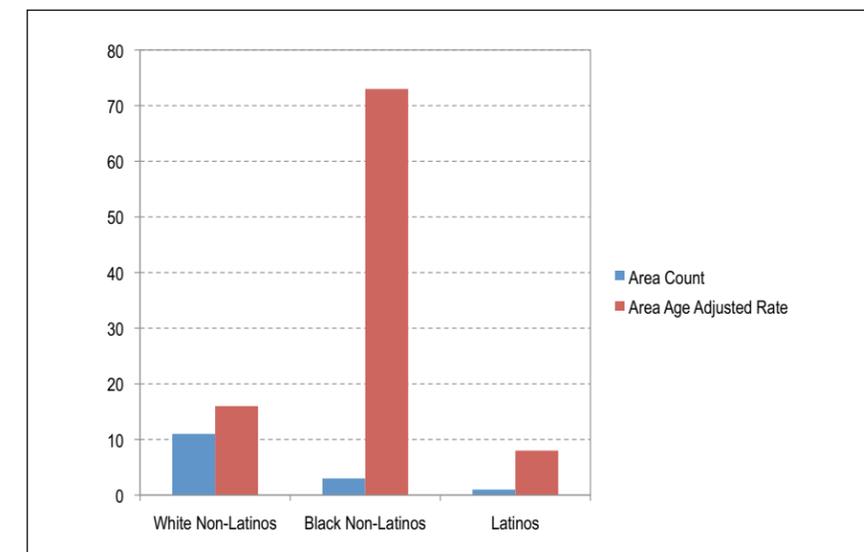
Data show that area age adjusted diabetes mortality rates for Latinos are the highest in Springfield (MassCHIP data). These rates are two times higher than for whites in Springfield and almost two times higher than for Latinos statewide. In sharp contrast, diabetes mortality rates are low among Latinos residing in Lynn (see Figure 8).

Figure 7. Diabetes Mortality: Springfield



Source: MassCHIP, 2007 Mortality (Vital Records) ICS-10 based

Figure 8. Diabetes Mortality: Lynn

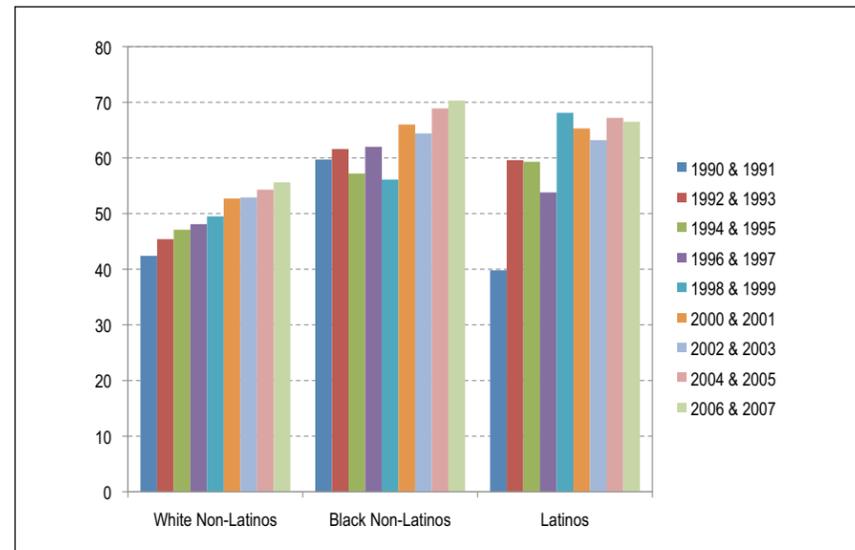


Source: MassCHIP, 2007 Mortality (Vital Records) ICS-10 based

Obesity

For 1990 to 2007, the average percentage of Latino residents who were overweight (i.e., Body Mass Index between 25 and 29.9) or obese (i.e., Body Mass Index of 30 and higher) was 63.1%, compared to 49.5% for whites and 64.4% for blacks (MDPH, 2008). The overweight/obesity rates across ethnic/racial groups have experienced steady increase overtime (see Figure 9). As of 2008, 60.2% of Latinos in Massachusetts were overweight or obese (CDC, 2008). The 2008 overweight/obesity rates for black and white residents were 63.2% and 55.2%, respectively (CDC, 2008).

