The State of Texas Children 2008-09 Special Focus—Closing Educational Gaps

Texas policymakers increasingly emphasize accountability, often noting that nothing changes unless it is measured. At the Center for Public Policy Priorities, we too embrace accountability. Our Texas KIDS COUNT Project reports annually on key measures of child well-being, monitoring our state's progress to ensure that all Texas children can grow into healthy, secure, and educated citizens who contribute to our common good.

Quality public education is essential to ensuring the overall well-being of Texas' kids. Texas KIDS COUNT tracks two important educational measures: the achievement gap (how well children do in school) and the attainment gap (how far children go in school) between economically advantaged, primarily white students and economically disadvantaged, primarily minority students. Although accountability measures such as test scores and dropout rates have improved over time for all groups, the gap between the haves and have-nots remains.¹

For accountability to work, however, one must hold the right people accountable for the right things. When it comes to educational achievement, Texas policymakers are looking too narrowly. They hold public schools accountable for test scores and dropout rates, while ignoring critical measures of child well-being that significantly contribute to these educational outcomes but are not easily affected by schools.

Not all children come to school equally prepared to learn. Schools can—and have—reduced some of the gaps caused by social and economic disadvantage between families. But schools alone cannot substantially close these gaps. By focusing almost exclusively on what schools do, policymakers miss the opportunity to make meaningful changes and investments in other public systems and programs that could more effectively and efficiently close the gaps.

Texas needs a broad range of social and economic strategies to help families provide safe, healthy, and stimulating environments for their children. Families are, after all, children's first and most important schools. Perhaps not every measure of child well-being tracked by Texas

KIDS COUNT directly affects learning, but most do. Texas should pay attention to this bigger picture and take a broader approach to improving educational outcomes.

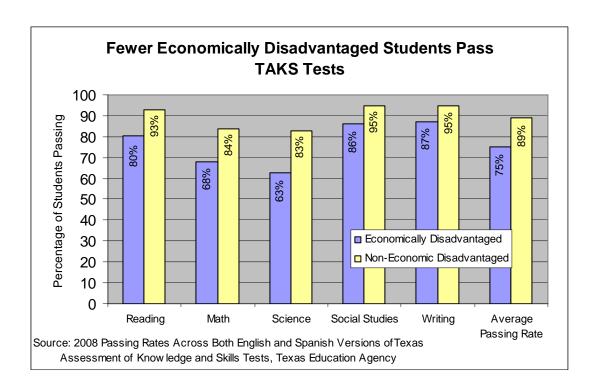
"Long before schools begin their jobs, teaching and learning take place at home and in the community."

Source: Barton, Paul and Coley, Richard. *The Family: America's Smallest School*. (Princeton, Educational Testing Services, September 2007), p. 38.

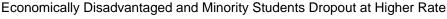
The Gaps

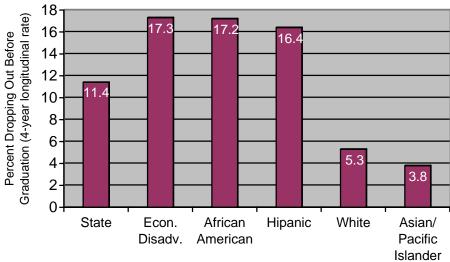
Persistent education gaps exist between rich and poor, whites and minorities. Economically disadvantaged and minority children consistently perform below average in state accountability test scores and graduation rates, which each affect future job opportunities and earnings.

In 2008, the passing rate for economically disadvantaged students across the five Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) tests was 14.4 percentage points below their non-economically disadvantaged peers (75 percent versus 89 percent).² Although the achievement gap varied somewhat depending upon the subject area (e.g., science had a 20 percentage point passing gap versus an 8 point gap in writing), economically disadvantaged students consistently passed at lower rates than their peers in every subject. Given the high-stakes value of passing these tests (e.g., determining grade promotion and graduation), the implications for economically disadvantaged students can have long-term consequences.

