# Extending the High School Year Through UNIVERSAL SUMMER JOBS FOR NEW YORK CITY YOUTH



# EXTENDING THE HIGH SCHOOL YEAR THROUGH UNIVERSAL SUMMER JOBS FOR NEW YORK CITY YOUTH

# A PROPOSAL FOR A NEW NYC PAID SUMMER INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

By Lazar Treschan



The Community Service Society of New York (CSS) is an informed, independent, and unwavering voice for positive action representing low-income New Yorkers. CSS addresses the root causes of economic disparity through research, advocacy, and innovative program models that strengthen and benefit all New Yorkers.

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#### About the Author

Lazar Treschan is the Director of Youth Policy at the Community Service Society, where he conducts research and advocacy to raise awareness about and develop policy solutions for young people struggling to succeed in New York City. His recent publications include studies of career and technical education (CTE), enrollment trends at the City University of New York, and New York's high school equivalency system. He is an adjunct faculty member at Brooklyn College and The New School. A native New Yorker, he has a Masters in Public Policy from Harvard University.

Community Service Society New York

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#### Introduction

An increasing body of evidence supports the need to connect academic work in high school to career development experiences. Contextualized education provides relevance for students, keeping them engaged and on track to graduate. At the same time, these opportunities help students build skills for future workplace success, and spark curiosity for advanced study toward specific careers in college. In New York City, a growing number of Career and Technical Education (CTE) high schools have shown to improve graduation rates and college readiness, particularly among young people with the traditionally highest barriers to success in those areas.<sup>1</sup>

In 2015, over 110,000 young people in New York City sought jobs through the city's Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP).<sup>2</sup> Rigorous evaluation has found that participation in SYEP has been linked to a variety of academic and other benefits.<sup>3</sup> Yet although the program served more youth than ever before this year, half of applicants were turned away empty handed. Those that were lucky enough to win the lottery for program slots, despite gaining experience and earning money, will see no formal connection between these summer job experiences and their year-round schooling, nor are they ensured of an opportunity to continue or grow in those jobs next summer.

Young people's chances of finding work in today's New York City labor market remain low, despite an increasing consensus about the value of employment and careerrelated education during the teenage years. SYEP is the largest public sector workforce development program for young people in the country, helping to fill that need. But the program remains at the mercy of annual budget negotiations between City Hall and the City Council, with its service levels often in doubt until just days before the program begins. The short notice with which most slots are funded leaves program providers, job sites, and potential participants scrambling, and significantly diminishes the quality of the program. New York City's youth, as well as the dozens of community-based organizations who administer the program for minimal reimbursement, deserve better.

Although a high percentage of program slots are still funded at the last minute, the current mayoral administration and City Council have recognized both these imperatives, and have invested in SYEP more than ever before. But we still have an important chance to connect the need for deeper career-related connections in our schools, and better opportunities for teenagers in the summer. We propose that New York City end the annual budget dance over summer job slots, and improve upon SYEP with a baselined, universal initiative aimed at enhancing the education and career development of all high school students in New York City. This document proposes a new **NYC Paid Summer Internship Program.** 

In 2015, over 110,000 young people in New York City sought jobs through the city's Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP). Half of applicants were turned away empty handed.

# **Proposal Overview**

- The guaranteed offer of a paid summer job to all NYC high school students, as they complete grades 9–12, through a rebranded NYC Summer Internship Program. We estimate that this will require approximately 100,000 program slots. The City would continue serving older youth in a separate, 10,000-slot program, which would be better targeted at older, out-of-school young adults.
- Students would be matched to summer jobs through their school, which would assist to place them in experiences that match their skills, interests, and stage of development.
- The Department of Youth and Community Development (DYCD) could continue to administer the program to community-based organizations (CBOs), who would have deeper connections to high schools than in the current model.
- CBOs would receive contracts that would have them serve all the youth at a specific school, as is currently the case with Beacon School and Learning to Work programs. Under this scenario, schools could receive the support of an on-site summer program coordinator, staffed by the CBO contractor, allowing for much stronger connections between the students' summer and year-round experiences.
- The initiative would essentially consist of an optional additional seven weeks of programming for all high school students. Students who need to attend summer school would be accommodated to do so, while still participating in the program.