Figure 9. Overweight/Obesity Rates



Source: Massachusetts Department of Public Health, Bureau of Health Information Statistics, Research and Evaluation, BRFSS

School-age Latinos have slightly higher rates (15%) of overweight compared to their white counterparts (9%), but lower than blacks (22%) (MDPH, 2010). Although it is not possible to establish a causal relationship between overweight and sedentary behavior, it is important to highlight that TV watching is more prevalent among school-age blacks and Latinos than among whites. Almost half (49%) of the Latino students and 46% of black students watch three or more hours of television on an average school day compared to only 27% of white students (MDPH, 2010). Participation in any leisure time physical activity among adults is also disparate. Black adults (73%) and Latino adults (59%) are less likely to report any leisure time physical activity than white adults (81%) (MDPH, 2009e). Black and Latino residents also report the highest prevalence of a poor diet (i.e., self-reports on fruit and vegetable intake), and are more likely to report not engaging in regular physical activity (MDPH, 2010).

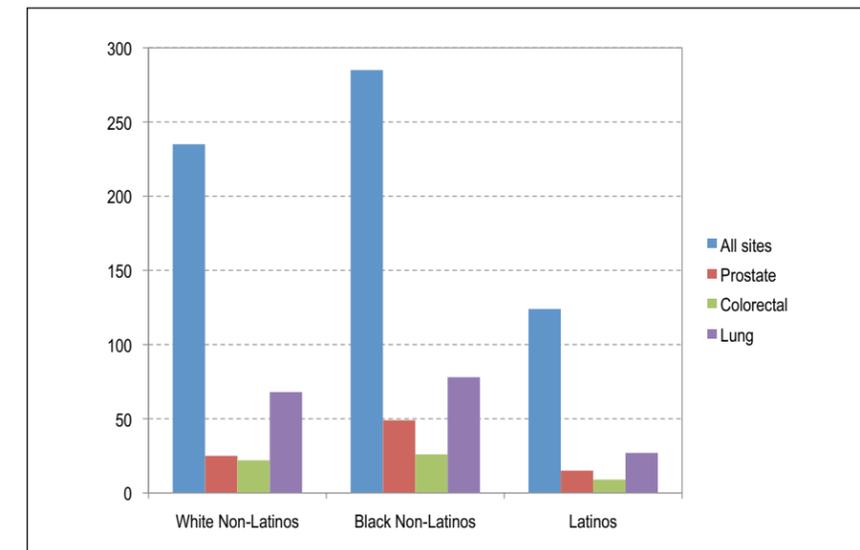
Occupational Health

Occupational fatality data collected by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health's Occupational Health Surveillance Program indicate that Latino workers in Massachusetts are more likely to be fatally injured at work than their white counterparts (MDPH, 2010). Data from years 2000-2007 document that Latino workers were more likely to die on the job. The rate for fatal occupational injuries among Latinos was 3.1 per 100,000 workers compared to 2.0 per 100,000 workers among whites (MDPH, 2010). The occupational fatality rates are even more disparate for fatal falls in construction: 8.4 per 100,000 workers among Latinos versus 3.6 among whites.

Cancer

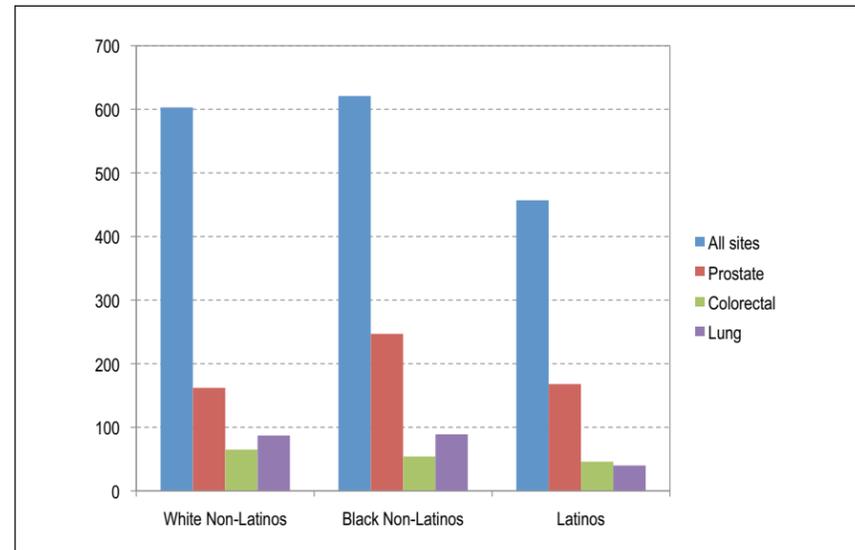
Although cancer is the leading cause of death in Massachusetts for all racial/ethnic groups except for American Indians, Latinos have a lower mortality rate due to cancer than any other group (see Figure 10) (MDPH, 2010). Black males have the highest incidence rate of all cancer types combined (Figure 11). Latinos and blacks had a higher incidence of prostate cancer than whites, although Latinos' prostate cancer mortality rate is lower than that of whites (MDPH, 2010). However, the incidence rate of prostate cancer among Latinos varies by region. In Boston, Latinos experience prostate cancer incidence rates (i.e., area age-adjusted rates) comparable to those of whites (see Figure 12). In Springfield, Latinos have slightly higher prostate cancer mortality rates than any other group (see Figure 13). It is important to note that Latinos 50 years old and older are less likely to be screened for prostate cancer, whether using prostate-specific antigen (PSA) test or digital rectal exam (DRE), than any other group (see Figure 14).

