School, Work and the Transition of Puerto Rican Youth to Adulthood

The purpose of this study is to present a statistical profile of Puerto Rican youth ages 16 to 24 not at school or work, commonly referred to as “disconnected youth” in the academic literature and popular media. Nationally, research on disconnected youth tends to paint a profile of a population that is largely African American, male, and low-income. However, as other research has shown, and as our analysis confirms, Latinos and particularly Puerto Ricans have as high an incidence of not being at work or school as African Americans, and for Puerto Ricans these rates are higher than for other Latinos.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey, in 2014 the United States was home to nearly 5.3 million individuals who were 16 to 24 years old and were not in school or at work. This particular group of young adults has garnered considerable attention over the last three decades for good reasons. A report on this issue, entitled “Community Solutions for Opportunity Youth” (June 2012) by the White House Council for Community Solutions, states that “when lost revenue and direct costs for social supports are factored in, taxpayers will shoulder roughly $1.6 trillion over the lifetimes of these young people.” Besides the economic costs and lost opportunity, social circumstances are cause for concern as studies continue to show that out of work and school youth are more likely to experience difficult transitions to and negative outcomes in adulthood including persistent poverty, long term unemployment, poor mental and physical health, substance abuse and dependency, homelessness and violence (Edelman et al. 2006, Fernandes 2009). Among this group, there are close to two hundred thousand youth of Puerto Rican descent. The reality is that the current economic climate will likely only contribute to the persistence of this very vulnerable population.

DIFFERENCES IN THE INCIDENCE OF OUT OF SCHOOL AND WORK YOUTH BY RACE AND ETHNICITY

According to the most recent data from the Census Bureau, in 2014 of the nearly 5.3 million out of school or work, over 2 million young people are non-Hispanic whites, as the majority group, representing 45 percent of the total, followed by Latino/as with 25 percent, and non-Hispanic blacks, as the third largest group, comprising 23 percent (see Table 1). But as a proportion of each population, this problem impacts non-Hispanic blacks and Latino/as to a greater extent than it does non-Hispanic whites.¹

The portrait of “disconnected youth” can be viewed as a great concern for racial and ethnic minorities. Among Latino/as, there are 1.3 million youth out of school or work, Mexicans represent the largest national origin Latino group in terms of total population more than half (68%), followed by Puerto Ricans 12 percent of the Latino total (see Table 2).
The fact that Hispanics as a group have surpassed African Americans in the total number of youth who are out of school or work is a recent development that requires further scrutiny. In 2014, the rates of non-participation in school or work were 21 percent for both blacks and 19 percent for Puerto Ricans, which are significantly higher than for other ethnic or racial groups (see Figure 1). The rates for blacks and Puerto Ricans were about double the rate for whites. The rate for Latino/as group, 15 percent, was below those for blacks and Puerto Ricans but substantially higher than the 11 percent rate for whites.

The rates of youth that are out of school or work show great variability among the Latino/as subgroups. Though Puerto Ricans show the highest rate, in 2014 rates for Dominicans and Central Americans were very high as well.

### Table 1: Out of School and Work Youth by Race or Ethnicity, Ages 16 to 24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Origin</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic White</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic Black</th>
<th>Latino/a</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,252,896</td>
<td>2,351,641</td>
<td>1,198,193</td>
<td>1,290,527</td>
<td>1,290,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>2,351,641</td>
<td>1,198,193</td>
<td>1,290,527</td>
<td>1,290,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>23%</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Latino/a</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 2014 (1 year estimates).

### Table 2: Latino/as Out of School and Worth Youth by National Origin, Ages 16 to 24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Origin</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Mexican</th>
<th>Puerto Rican</th>
<th>Central American</th>
<th>South American</th>
<th>Dominican</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,290,527</td>
<td>875,208</td>
<td>153,667</td>
<td>100,447</td>
<td>40,014</td>
<td>45,139</td>
<td>1,290,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>875,208</td>
<td>153,667</td>
<td>100,447</td>
<td>40,014</td>
<td>45,139</td>
<td>1,290,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central American</td>
<td>8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>South American</td>
<td>3%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 2014 (1 year estimates).

### Figure 1. Incidence of Out of School and Work Youth by Race or Ethnicity, Ages 16 to 24

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 2014 (1 year estimates).
at 15 percent and 16 percent for Mexicans (see Figure 2). The 12 percent for Cubans was below the average for other Latino/as groups but higher than that for whites. Only the rate for South Americans (9%) was lower to that of whites at 11 percent.

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PUERTO RICANS, WHITES AND LATINO/AS YOUTH**

Understanding the variations which exist between Latino ethnic subgroups is not only important but imperative to designing effective, efficient and equitable policy responses. We know that the unique migration patterns and residency status of Puerto Ricans on the mainland United States can illuminate the unique challenges and experiences which Puerto Ricans may face that other population groups— even within the Latino community – do not (Pereira, Frase, and Mollenkopf 2008). Such differences underscore the realities that policy interventions aimed at “disconnected youth,” and especially Latino “disconnected youth,” must take the ethnic-specific variations among Latinos into account.

