Bridge Building: Afterschool Activities,
Youth Social Networks, and Community Development

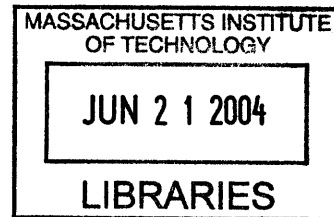By

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B.A. Economics

Trinity College, Hartford 1999

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master in City Planning

at the

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, U.S. cities have dramatically increased funding for afterschool activities. These afterschool programs may contribute to community development by expanding social networks, providing new channels for the flow of information and resources to low income neighborhoods. Drawing on research and literature from the fields of sociology, political science and adolescent development, I develop an argument for this hypothesis.

The theory is tested using both qualitative data collected from interviews at three case study sites, and quantitative data from surveys distributed to afterschool youth programs in the Boston area. I find that afterschool programs build both bridging and bonding social capital by increasing local and extra-local connections between adolescents and adults, peers, and parents. Policy recommendations designed to increase the social network impact of afterschool programming are provided.

Thesis Supervisor: Philip L. Clay
Title: Chancellor and Professor of Urban Studies and Planning

PREFACE

A few years back I read a Boston Globe editorial about creating a vibrant city for kids. In the words of the Globe's editorial board, "Boston ought to be a jungle-gym of a city, a great place for children to grow up, full of chances to climb and experiment." How true, I thought to myself. I have always believed that the "Hub" and its institutions should bring together Bostonians, near and far, of all different races and ethnicities, to share in culture and tradition, knowledge and learning. If this were to happen, in an ideal world, social ties would cut through the heart of the city, stretch out beyond the neighborhoods and into the suburbs. Kids of different races would better understand one another, and Greater Boston would be stronger.

Of course, reality does not always conform to the ideal world. I'm an example of this type of experiment. As a child I traveled in to Boston from a homogenous suburb to sail at a summer program that was theoretically diverse. While there was opportunity for cross-racial-ethnic-socioeconomic contact, it rarely occurred. At the end of the summer, I went back to my suburban middle school with no more true knowledge of the City and its people; despite all the subway rides, I wasn't any more culturally competent than my suburban peers.

Today there are even more programs offering integrated activity in Boston. Are these programs just swing-sets, each child moving along on a predetermined path? Or are they truly jungle gyms, geometrically diverse, with opportunities to explore a countless number of plains?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Do *afterschool programs* contribute to *community development* by expanding *social networks*, opening new channels for the flow of information and resources to low income neighborhoods? This 'macro-level' question, the focus of my research, demands more attention given the current interest in increasing public support for afterschool programming. The issue is examined in this thesis by sifting through related studies for relevant insights; and analyzing both qualitative and quantitative data collected from local afterschool programs. These data show that afterschool programming can achieve community development benefits by strengthening social networks in low income communities.

This introductory chapter elaborates further on the timeliness and relevance of the topic to community development practitioners. The chapter also defines some broad objectives for the thesis, and describes how the research is structured to meet these aspirations.

Key Terms

Afterschool programs – Activities for adolescents during out-of-school hours that involve interaction with both unrelated adults and peers. This broad definition encompasses a wide spectrum of programs ranging from homework tutoring to youth organizing.

Community development – Community development describes the process by which neighborhoods build trust and cooperation among residents, and develop a set of collective priorities (with respect to their social, economic and environmental conditions). Community development also describes how neighborhoods work to achieve their objectives by fostering local individual and organizational capacity, and creating linkages to extra-local organizations and resources (see Gittell and Vidal 1998; Keyes et al. 1996; Temkin and Rohe 1998).

Social networks – Social networks are shared connections between people that range in strength from casual to intimate. Social network analysis focuses on these social structures. The approach avoids individual-level explanations of community strengths and needs. Instead, it concentrates on the structural characteristics of residents' social relations to explain community outcomes including economic wellbeing and political efficacy (see Wellman 1998).

1.1 Research Justification

I rely on three arguments to support the appropriateness of this thesis. The first is timeliness: In the last few years, investment in afterschool programming has become a national priority. The second is theoretical: Existing research in sociology, adolescent development, and political science can be combined to predict ways in which afterschool activity might contribute to community development. And the final is potential: Research shows that urban youth are anxious for social change and willing to act, when empowered, to achieve it.

1.1.1 Timeliness

In the spring of 2001, Mayor Menino announced the formation of *After School for All*, a $24 million public-private partnership focused on the creation and expansion of afterschool programs in the City of Boston. This initiative pools investments from local foundations, corporations, and universities, placing Boston at the top of a long list of cities increasing their commitment to structured out-of-school activity. The growing demand for public sponsorship of afterschool programs is associated with two national trends: increasing workforce participation among single mothers, and testing to ensure minimum standards of educational achievement. Federal policy directives contributed substantially to both trends - the former with the 1996 federal welfare law requiring that recipients find work - and the later with No Child Left Behind (2001), an act which mandated testing of all students. Recognizing the burdens these reforms place on low income working parents and underperforming schools, federal agencies began increasing support for afterschool programs. Funding for the largest federal source of afterschool spending, 21st Century Community Learning Centers, grew from $1 million in 1997 to well over $1 billion in 2002. Currently federal investment in out-of-school time amounts to approximately $3.6 billion annually (Padgette 2003).

Increased funding spurred research into afterschool programming. This research focused primarily on measuring demand for different types of afterschool activity, and identifying best practices. While advocates have often cited social network implications of adolescent involvement in afterschool organizations, there has been no work to actually study these assertions or identify their community development impact. In the community development field, researchers are just beginning to look at the effect of community organizations on neighborhood social networks. The impetus for these studies,

Robert Putnam's work on social capital and his best-selling book *Bowling Alone* (2000), is almost wholly academic. For the most part, the limited research in this area, with respect to inner city neighborhoods, has been confined to assessing the effect of community development corporations on neighborhood social relations (Briggs 1997).

For researchers looking to uncover afterschool programs with a wider social network impact, a number of established organizations offer excellent entry points. These activist afterschool programs sprouted in neighborhoods throughout Boston in response to the youth violence and gang warfare that rocked the city during the late1980s and early 1990s. As these programs developed, they delved into more complex issues such as the poor quality of Boston's public schools, the lack of jobs for young people, and disproportionate minority confinement in the criminal justice system. These young activists reach thousands of youth across the city each year through organized protest, conferences, and other events. While all well structured afterschool programs may have positive community effects, these programs are ripe for attention because the information they disseminate is directly related to social change.

1.1.2 Theoretical underpinnings

Advocates for afterschool programming cite a large body of research demonstrating less delinquency, lower rates of drug use, and higher academic achievement among adolescents who participate in organized afterschool activities (Holland and Andre 1987; Kahne et al. 2001). These studies show that youth programs are successful because they intervene directly in the formation of adolescent social networks, reaching young people just as they begin to establish relationships beyond their families (Hurrelmann 1996). Research in sociology demonstrates the importance of social networks to adults and the communities in which they live. Sociologists note the role of social networks in everything from protecting long-term health to securing meaningful employment (Berkman and Syme 1979; Campbell et al. 1986). Political scientists write about social networks and their influence on civic behavior, such as the decision to vote (Verba et al. 1995). In the community development field, chatter about social networks has been almost deafening. Despite these on-going conversations, there has been little discussion about whether policy prescriptions (e.g. afterschool programming) can actually build stronger social networks in low income communities.

1.1.3 Potential

If the theoretical assumptions about youth social networks are correct, the potential contribution of afterschool programs to community development efforts is enormous. Survey evidence says young people in America's inner cities want social change and are willing to work to achieve it (Lopez 2002; Boston Youth Survey 2001). They want change because they live in neighborhoods that bear witness to decades of failed urban policies. These inner city teens are still scared by the violence and disorder that accompanied the crack epidemic in the early-1990s, and they are deeply troubled by the media's perception of their neighborhoods, and the light in which the media casts young people of color in general (Peffley and Williams 1996). Afterschool programs can capitalize on this desire among youth to effect change by connecting them to people who can pass new information over to them, and then empowering them to transmit this information through their own social networks.

1.2 Thesis Objectives

The objectives of this thesis are threefold:

1) To encourage practitioners both in afterschool programming and community development to think about how they can forge social capital by intervening in adolescent social networks.

2) To provide as much evidence as possible testing the hypothesis that afterschool programs are fostering social ties; and to describe how different afterschool programs generate different types of social capital.

3) To offer policy recommendations that will help afterschool programs and community developers structure afterschool programs to influence social networks to the greatest extent possible.

1.3 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the social structure of low income communities. Because afterschool programs predominately focus on youth, at times it may seem like the focus is youth and adolescent social networks. This should not obscure the ultimate objective, which is examining whether youth programs create stronger social ties to, from, and within low income neighborhoods. I refer to these ties as intra-local and extra-local. As the box below illustrates, afterschool organizations can create many different tie combi-

nations between the teens, parents, staff and volunteers who participate in their programs.

Figure 1-1: Types of Social Ties Generated by Afterschool Programs

Local Ties	Extra-Local Ties

Teen — Staff

Staff — (local)

Teen — Volunteer

Volunteer — (local)

Teen — Teen

Teen — (local)

Parent — Staff

Staff — (local)

Parent — Volunteer

Volunteer — (local)

Parent — Parent
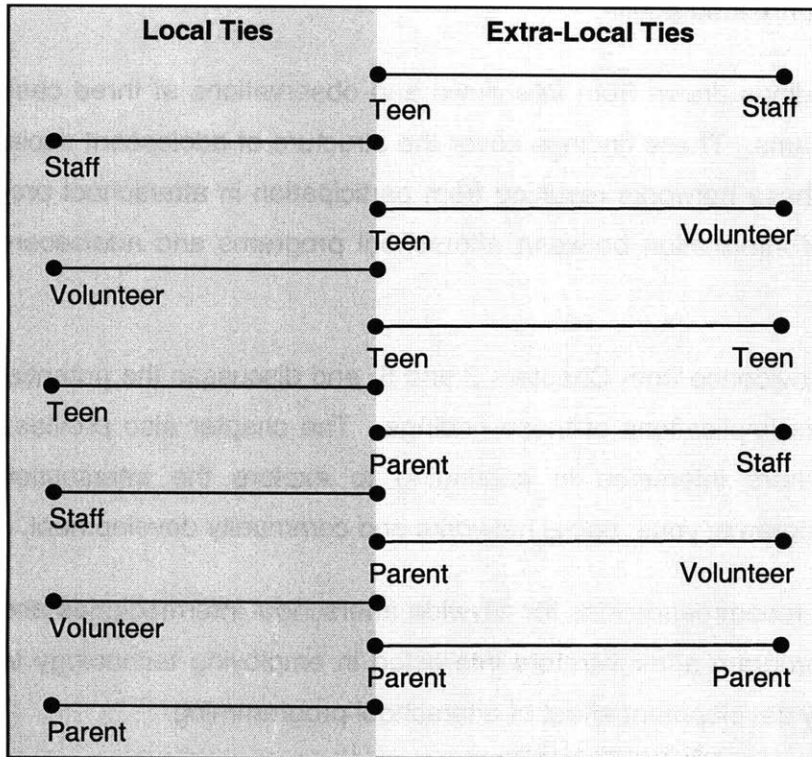
Parent — (local)

Lines represent a tie. The figure shows that teens and parents involved in youth programs can have ties to local actors (to the left) and/or extra-local actors (to the right)

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

The following outline provides a brief synopsis of each chapter. This information should give the reader a better sense of how the thesis is organized to accomplish the expressed objectives:

o Chapter 2 contains contextual information. The account includes a description of the demographic characteristics of Boston's youth, their distribution into neighborhoods, and generalizations with regard to their strengths and weaknesses.

o Chapter 3 surveys the landscape of relevant theoretical and empirical research in the fields of sociology, political science and adolescent development.

- o Chapter 4 summarizes the research questions, and reviews methodology for the surveys and case studies analyzed in Chapters 5 and 6.

- o Chapter 5 describes survey evidence on the impact of afterschool programs on adolescent connections to unrelated adults.

- o Chapter 6 presents findings drawn from interviews and observations at three case study afterschool programs. These findings cover the structure of adolescent social networks, changes in these networks resulting from participation in afterschool programs, and the flow of information between afterschool programs and adolescent networks.

- o Chapter 7 synthesizes evidence from Chapters 5 and 6, and discusses the potential community development implications of these findings. The chapter also provides reflections for researchers interested in continuing to explore the intersection between afterschool programs, youth social networks and community development.

- o Chapter 8 offers policy recommendations for citywide afterschool intermediaries and individual afterschool program administrators interested in employing technology to increase the community development effect of afterschool programming.

CHAPTER TWO

Context

Teenagers devote much of their energy to making friends and organizing group social life. They build relationships across a geographic expanse defined by schools, religious institutions, community centers, youth organizations, parks, and other hang-out spots. Boston's teenagers travel their own unique routes through this web of institutions, forming different sets of relationships along the way. Some connections adolescents develop are with neighbors and peers; others are with professional adult staff at their school or community-based organizations. Many of the relationships teens maintain are with people who live within their neighborhoods; however, they can also be extra-local in reach. Together these non-familial ties represent a significant part of a young person's evolving social network. As the next chapter will describe, these networks are enormously influential in terms of a young person's life prospects. And in the aggregate, they have important community implications.

This chapter presents a portrait of the young people who populate Boston's inner city neighborhoods and the spaces and places which tie them together. The first section details their numbers and distribution into neighborhoods; part two reviews the schools and organizations they attend; and part three discuses broadly their strengths and needs. The first two sections of this chapter describe forces shaping adolescent social networks in Boston. While the last section continues to catalogue factors that affect youth social networks, it also highlights opportunities and challenges community organizations face when they attempt to build adolescent social networks in community development terms.

2.1 Demographics and Neighborhoods

This section relies on Census data to enumerate young Bostonians and describe their diversity. The data also depict demographic attributes of Boston's neighborhoods. These data suggest that the current distribution of youth into neighborhoods creates barriers to the formation of cross-cultural relationships. On the other hand, high residential densities in Boston increases overall adolescent sociability.

2.1.1 Demographics

The City of Boston is home to approximately 116,000 residents under 18. The youth population is notable for its diversity - two-thirds of residents under 18 are people of color versus approximately half of the overall population. African Americans are the largest youth group (37 percent), followed by Latinos and Latinas (24 percent), Asians (7 percent), and other young people who classify themselves as multiracial/multiethnic (7 percent). This diversity extends to different nationalities as well. According to the Census, 42 percent of children ages 5 to 17 come from families that speak a language other than English at home. At Boston Public Schools, English is not the native tongue for one out of six students; the most common first languages among these youth are (in descending order) Spanish, Haitian Creole, Chinese, Cape Verdean Creole, Vietnamese, and Portuguese (Boston Public Schools 2004).

Diversity is often an opportunity or reason-to-be for afterschool programs. Organizations that concentrate on academic achievement, for instance, frequently focus on tutoring bilingual students. A number of Boston's afterschool cultural programs are built around a particular component of ethnic heritage. Diversity also provides afterschool programs with the opportunity to serve as an important bridge, connecting youth from different racial and ethnic groups. At the same time, diversity represents a significant challenge to afterschool programs that need to equip themselves to understand and relate to students from many different cultural backgrounds.

2.1.2 Neighborhoods

Despite diversity in numbers, young people tend to be relatively segregated by neighborhood. The traditional measure of segregation is the Index of Dissimilarity. If races and ethnicities are spread evenly in a city, the index equals 0; in an area with complete segregation, the dissimilarity index equals 100. Dissimilarity indexes over 65 are considered extreme segregation. Figure 2-1 illustrates the high levels of residential segregation among some of Boston's children. Segregation is particularly pervasive between African American and European American youth.

The racial segregation of youth generates economic segregation. In Boston, Latino youth live in neighborhoods with an average poverty rate of 24 percent. The average Asian and African American youth lives in a neighborhood with a poverty rate of 22.6 percent; while European American youth in Boston, on average, live in neighbor-

hoods where the poverty rate is a much lower 13.8 percent. European American subur-
ban youth present an even more extreme contrast. On average, less than 5 percent of
residents in their neighborhoods live below poverty (Logan 2003).

Children are raised in their neighborhoods, and this is where they form their first
non-familial relations. This means neighborhoods are a very significant part of a young
person's socialization (Brooks-Gunn et al. 1993). The high degree of racial and eco-
nomic segregation in the City hinders young residents' chances of obtaining a diverse
set of social relations.

Figure 2-1: Dissimilarity Indices for Boston Youth under Age 18
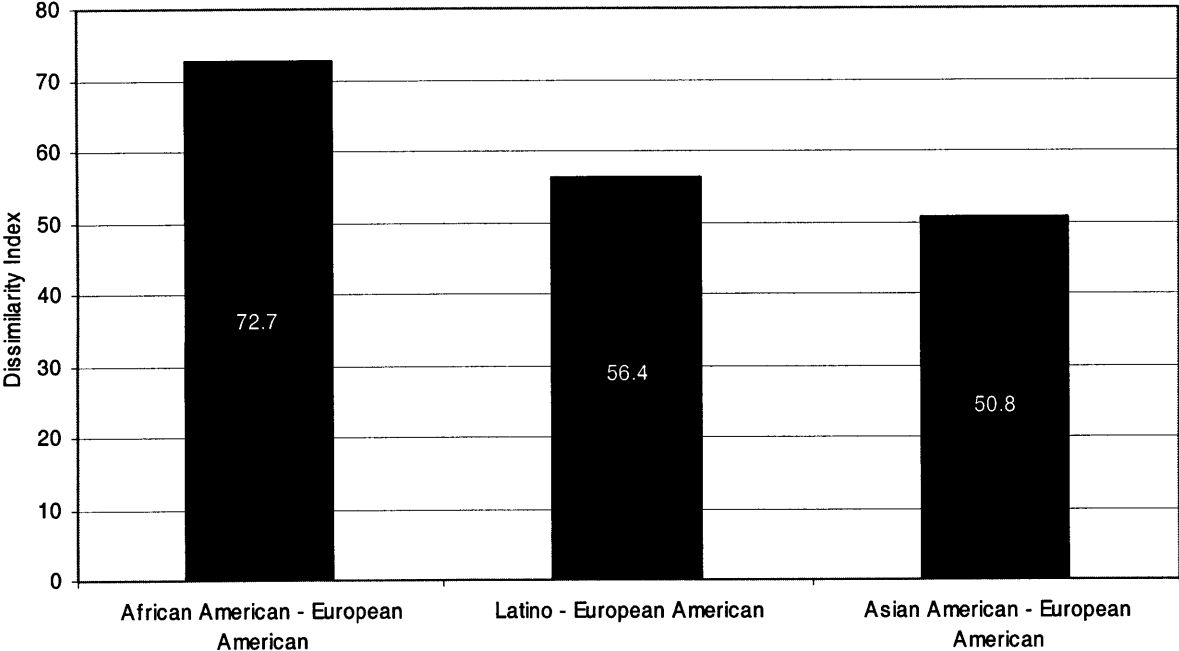
Source: Logan et al. 2003

In contrast to the negative social network implications of neighborhood segrega-
tion, the City's built environment has important and beneficial social network implications.
A number of neighborhoods in Boston are very densely populated with youth. In East
Boston, Roxbury, and South Dorchester, there are more than 4,500 children under 18
per square mile (Table 2-1). Density gives kids ample opportunity to meet and interact.
Studies show that children who live in high density neighborhoods have a larger number
of friends and engage in activities with their peers more frequently (van Vliet 1985).

Table 2-1: Boston Youth under Age 18 per Square Mile by Neighborhood

	Area (Sq. Miles)	Youth Under 18	Youth/Sq. Mile
Allston-Brighton	4.4	6,350	1,456
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	0.9	1,207	1,284
Central	1.3	1,762	1,355
Charlestown	1.4	2,783	2,031
East Boston	2.0	9,063	4,509
Fenway-Kenmore	1.2	1,209	975
Hyde Park	6.3	8,165	1,306
Jamaica Plain	3.1	6,709	2,185
Mattapan	2.8	12,192	4,339
North Dorchester	2.0	7,373	3,650
Roslindale	3.7	7,970	2,142
Roxbury	3.9	17,806	4,519
South Boston	3.1	5,385	1,720
South Dorchester	4.0	18,172	4,543
South End	1.0	4,090	3,971
West Roxbury	5.5	5,631	1,029
Boston	48.4	115,867	2,394

Source: Census 2000

2.2 School and Afterschool

Knowing who students attend school and afterschool programs with, and where these places are relative to where kids live, is central to an understanding of how Boston youth form their social networks. This section looks at both administrative and survey data to describe these settings.

2.2.1 School

Three-quarters of school-age children in Boston are enrolled in public schools. Out of these 62,000 Boston Public School Students, less than one-third live within walking distance of their school. This is because the City maintains a school choice system that enables parents to choose which schools they want their children to attend. Unfortunately, school choice has not significantly increased racial or economic diversity within schools. The public school system is 85 percent students of color (48 percent African-American, 28 percent Latino, and 9 percent Asian) and 74 percent of the students come from families with incomes low enough to qualify for reduced-price meals (Boston Public Schools 2004). At the school level this means, on average, African-American students attend schools that are 60 percent African-American; Latino students attend schools that

are 44 percent Latino; and Asian students attend schools that are 28 percent Asian (Logan et al. 2003).

