It Takes a Village: A Working Report on Community and Neighborhood Assets and Indicators for Early Childhood Well-Being and School Readiness in Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee

Developed in collaboration with the National Neighborhood Indicators Partnership of The Urban Institute and the Annie E. Casey Foundation

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Background: In the fall of 2007, The Urban Institute's National Neighborhood Indicators Partnership (NNIP) arranged with the Annie E. Casey Foundation to support basic data collection and analysis for a cross-sight (ten cities) inventory and analysis of early childhood and school readiness indicators and assets.

The special emphasis for NNIP partners would be on the role of community wide assets to support early childhood development and school readiness and *measurement of both risks* and assets as the neighborhood level. The "drill down" to the neighborhood level:

- better prepares a community for targeted interventions in geographic areas with higher risk factors
- enables community stakeholders to identify local assets that can be mobilized in support of targeted interventions

It Takes a Village is designed as a "working" issue brief to inform discussion among a core group of organizations and agencies about the relationship between neighborhood level risks and assets and early childhood outcomes. The Urban Child Institute – local partner for the Casey-NNIP cross-site initiative – already publishes an annual data book, *The State of Children in Memphis and Shelby County*, and is among the key strategists for early childhood development, children and youth in Shelby County. *It Takes a Village* takes The Urban Child Institute in a new direction toward attentiveness to neighborhood level issues and strategies, with input from the core group to prioritize messages and issues. With design assistance from the University of Memphis Center for Media Arts, *It Takes A Village* will be redesigned as a companion "Status" report to support neighborhood-oriented discussion and strategic action among a broader group of community stakeholders.

In compliment to the working issue brief, CBANA is also working with the Shelby County Office for Early Childhood and Youth and has organized a community-wide asset mapping collaborative with an initial focus on early childhood, children and youth. With funding in hand, asset-mapping data from a set of collaborative agencies is being integrated into an indicators database, which as the "Children and Families" domain (along with housing and neighborhoods, community safety, and health) is scheduled to launch in the spring 2009 as the Information Commons for Greater Memphis. The Children and Families domain is also being articulated with the State of Tennessee's legislatively mandated "Resource Mapping of Services for Children." Representatives from The Urban Child Institute and the Shelby County Office for Early Childhood and Youth are regular participants in the Tennessee Commission on Children and Youth, which hosts Tennessee Kids Count. Data from these initiatives will be linked with the Children and Families domain of the Information Commons. <u>Organization of the Working Brief</u>: It Takes a Village begins with an introductory overview of the status of children in Memphis and Shelby County.

Section 1 zeroes in on school readiness as a key indicator of early childhood development and reports the most recently available data on school readiness from the Memphis City Schools. Section 1 continues – as a backdrop to our primary consideration of neighborhood risks, assets, and opportunities for community mobilization and intervention – with a general characterization of socioeconomic disadvantage in the Memphis City Schools, then links family background to educational disparities and educational disparities to intergenerational socioeconomic disparities.

Section 2 grapples with neighborhood risks, assets, and opportunities for mobilization in terms of how "concentrated disadvantage" impacts neighborhood. We know that disadvantaged families have historically clustered together, and that neighborhood risks and assets can counter or reinforce disadvantages associated with family background. Evidence on the geographic dispersion of poverty in Memphis is considered in terms of its impact on neighborhood risks and assets for kids and opportunities for intervention. Specifically, we introduce a new way of thinking about neighborhood risks and assets. Our Neighborhood Zone Analysis summarizes characteristics of four types of neighborhoods with different kinds of risks, assets, and opportunities for children.

Section 3 delivers status reports on risk, assets, and opportunities in key community-wide early *childhood domains*. These include home visitation for at risk pregnant women and mothers, Head Start and Pre-K, and other supportive interventions for children.

Section 4 suggests a set of three indices to monitor and track progress for health early childhood development, school readiness, and neighborhood-level risk factors.

Introduction to the Status of Children in Memphis and Shelby County: Children are born into and grow up in a variety of family types in Memphis and Shelby County. Research shows consistently that the well-being of children is affected primarily by family income¹, family structure² and parents' education levels.³ Children fare best when they are raised in stable families with more than one caring adult present, preferably one or both parents⁴, where the caregivers have steady income that adequately meets the needs of the entire family⁵, where the children have access to health care⁶, where the community is safe and neighbors value and respect each other⁷, and where schools promote a successful learning environment.⁸

Families in our community take many forms; some have two parents, some have only one parent and some consist of grandparents caring for their grandchildren. The quality of time that children spend with their caregivers often depends on the resources available to the family, the total family income, which is dependent in large part on the education level of the parents, the age of the parents and the stability of the family unit.⁹

We know that not all children have access to the same early experiences. Many children in our community grow up in fractured families that are made vulnerable by poverty. Parents with low levels of education, especially those who have not completed high school, have higher barriers to steady employment than do better educated parents and are more likely to confront poverty and

rely on public assistance to supplement their family income.¹⁰ Children raised in poverty spend less time reading with their parents and caregivers than do their more affluent peers.¹¹ Parents' levels of education also correlate highly with children's academic success and overall well-being.¹²

In many ways, children in Memphis City and Suburban Shelby County face one of two separate realities. Some children grow up in families with both parents present, where one or both parents works, where the family has enough income to thrive and where the community is supportive and safe. But many children grow up in families where only one parent is present, where changing residences and/or schools frequently is the norm, where caregivers — including parents — are precariously employed and may not earn enough to support the family, and where crime is ubiquitous and neighborhoods unsafe for children and families.

However, children do not determine their own realities — their parents, caregivers and communities do. We can make choices that will positively influence children in our community by investing in early childhood interventions which have demonstrated success in improving the lives of children.

Best practices and proven interventions that mitigate the effects of family and community poverty show tremendous results when fully implemented and fully funded. These programs have been shown to raise test scores¹³, help deter crime¹⁴, encourage at-risk children to stay in school¹⁵ and delay parenthood.¹⁶

The benefits of early childhood interventions span generations. The children enrolled in the programs benefit directly from quality learning experiences, the parents of the children enrolled in the programs benefit by being able to work part or full-time with the peace of mind that their children are receiving quality child care in a healthy learning environment, and future generations of children benefit because the cycles of poverty are broken by reaching children at an early age, setting them on a more successful trajectory.

Of the more than 100 million households in the U.S., only 1 in 3 includes children under the age of 18.¹⁷ In too many households without children, "out of sight" is "out of mind." Adults who have infrequent contact with children are less likely to prioritize their well-being.¹⁸ In 1956, a majority of households had children under 18 years old present, and parental involvement with school-based and community-based programs, like parent-teacher organizations (PTOs), was at an all-time high.¹⁹ Today, families with children represent a shrinking minority. As the number of households with children in the U.S., and in our community, declines, the task of maintaining an effective public voice for children becomes more difficult. Consistent with national trends, 1 in 3 households in Memphis and Shelby County together, includes children under the age of 18.²⁰ A slightly higher percentage of households (2 in 5) in suburban Shelby County include children.²¹

It Takes A Village is offered to inform, cajole, and inspire action in the face of those recent trends. It is designed to "stand for children."

Section 1: School Readiness, Family Background, and Education Disadvantage in Memphis

1.1. School Readiness: The "canary in the coal mine" indicator of early childhood development

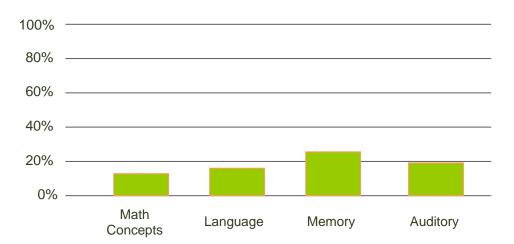
School readiness is the culmination of children *having successfully navigated early developmental milestones* so that by kindergarten they are "ready to learn." It is both important as a *predictor* of advantages (*or challenges*) that children will encounter as they continue to grow and develop, and as an outcome for "the first years" of early childhood development. If children perform poorly on measures of school readiness, it is a signal to the community that family, neighborhood, and community resources need to be strengthened.

- Family background is a primary predictor for school readiness. In fact, family background predicts the gamut of life stage outcomes; birth outcomes, cognitive development, and social skills that prepare children for early learning. It can also be used to predict interpersonal milestones, educational attainment, and successful school to work transition with its implications for economic self-sufficiency and healthy adult relationships.
- Growing up in poverty and near poverty is associated with disparities in these outcomes. We are beginning to understand that *the social environment of neighborhoods and the support systems offered by the community beyond the family* are also important in understanding disparities. *Herein lies the meaning of "it takes a village."*

1.2. Where Do We Stand? School Readiness in Memphis

In Memphis, data on school readiness suggest our need as a community to better understand the family, neighborhood, and community environments offering both risk and protection, that challenge or support, early child development. The most recent data from the Memphis City Schools' analysis of school readiness are from 2005. This analysis, as reported in a recent planning document for The Urban Child Institute, underscores the challenges in the City of Memphis:

- School readiness, an important measure of how well children entering kindergarten are prepared to learn, is very low in Shelby County. In 2005, the average school readiness scores of all children entering Memphis City Schools (MCS) were within the lowest 16% 27% (national) percentile of school readiness for math, language, memory and auditory skills. (See table below.)
- The Developing Skills Checklist is a nationally normalized and commonly used measure of school readiness that enables local stakeholders to ask and answer "How are we doing?" compared to, for example, peer school districts with similar demographics.



2005 MCS Median Scores – Developing Skills Checklist

Source: Memphis City Schools

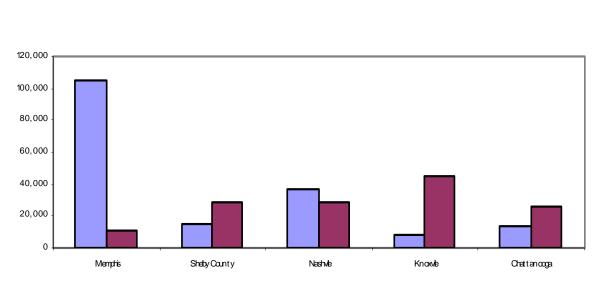
- Informal reports on previous years' data suggest better outcomes for children who experienced center-based child care prior to kindergarten, compared to parental or other home-based care. This is a provocative finding that deserves more analysis and greater community-wide understanding.
- Since 2005 data were reported, MCS has developed its own "Kindergarten Readiness Instrument" (KRI) which is scored locally and more immediately available for use by kindergarten teachers. As of now, MCS intends to continue participating in the Developing Skills Checklist testing program, where The Urban Child Institute is offering to analyze the nationally normalized data in terms of background factors such as elementary school neighborhood catchment areas, participation in pre-K programs, and other factors that can strengthen understanding and drive community-based interventions to improve school readiness.

1.3. Socioeconomically Disadvantaged Students

It is clear that Memphis City Schools, like many urban school districts, is working with a student body that is disproportionately from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. (MCS serves students within the City of Memphis. The Shelby County Schools, SCS, is a separate system from MCS, and serves students in suburban and unincorporated areas of Shelby County.)

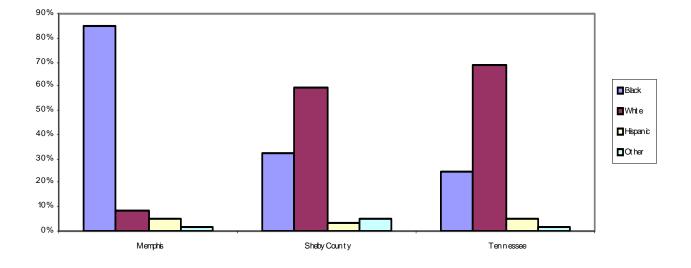
- Economically Disadvantaged (ED) students are those living below 185% of the Federal Poverty Level, equivalent to an income of \$38,203 or less per year for a family of four. These students are eligible for the "free and reduced price lunch" program at school.²²
- Memphis has a disproportionately large share of students who are Economically Disadvantaged. Eight in 10 students in Memphis City Schools are in economically disadvantaged families (as compared to 1 in 4 students in Shelby County Schools.)²³
- MCS enrolls more students, and more minority students than any other district in Tennessee.²⁴

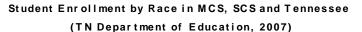
- In 2007, 85% of students in Memphis City Schools were Black, 8% White and 5% Hispanic; there were fewer White students and more Hispanic students in Memphis City Schools during the 2006-2007 school year than in previous years.²⁵
- Nearly half (48.6%) of all Black students in Tennessee attend either Memphis City or Shelby County Schools.²⁶



Public School Enrollment by Racein TN's Largest School Systems (TN Department of Education, 2007)

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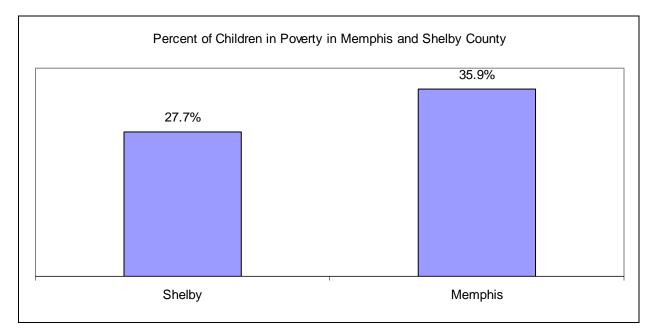


1.4. The Role of Family Background in Memphis and Shelby County.

The family has been called America's smallest, and first, school. Families contribute much to the developmental capacity of children well before they reach the school-house doors.²⁷ Total family income is a good proxy for child well-being. Families who are above low-income have more resources available for child care, transportation and health care — all things that can provide a stable environment for growing children. Kids raised in low-income and poor families hear fewer words at home, are less likely to spend time reading with their parents and caregivers and are more likely to struggle in school. Fortunately, we know that early interventions with pregnant mothers and very young children through home visitation programs and high-quality child care can make a tremendous difference. Low-income parents, especially those who are young and who need to complete more schooling to be competitive in the economy, need reliable and enriching experiences for their children while they are at school or in job training. One of the key factors that lift families out of poverty is access to high-quality child care.²⁸

- The median family income for families with children in Memphis City, where the majority of young children in our community live, is \$28,375 per year, almost \$10,000 below the economically disadvantaged threshold for a family of four in 2007. This means that the bulk of parents in our community are raising their families on the very minimum necessary to get by.
- Furthermore, the median family income for families with children in Shelby County, \$44,040 per year, is just slightly higher than the official criteria for low-income status, which is set at twice the poverty rate. Families in our community do not always have all of the resources they need to care for children, and much of this has to do with levels of education.

• Across Shelby County, 1 in 4 children live in poverty. In Memphis City, 1 in 3, or 61,244, children live in poverty. In the suburbs of Shelby County, 7,174 children live in poverty.²⁹ The poverty level for a family of four is \$20,650 per year for 2007.³⁰



Federal poverty guidelines do not tell the entire story of children living in economically vulnerable families. To better understand the bleak economic situation, we examine a hypothetical classroom in Memphis or Shelby County with 30 students from across Shelby County.

Of these 30 students:

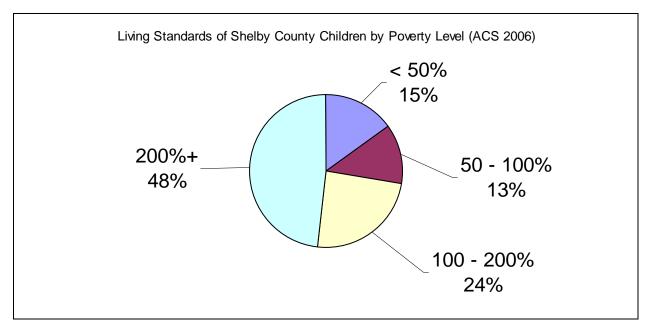
5 children live in dire poverty — half the federal poverty level, meaning their families survive on an annual income of \$10,325.

4 children live below poverty.

7 children live in low-income families, meaning they are still eligible for free or reduced price lunches at school.

14 live in above low-income homes.³¹

However, this is not a typical classroom in Memphis City Schools. Children are disproportionately segregated by poverty status and densely clustered in schools where poverty is the norm, not evenly distributed throughout the community. It is more likely to find schools with a majority of low-income students than well-distributed as in our hypothetical classroom here.



Source: American Community Survey

- Half of children in Shelby County live in middle-income families (200% or greater of the FPL).
- One-quarter of children live in low-income families (between 100-200% FPL).
- One-quarter of children live below poverty (under 100% FPL).

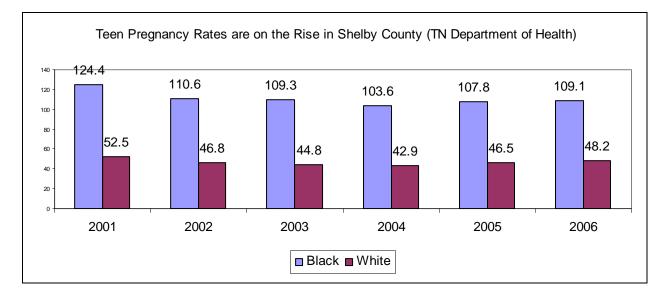
1.5. Poverty and Education Disparities Go Hand in Hand.

Family income is associated with family education. A mother's education in particular is a predictor for a early childhood development and school readiness outcomes.

- Without a high school degree, a person in Shelby County earns poverty wages. Completing high school can lift that same person above the poverty level. Some college makes a difference as well and can increase annual income by 21%. Getting a college degree tends to double annual income and makes higher-paying jobs available.³²
- Low levels of educational attainment among parents means that one in three adults in Shelby County experiences functional illiteracy, meaning they have trouble reading street signs, newspaper headlines, filling out job applications and reading doctor's orders.³³ While not inherited, literacy can be passed along from generation to generation as parents who experience difficulty in reading often do not read to their children, a key correlate to later reading skills.
- Educational attainment matters most for mothers; the mother's educational attainment is a good predictor of a child's overall life outcomes and successes.³⁴ If more mothers in

our community were able to finish college, we could expect that children in our community would face much brighter futures.

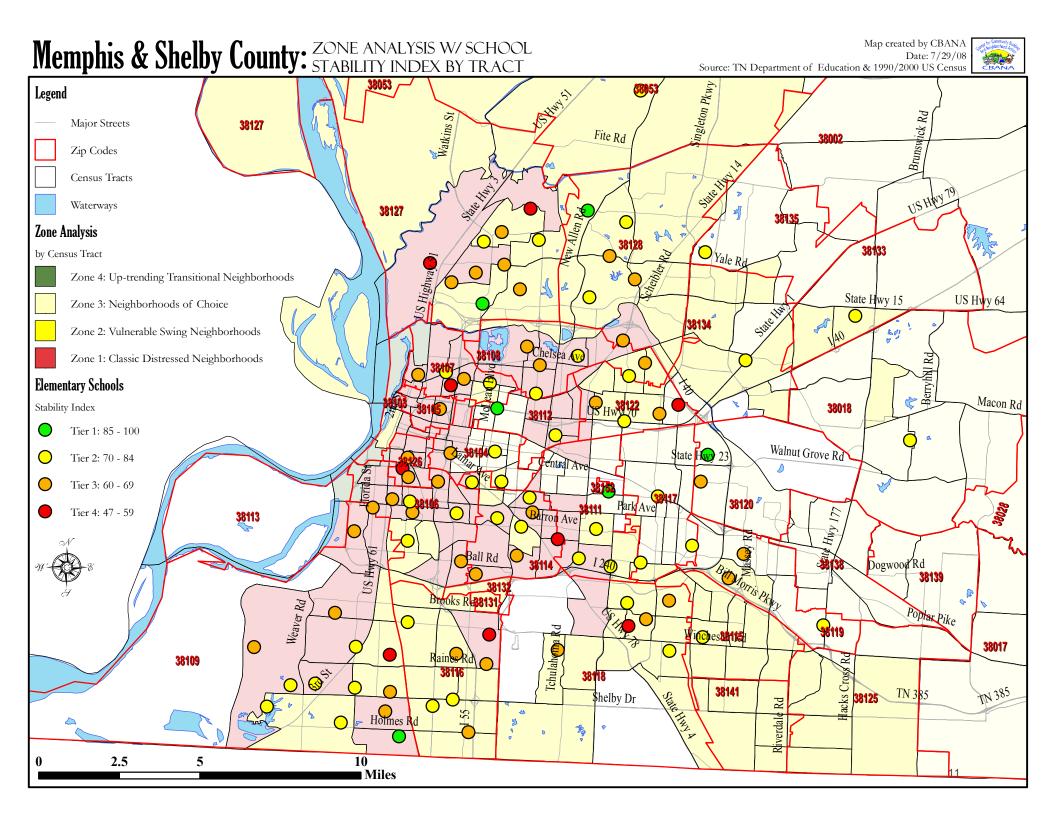
• In 2006, of the 13,906 births to Shelby County mothers, 27% were to mothers having less than a high school diploma. A persistently high teen birth rate, including teens too young to have graduated from high school, helps to drive births to women lacking a high school diploma in Shelby County. In 2006, 15% of all births were to teens, influenced by a high teen pregnancy rate for African American girls — over 107 pregnancies per 1000 teens in 2005.