# How to pilot this proposal

- Identify 20 public high schools to serve as demonstration sites
- Offer contracts to CBOs to partner with each school as their summer internship partner
- · Every student at each high school would be offered a paid summer internship
- Students completing each grade would receive unique programmatic services, as outlined in this proposal
- Identify a group of matching comparison schools to serve as control groups for purposes of research and evaluation
- Use new or existing SYEP funds
- Study the impacts of program participation on students and schools for a five-year period

## **This Proposal**

- 1. The current Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP): strengths and weaknesses
- 2. The case for a major expansion: a universal program offered to all high school students
- 3. Challenges and opportunities

### 1. The Current SYEP: Strengths and Weaknesses

#### SYEP benefits tens of thousands of NYC youth every year

Through the Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP), New York City provides subsidized jobs to tens of thousands of young people in New York City each year. Administered by the NYC Department of Youth and Community Development (DYCD), SYEP is an important New York City institution, having served generations of New Yorkers, many of whom have become cultural icons, business leaders, and prominent public figures. For parents, SYEP ensures a safe and valuable summer experience for older children. For participants themselves, particularly given the weak labor market for younger workers, the program offers valuable formative work experience and a chance to earn their own wages. For the organizations that serve as work sites, SYEP provides staff capacity for a range of important programs that serve the public good, including summer camps, community-based nonprofits, hospitals, and museums.

There is a substantial body of research showing the benefits of youth employment. Studies find that employment as an adolescent contributes to higher earnings as an adult and over the lifetime; develops non-cognitive skills such as time management and determination; and may even contribute to decreased crime as students spend more time in structured, supervised activities.<sup>4</sup> Recent rigorous evaluation of SYEP itself has shown participant benefits including increased subsequent school attendance, improved Regents exam passage rates, and decreased likelihood of incarceration and mortality.<sup>5</sup> SYEP has yet to show employment and earnings benefits in the long term, suggesting the potential need for program enhancement toward those outcomes. Another valuable program benefit is in the financial education it provides to students: participants are paid via debit cards, and introduced to a range of banking-related concepts.

Another interesting note about SYEP is that it traditionally serves a high share of female youth. In recent years, program participation has been around 57 percent female, despite the fact that many of the city's other self-selected workforce development programs skew toward young males, including CTE high schools—in the 2014–15 school year, just 40 percent of CTE students were girls.<sup>6</sup>

This summer, nearly 55,000 youth participated in SYEP, which lasts six weeks, beginning at the start of June, for 25 hours per week. Most youth spend five hours per day placed at a job site (14–15 year olds receive one day per week of an educational program administered by community-based organizations that operate SYEP contracts). Young people between the ages of 14 through 24 are eligible to apply for the program, and slots are awarded by a lottery. Over 110,000 youth applied for the 55,000 available slots this past summer.<sup>7</sup>

#### Annual funding uncertainty has led to program dilution

Despite its strengths, SYEP has suffered significant dilution in recent years, owing in large part to annual funding uncertainty. Virtually all of its program components have been weakened in the desire to keep the number of participants as high as possible while the program's funding has been inconsistent. SYEP service levels expanded greatly in the 1990s, when federal funds, largely in response to riots in the summer of 1992, poured into the program. In 2000, the last year of specifically targeted federal funding for SYEP, New York City received \$44 million from the federal government, contributed \$8 million on its own, and served over 50,000 young people between the ages of 14 through 21.