Figure 10. Cancer Mortality Rates by Race and Ethnicity



Source: MDPH Cancer Registry, 2002-2006

Figure 11. Cancer Incidence Rates by Race and Ethnicity



Source: MDPH Cancer Registry, 2002-2006

Figure 12. Prostate Cancer Incidence: Boston

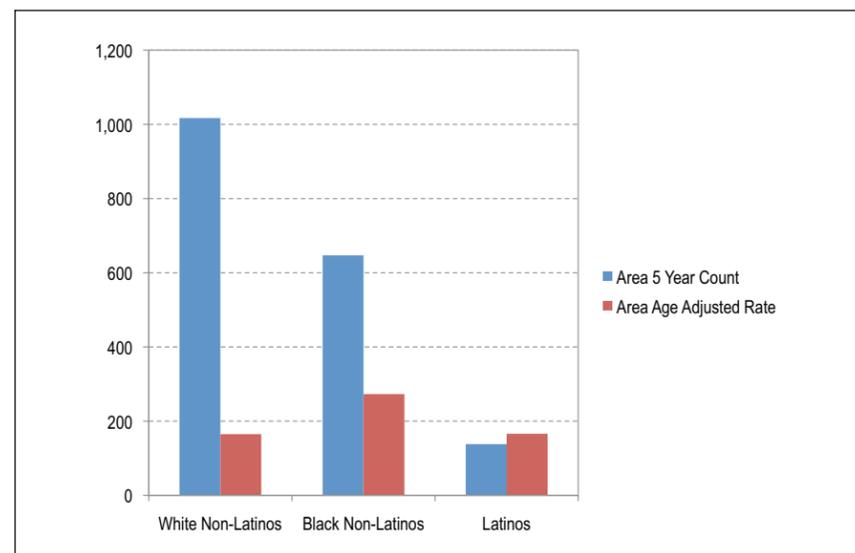
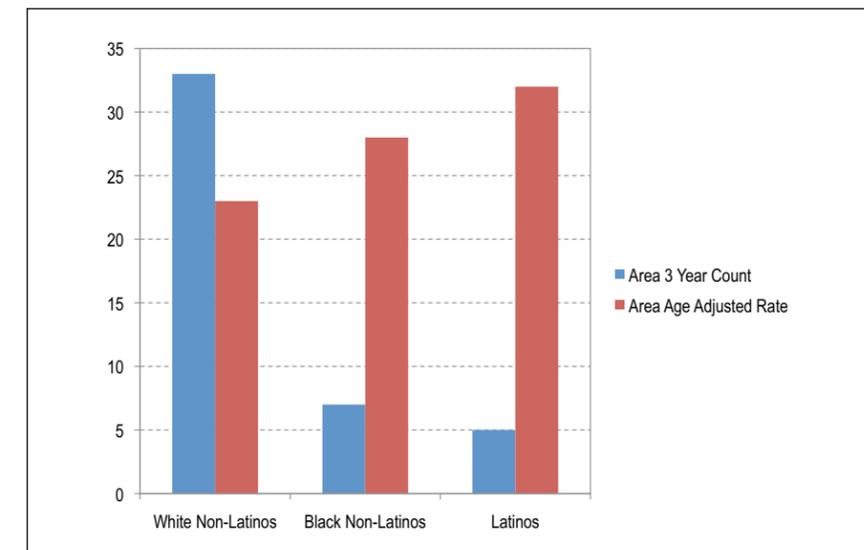
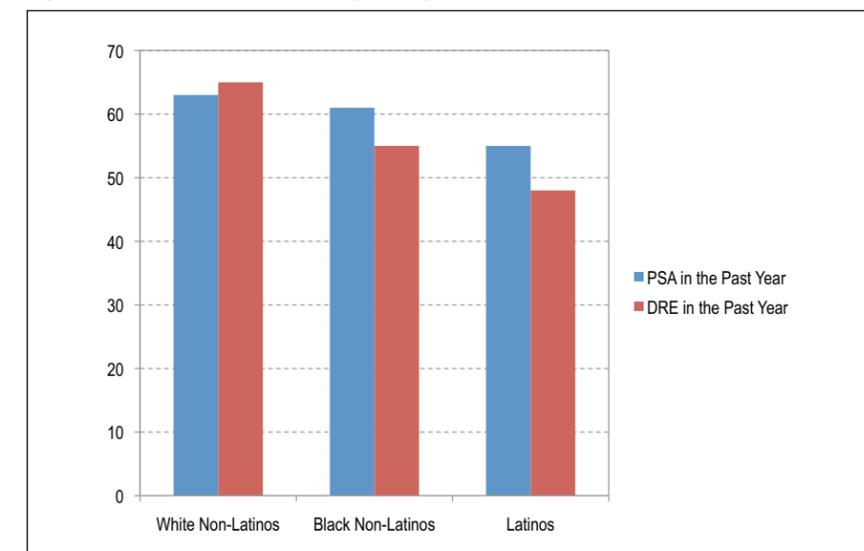