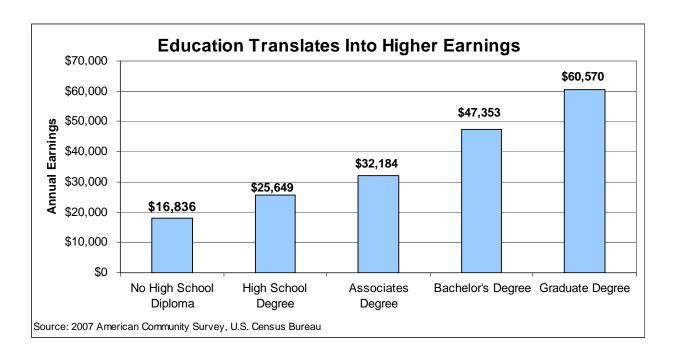


For the class of 2007,³ economically disadvantaged, African-American, and Hispanic students dropped out at higher rates than their peers between ninth grade and graduation. With approximately one of every six students in these groups dropping out, economically disadvantaged, African-American, and Hispanic students' dropout rates were three times higher than for white students and over four times higher than for Asian or Pacific Islander students. Educational attainment translates directly into dramatic income differences on the job market. The 2007 median earnings for workers with no high school diploma was approximately \$7,600 less than a worker with a high school degree, and about \$14,000 less than those with an associate's degree.





Source: Class of 2007 Dropout Rates, Texas Education Agency



These education gaps leave low-skilled workers with limited employment opportunities, channeling them and their children into a life of poverty and hardship. In our technology and service-oriented economy, our economic well-being will rise and fall with the skills of our workforce. With more than half (55 percent) of Texas' public school students identified as economically disadvantaged, and over two-thirds identified as minority (65 percent), if Texas does not close these gaps, Texas families and the economy will certainly suffer.

Public Schools

Historically, American's have viewed public education as the great equalizer and a common good.⁴ Echoing our state's constitution, the Texas Education Code declares:

The mission of the public education system of this state is to ensure that all Texas children have access to a quality education that enables them to achieve their potential and fully participate now and in the future in the social, economic, and educational opportunities of our state and nation. That mission is grounded on the conviction that a general diffusion of knowledge is essential for the welfare of this state and for the preservation of the liberties and rights of citizens ⁵

In recent years, however, public debate has focused on whether schools are accomplishing this mission. Currently the public equates the struggles of poor and minority students to failure of public education. A recent poll found that the vast majority of Americans believe it is important to close the achievement gap between poor and minority students (88 percent) and that the gap can be attributed to factors outside of the school (77 percent). Yet while understanding that the gap is caused by factors outside schools, more than half (57 percent) believed that it was up to the school alone to close the gaps.⁶

National and state focus has shifted to implementing stricter standards and accountability, culminating in the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act. One of the act's central goals is to raise academic performance of disadvantaged children to that of their peers. A positive outcome of the act's state reporting requirements has been an assessment and recognition of existing performance gaps between student subgroups. However, No Child Left Behind is based on a flawed premise: that stricter standards, extensive testing, and punitive consequences can reduce gaps between student groups.⁷

While formal schooling certainly plays an important role in a child's life, it is not the most influential role. By the time a child graduates from high school, they have spent only 10 percent of their school-age lives in school and 90 percent outside in their communities with their families. Certainly, effective schools are essential for educational achievement, but schools alone cannot close all gaps between student groups. Blaming schools for the achievement gap is misplaced, and seeing them as the sole solution is unrealistic.

Children's time influenced by families and communities exceeds the time they are influenced by schools. "Six hours of instruction a day for 180 days a year cannot overcome the effects of a deprived and impoverished home environment for 18 hours a day, 365 days a year"

Source: Mathis, William, J. "Bridging the Achievement Gap: A Bridge Too Far? *Phi Delta Kappan*, April 2005, p. 592.