Very few of the children from Boston who attend private schools end up in settings where they develop ties to higher income peers. This is because they mostly go to parochial schools (14 percent of all Boston school children), where the majority of students come from low income families. A very small number enter private schools or suburban public schools with students from families with higher economic status (4 percent and 3 percent of all Boston school children, respectively).

2.2.2 Afterschool

Afterschool, the majority of children (51 percent) ages 6 to 18 participate in some form of organized activity, significantly more than in other cities.[1] Involvement in afterschool programs is fairly constant across age groups with 47 percent of 6 to 9 year olds, 53 percent of 10 to 14 year olds, and 53 percent of 15 to 18 year olds participating. African American kids have the highest participation rate (55 percent) in afterschool programs, followed by European Americans (52 percent) and Latinos (43 percent). Youth who attend afterschool programs go, on average, 3 times per week (Afterschool for All 2003). Afterschool programs are administered by both public institutions (schools, parks, libraries, playgrounds) and private institutions (churches, YMCAs, museums, community-based organizations). The majority of youth in afterschool programs belong to community-based (75 percent) programs located within the participant's neighborhood. This point is worth noting because programs at the neighborhood level are more likely to build local social relations.

A recent survey conducted by the Afterschool for All Partnership demonstrates the range of programming offered by Boston's youth programs (Afterschool for All 2004). More than one-quarter of the programs address social change directly through topics related to community service, community organizing, or the environment (Figure 2-2). A number of the arts, sports, and general lifestyle programs also generate community development benefits by emphasizing leadership or building community identity.

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[1] San Diego (33 percent), Los Angeles (28 percent), Washington D.C. (25 percent), and New York (22 percent) follow Boston, according to a study by the After-School for All Partnership.

General academic support	30%
Healthy lifestyle promotion	22%
Other	21%
Recreation	18%
Arts and culture	16%
Sports	12%
Environment	11%
Job training	9%
Community service	8%
Community organizing	7%
Technology/computers	6%
College prep	5%
MCAS/test-taking support	4%

Percentage of Programs
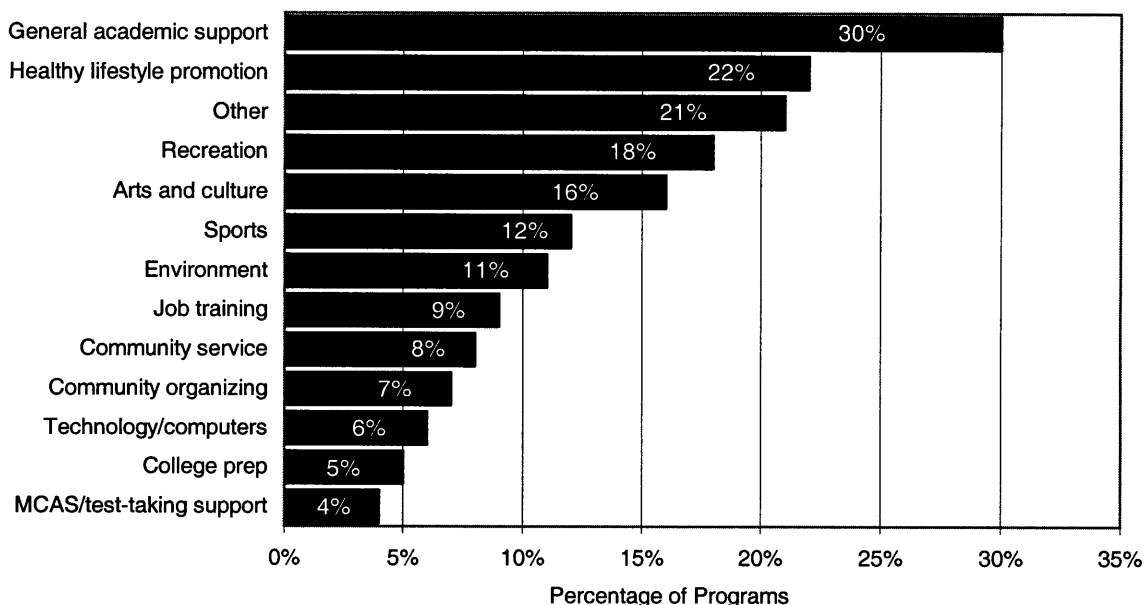
Source: Afterschool for All 2004

Despite the array of activities offered, half of Boston's teen choose not to (or are unable to) attend afterschool programs. According to the 2001 Boston Youth Survey, nearly half (47 percent) of teens work after school; 17 percent work more than 20 hours per week. Given these statistics it is not surprising that work is the second most common reason for not attending afterschool programs after lack of interest. Just under a third (29 percent) of Boston teens report hanging out with friends as their most common afterschool activity, followed by youth who just go home (18 percent) when school is over.

Studies of parenting in urban neighborhoods point to evidence that parents may prevent children from attending afterschool programs out of fear for the child's safety traversing to and from the program. In a study of neighborhoods in Philadelphia, for example, Frank Furstenberg (1999) and his colleagues found two types of parenting strategies. One approach was 'promotive' with parents enrolling kids in programs to help further developmental goals. Many parents, however, choose an opposite approach which Furstenberg calls 'preventive management'. Parents who take this approach in the most extreme form try to keep children at home as much as possible. A study of Boston's parents found that many felt they had "no safe way to get kids to and from programs" (Afterschool for All 2003).

2.3 Boston's Youth Population: Strengths and Needs

As Melvin Delgado (2000), a professor of social work at Boston University, has written, urban youth are rarely viewed from a strengths perspective because the popular media consistently casts inner city teens in a negative light. Boston's youth are less frequently depicted as confident and caring builders of community, although in reality they often take on such a role. This section looks at data from the 2001 Boston Youth Survey and other sources to assess the strengths and needs of the population afterschool programs must serve.[2]

2.3.1 Strengths

The Search Institute describes twenty internal assets that together foster a sense of "confidence, passion, and purpose" in youth (Search Institute 2004). The Institute breaks these assets into four categories: commitment to learning, positive values, social competence and positive identity. Evidence from the 2001 Boston Youth Survey suggests that the City's teenagers possess most of these assets to some degree. In terms of commitment to learning, 70 percent of teens feel that getting good grades is important or very important to their friends, and three out of four teens plan to continue their education after high school graduation. The Boston Youth Survey also suggests that teenagers have fairly high self-esteem (two-thirds reported feeling just as good as others all or most of the time) and a positive outlook (two-thirds reported feeling hopeful all or most of the time). There is little survey evidence pointing to social competencies among Boston's youth. However, given the density and diversity to which kids in Boston are exposed, it likely that they would also rate highly on these scales.

The capacity to fight for social changes is perhaps the most important and least understood asset of urban youth. Boston's young live in neighborhoods where fires sparked by redlining, white flight, urban renewal, deindustrialization, and a host of environmental injustices smolder. The positive side is that fighting these fires has bred local capacity. Many children in Boston have parents who are experienced social change leaders. The Social Capital Benchmark Survey (Boston Foundation 2001) found that

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[2] Unless otherwise noted, the statistics provided in section 2.3 are from the *2001 Boston Youth Survey.*

Boston ranks among the highest of the 40 cities surveyed on 'political activism (fifith)', 'collaboration with neighbors (third)', and 'conventional politics (sixth)'.[3]

Table 2-2: Search Institute's 20 Internal Assets

Commitment to Learning	Achievement Motivation School Engagement Homework Bonding to School Reading for Pleasure
Positive Values	Caring Equality and Social Justice Integrity Honesty Responsibility Restraint
Social Competence	Planning and Decision Making Interpersonal Competence Cultural Competence Resistance Skills Peaceful Conflict Resolution
Positive Identity	Personal Power Self-Esteem Sense of Purpose Positive View of Personal Future

Source: Search Institute 2004

Survey evidence suggests that these values have spread. When teenagers were asked what they want out of afterschool programs, their responses were surprisingly socially conscious (Lindsay et al. 2002). Youth desired "the skills to overcome the obstacles and barriers they face," "workshops that address sex, drugs, and racism," and "the power to make things happen." In the words of the authors, Boston youth were asking for afterschool "activities that support them to serve their own community and learn about the broader world (p. 10)." The 2001 Boston Youth Survey also found similar aspirations; when asked about most important life goals, 49 percent of respondents said "being a leader in the community," 47 percent said "making a contribution to society," and 44 percent said "working to correct social and economic inequalities."

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[3] The survey also found that Boston ranked among the worst (39 of 40) on measures of social trust. Generally trust is positively correlated with civic involvement. While this does not seem to be the case in Boston, the lack of social trust among the City's residents is a point to take note of.

2.3.2 Needs

Youth in Boston clearly have unique needs, primarily for two related reasons. The first problem is that teens in Boston have less contact with their parents than youth in other parts of the state. A large percentage of kids in Boston are raised without the presence of a father figure. According to the 2000 Census, 43 percent of all households with children in the City are headed by single mothers (versus 22 percent statewide). In neighborhoods with higher concentrations of children, there are generally even larger percentages of children living in single mother households. For instance in Roxbury, nearly 65 percent of households with children are headed by single mothers. The Boston Youth Survey shows that 22 percent of teens have no contact with their fathers. Approximately 62 percent of Boston's single mothers work (Census 2000). The burden on working mothers coupled with the absence of father figures means many children spend limited amounts of time with supportive adults. According to the Mayor's Taskforce on out of school time (2000), two-thirds of children under 14 live in households with parents who are unable to care for them between 2:00 p.m. and 4:00 p.m.

The second greatest need among Boston youth is income. This is related to the first need because children raised in single parent families are more likely to experience poverty with only one wage earner in the household. Estimates suggest that one-quarter of Boston's residents under age 18 lived in households with incomes below the poverty line in 1999. In some neighborhoods, the poverty rates were higher, but across the City poverty generally hovered somewhere between a quarter and third of all children (Appendix B).[4] Living on low income creates serious stresses for parents in Boston. According to one report, the struggle to find quality schools and childcare, heightened fears over housing security, and isolation in communities that lack strong community connections are all sources of family stress in Boston (Freeman and O'Connor 2002).

The combination of absent parents, low income and family stress results in some severe problems for Boston's teens:

o **Violence.** More than a third of teens reported witnessing violence on the street. One-quarter witnessed violence at school. Twenty-five percent said gang activity was a problem in their schools; and 30 percent saw gangs as a serious problem in their neighborhoods.

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[4] In this case, poverty refers to a threshold set by the U.S. Census Bureau that varies by family size and includes both earned income and public assistance income. In 1999, for example, the poverty line was $11,483 for a single mother with one child, an extremely small sum relative to Boston's cost-of-living.

o **Education.** One-quarter of Boston Public High School's class of 2000 dropped out before graduation.[5] In 2002, 66 percent of 10th graders scored below state standards in English; 76 percent scored below these standards in math.

o **Health.** In 2001, more than a third of Boston's teens reported feelings of depression that interfered with their regular activities. Nine percent of babies born in Boston in 2000 had low birthweights, 30 percent above the statewide average. In 2001, 5 percent of children living in Boston had elevated blood lead levels.[6]

The City's afterschool programs are designed to address the needs of Boston's youth. Many try to help kids up and out of poverty by improving academic performance and exposing teenagers to new career and educational opportunities. Working with low income children is also a challenge for Boston's afterschool programs. It means that parents are unable to cover costs and programs must rely on uncertain subsidies. Even with these subsidies, cost still seems to be a major factor preventing more kids from accessing afterschool programs. According to a study by the Afterschool for All Partnership, the most frequently cited barrier for parents with children not participating in a program was cost. The study also found that half of parents pay nothing for their child's afterschool program and two-thirds pay less than $20 a week.

2.4 Summary

Boston has a large and diverse youth population. The city's density means that youth have a lot of social interaction as they travel across neighborhoods and neighborhood institutions. Unfortunately racial, ethnic, and economic segregation prevail among the city's youth. This strongly influences the type of peers and non-relative adults adolescents are likely to add to their social networks. Youth in Boston have important assets, including their desire to effect social change; they also face significant deficits. Youth programs in Boston try to build on assets, while working simultaneously to heal deficits.

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[5] Boston Center for Youth and Families. *The Boston 2003 Trend Report: Snapshot of Boston's Children and Youth.* p. 61 and p. 23.

[6] Ibid, p. 17, p. 43 and p. 45.

CHAPTER THREE

Literature Review

Increasing the economic and political power of residents are two immediate goals for community developers working in inner city neighborhoods. A vast body of research reviewed in this chapter points to evidence that 'social networks' are a major influence on both the economic and political power of individuals and the communities in which they live. By re-reading these studies with an eye toward afterschool programs, and incorporating social network findings with research in the field of adolescent development, this chapter develops the general hypothesis that afterschool programs can have a powerful impact on neighborhood community development. The literature reviewed below also exposes the more specific research questions framed in the beginning of Chapter 4.

3.1 Social Networks: An Overview

Before discussing studies that apply social networks to neighborhood level politics and economics, it is worth reviewing some basic social network concepts. Everyone has a social network consisting of people they have met and interacted with throughout their lives. Studies show that our entire social network includes, on average, about 1,500 acquaintances (Killworth et al. 1990). Personal networks, the people we socialize with regularly and depend on more frequently for support, are a subset of this larger social network and generally number in the teens (Wellman 1979). The size and nature of personal networks vary; and there is often correlation between the neighborhood in which a person lives, and the characteristics of their personal network (Fischer 1982). This finding is related in part to personal preferences: people often cluster in a neighborhood because they prefer to be around others who are like themselves. The term sociologists use for this tendency is homophily. Networks in which most individuals are similar in terms of characteristics like age, race, religion and socioeconomic status are said to be highly homophilous. In some circumstances, a network is homophilous because a person is born into a relatively homogenous social setting. In other cases, a network is more or less homophilous than average because of individual choices or life experiences (McPherson et al. 2001).

When we look at the social network of each neighborhood resident layered on top of one another they form a 'neighborhood social network' with unique characteristics. In some communities, it is common for people to have ties to neighbors and extended family members that live nearby. This becomes a notable trait of a neighborhood social network that is probably rather 'dense', meaning most people in the area know one another, at least by name. In other communities, residents have few neighbors, let alone extended family members, in their personal networks. In this case, the neighborhood's social network is very 'loose-knit'. The density of residents' social networks relates to how information flows into the community. If a network in a local area is dense, people generally have all the information about happenings within the community but very little information about events external to the group. In contrast, a loose-knit network provides information flow from ties that are likely to be spatially dispersed, giving an area access to ideas and resources well beyond its borders. To illustrate, it is useful to look at some fictional examples:

Consider a man who immigrated 5 years ago from a Caribbean country and now lives in an inner city neighborhood. This man works at a local auto repair shop, and like him, most employees of the garage live nearby. When he has conversations about important things in his life, they are either with coworkers or friends and family who also live in the same neighborhood. Now contrast this man with a native-born woman who lives in an inner-suburb and works in a downtown office building. She has important conversations with her husband (who works in a suburb nearby), a co-worker from the city, a close friend from college (who lives in an outer-suburb), and another woman from an inner-suburb (who she met at her gym).

When looking at social networks, the unit of analysis is often the type of support exchanged through a tie. This woman and her friend from the gym are not close; they have only a weak tie. She would not call on the lady to lend her $1,000 or console her at a time of genuine need; for these services she would turn to a strong tie. Still this acquaintance provides her with valuable information, such as the location of a new restaurant that will impress her boss. Weak ties like this one are often 'bridging' ties. This is because the tie spans the 'structural hole' between two otherwise unconnected networks. No members of either network know each other - to the extent that information passes between them - it must travel through this tie (Burt 1992).

The man from the first example has a relatively dense personal network, which means that most of the people with whom he has conversations know each other and

are friends as well. Since most of his friends live nearby, it is likely that the neighbor-hood's social network is also relatively dense. From a sociological perspective, such a community would have high levels of 'bonding social capital', meaning residents fre-quently visit with one another and exchange different types of support (Gittell and Vidal 1998).

The woman's personal network, on the other hand, is relatively loose-knit; few of the people she confides in actually know each other. On the surface, this distinction may appear minor, but as the studies presented below will demonstrate, when aggre-gated spatially, loose-knit networks provide a community with 'bridging social capital'. Bridging social capital facilitates the flow of knowledge into a community and creates linkages to external assets (Putnam 2000). Together both bridging and bonding social capital are important ingredients to communities. As the research presented in the fol-lowing sections will demonstrate, these forms of 'capital' influence the economic and po-litical power of a community and its residents.[7]

3.2 Social Networks and Neighborhood Economic Power

Neighborhood economic power is the ability of residents to generate income suf-ficient to develop and support local enterprise, purchase and maintain homes in the community, and save enough of their earnings to ensure long-term security for their families.[8] Most low income communities are a long way from reaching this reasonable goal, and many sociologists believe that the structure of residents' social networks must change before it can be realized. Personal network characteristics (i.e. size, density, diversity) are highly correlated with socioeconomic status (Campbell et al. 1986). In low income neighborhoods, residents tend to have smaller and denser social networks rela-tive to residents of middle and upper income areas (Fischer 1982; Burt 1992; Kadushin and Jones 1992). A large body of social network research describes how these network characteristics perpetuate economic disadvantage. That is, it may be small dense net-works, as opposed to lack of jobs skills or work experience, that prevent residents of

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[7] I do not mean to imply by these examples that loose-knit networks are superior to dense net-works. Each network structure has advantages and disadvantages addressed by the literature reviewed in the following sections.

[8] See Saegert et. al. (2001).
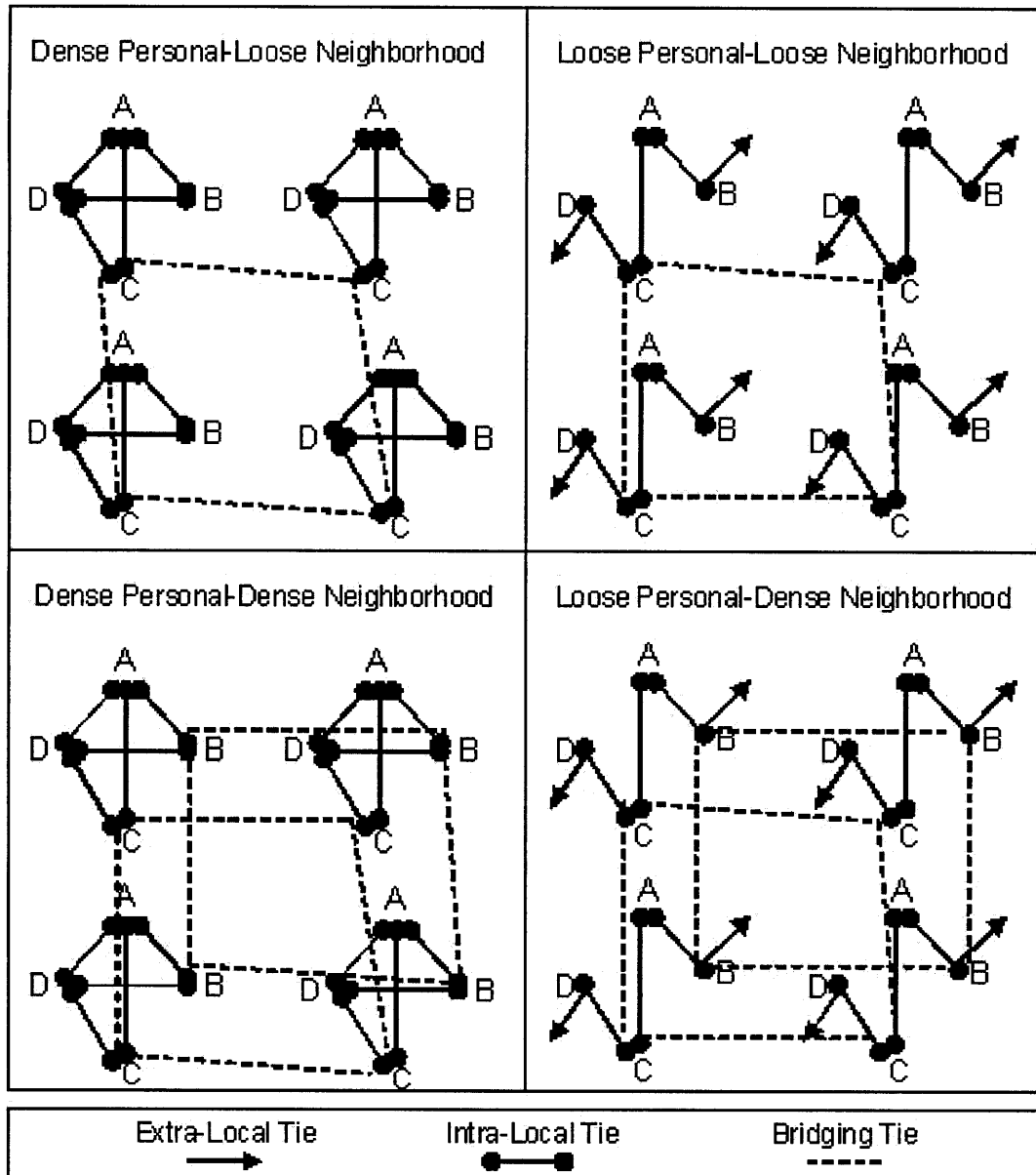
Figure 3-1 Neighborhood Network Diagrams: The structure of residents' personal networks is related to the structure of a neighborhood's social network. Neighbors with dense personal networks may form relatively unconnected sub-groups (upper-left) or they may be well connected throughout a neighborhood (lower-left). Likewise, neighborhood where residents maintain loose-knit personal networks with external-ties may be either disconnected (upper-right) or well connected (lower-right) at the neighborhood level.

low income neighborhoods from escaping poverty. This section reviews the social network literature on job search and describes how growing up in neighborhoods where poverty is concentrated influences a child's long-term economic prospects.