Section 2: Neighborhood Risk Factors, Assets, and Opportunities

2. 1. The Significance of "Neighborhood Effects."

Compared to the role of family background, "community and neighborhood effects" on early child development and school readiness are just beginning to be understood. Researchers interested in adolescent development and disposition toward delinquency were among the first to consider a complementary role for "neighborhood effects," where community assets or stressors can either help counter or aggravate the effects of poverty in family background. More recently, researchers have begun to conceptualize a role for neighborhood effects on school readiness, typically measured by one or more cognitive tests for kindergarteners.



Neighborhood-level factors that can contribute to school readiness include residential instability for families. Residential instability for school age children is reflected in the table below, where the number of Memphis elementary schools experiencing 70% or less enrollment stability has increased from 22 in 1999-2000 to 53 in 2005-2006. High turnover schools are increasingly evident in Zone 2 neighborhoods.

Stability Groupings from Highest Stability to Lowest Stability	99-00 School Year	05-06 School Year	% Change in number of Schools in Each Tier							
First Tier: 85-100% Stability	13	7	-46.2%							
Second Tier: 70-84% Stability	68	51	-25.0%							
Third Tier: 60-69% Stability	20	42	+110.0%							
Fourth Tier: Below 60% Stability	2	11	+450.0%							
*Stability percentage is percentage of students at the beginning of the school year who were still enrolled in that school at the end of the academic year.										
Source: MCS										

The neighborhood environment "confounds" the effects of parenting — reinforcing, enhancing, undermining, or mitigating the quality and effects of parenting through direct influence (usually peer influence) on the child.

- Neighborhood effects act on the quality of parenting, which in turn acts on the child. For neighborhood effects on school readiness and earlier measures of cognitive development, most neighborhood effects are expected to act on parenting, mediating the role of the parent's own background and acting directly on the quality of parenting.
- Neighborhood effects on parenting are expected to act either as stressors, diminishing the quality of parenting distinct from the skills brought to the table by parental background; or as resources that boost and/or supplement the quality of parenting.
- Some neighborhood effects may be more direct. Access to resources such as high quality childcare or grocery stores stocking healthy food choices are examples where parenting at any skill level can be enhanced by easy access to neighborhood resources.
- Concentrated neighborhood poverty is often used as a proxy variable for neighborhood stressors. (Neighborhoods for statistical purposes are defined as census tracts.) We use 20% poverty as a measure of concentrated poverty and 40% as a measure of *highly concentrated* (and probably longer standing) poverty. We use both thresholds to distinguish among neighborhoods in our Neighborhood Zone Analysis.

What does the research say about neighborhood effects?

Perhaps the most suggestive research to date in terms of neighborhood effects on early childhood cognitive development is Sampson, Sharkey, and Raudenbush's *Durable effects of concentrated disadvantage on verbal ability among African-American children* (2007), which draws from the continuing analysis of longitudinal data emerging from The Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (see references.)

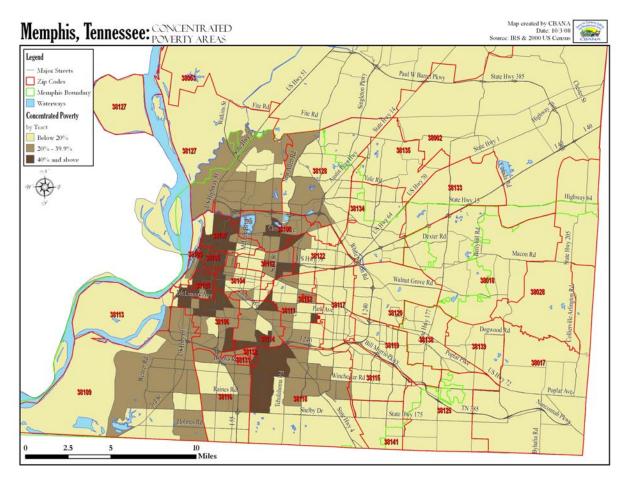
Based on an analysis of black children moving in and out of "areas of concentrated disadvantage" (defined to include a number of factors similar to the Bruner methodology for Census 2000 variables as discussed below), Sampson, et. al. find that "living in a severely disadvantaged neighborhood reduces the later verbal ability of black children on average by about 4 points (about 25% of a standard deviation for IQ scores), a magnitude that rivals missing a year or more of schooling." They conclude that "the neighborhood environment is an important developmental context for trajectories of verbal cognitive ability."(Sampson, Sharkey, and Raudenbush 2007, p8). In their words (p 2):

We hypothesize that residing in a severely disadvantaged neighborhood cumulatively impedes the development of academically relevant verbal ability in children. The theoretical notion underlying our work is that spatial disadvantage is encompassed not in a single concurrent characteristic but rather in a synergistic composite of social factors that mark the qualitatively distinct aspect of growing up in truly disadvantages neighborhoods. To consider only neighborhood poverty as the causal treatment of interest is too narrow, because poverty is strongly associated with other ecological characteristics, such as percentage of single-parent families, percentage of family members on welfare and unemployed, and racial segregation. We leave for future research to investigate potential mediating mechanisms; the logically prior or first-order task is to assess the causal status of the link between concentrated disadvantage and verbal ability.

Concentrated disadvantage and violence are directly linked to fewer reciprocated exchanges among neighbors outside of the immediate family, which implies a restricted range of public verbal interactions and communication infrastructures that children are exposed to as models for learning. The stress of violence in a community in particular may lead parents to isolate themselves out of fear, leading to a restriction in the sorts of social networks and reciprocated exchanges that serve as the building block of social support mechanisms, language development and social skills in verbal encounters. **Children's verbal ability and growth potential are thus hypothesized to be diminished by cumulative neighborhood disadvantage** (p 1). (Bold emphasis added.)

2.2. Concentrated Disadvantage in Memphis and Shelby County: Census 2000

Until the American Community Survey drills down to the census tract level beginning in 2010 (and then only with a substantial margin for error), neighborhood level poverty rates are available only during census years. Both 20% and 40% thresholds are illustrated in the map below, where it is evident that as early as 2000, concentrated disadvantage had moved away from the inner city core; the core, however, remained mired in highly concentrated 40% poverty.



- 37% of all children under 18 in Shelby County lived in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty.
- *In the City of Memphis, over* half 51% of children were living in areas of concentrated poverty in 2000.
- Areas of highly concentrated poverty in 2000 were in the "inner city," near downtown and the Mississippi River in Memphis, radiating north and south into "North Memphis," and "South Memphis."

Even as early as 2000, it is evident that less well-established areas of concentration are moving out from the north-south axis into the northern and southern arches of a horseshoe embracing center city Memphis.

Because of depopulation in the core, however, fewer and fewer children are living in the historically most highly distressed (40%) neighborhoods. Children are nevertheless well-represented in the census tracts having 20% poverty. Following a discussion of two alternative methods for classifying neighborhoods, we present a map series showing 1) the number of children in designated age groups by census tract county-wide; and 2) the percentage of the population in designated age groups tract by tract. Numbers are important for estimating adequacy of assets neighborhood by neighborhood, while percentages reflect on more complex dynamics such as adult to children ratio as a proxy for adult supervision.

Charlie Brunner of The Child and Family Research Center offers an alternative method for thinking about neighborhood effects:

About the Child Vulnerability Index:

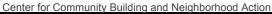
- The Child and Family Research Center, in conjunction with The Urban Institute's Annie E. Casey-supported "Making Connections" initiative, developed an index of neighborhood-level risks for early child development. The index is based on statistical indicators that have been related to neighborhood effects on child outcomes.
- Each of the more than 68,000 U.S. census tracts was coded in comparison to nationwide norms on 10 indicators. "Vulnerable" census tracts vary significantly from the national statistical norms for indicator characteristics. (Equivalent to the bottom 17% of census tracts nationally.)
- Poverty is associated with the vulnerability index, but was not included as an individual indicator. This enables researchers to grasp better the more specific circumstances that undermine healthy child development in vulnerable neighborhoods.

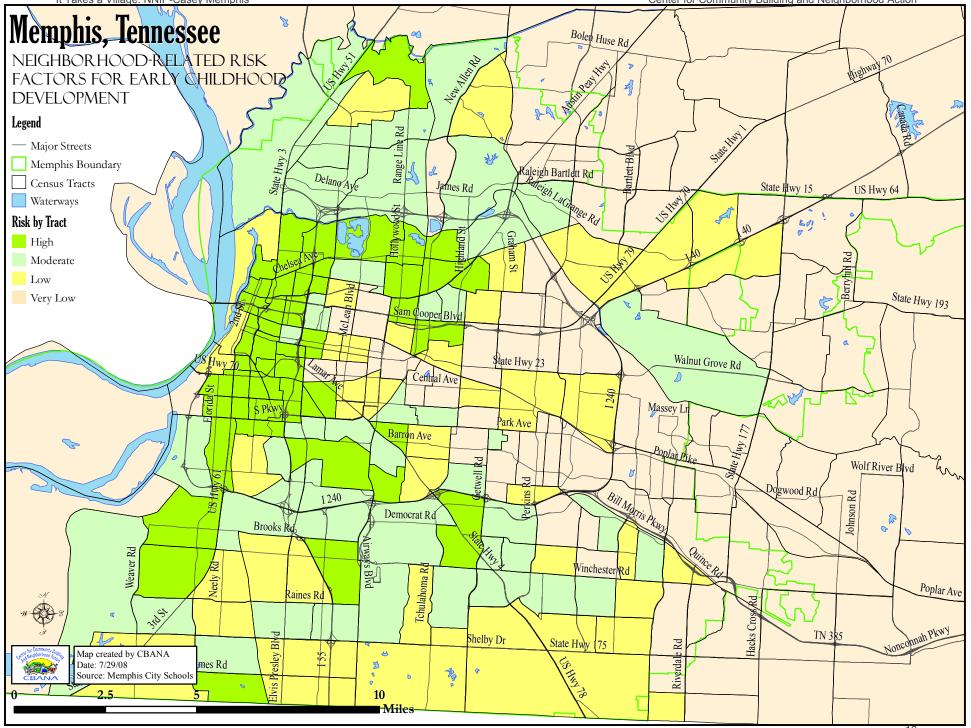
Low, moderate, and high levels of vulnerability in the map below reflect a summary count of the number of indicators on which a census tract is vulnerable based on the Brunner method.

When we compare the number of neighborhoods with concentrated and highly concentrated poverty to the smaller number of neighborhoods at highest risk on the Child Vulnerability Index we can narrow the focus locally to 50 percent fewer census tracts including 48,000 children in the 48 highest-risk tracts.

- The highest-risk census tracts represent over one out of every five census tracts in Memphis (22%). This smaller, but nevertheless significant group of neighborhoods may require more intense supportive interventions than high-poverty neighborhoods in general.
- The limitation of the current Child Vulnerability Index, however, is that is remains rooted in outdated 2000 census data an issue our Neighborhood Zone Analysis attempts to counter.

It Takes a Village: NNIP-Casey Memphis

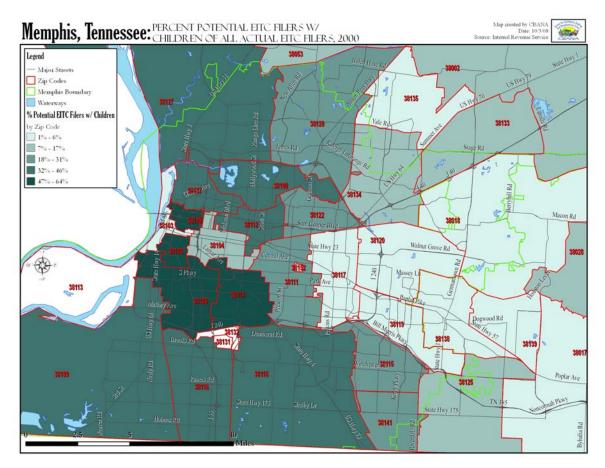




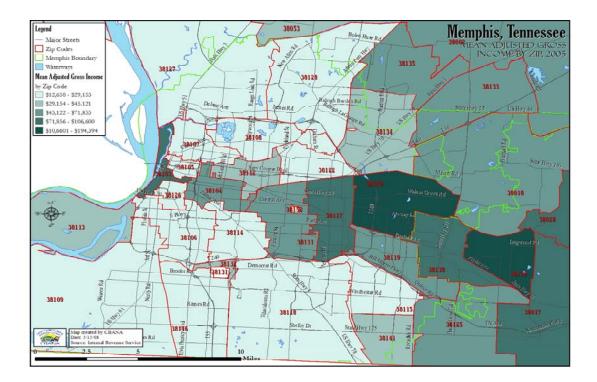
2.4. Thinking about Neighborhood Effects By Using Indicators of Neighborhood Change to Anticipate Change in Concentrated Poverty Zone Analysis

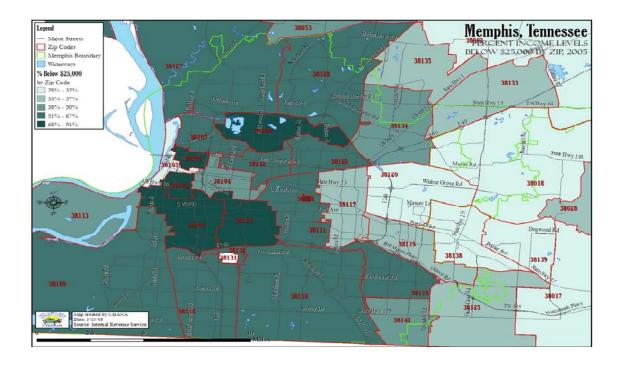
The 2000 census data are no longer reliable as an indicator of concentrated disadvantage and neighborhood effects. Thinking seriously about risk factors, assets, and mobilization at the neighborhood level in support of early childhood development and school readiness requires an understanding of neighborhood change.

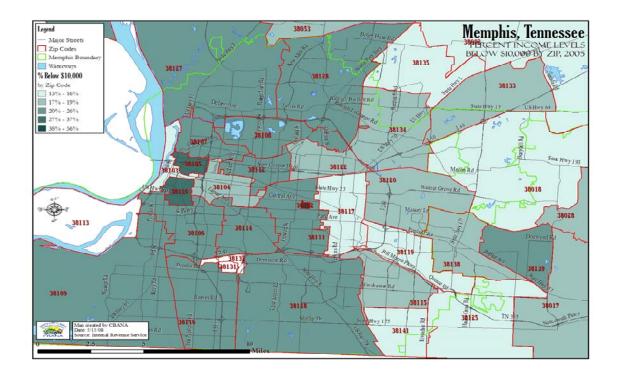
The maps and table below illustrate changes in zipcode level income indicators based on 2000-2004 data from the Internal Revenue Service. The Earned Income Tax Credit is used as a proxy for low income families having incomes up to about 200% of the poverty level. Deeper analysis of IRS data and additional maps below reveal that the majority of filers in areas where EITC filers as a percent of all filers has increased the most (southwest to southeast Memphis (Whitehaven, Fox Meadows and Hickory Hill in a horseshoe-like arc outside the I-240 beltway and Bill Morris Parkway) and northwest to northeast Memphis (Frayser to Raleigh), are closer to the poverty level than the low income level (200% of poverty).



- Estimated mean household income by Shelby County zipcode reveals that only the darkly shaded "Poplar Corridor" leading into the suburbs has a mean higher than the Earned Income Tax Credit eligibility guideline of just under \$35,000.
- Tax returns of \$25,000 and less, and under \$10,000, are evident moving from the inner city and the North Memphis-South Memphis axis into the arms of the horseshoe around the Poplar Corridor.







Significant for our understanding of concentrated disadvantage and neighborhood effects on early childhood development and school readiness, the percentage of all tax filers eligible for EITC is now substantial in the arms of the horseshow outside of the inner city.

The table below shows changes in percent of EITC-qualified filers compared to all filers by zipcode and the percentage of EITC-eligible filers that actually claim the credit. The former reveals changes in income composition of the zipcode, while the percentage of qualified filers who actually claim the EITC says something about the effectiveness of community outreach to EITC-qualified filers – an indicator that may stand in for more comprehensive assessments of the strength of local support networks.

Note that some zipcodes in the table below record a decrease in total tax filings. Sometimes this reflects population decline; at other times it is possible that the population has remained the same but that labor force participation and/or minimum earnings have decreased to the point where it is no longer necessary to file a tax return. Both of these indicators are associated with concentrated poverty and have implications for neighborhood effects.

						Percent Change			
2000				2004			2000 to 2004		
Tax Returns With Children 2000			Tax Returns With Children 2004			Tax Returns With Children*			
Zip	Total All Returns	Potential ETIC/ All Returns	Potential EITC With EITC claim	All Returns	Potential ETIC/ All Returns	Potential EITC With actual EITC claim	All Returns	% change Potential ETIC/ All Returns	% change Potential EITC With actual EITC claim
38002	8,470	8%	87%	11,972	8%	89%	41%	41%	43%
38016	2,488	7%	81%	16,434	8%	87%	561%	703%	761%
38017	16,905	6%	84%	19,188	7%	86%	14%	27%	28%
38018	24,253	4%	82%	15,389	7%	88%	-37%	8%	16%
38053	11,964	17%	85%	11,761	18%	91%	-2%	6%	15%
38103	3,349	6%	89%	4,329	5%	91%	29%	10%	13%
38104	11,368	15%	89%	10,322	15%	87%	-9%	-6%	-8%
38105	2,712	50%	92%	2,563	48%	93%	-5%	-9%	-7%
38106	14,226	49%	91%	12,144	51%	92%	-15%	-10%	-9%
38107	9,382	46%	91%	7,823	44%	93%	-17%	-20%	-18%
38108	9,331	43%	90%	7,732	47%	90%	-17%	-10%	-11%
38109	24,735	43%	91%	21,502	45%	92%	-13%	-9%	-8%
38111	19,720	25%	91%	18,056	29%	91%	-8%	4%	3%
38112	8,129	34%	91%	7,473	36%	92%	-8%	-2%	-1%
38114	14,905	49%	92%	12,746	51%	92%	-14%	-12%	-11%
38115	17,947	28%	89%	17,549	42%	89%	-2%	45%	44%
38116	21,822	39%	93%	19,587	40%	94%	-10%	-7%	-6%
38117	13,756	5%	84%	13,238	7%	87%	-4%	32%	36%
38118	19,176	40%	91%	17,638	46%	91%	-8%	6%	6%
38119	11,097	5%	85%	10,850	11%	88%	-2%	97%	104%
38120	7,136	3%	81%	7,152	4%	78%	0%	46%	42%
38122	11,019	21%	88%	10,248	26%	87%	-7%	15%	13%
38125	11,581	8%	89%	13,669	14%	90%	18%	103%	107%
38126	2,521	64%	94%	2,420	66%	95%	-4%	0%	1%
38127	21,002	45%	93%	18,922	49%	94%	-10%	-1%	0%
38128	18,432	31%	91%	17,681	39%	94%	-4%	19%	22%
38133	8,489	9%	86%	8,653	12%	86%	2%	36%	36%
38134	17,460	11%	88%	17,030	18%	89%	-2%	50%	52%
38135	11,210	5%	85%	12,241	8%	90%	9%	68%	79%
38141	10,075	21%	88%	9,824	30%	88%	-2%	40%	41%
Totals	384,660	25%	91%	376,136	27%	91%	-2%	6%	7%
							C returns as		

Total Tax Filers and EITC Returns for 2000-2004 and Percent Change in Total Filers

* Percentage change represents the increase or decrease in the number of EITC returns as a percentage of all returns reported for 2000 and 2004.

