Afterschool Matters

OCCASIONAL PAPER SERIES

The Four Cs of Afterschool Programming: A New Case Method for a New Field

Gil G. Noam, Ed.D., Ph.D. (Habil)
With Susanna Barry, Lisa Wahl Moellman, Leigh van Dyken, Carol Palinski, Nina Fiore, and Rob McCouch

Investing in Social Capital: Afterschool Activities and Social Affiliation in Immigrant Youth

Marc Camras, Ph.D.

IN THIS ISSUE
by Sara Hill, Ed.D., Research Officer

"You can't measure a tree frog any more than you can measure a person's mind."

— *Ted Maclin, Botanist, Brooklyn Botanic Garden*

The scientific and academic communities have come to accept use of a variety of research paradigms. One model is no longer privileged over another model; methods and designs are selected based on the context under study and the research questions.

However, this agreement has not yet filtered into the youth development arena. When researchers want to study afterschool programs, experimental design is often the only approach funders will accept. Research using other approaches, such as case studies or qualitative methods, is often rejected out of hand. Yet, determining *what* works is useless unless we have researched *how* something works, unless we can describe and analyze the phenomenon we are trying to understand.

It is ironic that research agendas are often shaped by those who have a tenuous grasp of the "on-the-ground" realities of youth programs. Selecting one "best method" of researching programs is an exclusionary political stance that affects not only funding but also the quality of the research. The narrative becomes monotonous; we are left with a limited number of voices or, in the worst case, silence.

Afterschool youth development programs are often called "hybrid" or "intermediary" spaces because they span multiple and overlapping constituencies. These complex spaces need, as Gil Noam and his colleagues write in this issue of the Occasional Paper Series, "new…methods so we can collectively learn and teach a new generation of professionals and volunteers." Noam et al. propose a case study approach that can inform us about these organizations and then be used to enhance program design and operation. They present a useful, portable framework for data analysis: "the Four Cs of collaboration, communication, content, and coherence."

Besides new methods for analyzing these new social spaces, we need theories that provide frameworks for conceptualizing afterschool education. Noam et al. draw from psychology in proposing that we view afterschool programs as "transitional spaces." Similarly, Marc Camras's paper draws from the sociological tradition in describing a hybrid program that spans the school, the community, and the university. He explains the role of this intermediary space in the acquisition of "social capital" in immigrant youth—a population that has been sorely neglected in investigations of community-based youth development programs.

These papers, generated from research funded by the Robert Bowne Foundation, provide us with options in the study of afterschool youth programs. Such descriptive, analytical, and theoretical works can strengthen our field by enriching our dialogue about afterschool and youth development programming.

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AFTERSCHOOL MATTERS INITIATIVE

The Robert Bowne Foundation (RBF), seeking to have a long-term and substantive effect on the field of out-of-school education, launched several new initiatives to accomplish this mission. *Afterschool Matters* is one of the initiatives, the goals of which are to:

- Generate and disseminate research about community-based organizations serving youth during out-of-school hours
- Build a network of scholars studying community-based organizations serving youth
- Contribute to basic knowledge and the improvement of practice and policy in the area of community-based youth programs

AFTERSCHOOL MATTERS/OCCASIONAL PAPERS

One of the projects of the Afterschool Matters Initiative is the journal *Afterschool Matters*, a national, peer-reviewed journal dedicated to promoting professionalism and scholarship in the field of afterschool education. The journal serves those involved in developing and running programs for youth during the out-of-school hours, in addition to those engaged in research and in shaping policy. Articles for the journal are solicited from the field, and a range of academic perspectives are considered along with personal or inspirational narratives and essays, book reviews, art-work, and photographs.

The RBF Occasional Papers is a peer-reviewed series published several times a year. The goal of the Occasional Papers is to provide a venue for publishing research that explores key issues and topics in the practice and theory of afterschool programming, youth development, and learning during the non-school hours. In addition, the Occasional Papers address key policy issues in the area of youth development. The intended audience for this series includes researchers, university staff, afterschool program managers and practitioners, and policy makers. Prospective papers are solicited by the RBF.

Copies of both *Afterschool Matters* and the Occasional Papers are available on the RBF website, www.robertbownefoundation.org.