Figure 13. Prostate Cancer Mortality: Springfield



Source: MassCHIP, 2005-2007 Mortality (Vital Records) ICS-10 based

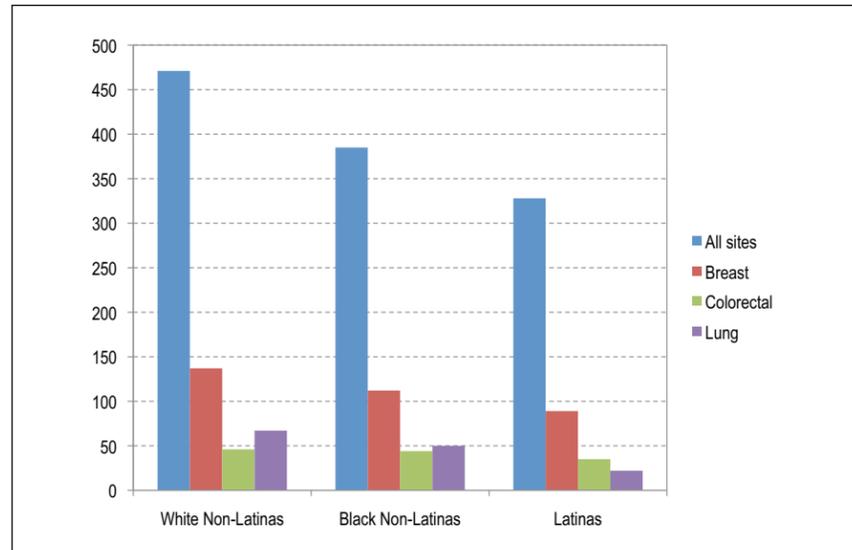
Figure 14. Prostate Cancer Screening among Men 50+ Years



Source: MDPH BRFSS, 2008

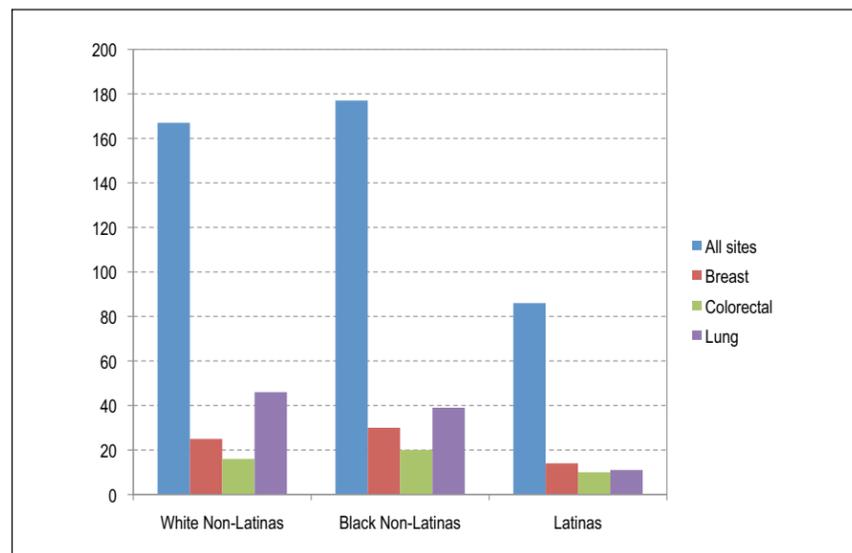
White females have a higher incidence rate of cancer (all types combined) than women from any other racial/ethnic group. However, black females have a higher age-adjusted cancer mortality rate (all types combined) than any other group, even though their incidence of all types of cancer combined is lower than whites' (see Figure 15) (MDPH, 2010). Black and white females are twice as likely to die of cancer as Latinas (see Figure 16).

Figure 15. Cancer Incidence Rates among Women



Source: MDPH Cancer Registry, 2002-2006.