Source: SPEC Database for 2000 and 2004 IRS Data.

2.4. Using Neighborhood Zone Analysis to Think about Neighborhood Effects

Using IRS data and other updated income indicators, the Neighborhood Zone Analysis is a new way to both grapple with outdated census 2000 data and think more strategically about risk factors, neighborhood assets, and intervention on behalf of kids.

The Zone Analysis takes as a point of departure measurable indicators that poverty is decentralizing in Memphis, and that what appeared to have been a trend toward deconcentration in 2000 (fewer 40% poverty census tracts in 2000 than in 1990) may already be reflecting signs of reversal/reconcentration mid-decade and beyond.

- Zone 1 represents classic distressed neighborhoods where childhood outcomes are traditionally associated with concentrated disadvantage.
 - o 40% poverty census 2000 or
 - o 20-39% poverty both 1990 and 2000 census.
- Zone 2 represents vulnerable, swing neighborhoods where poverty is increasing and where supportive assets for kids may be underdeveloped.
 - At least 20% poverty (but less than 40%) in 2000 for the first time or
 - Percentage of EITC filers at least 30% in most recent year data available (2004) and at least a 30% increase from 2000 or
 - At least 30% subprime borrowing in 2006.
- Zone 3 represents stable "neighborhoods of choice" where amenities are valued, demand for housing is high, and risk factors and assets are favorable to early childhood and school readiness.
 - Stable or increasing income indicators.
- Zone 4 represents uptrending transitional neighborhoods, not uncommonly reclaimed from erstwhile high poverty neighborhoods where gentrification could mean new assets for low-income children if they remain in the neighborhood and have access.
 - Poverty decreased by at least 25% 1990-2000 and fell below 20% in 2000.

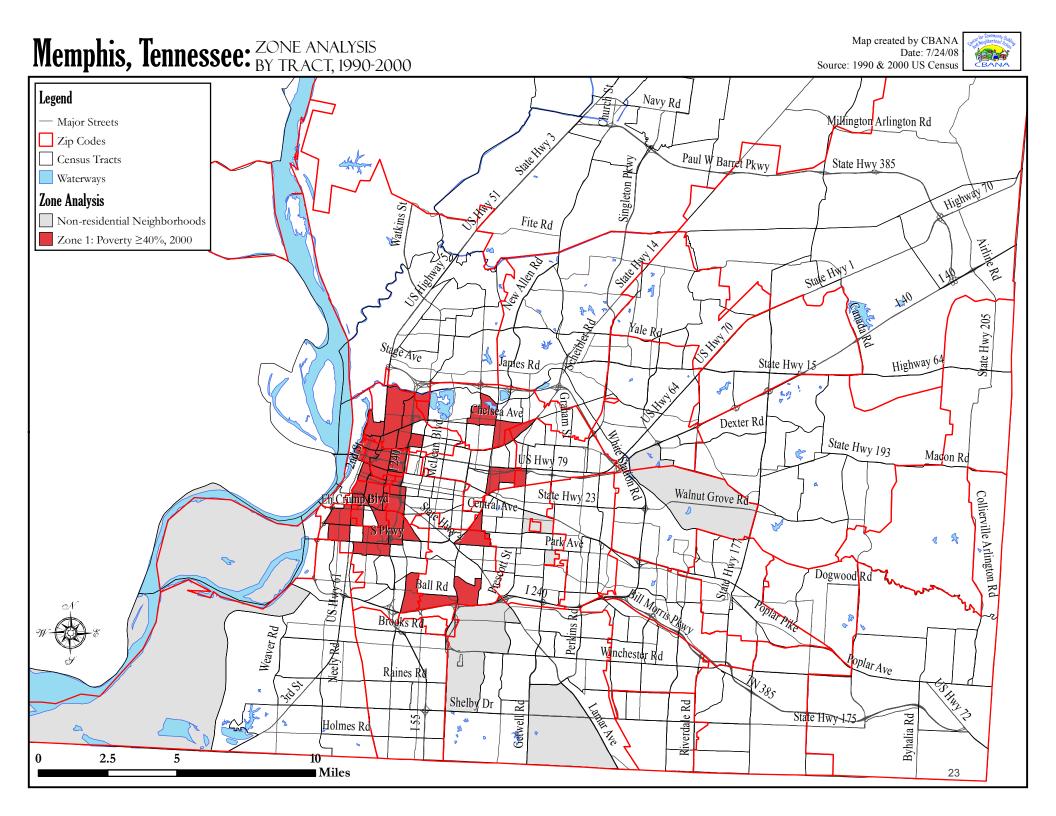
The Zone Analysis component of the Casey-NNIP project includes three components for neighborhood level risk assessment:

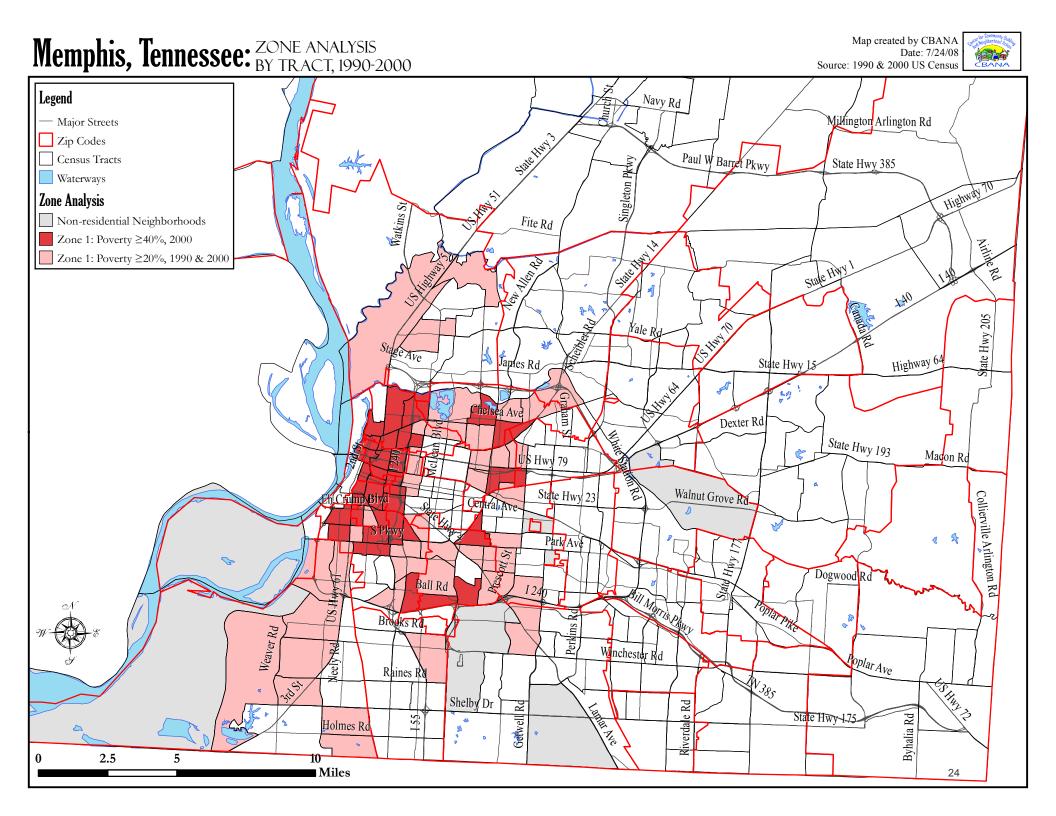
- Decentralization of poverty.
- Distribution of children.
- Distribution of birth outcomes (a proxy for geographic concentration of risk factors).

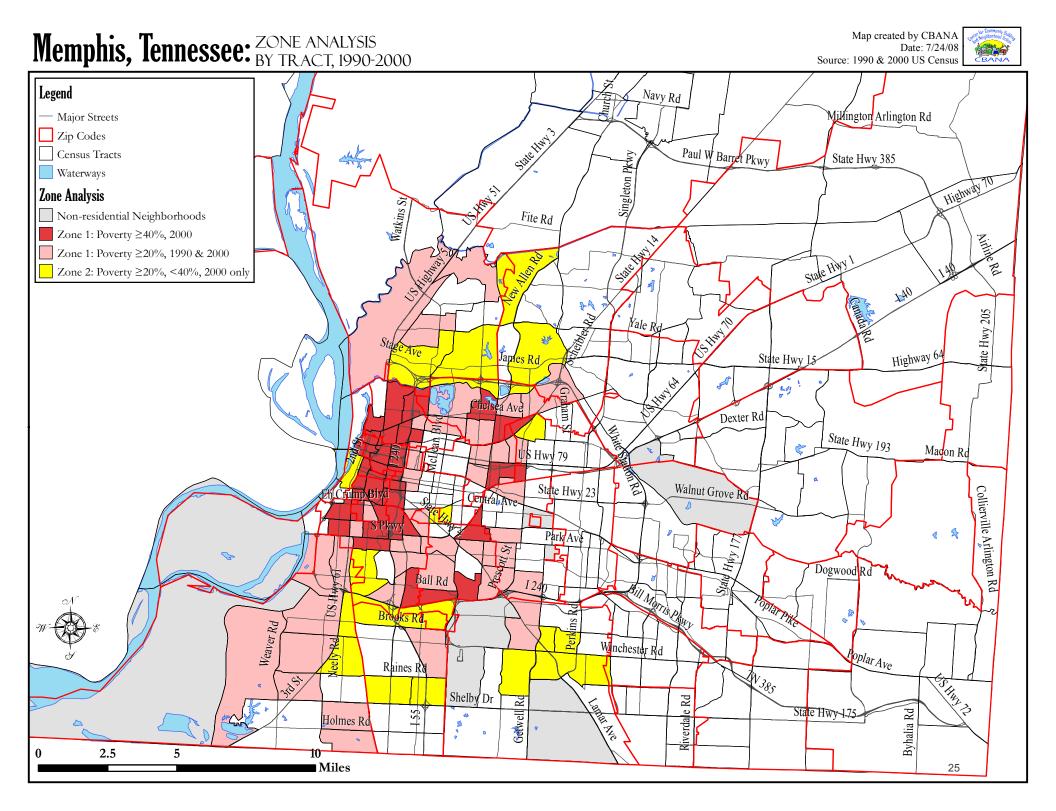
The series of maps below illustrate each component of the Zone-based neighborhood-level risk assessment.

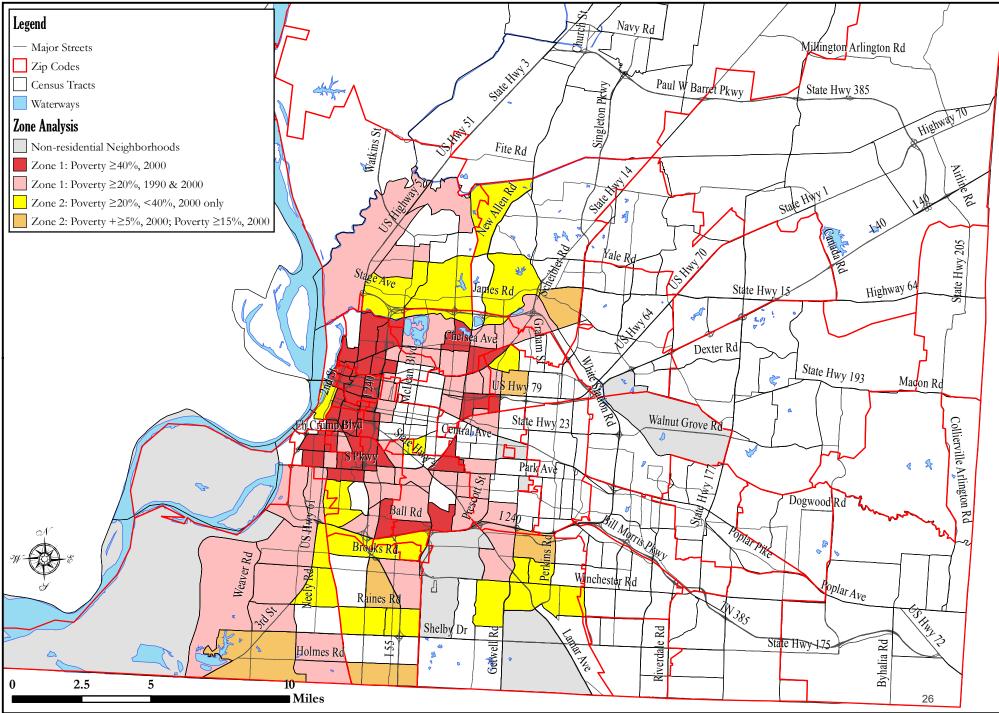
Decentralization of Poverty

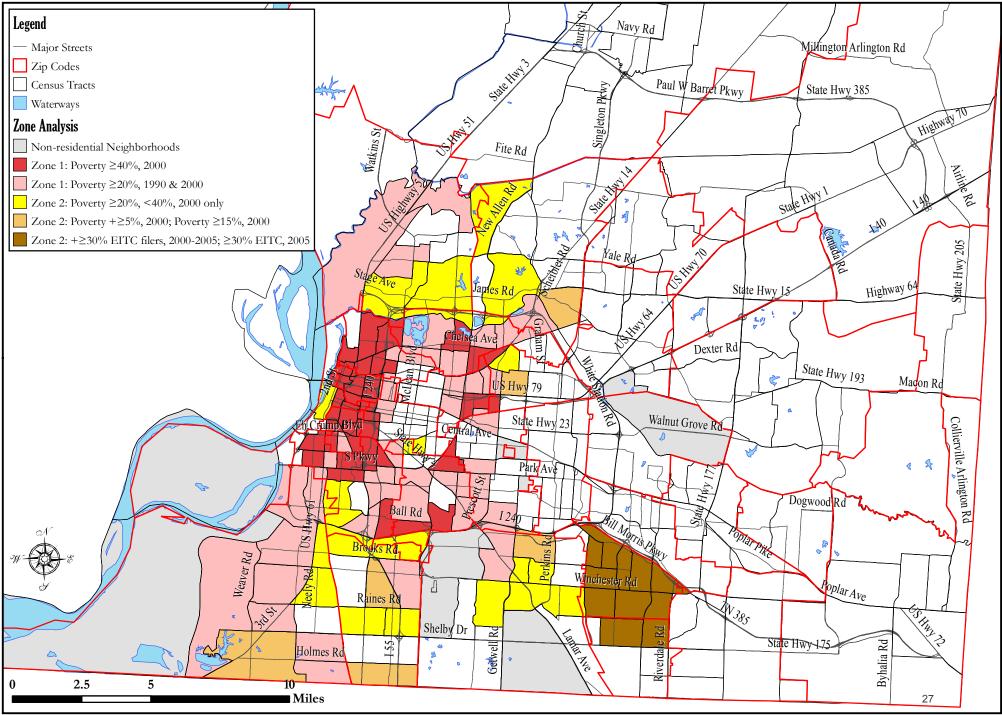
• Documenting the decentralization of poverty from Zone 1 to Zone 2, which drives the "zone-building" protocol outlined above, the series of maps below shows Memphis and Shelby County broken down into zones. The protocol is illustrated through a series of maps that shows how census tracts qualify for inclusion in Zones.