3.2.1 Searching for work

In sociological circles, the notion that the structure of social relations has economic consequences can be traced back to Mark Granovetter's (1973) 'strength of weak ties' argument. According to Granovetter, information passed through weak ties is more likely to generate new income-producing opportunities than the often redundant strong tie information obtained from close family and friends. Studies that set out to test Granovetter's hypothesis helped tweak this weak tie theory. Lin et al. (1981) looked at a sample of 400 men searching for work in the Albany, New York, area and found that those seeking high-status employment in managerial professions relied more often on weak ties than those looking for manual work. Campbell (1986) and her colleagues made this distinction as well. Their findings showed that when searching for jobs, low income workers depended heavily on family and friends. These individuals of modest means had fewer weak ties, and the weak ties they did possess were generally not the type of bridging ties which provide the 'social leverage' essential to economic mobility (Briggs 1998).

The weak tie hypothesis has been employed by researchers describing the social structure of inner city neighborhoods, where deindustrialization coupled with population decentralization has severely reduced the supply of jobs. Work that is available to residents of these areas is 'spatially mismatched'; there is a significant gap between where jobs are located, where people who could benefit from them live, and the reach of public transportation infrastructure (Kain 1992). These spatial disparities are the product of racism and the Federal Housing Administration's practice of redlining. They persist largely because of exclusionary zoning practices strongly fixed in place in many suburbs (Rabin 1989). Social scientists believe the families left behind in inner city neighborhoods are socially isolated from society's mainstream individuals and institutions (Jargowsky 1997; Wilson 1987).

If this is the case, the structure of social relations in these neighborhoods prevents most families from escaping poverty. A recent study by James Elliot (1999) gives credibility to this hypothesis. Elliot analyzed surveys of both employers and job seekers in Atlanta, Boston, Detroit and Los Angeles. He concluded that dense social networks

among the urban poor explain the persistence of concentrated poverty across inner city neighborhoods.

Perhaps the most visible evidence of damage caused by the economic devastation of America's inner cities is the dramatic change in household structure. With few opportunities to earn decent wages, men have withdrawn from family life, forcing women to raise children on their own (Wilson 1996). The 1996 welfare reform legislation means mothers in poor urban neighborhoods must work long hours at low-paying jobs to support their families (Corcoran et al. 2000). A number of recent studies suggest that these low income women lack the type of social networks that could improve their situations by providing access to important resources like childcare, employment training, and jobs. Women traditionally have personal networks in which kin and neighbors figure more prominently; voluntary organizations ties tend to be from organizations like the PTA or church groups, versus the business groups or political associations which men more frequently join (Smith-Lovin and McPherson 1993). While these ties are often useful in obtaining support with parenting, they are generally less valuable when seeking employment.

In a study of urban inequality in Los Angeles, Stoloff (1999) demonstrated that the densely knit social networks of women in low income neighborhoods fail to transmit important employment-related information. Rankin (2003) looked at data from low income children and their female caregivers in poor neighborhoods of Boston, Chicago and San Antonio. He found that most women surveyed had a dearth of weak ties. As a substitute, they depended on strong ties to find jobs, which led to lower quality employment. As primary caretakers for children, connections to women are a component implicit in many afterschool programs. A tie a young participant develops to a volunteer or member of the program staff could transmit potentially important economic information to the adolescent's mother.

While researchers have yet to explore how social networks impact the economic prospects of youth directly, studies show that there are wide racial disparities between how European-American and African-American youth benefit from the resources stored in their social networks when looking for their first jobs. Holzer (1987) found that among youth aged 16 to 23, European-Americans have more success finding employment using social contacts than African-Americans. According to his calculations, social contacts explain 41 percent of the difference in the probabilities of Black and White youth locating work. Korenman and Turner (1996) suggest that among youth living in Boston

who successfully find jobs from ties, European-Americans earn more than African-Americans, relative to the Black-White wage differential for youth finding jobs using formal channels or direct application. It is interesting to note that African-American youth with European-American friends are able to access the networks of their peers as the weak tie theory predicts. Braddock and McPartland (1987) demonstrated this by comparing the racial composition of high schools. Their study offered evidence that African-American students from racially segregated schools earn lower incomes as adults because they have fewer European-American peers than African-Americans who attend integrated high schools.

3.2.2 Long-term economic impact of neighborhood poverty on youth

The research presented up until this point suggests that living in neighborhoods with concentrated poverty makes it difficult for low income workers, especially single mothers, to access employment. The studies also presented evidence that the social networks of African-American youth negatively influence initial employment prospects. An important question remaining then is does growing up in a neighborhood with concentrated poverty have a lasting impact on job prospects? There is a wide range of literature describing how 'neighborhood effects' might influence a child's future life prospects. This research shows that children with the same family and socioeconomic background are more likely to experience poverty as adults if they are raised in a neighborhood where poverty predominates (for a review of this literature see Ellen and Turner 1997). Researchers have had a difficult time producing a unified theory of how concentrated poverty works to undermine adolescent development. The weak institutions hypothesis is probably the least disputed among many explanations. In this view, local institutions (i.e. schools, police, health service providers) in poor neighborhoods are overburdened and thus fail to fulfill their important missions with respect to children (Furstenburg 1993). Other researchers believe that problems (i.e. domestic violence, substance abuse, teen pregnancy) spread peer-to-peer like epidemics in neighborhoods that are densely populated with poor residents (Crane 1991).

The neighborhood effects theory most consistent with a social network approach is one of 'collective socialization'. According to this view, when the majority of adults who children interact with are unemployed or have jobs that provide low levels of satisfaction, children decide that the working world offers little return. In these neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, information from socially connected network members, which would

help children learn the norms and habitats of work life, is often missing (Wilson 1987, 1996). The absence of role models and mentors impedes a child's development and negatively impacts his or her long-term employment status (Sanders 1998). As Sophie Pedder found in her study Chicago's South Side, many inner city kids never travel downtown or leave their immediate neighborhood; as a result, their view of opportunity is severely restricted (Massey and Denton 1993). Evidence shows that children weigh their chances for success in the future based on subjective perceptions of how the opportunity structure works (Galster and Killen 1995). When young people from poor urban neighborhoods begin to see an impenetrable opportunity structure, they disengage from the workforce. MacLeod's (1987) ethnographic work of children living in New Haven public housing noted that the social isolation of the housing projects presented an insurmountable barrier, even for the neighborhood's most ambitious teens. Holzer and Offner (2001) demonstrated the effect of increases in concentrated poverty on employment by highlighting the downward trend in employment rates of young African-American men, ages 16 to 24, between 1979 and 2000.

While data from the 2000 Census show that the trend during the 1970s and 1980s towards increasingly concentrated inner city poverty was reversed in the 1990s (Jargowsky 2003), the actual story is more complicated and less positive. In Metropolitan Boston, the economic geography of opportunity is shifting. Housing pressures are pushing poor families out from the core to small satellite cities like Brockton, Lawrence and New Bedford.[9] At the same time, these older industrial cities continue to hemorrhage jobs as more and more factories relocate overseas. Second-tier cities are increasingly becoming areas of persistent and concentrated poverty. For children living in these places, opportunity is nearly invisible.

Afterschool programs that increase the size and diversity of youth social networks have the power to change a child's long-term economic prospects. According to a study by Xavier Briggs (1998), "adding just one steadily employed adult to an adolescent's circle of significant ties has dramatic effects on perceived access (p. 177)." But the most powerful result of improving one youth's network is the effect it is likely to have on other youth. A teenager with a more diverse set of contacts is able to help siblings,

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[9] This claim is hard to support with empirical evidence because the last decennial Census captured population characteristics just as the trend surfaced. It is, however, widely acknowledged by service providers in Boston neighborhoods. See Vineet Gupa. "City Weekly," *The Boston Globe.* September 21, 2003.

extended family, and friends in their efforts to find meaningful employment. There is already some evidence that afterschool programs have this effect. Surveys of parents with children in 60 afterschool programs across the country found that their child's participation in the program helped 45 percent of parents "get better jobs or do better at their jobs" (Grossman 2002). While this effect is surely associated with the childcare provided by the program, such a large impact suggests that parents might be getting leads to jobs through new ties related to their child's participation. Afterschool investment in youth, therefore, should have a type of multiplier effect across the local community.

3.3 Social Networks and Neighborhood Political Power

Neighborhood political power, defined broadly, is a community's capacity to mobilize residents, non-profit organizations, and external institutions to recognize and address local concerns.[10] Social network literature raises several points with respect to how the personal relations of residents contribute to, or in some cases prohibit, a community's ability to advance its unique political interests. Like economic power, studies demonstrate the contribution of a certain type of weak bridging tie. In the context of political power, ties that extend out beyond a neighborhood represent 'bridging social capital'. However, in contrast to economic power, where weak ties are the essential force, communities also benefit from 'bonding social capital' or strong networks of local ties between residents. This section looks at literature discussing the complexities of each type of social capital, their respective relationships to neighborhood political power, and ways in which afterschool programs might generate more of each.

3.3.1 Bridging social capital

In the last few years, political scientists started looking at social networks with increased scrutiny. Not surprisingly, their efforts show that individuals with loose-knit networks are more exposed to different and more current political information (Huckfeldt et al. 1995). As a result, they tend to vote more frequently (Verba et al. 1995). People with diverse sets of friendship ties also engage in more non-electoral political acts such as attending rallies, signing petitions, or belonging to groups that take local action for social change (Kotler-Berkowitz 2004). Residents with low density social networks are also

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[10] See Crenson (1983).

beneficial to community-based organizations. Research shows that knowledge about the existence and mission of neighborhood groups spreads more rapidly through loose-knit social networks; and people connected to these low density networks are more likely to join local civic organizations (Crenson 1978).

In light of this evidence, the absence of weak ties in low income communities with dense social networks is politically problematic. It means that residents are less likely to have high quality information. They will exercise their right to vote less frequently, and engage in lower levels of non-voting political behavior. In effect, the neighborhood will be less successful in efforts to get a new school building, oppose unwanted development, or simply ensure that the streets get cleaned. For quite some time, political scientists have observed these patterns in low income neighborhoods (Oliver 1999). In the past, lower levels of participatory behavior in poor communities were associated with lower levels of education. Political scientists are just starting to look at social networks as a factor with significant explanatory power in predicting a neighborhood's political efficacy.

An interesting example is a study of Detroit neighborhoods conducted by Cathy Cohen and Michael Dawson (1993). Together they argued that out-migration of African-American middle class families isolated poor families left behind, segregating them from traditional African-American institutions and organizations. Cohen and Dawson found that African-Americans in Detroit's poorest neighborhoods were less likely "to know an influential person second hand" than residents of low or moderate poverty neighborhoods. Residents of these neighborhoods were also less likely to talk with family and friends about politics, or attend a community meeting about neighborhood problems. Cohen and Dawson concluded that without the intergenerational ties that promote political understanding, and the linkages essential to political mobilization, Detroit's poorest neighborhoods were left politically paralyzed.

While residents of low income neighborhoods often lack weak ties in their own personal networks, bridging ties are not necessarily altogether absent. Many poor communities have a significant nonprofit presence. If this is the case, the neighborhood may benefit from the bridging ties stored in these organizations. Employees of these neighborhood-based providers work to channel resources for housing, education, job training and other programming to residents (Keyes et al. 1996). Urban Edge Housing Corporation, which works in the Jamaica Plain and Roxbury neighborhoods of Boston, is an excellent example. The organization has established itself as a political force, using

its relationships to channel funding from the Boston Foundation, and technical assistance from the Community Builders (Briggs and Mueller 1997).

Bridging ties can confer benefits, but there are also some downsides worth noting. First, it is important to remember that bridging ties span structural holes and control information flow. Disadvantaged communities are often victimized politically by the presence of structural holes when politicians exploit their roles as arbiters of information to their own advantage (Gittell and Thompson 1999). Groups that control information also become problematic when they simply fail to represent their communities. This can occur if incentives from grantmakers, professional goals, or personal beliefs are at odds with those of the local community.

Ideally community developers can foster weak ties within a neighborhood's resident population. However, this is extremely difficult for obvious reasons; it becomes even more complicated when the ties you are attempting to encourage are politically oriented. Participation of minority group members is inhibited in social contexts that prevent individuals from feeling influential, discourage group consciousness, or give rise to feelings of political inferiority (Huckfeldt 1979). Studies also show that even if you could create more heterogeneous social networks, by their very nature, they would diminish political participation. This results from a common psychological desire to avoid social conflict (Mutz 2002).

This research on bridging ties suggests that there are complexities afterschool programs must understand well before trying to sow their seeds. It seems plausible that fostering political discourse between youth from different socioeconomic backgrounds will increase the flow of information between communities. Children from inner city neighborhoods can certainly provide information to suburban children about the realities of city life that is far superior to that which they would receive from the media. On the other hand, integrative afterschool programs structured around nonpolitical activity (i.e. sports, drama) may quite naturally be adverse to challenging political differences between subgroups of participants. And even youth in politically oriented programs might be reluctant to share information or draw on their networks to provide support to peers for fear of creating dissonance between network members. Afterschool programs that bring participants into a cohesive social group and prepare children to communicate what they learn to unaffiliated peers, should be the most effective at encouraging community spirited participation. If youth programs in Boston have already recognized and

addressed these obstacles, it would be useful to tease these practices out so that others may replicate and improve upon them.

3.3.2 Bonding social capital

Sociologists and political scientists also recognize the value of dense neighborhoods networks, where residents know and socialize with one another to at least some degree. Denser networks provide 'bonding social capital' or trust and reciprocity in local relations (Gittell and Vidal 1998). Temkin and Rohe (1998) looked at neighborhood change in Pittsburgh between 1980 and 1990. They found that the most stable neighborhoods were places where residents visited, helped, and borrowed from each other. Relative to other models, such as the age of housing stock, distance to downtown Pittsburgh, and credit availability, this social capital model provided the most explanatory power. Studies of voter participation demonstrate that non-political social interaction transmits norms of participation and helps recruit more people into political activity (Verba et al. 1995). Marschall (2001) confirmed that contact among neighbors generates this type of participation at the local level. Her analysis of surveys completed by New York City voters found that respondents with strong neighborhood ties were more likely to vote in school board elections and contact school officials.

Many poor neighborhoods already have, and rely heavily on, a significant degree of bonding social capital. For some families it is the means to get by in tough economic circumstances (Warren et al. 2001). However, if bonding occurs between small tight-knit groups, information does not flow as readily into or through the community. In low income neighborhoods this is often a problem. Some streets are marked by high levels of homeownership and neighborly cooperation, while adjacent streets are characterized by absentee landlords and abandonment. This type of social structure limits a neighborhood's ability to recognize and address local concerns. Herbert Gans demonstrated this forcefully in his 1962 ethnography *The Urban Villagers*. At the time, the West End neighborhood of Boston lacked relationships that spanned throughout and beyond their border. The serious void in information flow this social structure created prevented residents from mounting an organized resistance to the neighborhood's demolition.

Another problem with bonding social capital is that it can also be used towards anti-social ends. Violent gangs and NIMBY movements are two prominent examples (Portes 1998). By promoting in-group solidarity, it often leads to antagonism towards outsiders and exclusion within a neighborhood. Organizations that build bonding ties be-

tween Latinos, for instance, are not necessarily providing a benefit to neighborhood resi-
dents of other races and ethnicities (Cohen 2001). In some inner city neighborhoods,
tensions between residents are high, with large concentrations of young people lacking
access to jobs and disconnected from school. In diverse neighborhoods, racial incidents
are often a problem (Briggs and Mueller 1997). Afterschool programs can play an im-
portant role in helping reconfigure the solidarity of neighborhood youth populations.

Building bonding social capital, while less formidable an obstacle than increasing
bridging ties, still represents a difficult task for afterschool programs. In low income
neighborhoods, high residential turnover, an absence of trusting relationships, and the
demands of working long hours at low pay make it challenging to organize residents.
However, studies show that some neighborhood organizations are successfully building
bonding social capital within communities. For example, in a study of community devel-
opment corporations in Boston, Minneapolis and Newark, Briggs and Mueller (1997)
show that CDCs increased the number of neighbors that people knew "well enough to
speak to occasionally". Briggs and Mueller also point out that building social capital is
likely to be a nonlinear process. Initially low levels of trust and high levels of turnover
make it difficult to get neighbors to participate. Over time, as a larger and larger base
develops, residents will exhibit a greater willingness to get involved.

Schneider (1997) and his colleagues demonstrate empirically that school choice
stimulates parents to become involved in a wide range of school-related activities that
build social capital. It seems reasonable to assume that parental involvement in after-
school programs can achieve similar results. Of course active involvement would pro-
duce the largest benefits. But just dropping kids off and picking them up, or attending
concerts and soccer games, may also build the type of social capital Schneider de-
scribes. A wide body of research demonstrates the political impact of participating in
voluntary associations for youth (Verba et al. 1995; Youniss et al. 1997; Smith 1999).
According to Hanks (1981), high school seniors with memberships in voluntary associa-
tions are more likely to vote, take part in political campaigns and discuss public issues,
controlling for class, academic background and self-esteem. Given this research, it
seems plausible that youth programs can have a powerful influence on neighborhood
political power by expanding the social networks of participating youth and their parents.

3.4 Social Networks and Adolescence

Adolescence is a period of transition and development. Research shows that during these years children define their identity and independence by broadening their social networks from ties of kinship to a larger group that includes peers and others who provide much needed support (Dunphy 1963; Cotterell 1996; Cauce et al. 1996). Community organizations that want to encourage the formation of bridging ties may find that working with children is advantageous. Adults who participate in voluntary groups have a more difficult time developing bridging ties because they tend to favor homophilous relationships (McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1987). Young people, on the other hand, are still in the process of exploring their own identities, which means they may be more likely to welcome people from different socioeconomic backgrounds into their own evolving networks. This section starts out with an exploration of the role of both peers and adults in youth social networks, gradually building up to a discussion of how afterschool programs can help urban youth forge new ties.

3.4.1 Ties to peers

As teenagers progress through adolescence, they assert their independence by creating peer-centered social worlds. Blyth and his colleagues (1982) demonstrated the degree to which youth feel that the significant people in their lives are other youth. In their study of 2,400 students in grades seven through ten, they found that, on average, 40 percent of significant ties in a young person's social network were nonkin peers. Adding teenage siblings and teenage extended family members increased the percentage of peers in adolescent networks to 57 percent. While adolescents typically have one or two 'best friends', these relationships are almost always embedded in the larger friendship clique (Dunphy 1963). According to Hallinan (1979), students generally name six or seven close friends on sociometric questionnaires. Boys form peer groups in slightly different ways than girls. For instance, they are more likely to have large peer groups, while girls frequently maintain more dyadic ties (Eder and Hallinan 1978). Regardless of size, most kids socialize almost entirely within their cliques. There are some, however, who travel from group to group. Adolescents who cross groups in this way provide a type of bridging tie between cliques (Ennett and Bauman 2000).

Siblings are another common form of bridging tie in youth social networks. These bridges can be extremely influential. Some older siblings draw younger brothers

and their friends into delinquent gangs; others lead them into positive peer groups centered around sports teams or voluntary associations to which the older sibling belongs (Cotterell 1996). The bridging ties provided by brothers and sisters often lead to a degree of age-mixing within youth social networks. While many believe that children are better off remaining in their own age cohorts, research shows that kids sometimes benefit from information passed on by older peers. For instance, Hansell's (1981) research suggests that kids with age diversity in their networks exhibit higher levels of interpersonal skills and personal maturity.