Figure 16. Cancer Mortality Rates among Women



Source: MDPH Cancer Registry, 2002-2006

Oral Health

Latinos have a lower rate of dental visits than white residents (MDPH, 2010). Dental visit rates vary across the state. For example, residents in large cities such as Boston, Springfield, and Worcester report similar rates of dental care (approximately 75%) to the state rate of 78%. However, the dental care rates for some other cities, such as Fall River and New Bedford, are approximately 66% (MDPH, 2010).

Although oral disease affects nearly all members of society, it disproportionately affects minorities, lower socioeconomic groups, and individuals who live in areas with limited access to dental care. Nationally, 80% of dental decay is experienced by 25% of children, most of whom are members of a minority group and are in low-income families (MDPH, 2010). In Massachusetts, the average incidence of untreated decay among 3rd graders is 17% (MDPH, 2010). Among 3rd-grade Latinos, the prevalence of untreated decay is 32% (MDPH, 2010).

Fluoridation is the most cost-effective and efficient means of community-wide tooth decay prevention (MDPH, 2010). Since the 1950s, 140 communities in Massachusetts have provided fluoridation to more than half (59%) of its total population. Unfortunately, of the top six most highly populated cities in the state, three (Worcester, Springfield, and Brockton) do not fluoridate (MDPH, 2010).

Conclusions and Implications for Policy and Practice

The health information presented in this report suggests that Latinos experience disproportionate disease burden related to HIV/AIDS, asthma, diabetes, and occupational health. The data also indicate that the disease burden and less favorable health outcomes vary by region with Latino residents in the state's western region facing greater health-related challenges (although mortality rates for Latinos in Revere also raise concern). In order to improve the health of Latinos in Massachusetts, this report points to the need to closely examine the social determinants of health (e.g., health insurance coverage, access to care beyond health insurance coverage, environmental, social-, and neighborhood-level factors) that may be contributing to the disparate health outcomes reported here.

From a policy perspective, it is important to first examine the underlying factors that are contributing to regional health disparities like the higher rates of HIV/AIDS in the Western Health Service Area; the high rate of asthma hospitalizations in Springfield and Lowell; asthma mortality in Worcester; and asthma, diabetes, and prostate cancer mortality in Springfield. The data also suggest the need to better understand what is happening to Latinos in Revere, where their mortality rates due to diabetes, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, and pneumonia/influenza are significantly higher than the rates for Latinos in other parts of the state. By the same token, it is also important to uncover the effective interventions that may be contributing to the very low diabetes mortality rates among Latinos in Lynn.

Occupational health is another area that needs to be addressed. Specifically, the data suggest that Latino workers are exposed to greater risks for injury than any other group. It is important to better understand the working conditions that lead to heightened risk for injury. Finally, the data on oral health also point to the need to address structural factors such as the lack of fluoridation in highly populated cities.

The data compiled for this report suggest that Latinos continue to face formidable barriers even after the implementation of a health reform that has brought nearly universal health insurance for Massachusetts residents. Latinos continue to be the group most likely to be uninsured, suggesting that limited access to health care services may be preventing them from obtaining preventive and timely health care services. This may be one of the reasons why health disparities persist in areas such as diabetes, asthma, and oral health, where preventive measures could help delay disease onset, mitigate symptoms, exacerbation, and prevent complications.

It is important to decipher why many Latinos continue to be uninsured after the statewide health insurance reform, especially when Massachusetts has taken the national lead on health reform. Is the high rate of lack of health insurance due to immigration status or is it due to challenges that eligible Latino residents face as they attempt to obtain health insurance coverage? Answers to these questions will inform policies to close this gap. Another important issue to be addressed from a policy standpoint is to better understand the factors that make it difficult for insured Latinos to attend to their health care needs. In other words, what are the obstacles that insured Latinos continue to face now that health insurance coverage should have eased their pathway to health care services? The fact that almost four years after health insurance reform has been implemented 97% of the residents have health insurance coverage, and yet ethnic/health disparities prevail suggests that health insurance in itself is not enough. Policymakers need to address the social and economic conditions that shape our residents' living conditions and, consequently their health outcomes.

Notes

¹ Since the frequency of death varies with age, adjusting the rates by age eliminates the effect of the age distribution of the population on mortality rates..

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Andrew Flannery Aguilar is a 2010 graduate of the University of Massachusetts Boston with a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science and Latino Studies. He is also a graduate of the Boston Latin School. A Pan-Latino, Andrew's academic and personal passions include such topics as Latin American unity, race (and racism) in Latin America, Latinos in the United States, cultural death after emigration, Indigenous subjugation, the true Spanish colonial legacy, the Latino educational crisis, and the underrepresentation of Latinos in professional and political worlds. Andrew aspires to study Latin American Studies and Political Science at a top graduate school in the near future.