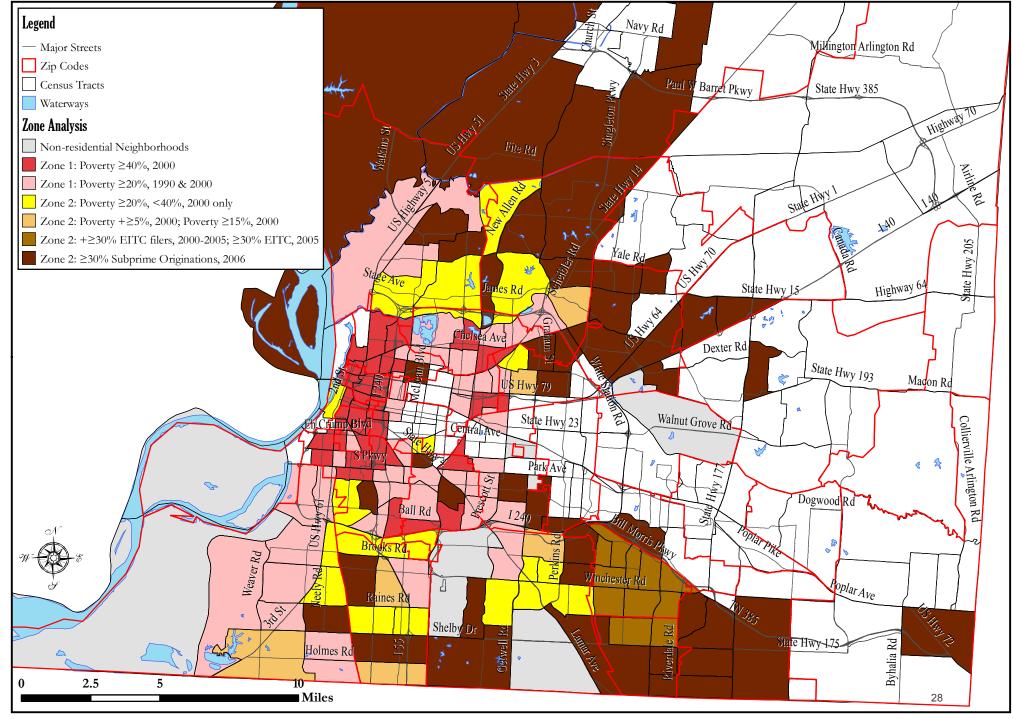




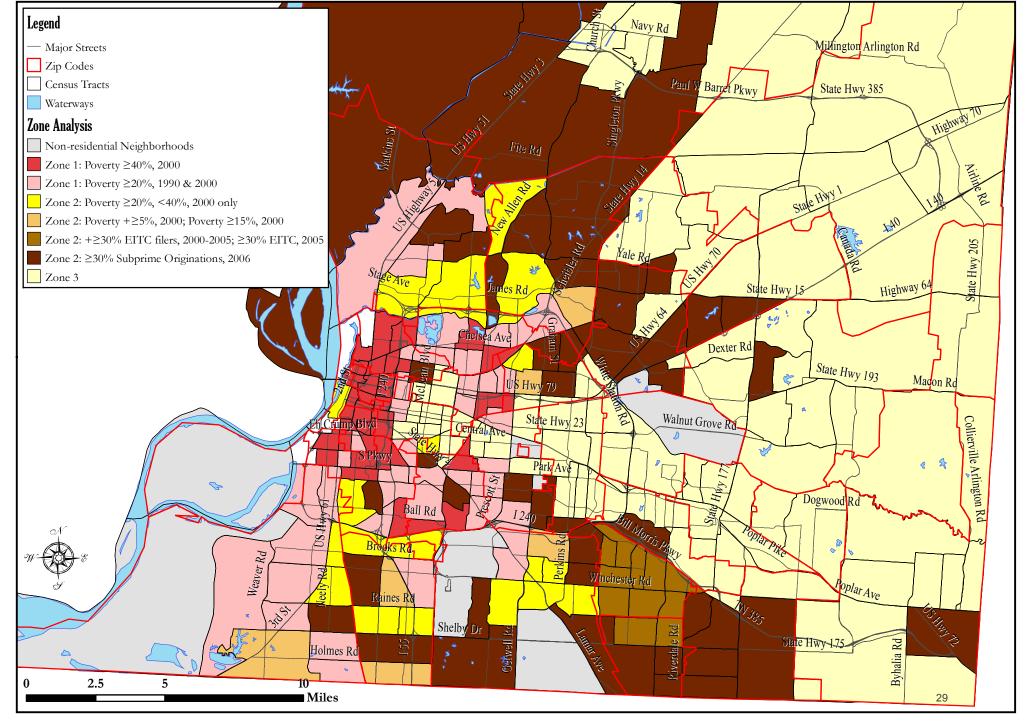




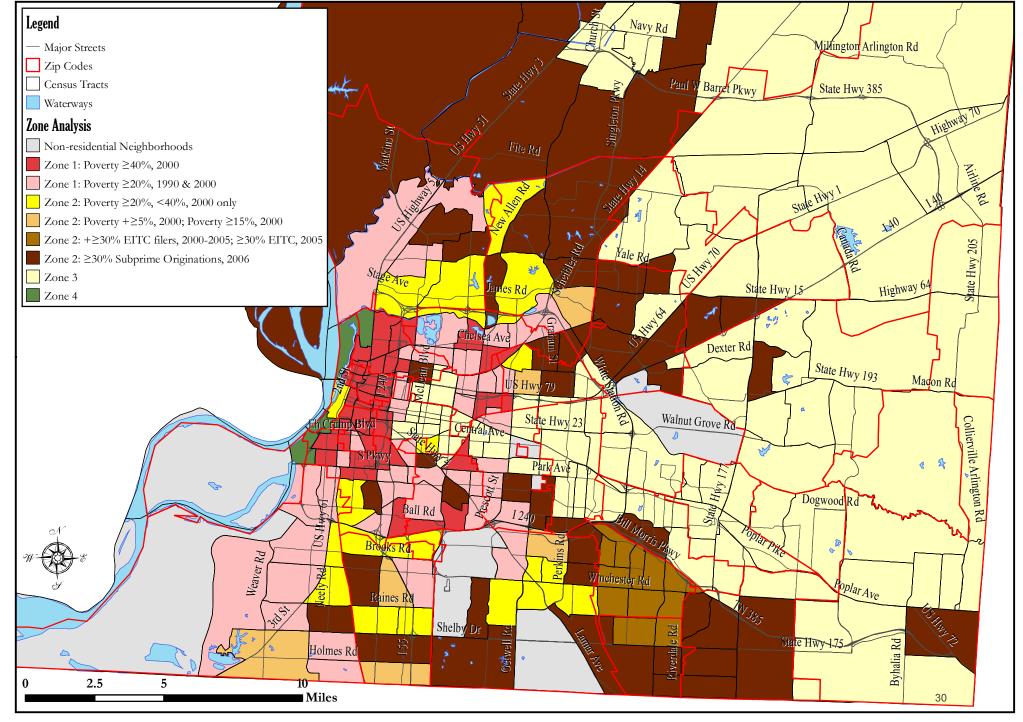






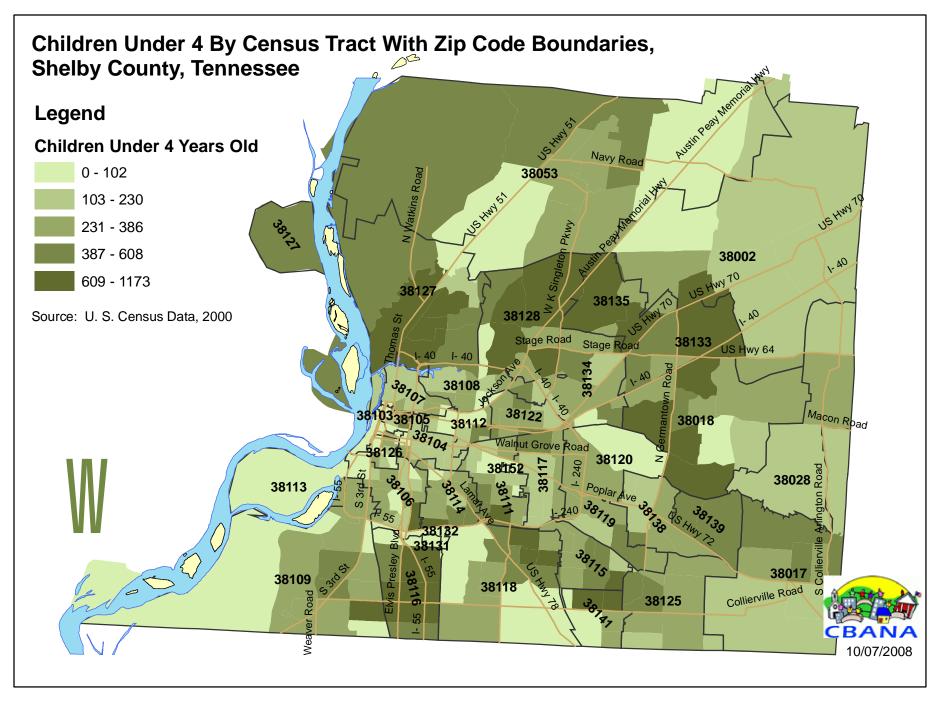


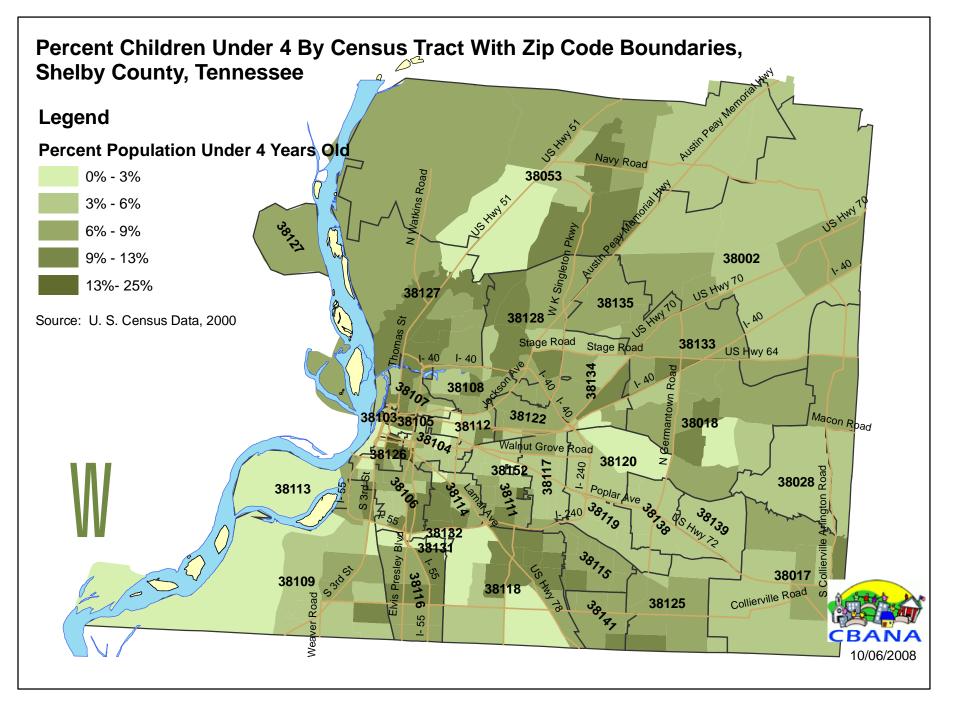


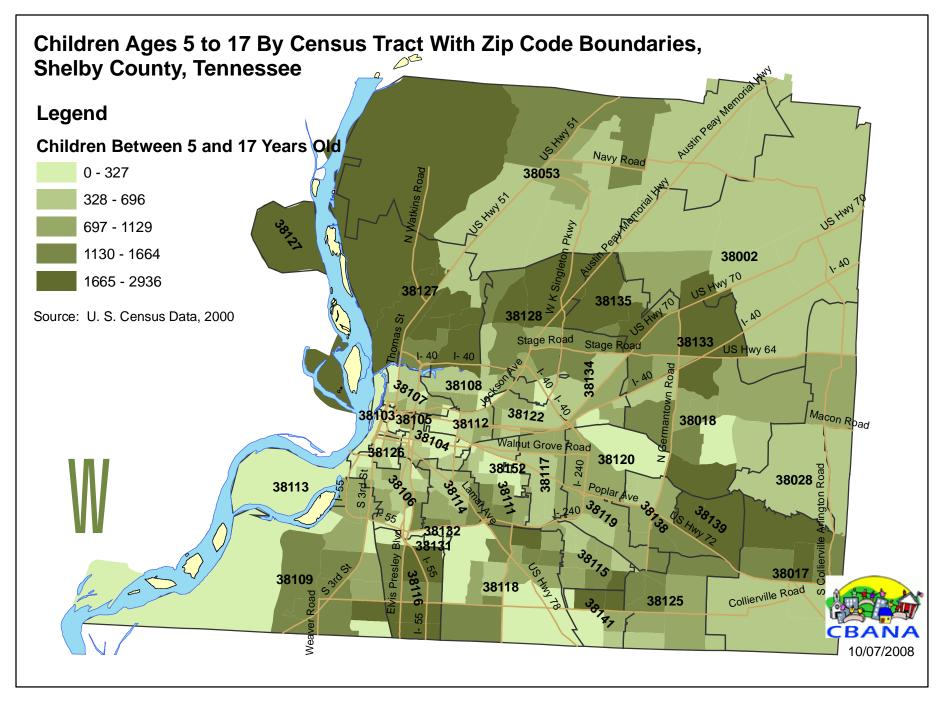


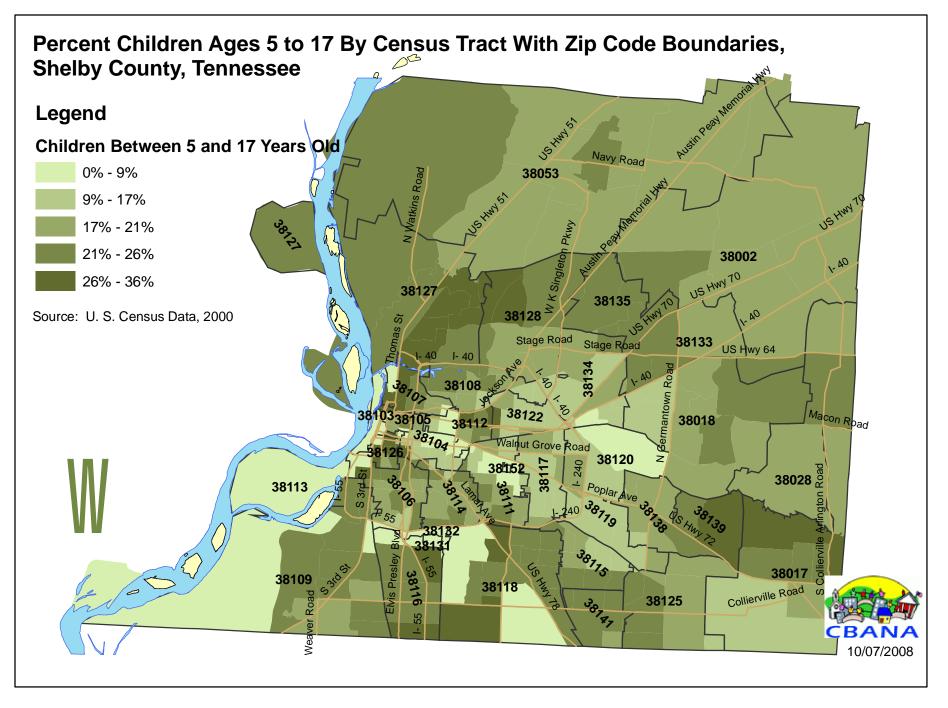
Distribution of Children

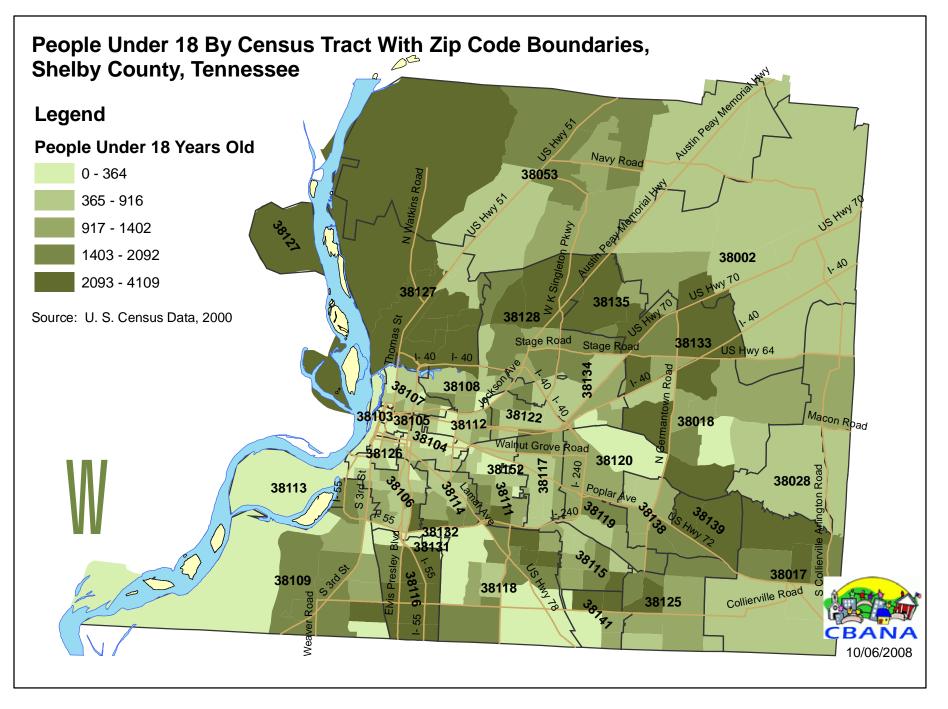
• Demonstrating how Zones 1 and 2 are demographically rich with children, with actual numbers of kids shifting from Zone 1 to Zone 2 as illustrated by declining school enrollment in Zone 1 (including several closed elementary schools) and growing enrollment in Zone 2 schools, this series of maps illustrates percentage and actual numbers of children under 18, 5-17, and 0-4 by census tract county-wide for comparison with the Zone maps.

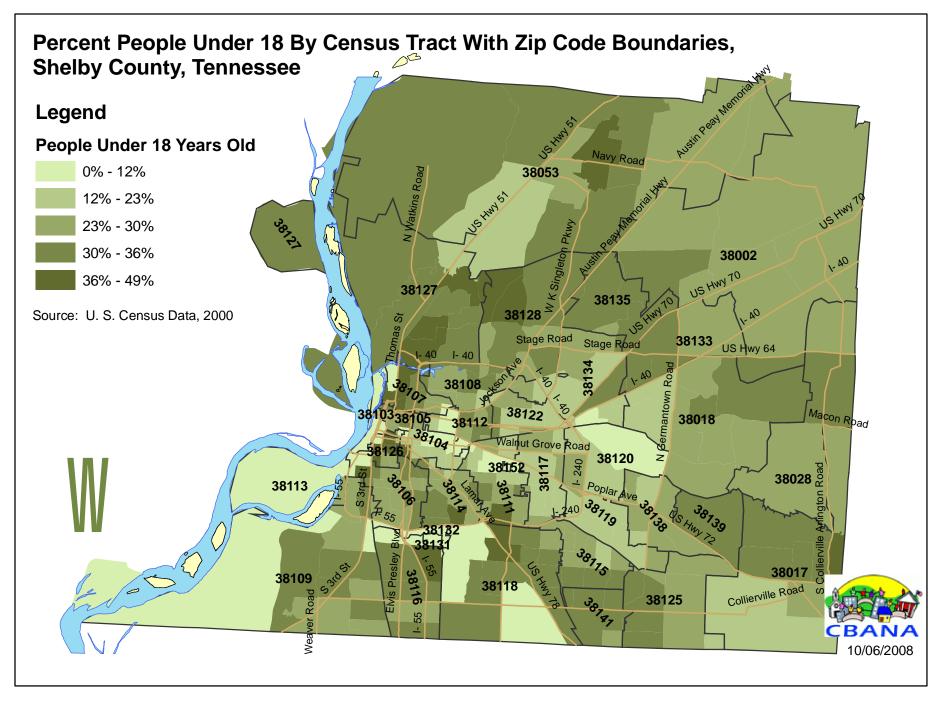








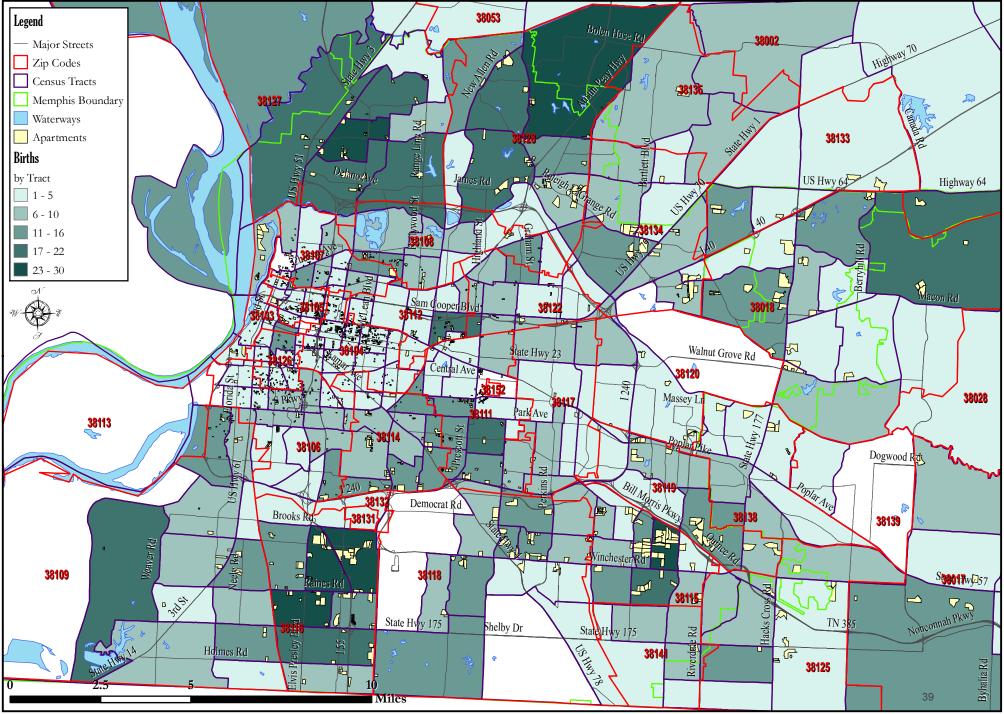




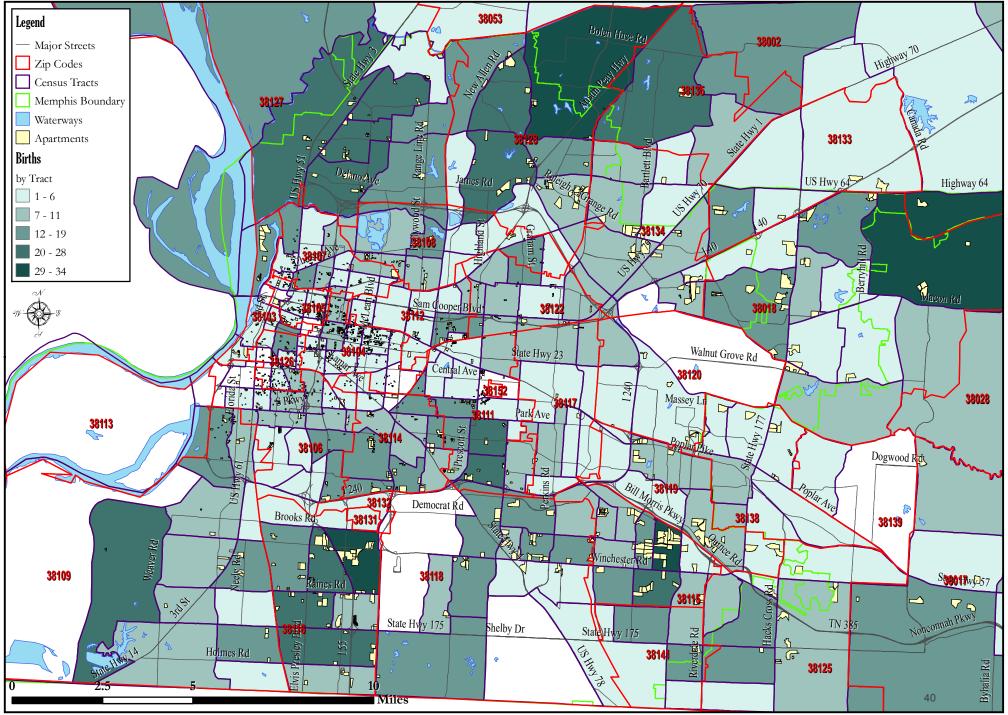
Distribution of Birth Outcomes

- These maps illustrate components of a five factor "risk index" for early childhood development, based on birth certificate data that capture family-level risk factors and displays their geographic distribution (and concentration) in Zones 1 and 2 Memphis and Shelby County. These maps also feature multi-family apartment complexes to show the relationship between these complexes and risk factors, and to suggest how the opportunity for site-based resident outreach and services in these apartment complexes many of which are tax credit properties where such site-based services are encouraged could turn what appears to be liabilities into assets. We also include a table with zipcode level data specifying the mapped indicators.
 - Low birth weight births
 - Premature births
 - Births to teen mothers
 - Births to mothers without high school diploma
 - Births to mothers with incomes below \$10,000