The federal government, the state, and local school systems have each made some attempt to reach beyond the core educational mission of basic reading and math instruction with programs targeting additional educational needs of disadvantaged children and families (e.g. family literacy, mentoring, peer tutoring, after-school, school-to-work, and school-to-college programs). But these programs do not target the broader social and community problems that keep students back. Unless we address these problems, the achievement gap will remain. 11

Families and Communities

"Social and economic reforms are needed to create an environment in which the most effective teaching can take place."

Richard Rothstein, Whose Problem is Poverty?¹²

Differences in families' social and economic conditions create the achievement gap. In general, children from poor families and neighborhoods receive poorer prenatal care, are exposed to more environmental hazards that affect their health, and are more likely to go hungry. They are more likely to be exposed to crime and drugs, receive less exposure to cultural and athletic opportunities that help develop critical thinking and self-confidence, and are more likely to move homes, disrupting their education. While each of these factors alone may have only modest impact on the achievement gap, they explain a lot in combination.¹³ To be effective, any effort to reduce, much less eliminate, performance gaps must account for these social factors.

Economic Insecurity & Poverty

The fate of children is largely dependent on their parents' economic position.¹⁴ Family economic security is critical for connecting families to adequate medical care, nutrition, and

housing, which contribute to children's cognitive development and school achievement.¹⁵ Unfortunately, low-income Texas families face mounting financial challenges that interfere with their ability to address their basic needs.

"It is unrealistic to expect to change schools in any deep way without dealing with some of the issues that arise with poverty." ¹⁶

More children live in relative poverty in the United States, despite its enormous wealth, than in any other economically advanced county.¹⁷ Texas' child poverty rate (24.7 percent) is even higher than the U.S. average (18.5 percent). That means 1.5 million Texas children live in families making less than the federal poverty level (e.g., less than \$17,600 for a family of 3 in 2008).¹⁸ Unfortunately, this number is sure to climb as new data is released that reflects the current economic downturn and the crisis in the financial markets. Child poverty reflects the structure of our state's economy and our state's significant income inequality. The fact that it has remained so high for so long also reflects our state's lack of commitment to reducing child poverty.¹⁹

Even full-time work does not guarantee an adequate income. In Texas, nearly 350,000 working families live in poverty. Employment opportunities for many Texans are restricted to jobs that pay low-wages, trapping them into a life of hardship that shapes the quality of life they can afford for their children. The Center for Public Policy Priorities developed the Family Budget Estimator to determine how much income a Texas working family needs to cover basic necessities, including rent, food, child care, health insurance and out-of-pocket costs and transportation. The Family Budget Estimator shows that, a one-parent, two-child family in Texas needs a household income ranging from \$12 an hour in Brownsville-Harlingen to \$23 an hour in Fort Worth-Arlington. Across Texas' metro areas, half of all jobs (or 5.6 million) pay less than \$15 an hour. In Texas 34.9 percent of available jobs are "bad jobs," meaning they provide low wages and no health or retirement benefits. Using the Family Budget Estimator, the percentage of one-parent, two-child families who cannot provide the basics ranges from 39 percent in Texarkana to 97 percent in Abilene.

Infant and Child Health

Further complicating children's educational outcomes, low-income children are less likely to have access to health care services due to lack of health insurance or a lack of access to doctors.²³ Texas had the worst uninsured rate in the nation for ten of the last 11 years,²⁴ with 22 percent of children under 17 uninsured in 2007. Children without regular health care are more likely to contract illnesses that will keep them out of school. They are more likely to have poorer oral health, vision, and hearing. They are also more likely to suffer from asthma, which keeps them up at night, arriving at school drowsy and less attentive.²⁵

The impact of families' social and economic barriers on the health of their children begins prenatally. Low-income mothers are more likely to lack health insurance and therefore less likely to receive adequate prenatal care. In 2005, 35 percent of Texas' babies were born to mothers who received inadequate prenatal care, increasing the likelihood of premature birth and low birthweight. Eight percent of babies were born weighing less than 5.5 pounds, a rate that has increased steadily for the past two decades. Low infant birthweight has been linked to medical precursors such as poor maternal prenatal nutrition, smoking, and weight gain and societal factors such as poverty and the age and race of the mother, as well as exposure to urban pollutants. Outcomes for low birthweight babies are reduced, as they often experience developmental delays, learning disabilities, health problems, and academic difficulties. Low birthweight babies are 34 percent less likely to graduate from high school by the age of 19, affecting their future socio-economic status and overall well-being.