RESEARCH GRANTS/RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

The RBF sponsors a national Research Grant competition as part of the ASM Initiative. Four grants of $10,000 are awarded to support either original empirical research in or about community-based youth programs during the non-school hours or research syntheses or policy analyses of community-based youth programs. Recipients present on their work at a research roundtable at the end of the grant year.

Another program of the ASM Initiative is the RBF Research Fellowship. The Research Fellowship works with ten youth practitioners over the course of a year, teaching them to conduct research in their programs. Fellows participate in a three-day writing institute and present at a research roundtable at the end of the year.

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The Four Cs of Afterschool Programming
A New Case Method for a New Field

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Executive Summary

Growing public and policy interest in the use of afterschool time has led to a need for research methods that allow investigators and stakeholders to examine and refine program models and activities. The case study method offers promise for afterschool research, but case study models must be refined in order to adequately study afterschool programming, which is characterized by collaboration among numerous stakeholders. "The Four Cs"—collaboration, communication, content, and coherence—provide one such framework. This method allows researchers who study afterschool education to respect its unique characteristics as an intermediary space that must accommodate the needs of many stakeholders and as a transitional space that serves the needs of children and youth in their various stages of development.

Few recent social movements have awakened such a strong combination of excitement and support as the reorganization of afterschool time. There is an emerging social consensus that out-of-school time plays a critical role in the health, academic growth, and overall well-being of children, so that this time must therefore be used wisely.

One major reason for the growing significance of afterschool programming is widespread public recognition that school time inhabits only a fraction of children's social, educational, and recreational lives—that children spend about 80 percent of their waking hours outside of school. Education reform, changes in welfare laws, and the growth of prevention services for youth have also played roles in creating the consensus that afterschool education belongs at the forefront of the public agenda. Leaders in education, mental health, juvenile justice, youth development, arts and culture, recreation and sports, and other fields have all made concerted efforts to promote the positive potential of the out-of-school hours—especially in our nation's cities, many of which are developing comprehensive afterschool initiatives (e.g., Noam & Miller, 2002). In recent years, public support for afterschool programming has soared, as con-

firmed by a 2001 survey indicating that 94 percent of U.S. voters believe children and teens should have organized activities or places to go after school that provide opportunities to learn (Afterschool Alliance, 2001). Coinciding with this increased national interest, the No Child Left Behind Act has increased congressional appropriations for federally supported, state-administered 21st Century Community Learning Centers to $1 billion (21st Century Community Learning Centers, 2002).

Public support for the expansion of afterschool programming has, however, created vigorous debate over how to use afterschool money and time most effectively. Investigators seek to define more clearly the evolving social space that is afterschool time, as well as to determine how best to focus, for research and development purposes, the organizational arrangements, communication practices, program content and delivery, and stakeholder perceptions that make up afterschool programs (see Noam & Rosenbaum Tillinger, 2004). The case study approach seems particularly well suited to the task of analyzing and clarifying the social and organizational complexities involved in afterschool settings. The case study method, unlike experimental or quasi-experimental

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methods, rarely produces definitive results, but it does offer valuable ways to enter into the complexity of human situations, develop strong hypotheses, and bridge the qualitative-quantitative schism. Case studies are also essential tools for effective teaching and training, both areas of special importance for afterschool practitioners now that the field is developing its professional base. As used in the social sciences, in the evaluation of government programs, and more recently in education, the case study approach could prove to be a powerful tool in the study of afterschool contexts.

But one must be careful in adapting existing case study approaches to a field that is defined by its collaborative character—by linkages and interconnections amongst stakeholders in a multitude of contexts. Is it possible to develop a case study approach specifically adapted to examining the collaborative features of afterschool programming? As public interest in better understanding the impact of afterschool programs grows, we believe that the case study method, appro-

priately fine-tuned to the complexities of afterschool education, will have significant impact on research, evaluation, design, and practice. In this paper, we propose a case study approach we have developed specifically for the purpose of analyzing afterschool programs. We hope this approach will prove widely useful not only for research and evaluation, but also for teaching, training, and technical assistance. This case study method centers on "the Four Cs," four areas we have concluded to be of special relevance to the success or failure of afterschool programs: *collaboration, communication, content,* and *coherence.* As a conceptual organizing device, the Four Cs allow researchers and evaluators to survey the strengths and weaknesses of particular afterschool programs in a structured way and to suggest changes that can strengthen afterschool practice. We will illustrate how the Four Cs can be used for these purposes by describing one case study we conducted in an afterschool program whose implementation was not, at the time, living up to its promise.