An analysis of school enrollment and work by sex indicates that, in general, the differences between groups previously observed as not participating in school or work are more pronounced than the differences intra-group by sex. As depicted in Figure 3, the incidence of not at work or school of Puerto Rican females 17 percent and 20 percent, as are the rates for whites, 11 percent for both sexes, respectively. Latino/as show a rate of 16 percent for females and 14 percent for males.

However, there are significant gender differences in other categories of school enrollment and work. Males have higher incidences of being employed and not enrolled in school than females across all ethnic groups. Among Puerto Ricans, the gender gap is three percentage points (29% male, 26% female), while Latino/as have a nine percentage points gender gap (33%, 24%) and whites have a gender gap of five percentage points (30 %, 25%). Females have a greater incidence of combining work and school than males. Puerto Rican females are four percentage points more likely to combine school and work than Puerto Rican males (20% to 16%); Latinas have a
four percentage point advantage (21% to 17%) over male Latinos; and white females have a six percentage point advantage over males. The data presented here suggest significant variations in the transition to adulthood between young men and women even after controlling for differences between ethnic and racial groups.

School enrollment and work status vary significantly for all groups between the ages of 16 to 24. For analytical purposes, we divide the transition to adulthood into three age cohorts: 16 to 18, 19 to 21 and 22 to 24. Considering the 16 to 18 age cohort as shown in Figure 4, the majority of youth are enrolled in school and do not work. However, there are important differences in patterns of school enrollment and work status among racial and ethnic groups. Puerto Ricans and Latino/as have a higher proportion of youth ages 16 to 18 enrolled in school and not working than whites, while whites have a higher proportion of youth at school and work. The rate of 9 percent not at school or work for Puerto Ricans between the ages of 16 to 18 is more than double that of whites, at 4 percent. Conversely, Puerto Ricans have a substantially lower rate of work and school, 15 percent, when compared to whites', 25 percent. Though the literature on the transition to adulthood is not conclusive on this matter, this evidence suggests that for some youth in high school part time work might be an approach that encourages school enrollment.

For most youth 19 to 21, this period corresponds to the completion of high school and transition to college. Figure 4 depicts a significant increase in the proportion of youth entering the labor force and not attending school or working. The rates of not attending school or having a job increased to 22 percent for Puerto Ricans, which is nearly double the rate of that (13%) for whites. However, the proportion of Puerto Ricans, Latino/as and whites that attend school and do not work is fairly similar, suggesting that there is a core group of youth that follow the idealized pattern of transitioning from high school into college enrollment or employment training. Latino/as and Puerto Ricans, however, have a higher proportion of youth ages 19 to 21 that work and are out of school (30%).
The majority of youth ages 22 to 24 is entering the work force during this period. Yet, a significant number of young people reach this stage completely disconnected from school or work, and as suggested early on, continuing the disparities between Puerto Ricans and Latino/as when compared to whites. About half of youth in the 21 to 24 cohort age are at work and not at school. The rates for Puerto Ricans (49%), Latino/as (52%) and whites (52%) at work and not at school are fairly similar. However, the incidence of not being enrolled in school or being employed shows significant disparities between the three groups. Puerto Ricans show the highest incidence of neither school enrollment nor at work (26%) closely followed by Latino/as (21%) in contrast to whites at 15 percent rate. These are staggering figures. Though the odds of being out of work and school by age 24 are one in six overall, the odds for Puerto Rican youth are three to one.

The most widely cited reason for youth to be out of school or work is lack of adequate education and not entering post-secondary educational institutions (Bloom et al. 2010, Fernandes and Gabe 2009). A report by the Annie E. Casey Foundation (2009) found that youth ages 17 to 24 without high school diplomas are three times more likely to be unemployed, underemployed or working for very low wages. This report also confirmed that “disconnected youth” have less education than their counterparts.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Centro researchers identified several pathways programs that are especially beneficial to youth that combine education and linkages to employment (Visser and Melendez 2011). Four key industries were targeted as having good job prospects: health services, “green” jobs, education and social work. These are especially important industries because of both their generation of new jobs and the potential for programs preparing students for careers in these fields to be linked from degree-granting higher education institutions (De Jesus 2011, Mercado 2011, Torres-Velez 2011). In addition, Visser and Melendez (2011) found that the publicly financed workforce-investment system and workforce intermediaries play a strong role in connecting employers and workers and providing the skills training and supports necessary to gain and sustain employment. However, Borges (2011) found disparities in how the Puerto Rican
population is serviced, as well as little or no participation of Puerto Rican community-based organizations in the workforce-development system. The findings from these studies call for the need to integrate Puerto Rican community-based organizations into school and work youth programs. This integration can serve as an important vehicle for improved educational advancement and achievement of Puerto Rican students through opportunities to take advanced math and science courses and workforce preparation (Melendez and Visser 2011).

Further down the education pipeline, successful pathways programs combine GED preparation and college readiness with workforce preparation targeting skills demanded by employers in growing industries.

The challenge now is for leaders in K-12 education, higher education, government, and community organizations to engage with employers and industry leaders in addressing the unique needs of Puerto Rican and other Latino youth.

NOTES

1 From here on forward, non-Hispanic whites is replaced by ‘whites’ and non-Hispanic blacks is replaced by ‘blacks.’

REFERENCES


Mercado, Carmen I. “Successful Pathways to the Teaching Profession for Puerto Ricans.” In Pathways to Economic Opportunity, Centro Journal II XXIII: 114–135.


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