Hunger and Nutrition

Good nutrition is vital for developing minds and bodies. Children without enough to eat lack the fuel to engage in learning. They have lower levels of academic achievement, are less likely to be in school or attentive when they are, and are more likely to fail, be held back, and drop out of school than their peers.³¹ Unfortunately, low-income children have poorer nutrition when compared to middle-income children. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, from 2004-2006, 15.9 percent of Texas households (approximately 1.3 million households with 1.4 million children³²) were classified as food insecure (meaning they had limited or uncertain availability or nutritionally adequate and safe foods or limited or uncertain ability to acquire

acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways),³³ ranking Texas as 48th in the nation ahead of only New Mexico and Mississippi.³⁴

Housing

"I think what she really needs is to stop going to a different school every month. She didn't have this 'learning disability' before we lost our home. What she really needs is a permanent home and extra help with her reading and math."

Homeless mother³⁵

Mobility has grave consequences for the educational outcomes of children. When a child is uprooted, bonding with educators and classmates becomes nearly impossible. Their emotional resources are used up managing change (new teachers, curricula, and schoolmates), depleting their ability to absorb new learning. Interrupted educational experiences impede academic progress, increasing the probability of grade retention, participation in special education, and dropping out. ³⁶ According to recent research, low-income Texas students' average test scores would increase seven percent if they moved only as often as their middle-class peers. ³⁷

Yet 83 percent of low-income Texas families who qualify for government housing assistance do not receive it because of Texas' subsidized housing shortage.³⁸ This shortage in affordable housing introduces significant hardships, especially for the 568,000 low-income households that spend more than 30 percent of their income on housing.³⁹ When families cannot to pay their rent or mortgage, they may be evicted or foreclosed, have damaged credit, be forced to relocate and perhaps even become homeless.⁴⁰ This instability increases the likelihood that families become mobile.

"Two million low income Texans live in bad housing, housing they cannot afford, or on the street."

Source: Texas Low Income Housing Information Service.⁴¹

Shifting Our Focus

"The achievement gap can be substantially narrowed only when school improvement is combined with social and economic reform"

Richard Rothstein, Class and Schools⁴²

When considering how to reduce educational gaps, the argument should not be whether the focus is on school or economic and social reforms; both are essential.⁴³ Schools must get better at the same time the state makes efforts to improve the lives of families at home and in their communities. If we identify and acknowledge the economic and social characteristics that affect educational achievement, we can develop policies that close the gaps.⁴⁴

A Broader, Bolder Approach to Education

As reauthorization for No Child Left Behind approached in 2006, the Economic Policy Institute convened a task force to consider how the law affected the nation's approach to education. The task force produced four specific policy recommendations to create a "Broader, Bolder Approach to Education:"

- 1. Continue school improvement efforts by reducing class sizes; attracting high-quality teachers in hard-to-staff schools; improving teacher and school leadership training; making college prep classes available to all; and paying special attention to the educational needs of recent immigrants.
- 2. Provide developmentally-appropriate, high-quality early childhood education that not only provides academic assistance to low-income children, but also helps develop appropriate social, economic, and behavioral skills.
- 3. Provide routine pediatric, dental, hearing, and vision care for all children. They specifically cite the ability of full-service, in-school clinics to fill the health care needs in low-income areas that are often

medically underserved. Such clinics would also benefit children who might otherwise not receive care if their parent cannot get off of work.