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF AFTERSCHOOL PROGRAMMING

One reason we developed the Four Cs as an adaptation to case study methodology is related to two central institutional aspects of the afterschool field. Afterschool programming is:

- **Intermediary**. The afterschool setting is a space in which differing stakeholders must constantly adjust to each other's needs and demands.
- **Transitional.** Afterschool programs play a special role in youth development by providing developmentally appropriate learning opportunities.

Afterschool Programs as Intermediary Spaces

Afterschool environments, which seek to promote young people's healthy psychological, social, and educational transitions as they navigate multiple worlds, are increasingly located at the intersection of collaborating entities. Afterschool time thus represents an *intermediary* environment: a unique social space in which the purpose, goals, design, and activities do not belong to any one institution or group. Rather, each entity brings unique resources and differing frames of reference to this space in an effort to affect its functions and arrangement (Deich, 2001). Cahill (1996) explains that contributors to youth initiatives come together for common purposes, including improving educational achievement, promoting youth development, creating alternative schools and governance structures, and championing community and economic development.

At the grassroots level, families look to service providers to arrange welcoming places and motivating programming for their children after school. Parents and caregivers are also looking for programs that value their input (Deich, 2001). Meanwhile, direct service providers seek to deliver quality programming to youth while remaining responsive to the goals and needs of families, partner agencies, and funders. As front-line staff, afterschool practitioners are required to implement collaborative objectives, so they are necessarily concerned with issues that directly affect their delivery of services and programming to children. For example, in many programs, increasing stakeholder demands for homework assistance, test-readiness support, and curricular alignment have changed the kinds of experiences afterschool practitioners are able to design for youth. Meanwhile, at the school level, administrators and educators pursue a variety of linkages with families and with afterschool programs in

order to improve students' scholastic achievement in compliance with federal and national standards (Crowson & Boyd, 1993; Deich, 2001; Dryfoos, 1994). Although these interests certainly overlap, stakeholder groups retain distinct foci, so that a degree of tension arises as partners pursue common goals.

In addressing the needs of a rapidly expanding field, various supporting organizations and researchers have initiated work with afterschool partnerships to develop enhanced theoretical frameworks, better information sharing and technical assistance, and stronger advocacy. These organizations enter the afterschool community to investigate, document, link, and strengthen programs in an effort to lay a solid groundwork for sustainability. At a governmental level, municipal, state, and federal agencies recognize that improved academic, social, and emotional outcomes for youth require more effectively integrated youth and family

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services. Accordingly, they bring financial and administrative resources to afterschool partnerships in an effort to shape and expand these services. At a policy level, issues of funding, structure, evaluation, and governance are of concern to stakeholders. Added to all these parties is a diversity of partnering entities centered on improving outcomes for youth in afterschool time. Potential afterschool partners include representatives from private enterprise, philanthropic interests, community- and faith-based organizations, mental health providers, law enforcement agencies, and many others. This characteristic diversity of many stakeholders has created a unique organizational and social reality for afterschool partners—one we term *intermediary space* (Noam, 2001; Noam & Rosenbaum Tillinger, 2004).

Afterschool Programs as Transitional Spaces for Youth Development

British child psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott (1975) provided creative insights into what he terms *transitional phenomena,* a concept that has influenced not only child clinical psychology and programs but also ways of conceptualizing organizational arrangements

in afterschool programs. Winnicott views transitional phenomena as holding environments that are essential for early child development. For example, the very young child develops anxiety when parents are temporarily unavailable. At that time, a "transitional object," typically a teddy bear or a blanket, plays a large role in the child's life. Winnicott views such transitional objects as part of a transitional play space, a world that is not quite reality and not quite fantasy. This world, besides allowing children to soothe themselves when separated from caregivers, also provides a safe space for learning and mastery.