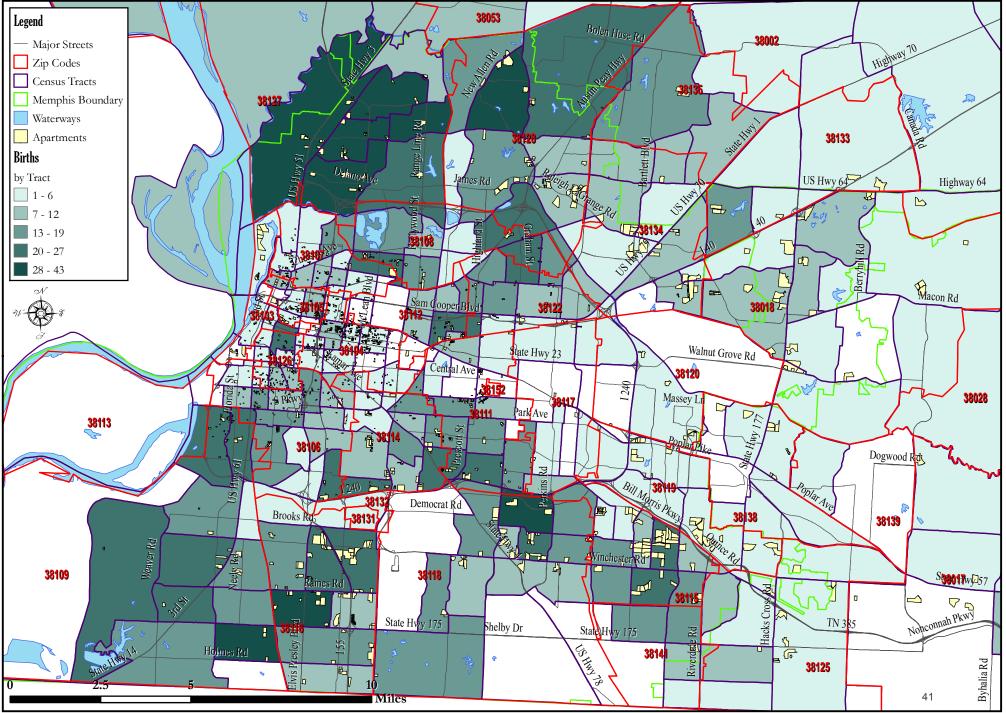
Memphis, Tennessee: DISTRIBUTION OF ALL BIRTHS W/ LOW BIRTH WEIGHT BY TRACT, 2006

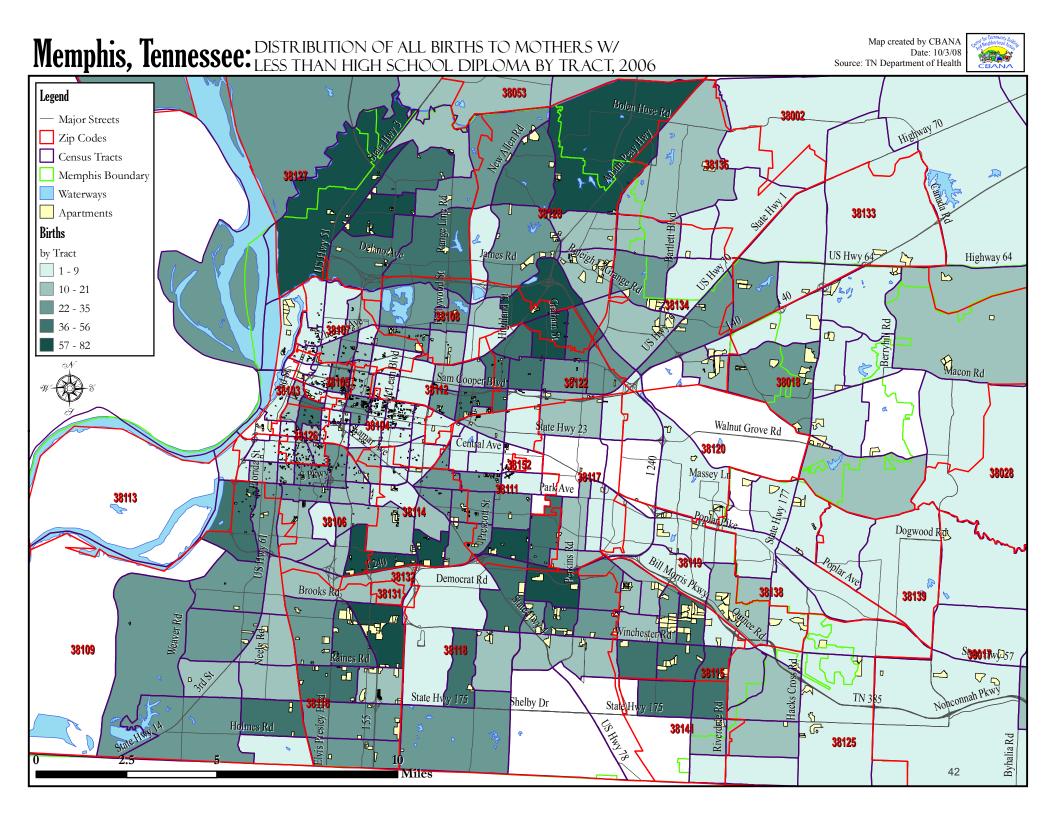


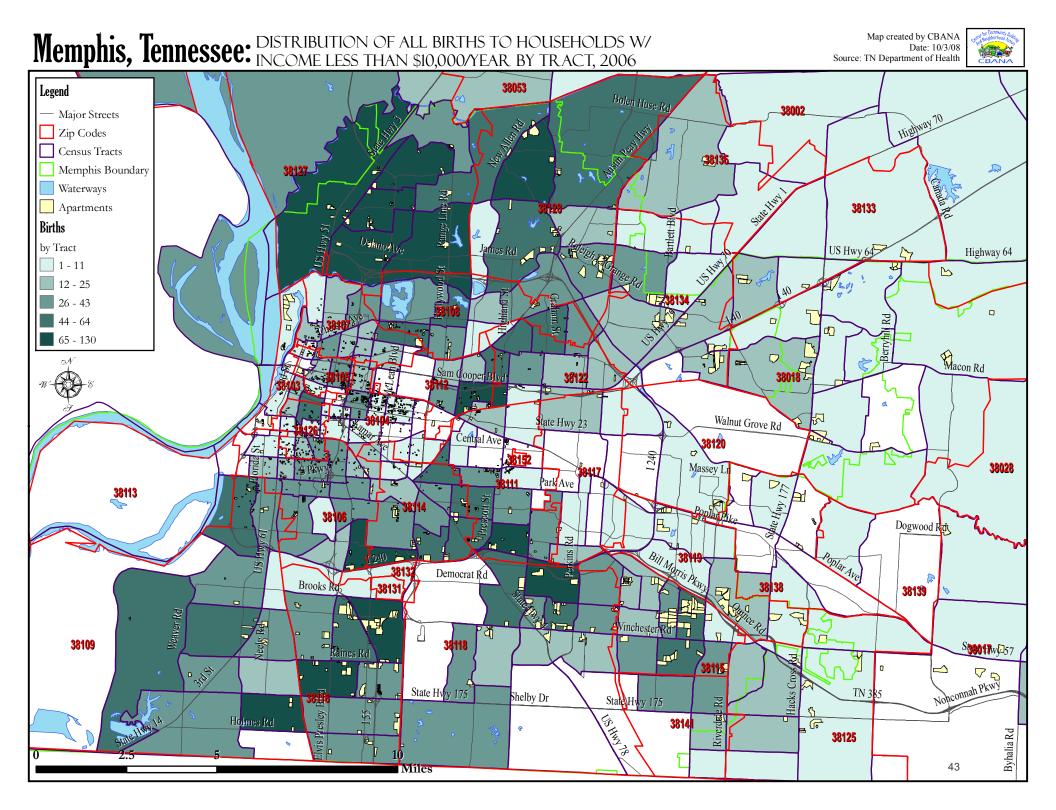
Memphis, Tennessee: DISTRIBUTION OF ALL PRETERM BIRTHS BY TRACT, 2006



Memphis, Tennessee: DISTRIBUTION OF ALL BIRTHS TO TEEN MOTHERS BY TRACT, 2006







Zip Code	Mothers	Total Births	% of Each Mother Category¹	% of All Births In Each Zip Code	Less Than High School Diploma	% of Each Education Category ²	Low birth weight (<2500g)	% of Each Birth Weight Category²	Household Income Less Than \$10,000	% of Each Income Care Category ²	Preterm Births	% of Each Preterm Birth Category²
0	All Mothers	13906	N/A	N/A	3942	28.35%	1572	11.30%	4929	35.45%	1911	13.74%
y Co	Teen Mothers	2067	14.86%	14.86%	1373	66.42%	287	13.88%	1232	59.60%	306	14.80%
Shelby (18-19 Mothers	1273	9.15%	9.15%	615	48.31%	176	13.83%	772	60.64%	193	15.16%
S	17 Under Mothers	794	5.71%	5.71%	758	95.47%	111	13.98%	460	57.93%	113	14.23%
	All Mothers	341	2.45%	N/A	13	3.81%	10	2.93%	12	3.52%	24	7.04%
02	Teen Mothers	7	0.34%	2.05%	4	57.14%	0	0.00%	1	14.29%	0	0.00%
38002	18-19 Mothers	5	0.39%	1.47%	2	40.00%	0	0.00%	1	20.00%	0	0.00%
	17 Under Mothers	2	0.25%	0.59%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	All Mothers	418	3.01%	N/A	23	5.50%	29	6.94%	22	5.26%	36	8.61%
16	Teen Mothers	25	1.21%	5.98%	8	32.00%	5	20.00%	7	28.00%	5	20.00%
38016	18-19 Mothers	20	1.57%	4.78%	3	15.00%	4	20.00%	5	25.00%	5	25.00%
	17 Under Mothers	5	0.63%	1.20%	5	100.00%	1	20.00%	2	40.00%	0	0.00%
	All Mothers	517	3.72%	N/A	35	6.77%	29	5.61%	32	6.19%	54	10.44%
17	Teen Mothers	24	1.16%	4.64%	11	45.83%	2	8.33%	5	20.83%	1	4.17%
38017	18-19 Mothers	18	1.41%	3.48%	5	27.78%	2	11.11%	4	22.22%	1	5.56%
	17 Under Mothers	6	0.76%	1.16%	6	100.00%	0	0.00%	1	16.67%	0	0.00%

¹ Percentage of total county births in each age category ² Percentage of total zip code births in each age category

Zip Code	Mothers	Total Births	% of Each Mother Category¹	% of All Births In Each Zip Code	Less Than High School Diploma	% of Each Education Category ²	Low birth weight (<2500g)	% of Each Birth Weight Category ²	Household Income Less Than \$10,000	% of Each Income Care Category ²	Preterm Births	% of Each Preterm Birth Category²
	All Mothers	693	4.98%	N/A	69	9.96%	56	8.08%	53	7.65%	75	10.82%
18	Teen Mothers	31	1.50%	4.47%	16	51.61%	2	6.45%	14	45.16%	3	9.68%
38018	18-19 Mothers	24	1.89%	3.46%	10	41.67%	2	8.33%	11	45.83%	3	12.50%
	17 Under Mothers	7	0.88%	1.01%	6	85.71%	0	0.00%	3	42.86%	0	0.00%
	All Mothers	73	0.52%	N/A	3	4.11%	5	6.85%	4	5.48%	7	9.59%
28	Teen Mothers	3	0.15%	4.11%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%
38028	18-19 Mothers	3	0.24%	4.11%	1	33.33%	0	0.00%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%
	17 Under Mothers	0	0.00%	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	All Mothers	392	2.82%	N/A	93	23.72%	36	9.18%	99	25.26%	55	14.03%
53	Teen Mothers	56	2.71%	14.29%	33	58.93%	4	7.14%	22	39.29%	7	12.50%
38053	18-19 Mothers	36	2.83%	9.18%	15	41.67%	2	5.56%	10	27.78%	3	8.33%
	17 Under Mothers	20	2.52%	5.10%	18	90.00%	2	10.00%	12	60.00%	4	20.00%
	All Mothers	55	0.40%	N/A	14	25.45%	5	9.09%	24	43.64%	8	14.55%
03	Teen Mothers	7	0.34%	12.73%	6	85.71%	0	0.00%	4	57.14%	0	0.00%
38103	18-19 Mothers	4	0.31%	7.27%	3	75.00%	0	0.00%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%
	17 Under Mothers	3	0.38%	5.45%	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%

¹ Percentage of total county births in each age category ² Percentage of total zip code births in each age category

Zip Code	Mothers	Total Births	% of Each Mother Category¹	% of All Births In Each Zip Code	Less Than High School Diploma	% of Each Education Category ²	Low birth weight (<2500g)	% of Each Birth Weight Category ²	Household Income Less Than \$10,000	% of Each Income Care Category ²	Preterm Births	% of Each Preterm Birth Category²
	All Mothers	266	1.91%	N/A	69	25.94%	27	10.15%	89	33.46%	36	13.53%
04	Teen Mothers	25	1.21%	9.40%	19	76.00%	6	24.00%	15	60.00%	4	16.00%
38104	18-19 Mothers	12	0.94%	4.51%	6	50.00%	6	50.00%	7	58.33%	3	25.00%
	17 Under Mothers	13	1.64%	4.89%	13	100.00%	0	0.00%	8	61.54%	1	7.69%
	All Mothers	111	0.80%	N/A	51	45.95%	14	12.61%	65	58.56%	18	16.22%
05	Teen Mothers	25	1.21%	22.52%	16	64.00%	4	16.00%	18	72.00%	5	20.00%
381	18-19 Mothers	15	1.18%	13.51%	6	40.00%	2	13.33%	9	60.00%	3	20.00%
	17 Under Mothers	10	1.26%	9.01%	10	100.00%	2	20.00%	9	90.00%	2	20.00%
	All Mothers	474	3.41%	N/A	228	48.10%	66	13.92%	299	63.08%	74	15.61%
90	Teen Mothers	138	6.68%	29.11%	86	62.32%	24	17.39%	103	74.64%	24	17.39%
381	18-19 Mothers	83	6.52%	17.51%	35	42.17%	18	21.69%	67	80.72%	17	20.48%
	17 Under Mothers	55	6.93%	11.60%	51	92.73%	6	10.91%	36	65.45%	7	12.73%
	All Mothers	472	3.39%	N/A	163	34.53%	69	14.62%	277	58.69%	73	15.47%
07	Teen Mothers	103	4.98%	21.82%	79	76.70%	12	11.65%	83	80.58%	14	13.59%
381	18-19 Mothers	59	4.63%	12.50%	36	61.02%	7	11.86%	48	81.36%	8	13.56%
	17 Under Mothers	44	5.54%	9.32%	43	97.73%	5	11.36%	35	79.55%	6	13.64%

¹ Percentage of total county births in each age category ² Percentage of total zip code births in each age category

Zip Code	Mothers	Total Births	% of Each Mother Category¹	% of All Births In Each Zip Code	Less Than High School Diploma	% of Each Education Category ²	Low birth weight (<2500g)	% of Each Birth Weight Category ²	Household Income Less Than \$10,000	% of Each Income Care Category ²	Preterm Births	% of Each Preterm Birth Category²
	All Mothers	352	2.53%	N/A	193	54.83%	37	10.51%	199	56.53%	54	15.34%
08	Teen Mothers	72	3.48%	20.45%	53	73.61%	9	12.50%	49	68.06%	14	19.44%
381	18-19 Mothers	46	3.61%	13.07%	29	63.04%	8	17.39%	32	69.57%	10	21.74%
	17 Under Mothers	26	3.27%	7.39%	24	92.31%	1	3.85%	17	65.38%	4	15.38%
	All Mothers	777	5.59%	N/A	276	35.52%	105	13.51%	418	53.80%	123	15.83%
60	Teen Mothers	201	9.72%	25.87%	125	62.19%	28	13.93%	120	59.70%	30	14.93%
381	18-19 Mothers	126	9.90%	16.22%	53	42.06%	17	13.49%	78	61.90%	21	16.67%
	17 Under Mothers	75	9.45%	9.65%	72	96.00%	11	14.67%	42	56.00%	9	12.00%
	All Mothers	754	5.42%	N/A	243	32.23%	83	11.01%	282	37.40%	114	15.12%
11	Teen Mothers	115	5.56%	15.25%	87	75.65%	17	14.78%	71	61.74%	15	13.04%
381	18-19 Mothers	65	5.11%	8.62%	39	60.00%	11	16.92%	38	58.46%	8	12.31%
	17 Under Mothers	50	6.30%	6.63%	48	96.00%	6	12.00%	33	66.00%	7	14.00%
	All Mothers	376	2.70%	N/A	160	42.55%	40	10.64%	221	58.78%	43	11.44%
12	Teen Mothers	70	3.39%	18.62%	51	72.86%	7	10.00%	49	70.00%	6	8.57%
381	18-19 Mothers	39	3.06%	10.37%	21	53.85%	2	5.13%	25	64.10%	2	5.13%
	17 Under Mothers	31	3.90%	8.24%	30	96.77%	5	16.13%	24	77.42%	4	12.90%

¹ Percentage of total county births in each age category ² Percentage of total zip code births in each age category Source: Tennessee Department of Health

Zip Code	Mothers	Total Births	% of Each Mother Category¹	% of All Births In Each Zip Code	Less Than High School Diploma	% of Each Education Category ²	Low birth weight (<2500g)	% of Each Birth Weight Category ²	Household Income Less Than \$10,000	% of Each Income Care Category ²	Preterm Births	% of Each Preterm Birth Category²
	All Mothers	521	3.75%	N/A	211	40.50%	88	16.89%	314	60.27%	94	18.04%
14	Teen Mothers	106	5.13%	20.35%	71	66.98%	11	10.38%	81	76.42%	10	9.43%
381	18-19 Mothers	65	5.11%	12.48%	32	49.23%	7	10.77%	49	75.38%	7	10.77%
	17 Under Mothers	41	5.16%	7.87%	39	95.12%	4	9.76%	32	78.05%	3	7.32%
	All Mothers	673	4.84%	N/A	222	32.99%	100	14.86%	220	32.69%	118	17.53%
15	Teen Mothers	105	5.08%	15.60%	77	73.33%	22	20.95%	44	41.90%	26	24.76%
381	18-19 Mothers	63	4.95%	9.36%	36	57.14%	15	23.81%	29	46.03%	16	25.40%
	17 Under Mothers	42	5.29%	6.24%	41	97.62%	7	16.67%	15	35.71%	10	23.81%
	All Mothers	789	5.67%	N/A	256	32.45%	130	16.48%	381	48.29%	135	17.11%
16	Teen Mothers	135	6.53%	17.11%	81	60.00%	28	20.74%	79	58.52%	30	22.22%
381	18-19 Mothers	98	7.70%	12.42%	48	48.98%	18	18.37%	61	62.24%	21	21.43%
	17 Under Mothers	37	4.66%	4.69%	33	89.19%	10	27.03%	18	48.65%	9	24.32%
	All Mothers	367	2.64%	N/A	58	15.80%	27	7.36%	48	13.08%	37	10.08%
17	Teen Mothers	20	0.97%	5.45%	16	80.00%	4	20.00%	8	40.00%	4	20.00%
381	18-19 Mothers	12	0.94%	3.27%	8	66.67%	1	8.33%	3	25.00%	2	16.67%
	17 Under Mothers	8	1.01%	2.18%	8	100.00%	3	37.50%	5	62.50%	2	25.00%

¹ Percentage of total county births in each age category ² Percentage of total zip code births in each age category