4. Improve the quality of out-of-school time. Because low-income students learn rapidly in school, but often lose ground after school and during the summer, policymakers should consider lengthening school days and increasing funding for research-based after-school programs, summer programs, and school-to-work programs.

If we are serious about closing educational gaps, we must adopt this broader, bolder approach. Here we highlight two education initiatives.

Early Childhood Education

"Investing in disadvantaged young children is 'a rare public policy initiative that promotes fairness and social justice and at the same time promotes productivity in the economy and in society at large."

Economist and Nobel Laureate James Heckman as cited in "A Broader, Bolder Approach to Education"

When children start school behind they tend to stay behind. Children with educated parents are more likely to be read to daily and to be surrounded by a print and conversation-rich environment. By the time these children enter kindergarten, they can recognize some words, have held a book, and are well on their way towards literacy. By age four, the average child in a professional family has heard about 20 million more words than the average child in a working-class family and 35 million more words than the average child in a low-income family. Children with the advantage of early literacy experience enter school more ready to learn. At least half of the educational achievement gap between poor and non-poor students already exists when they enter kindergarten.

Nurturing, high-quality early education is a prerequisite to school readiness and success,⁴⁹ and can help balance some of the language exposure differences that may occur at home. Children who attend high-quality settings are more cognitively engaged, happier, and display enhanced

language competency.⁵⁰ They are held back in school less, are less likely to be placed in special education, are more likely to complete high school, score higher on achievement tests, and attend college.⁵¹

Children who do not participate in high-quality early education have higher rates of juvenile delinquency, arrests, and juvenile court petitions.⁵² Unfortunately, many Texas children do not have access to high-quality childhood education programs. In fact, Texas has a severe shortage of basic subsidized child care. In 2007, Texas' subsidized childcare waiting list averaged nearly 23,000 children each month.

Fortunately, the benefits of high-quality early childhood education are becoming widely discussed in Texas. One effort to raise awareness comes from Raise Your Hand Texas, an impressive coalition of high-power business and community leaders (Board Chairs, Presidents, and CEOs from companies such as HEB, Texas Instruments, and Frost Bank) led by former Lt. Governor Bill Ratliff. This group has come together to advocate for public schools and a brighter future for Texas' children.⁵³ Among their many legislative priorities, Raise Your Hand Texas supports universal, full-day public pre-kindergarten with certified teachers and developmentally appropriate curricula.

"Learning and motivation are dynamic, cumulative processes. Skill begets skill; learning begets learning. Early disadvantage, if left untouched, leads to academic and social difficulties later in life. Early advantages accumulate, just as early disadvantages do."

Source: James Heckman and Dimitry Masterov, as cited in *Early Childhood Education for All: A Wise Investment*.⁵⁴

Community Schools

All across the country, schools are trying new ways to help children to succeed. One example is community schools. These schools are comprised of partnerships between schools and community. By sharing expertise, educators, families, businesses, health and social-service agencies, institutes of higher education, youth-development organizations and others work together to ensure that schools do not have to go it alone.⁵⁵ The focus is not just on academics but also on providing services, supports, and opportunities to improve student learning, develop

stronger families, and create healthier communities.⁵⁶ Schools become service hubs available to everyone all of the time even on evenings and weekends.

One of these programs is the Texas Alliance Schools Initiative. Started by the Texas Industrial Areas Foundation in partnership with the Texas Education Agency, the Alliance Schools Initiative focused on bringing parents, school officials, and community leaders together to address the needs of families and children in their communities. They provided resources such as additional training for teachers, parent training, adult education, and improved campus security.⁵⁷

An evaluation of the Alliance Schools revealed positive results. The 1999 and 2000 TAAS achievement tests⁵⁸ were analyzed in order to compare the performance of the 84 Alliance schools to the rest of the state. Participating schools outperformed their counterparts in all measures of the state achievement test. In particular, Alliance students increased their pass rate for math TAAS by 8.2 percent compared to the 3.2 percent increase for the state. Economically disadvantaged Alliance students' pass rate increased more, 8.8 percent compared to the 2.5 percent increase for the state's disadvantaged students.⁵⁹