Developmental theorists suggest that individuals may construct and participate in many such transitional environments throughout childhood and adolescence, and even into adulthood (Noam, 1999; Noam, Higgins, & Goethals, 1982). Pretend play spaces and dress-up corners in preschools are examples of transitional environments where young children can try on new roles, such as being "mommy or daddy" or "the scary monster" from their nightmares. In adolescence, young people require safe transitional spaces for experimentation, identity formation, crisis solving, and decision making; afterschool or extracurricular activities often serve this developmental role. For late adolescents, college represents a transitional learning and social environment in which they can experiment with and gradually assume adult roles. In the transition to the world of work, mastery is often gained through relationships with career mentors and coaches.

Winnicott's theory about transitional phenomena reveals much about the way in which afterschool programs and community collaborations create compelling developmental spaces for children and youth. Developmentally sound transitional environments take into account the fragility of human growth and the need to provide the right conditions to protect individuals in times of transition. Because these environments are *developmental,* practitioners and caregivers expect that children and youth will outgrow one transitional environment after another. Effective transitional spaces are protective and age-appropriate, taking into account the psychological, social, and educational needs of youth.

The Intersection of Intermediary and Transitional Spaces

Understanding and embracing the intermediary and transitional aspects of the afterschool environment can better position emergent afterschool alliances to iden-tify new opportunities for leadership, governance, and programming within the field, as well as to bring fresh approaches, resources, assets, and skills to the enterprise of creating effective out-of-school opportunities for families and youth. This interorganizational approach stands in contrast to the more philosophically uniform social service partnerships that have conventionally been mobilized to focus on correcting youth problems rather than on identifying proactive opportunities to promote positive youth development (Sagawa & Segal, 2000).

Though the convergence of interests focused on afterschool time presents potential for innovation in supporting youth, the multiple claims on this time also correspond to a number of competing agendas. Overrepresentation of any one agenda may threaten the integrity of afterschool time as a truly intermediary and transitional space for youth. The present climate of educational reform, for example, presents some danger that school-driven goals, with their circumscribed practices and content, can overwhelm the emergent culture of the afterschool environment. To support school-related objectives, afterschool programs are charged with providing academic assistance ranging from individual homework help to opportunities for exploration according to personal interests or strengths. Our research suggests that, in attempting to bridge school and afterschool contexts, partnerships must safeguard afterschool environments from the increasingly high-stakes atmosphere of the regular school day. The challenge is to effectively bridge school learning while protecting the afterschool environment's ability to provide differentiated developmental opportunities that build young people's competencies.

Building effective youth-serving spaces that harness the advantages of collaboration and interorganizational linkages, while satisfying the inherent range of interests, is a complex proposition. Crowson and Boyd (1993) emphasize the need for a more lucid understanding of the inner workings of interorganizational collaborations:

> Whatever the ultimate promise of community-connections experimentation, the full potential is unlikely to be realized without a better theoretical and practical understanding of the organizational, administrative, and implementation issues associated with such ventures. What conditions and governance arrangements foster or impede coordination, integration, and community connections? What incentives and disincentives operate?
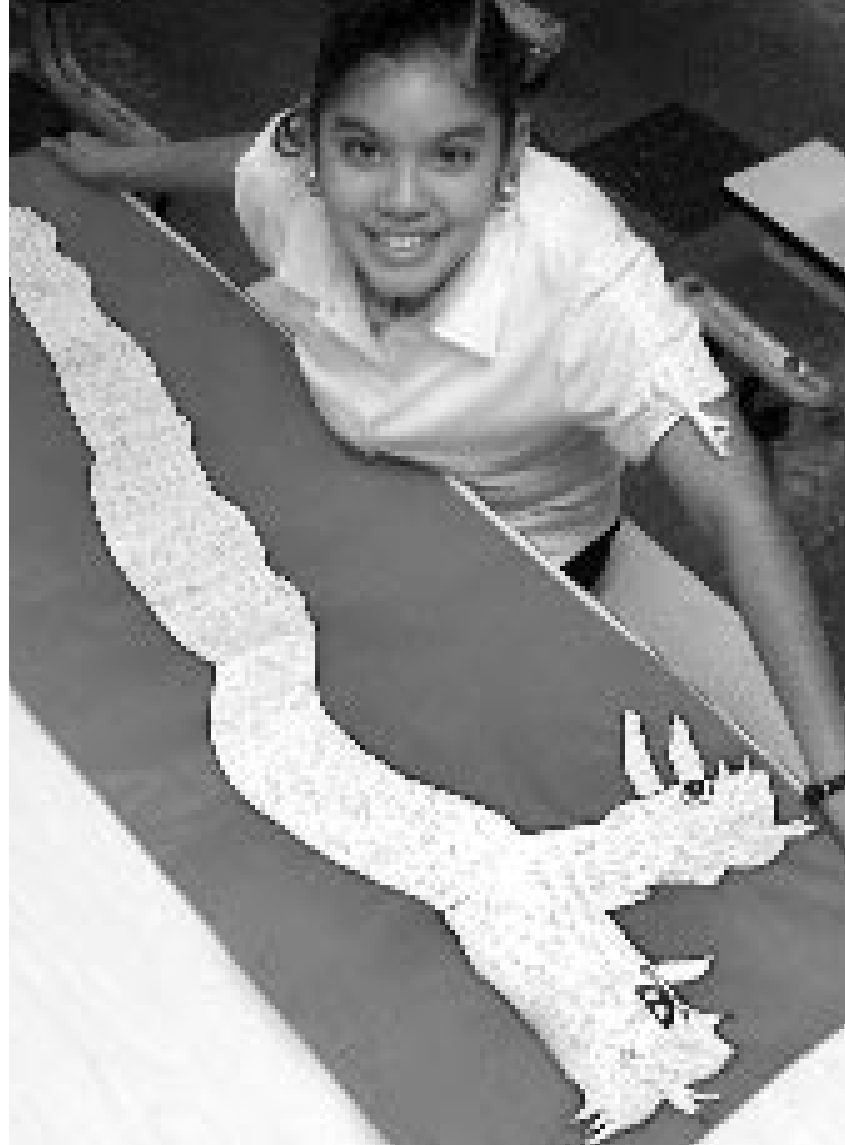
What are the dynamics of interorganizational collaboration? (pp. 142–143)

As we examine afterschool programming, we must find an appropriate methodology to study the unique interorganizational characteristics and linkages of afterschool initiatives. In studying school-community collaborations, Chavkin (1998) emphasizes, "We need to go further than just finding out if school, family, and community partnerships are helping education; we also need to know how, when and which parts of the partnership are improving education" (p. 10). One of Chavkin's recommendations for bolstering the research of educational partnerships is especially appropriate for the afterschool field: the development of "multiple, detailed case studies" that furnish a "baseline of repeated measures" (p. 16). Such data would provide an essential foundation from which to develop more controlled longitudinal studies and empirically valid intervention studies. The growing demand for cases in afterschool that elucidate issues specific to the field has not yet brought about commensurate dialogue among investigators about methodological considerations in conducting case study research.

THE CASE STUDY METHOD

The case study method, which has steadily gained popularity, has been subject to many developments and refinements that have added to its effectiveness as both a research and a training tool. In the research literature, case studies are often referenced loosely within a wider discussion of qualitative methods, leaving much ambiguity about their format and application as a methodology. Merriam (1998) asserts that the general consensus among investigators is that the case study method falls within the "qualitative" division in the dichotomy between logical positivism and naturalistic inquiry. Indeed, the case study method does share some philosophical assumptions and data collection strategies with other naturalistic approaches such as ethnography and grounded theory. However, a number of researchers note that the case study method is not usefully defined through a qualitative/quantitative framework because good research case studies employ *both* data collection methods. Contributors to the case study method assert that the methodology is more usefully defined by its characteristic designs and by its analytic and evaluative purposes (Platt, 1992; Shaw, 1978; Smith, 1978; Wilson, 1979; Yin, 1993).

In order to better understand how case methodology can be applied to the study of afterschool collaborations,

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it is important to understand these defining features. According to Yin (1993, 1997), three primary characteristics define case methodology as a research strategy:

- **The case study method assumes that the phenomenon under study is influenced by a complex social and structural context.** Yin (1993) defines

the case study as "an empirical enquiry in which the number of variables exceeds the number of data points" (p. 32). In a single case study, there may be only one data point: the case itself. The case study method, therefore, necessitates development of a diverse data collection strategy that uses multiple sources of data in order to bolster the study's construct validity.