Zip Code	Mothers	Total Births	% of Each Mother Category¹	% of All Births In Each Zip Code	Less Than High School Diploma	% of Each Education Category ²	Low birth weight (<2500g)	% of Each Birth Weight Category ²	Household Income Less Than \$10,000	% of Each Income Care Category ²	Preterm Births	% of Each Preterm Birth Category²
	All Mothers	1118	8.04%	N/A	410	36.67%	132	11.81%	436	39.00%	156	13.95%
18	Teen Mothers	199	9.63%	17.80%	142	71.36%	22	11.06%	93	46.73%	22	11.06%
381	18-19 Mothers	120	9.43%	10.73%	65	54.17%	11	9.17%	62	51.67%	14	11.67%
	17 Under Mothers	79	9.95%	7.07%	77	97.47%	11	13.92%	31	39.24%	8	10.13%
	All Mothers	198	1.42%	N/A	19	9.60%	24	12.12%	26	13.13%	24	12.12%
19	Teen Mothers	11	0.53%	5.56%	4	36.36%	3	27.27%	4	36.36%	4	36.36%
381	18-19 Mothers	9	0.71%	4.55%	2	22.22%	3	33.33%	4	44.44%	3	33.33%
	17 Under Mothers	2	0.25%	1.01%	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	50.00%
	All Mothers	188	1.35%	N/A	9	4.79%	16	8.51%	8	4.26%	20	10.64%
20	Teen Mothers	4	0.19%	2.13%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%
381	18-19 Mothers	4	0.31%	2.13%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%
	17 Under Mothers	0	0.00%	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	All Mothers	287	2.06%	N/A	139	48.43%	20	6.97%	113	39.37%	33	11.50%
22	Teen Mothers	48	2.32%	16.72%	40	83.33%	6	12.50%	32	66.67%	8	16.67%
381	18-19 Mothers	25	1.96%	8.71%	17	68.00%	4	16.00%	18	72.00%	4	16.00%
	17 Under Mothers	23	2.90%	8.01%	23	100.00%	2	8.70%	14	60.87%	4	17.39%

¹ Percentage of total county births in each age category ² Percentage of total zip code births in each age category

Zip Code	Mothers	Total Births	% of Each Mother Category¹	% of All Births In Each Zip Code	Less Than High School Diploma	% of Each Education Category ²	Low birth weight (<2500g)	% of Each Birth Weight Category ²	Household Income Less Than \$10,000	% of Each Income Care Category ²	Preterm Births	% of Each Preterm Birth Category²
	All Mothers	177	1.27%	N/A	23	12.99%	17	9.60%	33	18.64%	20	11.30%
25	Teen Mothers	14	0.68%	7.91%	3	21.43%	0	0.00%	6	42.86%	0	0.00%
381	18-19 Mothers	11	0.86%	6.21%	1	9.09%	0	0.00%	6	54.55%	0	0.00%
	17 Under Mothers	3	0.38%	1.69%	2	66.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	All Mothers	156	1.12%	N/A	89	57.05%	30	19.23%	121	77.56%	29	18.59%
26	Teen Mothers	52	2.52%	33.33%	36	69.23%	7	13.46%	45	86.54%	6	11.54%
381	18-19 Mothers	27	2.12%	17.31%	12	44.44%	2	7.41%	26	96.30%	2	7.41%
	17 Under Mothers	25	3.15%	16.03%	24	96.00%	5	20.00%	19	76.00%	4	16.00%
	All Mothers	909	6.54%	N/A	344	37.84%	123	13.53%	577	63.48%	142	15.62%
27	Teen Mothers	198	9.58%	21.78%	130	65.66%	27	13.64%	146	73.74%	29	14.65%
381	18-19 Mothers	132	10.37%	14.52%	66	50.00%	15	11.36%	104	78.79%	19	14.39%
	17 Under Mothers	66	8.31%	7.26%	64	96.97%	12	18.18%	42	63.64%	10	15.15%
	All Mothers	802	5.77%	N/A	271	33.79%	108	13.47%	333	41.52%	125	15.59%
28	Teen Mothers	140	6.77%	17.46%	93	66.43%	21	15.00%	89	63.57%	25	17.86%
381	18-19 Mothers	73	5.73%	9.10%	30	41.10%	8	10.96%	43	58.90%	11	15.07%
	17 Under Mothers	67	8.44%	8.35%	63	94.03%	13	19.40%	46	68.66%	14	20.90%

¹ Percentage of total county births in each age category ² Percentage of total zip code births in each age category

Zip Code	Mothers	Total Births	% of Each Mother Category¹	% of All Births In Each Zip Code	Less Than High School Diploma	% of Each Education Category ²	Low birth weight (<2500g)	% of Each Birth Weight Category²	Household Income Less Than \$10,000	% of Each Income Care Category ²	Preterm Births	% of Each Preterm Birth Category ²
	All Mothers	118	0.85%	N/A	6	5.08%	8	6.78%	3	2.54%	16	13.56%
33	Teen Mothers	11	0.53%	9.32%	4	36.36%	0	0.00%	1	9.09%	0	0.00%
38133	18-19 Mothers	8	0.63%	6.78%	1	12.50%	0	0.00%	1	12.50%	0	0.00%
	17 Under Mothers	3	0.38%	2.54%	3	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	All Mothers	643	4.62%	N/A	132	20.53%	60	9.33%	117	18.20%	70	10.89%
34	Teen Mothers	62	3.00%	9.64%	38	61.29%	7	11.29%	23	37.10%	8	12.90%
38134	18-19 Mothers	39	3.06%	6.07%	16	41.03%	5	12.82%	14	35.90%	6	15.38%
	17 Under Mothers	23	2.90%	3.58%	22	95.65%	2	8.70%	9	39.13%	2	8.70%
	All Mothers	291	2.09%	N/A	22	7.56%	20	6.87%	25	8.59%	43	14.78%
35	Teen Mothers	18	0.87%	6.19%	9	50.00%	4	22.22%	6	33.33%	5	27.78%
38135	18-19 Mothers	10	0.79%	3.44%	3	30.00%	3	30.00%	5	50.00%	4	40.00%
	17 Under Mothers	8	1.01%	2.75%	6	75.00%	1	12.50%	1	12.50%	1	12.50%
	All Mothers	260	1.87%	N/A	18	6.92%	24	9.23%	12	4.62%	26	10.00%
38	Teen Mothers	8	0.39%	3.08%	6	75.00%	0	0.00%	2	25.00%	0	0.00%
38138	18-19 Mothers	4	0.31%	1.54%	2	50.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%
	17 Under Mothers	4	0.50%	1.54%	4	100.00%	0	0.00%	1	25.00%	0	0.00%

¹ Percentage of total county births in each age category ² Percentage of total zip code births in each age category

Zip Code	Mothers	Total Births	% of Each Mother Category¹	% of All Births In Each Zip Code	Less Than High School Diploma	% of Each Education Category ²	Low birth weight (<2500g)	% of Each Birth Weight Category ²	Household Income Less Than \$10,000	% of Each Income Care Category ²	Preterm Births	% of Each Preterm Birth Category ²
	All Mothers	86	0.62%	N/A	2	2.33%	5	5.81%	2	2.33%	6	6.98%
39	Teen Mothers	1	0.05%	1.16%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
381	18-19 Mothers	0	0.00%	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	17 Under Mothers	1	0.13%	1.16%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
	All Mothers	252	1.81%	N/A	78	30.95%	19	7.54%	64	25.40%	23	9.13%
41	Teen Mothers	33	1.60%	13.10%	25	75.76%	5	15.15%	9	27.27%	1	3.03%
381	18-19 Mothers	18	1.41%	7.14%	10	55.56%	3	16.67%	6	33.33%	0	0.00%
	17 Under Mothers	15	1.89%	5.95%	15	100.00%	2	13.33%	3	20.00%	1	6.67%

¹ Percentage of total county births in each age category ² Percentage of total zip code births in each age category Source: Tennessee Department of Health

Legend

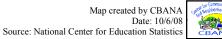
Lakeland/Arlington	Millington
Partial Memphis/Cordova - County	Memphis City
Collierville	Bartlett
Germantown	Eads/Fisherville

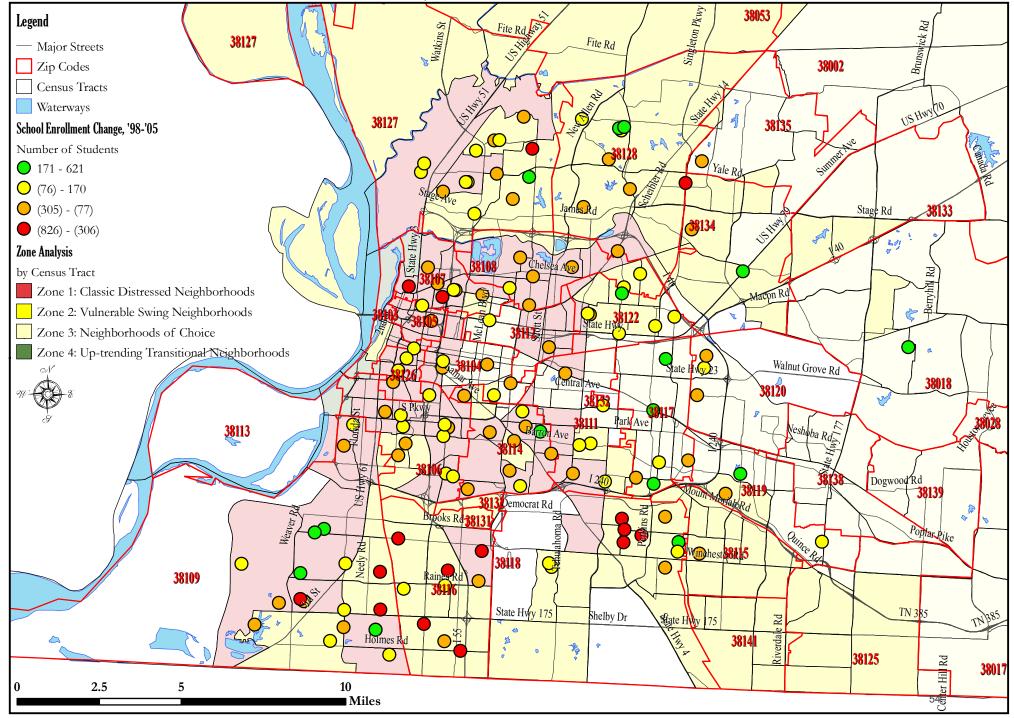
2.5. The Distribution of Neighborhood Level Assets Among Zones

We continue our discussion of risk factors, assets, and opportunities with maps and tables showing the geographic distribution of basic neighborhood-level assets information and indicators, from school performance to enrollment changes in schools, the distribution of Head Start and Pre-K opportunities, and the distribution of Boys and Girls clubs.

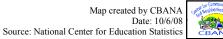
This basic level of asset mapping both underscores the movement of risk factors into Zone 2 and significantly demonstrates a paucity of institutional resources to support low income families in Zone 2 neighborhoods.

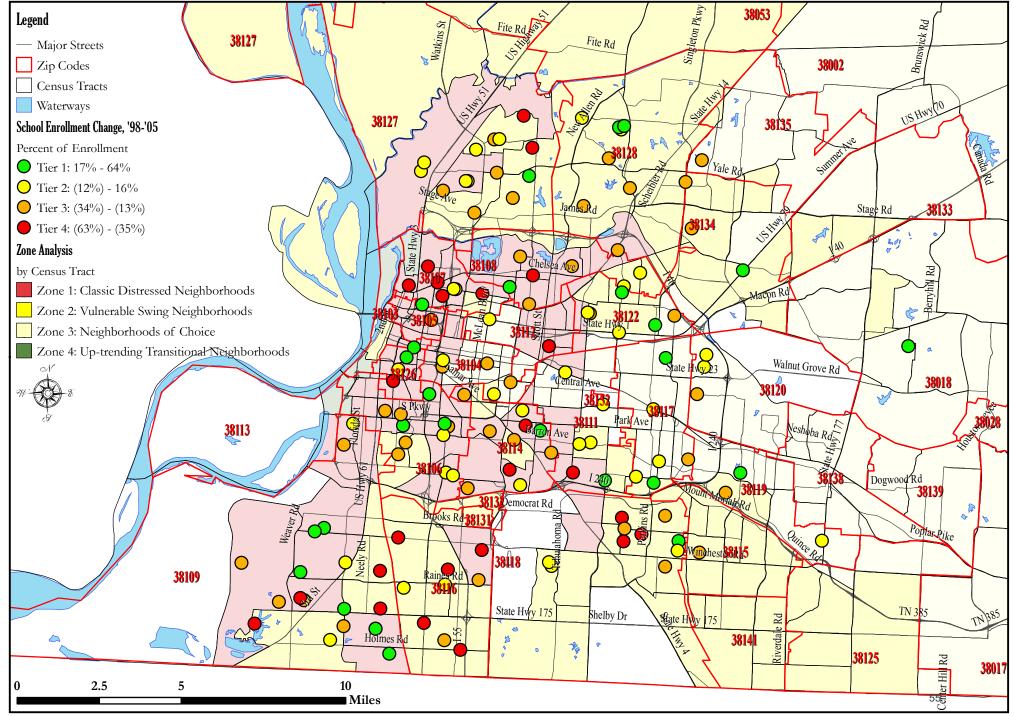
Memphis, Tennessee: SCHOOL ENROLLMENT CHANGE FOR MEMPHIS CITY SCHOOLS, 98-99 & 05-06

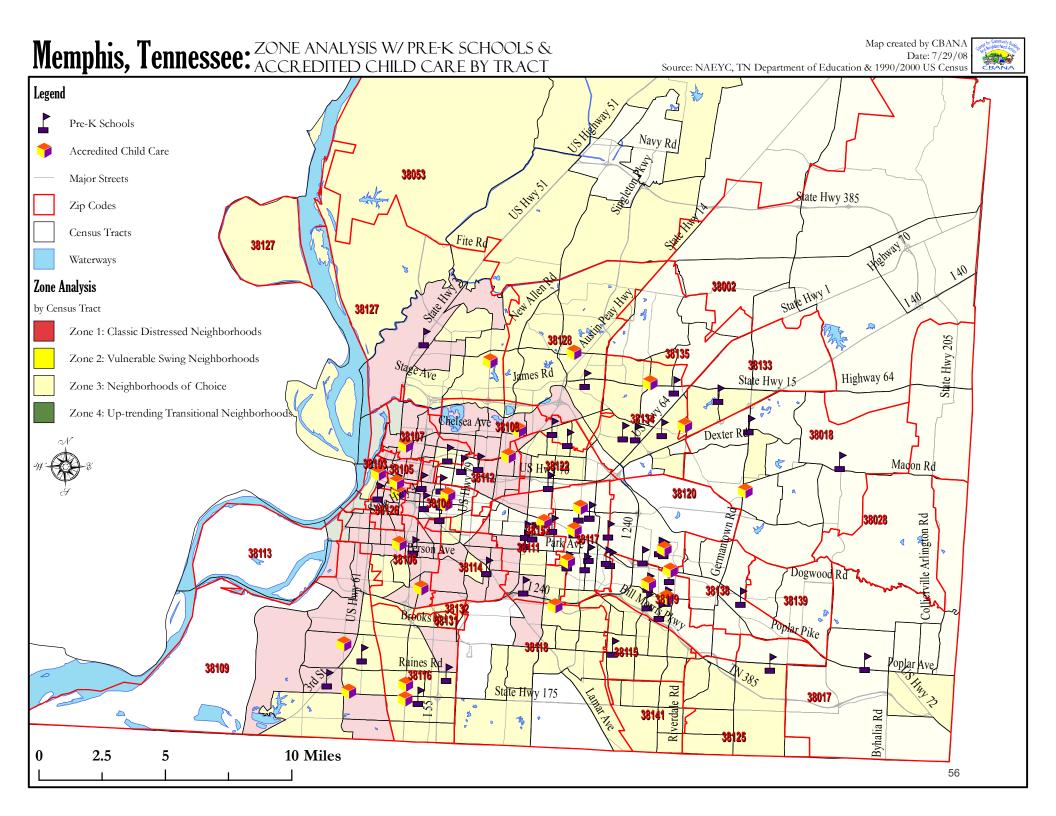


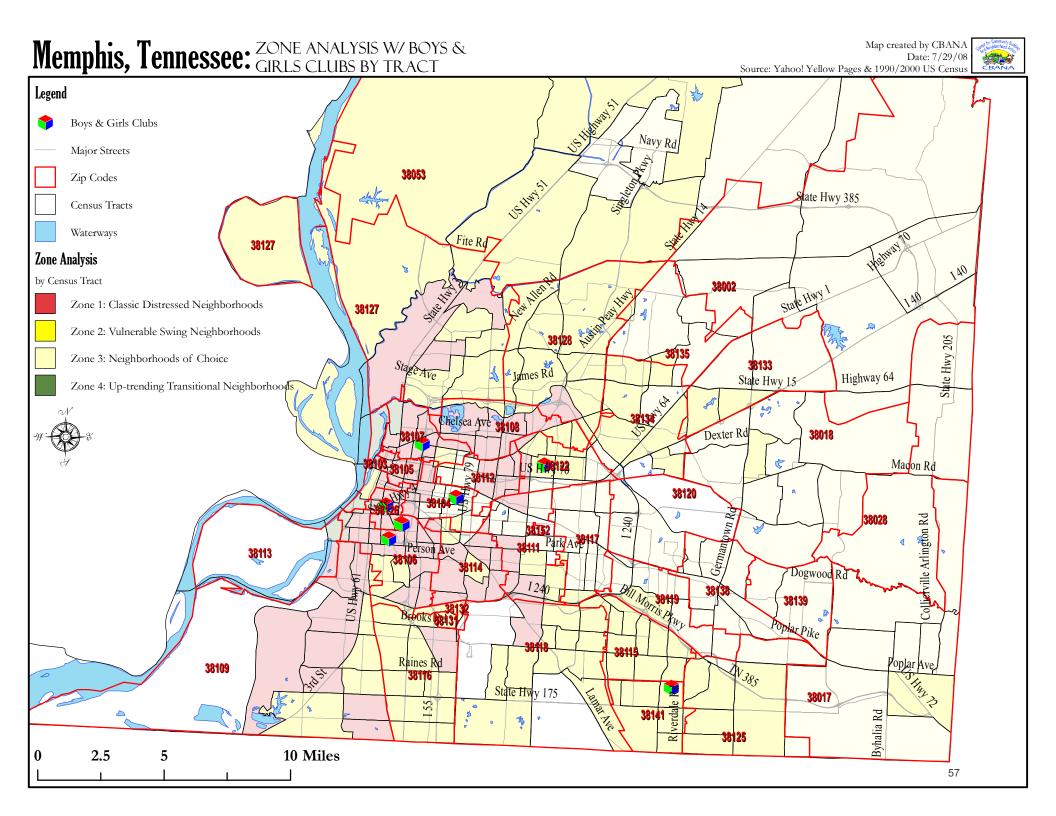


Memphis, Tennessee: SCHOOL ENROLLMENT CHANGE FOR MEMPHIS CITY SCHOOLS, 98-99 & 05-06









_Zip Codes and Schools	199	8-1999	200	5-2006		llment ange	Enrollment Stability	1999-2000 Turnover Stability	2005-2006 Turnover Stability	Turnover Stability
	Grades ³	Enrollment	Grades ³	Enrollment	Number	Percent	Tier	Index	Index	Tier
38104										
Bellevue Middle	7-9	728	7-9	511	-217	-30%	3	79	81	2
Bruce Elementary	0-6	643	KG-5	561	-82	-13%	3	67	68	3
Central High	9-12	1336	9-12	1362	26	2%	2	84	84	2
Fairview Middle	7-9	404	7-9	309	-95	-24%	3	73	60	3
Idlewild Elementary	0-6	641	KG-6	482	-159	-25%	3	83	74	2
Middle College High	10-12	191	9-12	242	51	27%	1	70	85	1
Peabody Elementary	0-6	484	KG-6	444	-40	-8%	2	75	77	2
38105										
Carnes Elementary	0-6	717	PK-5	529	-188	-26%	3	71	65	3
38106										
Alton Elementary	0-4	654	KG-4	471	-183	-28%	3	84	72	2
Corry Middle	6-8	448	6-8	495	47	10%	2	76	71	2
Cummings Elementary	0-6	401	PK-5	525	124	31%	1	78	69	3
Dunn Avenue Elementary ¹	0-5	261	N/A	0	-261	-100%	4	74	69²	3
Florida-Kansas Elementary	0-6	350	PK-5	455	105	30%	1	74	69	3
Hamilton Elementary	0-5	751	KG-5	535	-216	-29%	3	73	70	2
Hamilton High	9-12	1459	9-12	1421	-38	-3%	2	79	65	3
Hamilton Middle	7-9	399	6-8	487	88	22%	1	67	66	3
Lincoln Elementary	0-6	217	PK-5	326	109	50%	1	72	64	3
Norris Elementary	0-5	315	PK-5	303	-12	-4%	2	66	63	3
Orleans Elementary	0-6	384	PK-5	319	-65	-17%	3	76	70	2
South Side High	9-12	783	9-12	580	-203	-26%	3	76	63	3
Stafford Elementary ¹	0-5	358	N/A	0	-358	-100%	4	77	66²	3