Another example is the Dallas Youth and Family Centers Program, which provides physical and mental health services to families and their children. Core services included mental health care, counseling, case management, family-home involvement programs, youth development activities, and family education and family program workshops. Students who participated in these services saw a 52.4 percent decline in absences and an 85.3 percent decline in school discipline referrals. Students also saw an increase in their math and reading scores.⁶⁰

Texas should look at these models and others from across the country to build a community-based, children-first education system.

Strengthening Families and Communities

However, Texas needs more than school-based education reform to eliminate the education gaps. Our state needs to strengthen families and communities by increasing economic opportunity, providing health care for all kids, eliminating child hunger, and ensuring stable, affordable housing. In the end, only these steps can close educational gaps. This essay proposes a broad

vision for change. With this vision, we all must work together to initiate the social and economic change necessary to improve outcomes for all children. We invite you to dive into this data-rich report and our county-level online database to help you think about the system and programs necessary to ensure that all children enter school ready and able to learn with a real opportunity to grow into productive, contributing citizens.

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¹ In the past five years TAKS passing rates for both economically disadvantaged and economically non-disadvantaged have increased by two percentage points. Economically disadvantaged pass rates went from 73 percent in 2003 to 75 percent in 2008; Economically non-disadvantaged pass rates went from 87 percent in 2003 to 89 percent in 2008.

² The passage rates shown here only include data from the first administration of the TAKS test and do not include the children who may have passed during subsequent administrations of the tests.

³ At the time of publication, the most current graduation and dropout data was for the class of 2007.

⁴ Horace Mann's full quote: Education then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men, the balance-wheel of the social machinery. Mann, H. (1848). Twelfth Annual Report, Massachusetts State Board of Education. Quote retrieved October 23, 2008 from http://www.quoteland.com/author.asp?AUTHOR_ID=1658.

⁵ Texas Education Code, Title 2. Public Education, Subtitle A. General Provisions, Chapter 4. Public Education Mission, Objectives, and Goals. Retrieved on 9/3/08 from http://tlo2.tlc.state.tx.us/statutes/docs/ED/content/htm/ed.002.00.00004.00.htm.

⁶ Rose, L. C. and Gallup, A. M. (2006). *The 38th Annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public School*. Washington, D.C.: Phi Delta Kappa.

⁷ "A Broader, Bolder Approach to Education" Retrieved on September 17, 2008 from www.boldapproach.org.

⁸ Evans, R. (April, 2005). Reframing the Achievement Gap. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 86(8), 582-589.

⁹ Data includes the time children spend sleeping. If sleeping is excluded school becomes 12 percent of a student's "awake time" between ages 0-18. Evans, R. (April, 2005). Reframing the Achievement Gap. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 86(8), 582-589.

¹⁰ Portes, P. R. (2005). Dismantling Educational Inequality: A Cultural-historical Approach to Closing the Achievement Gap. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.

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¹³ Rothstein, R. (April, 2008). Whose Problem is Poverty? *Educational Leadership*, 65(7), 8-13.

¹⁴ Isaacs, J. (2008). Economic Mobility of Families Across Generations. In J. B. Isaacs, I.V. Sawhill, and R. Haskins (Eds.), *Getting Ahead or Losing Ground: Economic Mobility in America* (pp. 15-26). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute. Retrieved on October 23, 2008 from http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2008/02_economic_mobility_sawhill.aspx

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¹⁸ 2007 American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

¹⁹ 2008 KIDS COUNT Data Book. Baltimore, MD: Annie E. Casey Foundation.

²⁰ 2008 Working Poor Families Project's analysis of U.S. Census Bureau's 2006 American Community Survey data.

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