Adolescent social networks are not necessarily stable between ages 10 and 17. One cause of instability may be the arrival of a new friend. Research shows that new ties often threaten existing relationships, stimulating churn in a young person's social network (Coleman 1974). Another generator of change in an adolescent's social networks may be related, at least to some degree, to a desire for homophilous relationships. Kandel (1978) showed that when a friend takes up a new habit (marijuana use), adolescents will often break the tie if they have no interest in participating. Eder and Hallinan (1978) showed that girls' networks tend to exclude new members as they change over the school year, while boys' networks exhibit a growth process, coalescing into larger peer groups. These findings raise concerns which afterschool youth programs must anticipate. Either dynamic may lead youth who belong to afterschool programs to separate from their former peer groups, obfuscating the potential for the youth to become a bridging tie to a more resourceful social network.

Maintaining an active bridging tie to a European-American youth may be especially difficult for children of color because their peers may be suspicious of the ideas generated by the youth program. Many youth of color see these activities as 'acting white'. This stems from the notion that education and the like are not a viable resource for upward mobility. In the views of some inner city youth, attachment to these programs only plays into the hands of European-Americans who would like to pretend racism is not a part of 'their' society (Fordham and Ogbu 1986).

While there is an exhaustive body of literature examining how peer pressure negatively influences alters in youth social networks, increasingly researchers are beginning to believe the negative influences of peers has been exaggerated (Cotterell 1996). This is not to say that youth are immune to peer influence. Studies show that teenagers look to peers during adolescence to aid with identity formation. Adolescence is by definition a stressful life event; sharing this experience creates a very strong bond,

and influence can be rather powerful. While research tends to look at negative ways youth influence one another, especially in relation to substance use and sexual behavior, there are probably pro-social influences as well. Mounts and Steinberg (1995), for example, looked at longitudinal data and found a single friend can positively influence a child's school performance. By building relationships between youth in a structured setting, afterschool programs can help ensure that youth favorably influence their peers.

3.4.2 Ties to adults

Despite obstacles inhibiting the formation of relationships between adolescents and adults, cultural restrictions between youth and adults being the most significant, research shows that non-relative adults are fairly common in youth social networks. In a study of 2,800 adolescents, Blyth et al. (1982) found that roughly 10 percent of all adults included in personal networks were non-relatives. In a study of non-relative adults in adolescent personal networks, Galbo (1983) found that most of these adults were under thirty, and youth cited their intelligence, open-mindedness, trustworthiness, and breadth of life experiences as reasons for valuing the relationships. In essence, these adults played mentoring roles in adolescent social networks.

In fact, studies which ask youth specifically about adults they feel act as mentors in their social networks find that non-relative adults often fulfill this role. Hamilton and Darling (1996) looked at middle school, high school, and college students and found that nearly half of their sample had a mentor who provided some form of support; one-third of these mentors where non-relative adults. Across all three samples, girls were less likely than boys to have mentors in their networks (37 percent versus 54 percent). Mentors fulfilled the functions of 'teachers', 'challengers' and 'role models' almost equally. However, relationships with mentors did not supercede the power and support of relationships with parents. High school and college students were more likely to have mentors in their networks than middle school students. This finding supports the notion that youth begin to incorporate adults into their expanding social networks during mid to late-adolescence. It is worth noting that Hamilton and Darling used a sample of fairly well-off kids.

Studies of urban poor children find that related adults often fulfill mentoring roles (Rhodes et al. 1992). A large study of poor youth in a Midwestern city found that only 10 percent of adolescents, in their first year of high school, had relationships to the type of non-relative mentors (i.e. coaches, counselors, ministers) that could potentially acts as a

bridging tie (Zimmerman et al. 2002). Psychologists who study 'resilient' youth, kids who make it out of poverty and succeed despite difficult family settings, find that extra-familial sources of support are an important predictor of resiliency (Garmezy 1991). These studies show that youth with mentors have more positive school attitudes and are less severely affected by negative attitudes among their peers (Zimmerman et al. 2002).

Unfortunately, the psychological literature does not examine the extent to which weak tie mentors expand the social networks of disadvantaged adolescents, enabling them to see opportunities beyond their social worlds. Literature on afterschool mentoring programs, however, hints that this may in fact be the case. Most youth participating in these programs do not form deep supportive or therapeutic relationships. According to Freedman (1993), between one and two-thirds of adults linked in mentoring programs form bonds and most are relatively impersonal 'secondary relationships':

> Youths in secondary relationships, similarly, maintain functional goals and clear emotional limits. They look to mentors for help finding jobs, doing homework, and applying to college, but do not cultivate deep emotional involvement (p. 67).

It is quite possible that psychologists are missing the power of the bridging weak ties and the positive impact they might have for outcomes among inner city youth.

3.4.3 Forging new ties

If community organizations want young people to add youth or adults from different socioeconomic backgrounds into their social networks, studies show that contact is the essential element. Much of this existing research is centered around the question of school integration and is highly transferable to afterschool programs. Hansell and Slavin (1981), for instance, found that African-American and European-American students in two Baltimore middle schools formed close ties after participating in a 10-week cooperative learning course. Their results showed that friendships were equally likely to form regardless of race or gender (e.g. African-American youth were just as accepting to European-American youth as European-American youth were to African-American youth).

Evaluations of afterschool programs highlight several approaches to maximizing the quality of contact. Activity that engages children while providing them 'status equity' is more likely to promote relationships between staff and youth participants (Gambone and Arbreton 1997; Flanagan 2003). Afterschool programs generally provide youth with more status equity than the traditional classroom setting. However, if the program's aim

is socioeconomic diversity, it is also important to ensure that both affluent and disadvantaged youth come together as equals to the greatest extent possible.

Programs designed to foster interracial ties between youth have also had more success when they described this type of integration as a goal for the program (Quiroz et al. 1996). This gives reason to believe programs that repeatedly voice the development of supportive relationships between staff and participants as an explicit objective are more likely to achieve the formation of these ties.

Activities structured around a common goal are also more likely to generate relationships (Schofield 1995). Organized activities, even those with a very narrow focus such as gymnastics, basketball, and chess, have been shown to help youth develop strong supportive relationships with adults from different backgrounds (Delgado 2000).

Finally, organizations that invest time helping staff understand the youth participating in their program, their families, and their neighborhoods are more likely to provide contact that builds trust and leads to the development of bridging ties (Delgado 2000). Many afterschool programs try to promote understanding between students and staff by visiting homes and neighborhoods and ensuring staff receive appropriate cultural training.

3.5 Summary

The nature of social relations among neighborhood residents and between neighborhoods dictates local political and economic conditions. Community organizations that impact social relations by working with youth may generate significant communitywide benefits if they can produce bridging and bonding social capital. Table 3-1 summarizes the rewards to each type of social capital suggested by the literature reviewed in this chapter.

Table 3-1: Community Development Benefits of Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

	Political Power	Economic Power
Bonding Social Capital	• well defined local identity • ability to mobilize and confront challenges	• commitment to building local wealth
Bridging Social Capital	• access to political resources • flow of political information • potential for political partnerships	• access to economic resources • flow of economic information

Dense social networks generate bonding social capital that can help residents define their local or collective identity. Well bonded communities will be better prepared to mobilize and confront local challenges. Neighborhoods with extremely high levels of bonding social capital will exhibit a commitment to building wealth locally by supporting local businesses and sustaining organizations that provide neighborhood residents with social services. Weak bridging ties facilitate the flow of new information into communities. This information can help families escape the isolation of concentrated poverty; the knowledge and contacts provided by bridging ties can also increase a neighborhood's political efficacy.

In many low income neighborhoods, community organizations provide bridging social capital and foster bonding social capital within and between communities. After-school programs may offer an additional avenue for developing both types of neighborhood social capital because they serve youth at a time when they are expanding their peer groups; and youth are relatively open to adding new members (both other youth as well as adults) to their evolving networks.

Before afterschool programs set out to influence adolescent social networks they should be aware of certain complexities. Programs are most likely to generate ties among participants if they build trust between participants, while providing status equity among all involved, and explicitly voicing support for the formation of new friendships. In order for afterschool programs to have large community development benefits, youth involved must transmit information gained from program contacts into their wider social networks. This may be difficult because youth social networks are constantly evolving. Peers not in afterschool programs might be weary of a friend whose behavior or outlook has changed because of the program; and youth participants might be reluctant to share information with peers for fear of alienating them.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Questions and Methodology

The first three chapters built a theoretical case for looking at the community de-velopment benefits of afterschool programs from a social network perspective. In the next three, I present evidence collected from afterschool programs in Boston to support this social network argument. The analysis offered is not intended to prove conclusively that community development benefits accrue from afterschool programs.[11] My goal is to simply tease out the mechanisms through which afterschool programs could potentially provide community development. While this study is mostly exploratory in nature, it is still my hope that the findings drawn from these data will be valuable to out-of-school time policymakers, practitioners and researchers.

With this framing in mind, I turn to the specifics of formulating research questions and appropriate methods to probe them, the objective for this current Chapter. Section 4.1 sorts the research questions into four broad categories, lightly sketching the contours of each area of inquiry. Research methods are then described in Section 4.2, a discus-sion of the survey instruments; and Section 4.3, an outline of the qualitative field work. Issues specific to the application of the research methods are treated in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6. This chapter provides the general methodological approach with em-phasis on both the strengths and limitations of the research design.

4.1 Research Questions

The main objectives of this mixed-methods study are demonstrating that after-school programs increase the number and diversity of both inter-local and extra-local social ties accessible to participants; and showing that participants can mobilize these relationships to garner valuable information and resources to the benefit of their commu-nities. In the process of testing for these effects, a secondary set of research questions arise. These relate to how the structure and characteristics of afterschool programs in-fluence the formation of new social ties.

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[11] Community development interventions are extremely difficult to study. Controlled experiments are generally necessary to uncover their impact. Given the diversity of neighborhood attributes, it is both timely and costly to devise a trial that will control for differences between neighborhoods, while differentiating the effects of the intervention (Briggs 1997).

4.1.1 Inter-local ties

Do afterschool programs encourage the formation of new social ties, or increase the strength of existing ties between community members? Afterschool programs that have such an effect build a community's stock of 'bonding social capital', which can be used, in a community development sense, to organize movements aimed at ensuring neighborhood safety, advocating sound development decisions, or strengthening public schools (Putnam 2000). These new ties can be kid-kid relationships, kid-unrelated adult relationships, parent-parent relationships, or parent-staff relationships. Afterschool programs will have a particularly powerful inter-local effect if they can help kids and parents form inter-racial, inter-ethnic ties. Given the diversity of Boston's neighborhoods, the potential for racial and ethnic integration is high; afterschool programs maybe an excellent platform for providing the contact necessary to increase social racial and ethnic integration.

4.1.2 Extra-local ties

Do afterschool programs increase the number and diversity of social ties that extend beyond the community? Afterschool programs that afford young participants opportunities to meet adults who live beyond their communities, adults who can share different life experiences and ideas, will create a new type of 'bridging tie' to the neighborhood where the young participant lives. Likewise, afterschool programs that involve parents and foster ties between parents and adult staff or volunteers, create new 'weak ties' that extend from these parents out into their local communities. Programs that draw their participants from a diverse set of backgrounds may even create bridging ties between two teen participants. With any of these potential combinations, the new weak tie will open the flow of valuable information in areas ranging from employment prospects to political opportunities (Granovetter 1973; Huckfeldt et al. 1995).

4.1.3 Mobilization

Will parents and teenagers use the information and support stored in these new social ties to the benefit of their communities? New ties are only significant if parents and kids can access them for information and support. These ties will be particularly valuable, in a community development sense, if participants mobilize them on behalf of their personal network members (i.e. peers, next door neighbors, relatives down the street).

An instance of local tie mobilization is a parent, who meets another neighborhood parent through an afterschool program, and the two parents make plans to share childcare responsibilities. An example of an extra-local tie activation is a teen going to an afterschool program staff member to ask if she could get someone she knew to intervene in a conflict between his friends and another group of teens.

While there are strong theoretical reasons to believe youth programs will facilitate the type of action described in these examples, there are also reasons to hypothesize that they may not. If an afterschool program shapes or alters personal networks into new cliques, participants may not be able to influence their neighborhood peers. In this case, the community development benefits will be obscured.

4.1.4 Program structure

Do specific types of activity or interaction foster a larger number of social ties? There are a number of ways in which organizational characteristics may influence the formation of social ties: Programs that provide structured activity in athletics or the arts may provide an opportunity for contact that neutralizes the socioeconomic differences between staff, volunteers and participants. Experiential learning projects or leadership programs may build bridging ties that carry precisely the type of information likely to generate community development benefits. Programs where staff members are trained to better understand the complexities of inner city neighborhoods may generate more ties between youth, staff, and parents. Neighborhood-based programs with local staff who share similar 'teenhood' experiences may have greater ability to foster bonding social capital. And finally, programs that explicitly support the formation of new social ties may have more success accomplishing the objective.

4.2 Surveys

A random-sample survey was designed to investigate the research questions raised in the preceding section. The initial intent of the survey was to test a large number of youth programs in Boston and measure the extent to which the program characteristics raised in 4.1.4 are influential in the development of new social ties between youth participants and adult staff and volunteers. Unfortunately, this ambitious undertaking required a higher response rate than the study received. As a result, the analysis of survey data is limited to the question of *whether* adolescents developed new ties rather

than *how*. Fortunately, the survey data also allows for testing to measure the extent to which youth transmit resources stored in new social ties to family and peers.

4.2.1 Survey design

Two separate one-page surveys, one for program staff (Appendix C) and another for youth participants (Appendix D), were administered.[12] Exploring all of the research questions outlined in 4.1 required more time and money than I had on hand for this thesis project. Recognizing these limitations, I restricted the scope of the survey. The questions focused on investigating the relationship between youth programs and weak bridging ties.[13] Two instruments utilized widely in the study of social capital, the position and resource generators, were included to detect new weak bridging ties fostered by involvement in afterschool programs:

The Position Generator

Position generators measure the volume and diversity of social resources present in a network (Lin and Dumin 1986). The survey instrument is essentially a short list of 10 to 20 professions; respondents are asked to indicate whether they know someone in each position. This format makes it very quick to administer. Using prestige scores, responses can be analyzed to estimate a number of measures that describe both the quantity and quality of weak tie resources a respondent can potentially access:

- **Extensity** measures the total volume of resources available to a respondent. It is the sum of all positions accessed.

- **Upper reachability** measures how high up the prestige scale a respondent's social ties extend.

- **Range** is a measure of the breadth of a network. It is the difference between the highest and lowest positions accessed.

The position generator employed in this survey was modified slightly. Students were asked to indicate if they knew a person in each position, and whether this

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[12] The surveys and survey protocol were approved by MIT's Committee on the Use of Humans as Experimental Subjects (COUHES).

[13] There were several reasons for focusing the surveys exclusively on bridging ties. First, the unique value of bridging ties in areas related to community development is consistently demonstrated in both the theoretical and empirical literature (See sections 3.3 and 3.4). Second, the social network analysis methods for measuring weak bridging ties are relatively simple and well tested. Finally, it seemed intuitive that testing for the generation of bonding social capital would be easier to do qualitatively than asking interview questions about rather obscure bridging ties.

person was family, a neighbor, a friend, or someone they met through the youth program in which they participate. In this way, ties made through the afterschool program can be considered examples of an afterschool program extending a participant's social network.

The Resource Generator

A resource generator asks if a respondent knows a person who can provide different types of support (Snijders 1999). Scores are then calculated based on how many types of support the respondent can access and the availability of support in different domains (e.g. personal, educational, financial). In this analysis, questions can be broken down into categories for personal support, support that will help youth get ahead, and support to help youth build their communities. Similar to the position generator, students were asked whether they get each type of support from a family member, a neighbor, a friend, school staff or someone they met through the youth program in which they participate.

Correlating data from the position generator and the resource generator provides evidence that weak ties increase accessibility to various types of information and support. By linking questions from the staff survey, these data can also be used to explore how program structure and characteristics influence weak tie formation.

4.2.2 Sampling and data collection

The Boston Afterschool for All Partnership provided a list of approximately 150 programs to survey. I called through the list before sending out the first mailing to eliminate programs no longer in existence, and ensure the correct mailing address for each organization. This process reduced the list to approximately 105 programs, five of which were removed randomly to produce a manageable list of 100 local afterschool programs. Survey packages went out during the first week in February. Each package contained a letter of introduction from Debra McLaughlin, the director of the Afterschool for All Partnership, and a letter describing the survey, which I signed. Additionally, instructions for staff were included in each package detailing how they should explain survey procedures to students. As an incentive, students who participated were offered a chance to win gift certificates worth $75, $50 and $25 at local stores. To be eligible, kids needed to have consent forms signed by their parents and return the completed surveys before March 1st.

One week after the packages went out, I phoned each program to ask if they had received and administered their surveys. Surveys had not reached 15 programs; these

were resent the second week in February. Follow-ups by phone and email continued throughout the month of February and well into March. Despite these efforts, only 11 of the original 100 programs returned surveys. Because the youth portion of the survey required each student to obtain a parent's signature, very few of these were ultimately returned. The final sample included only 62 youth surveys from these 11 afterschool programs.

4.3 Qualitative Field Research

Qualitative field research is an essential component of the design given the limited nature of the survey. This field work involved several hours of observation, coupled with one-on-one interviews of staff, students, and parents. These activities took place over a six-week period between the first week in March and the second week in April.

4.3.1 Case study locations

In selecting case study sites, I looked for successful and well structured afterschool programs with directors who would accommodate my research needs. Each of the three case study programs represents a unique type of structured activity, which is important because one hypothesis stated above is that different structures foster different types of ties. They also each encourage peer leadership to varying degrees, reflecting another hypothesis that youth trained to influence their peers transmit more information, particularly information related to community development, through their social ties. Descriptions of the structured activities and leadership qualities of the case study programs are detailed below:

MetroLacrosse
MetroLacrosse operates free afterschool lacrosse programs in 8 neighborhoods in and around Boston. The program serves 600 middle and high school students. The organization's mission is to use lacrosse as a platform to teach youth to be healthy in their lives, compassionate towards others, and leaders in their communities. Lacrosse is an interesting program structure because it is a foreign-sport to children in communities of color. However, it is a sport, and sports are engaging to kids. Leadership is an important component of the MetroLacrosse curriculum, although it is addressed in the broader sense of character development. Community development leadership is generally not a focus.

The City School
The City School's mission is developing leaders on social justice issues. While the program is located in the Upham's Corner neighborhood of Dorchester, it draws 450

youth from all over Greater Boston. Community leadership is the prime focus of The City School. Its activities are designed to train youth to be vocal leaders in their communities.

Youth Voice Collaborative
The Youth Voice Collaborative runs programs that help kids become critical consumers of media. It also trains kids to teach their peers about the media and produce media that is true to their own beliefs, ideas and realities. Youth Voice is located in Back Bay, but it attracts kids from all over Boston. Like sports, talking about the media is fun and interesting for kids. Youth Voice trains participants to inform their peers about the media.

4.3.2 Observation

I observed each program on several separate occasions. For the most part, I spent this time watching the regular activities of the program and tried to dissociate myself as much as possible.[14] The students knew I was watching as part of a research project. I never got the sense that this knowledge altered their behavior; in fact, it seemed like they were quite accustomed to being observed by researchers. When volunteers or parents were around, I would sometimes chat with them informally during the observation periods, introducing myself as a researcher if the conversation progressed to a point where I felt it would be appropriate.

4.3.3 Interviews

Both afterschool program staff and student participants were interviewed as part of the field research. Student interviews took place at each case study location; all of the teens interviewed had been members of these programs for several years and served, at the time of the interview, as program interns. Selecting these students provided the advantage of working with participants who had a great deal of familiarity with the program and enough maturity to talk seriously about their experiences. As the analysis will at times note, selecting these students also introduced some bias because these teens were, most likely, a relatively successful cohort of program participants.

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[14] MetroLacrosse was the exception. During two Saturdays, I volunteered to help run tryouts. To some extent this participation limited my ability to take notes and observe fully. On the positive side, it offered an opportunity to build credibility with the program interns I would interview a few weeks later.

CHAPTER FIVE

Survey Results

Most of Boston's public schools unlock the doors at 1:45. At that hour, kids all across the city stream out into the streets. Many head back to their homes and neighborhoods to pass the afternoon hanging out with friends. If kids spend their time outside of the classroom with the same crowd day after day, it is very likely that the exchanges and interactions they have will become highly monotonous. Moreover, in the low income areas where most of Boston's public school students live, the view from the street offers fairly limited prospects of opportunity. However, if just one kid from the group spends a few afternoons each week at an afterschool program - a program that exposes teens to adults and other youth with different perspectives on life's chances - information might be exchanged that the teen can take back to friends on the corner.

Fortunately, the City's expanded effort to provide afterschool programming makes this scenario a real possibility. This Chapter explores data from a survey of 53 adolescents participating in local afterschool programs to see if these exchanges are really taking place. The analysis reveals evidence that afterschool programs increase the number of social connections youth have to adults. In addition, it suggests that teens do in fact pass things they hear at afterschool programs on to their family and friends. Survey results suggest that at many programs, the things they hear pertain directly to community development.

5.1 The Sample

The sample I have of 53 teens participating in local afterschool programs is quite small relative to the task at hand. Generally speaking, the smaller the sample, the more important it becomes to understand how the data are distributed and related limitations. This first section describes these important features of the returned surveys and the resulting sample population.