Without summer-specific federal funding after 2000, the program has annually resided on shaky ground, with the city requesting and cobbling together money from the state and its own sources. The 2009-10 recession dealt another blow to local and state SYEP funding, which the city made up for by using \$34 million in one-time federal stimulus dollars for SYEP, despite protests from advocates who argued that those funds were meant to target more intensive employment programming outlined in the American Reinvestment and Recovery Act (ARRA). Use of stimulus money required the program to widen its age eligibility to age 24. Traditionally a program for high school students, SYEP began serving more older and out-of-school youth. Advocates argued that these youth were poorly served in the program-that they needed more intensive services, including soft and hard skill job training, and should not be working alongside participants as young as 14 and 15, who were served well by the program's simple, low-cost model (service providers receive only \$350 per participant to run the program).

Once ARRA funds were gone, the program's service levels dropped precipitously. The new mayoral administration and City Council have worked together to increase the city's investment to SYEP dramatically, allowing its numbers to reach 47,000 and 55,000 in 2014 and 2015. Through the Mayor's Fund for NYC, First Lady Chirlane McCray has also led efforts to increase private sector funding for the program and other youth employment efforts. But SYEP has retained its reduced hours (25) and weeks (six), and expanded its age range, yet remains unable to come close to meeting demand.

The annual SYEP budget dance creates a level of uncertainty that continually hinders the program, despite DYCD's best efforts to rapidly award slots as soon as funding commitments are made. It is difficult for providers to operate a program when they often learn their service level just weeks, if not days, before its start date. Without knowing in advance the number of slots they will be awarded, providers are unable to work with employers to identify quality worksites ahead of time, much less know

# The annual SYEP budget dance creates a level of uncertainty that continually hinders the program.

how to staff their own program efforts. As a result, many participants are funneled into summer camp jobs at the last minute, regardless of their interests, since these jobs are the easiest to find and fill. And the late date at which many participants learn of their acceptance into the program often conflicts with other obligations that require time commitments, including summer school. DYCD ends up needing to make offers to nearly 85,000 students, because so many learn of their acceptance just days before the program would begin and have already made other plans.

#### Inability to meet demand

Demand for SYEP continues to grow. The 2009–10 recession had perhaps its greatest impact on private sector youth employment, which has been slow to recover, leading more youth to seek jobs through the public program than ever before. At the same time, the DYCD's implementation of online application for the SYEP has improved access to the program. As a result, recent years have seen over 110,000 applicants per summer. As a result, despite a surge to 55,000 funded slots this summer, the likelihood of winning the SYEP lottery is just 50 percent, as over 55,000 young adults are left idle or seeking other opportunities.

#### Lack of connection to school or longer-term employment

Another challenge is that SYEP remains largely disconnected from a young person's experience the rest of the year. There are no mechanisms to relate an SYEP placement to the student's school interests or activities, even if the student is enrolled in a Career and Technical Education (CTE) high school in which they are developing skills in a specific industry, skills which might be put to good practice in the summertime. Nor is there a formal way to connect a young person's successful SYEP placement with the same employer the following year, if they are lucky enough to gain re-entry to the program via the lottery two years in a row (the likelihood of which is only about 25 percent). The small chance of repeating the program squanders the valuable opportunity to build upon previously gained skills and experiences, despite evaluations showing that the SYEP's benefits magnify through repeated participation.8

#### Lack of service diversity

For most of the program's history, all SYEP participants have largely received the same service—placement in a short-term job—with no requirement from the City about age- or stage-appropriateness. A 14-year-old with no job experience and a 21-year-old college graduate could be placed side-by-side in the same job, something that would be unfathomable in a school setting or academic program environment. The most recent RFP from DYCD did call for providers to separate 14- and 15-year-olds from older participants, but there is more work to be done to create program diversity and scaffolded workplace experiences, which would allow a more measured sequencing of job types. For the most part, an SYEP job is an SYEP job, despite the fact that young people at different stages of their academic, career, and personal development will respond best to different types of experiences. Efforts to improve SYEP will not be realized until the program stands on stronger ground, both in terms of funding and program design.