Billie Gastic, PhD



Billie Gastic is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Public Policy and Public Affairs at the McCormack Graduate School of Policy Studies at UMass Boston and a Research Associate of the Gastón Institute. Her research examines issues of school violence, safety, and discipline, with a particular interest in the consequences for Black and Latino youth. Dr. Gastic earned a PhD in the Sociology of Education and an MA in Sociology from Stanford University. She has an EdM from the Harvard Graduate School of Education and a BA in Economics from Yale University. Dr. Gastic serves on the Board of Directors of the U.S. Grant Foundation, a nonprofit organization that supports an academic summer program for middle school students in New Haven. She is a native of New York City and is the first in her family to attend college.

Phillip Granberry, PhD



Phillip Granberry is a social demographer who specializes in unauthorized migrants in the United States. He worked with various community-based organizations assisting recently arrived U.S. migrants before earning a PhD in Public Policy from the University of Massachusetts Boston in 2007. His past re-

search has focused on Latinos in the United States. One part of this research has addressed the formation and use of social capital among Mexican migrants in Los Angeles County, and another part of this research has addressed demographic trends of Latinos in New England. His current research focuses on Brazilian and Dominican migrants in the Metropolitan Boston area. He currently teaches in the Economics Department and is a research associate of the Gastón Institute.

Faye Karp



Faye Karp is a Research Associate of the Gastón Institute. Her work focuses on analyzing the enrollment and educational outcomes of English language learners in Massachusetts. She holds a Bachelors degree in Economics from Brandeis University and a Masters degree in Public Policy from UMass Boston. Prior to working at the Gastón Institute, Ms. Karp was employed at the Center for Youth and Communities, Heller School for Social Policy and Management, Brandeis University, where she helped evaluate college-access and STEM programs for youth.

Josiah Lamp



Josiah Lamp is a graduate student in Community Development and Planning at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. His academic interests include economic development, transnational businesses, youth development, and immigrant communities. His master's thesis delves into the topic of transnational business models developed by African immigrants in Massachusetts. Professionally, he has worked in a variety of nonprofit positions, including managing an employment program for refugees in the greater Chicago area, promoting HIV/AIDS prevention and care while living in Burkina Faso, West Africa, and providing workforce training to youth in Worcester.

Maria Idali Torres, PhD



Maria Idali Torres is the current director of the Gastón Institute. and an Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts Boston. She obtained a PhD from the University of Connecticut and a MS in Public Health from the University of Massachusetts. Prior to her current position she spent 17 years as a professor of public health at the UMass Amherst campus, and an-

other 15 years practicing health education in community and school settings. Dr. Torres' research and publications have focused on the promotion, protection, and maintenance of health in Puerto Rico and Massachusetts. Most recently, she has been working on Latino youth sexual health disparities and the prevention of teenage pregnancy. She has received numerous grants and awards for her work at the local, state, and national levels.

Miren Uriarte, PhD



Miren Uriarte is a sociologist whose teaching and research focuses on different aspects of the intersection of race / ethnicity and social policy, the implementation of social programs, and community development. She is a professor in the Community Studies Cluster in UMass Boston's College of Public and Community Service, a founding core faculty member of the Public Policy PhD Program at the John W. McCormack Graduate School of Policy Studies, and the founding director of the Gastón Institute, where she continues as a Senior Research Associate. In recent years, Dr. Uriarte has studied the effects of education policy reforms on Latino students, starting with the effect of the introduction of high stakes testing on graduation and dropout rates in Massachusetts and most recently the effects of the implementation of restrictive language policies on enrollment and educational outcomes of English language learners.

Rodolfo R. Vega, PhD



Rodolfo R. Vega, a resident of Lynn, MA, is a graduate of The University of Texas at Austin's doctoral program in Community Psychology. He is a National Institute of Drug Abuse Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Center for Family Studies, University of Miami School of Medicine. Dr. Vega has extensive program, evaluation, and policy experience in the non-profit sector. He worked for four years as Director of Evaluation and Research at the Latin American Health Institute, in Boston, the largest HIV prevention service provider to Latinos in Massachusetts. Dr. Vega is currently a Senior Consultant at JSI Research Training Institute, Inc. In that role he provides capacity building assistance to community-based organizations serving the HIV prevention needs of communities of color across the nation. Currently, Dr. Vega is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Minority AIDS Coalition, the nation's leading HIV/AIDS advocacy group for minority communities.

Key Terms

Academic Year (AY): The time during which a school holds classes. AY2010 is the school year beginning in fall 2009 and ending in spring 2010.