- **The case approach requires that analysis be based on consistent findings from data across multiple sources of information** (Yin, 1993; Stake, 1995). Compelling case studies obtain both qualitative and quantitative data—via observation, interviews, and document analysis—which are then triangulated to identify the most robust evidence (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Hoffman Davis, 1997; Merriam, 1998; Milley, 1979; Yin, 1993; Yin, 1997). Triangulation is required as an analytical tool because traditional statistical analysis cannot be used given the relationship between variables and data points (e.g., Stake, 1995).
- T**he case study method relies on analytic generalizations rather than statistical generalizations** (Yin, 1997). Researchers can use a range of analytic techniques to test rival theories or to examine findings across cases. According to Yin (1997), "Developing, testing, and replicating theoretical propositions" is the core analytical work to be carried out in the case study method (p. 70).

Case Study Design

Case study researchers recognize the methodology's appropriateness for describing and probing complex settings, as well as for evaluating and providing explanations for events. In attempting to clarify case designs within the methodology, early efforts at refinement categorized case studies broadly as either descriptive or analytical/theory studies (Shaw, 1978; Wilson, 1979). To further cultivate this framework, Yin (1993, 1997) has developed a refined typology that is used widely to differentiate case study models according to three research designs: *exploratory* or pre-experimental, *descriptive* or illustrative, and *explanatory* or evaluative. Any of these three designs may be applied to single or multiple cases (Yin 1993, 1997). Yin outlines five components essential to solid case design: the research question(s), the propositions, the unit(s) of analysis, the logic linking the data to the propositions, and the criteria for interpreting the findings (1997)**.** Stake (1995) has developed a similar typology that identifies

case designs according to their purposes: instrumental case studies aim to elucidate complex issues, intrinsic case studies probe deeply to gain a rich knowledge of the case, and collective case studies attempt to investigate a phenomenon across contexts.

When case methodology is applied as an explanatory or evaluative design, investigators must develop their hypotheses with great specificity. The goal is to ensure that what is being observed is an empirical example of a theoretical construct, so that the case findings can be generalized (Eckstein, 1975; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; U.S. GAO, 1990; Yin, 1993). To define the focus and scope of a case study, investigators must also clearly determine the most effective unit of analysis. Possible units could include individuals, a curriculum, a teaching approach, a policy, or organizational links (Feigin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991; Yin, 1997).

The case study method is often used for research purposes in order to develop theoretical constructs and advance professional knowledge (Merseth, 1991; Towl, 1954; Yin, 1997). The method can also be used to build preliminary theories, as well as to test theories against best- and worst-case instances (Eckstein, 1975). In addition, the case study method has proven effective as a teaching tool in studying situations "where the truth is relative, where reality is probabilistic, and where structural relationships are contingent" (discussion participant quoted in Barnes, Christenson, & Hansen, 1994, p. 38). Ideally, the case study method provides rich material and interactive familiarity with the core content, logic, practices, approaches, and processes that are distinctive to a specific professional field (Merseth, 1991). Cases designed for training in management and administration are constructed to provide the "raw materials out of which decisions have to be reached" (Cragg, 1954, p. 7). The task of a case writer in this context is to "present the raw material of analysis—facts, events, people—so the class can figure out what went wrong, what went right, and what needs to be done" (Kennedy & Scott, 1985, p. 4). Such an evaluative approach seems to hold special promise for the study of afterschool programs.

The evaluative approach has flourished over the past decade in response to the growing need to measure the effectiveness of complex educational and social initiatives (U.S. GAO, 1990; Yin, 1997). The U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) has developed and currently uses a well-defined framework, tailored to perform multifaceted program evaluations, for case

study research design, data collection and analysis, and reporting formats. GAO (1990) outlines six case study models appropriate for evaluation purposes: exploratory, illustrative, critical instance (cause-and-effect), program implementation, program effects, and meta-analysis (cumulative case study review for generalization purposes).