In sum, while SYEP fills an invaluable role in New York City, there is a clear need to enhance the program, particularly to establish a stable funding source, diversify its service for youth at different ages and stages of their development, and connect the program to each young person's schooling and longer-term employment pathways. The best way to accomplish all of these goals would be to re-imagine the program as a universally available option for every high school student in New York City.

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opportunities.

There is a clear case to be made for a significant expansion of New York City's summer jobs program. Youth employment is at historically low levels, despite the fact that the value of early employment is more important than ever. Youth employment decreased significantly during the Great Recession and is yet to rebound. In 2007, 25 percent of 16- to 21-year-olds were working, with 18 percent unemployed (looking for work, but unable to find it). In 2009, at the height of the recession, only 18 percent of 16- to 21-year-olds were working and unemployment rose to 30 percent. The most recent numbers from 2015

2. The Case for a Major Expansion to a Universal

Career exposure and development is now widely recognized

as a vital component to secondary education, reinforcing

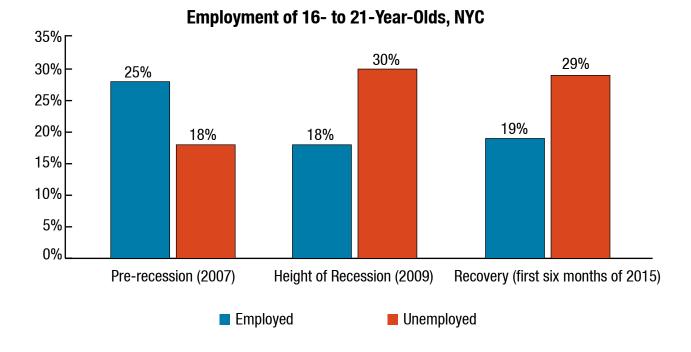
the classroom experience. The current administration has

made this clear through its increasing support for career

and technical education. The next step is ensuring that all

show virtually no increase in employment (19 percent) or decrease in unemployment (29 percent).<sup>9</sup>

The benefits of summer jobs extend past those related to future employment, for their reduction of summer learning loss. It is increasingly clear that a more contextualized approach to high school education supports academic outcomes. As noted above, rigorous studies of New York City's own program show benefits in attendance and Regents passage that seem in line with the costs of the intervention, not to mention reduced incarceration and mortality rates. Other related research into New York City's incorporation and expansion of careerrelated efforts, specifically through Career and Technical Education (CTE) programs, have shown similarly positive results. Students, particularly black and Latino males, who attend CTE schools graduate at much higher rates than their peers, findings that align with related national research in this area.<sup>10</sup> Now more than ever, it is important to make more explicit connections between school and work for high school students.



From a parent and caretaker perspective, there are also clear benefits to ensuring a free, formative career development opportunity for all high school students. Summer jobs provide families with a sense of security about the child's summer activities, and offer young people exposure to the world of work, skill development, and education in an area often not touched by schools. Youth gain valuable new social connections, not to mention (hard-earned) spending money and experience with a bank account.

# How to improve NYC's summer jobs beyond a simple expansion of the current SYEP: What a universal summer program for all high schoolers might look like

For the city's summer jobs program to truly improve, it needs to remove itself from its current cycle of underinvestment and uncertainty. Key steps to improving the program include:

Make it universal. The The ideal model for the city's summer jobs program would be to make it universally available, but not mandatory, to all high school students in New York City. Every high school student would gain from the chance to connect each academic year with career exposure and job experience, which would align with national efforts to demonstrate greater relevancy within secondary education.<sup>11</sup> And every family would benefit from having the option of a summer job—a safe, positive, and formative experience—for their high school aged children.