5.1.1 Response

Eleven of the 100 afterschool programs sent survey packages responded, returning a total of 62 completed questionnaires. Out of the 62, nine were only partially completed or completed in a manner that suggested they were not taken seriously by the

respondent. After eliminating these, the final dataset included 53 participants. Programs returned, on average, 4.8 surveys with a minimum of 1, a maximum of 15, and a median of 3.

The original 100 programs sent surveys represented a random sample of afterschool organizations operating in Boston. Social change was the focus for less than a third of these programs. Interestingly, two-thirds of the programs responding were involved in some sort of structured activity related to social change (Table 5-1). The low response rate makes it difficult to differentiate between the effects of different activity types as I had intended. As a result, the only programmatic explanatory variable I employ is a dummy variable coded 1 for leadership or social change programs.

Table 5-1: Program Focus Area

Program Focus	Programs Sent Surveys	Programs that Responded
Social Change	29%	64%
Individual Achievement	58%	27%
Drop-In	14%	9%

Source: Author's tabulation of survey data

5.1.2 Sample characteristics

The sample captured a fairly even distribution of the teen population with respect to age (mean=15.6; std. dev=1.7) and gender (53 percent female). It is also well distributed in terms of time respondents spent in the program upon answering the survey (Figure 5-1). Racially and ethnically the sample is less representative of the city's youth. Asian, Latino and multi-racial/ethnic teens were over sampled, while European and African-American youth were under sampled (Table 5-2). This problem is wholly attributable to the small sample size as opposed to an actual uneven racial distribution of youth participating in programs citywide.[15] Respondents to the survey come from 12 Boston neighborhoods and five inner-suburbs. In this sense, the sample seems representative of the distribution of Boston's youth into neighborhoods (Table 5-3).

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[15] Survey work by the Boston Afterschool for All Partnership shows that teens of varying races and ethnicities participate in programs at nearly equal rates with the exception of Latino youth, who participate at slightly lower rates (Afterschool for All, 2003). This suggests Latinos are over sampled by an even greater extent than portrayed in Table 5-2.

Figure 5-1: Distribution of Age and Time in Program Variables

Age

Time in Progam
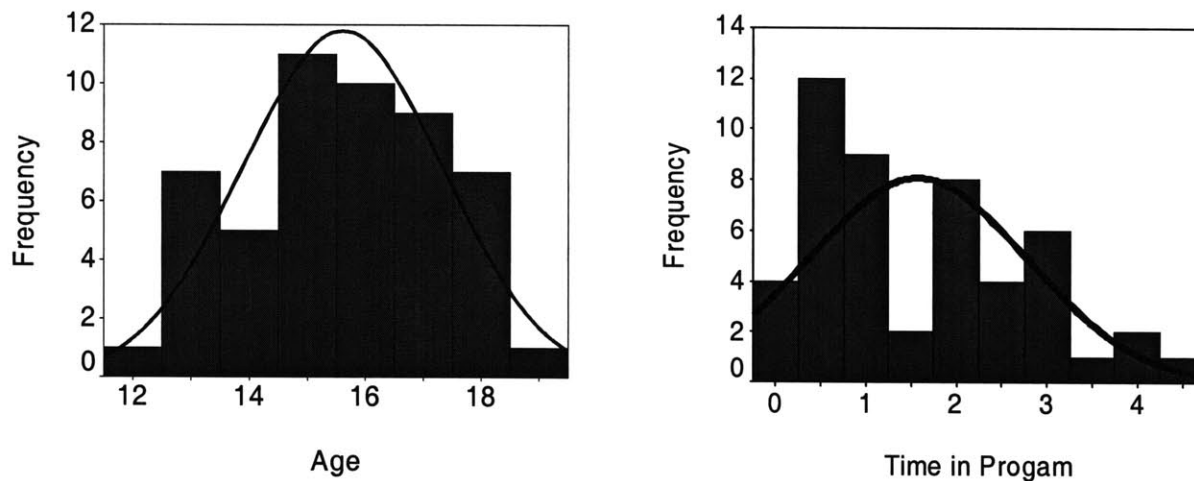
Source: Author's tabulation of survey data

Table 5-2: Racial and Ethnic Composition of Sample vs. Boston's Youth Population

Race/Ethnicity	Boston	Sample
White	25%	6%
Black or African-American	37%	22%
Asian or Pacific Islander	7%	29%
Latino	24%	31%
Multi-Racial/Ethnic	7%	12%

Source: Author's tabulation of survey data and Census 2000

Table 5-3: Concentration of Boston's Youth in Neighborhoods vs. Sample

Neighborhood	Boston	Sample[1]
Brighton	6%	2%
Chinatown	2%	4%
Dorchester	22%	18%
East Boston	8%	12%
Jamaica Plain	6%	12%
Mattapan	11%	2%
Mission Hill[2]	-	2%
North End[2]	-	2%
Roslindale	7%	8%
Roxbury	16%	10%
South Boston	5%	2%
South End	4%	2%

[1]Percentages do not sum to 100 because some respondents lived outside of Boston

[2]No youth population statistics for this neighborhood

Source: Author's tabulation of survey data and Boston Redevelopment Authority

5.1.3 Social networks

The survey measured the breadth of a respondent's social network by way of the position generator (described in Chapter 4). From reviewing the surveys, it is clear that respondents vary considerably with respect to their pre-existing, or non-afterschool program, social network. The number of ties (extensity) to adults in each respondent's network varied from 0 to 7 with a mean of 1.45. This suggests that the marginal value of a new social tie created by participation in the afterschool programs may be of greater value to some youth than others.

5.2 New Afterschool Ties

I begin the analysis by looking for evidence that afterschool programs lead to new social ties for youth, and that these ties are somehow different from a participant's existing social ties. The higher up the economic ladder new social relations reach, the greater the likelihood is that they will transmit important new information to an adolescent's peer group (Granovetter 1973).

5.2.1 Participation in afterschool programs generates new weak ties

Analysis of the survey data suggests that involvement in afterschool programs generated new weak ties between adults and the adolescent respondents. Participation in an afterschool program created a new social tie for 45 percent of respondents as measured by the position generator; the mean number of new ties per respondent was 1.0. These figures do not represent the total number of weak ties respondents formed by participating in afterschool programs since the position generator includes only 11 randomly selected professions. However, it is possible to judge the relative importance of ties generated by participation in the afterschool program by comparing the number of positions reached by involvement in the afterschool program to the number of pre-existing social ties. I estimate that, on average, afterschool social relations account for somewhere between 18 and 40 percent of all ties to adults for these adolescents.[16]

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[16] The uncertainty here stems from a problem with how youth responded to the surveys. The "friends" category was included in the position generator to capture all other ties that were not familial, local or related to the program. Some respondents seemed to use this category more frequently than what would seem realistic. As a result, I am hesitant to report on it. If this field is included, afterschool ties make up only 18 percent of the average respondent's network. If it is excluded, however, they account for nearly 40 percent of all social ties present.

The position generator facilitates another measure of the extent to which after-school programs foster weak ties in adolescent social networks. This test is a linear regression on the number of afterschool ties present in a youth's social network. If afterschool programs expose teens to adults with whom they form weak ties, it should follow that the longer a respondent participates in a program, the larger the number of afterschool ties present in their network. It is important that time spent in the program correlate with the number of afterschool ties; otherwise the position generator might just be picking up professional staff that youth meet immediately after joining the program. If new afterschool ties can be associated with time spent in the program, the appropriate inference is that programs expose youth to adults through various activities over time; so the longer teens participate in the program, the more likely they are to encounter and form ties with adults. Figure 5-2 plots time spent in the program against a respondent's total number of afterschool ties. Line A illustrates the postulated linear relationship.

Figure 5-2: Scatterplot of Afterschool Ties by Years in Program

Years in Afterschool Program
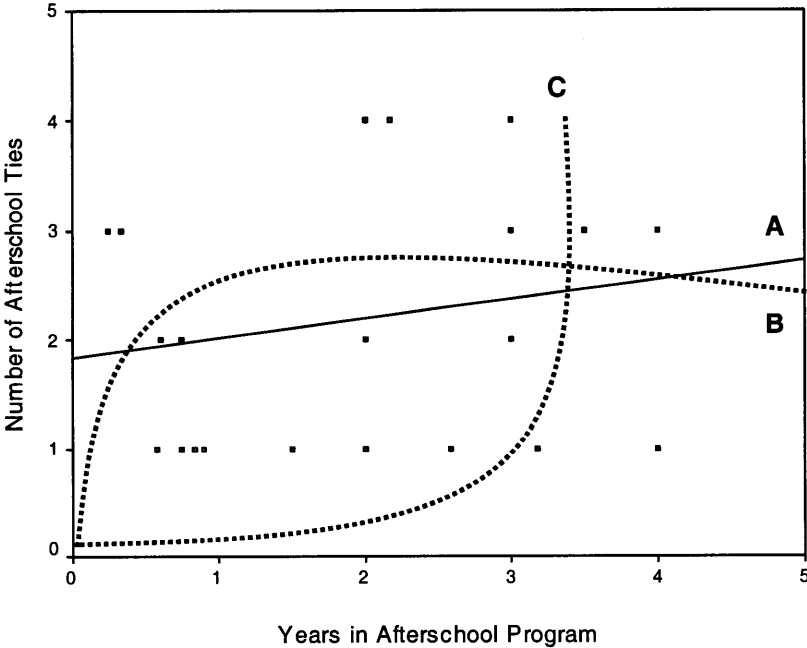
Source: Author's analysis of survey data

Of course, the association between time and tie formation may be more complicated than the one I have just proposed. Programs may introduce youth to a cadre of regular adult volunteers in the first few weeks of the program. In this case, teens may

form ties to adult volunteers at the afterschool program relatively quickly; the relationship might look more similar to the one illustrated by Line B in Figure 5-2. On the other hand, the program structure may support association with adults only after a youth has been involved in the program for several years. In some organizations, for instance, after a few years of involvement teens serve on boards along with adults. If this is the case, the relationship may look more like the one charted out by Line C. Assuming these two effects cancel themselves out across programs, a linear regression fitting Line A should be sufficient to explain the average relationship. I also added age as a predictor thinking that this would help correct for problems with nonlinearity, as older members might receive special treatment from adults regardless of time spent in the program.

Table 5-4: Linear Regression Models Predicting Number of Afterschool Ties

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t	Sig.
Age	-0.105	0.119	-0.887	0.380
Time in Program	0.327	0.157	2.083	0.043
Constant	2.304	1.862	1.237	0.223
R-Square	.10			
(N)	45			

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t	Sig.
Age	-0.078	0.129	-0.607	0.547
Time in Program	0.299	0.166	1.801	0.079
Gender (Female=1)	0.165	0.411	0.401	0.690
Leadership Program	-0.176	0.431	-0.407	0.686
Constant	1.932	1.991	0.970	0.338
R-Square	.22			
(N)	45			

Source: Author's analysis of survey data

Table 5-4 presents the results of this regression. Time in the program is positively related to afterschool ties such that each additional year a teen participates in an afterschool program generates a third of a tie. At this rate, a youth needs to spend three years before they obtain an actual contact. Remember, however, that these are position generated ties. In real terms, the number of new social relations will be much larger. The bottom panel provides the results from a fuller regression model. I added gender and a dummy variable for the only program characteristic (leadership program) with

enough observations to model. These additional explanatory variables seem to have little influence on the number of new social ties spawned by participation.[17]

5.2.2 Weak ties generated by afterschool programs reach high

There is a hint of evidence provided by the analysis to suggest that weak ties generated by afterschool programs reach higher than the ties in a participant's existing social network (Table 5-5). The mean upper reachability of ties accessed through afterschool programs (63.7) is slightly higher than the mean upper reachability of ties to parents and relatives (61.8). While the difference between these means is not statistically significant as I would predict, there are several reasons why this might be the case. The first explanation is the relatively small sample size, which makes it difficult to conclude positively that a significant difference exists.

Table 5-5: Summary of Position-Generated Variables

Tie Location	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Parent/Relative Ties				
Extensity	0	7	1.7	1.8
Upper reachability	39	75	61.8	10.2
Lower reachability	22	75	47.1	12.5
Range	0	45	14.7	15.2
Neighborhood Ties				
Extensity	0	4	0.4	0.7
Upper reachability	22	75	58.3	14.7
Lower reachability	22	75	52.2	17.0
Range	0	45	6.1	14.7
Afterschool Ties				
Extensity	0	4	1.0	1.2
Upper reachability	22	75	63.7	12.6
Lower reachability	22	75	51.6	16.1
Range	0	51	12.1	15.7

Source: Author's analysis of survey data

There is also some evidence that the programs are "cream skimming" or that these children come from higher economic backgrounds than their peers. In fact, the mean lower reachability of ties to parents and relatives (47.1) is on the border of being statistically significantly different from the mean lower reachability of afterschool ties

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[17] While the model presented in the lower panel is slightly overspecified given the available degrees of freedom; in analysis not included here, I added these variables in a number of different specifications attempting to find significance without success.

(51.6).[18] And the mean upper reachability of neighborhood ties, for example, is only 58.3. The difference between the mean upper reachability of parent/relative ties and neighborhood ties is more evidence that kids participating in afterschool programs come from economic positions that are relatively higher than their peers.

5.3 Accessing Afterschool Ties

A central research question is whether students use ties from afterschool programs to assist family and friends. It is this kind of multiplier type effect that will bring important community development benefits to neighborhoods that have a strong afterschool organization presence. This section looks at the limited survey data available to probe this and related questions.

5.3.1 Youth use connections to help parents and siblings

Fifty-one percent of participants responded yes to the question "Since joining your afterschool program, have you used a connection you made through the program to help a parent or sibling?" In order to determine the factors that influence whether or not a youth will leverage social ties for family members, I performed Logistic regressions on this survey question. Logistic regression examines the relationship between predictors and a binary dependent variable; in this case, yes or no to sharing resources stored in an afterschool program tie with parents and siblings. I split the analysis into two different models outlined in Table 5-6. The first model looks at the level of support programs provide as measured by the resource generator (see chapter 4). Results from this analysis suggest that youth who attend supportive programs are significantly more likely to use afterschool ties to aid family members. For instance, a 16 year old boy from a highly supportive program (one standard deviation above the mean) has a .86 probability of sharing ties with friends. The same boy from a program that provides an average level of support has only a .75 probability of sharing ties.[19]

This model also suggests that female participants are less likely to channel information from afterschool program to their family members. The second model looks at

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[18] $P = .072$ (two-tailed t-test). It may also be related to design. Respondents were asked to obtain parent signatures before participating. Lower SES parents may have been less likely to sign due to extenuating factors such as larger work burdens or linguistic barriers.
[19] The equation for the first boy is: $\dfrac{EXP[(-.099*16)+(.424*4.64)+1.443]}{1+ EXP[(-.099*16)+(.424*4.64)+1.443]}$

whether respondents with a large stock of potential resources to share (e.g. a larger number of afterschool ties) spread the wealth.

Table 5-6: Logistic regression predicting likelihood of helping a parent or sibling

Covariates	Model 1	Model 2
Age	-0.099	-0.195
Gender (1=Female)	-1.355*	-0.218
Afterschool Support	0.424**	-
Afterschool Ties	-	-0.860
Constant	1.443	4.440
Chi-Square	7.827[1]	3.396
(N)	43	43

*p<.10 **p<.05
[1]Two-Tailed chi-square significant at p<.05
Source: Author's analysis of survey data

Contrary to what I would like to see, Model 2 fails miserably to predict this type of altruistic behavior. In analysis not presented here, I tested each model with the dummy leadership program variable as a predictor and found no significant effects.

5.3.2 Youth use connections to help friends

Seventy-one percent of participants responded yes to the question "Since joining your afterschool program, have you used a connection you made through the program to help a friend?" I employed the same two models described above to look for factors that influence a youth to transmit information to peer ties. This analysis posted similar results (Table 5-7). The sixteen year old boy described above would increase his probability of sharing information with friends from .79 in a moderately supportive program to .91 in a highly supportive environment.

Table 5-7: Logistic regression predicting likelihood of helping a friend

Covariates	Model 1	Model 2
Age	-0.421	-0.078
Gender (1=Female)	-0.485*	0.154
Afterschool Support	0.558**	-
Afterschool Ties	-	0.109
Constant	6.484	2.079
Chi-Square	7.087[2]	0.439
(N)	43	43

*p<.10 **p<.05
[2]Two-Tailed chi-square significant at p<.10
Source: Author's analysis of survey data

It surprises me that more respondents used afterschool connections to help friends than to help family (71 percent versus 51 percent). Generally, I thought youth would have an easier time sharing resources with sisters, brothers and cousins. I have a suspicion that the discrepancy may suggest that youth interpreted the question as "would they encourage friends to join the program." Eighty six percent of respondents answered this question affirmatively.

5.3.3 Afterschool programs advise students about improving community

Eighty percent of respondents attending leadership programs reported that the program gave advice about how to help their communities. Among the non-leadership programs, 50 percent of students still responded that the program gave advice on improving community. In addition, the survey provides evidence that afterschool programs offer other types of advice related to community development efforts. For instance, 68 percent of respondents indicated that their programs advised them on going to college; and 42 percent said their program provided advice on finding a job.

5.4 Summary

The response to the survey was limited and this severely restricted analytical options. However, testing of data from the survey did produce evidence that youth who participate in afterschool programs have more ties to adults. The findings also suggest that these new adult ties are economically higher than pre-existing adult social relations. Some support for the hypothesis that youth who participate in afterschool programs share the resources available to them through their afterschool connections with family and friends was uncovered. Presentation of the qualitative data in Chapter 6 will be important in corroborating the findings described in this chapter and investigating the research questions omitted in analysis of the survey data.

CHAPTER SIX

Case Studies

Boston is an extremely complex place. The City's residents come from many countries and cultures and their values vary. This translates into widely different objectives for their lives and the lives of their children. Youth in the City, and the programs which serve them, reflect these intricacies. Some afterschool programs are aimed at giving students the hand up they need to make it into world-class universities; others are geared towards leading at-risk youth out of harm's way. There are afterschool programs which provide youth with a forum for attacking institutionalized racism; and others that merely offer a safe place for kids to play. The teens who come to these programs are often a good match, but some who attend out of habit or convenience would clearly be better served by other organizations. These complexities make attempts to generalize the social processes at afterschool programs extremely difficult.

In this Chapter, I muddle through these murky waters in order to learn more about how afterschool programs influence social networks in low income communities. The first section describes the structures of the adolescents' social networks before they began participating in these afterschool programs. The following section covers the influence of these programs on their social networks. And the final section discusses how different types of information flow through new social ties gained by participation in afterschool programs. Descriptions of the case study sites and students interviewed at each location are intermingled in text boxes throughout the chapter. The reader might find it useful to thumb through these before continuing. For the most part, I refrain from making inferences about the effects of the observed networks and network changes with regard to community development; this will be the focus of Chapter 7.

6.1 Pre-Existing Adolescent Social Networks

Case study interviews gave me an opportunity to conduct a firsthand mini-investigation into the properties of social networks among young Bostonians. In interviews with each student, I asked questions about their social networks outside of the afterschool setting to try and determine the nature of their 'pre-existing' social relations. As Chapter 4 emphasized, these networks influence an adolescent's development. The

structure of these youth networks also carries potential implications for community developers.

6.1.1 Pre-existing local ties

Within the community, youth have ties to friends as well as adults, both related and unrelated. Interviews with youth left the impression that local peer networks are generally small. The number of local ties to adults varied from youth to youth. For the most part, these adult ties were relatively low reaching in terms of economic status.

Local Ties to Peers

Local ties generally represent a large proportion of a young person's friendships. Most of the youth I spoke to had relatively few social connections to other youth in Boston. This is somewhat concerning because research shows that larger networks are often more supportive than smaller peer groups (Wellman 1979). And supportive networks are particularly helpful in coping with the stresses of adolescence.

Two factors seem to be responsible for smaller local peer networks. First, in Boston kids do not attend neighborhoods schools. Instead they are assigned to citywide schools according to a lottery system. As they move from grade to grade, their classmates, and hence friendships, change.[1] By mid-adolescence, their peer groups are smaller than they might be in an environment with more continuity. A second factor leading to smaller social networks is the mobility of neighborhood peers, the first non-familial friendship kids generally form. Neighborhood ties often dissolve because children in low income neighborhoods move frequently. The sentiments below demonstrate the turbulence this instability causes in an adolescent's peer network:

> I mean everybody gets old. I hardly see my friends especially the ones that grew up in the community. Because you know, due to low income, you can hardly afford housing so everybody ends up getting pushed out of the Boston area. Like now they live in Brockton, some live in Fall River. And like it hurts me. I can't always travel to go see them, but I try to keep communicating with them through the phone (John).