With particular reference to educational phenomena, researchers are increasingly tailoring case study designs to meet highly specific purposes, including analysis of effective educational innovation (Gross, Giacquinta, & Bernstein, 1971; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Hoffman Davis, 1997). Lawrence-Lightfoot's *portraiture* methodology examines exemplary leaders, programs, agencies, and organizations using data collection and fieldwork techniques borrowed from ethnographic, narrative, and phenomenological perspectives. A portraitist's goal is to create an accurate and rich portrayal of a site (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Hoffman Davis, 1997). Concerned with the "how" and "why" of innovative organizations, portraitists draw on a host of qualitative methods and analyze multiple data sources to identify the phenomena, or "relevant dimensions," to be studied in an organization, as well as to unearth the organization's central metaphors and themes. Portraitists are primarily concerned with finding the "goodness" in effective organizations (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Hoffman Davis, 1997).

A Case Study Methodology for Afterschool Settings

Clearly, an examination of the case study approach furnishes afterschool investigators, evaluators, policymakers, and practitioners with innovative frameworks, strategies, and tools. Because out-of-school time is situated under the rubric of educational reform, a sensible approach is to select from among existing case designs and finesse them to fit the needs of afterschool education, research, and evaluation.

However, because afterschool time and space arrangements typically belong to no single organization or interest, investigators must consider carefully whether existing evaluative case designs are suited to the task. In our estimation, the range of configurations unique to afterschool education calls for new approaches to inquiry. Questions at the forefront of the methodology quandary include:
- What investigative strategy best reflects the institutional arrangements of transitional afterschool envi-

ronments, and how are units of analysis best selected, observed, and described?
- In what ways might afterschool researchers and evaluators harness the most effective features of existing evaluative case designs while transforming them to be responsive to the unique interorganizational and contextual arrangements characteristic of this emergent field?

Many new evaluative designs have been created in response to the growth of complex federal programs over the past decade; a similar endeavor must take place in response to the growing interest in creating effective afterschool environments. Case studies of afterschool programs should focus on domains related to intermediary and transitional spaces, always keeping in mind that afterschool programs are distinct from any of the other institutions that serve children. Using the observational and analytic lenses developed for other social and educational organizations, such as schools, would necessarily leave out the aspects that make afterschool programs unique. All aspects of the intersecting lives of children, youth, and adults in afterschool programs are defined by the *relationship* of the different parties, the way the diverse constituencies communicate about mission and practice and about the content of curricula and activities.

Remembering that no solitary stakeholder owns the afterschool space, understanding the workings of the distinctive partnerships that characterize afterschool education, and keeping in mind the transitional role of afterschool space for children are all central to boosting the effectiveness of afterschool programming. Therefore, in examining issues of resource allocation, institutional practices, and collaborative evaluation, researchers must develop specialized evaluative designs that elucidate key components of what we are viewing as the essential Four Cs—collaboration, communication, coherence, and content—to better inform afterschool research, policy, and practice.

THE FOUR Cs

Our research team developed the Four Cs heuristic method to focus on four essential aspects of successful programs—particularly school-based programs or community-based programs with school links—with an eye toward elucidating our definition of intermediary and transitional spaces. *Collaboration* is an essential aspect of survival in a tight funding market in order to provide sufficient positive programming and adult involvement. *Communication* is a key aspect of man-

agement that takes account of the fact that afterschool education is a collaborative effort not governable by traditional fiat and authority; afterschool programs require a high level of communication among all stakeholders, including adults and youth. *Content* addresses the essential features of afterschool programming: goals, curricula, and activities. *Coherence* is crucial to the functioning of any informal, relatively non-hierarchical organization that represents a meeting ground of common interests.

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While the Four Cs are not the only possible categories for investigation (and should in no way limit the development of other case study methodologies), they are the categories that have emerged most powerfully from our theoretical, research, and training work with afterschool programs and staff. The Four Cs are not just four dimensions chosen at random from among many others; they are central pillars of good programming.

Collaboration
The first *C* includes collaborative structures, the nature of collaborative decision-making, collaborative governance, and collaborative use of resources. *Collaboration* is essentially a spirit of teamwork and integration among school and afterschool interests that translates into an agreement about mutually supportive activities and goals for students. It includes strategic partnerships to meet the social, emotional, and learning needs of students, as well as joint problem solving to confront shared challenges. Typical chal-

lenges include troubleshooting the arrangement of shared space and materials or interpreting school-day curriculum to guide afterschool activities.