American Community Survey (ACS): An ongoing survey administered by the U.S. Census Bureau that is sent to a sample of the population annually to determine what the population looks like, how it lives, and where to locate services and allocate resources

Attendance rate: The average percentage of days in attendance for students enrolled in Grades 1–12.

Body Mass Index (BMI): A measure of a person's body weight based on the person's height and weight.

Chapter 58 of the Acts of 2006: The law that expanded the availability of affordable health insurance coverage with the goal of providing near-universal health insurance coverage in the Commonwealth.

Chapter 386 of the Acts of 2002: The law that mandates that English Language Learners be educated solely in English, using Sheltered English Immersion as a method of instruction, unless the student's parent requests an alternative program option. It was implemented in fall 2003. The name is often used interchangeably with Question 2, the 2002 referendum that mandated the change in policy.

Charter school: A publicly funded school that, in accordance with an enabling state statute, has been granted a charter exempting it from selected state or local rules and regulations. It is typically governed by a group or organization (e.g., a group of educators, a corporation, or a university) under a contract or charter with the state. A school's charter is periodically reviewed (typically every 3 to 5 years) and can be revoked if guidelines on curriculum and management are not followed or the standards are not met.

Cohort: A group of persons sharing a statistical or demographic characteristic. In education, a cohort is the group of students who started high school at the grade/year that would typically indicate a particular graduation date (e.g., Cohort 2009 entered ninth grade in 2005 and typically graduated in 2009).

Cohort dropout rate: The percentage of students in a given cohort who leave school between July 1 and June 30 of a given school year and do not return to school, graduate, or receive a GED by the following October 1.

Dropout rate: The percentage of students in Grades 9–12 who leave school between July 1 and June 30 of a given school year and do not return to school, graduate, or receive a GED by the following October 1.

English Language Learner (ELL): A student who is a native speaker of a language other than English and who is not able to perform school work in English. This term is used interchangeably with students of Limited English Proficiency.

English Proficient (EP): A student who is capable of performing school work in English; not an LEP student.

English as a Second Language (ESL): The study of English by speakers with a different native language.

Ethno-racial groups: For the purposes of this report, "Latino," "Non-Latino White," "Non-Latino Black," "Non-Latino Asian," and "Non-Latino Other Race" are the designated ethno-racial groups. They are identified by using the U.S. Census to first assign ethnicity (Latino or non-Latino) and then major race categories (white, black, and Asian).

Foreign-born: An individual who is born outside of the United States and is not a citizen at birth.

Four-year graduation rate: The percentage of students in a cohort who graduate with a regular high school diploma within four years (accounting for transfers in and out).

H486: An Act Relative to Enhancing English Opportunities For All Students in the Commonwealth, a bill sponsored by Rep. Jeffrey Sánchez (D-15th Suffolk District), which called for a number of changes to improve the education of ELLs.

In-school suspension rate: The percentage of enrolled students who received one or more in-school suspensions during the school year.

Labor force participation rate: The percentage of the population aged 16 and over that is either employed or unemployed but still looking for work.

Level 4 Turnaround Schools: A school that scores in the lowest 20 percent of schools statewide on school performance, as determined by the ESE and the Commissioner of Elementary and Secondary Education.

Limited English Proficient (LEP): A student who is a native speaker of a language other than English and who is not able to perform school work in English. This term is used interchangeably with English Language Learner.

Marriage rate: The percentage of the population aged 16 and over that is married, as opposed to never married, separated, widowed, or divorced.

Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS): A series of standardized tests to measure students' achievement in various academic subject areas. Students must pass the Grade 10 tests in English Language Arts (ELA) and Mathematics in order to receive a high school diploma.

Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (ESE): The agency responsible for public education in Massachusetts at the elementary and secondary levels.

Massachusetts English Proficiency Assessment (MEPA): An annual assessment, consisting of two exams measuring LEP students' proficiency in reading, writing, listening to, and speaking English, as well as the progress they are making in learning English. As of 2009, there are five levels of proficiency on MEPA.

MCAS proficiency rate: The percentage of students scoring at the Advanced/Above Proficient and Proficient levels on a given MCAS exam.

MCAS pass rate: The percentage of students scoring at the Advanced/Above Proficient, Proficient, and Needs Improvement levels on a given MCAS exam.

Median income: The point that divides the income distribution into two equal parts: one-half of the cases fall above the median income and one half-below the median.

Metropolitan statistical area: Geographic entity defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for use by Federal statistical agencies in collecting, tabulating, and publishing Federal statistics. A metro area contains a core urban area with a population of 50,000 or more. Each metro area consists of one or more counties and includes the counties containing the core urban area, as well as any adjacent counties that have a high degree of social and economic integration (as measured by commuting to work) with the urban core.