¹Schools no longer open

³Grades may change slightly from 1998-1999 & 2005-2006 school years

²Data last available for 2004-2005 school year

Zip Codes and Schools	199	8-1999	200	5-2006		llment ange	Enrollment Stability	1999-2000 Turnover Stability	2005-2006 Turnover Stability	Turnover Stability
	Grades ³	Enrollment	_Grades ³ _	Enrollment	Number	Percent	Tier	Index	Index	Tier
38107										
Caldwell Elementary	0-6	1062	KG-5	418	-644	-61%	4	73	61	3
Gordon Elementary	0-5	801	KG-5	333	-468	-58%	4	77	59	4
Guthrie Elementary	0-6	581	PK-5	371	-210	-36%	4	68	73	2
Humes Middle	6-8	543	6-8	688	145	27%	1	70	56	4
Klondike Elementary	0-5	413	PK-5	405	-8	-2%	2	66	62	3
Manassas High	7-12	590	9-12	374	-216	-37%	4	70	69	3
Northside High	9-12	985	9-12	1059	74	8%	2	73	69	3
Vollentine Elementary	0-6	704	KG-5	420	-284	-40%	4	82	76	2
38108										
Cypress Middle	7-9	399	6-8	487	88	22%	1	74	62	3
Douglass Elementary	0-6	573	PK-6	450	-123	-21%	3	76	74	2
Hollywood Success Academy	0-6	558	PK-5	358	-200	-36%	4	82	66	3
Jackson Elementary	0-6	491	PK-6	388	-103	-21%	3	63	63	3
Kingsbury Elementary	0-6	595	PK-6	591	-4	-1%	2	71	73	2
Shannon Elementary	0-6	450	PK-5	308	-142	-32%	3	84	63	3
Springdale Elementary	0-6	333	PK-5	235	-98	-29%	3	86	74	2
Wells Station Elementary	0-6	544	PK-6	590	46	8%	2	77	66	3

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²Data last available for 2004-2005 school year

³Grades may change slightly from 1998-1999 & 2005-2006 school years

Zip Codes and Schools	199	8-1999	200	5-2006		llment ange	Enrollment Stability	1999-2000 Turnover Stability	2005-2006 Turnover Stability	Turnover Stability
	Grades ³	Enrollment	_Grades ³ _	Enrollment	Number	_ Percent_	Tier	Index	Index	Tier
38109										
Carver High	7-12	729	9-12	659	-70	-10%	2	74	67	3
Chickasaw Middle	7-9	468	7-9	689	221	47%	1	76	67	3
Coro Lake Elementary	0-6	437	PK-6	233	-204	-47%	4	75	76	2
Double Tree Elementary	0-6	730	KG-6	528	-202	-28%	3	93	79	2
Fairley Elementary	0-5	621	KG-5	506	-115	-19%	3	83	65	3
Fairley High	9-12	1031	9-12	1248	217	21%	1	76	72	2
Ford Road Elementary	0-6	518	PK-6	756	238	46%	1	75	66	3
Geeter Middle	6-8	526	6-8	641	115	22%	1	73	69	3
John P. Freeman Middle	1-9	492	1-8	592	100	20%	1	93	95	1
Lakeview Elementary	0-6	249	PK-5	238	-11	-4%	2	70	73	2
Levi Elementary	0-6	504	PK-6	512	8	2%	2	79	76	2
Manor Lake Elementary	0-5	509	KG-5	356	-153	-30%	3	73	73	2
Mitchell High	7-12	616	8-12	1013	397	64%	1	71	75	2
Raineshaven Elementary	0-6	802	PK-5	422	-380	-47%	4	81	52	4
Riverview Elementary	0-5	464	PK-5	342	-122	-26%	3	78	63	3
Walker Elementary ¹	0-6	409	N/A	0	-409	-100%	4	72	63²	3
Westhaven Elementary	0-5	871	PK-5	389	-482	-55%	4	72	62	3
Westwood Elementary	0-6	688	PK-6	487	-201	-29%	3	83	75	2
Westwood High	7-12	998	7-12	486	-512	-51%	4	74	70	2
White's Chapel Elementary	0-6	318	KG-6	257	-61	-19%	3	75	61	3

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³Grades may change slightly from 1998-1999 & 2005-2006 school years

²Data last available for 2004-2005 school year

Zip Codes and Schools	199	8-1999	200	5-2006		llment ange	Enrollment Stability	1999-2000 Turnover Stability	2005-2006 Turnover Stability	Turnover Stability
	Grades ³	Enrollment	_Grades ³ _	Enrollment	Number	Percent	Tier	Index	Index	Tier
38111										
East High	7-12	1416	7-12	1319	-97	-7%	2	82	71	2
Sharpe Elementary	0-5	680	PK-5	420	-260	-38%	4	71	72	2
Sherwood Elementary	0-5	814	PK-5	789	-25	-3%	2	80	72	2
Sherwood Middle	6-8	988	6-8	1034	46	5%	2	73	68	3
South Park Elementary	0-5	394	PK-5	522	128	32%	1	66	70	2
38112										
Lester Elementary	0-6	817	PK-6	524	-293	-36%	4	80	73	2
Snowden School	0-8	1593	KG-8	1526	-67	-4%	2	87	86	1
38114										
Alcy Elementary	0-5	488	KG-5	382	-106	-22%	3	76	63	3
Bethel Grove Elementary	0-5	542	PK-5	412	-130	-24%	3	86	73	2
Charjean Elementary	0-5	471	KG-5	305	-166	-35%	4	55	64	3
Cherokee Elementary	0-5	797	KG-5	590	-207	-26%	3	74	57	4
Dunbar Elementary	0-5	504	KG-5	314	-190	-38%	4	69	63	3
Hanley Elementary	0-5	762	PK-5	704	-58	-8%	2	75	72	2
Magnolia Elementary	0-6	654	PK-6	562	-92	-14%	3	77	72	2
Melrose High	9-12	888	9-12	1332	444	50%	1	69	61	3
Rozelle Elementary	0-6	513	KG-6	436	-77	-15%	3	83	80	2

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Zip Codes and Schools	199	8-1999	200	5-2006		llment ange	Enrollment Stability	1999-2000 Turnover Stability	2005-2006 Turnover Stability	Turnover Stability
	Grades ³	Enrollment	_Grades ³ _	Enrollment	Number	Percent	Tier	Index	Index	Tier
38116										
A. B. Hill Elementary	0-6	705	PK-5	544	-161	-23%	3	90	68	3
Gardenview Elementary	0-6	797	PK-5	620	-177	-22%	3	74	64	3
Graceland Elementary	0-6	1303	KG-5	477	-826	-63%	4	72	67	3
Graves Elementary	0-6	865	PK-6	533	-332	-38%	4	74	72	2
Havenview Middle	6-8	1083	6-8	819	-264	-24%	3	86	73	2
Hillcrest High	7-12	1115	9-12	1097	-18	-2%	2	71	66	3
Lanier Middle	7-9	757	6-8	700	-57	-8%	2	76	70	2
Oakshire Elementary	0-5	790	KG-5	484	-306	-39%	4	81	64	3
Whitehaven Elementary	0-5	932	KG-5	535	-397	-43%	4	79	78	2
Winchester Elementary	0-6	866	PK-5	530	-336	-39%	4	57	47	4
38117										
Colonial Middle	6-8	849	6-8	928	79	9%	2	80	84	2
Overton High	9-12	1284	9-12	1609	325	25%	1	78	73	2
Sea Isle Elementary	0-5	610	PK-5	523	-87	-14%	3	86	80	2
White Station Elementary	0-6	560	PK-6	752	192	34%	1	84	79	2
White Station High	9-12	1901	9-12	2210	309	16%	2	88	84	2
Willow Oaks Elementary	0-5	777	KG-5	694	-83	-11%	2	85	83	2

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Zip Codes and Schools	199	8-1999	200	5-2006		llment ange	Enrollment Stability	1999-2000 Turnover Stability	2005-2006 Turnover Stability	Turnover Stability
	Grades ³	Enrollment	Grades ³	Enrollment	Number	Percent	Tier	Index	Index	Tier
38118										
Airways Middle	6-8	666	6-8	613	-53	-8%	2	75	67	3
Cordova Elementary/Middle	0-8	1127	KG-8	1748	621	55%	1	84	78	2
Cromwell Elementary	0-5	716	KG-5	544	-172	-24%	3	69	70	2
Evans Elementary	0-5	977	PK-5	746	-231	-24%	3	77	69	3
Goodlett Elementary	0-6	1116	KG-5	473	-643	-58%	4	74	76	2
Knight Road Elementary	0-6	879	PK-5	568	-311	-35%	4	64	69	3
Newberry Elementary	0-5	822	KG-5	564	-258	-31%	3	69	72	2
Oakhaven Elementary	0-6	783	PK-6	808	25	3%	2	68	68	3
Oakhaven Middle / High	7-12	788	7-12	781	-7	-1%	2	68	64	3
Sheffield Elementary	0-6	865	PK-5	541	-324	-37%	4	61	58	4
Sheffield High	7-12	1266	9-12	923	-343	-27%	3	60	60	3
Wooddale High	9-12	1172	9-12	1627	455	39%	1	78	71	2
Wooddale Middle	6-8	1242	6-8	1326	84	7%	2	77	71	2
38119										
Balmoral/Ridgeway Elementary	0-6	413	KG-5	334	-79	-19%	3	76	66	3
Oak Forest Elementary	0-6	859	KG-5	886	27	3%	2	65	71	2
Ridgeway High	7-12	1355	9-12	1607	252	19%	1	83	78	2
38120										
Richland Elementary	0-6	686	KG-6	725	39	6%	2	87	87	1
Shady Grove Elementary	0-6	520	KG-6	428	-92	-18%	3	74	67	3
White Station Middle	7-8	876	7-8	797	-79	-9%	2	90	88	1

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_Zip Codes and Schools	199	8-1999	200	5-2006	-	llment ange	Enrollment Stability	1999-2000 Turnover Stability	2005-2006 Turnover Stability	Turnover Stability
	Grades ³	Enrollment	Grades ³	Enrollment	Number	Percent	Tier	Index	Index	Tier
38122										
Berclair Elementary	0-6	416	PK-6	513	97	23%	1	68	65	3
Grahamwood Elementary	0-6	1086	PK-6	1043	-43	-4%	2	83	81	2
Kingsbury Middle/High	7-12	1209	7-12	1697	488	40%	1	62	60	3
Macon High Academy	0-6	344	KG-6	300	-44	-13%	3	65	59	4
Treadwell Elementary	0-6	1148	KG-6	877	-271	-24%	3	69	62	3
Treadwell Middle/High	7-12	871	7-12	878	7	1%	2	66	62	3
38126										
Alonzo Locke Elementary ¹	0-5	324	N/A	0	-324	-100%	4	81	59²	4
Booker T. Washington High	9-12	477	9-12	677	200	42%	1	68	61	3
Georgia Avenue Elementary	0-5	639	PK-5	677	38	6%	2	74	67	3
LaRose Elementary	0-6	474	KG-5	283	-191	-40%	4	70	51	4
Vance Middle	6-8	373	6-8	486	113	30%	1	70	63	3

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³Grades may change slightly from 1998-1999 & 2005-2006 school years

²Data last available for 2004-2005 school year

_Zip Codes and Schools	199	8-1999	200	5-2006		llment ange	Enrollment Stability	1999-2000 Turnover Stability	2005-2006 Turnover Stability	Turnover Stability
	Grades ³	Enrollment	Grades ³	Enrollment	Number	Percent	Tier	Index	Index	Tier
38127										
Brookmeade Elementary	0-6	786	PK-6	446	-340	-43%	4	77	70	2
Corning Elementary	0-8	471	PK-6	418	-53	-11%	2	75	73	2
Delano Elementary	0-6	328	KG-6	287	-41	-13%	3	91	96	1
Denver Elementary	0-6	436	KG-6	298	-138	-32%	3	75	62	3
Frayser Elementary	0-6	590	PK-6	571	-19	-3%	2	72	69	3
Frayser High	7-12	1051	7-12	1221	170	16%	2	68	60	3
Georgian Hills Elementary	0-6	475	PK-6	358	-117	-25%	3	72	68	3
Georgian Hills Jr.	7-9	656	7-9	666	10	2%	2	73	68	3
Grandview Heights Elementary	0-6	846	KG-6	672	-174	-21%	3	74	69	3
Hawkins Mill Elementary	0-6	769	PK-6	471	-298	-39%	4	73	56	4
Trezevant High	7-12	1279	7-12	1598	319	25%	1	68	66	3
Westside Elementary	0-6	601	KG-6	547	-54	-9%	2	68	59	4
Westside Middle/High	7-12	552	7-12	557	5	1%	2	60	63	3
Whitney Elementary	0-6	685	PK-6	595	-90	-13%	3	66	62	3
38128										
Coleman Elementary	0-6	874	PK-5	705	-169	-19%	3	76	65	3
Craigmont High	7-12	1797	9-12	1459	-338	-19%	3	82	75	2
Egypt Elementary	0-5	982	PK-5	912	-70	-7%	2	73	71	2
Keystone Elementary	0-6	550	PK-6	519	-31	-6%	2	94	93	1
Raleigh-Egypt High	9-12	939	9-12	1264	325	35%	1	71	69	3
Raleigh-Egypt Middle	6-8	762	6-8	1130	368	48%	1	77	68	3
Scenic Hills Elementary	0-6	605	PK-5	486	-119	-20%	3	83	72	2
Spring Hill Elementary	0-6	755	KG-5	564	-191	-25%	3	74	65	3

¹Schools no longer open

³Grades may change slightly from 1998-1999 & 2005-2006 school years Source: Memphis City Schools & National Center for Education Statistics

²Data last available for 2004-2005 school year

Zip Codes and Schools	199	8-1999	200	5-2006		llment ange	Enrollment Stability	1999-2000 Turnover Stability	2005-2006 Turnover Stability	Turnover Stability
	Grades ³	Enrollment	Grades ³	Enrollment	Number	Percent	Tier	Index	Index	Tier
38134										
Brownsville Elementary	0-6	861	KG-5	725	-136	-16%	3	86	82	2
Raleigh Bartlett Meadows	0-6	740	KG-5	520	-220	-30%	3	71	71	2
Shelby Oaks Elementary	0-6	669	KG-6	1019	350	52%	1	66	71	2
38152										
Campus School	1-6	360	1-6	346	-14	-4%	2	97	96	1

¹Schools no longer open

²Data last available for 2004-2005 school year

³Grades may change slightly from 1998-1999 & 2005-2006 school years

Section 3: Where Do We Stand? Community Assets for Early Childhood and School Readiness: What we know, what we still need to learn, and where we go from here

With a working theory of neighborhood risk factors, assets, and opportunities presented in Section 2, we conclude this working paper with first an introductory discussion of communitywide institutional indicators and assets in key early childhood domains (Key Domain Profiles). Our discussion points up the potential to use data for greater understanding and smarter deployment of resources in each domain, and the general strengths and weaknesses of domainlevel assets. Secondly we use a suggested set of three indices for tracking early childhood risk factors, the strength of supportive interventions, and neighborhood environments in which children are attempting to thrive.

Key Domain Profiles for Early Childhood and School Readiness

Domain Profile: Parenting Support Programs

- Home Visitation
- Pre-Natal Education and Supportive Parenting Preparation
- Parenting Support Programs (education and counseling)

Data Overview: Home Visitation. Detailed comparative information on nine Home Visitation programs is available through The Urban Child Institute (TUCI). Summary information has been entered into the Children and Families Database. However, individual program databases are not at all sophisticated, are not compatible with one another, and outcome tracking by individual programs is process-oriented (number of clients served) and do not support performance evaluation.

Data Overview: Pre-Natal Education and Supportive Parenting Preparation. Detailed outcomes and tracking information for three newly implemented clinic-based and peer-support oriented pre-natal interventions is becoming available for analysis; data come from two local models (The Blues Project 2005 and the Hollywood Clinic Model 2005) and a national model (Centering Pregnancy 2007).

Data Overview: Family Support and Parent Counseling. Data on these programs are sketchy, coming mostly from self-reported entries in two local databases (Memphis Library and Information system "LINKS," a 211 system) and Partners in Public Education "Easy Access"). The exceptions to sketchiness are more formal programs associated with Shelby County schools or established non-profits such as the Exchange Club. Follow-up for more information is going to require personal contacts. None of these programs currently track outcomes.

Critical Issues and Opportunities/Initiatives:

- Visitation programs function on client referrals from other agencies and do not track uptake rates for referrals. Anecdotal perceptions on the part of agency staff suggest an uptake rate of less than 50%.
- Visitation and other pre-natal education and supportive parenting preparation programs have no strategy to identify the scope of the at-risk population or to segment groups by severity of risk, precluding systematic outreach to maximize participation on the part of higher risk and apparently harder to reach populations.
- Apart from well-established programs such as those offered by the Exchange Club Family Center and other United Way funded and best-practice oriented programs, very little is known about the quality of widely scattered parenting education and support (counseling) programs. Faith-based and other voluntary associations offer their versions of parenting education/parenting support in more or less formal settings across the community. What does seem clear is that these programs are not data-driven; few seem to involve evidence-based best practices; and evaluation is rare. Programs rely heavily on volunteers, and are typically unequipped to be taken to scale.
- All home visitation programs are involved in continuing education and special events sponsored by TUCI, so there are strong opportunities for collaborative problem-solving.
- TUCI is funding a collaborative partnership, facilitated by the Metropolitan Interfaith Association, that is designing and looking for sustainable sources of support for a triagestyle collaborative intake process. The systematic intake will be based on a gap analysis, involve proactive and strategic outreach, and work toward a universal database with ongoing tracking of performance outcomes.
- The Urban Child Institute is providing seed funding for the CANDLE cohort study (University of Tennessee Health Sciences Center) of 1000 pregnant women and their children zero to age three. Developmental outcomes are being tracked by both family level and neighborhood level variables.
- The newly established Office for Early Childhood and Youth (under Shelby County Mayor AC Wharton) is monitoring and attempting to integrate all efforts related to prenatal health, birth outcomes, and infant mortality. Funding is from the Governor's Office for Children's Coordinated Care and several different state agencies.
- TUCI is working with the TN Department of Health on an HHS grant to bring the New Mothers Home Visitation program back to Memphis (David Old's program). The additional program will expand the reach of home visitation and reduce the capacity shortfall.
- Memphis is slated to become a pilot site for a Fetal-Infant Mortality Review team and process. To be funded by the TN Department of Health, this process may strengthen local understanding of risk, segmentation, and outreach opportunities.

Toward a Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness

Designated Indicators for Home Visiting/Family Support/Parent Counseling:

- Infant mortality, prematurity, low birth weight, mother's income and education, teen births (in hand)
- % at-risk population receiving visitation and other prenatal/early childhood support services (estimate completed for visitation)

Neighborhood Level Implications and Data: Neighborhood effects on early childhood (and youth achievement) outcomes are a cutting edge research area. CBANA is participating in a cohort study (1000 pregnant women followed for three years; recruitment underway) where neighborhood effects on child outcomes are being modeled distinct from family background. The theory and hypotheses behind this project will drive our overall consideration of neighborhood level data, in this domain as well as others.