In place of local peer ties, youth in Boston tend to depend heavily on family members for companionship. I found that many teens had strong local ties to cousins. Blood relationships are characterized by a high degree of trust, which means youth may

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[1] This churning might provide contact to more kids, generating larger peer groups over time. But it seems most kids do not take well to constant change. By the time teens get to high school, many stick close to the one or two friends they know well and avoid contact with others.

feel more comfortable sharing experiences and information gained from participation in afterschool activities with these ties. Cousins often belonged to the same afterschool programs; a bit of evidence to support the notion that youth share afterschool information with family members.

From talking with teens, it seemed like all of them had some friends who did not belong to afterschool organizations. This is an important point because if all of the kids participating in structured afterschool activities are tied to other youth, who also participate, there will be less of a network effect, because students who do not participate will presumably be tied to other non-participating students, leaving few or no bridging ties between the networks.

Local Ties to Adults

In the neighborhood, adolescents generally have adult ties to parents, extended family members, neighbors, and teachers or other youth workers who live locally. While it was relatively difficult to assess the extent to which these teens' adult networks varied from other adolescents', the students interviewed certainly did not fit the extreme underclass scenario. Many of the youth came from two-parent families, and all of them had at least one working parent. Despite these positives, there was evidence that relationships with adults were limited in both number and supportiveness. Many of the boys, for instance, complained about a lack of adult male role models in their lives. And several teens talked about parents who were absent because they worked long hours during the week and on weekends.

Very few youth had ties to non-relative adult neighbors. This might also be related to the mobility created by housing market pressure. Turnover among residents will surely degrade neighborhood social capital. Reports from the youth made it seem like social relations in their communities were quite anonymous. For the most part, teens agreed that their neighbors were friendly, but very few depended on them for any type of support. As David put it: "It's not like they give each other cookies. Most of the neighbors mind their own business."

6.1.2 Pre-existing extra-local ties

Youth with relatively few ties to adults and peers living outside of low income settings will have less information about culture, patterns, and norms in environments with higher levels of economic development. Wilson and others have argued that this is a

MetroLacrosse

Mission

MetroLacrosse's core mission is training youth to be healthy and successful in their lives, to show compassion and empathy in their relations with others, and to become leaders in their communities. These goals are furthered by a curriculum that promotes seven core values: responsibility, effort, sportsmanship, participation, enthusiasm, communication, and teamwork (R.E.S.P.E.C.T).

History

MetroLacrosse started off as a small provider of recreational activity, in the form of lacrosse, to youth in Charlestown. Four years ago, with encouragement from funders, the organization implemented a rapid expansion plan. MetroLacrosse now provides year round programs to 600 youth in eight communities: Allston-Brighton, Cambridge, Chelsea, Dorchester, East Boston, Hyde Park, Roxbury, and Mattapan.

Design

All MetroLacrosse programs are free. Children can participate beginning in the 6th grade and continue on through their final year of high school. Staff recruit players from public and private middle schools, churches, youth centers and neighborhood organizations. Students interested in participating are invited to tryout. During these evaluations, staff and volunteers observe each student's ability to follow instructions and interact positively with their peers. They also look for youth who can express an understanding of the R.E.S.P.E.C.T paradigm. Acceptance rates vary by location; in the most competitive neighborhoods, up to a third of applicants are turned away after tryouts.

The spring season (April – June) is the most intense. Teams meet for practice three times during the school week. On Saturdays, busses take players to compete against MetroLacrosse teams in other neighborhoods. During the summer, MetroLacrosse offers a one-week camp in New Hampshire for approximately 160 youth. *Fall Catches* are held weekly with local college players and volunteers in September and October. On fall weekends, MetroLacrosse hosts *Jamborees* where youth from neighborhoods across the city meet to take part in tournaments and other activities.

Diversity

The majority of the staff, coaches, and volunteers who interact with kids are highly educated and white. For the most part, they have relatively little experience working or interacting with urban youth. There, however, some notable exceptions. The Director of Family and Community Relations is a native of Bolivia with respect in Boston's Latino community and experience as a community organizer. As the organization matures, former participants are beginning to take on important roles, which is steadily increasing staff diversity. The first few classes of participants are already working as part-time interns and fulfilling some coaching responsibilities.

The racial and ethnic makeup of the kids who participate varies considerably from neighborhood to neighborhood, but in general, the majority of kids come from communities of color. By observation there seems to be considerable economic diversity both within the spectrum of students of color and non-Hispanic White students. Even in the lower income neighborhoods, it seems like Metro parents have higher incomes relative to the neighborhood overall. Participation requires completion of paperwork and demands regular attendance, which excludes many of the most at-risk children.

Community Involvement

MetroLacrosse is setting up parent councils in each neighborhood. Parents help with many aspects of the program, from recruiting to riding along with the teams on buses. Because the teams practice in the evenings (6 p.m. to 8 p.m.) and on weekends, many parents are able to fit some level of involvement into their schedules.

Students Interviewed

Name: David
Age: 17
Race/Ethnicity: Latino
Neighborhood: Chelsea
Time in Program: 3 years

Name: Michelle
Age: 17
Race/Ethnicity: European-American
Neighborhood: Charlestown
Time in Program: 3 years

Name: Charles
Age: 17
Race/Ethnicity: African-American
Neighborhood: Mattapan
Time in Program: 3 years

Name: Karly
Age: 17
Race/Ethnicity: African-American
Neighborhood: Milton (formerly 4-courners)
Time in Program: 3 years

frequent problem in distressed inner city neighborhoods (Wilson 1987, 1996; Ellen and Turner 1997). In general, the youth I spoke with possessed few cross-cutting ties to other youth. One or two teens moved to Boston from other areas and still retained childhood friendships in distant cities. None of the students I spoke with attended private schools, and as far as I could tell, ties to exurban youth were few. Youth did seem to have some extra-local adult ties in their networks. For the most part, these relationships were either to teachers, or adults they knew through involvement with other youth organizations. Fairly strong extra-local adult ties were often present in the networks of charter school students, who clearly benefit from smaller classroom sizes; all three of the students I interviewed that attend charter schools reported close relationships with teachers and other exurban school staff.

6.1.3 Diversity of pre-existing ties

Adolescent networks varied with respect to racial and ethnic diversity. Some youth reported having friends of all different races in their pre-existing networks. Many said they bonded according to neighborhood affiliation as opposed to racial or ethnic identity. This seems to contradict my earlier description of neighborhood cohesion. However, many of the youth were committed to (and identified themselves with) neighborhoods where they no longer lived. Most of the students who responded this way lived in relatively segregated neighborhoods previously; this implies that their pre-existing social networks were probably quite homogenous with respect to race and ethnicity.

6.2 The Impact of Afterschool Programs on Adolescent Social Networks

This section presents evidence from observation and interviews to support the argument that afterschool programs foster a variety of relationship types important to community development. In this section, I describe bridging and bonding relationships as opposed to local and extra-local ties. This change accompanies a necessary shift in focus. Whereas in Section 6.1 I described the social networks of individual adolescents, in this section, I concentrate on how afterschool programs influence social networks within and between communities.

6.2.1 New ties between adolescents

Structured afterschool activity fosters both bridging and bonding ties between young participants. These ties tend to vary in intensity according to the organization's programmatic approach to relationship building, and the willingness of young participants to engage other youth.

Bridging Ties

In interviews, students who participate in afterschool activities suggested that the programs helped them form ties to teens from different racial and ethnic backgrounds. The intensity of these new relationships hinged on both the type of contact provided by the program, and the desire on the part of participating students to enter into heterogeneous relationships. At The City School, for instance, strong ties are fostered between kids from drastically different racial and economic backgrounds. These relationships get built because the environment and curriculum is fundamentally aimed at helping students recognize and address differences among them. The City School model provides strong superficial support for contact theory. As the theory goes, contact must provide status equity and support for the objective in order for it to spawn relationships (Flanagan 2003). The City School environment is well tailored to these conditions.

The City School is also aided by the fact that students arrive with an apparent readiness to embrace those who are different from themselves. As one City School staff member explained, they see in many suburban students a desire to gain 'urban experiences' or exposure to people of color. By emphasizing this readiness to meet others, I do not mean to suggest that students have dismissed all stereotypes of youth who are different themselves. Mark described some of the prejudices he brought to the program:

> Me personally, I had a stereotype of what a suburban person would be, whether white or black. And like, when I came here they broke it. All that broke. I realize that some of them might actually be going through some of the stuff that I actually went through. We have a lot of things in common.

Despite these preconceived notions, the key is that students, both urban and suburban, understand that they will be committing themselves to listening and working with students who are different from themselves.

Bridging relationships get built at afterschool programs where amenability to heterogeneity is absent, or where contact is not specifically designed to generate cross-cutting relationships; the difference is that relationships generated by these programs

The City School

Mission

The City School is an afterschool 'learning community' devoted to developing social justice leaders from a diverse set of young people. The organization designs programs that stress critical thinking and ethical reasoning. Activities at The City School seek to unite both urban and suburban students in three areas: community service, academic study, and leadership development. The organization serves approximately 425 youth annually.

History

The City School was founded in 1995 by Cathedral High School (a parochial school), Boston Latin School (a public exam school), and Milton Academy (a private school).

Design

There are several different components to The City School. The most involved is the Summer Leadership Program, a 7-week leadership development academy that focuses on five core subjects: violence and liberation movements, homelessness, education, immigration, and economics. Students who participate spend part of each day working as interns in organizations throughout the city.

Youth Outreach Weekends are another core program run by The City School. These retreats bring together groups of approximately 20 students to discuss issues related to poverty and homelessness. Over the weekend, students volunteer at soup kitchens and shelters. Adults and college students serve as volunteer group leaders for these weekends. The Prison Empowerment Project provides open dialogue about crime and punishment among diverse groups of youth and adults. Each section of the project meets 7 times and includes no more than four people from any one school or program.

The City School keeps graduates connected with their Graduate Leaders Program. This program also offers students help with steps towards college, finding jobs, or community service placements. It includes Friday evening events, overnight retreats, and one-on-one mentoring.

Diversity

The City School attracts a diverse group of participants. According to their figures, students are 47 African American, 37 percent European American, 9 percent Latino, and 7 percent Asian. The program is also economically diverse; students come form a spectrum of families from low income to extremely well-off. The City School staff reflects the diversity of the students who attend the program fairly well.

Community Involvement

The City School is well networked to the larger community of social change organizations and activists. Workshops are often addressed by community leaders and the summer program places kids in internships and connects them to one-on-one mentors. The organization is generally not involved in projects that target a particular neighborhood. Parents seem less involved in the operations program, although those that are able support the organization financially.

Students Interviewed

Name: Sue
Age: 16
Race/Ethnicity: Asian-American
Neighborhood: Malden
Time at Program: 3 years

Name: Mark
Age: 15
Race/Ethnicity: African-American
Neighborhood: Mission Hill
Time at Program: 2 years

Name: John
Age: 20
Race/Ethnicity: African-American
Neighborhood: Upham's Corner (previously South End)
Time at Program: 4 years

tend to be less intense. For instance, on some MetroLacrosse teams there is considerable diversity with a number of kids commuting in from suburban communities to play. In these instances, teammates also form bridging relationships. From discussions with players, however, they appeared to be relatively weaker bonds. This is partially because these youth come to play a sport as opposed to befriending an urban teen. The curriculum at MetroLacrosse may address issues of race and ethnicity, but it does not delve that deep. Philosophically, it certainly does not go so far as to say "players come from different backgrounds and must understand their differences before they can become close friends" - the type of recognition which would signify 'explicit support' for cross-cutting ties. MetroLacrosse also has a more difficult time ensuring status equity. With a majority of staff and coaches (those in positions of power) being European-American, white athletes feel noticeably more at ease than students of color.

Bonding Ties

Afterschool programs clearly build bonding ties between similar youth. In interviews, teens at all three case study sites emphasized that the programs introduced them to kids from their own neighborhoods who they had never talked to before joining. As Charles stated, "You might actually meet a lot of people who live in your neighborhood that you've never talked to before." In many cases, kids who had recently moved got acquainted with peers in their new neighborhoods through the youth program. In this basic sense, afterschool programs fulfill an important community development function. They build bonding ties in more sophisticated ways as well. For instance, at both Youth Voice and The City School, the curriculum helps youth understand the social forces that created problems in their communities. Teens discuss these issues together, heightening their common identity and strengthening the bonds between them.

Studying these programs gave me an opportunity to learn more about bonding social capital in urban communities. I found that there are often large differences between youth, even youth of the same race or ethnicity. Afterschool programs provide an important service by creating relationships between these youth. For example, on the surface, members of the Youth Voice Collaborative seemed similar to one another. The students are all people of color and mostly from low income settings. These commonalities, however, seriously misstate differences that exist between youth. Many of the participants are studious and over achieving; others seem to struggle with the contradictions and demands of the world in which they live their lives. And some are a mix of both

qualities. In interviews, teens repeatedly cited the diversity they discovered at the program. Jason, for example said "Through coming here I met quite a few diversities and different ideologies." And Debra felt that "Coming here I kind of opened up to a lot of other kinds of people. Different religions, different backgrounds." Youth Voice provides opportunity for all types of kids to interact, express themselves, and acknowledge the variation among local teens. While I am not certain that students from different sets form intense ties at Youth Voice, the program can be credited with fostering a strong sense of mutual respect among students.

Another interesting way in which the afterschool programs create bonding social capital is through the interaction they encourage between older and younger youth. I witnessed a very strong commitment on behalf of the kids at MetroLacrosse to mentor young participants. Michelle explained it to me this way:

> Like when you see kids talking about things you think they might need a little help with from someone who's had a little experience - I always try to give them the help that I can... I think it's easier for kids our age to do that because they relate to us because we're like teenagers and stuff.

Older teens seemed to be given a lot of encouragement and support to assert themselves as coaches for the younger teens. By filling this role, older teens help the staff circumvent the cultural divide. In this way, a program mostly geared towards creating bridging ties can also foster bonding ties.

6.2.2 New Ties between adolescents and adults

Structured afterschool activity fosters both bridging and bonding ties between adults and young participants. In contrast to the ties created between adolescents, bridging ties to adults are generally weaker. The strength of bonding relationships hinges mostly on similarity of life experiences between adolescents and adults.

Bridging Ties

Youth who attend afterschool programs gain ties to adults from different backgrounds. In interviews, students voiced a great deal of respect for staff members; although teens almost always described some social distance between themselves and non-similar adults. At MetroLacrosse, for example, most of the youth spoke appreciatively with regard to the support provided by adult coaches and volunteers. Nevertheless, there seemed to be clear boundaries in these relationships. If students wanted to

know which colleges had the best lacrosse program, they were confident that coaches would be there to help them, even five years down the road. Karla, for instance, told me "I probably would keep in contact because I hope to play lacrosse in college and I'd like to use them for advice." However, when I asked how well the staff related to urban youth on their terms, I got a slightly different response:

> You could never fully understand it if you've never lived there. I know a lot of times they don't know a whole lot about Dorchester. Some people might get the idea that Dorchester is a bad place.

This is not to say that staff lacked a complete understanding of urban environments. Charles told me that "Almost all the staff travels all over. They go to the schools," as a way of noting that experience and exposure in urban settings help many staff members differentiate the realities of inner city neighborhoods from media portrayals. David comments, "Some have more experience than others; the ones who have been here the longest" support this position. Overall, teens did seem to respect program staff for their commitment to low income youth.

The extent to which kids form an assortment of weak ties to adults varies across programs. At both MetroLacrosse and The City School, kids are regularly exposed to a host of unpaid adult volunteers. On occasion, Youth Voice participants go out into the community and work with adults from various local organizations. Social network theory would suggest that just meeting and interacting with these adults makes them weak, though significant, social ties.

Bonding Ties

Youth who attend afterschool programs often form relatively strong ties to adults with similar backgrounds. At The City School, for instance, teens from the city tend to form stronger bonds with staff who are also from the city. This attachment is particularly strong for at-risk youth like John, who spent time in the juvenile justice system. He spoke pointedly about his admiration for the City School staff from Dorchester:

> They play like a big role especially on us because they the generation that, you know, we wasn't there, but they were during the 70s, 80s, and 90s, when violence was violence. And they could like, smack us across the head, and say, like, you know you're slippin up, or you know you can't be doing that.

When adults are working to mentor a number of youth in the same group, which these staff members seem to be doing, certain dynamics inevitably surface due to the shared

nature of the relations. Previous studies of group mentoring show that the quality and intensity of relationships will vary, with approximately one-quarter of mentors and youth reporting "very close" feelings towards each other (Herrera et al. 2002).

Teens I interviewed at the Youth Voice Collaborative reported a close relationship to the Director, a young, intelligent, and committed African-American women with a deep understanding of the tribulations youth of color in Boston encounter on a daily basis. Many of the most talented staff members at afterschool programs are clearly 'boundary-crossers', a term that refers to leaders with the ability to work across the boundaries of race, ethnicity, religion, geography, sector, and sexual orientation that have traditionally divided communities (Kwoh et al. 2003). Students view boundary-crossers like the director of the Youth Voice Collaborative as role models; they hope to gain cues from them about how to negotiate their way in a world in which they perceive complex divisions.[2]

6.2.3 Changes to pre-existing ties

The possibility that afterschool programs could reshape peer groups by replacing existing ties with new ones was a serious concern, and something I asked each of the youth about during interviews. None of the teens attributed a change in their peer groups to participation in these programs. Sue from The City School was quite vocal about it:

> It hasn't changed anything I think. Like it's more like I'm trying to change them. I don't think it's changed me. Like they understand that this is part of me, the City School, like social justice and everything. So they accept that, and then if I ask them to come to things, I think out of respect for me they'll come. So like it hasn't changed much...my close friends are the people I've known since I was little.

6.2.4 Parental ties

I have suggested that youth programs also create ties among parents and between parents and staff. In interviews with each teen, I asked about whether their parents had been involved with the program. Involvement varied from program to program and from parent to parent. Each program had at least minimal parental involvement. On average, MetroLacrosse had very high levels of in-

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[2] In terms of social capital, ties to this type of boundary-crossing adult exhibit both bonding and bridging properties.

volvement. Parents were asked to attend meetings with coaches before each season. Some parents volunteered by chaperoning teams on buses; and many attended practices in the evenings and games on weekends. MetroLacrosse has even set up parent councils to help with the administration of neighborhood teams.

6.3 Information Passed Through New Afterschool Ties

As the reader will surely pick up, this section is based partly on discussions with youth and partly on my conjectures after observing afterschool programs and speaking with youth participants. It is very difficult to trace the flow of information through peer groups without a much more elaborate study design. The section describes my conception of how different types of information get handed down from adult staff and volunteers at afterschool programs to adolescent participants; and how adolescents then disseminate this information through their own social networks.

6.3.1 Information exchanged between adults and youth

If kids who participate in afterschool programs come away with weak ties to adults, as I have argued, what type of information is exchanged through these ties? From talking with teens and observing these programs, it seemed like four types of information are exchanged through these ties in roughly the proportions represented in Figure 6-1. In the first place, it seems clear that information related to the program structure or topic is the principal subject in which exchange takes place. So at MetroLacrosse adults teach kids what they know about lacrosse, while at Youth Voice teens learn about the media. Afterwards, a large proportion of information transmitted through these ties is secondary information. A MetroLacrosse player, for instance, will ask a coach about a university's soccer program figuring the adult, who played lacrosse at the school, would know something about other teams within the university. In interviews, students generally sounded comfortable with the idea of going to adults for help. As these words from David attest:

> The adults that I met, they're always telling me to call them up if I need help
> with school or anything like that. Maybe when I'm going to go to college they
> can help me. I haven't really called them yet. But they're always like, use me.

The teens also seemed to have a fairly good understanding of who each staff member had connections to. For instance, Mark related his method for contacting a city councilor:

Alma [a staff member] knows the city councilor in my neighborhood. She could call him and we could sit down. And we could talk about why the parks are so dirty, or why there are so many homeless people.

Figure 6-1: Information exchanged through weak youth-adult ties
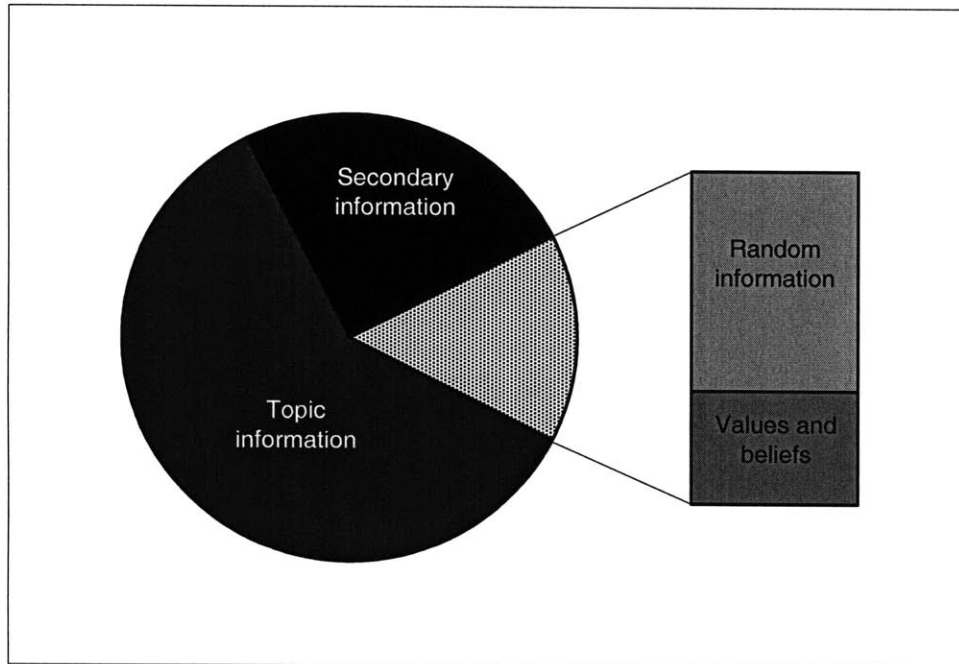
Adult volunteers and staff tend to share other experiences with youth, depending on the interests of the teen. In this sense, information is exchanged randomly. For example, in the process of interviewing participants I spoke with a youth who was interested in working for the CIA. We talked about my own experiences living in Spain and learning a new language. In conversations with other kids, a number of subjects came up including thesis writing, living in Washington, D.C., and studying city planning. These discussions were informal, but they all represented a flow of new information into adolescent networks.