Those who do not want to participate in the program would not be required to do so. Although the program would be universally offered, there would be participant self-selection by those who are in greatest need of a subsidized summer job—young people who can find jobs on their own or have other summer options (camp, travel, study, etc.) would opt not to participate. Those who cannot otherwise find jobs, or do not have other strong summer options, such as enrichment, travel, camp, etc., would be the most likely to sign up.

The universality of the program could also be a strong way to connect young people who otherwise might not come into contact with one another, and who are looking for an experience to meet young people outside of their communities, in a constructive setting. The issue of New York City's school segregation has gained attention, and a universal summer program might provide an opportunity to create diverse environments through a simpler means, such as schools sharing job settings, than school-specific admissions reform. Similarly, the universal eligibility might diminish any potential stigma associated with participating in a public program.

By offering to extend the high school year through summer for every young person who chooses it, New York City would be breaking new ground in creating a year-round high school experience. No major locality has conducted such an effort to ensure that young people in their crucial high school years are being offered such a diverse and substantial level of preparation.

Connect to the in-school experience. The current SYEP is administered by the NYC Department of Youth and Community Development (DYCD), and contracted directly to community-based organization (CBO) providers, with little to no connection to schools, nor to each young person's year-round experience. A student could be attending a CTE school that focuses on environmental issues, and there might be a CBO administering SYEP that offers jobs in parks, but unless that student happened to apply for SYEP through that provider and win the SYEP lottery, the connection would not occur. A redesigned SYEP could

have students work with school guidance counselors or other staff to make appropriate selections from available job opportunities, offering the chance to align their year-round studies with their summer jobs. In this sense, rebranding SYEP as the Summer Internship Program would symbolize its newly formative value in every student's broader year-round education.

- Incorporate a service corps model to part of the program. One potential aspect to develop as part of the program would be that of the public service corps. Popular programs such as YouthBuild and Green City Force organize youth in teams to work on publicly visible projects to rebuild and enhance community infrastructure. The universal summer jobs program might offer a chance to not only use young people's valuable energy on public projects, but to offer a strong public image of their talents and abilities.
- Provide seven more weeks of school programming. The NYC Summer Internship Program might best be thought of as an optional additional seven-week program available to all high school students. Just as SYEP does now, the program would begin the first week of July, giving students a short break between the end of the school year and the beginning of their internship. This would also provide a 3–4 week break between the end of the program and the start of school in the fall.

#### A more targeted age range

The current SYEP offers job placements to any NYC youth between ages of 14 through 24; however, the program was traditionally only offered to ages 14–21 until 2009, when federal ARRA funds required broader age range for all youth programming receiving those dollars. It is widely believed that SYEP is not the most appropriate program option for older youth, ages 22 through 24. A universal program connected to the high schools would be available to anyone as they completed each year of school, ages 14 through 21, but largely serving those ages 14 through 18 (students are not eligible to be enrolled in high school after the year in which they turn 21).

Targeting the new program to high school aged youth would allow for a new programmatic focus, as well as specific tracks for youth at different stages of their development. The program could consist of four distinct, sequential experiences:

- 1. After 9th grade: for the youngest participants, those just finishing their first year of high school, the program might focus on exposure and experience with some of the basics of the workplace environment, such as being managed, working in teams, and showing up on time. Significant research by the NYC DOE has shown that progression from 9th to 10th grade is a key inflection point in determining high school graduation.<sup>12</sup> Keeping this in mind, the 9th grade program track could incorporate school-based work, in addition to any required summer school, for those in need of the credits that would allow them to begin 10th grade with the total number (11) that make them far more likely to graduate.
- 2. After the 10th grade: students completing their sophomore year of high school might participate in more formal job placements in an industry in which they express an interest. Students interested in business might be placed in a retail or administrative job, while those curious about education or social service careers might be steered toward summer camps. An educational component of the program could include planning for the college application process.
- 3. After the 11th grade: students could build off their experiences the previous year, allowing them to be

"promoted" into positions with greater responsibility in the same or another sector, if they choose to explore a different field. The educational component of the program at this stage could focus on college and financial aid application preparation.