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP): The largest nationally representative and ongoing assessment of students enrolled in United States public schools; it is also referred to as the "Nation's Report Card." Students take NAEP tests in reading and mathematics every two years.

Native English Speaker (NES): A student whose first language is English.

Native Speaker of Other Languages (NSOL): A student whose first language is not English.

Out-of-school suspension rate: The percentage of enrolled students who received one or more out-of-school suspensions.

Poverty level: A set of income thresholds that vary by family size and composition used to identify who lacks adequate subsistence and lives in poverty. If the total income for a family or individual falls below the relevant poverty threshold, then the family or individual is considered to be in poverty.

Professional Development Points (PDPs): Points earned by completing professional development activities and required for Massachusetts educator licensure renewal.

Public Use Microdata Area (PUMA): The smallest geographic area represented in American Community Survey data, consisting of a minimum census population of 100,000.

Question 2: The successful "English only" 2002 ballot question, enacted as Chapter 386 of the Acts of 2002. See Chapter 386 of the Acts of 2002.

Sheltered English Immersion (SEI): A program designed for students who are limited in English in which nearly all classroom instruction is in English but with curriculum designed to promote English language skills while teaching content area curricula.

Socio-demographic characteristics: A combination of sociological and demographic indicators, including population growth, ancestry, age, gender, and marital status.

Socioeconomic characteristics: A combination of sociological and economic indicators, including education, jobs, wages, housing, and medical insurance.

Two-way bilingual education: A bilingual program in which students develop language proficiency in two languages by receiving instruction in English and another language in a classroom that is usually composed of half native English speakers and half native speakers of the other language (e.g., Spanish).

Unemployment rate: The percentage of the population aged 16 and over that is not currently employed but is still in the labor force and looking for work.

Production Team

Melissa Colón



Melissa Colón is the Associate Director of the Gastón Institute, where she directs the Institute's policy and research dissemination and community development programs. She began her work in public policy as a public school teacher and community organizer. She has broad experience working in the non-profit sector including working for Concilio Hispano, the City of Cambridge, the Massachusetts Education Initiative for Latino Students, and the National Council of La Raza in Washington, DC. She has been the recipient of numerous grants and awards for education and academic work. Melissa is a graduate of the Lynch School of Education of Boston College.

Meena Mehta



Meena Mehta has over 10 years of experience as lead designer and principal at TwoMs Design, serving the non-profit, biotech, financial services, high tech, quick service restaurants, and publishing clients. Some projects designed during this time include marketing and sales collateral, direct marketing, websites, and tradeshows for Boston Scientific, T. Rowe Price, Mainstay Institutional Funds, IronMountain, New England School of Law, IBM; point of purchase, packaging, and communication materials for Dunkin' Donuts; conference materials and reports for the Gaston Institute and Houghton Mifflin Publishing; prototype designs for school textbooks, book covers, educational package design, and art direction and design of Readers. She has been the recipient of two international awards for her work in the marketing collateral and packaging categories, and a couple more in the Direct marketing category. Ms. Mehta has a Bachelor of Fine Art from the Massachusetts College of Art, Boston, and a Bachelor of Science from St. Xaviers College, Bombay.

Tariana Veronica Little



Tariana Veronica Little is the communications intern and assisted in the proof reading process for this book. She is an honors senior undergraduate student at the University of Massachusetts Boston, majoring in Psychology and Anthropology, with minors in French and Chinese. She received an Associate of Arts from Roxbury Community College. Tariana

is an avid world traveler who has spent considerable time in her parent's home countries of Dominican Republic and Germany. Apart from her lifelong passion of languages, reading, and writing, Tariana is interested in health disparities and health behaviors among Latinos in the U.S. substance abuse, and self-sustaining community development in developing countries. She aspires to obtain graduate degrees in Anthropology and Public Health, publish a novel, and comfortably take care of her mother.

Jim O'Brien



Jim O'Brien is a freelance editor and indexer who has helped with Gastón Institute publications since shortly after the Institute's creation in 1989. For most of that time he was a part-time faculty member in UMass Boston's College of Public and Community Service, and he still does volunteer teaching of computer courses in the university's learning-in-retirement program.

Sarah Rustan



Sarah Rustan is currently a Research Associate and Data Analyst for the Gastón Institute and is a Doctoral Fellow at Northeastern University. She is the co-author of all of the demographic city reports for the conference. She is also a PhD candidate in Law, Policy, and Society at Northeastern University with degrees in cultural management and architecture. Her professional background includes broad experiences in the nonprofit sector, including research as well as nonprofit and cultural management. Her past research has examined diverse topics ranging from charitable giving to women in the workforce. At present she is working on a dissertation exploring the role that nonprofit organizations play in promoting the development of social capital. Sarah's research interests include demography, community change, and public policy.