Adolescents inevitably absorb information about adult behavior, values and beliefs from exposure to program staff and volunteers. To the extent that new ties are integrative, they also facilitate the flow of information about the respective group's culture. This information should help both the youth and adults (parents, staff and volunteers) build cultural competency, an essential skill for community development endeavors.

Youth Voice Collaborative

Mission

The Youth Voice Collaborative uses media to explore issues of race and gender with Boston teens. The program gives kids the knowledge to become critical consumers of media, and the skills to spread media awareness to their peers. Youth voice also provides teens with the space and technology to create media that reflects who they are and how they think as young persons living in urban communities.

History

The Youth Voice Collaborative is run out of the YWCA, an organization committed to achieving gender and racial justice. Youth Voice began in 1993, when a group of high school students, media professionals, members of youth-serving agencies, and academics came together to develop a model afterschool program to promote media literacy. The committee identified four key activities for the organization: media literacy, media production, media partnerships and media technology.

Design

The Youth Voice Collaborative functions as a drop-in center where teens ages 13 to 18 can go afterschool and all day during the summer months to produce media. In addition, organized activities take place throughout the week. Each Wednesday, for instance, teens discuss 'hot topics'.

Youth Voice provides opportunities for approximately 20 students to serve as 'peer leaders'. These teens receive a weekly stipend and work to help Youth Voice design curriculum and materials for the group to use when they go to address other youth serving organizations in the Boston area. The Youth Voice Collaborative also sponsors conferences throughout the year to promote media awareness. Members are encouraged to bring family and friends to these convenings.

Diversity

Most Youth Voice participants are low income students of color. These students are still somewhat diverse in their ideas, backgrounds, and objectives. Staff at the Youth Voice collaborative reflect the diversity of students fairly well; most are experienced in working with inner city adolescents.

Community Involvement

The Youth Voice Collaborative partners media professionals in television, radio, print, film, and computer technology. Activities are generally collaborations with other organizations. Parents, family and friends are invited and often attend conferences sponsored by Youth Voice. Youth Voice initiatives are targeted citywide as opposed to individual neighborhoods.

Students Interviewed

Name: Jason
Age: 15
Race/Ethnicity: Latino
Neighborhood: East Boston
Time at Program: 1.5 years

Name: Debra
Age: 17
Race/Ethnicity: African-American
Neighborhood: Andrews Square
Time at Program: 1 year

Name: Craig
Age: 20
Race/Ethnicity: African-American
Neighborhood: Four Corners
Time at Program: 4 years

6.3.2 Information exchanged between youth and their peers

Youth in afterschool programs transmit information gleaned from participation in afterschool programs down to their peers. Primary and secondary information generally travels down to specialized ties – those with an interest (or related interest) in the subject. These specialized ties are more often than not friends of friends as opposed to firsthand ties. The course this information takes is illustrated in the left and center panels of Figure 6-2; dotted-arrows track the path of the information to the youth's social ties. Random information and the values and beliefs youth absorb from adults while participating in afterschool programs are also passed through adolescent social networks. In contrast to subject-specific information, these more general types of information typically remain within a youth's first set of ties as depicted in the right-hand panel.[3]

Figure 6-2: Information dispersion through youth social networks
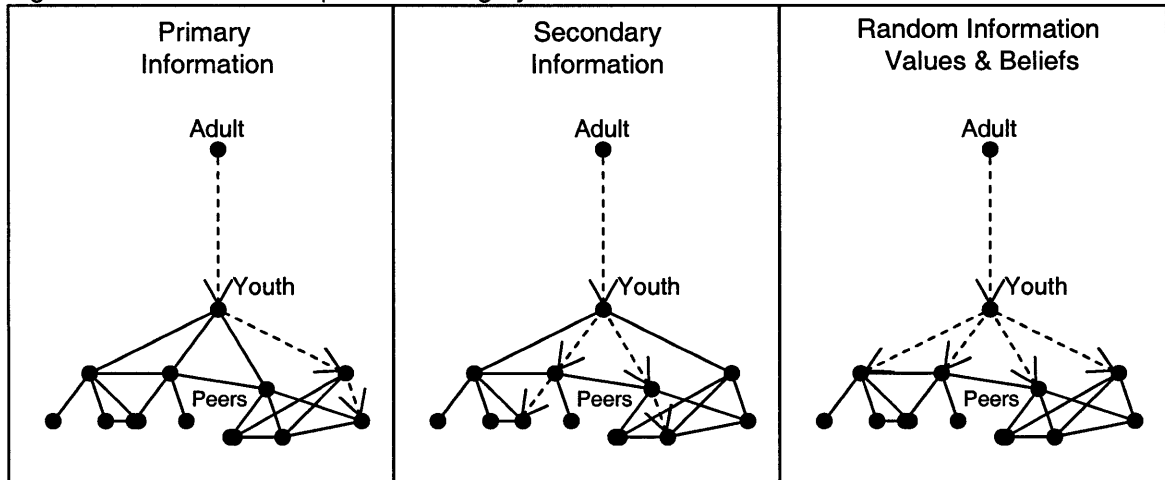
Programs structured around activities that attract youth open the door for communication. Students at Youth Voice, for instance, talked about the natural connection between youth and the media: "Teenagers are so drawn to the media. If you talk about anything television, they're always going to have something to say (Debra)." And David talked about how Lacrosse is used to approach kids who might not normally be open to talking about leadership:

> Most of the kids are like this is a sport, let me try this out. But once they're in it
> we start teaching them about leadership and then they want to be a leader...At

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[3] Given the density of family in these networks, it is very likely that beliefs permeate the network. Ties to cousins are likely to be intergenerational with younger cousins looking to older cousins as role models.

camps, all day playing lacrosse. I mean they get tired of playing lacrosse. And then they come in with the leadership stuff.

Having this door open does not necessarily mean that channels to participants' peers are accessible. Information flows differently depending on the topic. In interviews, youth expressed some resistance to sharing information about social change with peers. "It's not day to day conversation (Jason)," or "I don't talk about that type of stuff when I hang out (Karly)" were common refrains. It is unclear whether youth treat social change information different than other specialized subjects. On the one hand, I got a sense from talking with teens that among friends they wanted to act like kids. "I tell it to my family but I don't tell it to my friends. When I'm with my friends I'm like just joking around, just being a teenager." But there was also some indication that youth knew which of their peers would be open to hearing about community development issues. Either way, if youth are not passing social change concepts down to peers, it is not because the teens do not receive enough encouragement to speak with friends; at all three programs youth indicated adults spoke to them about the importance of relating the things they learn to other teens. It may just be that youth need more support in talking with friends about difficult subjects; some of which probably conflict with other peer group values (Payne et al. 1982). Mark's words reflect the frustration he felt over unsuccessful attempts: "They're ignorant as all hell so I can't really get it across and after awhile I'm like you guys are asses."

Youth involved in organizations or activities perceived by their peers as 'white' might also feel some reluctance to funnel information down to peers. From the interviews, there was only a little bit of evidence that this took place. For instance, some youth at MetroLacrosse had been teased by peers while others had been fully supported. Karly said if anything she would get complements on playing lacrosse. Her friends felt "it was good to see us [people of color] go from playing something besides football and basketball to something different." Charles, on the other hand, had a somewhat different experience:

> They did at first [give him problems about playing], but like if someone has something to say about lacrosse, I have something to say back…but then people saw my games and stuff and they saw it was kind of brutal. I'll run down the history [if friends give him problems], like how it was created by the Mohicans.

6.4 Summary

This chapter looked at pre-existing social networks of youth involved in afterschool programs, ways in which participation in afterschool activity alters these networks, and corresponding changes to the information flowing through them. From interviews with youth, I found that many teens in Boston have relatively small social networks with few connections to the world beyond their neighborhoods. I also found that afterschool programs can and do succeed in fostering a variety of types of new ties to adolescent social networks.

Figure 6-3: Summary of Case Study Findings

Tie Characteristics:		Section 6.1 Pre-Existing Social Network	Section 6.2 Change to Network	Section 6.3 New Information Exchanged
Local (Bonding)	Peer-Peer Ties	• Many teens have relatively small peer networks	• Increase in the number of local relations	• Discussions on local identity
	Adolescent-Adult Ties	• Varies considerably from teen to teen	• Increase in strong bonding ties	• Support succeeding in urban environment
Extra-Local (Bridging)	Peer-Peer Ties	• Most teens have no peer friendships outside of urban core	• Increases in extra-local relations and diversity of local relations	• Understanding of kids from suburban communities
	Adolescent-Adult Ties	• Teens have a few existing ties to adults beyond the city	• Moderate increase in weak extra-local ties	• Knowledge about higher education; career paths and skills

These new ties build bonding social capital by connecting youth to adults and other adolescents who live nearby or share roots in these communities. Teens form stronger bonding ties with adults who faced similar experiences as adolescents. The new social relationships afterschool programs foster also build bridging social capital by tying teens to other adolescents and adults from different communities and socioeconomic backgrounds. Success creating bridging ties depends partially on a program's curriculum, and partially on the willingness of its participants to form heterogeneous relationships.

Information clearly is exchanged through these new social relations, although how well and where it flows depends partly on the topic. Primary and secondary information penetrate adolescent networks in search of a few select specialized ties, whereas cultural values and beliefs, which float closer to the youth participant, are ab-

sorbed by the closest most frequent peer contacts. A discussion of how these findings influence community development follows in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions

This thesis involved a certain amount of prospecting. Examining adolescent social networks with somewhat crude tools, I hoped to find evidence that afterschool programs influence these networks in ways that contribute positively to community. Furthermore, I wanted to make a social network argument that afterschool practitioners and community developers would hold in their minds as they craft youth programs. The conclusions offered in this chapter are intended to tie together findings and emphasize a few important points. The first section rehashes the evidence I have uncovered to support the afterschool program/youth social network concept. In the second section, I frame themes for policymakers to consider in structuring afterschool programs. The last section reminds readers of limitations associated with these findings, and offers suggestions to those who might be interested in continuing with this line of research.

7.1 Revisiting the Research Questions

Do afterschool programs contribute to community development by expanding social networks, providing new channels for the flow of information and resources to low income neighborhoods? This is the macro level research question this thesis set out to answer. In Chapter 4, I broke this question down into four detailed areas of inquiry:

1) Do afterschool programs encourage the formation of new social ties, or increase the strength of existing ties between community members?

2) Do afterschool programs increase the number and diversity of social ties that extend beyond the community?

3) Will parents and teenagers use the information and support stored in these new social ties to the benefit of their communities?

4) Do specific types of activity or interaction foster a larger number of social ties?

The study made significant headway producing answers to the first three questions, which all deal with the community development benefits of afterschool programming (the fourth is simply an administrative question). The survey data presented in

Chapter 5 suggested that youth who participate in afterschool programs have more ties to adults. The findings from that chapter also point to evidence that new adult ties are economically higher than pre-existing adult social relations. Additional analysis of the survey data sustained the position that youth who participate in afterschool programs share resources available to them through their afterschool connections with family and friends.

Case studies presented in Chapter 6 produced more data to support the hypothesis that afterschool programs foster social connections between youth and other youth, youth and adults, and parents and afterschool program staff. Curriculum and willingness of participants to form heterogeneous relationships are the two most important factors in the production of bridging ties; while the formation of bonding relationships is directly related to similarity of life experiences. Interviews with participants at case study sites revealed evidence that these youth enter afterschool programs with relatively small social networks. Through talking with youth at the case study programs, I learned that different types of information are passed through youth social networks (a topic discussed in detail in the following section).

7.2 General Themes

This section elaborates on important themes for afterschool policymakers to consider. The first general theme explored in more detail is the finding that afterschool programs increase positive 'chatter' in youth networks. By that I mean, they introduce information that participants broadcast throughout their networks. While this theme is a finding previously discussed, I feel it deserves some more attention in this concluding chapter. The second and third themes, that afterschool programs instill collective meaning in youth and collective efficacy among adults, are cross-cutting concepts that have not been addressed up until this point.

7.2.1 Afterschool programs increase positive 'chatter' in youth networks

This thesis suggests that information youth channel down to their peers is the most important community development benefit attributable to youth programs. Programs have varying rates of success in terms of transmitting primary subject information into adolescent peer networks, depending on how palpable the topic is to kids. Evidence from the case study programs suggests that teens are fickle in terms of what they are

willing to talk about with their friends. Even students with strong leadership abilities described boundaries around what they would and would not feel comfortable communicating. Announcing a youth conference before a class at school, for instance, was not difficult for them. These same students, however, would not 'lecture' friends about issues related to social justice. Youth programs that focus on subjects that kids enjoy talking about, such as the media, have a greater impact when it comes to a multiplier influence by way of participants' peers. If afterschool programs are creative about probing youth to find out what they are eager to discuss with friends and structure curriculum accordingly, they can increase their program's community impact.

Teens at MetroLacrosse, for example, seemed to have little desire to talk about the program's R.E.S.P.E.C.T curriculum with their friends. MetroLacrosse could shift to using professional athletes, a topic kids certainly like to take up, as a vehicle for getting at the role of athletes in their communities. Students might be more comfortable communicating ideas raised in this type of training with friends - especially friends who are involved in team sports.

Describing the flow of secondary information through adolescent networks is difficult. In terms of secondary information and the job search process described by Mark Granovetter, weak ties to adults gained by adolescents who participate in afterschool programs probably mean very little. Most teens in afterschool programs are a long way from the point where they will be thinking about jobs; and by the time they get around to their job searches, weak afterschool program ties will be difficult to access. Unlike the job searchers described by Granovetter, students generally move in different circles than the adults they come across while in afterschool programs. In this sense, the possibility of the teens randomly bumping into these ties and exchanging information is rather limited. What about teens passing information about jobs on to parents or older siblings? With a large sample and a precise questionnaire, you could probably detect these exchanges. However they are, in all likelihood, relatively rare occurrences representing only a fraction of afterschool programming's larger community development effect.

There is some secondary information passed through afterschool weak ties. Due to the limited size of many youth social networks, this specialized information has a difficult time reaching a destination. Suppose, for example, a CDC knows a local business that needs a high school student with graphic abilities to work part-time: a teen with a small social network is less likely to have, in his or her network, a tie for which this information is applicable.

Still, the research suggests that primary and secondary information combine to produce positive 'chatter' in adolescent personal networks. As Galster and Killen (1995) note, neighborhood social networks influence a youth's intellectual development, educational attainment, marriage and fertility decisions, and labor market participation. Positive information flowing through adolescent networks increases the probability that adolescents will make good long-term decisions.

7.2.2 Afterschool programs instill collective meaning and identity in youth

One of the major challenges in neighborhood-based community development efforts is balancing the desire to improve the place against the desire to create opportunities for its residents. When people are able to access better opportunities, they often move to more desirable locations. To prevent outflow, community developers need to develop a neighborhood identity that attaches people to the place. Investing in youth serving organizations is one of the best ways to build neighborhood meaning. But because adolescents are likely to move in the near term, community organizations generally frame their work with teens to the individual and not the community. It is unfortunate that so many youth serving community organizations operate outside of the community context.

Afterschool programs like The City School and The Youth Voice Collaborative help define urban neighborhoods by giving adolescents a sense of local history, local objectives, and local organizing strategies. In the community development field, this information is often referred to as community learning. Through the curriculum at these afterschool programs and the relationships teens form with local adults by attending them, knowledge and values are transmitted (Falk and Harrison 1998). Part of this learning involves the establishment of a collective community in diverse neighborhoods. Afterschool programs like Youth Voice and The City School accomplish this by teaching the local histories of disparate groups. This helps youth understand how each contributes collectively to the neighborhood as a place.

Athletic programs like MetroLacrosse are also important in establishing collective meaning among neighborhood youth. In the suburbs, sports teams are a major component of town identity. An elaborate social network forms on the basis of coaches, players, past-players, and spectators. The teams give a sense of common purpose to the community and a sense of belonging. Gary Alan Fine (1988) describes the collective meaning that bonds members of team sports. In his view, members have a sense of

contributing to the team's 'evolving history'. Because there are no true neighborhood schools in Boston, communities are missing this major source of social capital formation. Community-based sports programs like MetroLacrosse develop it in neighborhoods throughout the City.

Despite these positives, the research raised some concern that, at the same time, afterschool programs might reduce an adolescent's solidarity to the city. Speaking with the kids, I realized that many are extremely critical of Boston. While it is normal for a teenager to be tired of his of her environs, in some cases, I got the sense that there was more to it than that. For example, when I asked one student why he wanted to move to Virginia, it was not warm whether he sought, but a more friendly community:

> The way Virginia is. It's different from here. Everybody here got problems with this person, but Virginia's like one big Mister Rogers. Everybody is cool with everybody. Nobody got a problem with nobody. Ain't no gang wars down there. Everybody's peaceful. Everybody's doing there own thing. Here if you do good, everybody want to hate you for it.

Afterschool programs that expose children to other opportunities may be reducing neighborhood affiliation and bonding social capital as opposed to building it. This, for instance, was one student's response to his first suburban experiences:

> It's a whole different world and like being out of the city and being somewhere where I didn't feel so comfortable at first. But, just the hospitality there was just so like a plus. I was like damn - I don't even want to go back to the city. It was cool.

A parallel problem that MetroLacrosse struggles with is whether they should help place students in private schools. For kids who are interested in scholarships to private schools, in the past the staff has been willing to lend a hand. Their players are received well by private schools because they come from communities to which private schools are looking to extend their diversity. Many schools are willing to offer considerable financial assistance to these youth. Nevertheless, MetroLacrosse recognizes that sending their athletes to private schools distances them from their own communities.

In *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam's (2000) first solution to declining levels of social capital in America is finding ways to ensure that civic engagement among young American's increases. He notes that participating in extracurricular activities increases civic and social involvement in later life. Neighborhood-based afterschool programs can increase civic involvement in later life and attach it to a place. This is an important function, but one that youth organizations must go about with care.

7.2.3 Afterschool programs build collective efficacy among adults

Research shows that informal social control in neighborhoods is essential to child well-being (Elliot et al. 1996; Furstenberg et al. 1999). Studies also show that this control, or collective efficacy, is highly associated with residential stability (Sampson et al. 1999). Parents who know the parents of their children's friends are able to talk with them and establish norms of behavior. The instability caused by extraordinary housing market pressures in Boston has serious implications for youth in Boston because it leads to the erosion of collective efficacy. From interviews with teens, it was clear that residential uncertainty affected all of these youth either directly or indirectly. Rising rents had forced many of their families to relocate. Teens who had not moved recently spoke of friends and family that had. These families often moved to neighborhoods where rents are artificially low because fear of crime is high.

In this type of setting, afterschool programs are one of the few vehicles for rebuilding social connections cut by residential mobility. Because teens attend citywide schools, parents will not meet other parents through school-based activities such as parent-teacher nights. The school is often far off for the parent, and these activities are infrequent anyway. Parents are also unlikely to meet neighbors through religious institutions; people who relocate often keep ties to religious institutions in their old neighborhoods (Briggs 1998). And the struggle to make ends meet keeps low income parents away from home working long hours often during the evenings and on weekends. Strong youth programs give parents an opportunity to meet other neighborhood parents, fulfilling an important community development function.

MetroLacrosse is a clear example of a program that builds collective efficacy between parents. When MetroLacrosse initiates new players, they ask parents to attend meetings. Because the program starts with middle school aged children, parents often come to drop-off and pick-up their kids. Parents also attend games and help organize team activities. All of this interaction gives parents a great deal of opportunity to talk and get to know one another. Afterschool programs that work closely with parents to increase the spirit of collective efficacy will have larger community development impacts.

7.3 Limitations and Unanswered Questions

For those who are interested in expanding the line of research on this topic, in this final section, I describe limitations of the methods employed herein, and catalogue the research questions left unanswered.