4. After the 12th grade: students could, where appropriate, find work related to their college courses of study or other post-secondary plans. The educational component of the program could consist of assisting students with administrative and other preparation necessary before beginning college in the Fall.

Given that a not insignificant number of young people outside of high school age—about 15 percent (nearly 8,000) of participants are between ages 20 and 24—do participate in the current SYEP,<sup>13</sup> the city might want to offer a set (perhaps 10,000) of traditional SYEP slots in a set-aside program for 19–21 (or 24) year olds. But rather than being in a program traditionally designed for students who are in high school, this program could consist of a more standard transitional jobs initiative, with the desired goal of placement into a full-time job.

## 3. Challenges and Opportunities

#### a. Cost

Calculating the potential cost of this proposal is difficult, in that it requires estimating the demand for participation. This year, about 110,000 young people between the ages of 14 through 24 applied for 55,000 SYEP slots. The 110,000 applicants comprise a little less than 10 percent of all 14- to 24-year-olds in New York City, who are currently eligible to participate. This proposal would restrict eligibility parameters to the approximately 380,000 youth in all high schools. The current SYEP take-up rate for high school age students is somewhat higher—closer to 12 percent of all those eligible. And given that many young people may be currently dissuaded from applying for SYEP due to the low likelihood of getting a job, or the other previously discussed program shortcomings, we would expect a much higher demand for a new, improved, universal program. We estimate that the city would need to create approximately 100,000 jobs—a take-up rate of about 25 percent of the 380,000 total high school students, or just more than 2.5 times the number of high school age youth who currently apply.

In addition, so as not to eliminate summer jobs programming for the limited numbers of older youth that do gain value from SYEP, we estimate that the city should retain a version of the existing SYEP program for older, out-of-school youth ages 19–24, serving 10,000 youth, approximately the same number in that age group that currently participate in the program.

In 2014, the cost of the program per participant was approximately \$1,400. But this figure includes the recently diluted program parameters, which have cut the program from 30 to 25 hours per week, and from seven to six weeks. In addition, the current SYEP only gives CBO service providers \$350 per youth to find the job site, make the placement, monitor the placement, and conduct the weekly educational program. This amount pales in comparison to most employment programs. The program enhancements suggested here-such as better service diversity, and connection to schools-would require more work on the part of providers, and better compensation for those efforts, even as they allow for a range of greater administrative efficiencies. Restoring the program to 30 hours per week over seven weeks, and giving providers \$500 per participant, would require a per capita cost of closer to \$2,200.14 For 110,000 participants, this amounts to \$242 million per year. When compared to the approximately \$79 million that was raised for SYEP in 2015, this would leave a new funding gap of \$163 million.

A funding gap of \$163 million would represent a significant new investment. But that figure would be considerably less than the \$300 million raised for the recent establishment of universal pre-kindergarten education, and

less than the approximately \$200 million recently added to expand access to afterschool programming for middle schoolers. And this investment would radically shift the New York City high school experience, by expanding it for seven additional weeks in the summer. In this sense, it would be similar to increasing the time spent in high school by 15 percent. At \$2,200 per capita, the total cost of the program would be less than a 15 percent increase in what the NYCDOE currently spends per student (approximately \$18,000), while providing a completely new aspect to current high school programming, without the scale benefit of simply expanding existing school activities. And if the initiative does lead to gains in employment or collegegoing, it might pay for itself through the increased future tax revenues of participants. Regardless, it is easy to see how the opportunity to translate and build upon one's school year experiences in a workplace setting might have a range of possible benefits for students, not to mention their families, and the local economy.

#### b. Finding jobs and scaling up

Other challenges to implementing this proposal would stem from expanding the current SYEP to a much larger program, connected to schools, for all high school students. This would require the city to revise and/or expand current SYEP contracts with CBO providers, develop mechanisms for school-level integration, give CBO providers the time and support to identify enough job opportunities for the doubling of program slots, and have specific city government staff or contractors tasked with coordinating these and other changes.