Mappable data:

- Infant mortality, prematurity, low birth weight and other birth/vital records data (zipcode and address level in hand)
- Asset locations (in hand) and catchment areas and participation clusters (to be developed)

Domain Profile: Foster Care and Child Protective Services

Data Overview: Detailed information on 825 children in foster care in Shelby County (2008) is available from State of Tennessee/Shelby County Department of Children's Services, which handles foster care and child protective services. Access to this and other DCS information had been negotiated through an arrangement with NNIP Memphis partners (who were involved in a related evaluation and asset mapping project for DCS), but a state budget crisis has curtailed DCS database modernization and evaluation. (The TN-Shelby County database is in transition and queries can be problematic.) This domain can yield high quality data on the scope of child neglect/abuse investigations, referrals and subcontracted services, out-of home placements, and outcomes, but with the demise of the evaluation other routes of access will have to be negotiated.

CBANA does have access to another source of data on children in homeless families (including pre-schoolers) seeking shelter through a Partners for the Homeless agency. Partners for the Homeless coordinates Shelby County's Continuum of Care for HUD and is responsible for comprehensive data collection from all agencies receiving funding. NNIP partners have access to these data, which are being mined as part of the of issues facing pre-school children in Shelby County. CBANA is also working with Partners on a new survey of shelter-seeking clients that includes more information on children than is typically collected or analyzed by service providers and researchers.

Critical Issues and Opportunities/Initiatives:

- Tennessee Department of Children's Services (notably protective services and foster care) is operating under two consent orders and is currently falling under executive branch supervision for corrective action. The Governor's Office of Children's Coordinated Care assists with monitoring the consent orders and with integrating strategies among the Departments of Children's Services, Human Services (TANF), Health, Mental Health, and Education (e.g. Pre-K).
- DCS has been a participant in Casey's "Family to Family" strategy toward permanency placement, but has opted out of the cross-site database. Related to the strategy is an emphasis on keeping foster children as close to their original neighborhoods as possible a strategy that does not seem to be equipped to take into account those circumstances where original neighborhoods involve additional risk. The ability of Shelby County to be realistic about neighborhood level threats will be a critical issue for follow up.
- The DCS "Multiple Response System" (MRS) is being implemented to support the emphasis on neighborhoods. MRS is based on an asset inventory strategy and ongoing input from neighborhood-based community advisory boards (CAB). Multiple local assets are being marshaled (by the DCS "Resource Linkage Team") in support of foster families and families at risk of losing custody of their children. DCS is collaborating with CBANA on asset mapping for MRS and CAB.
- CBANA support for DCS and other stakeholders interested in asset mapping for early childhood, children and youth is being furthered by a Department of Justice grant for Operation Safe Community in Memphis and Shelby County. Since long term prevention is associated with healthy child development, community assets for children and youth are being mapped as a primary component of the prevention strategy. The Asset Mapping project has pulled together a collaborative, and is closely linked with Shelby County's Office for Early Childhood and Youth activities.
- It is important to note that progress on anything involving state funding is being undermined by state of TN budget problems.

Toward a Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness

Designated Indicators for Foster Care and Child Protective Services:

- Abuse/neglect reports (in hand, but reliability and validity of data is questionable in terms of unexplained year to year swings)
- Permanency placement performance (to be acquired by arrangement with DCS)
- Other selected performance indicators by arrangement with DCS

Neighborhood Level Implications and Data: Department of Children's Services emphasis on Multiple Response System and Community Advisory Boards is all about asset mapping at the neighborhood level, while other child and youth-oriented stakeholders are also on board in the Asset Mapping Collaborative.

Virtually all asset data are mappable.

Domain Profile: Registered Child Care

Data Overview: The Tennessee Department of Human Services licenses and regulates child care for every county in Tennessee, from family home care to center care. Detailed information on 1084 child care providers, including the recently implemented "star ratings" and national accreditation status (if applicable), is available for every licensed provider in Shelby County. We have included these data in a separate supplementary spreadsheet. Other available data include place-specific inspection scores for a number of reference criteria. We are considering how best to select and include this information in the developing database.

Critical Issues and Opportunities/Initiatives:

- One of The Urban Child Institute's early emphasis areas was quality child care for Shelby County, where financial scandals (steering, kickbacks, and embezzlement on the part of the designated TANF intermediary) and quality of care scandals (children left to die in hot day care vans) accompanied the growth of the industry under TANF. TUCI provided ongoing educational and training opportunities for child care providers in Shelby County and advocated for national accreditation. (The state's "star" ranking system has been described by providers themselves as easily manipulated.) For strategic reasons TUCI's emphasis has shifted to Pre-K: this is where the resources are and are likely to remain, but given the state's budgetary crisis, expansion of Pre-K is on hold. When resources are once again available for expansion, it is possible to link Pre-K with quality improvements in child care centers more generally. For example, fifteen of 151 official Pre-K sites in Shelby County are erstwhile private child care centers (i.e. sponsored neither by Head Start nor the public schools.)
- Subsidized childcare (other than sliding scales offered by some non-profit providers) is available in Tennessee and Shelby County only through Families First enrollment (Tennessee's version of TANF), which limits availability for the working poor and creates a reliance on informal care. A study group had been appointed by the Governor to cost out 1) salary supplements to raise standards for child care workers and 2) center subsidies for sliding scale child care slots open to non-Families First children. TUCI and the Memphis Area Women's Council were monitoring the study and developing advocacy plans, but state budgetary problems have sidetracked this effort indefinitely.

Toward a Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness

Designated Indicators for Registered Child Care:

- Selected performance measures from regulated child care centers (to be selected)
- % "three star" centers and/or national accreditation (in hand)

Neighborhood Level Implications and Data: Access to quality care varies by neighborhood and can be documented.

Mappable data:

Distribution of centers with star ratings/accreditation and other performance flags

Domain Profile: Head Start

Data Overview: Basic data on twenty-five Head Start programs (with an enrollment of 2,723 children) overseen by Shelby County are available through the Head Start Advisory Board and are included in the evolving Asset Mapping database. Comparative outcomes data (standardized testing mandated for Head Start) are available for all Head Start programs. One study (to which we have access) compares school readiness tests (administered by Memphis City schools) among participants in Head Start, or non-Head Start but center-based care, and children not in formal childcare. Through TUCI we have access to all Head Start evaluation reports.

Critical Issues and Opportunities/Initiatives:

- Shelby County Head Start directly operates or works with Memphis City Schools in 22 centers and contracts with four other providers in five additional centers. Based on the gap between enrollment and the number of eligible children, we know that less than 20% of eligible children are served.
- Recent opportunities to expand capacity (through additional slots being assigned to an
 established non-profit in exchange for their commitment to build new facilities using
 private donations) met with political resistance because of labor issues (the particular
 non-profit, in contrast to programs operated directly by Shelby County, does not employ
 union staff) and racial discomfort (the provider is a well-established non-profit founded
 by white philanthropists and originally operated as an orphanage.)
- Staff turnover is an issue when individuals become better trained. Even though most Head Starts are certified for state Pre-K status, salary scales cannot compete with Memphis City Schools Pre-K positions. When staff meets MCS Pre-K guidelines, they tend to move to public schools Pre-K.

Toward a Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness

Designated Indicators for Registered Child Care:

- Trends in Head Start shortfall (gap between number of children eligible and number enrolled, to be calculated from yet-to-be acquired historical data)
- % Pre-K certification among Head Start teachers (to be acquired)
- Turnover rate among Head Start teachers (to be acquired)

Neighborhood Level Implications and Data: Access to Head Start (and Pre-K) can be associated with location and can be monitored; high eligibility areas with low enrollment may be an outcome of other factors that can be identified with neighborhood-level profiles.

- Head Start centers (in hand)
- Head Start enrollment by zipcode (to be acquired)

Domain Profile: State and Local Pre-K

Data Overview: Enrollment and descriptive program data are available for 151 certified Pre-K programs in Shelby County (through the Tennessee Department of Education). As evaluation data become available (state support for Pre-K is in its early stages) we have access to them through TUCI.

Critical Issues and Opportunities/Initiatives:

- Tennessee ranks among the highest for standards in Pre-K certification and funding, which is currently available for programs in "high priority" neighborhoods, identified by poverty and other risk factors. Public school-based, Head Start, and community-based child care centers are eligible. Unfortunately, poverty and other risk factors are typically based on outdated census data, so that actual geographic distribution of risk may differ from current allocation of resources.
- While there is political momentum toward universal Pre-K, current state budgetary problems have put expansion on hold. TUCI and other stakeholders have concerns, moreover, that even with funding we lack the human resources to staff universal Pre-K. Quality will almost certainly suffer with rapid expansion.
- Pre-K in Tennessee is funded with "profits" from the state lottery, which first and foremost funds college scholarships. Pre-K was added-on due to unexpectedly high revenues. Even when the lottery revenues reflect a more robust economy, this source of funding introduces an element of uncertainty.
- Memphis City Schools Pre-K dominates with 120 programs in the Memphis portion of Shelby County; another 14 are with Shelby County Schools. Sixteen of 25 Head Start centers are officially certified Pre-K programs, as are fifteen community-based centers. There are as yet not very well-articulated concerns about quality in community-based centers.

Toward a Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness

Designated Indicator for Pre-K:

- Pre-K enrollment and trends in Pre-K shortfall (gap between number of children eligible and number enrolled; to be calculated)
- State \$\$ for Pre-K in Shelby County (to be acquired)

Neighborhood Level Implications and Data: Access to Pre-K (and Head Start) can be associated with location and can be monitored. High eligibility areas with low enrollment may, for example, be an outcome of other factors that can be identified with neighborhood-level profiles.

- Pre-K centers (in hand)
- Pre-K enrollment by zipcode (to be acquired)

Domain Profile: Medicaid, SCHIP, and SPSDT

Data Overview: Data on child enrollment in Medicaid (TennCare), SCHIP (CoverKids) and Early Periodic Screening and Diagnosis (quality measures from Q Source) are available through the TennCare database and are already being accessed by TUCI's health care economist. We are also accessing other health-related databases that include at-risk children (and mothers) through the Governor's Infant Mortality Initiative (e.g. Neo-Natal Intensive Care Unit at The Med.) The Church Health Center provides care for uninsured low income workers; their data on pre-school kids might be extracted, along with asset data from special child-oriented outreach, programs, and events operated out of the Shelby County Health Department/The Med/University of Tennessee Medical School and Health Sciences Center. Designing how to articulate all of these data with the Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness demands careful consideration and it a substantial task not yet underway.

Critical Issues and Opportunities/Initiatives:

- Enrollment in SCHIP is modest, with a total of 1,113 children enrolled since July 2007 (when the current program came on line) through October 2007; data for October 2008 are not yet available.
- Both eligibility criteria and benefits have deteriorated since an earlier SCHIP-funded version was abandoned in favor of the money-saving CoverKids. TUCI has constructed a comparison chart of eligibility and benefits.
- We also have a problem with TennCare-*eligible* families and children not actually being enrolled, and restrictions on enrollment of our growing non-documented immigrant population.
- Outcomes for participants in TennCare and CoverKids are only part of the picture; we'll be looking for ways to establish other indicators of health status for children.

Toward a Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness

Designated Indicators SCHIP and SPSTD:

- Non-insured births (in hand)
- SCHIP enrollment shortfall (to be calculated)
- EPSDT shortfall (to be calculated)

Neighborhood Level Implications and Data: Shortfalls in available services delivery are likely to be associated with both family and neighborhood effects – where poor outreach and support systems are associated with particular neighborhoods.

- Distribution of non-insured births (address level, in hand)
- Areas of concentrated shortfall (to be calculated and mapped by zipcode)

Domain Profile: Immunization and Lead Screening

Data Overview: Summary data from the Shelby County health department are available to track immunization and lead screening (and other indicators) once data are cleaned and released by the state Department of Health (typically a twelve to eighteen month time lag). Immunization rates are based on a random survey. Lead screening outcomes are based on actual screenings. We are negotiating analytical access to more current survey and individual-level data. Pre-existing relationships and our work with the Governor's Office for Children's Coordinated Care should facilitate access.

Critical Issues and Opportunities/Initiatives:

- Immunization data show a boost of sixteen points on the percentage of two year olds that are up to date on their immunizations from 2004 to 2005. (These are the latest data readily available; we hope to improve on this.) The percentage increased from 62% to 78% for Shelby County, compared to 81% for Tennessee as a whole. This finding should be re-examined given our numbers on other Shelby County-to-state of Tennessee comparisons typically reflect a much larger gap.
- Quality control data reported to TennCare suggest that the immunization problem lies more with uninsured Shelby Countians than those enrolled in TennCare.
- TennCare requires lead screenings for pre-schoolers, but compliance is historically low. Recent proactive efforts on the part of the Shelby County Health Department is resulting in more screenings. These screenings, however are going beyond the higher risk children, so the finding that the percentage of positive screens is coming down may be artificial.
- The percent positive screenings went down from 12% in 1998 (8,391 tested) to 4% in 2006 (22,543 tested). It will be important to gauge the extent to which screenings have moved beyond CDC criteria for defining geographic target areas, which might be responsible for the apparent drop in prevalence.

Toward a Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness

Designated Indicators for Immunization and Lead Screening:

- Immunization shortfall (in hand)
- Lead screening shortfall for TennCare/SCHIP (to be calculated)
- Risk-adjusted % positive lead screenings (to be calculated)

Neighborhood Level Implications and Data: Shortfalls in available services delivery are likely to be associated with both family and neighborhood effects – where poor outreach and support systems are associated with particular neighborhoods. Exposure to lead is a neighborhood level environment effect that can be monitored.

- Areas of concentrated shortfall (to be calculated and mapped by zipcode)
- Positive lead screenings (numbers/rates) by zipcode (to be acquired)

Domain Profile: Individuals With Disability Act Education Services

Data Overview: TUCI has a relationship with Tennessee Early Intervention (kids up to age three referred for suspected learning disabilities) and with Memphis City and Shelby County Schools and has access to descriptive data and reports. We are discussing more systematic access to raw data for analytical purposes. We suspect that databases are oriented toward administrative reporting rather than research, and would be interested in working with these groups to develop complementary database components. The Casey-NNIP project may be a way to facilitate progress toward accessing databases that currently exist and working to improve the quality of data collected.

Critical Issues and Opportunities/Initiatives:

- The average number of active files for Early Intervention for Shelby County in 2007 was 322, which is considered extremely low based on risk/need estimates. Anecdotal impressions on the part staff are that 80% of referrals do not follow through. (Follow through is left up to referred families. There is no proactive outreach to referrals.)
- Individual education plans for students with disabilities are in place for 15,530 students in Memphis City Schools (14% of total enrollment), compared to 7,773 students in Shelby County Schools (17%.) Anecdotal impressions on the part of informants question whether the City schools should actually designate a higher percentage of special needs students, but without access to more detailed data we have no way to judge. There is also the issue of breaking out "gifted" claimants to individual education plans from developmentally challenged students. Gifted students are also considered "exceptional" and entitled to individual education plans. Until we have access to more detailed data, we do not have an age breakdown.

Toward a Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness

Designated Indicators for IDA Education Services:

• Referral follow-up rate (to be acquired)

Neighborhood Level Implications and Data: Shortfalls in available services delivery (and failure to follow-up on referrals) are likely to be associated with both family and neighborhood effects – where poor outreach and support systems are associated with particular neighborhoods.

Mappable data:

• Referral follow-up rate by zipcode (to be acquired and calculated)

Domain Profile: Kindergarten Instrument to Assess School Readiness

Data Overview: Memphis City Schools has developed its own "Kindergarten Readiness Instrument" (KRI), having abandoned the Developmental Skills Checklist. Aggregate results are available reporting better outcomes for children who had center-based child care compared to parental or other home-based care. A great deal more "drilling down" can occur with these data. It is our understanding that we will have access (through TUCI) to school-level data.

Critical Issues and Opportunities/Initiatives: We have been told that the in-house instrument is comparable to the Developing Skills Checklist, but until we can verify some comparability in school-level scores during the transition period. It is not clear to what extent Memphis school readiness scores will be useful for cross-site analysis.

The rational for abandoning the Checklist in favor of KRI was that results from the Checklist were not returned to teachers until January and thus were not useful for working individually with children early in the school year. Some stakeholders have also expressed discomfort with the labeling tendency of a nationally normalized instrument such as the Checklist.

Toward a Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness

Designated Indicators for School Readiness Assessment:

% kindergarteners deemed "school ready" (updated data being negotiated)

Neighborhood Level Implications and Data: Indicators will vary by school, zipcode, and preschool experience -- reflecting concentrated demographic and neighborhood effects and intervening Pre-K experiences. Neighborhoods with poor outcomes can be prioritized for outreach and early childhood support services.

Mappable data:

• School readiness by school and zipcode (to be acquired)

Section 4: Suggested Summary Indicators for Early Childhood Development and School Readiness in Memphis and Shelby County

Each domain above offers a wide range of opportunities for data collection, integration into a Comprehensive Database for Early Childhood and School Readiness, analysis, and action. We are proposing three sets of designated indicators to summarize and track risk factors and outcome trends, and to identify strategic and geographic leverage points that can strengthen early childhood development and school readiness in Memphis and Shelby County. Indicators in each set can be summarized for the city or county, "drilled down" to the neighborhood level, and linked with neighborhood-level school readiness outcomes that should become available from the Memphis City Schools.

Index I: Demographic Inputs and Summary Measures (risk factors)

- Contextual predictors associated with not only birth outcomes but with successive indicators of child development and school readiness:
 - o Prematurity
 - Low birth weight
 - o Teen births
 - Mother's education
 - Mother's income
 - o Prenatal care

Index II: Measures of Community Assets and Effort

- Index II accompanies the qualitative and contextual asset mapping strategy where identifiable resources can be associated with aggregate outcomes from neighborhood to neighborhood or community-wide:
 - o Participation rate pre-natal education and parenting preparation programs
 - o Immunization rate
 - o Participation rate Head Start and Pre-K
 - o Children without health insurance
 - o School readiness scores
 - Infant mortality rate

Index III: Indicators of Neighborhood-Level Quality of Life

- Associated with concentrated disadvantage that can aggravate family-level risk factors, measured at the neighborhood level, and expected to vary by "neighborhood zone:"
 - Neighborhood poverty rate/EITC proxy measures
 - Male labor force participation rate
 - o 16-19 year olds not in school and not employed
 - o Within year enrollment turnover for elementary school
 - Crime rate
 - Domestic violence report rate
 - o Drug arrest rate
 - Eviction rate
 - Residential vacancy rate
 - o Utility cut-off rate

4.2. Key Indicators in Hand to get us started:

1. Infant Mortality: 11.5 per 1000 Shelby County 2005 (15.5 African American). Represents decrease in 2004 (12.84) and 2005 from 14.9 in 2003, including substantial decrease for African American babies from 17.41 in 2004. Rates began increasing in 2000 after lower rates in the 1990s.

2. Low Birth Weight (< 2500 grams): 11% Shelby County 2005. High compared to state and nation. Uneven progress since decline in the 1990s.

3. Teen Births (as % of all births): 16% Shelby County 2005. High compared to state and nation, especially among African American women, where one of three will become mothers before the age of 18. Uneven progress since decline in the 1990s.

4. Births to women without a high school diploma: 27% Shelby County 2005. High compared to state and nation. Uneven progress since decline in 1990s.

5. Births to women with reported incomes less than \$10,000: 4,929 Shelby County 2006.

6. Prenatal care first trimester: 30-40% Shelby County 2005 (missing data on some birth certificates accounts for estimate). Uneven progress since increase in the 1990s.

7. Access to supportive pre-natal and parenting support, primarily home visitation: Shelby County 2007 shortfall about 75%. (Based on projected need for services for 3,989 women not having high school diplomas; served about 1,300.)

8. Immunization rate: The immunization rate (percent of two year olds current on immunizations) was 78.6 in 2005, up from 62.6% in 2004. For 2005 the rate compares to the state's rate of about 80% and represents substantial progress.

9. Access to Head Start and Pre-K: Estimated 20% of eligible Shelby County children served with about 3,000 children at 25 sites. Sustained period of no growth since 1990s. Taking pre-K enrollment into account (151 Shelby County sites @ 20 students per site ~ 3,000), the percentage of at risk children served by one or the other program has doubled to about 40%..

10. Access to TennCare (Medicaid) and S-Chip: (These data appear to have some serious flaws and are not being reported at this time; for example, the number of 0-3 year olds enrolled in Shelby County according to the state database is higher than the total number of children in families below 200% of the poverty level.)

Many other indicators are also already available through the Center for Community Building and Neighborhood Action and will be more readily accessible with the launch of the Children and Families Domain of the Information Commons for Greater Memphis.

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