7.3.1 Limitations

The study has significant limitations; most notable among them is the fact that the research design starts with kids who participate in afterschool activities and looks out to *their* peer networks. It is necessary to look at networks of teens not involved in afterschool activity to measure the presence of ties to participating students. As noted in Section 6.1, students reported that a number of their ties did not participate. This would seem to indicate that students who are not involved in afterschool programs are linked to students that are. But there may also be large subgroups of students with no connections to an afterschool participant. If this is the case, the community development impact of afterschool programs would be substantially reduced.

Because the survey data are not longitudinal, it is impossible to glean important information with respect to how these ties change over time. Youth-adult ties may dissolve quite rapidly; or in some cases, they may develop into stronger, more supportive relationships, as youth draw on them for support. Similarly, youth-youth bridging ties may not last longer than involvement in the program. Some, however, may last well into the future to the point where they become beneficial in the job search process.

Response to the survey was extremely low. This resulted and in a sample that was small and unrepresentative of the population of afterschool programs (organizations structured around social change were more likely to return surveys; African-American and European-American youth were undersampled). It is also difficult to tell whether there was bias in the students who returned surveys; given the small proportion that sent surveys back, it is highly probable that some bias exists between students.

Surveying youth proved challenging with the existing social network instruments. A significant percentage of respondents had a difficult time understanding the position generator. Some youth circled an adult tie in each category, a highly improbable outcome. Researchers in the future will need to design better methods of eliciting youth social networks. This may require more intensive ethnographic work which would allow researchers to interview both sides of the tie. By talking individually with the adult and

the student, for instance, an ethnographer can get a more accurate understanding of how information and resources are transmitted through the tie.

7.3.2 Unanswered questions

Several questions were left unanswered or partially unanswered. How different types of structured activity influence the formation of social ties, one of the questions I was most eager to probe, was left almost entirely unaddressed due to the low survey response rate. Another question that deserves more attention is how youth social networks mediate dissonant information that enters through an afterschool program tie. Section 3.3.1 raised this issue noting research that suggests more heterogeneous social networks, by their very nature, diminish political participation (Mutz 2002).

CHAPTER 8

Policy Recommendations

Throughout this thesis I have argued that afterschool programs have a positive community development effect related to their ability to strengthen social networks in low income communities. A small neighborhood-based afterschool photography program, for instance, will build bonding social capital between participants by virtue of bringing them together and providing an opportunity for local teens to meet. This program may have a large bonding effect, but it probably produces very little bridging social capital. On the other hand, a program in the same neighborhood that sends teens downtown to work as interns may generate a large bridging effect without offering anything substantial in terms of bonding capital. The program might even have a negative net community development effect if it inspires teens to do no more than work tirelessly in order to work in a downtown office and live in a far off suburb.

While all programs probably influence neighborhood social networks to some degree, afterschool activities designed with the intention of promoting stronger local networks by building both bridging and bonding social capital will have the largest impact. This last Chapter describes five areas that afterschool organizations and intermediaries should tailor policies to in order to maximize the community development impact of afterschool programming.[1] The chapter also offers examples of creative interventions designed to improve the social network impact of afterschool programming through the application of technology.

8.1 Five Focus Areas

Below I present five focus areas that afterschool intermediaries and organizations should consider when designing activities. Programs that respond to each of these focus areas can increase and enhance their social network effect.

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[1] When using the word intermediary, I refer to organizations with the capacity to influence afterschool programs citywide. There are a number of actors with this ability in Greater Boston. They include public and quasi-public organizations like the Boston Center for Youth and Families and the Afterschool for All Partnership, as well as several large foundations.

8.1.1 Building diverse programming

The more diverse a program is, the more new information kids who participate in the program can potentially receive. Creating diversity within the program also leads to more ties to potential resources for both the organization and the community. By maintaining heterogeneity, programs can ensure that the bonding social capital that is built is positive as opposed to exclusionary. Once programs achieve diversity, they must develop curricula to help adolescents understand the differences among them; policy can further these goals by setting aside funds to reward programs that purposefully work towards ensuring a diverse group of participants.

Pushing diversity will also help pull suburban resources into local organizations. Many of Boston's afterschool programs attract suburban teens because they are well established (or associated with prestigious cultural institutions). Citywide afterschool intermediaries should work with suburban communities to develop funding sources for neighboring cities and towns that wish to give their teens opportunities to participate in Boston's afterschool programs.

8.1.2 Creating bonding and bridging social capital

Afterschool programs should avoid specializing in bonding or bridging social capital. Instead, they need to promote a mix of both in the relationships they foster. A program that bonds without bridging does not provide teens with the resources they need to broaden their economic and political perspectives; and programs that bridge without bonding decrease teen attachment to the place, negating the community benefit that comes with greater perspective and access to resources. In a diverse setting, it can be difficult to foster bonding ties, while more homogenous and localized programs will have trouble producing bridging ties. These difficulties can be overcome, however, with intention and creativity. Small neighborhood-based programs can seek out extra-local partners. Likewise, intermediaries can help by facilitating these partnerships.

8.1.3 Connecting family to programs

Parents who are involved in afterschool programs develop ties to other neighborhood parents. These relationships are essential to effective adolescent socialization. The social capital inherent in ties between parents also contributes to neighborhood organizing capacity. Afterschool programs should pursue creative opportunities to link lo-

cal parents. These strategies can be as simple as asking parents for permission to distribute their names and addresses to other parents. Family nights that allow parents a chance to interact while students showcase their afterschool program achievements are another avenue for building ties between parents. These occasions are also an opportunity to address diversity. Family nights can be designed to give parents a chance to talk about their own identities and histories. This type of forum for communication will help neighborhood residents understand and appreciate their diverse communities.

8.1.4 Helping youth spread information to peers

Youth find it difficult to talk about the serious subjects some afterschool programs address, especially when a program espouses values that conflict directly with peer values. The social network impact of afterschool programming depends, in part, on youth spreading information through their peer groups. Programs should make concerted efforts to ensure teens understand the importance of raising these issues with their peers. They should also provide teens with strategies that will help them communicate these serious subjects in ways their peers are more likely to respond to positively.

Afterschool program intermediaries could hire consultants experienced in this area to work directly with youth programs to craft curricula designed to help teens deliver these important messages to their peers. The first round could involve just a handful of programs in different areas (e.g. sports, arts, leadership). After implementing new curricula, participating programs would reach out and transfer their knowledge and experiences to similar afterschool programs.

8.1.5 Keeping alumni networks together

Afterschool programs should keep their doors open to graduates so that the ties youth develop will endure. Programs can accomplish this by hiring alumni or offering opportunities for alumni to volunteer. Providing an occasional program to help older adolescents address the issues they face as they mature into adults is another vehicle for maintaining connections to graduates. Reunions are also an option that programs can employ to maintain contact between alumni, staff and volunteers. Periodic email updates containing program news, and information about the fates of graduates is another simple, yet enormously valuable tool for preserving social ties among former participants.

8.2 Five Technology Concepts

This section develops creative concepts that organizations charged with building the capacity of afterschool programs citywide - or in some cases, individual afterschool organizations - can look to as examples of interventions in afterschool programming designed to increase social network effect. All of these suggestions involve the application of technology. This stems in part from my experiences at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It is also indicative of the field. A large group of social network researchers are investigating ways in which information and communication technologies (ICTs) can be employed to positively influence community life. These optimistic sociologists believe that technology can help change the social structuring of activities. In the past, the origins of social association brought similar people into contact with one another encouraging the formation of homogenous relationships (Feld 1982). Studies show that ICTs can bring non-similar individuals together, increase community involvement, and expand social networks (Patton 1986; Hampton 2003).

8.2.1 Interactive Web-Based Trainings

One common problem afterschool programs in Boston face is a lack of volunteers prepared to work with urban youth. Most adults who are willing to volunteer have had little interaction with youth in Boston's inner city neighborhoods. Web-based training (WBT) is one potential step towards mitigating this problem. WBT allows people to learn independently from home. These trainings could be a series of screens which the user clicks through, or a partially automated session with sound and images that is fairly close to watching a video.[2] With this technology, people who decide to volunteer at a program Friday afternoon can arrive with some preparation Saturday morning.

Universities and corporations around the country are increasingly relying on computer technology to shape diversity training materials. While these courses certainly have limitations, for a decentralized audience, such as the population of potential afterschool program volunteers, they are one of only a handful of realistic options.

WBT is a relatively new application which makes cost estimating difficult. According to William Horton (2000), on average, courses require 200 hours of development per course hour at a cost of $100 per hour. For roughly $7,000, a citywide after-

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[2] Employment Law Learning Technologies, a California corporation, produces this type of interactive video training. Demonstrations are available at: http://www.elt-inc.com/wd/wd.html

school program intermediary could generate a twenty minute mini-course. There are many organizations in Boston with experience working with youth and producing interactive web-based applications. MIT's Media Lab is one potential partner. Afterschool groups like the Youth Voice Collaborative and The City School could also contribute substantially to this type of project.

A well produced training video could help thousands of people who come to volunteer in Boston's neighborhoods arrive with a better understanding of the forces that have shaped and reshaped these communities. Volunteers with this knowledge should have a higher probability of forming ties to afterschool programs and the adolescents who participate in them.

8.2.2 Virtual Ties

Communication technologies can be used to create virtual ties. This lowers the time commitment for volunteers who wish to participate; it also removes some of the barriers for adults that lack experience interacting with urban youth. An example of a virtual tie creator is a career exploration program that partners with a corporation. The company's employees could review student resumes, which participating teens would email directly to their offices. Such an exchange takes a limited amount of time from the corporation's employees and produces substantial benefit for the youth involved. This same sort of service could also work for homework help programs. Students would send essays to online readers who then return a page with their thoughts on the essays strengths and weakness. Adults back at the homework help programs would then be able to work with students on incorporating comments. Adults who read these essays and resumes will gain a better understanding of the ideas and achievements of urban youth.

These virtual exchanges give students exposure to real-world work practices, minimize volunteer commitment, and provide skills to afterschool programs. This kind of group mentoring project could be developed citywide to the advantage of neighborhood-based programs by intermediaries like WriteBoston or Citizen Schools.

8.2.3 Electronic Networking

Results from a recent study of neighborhoods provided with an email list of local residents found increases in neighborhood network size and frequency of interaction.

These changes in the structure of local residents' networks lead to increases in community awareness, and the ability of the community to address local problems and concerns (Hampton and Forman 2004). The Massachusetts Institute of Technology is building on this research by releasing a national version of the internet tools provided to study participants. This service, I-Neighbors, will help neighborhoods across the country create their own local websites. Afterschool programs can help make the neighborhood lists work by encouraging residents to participate in the service. They could organize sublists for neighborhood parents and teens. By taking on this type of place-based organizing, afterschool organizations could contribute significantly to neighborhood identity and collective efficacy.

Another type of electronic networking intervention, modeled on the recent successes of commercial web-based networking tools like Napster, could also be beneficial to the afterschool community. This type of online service might feature the students involved in each program, what they work on generally, the areas they are currently pursuing, and how they can be contacted. Providing this type of information over the internet would facilitate partnering of youth organizations in addition to exchanges of resources.

8.2.4 Digital Stories

Many of Boston's neighborhoods are changing rapidly and they will continue to change as the city adds new parks, upscale developments, and transportation options. Before these changes occur, neighborhood residents should attempt to document the history of their community and its people in compelling terms. This will give neighbors a common understanding of what existed and a better sense of what to protect. It will also help better inform newcomers about past events in their new neighborhoods.

Digital stories offer one avenue for accomplishing this task. These mini-memoirs were first created by San Francisco activists in the early-1990s. Since then, community developers have increasing turned to digital stories as a way to build local bonding social capital (Marcus 2003). Youth make cost-effective producers and compelling narrators for these accounts. Afterschool organizations that help to create these films will foster a sense of collective meaning among the teens that produce them. This sense of community will spread as more and more residents view the films. Youth invested in digital stories could email the films to friends with access to computers; they could also screen them before neighborhood groups or even in public places.

The Center for Reflexive Community Practice (CRCP) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a leader in the digital storytelling field, has worked with youth to produce these videos in the past. They would make an excellent partner for a project designed to use youth to document the rich histories of Boston's neighborhoods. Another ideal partner would be My Town, an afterschool organization that works with kids to tell the histories of Boston's neighborhoods.

8.2.5 Community Radio

Community youth radio stations offer an ideal way to build community capital. Youth programs throughout the City could take part in the station, hosting their own shows and getting their issues out to a wider audience. Because of FCC regulations, community radio stations are extremely difficult to start. Afterschool programs could join forces and work together to establish a youth station in Boston.

Radio Arte WRTE 90.5 FM in Chicago is an excellent case-study of this type of afterschool community radio program. Radio Arte produces Spanish-English 24-hour community-minded broadcasting with students acting as station managers, deejays and talk show hosts. Each year Radio Arte instructs 120 students in creative writing, voice training, and broadcast theory. After a year of preparation, students plan, develop, and maintain their own programs working with professional radio, television, and newspaper journalists from leading Chicago media outlets. Through their involvement with the station, teens become aware of community issues and express their concerns with listeners over the airways.[3]

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[3] For more on Radio Arte see http://www.cominguptaller.org/awards-2003/program12.html

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Population under Age 18 by Neighborhood and Race/Ethnicity, 2000

Neighborhood	Total	% of Total	Race/Ethnicity White	Black	API	Latino	Multi	Race/Ethnicity White	Black	API	Latino	Multi
Roxbury	18,443	16%	320	11,238	102	5,371	1,412	2%	61%	1%	29%	8%
South Dorchester	17,952	15%	3,111	8,819	1,719	2,474	1,829	17%	49%	10%	14%	10%
Mattapan	12,239	11%	262	9,237	90	2,010	640	2%	75%	1%	16%	5%
East Boston	9049	8%	3341	468	441	4415	384	37%	5%	5%	49%	4%
Hyde Park	8,173	7%	2,215	3,977	128	1,460	393	27%	49%	2%	18%	5%
Roslindale	8,049	7%	2,979	1,881	322	2,407	460	37%	23%	4%	30%	6%
North Dorchester	7,182	6%	1,520	2,208	927	1,317	1,210	21%	31%	13%	18%	17%
Jamaica Plain	7,047	6%	1,577	1,709	494	2,896	371	22%	24%	7%	41%	5%
Allston-Brighton	6,485	6%	2,732	665	1,254	1,363	471	42%	10%	19%	21%	7%
West Roxbury	5,679	5%	4,047	676	286	449	221	71%	12%	5%	8%	4%
South Boston	5,431	5%	3,704	307	316	954	150	68%	6%	6%	18%	3%
South End	4,134	4%	388	1,573	569	1,450	154	9%	38%	14%	35%	4%
Charlestown	2,824	2%	1,476	241	224	837	46	52%	9%	8%	30%	2%
Central	1,761	2%	707	128	722	152	52	40%	7%	41%	9%	3%
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	1,301	1%	1,064	77	55	64	41	82%	6%	4%	5%	3%
Fenway-Kenmore	801	1%	199	200	124	209	69	25%	25%	15%	26%	9%
Boston	116,559	100%	29,644	43,408	7,774	27,831	7,902	25%	37%	7%	24%	7%

Source: Boston Redevelopment Authority

Appendix B: Number and Percent of Youth in Poverty, 1999

Neighborhood	Number Below Poverty			Percent Below Poverty		
	under 5	5 to 17	under18	under 5	5 to 17	under18
East Boston	770	1,430	2,200	28.9%	23.0%	25%
Charlestown	326	705	1,031	38.1%	36.8%	37%
South Boston	504	1,224	1,728	34.3%	31.8%	32%
Central	143	240	383	22.8%	25.3%	24%
Back Bay-Beacon Hill	0	16	16	0.0%	3.0%	1%
South End	367	978	1,345	34.4%	32.8%	33%
Fenway-Kenmore	160	253	413	49.4%	32.8%	38%
Allston-Brighton	463	1,080	1,543	22.1%	26.4%	25%
Jamaica Plain	347	1,553	1,900	20.0%	33.5%	30%
Roxbury	1,646	4,354	6,000	38.3%	32.9%	34%
North Dorchester	495	1,587	2,082	27.4%	29.5%	29%
South Dorchester	883	3,297	4,180	20.7%	24.1%	23%
Mattapan	928	2,773	3,701	31.3%	30.6%	31%
Roslindale	409	1,132	1,541	18.4%	19.8%	19%
West Roxbury	159	341	500	8.0%	9.3%	9%
Hyde Park	266	663	929	12.6%	11.0%	11%
Boston	7,866	21,633	29,499	25.2%	26.2%	26%

Source: Boston Redevelopment Authority

Appendix C: Afterschool Program Staff Survey

1. How many years ago was your program established? _____

2. Does your program operate in: A) Just one neighborhood   B) Citywide   C) Several cities

3. Please write the program location where the children given surveys to complete attend _____

4. A) How many kids do you <u>currently</u> serve at that location? _____
   B) How large is your staff at that location? Full time _____   Part-time_____   Volunteer_____
   C) Approximately how many kids do you serve <u>annually</u> at <u>all locations combined</u>? _____

5. Which activity or activities does your program focus on?

   Sports | Visual Arts | Academic Achievement | Youth Leadership | Music | Drama Dance | Computers/Web design | Others_____

6. Here are some types of support many afterschool programs provide both formally and informally. Please indicate how active your program is in providing each category of support.

Type of Support:	Formally					Informally				
	None				Intense	None				Intense
1 Homework help	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
2 Help with personal problems	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
3 Help with problems at school	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
4 Career advice	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
5 College counseling	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
6 Mentoring	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
7 Advice on how to address neighborhood problems	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

6. Does your program do any of the following to build trust and establish relationships with participants and their families?

   Meet with parents | Visit homes | Visit neighborhoods | Trust building games |
   Other (explain):

7. In some youth programs, kids are involved in designing and carrying out activities. At your programs are kids:

   Very involved | Somewhat involved | Not at all involved

8. How diverse is the group of kids attending your program with regard to race, ethnicity, and socio-economic background?

   [low-income, children of color]   [mixed-income, mostly children of color]
   [low-income, diverse racially and ethnically]   [mixed-income, diverse racially and ethnically]

9. Compared to the kids your program serves, how similar is your staff in terms of race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic background?

   Similar | Somewhat similar | Not at all similar

10. Does your program do any of the following to train staff on issues of diversity?

   Hold in-house trainings | Bring in outside consultants | Attend conferences |
   Other (explain):

Survey for Youth Participating in Afterschool Programs

1. How old did you turn on your last birthday? _____   2. Are you [ ] Male or [ ] Female?

3. What **neighborhood** do you live in? _____   4. What is the zipcode where you live_____?

5. How long ago did you start attending this afterschool program? _____ years _____ months

6. Do you consider yourself primarily [African-American] [Asian] [Latino/a] [White] [Other_____] ?

7. If anyone has ever given you advice on any of the topics listed below, please circle who they were (you can circle more than one).

    a) Advice on <u>a problem you were having</u>?
        [parent] [relative] [friend] [neighbor] [teacher] [other school staff] [afterschool program staff]

    b) Advice on <u>finding a job</u>?
        [parent] [relative] [friend] [neighbor] [teacher] [other school staff] [afterschool program staff]

    c) Advice on <u>going to college</u>?
        [parent] [relative] [friend] [neighbor] [teacher] [other school staff] [afterschool program staff]

    d) Advice on <u>computers</u>?
        [parent] [relative] [friend] [neighbor] [teacher] [other school staff] [afterschool program staff]

    e) Advice on <u>spending/saving money</u>?
        [parent] [relative] [friend] [neighbor] [teacher] [other school staff] [afterschool program staff]

    f) Advice on <u>how to help improve your community</u>?
        [parent] [relative] [friend] [neighbor] [teacher] [other school staff] [afterschool program staff]

8. Please answer the following:

		Circle (if you know more than one, circle all that apply)
a. Do you know a <u>lawyer</u>?	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program
b. Do you know a <u>police officer</u>?	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program
c. Do you know a <u>plumber</u>?	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program
d. Do you know a <u>doctor</u>?	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program
e. Do you know a <u>janitor</u>?	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program
f. Do you know a <u>college professor</u>?	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program
g. Do you know a <u>nurse</u>?	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program
h. Do you know a <u>carpenter</u>?	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program
i. Do you know a <u>social worker</u>?	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program
j. Do you know a <u>computer programmer</u>	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program
k. Do you know a <u>secretary</u>?	are they a...	parent/relative, neighbor, friend, or a person I met at afterschool program

9. Please answer the following:

Since joining your afterschool program have you...	Circle	
a. performed any volunteer work or community service?	[no]	[yes]
b. recommended your afterschool program to other kids?	[no]	[yes]
c. used a connection you made through the afterschool program to help a parent or sibling?	[no]	[yes]
d. used a connection you made through the afterschool program to help a friend?	[no]	[yes]
e. encouraged friends to think positvely about their futures?	[no]	[yes]
f. encouraged friends to think about how you can improve your neighborhood?	[no]	[yes]

MIT

Thanks

44/62-65