# How to pilot this proposal: select a limited number of high schools (10-20) for full implementation

One way to pilot the program would be to select a certain number of high schools for full implementation. Every student, in every grade level, would receive the offer of a guaranteed summer job. This would allow the city to examine implementation across all grades/service levels. Schools could be selected by various measures of need, or schools and CBOs could apply to be part of the demonstration. A group of matching comparison schools could be selected for research and evaluation purposes.

Every student, in every grade level, would receive the offer of a guaranteed paid summer job.

# **Conclusion: The Time is Now**

New York City students and families would see a range of benefits from such an initiative. Research supports the effort as a way to boost academic performance, and students would clearly gain in other ways from the chance to learn and earn in a supported professional setting during the summer.

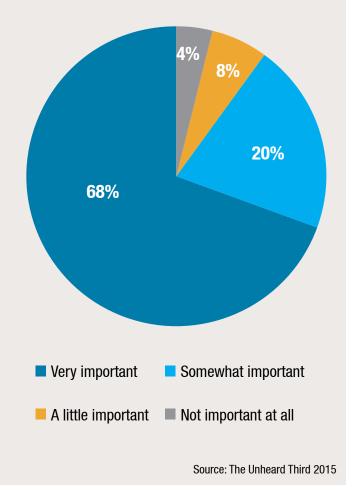
But most importantly, New York City parents and families, many of whom are at a loss for how to provide meaningful summer opportunities for their teenage children, would also stand to gain. The current administration has created important universal programs for young children (universal pre-K) and younger youth (middle school afterschool expansion). Offering a universal summer jobs program would extend these efforts to the older youth population.

In the 2015 edition of our annual Unheard Third survey, CSS conducted rigorous, representative polling, asking New Yorkers:

"How important do you think it is for New York to devote more state and city tax revenues to expanding the summer jobs program so that every New York City high school student who wants a summer job could have one?"

88 percent of New Yorkers said they believed it was important, with a strong majority claiming it was a very important use of tax revenues (68 percent "Very Important, 20 percent "Important"). The intensity of these preferences were consistent across a range of demographic categories.

We echo the voices of New Yorkers as we call for the city to develop and implement the NYC Summer Internship Program. How important do you think it is for New York to devote more state and city tax revenues to expanding the summer jobs program so that every New York City high school student who wants a summer job could have one?



# NOTES

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5. Leos-Urbel, J. (2014) and Schwartz et al. (2014).

6. NYC Department of Education, Annual Enrollment Snapshots, schools.nyc.gov/accountability/data

7. The City received over 130,000 applications for SYEP, but since the lottery determining acceptance is run multiple times (due to program funding uncertainty) the number of unique applicants is closer to 110,000. 8. Schwartz et al. (2014)

9. CSS analysis of monthly data from the Current Population Survey, conducted by the United State Census Bureau.

10. Treschan and Mehrotra, "Challenging Traditional Expectations."

11. http://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/fact-sheet-redesigning-americas-high-schools

12. http://schools.nyc.gov/NR/rdonlyres/B5EC6D1C-F88A-4610-8F0F-A14D63420115/0/FindingsofOMPG.pdf

13. New York City Department of Youth and Community Development, "The Summer Youth Employment Program Annual Summary." 2014. http://www.nyc.gov/html/dycd/downloads/ pdf/2014\_NYC\_SYEP\_Annual\_Summary.pdf

14. These estimates are based on SYEP's use of the current minimum wage, and are complicated by upcoming annual increases in the minimum wage. One possibility to offset these increases is to pay all or some of participants—14 and 15 year olds, who would not be working in formal jobs, would be clear candidates--a weekly program stipend, rather than an hourly wage, as is the case with AmeriCorps and related programs.

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