Collaboration implies that all parties participate in planning and share power, so that all contributors have a "seat at the table."

Communication
Communication refers to exchange of information among school, afterschool, and community-based personnel, leading to informed understanding of each other's activities. It includes reciprocal outreach activities between the school and the afterschool program, regular shared meetings, joint workshops and professional development, and, preferably, some involvement of the afterschool staff in the school day.

Communication should occur early and often in bridging partnerships in order to sort out inevitable conflicts around goals and practices. Even if a program is unified and run by only one organization, an enormous amount of communication is necessary given that afterschool programs by definition serve multiple stakeholders. Communication between adult leaders and youth participants is also part of this category.

Content
Content refers to the learning and recreational goals of a program and the activities designed to meet those goals. Is the program primarily focused on school outcomes, so that it uses a school-based curriculum and focuses heavily on homework? Or does the program aspire to youth development outcomes, focusing primarily on sports, arts, or recreation? How are various interests, such as parental interest in the completion of homework, reflected in the program's use of time and types of activities?

Coherence
Coherence refers to how primary stakeholders, including students and staff members, experience the relationship of the school and afterschool day. Do both subscribe to a unified mission and vision? Coherence does not imply that the school and afterschool day should be identical in organization or practice, but rather that they should be mutually supportive and harmonizing.

Coherence is the product of good communication and collaboration. Experiencing coherence across the entire day is especially important for youth who must navigate several linguistic and cultural worlds.

A FOUR Cs CASE STUDY OF BRIDGING IN AN AFTERSCHOOL PROGRAM

Our case study of a pilot afterschool program at what we will call the Forsyth School addresses the ways in which various stakeholders engaged in planning and then applied theory to practice in the early phases of the program. This case provides an example of a collaborative project that lost its role as a true intermediary space to become a school-controlled and school-extending program. In the process, as one might expect, the program also lost some of its strength as a transitional space for the children involved, since the intermediary and transitional aspects of the afterschool setting are tightly bound together. Though our case analysis will focus on problems of collaboration, the effect of the breakdown of intermediary space in this instance was to make the afterschool program much less relevant than it might have been to the developmental needs of the children involved.

Research Design

We were hired not to conduct an evaluative study of the Forsyth afterschool pilot but rather to analyze what worked and did not work and to explore why many stakeholders in the community became discontented with the program's mission, performance, and management. The method chosen for the Four Cs case study we conducted in 2002–2003 combined participant observation, quantitative data collection and document analysis, and in-depth interviews. This multi-method approach helped us triangulate the data and gain confidence in the data points. Though this precise method of data collection is not necessary to a Four Cs analysis, such a method does help to anchor the analysis in detailed facts and observation. In line with the "grounded theory" approach, the study helped us to evolve the Four Cs as categories to make sense of the data.

A Context of Municipal Involvement in Program Development and Implementation

The Forsyth afterschool pilot program[1], developed in a mid-sized Western city, had already received much attention by the time we entered the scene as investigators. We soon recognized that were we observing not only the workings of this single pilot program, but also a broader landscape of competing community interests and dynamics. We saw that the unfolding controversy surrounding this program pointed to familiar civic issues including fair distribution of resources across programs and neighborhoods, com-

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peting philosophies of school-based versus community-based programming, and debate surrounding program effectiveness and evaluation. Although our study centered on one school and one program, it was simultaneously creating an agenda for dialogue about the common issues confronting school-based afterschool programs throughout the area. Central to this discussion was the question of how to develop a program that could, as many stakeholders expected, become a model for other afterschool programs.

The Forsyth afterschool pilot program had received much attention in its host city because it was at the heart of municipal policy debate about how best to organize out-of-school time. The municipal leadership had granted the pilot a substantial budget to create a model program for replication throughout the city. The municipality wanted to evaluate the program

This case provides an example of a collaborative project that lost its role as a true intermediary space to become a school-controlled and school-extending program.

to ensure that the money was well spent, that the program maintained a strong community reputation, that clients were satisfied (meaning that parents appreciated the program and that children wanted to attend), and that cooperative and productive partnerships were established between school and afterschool staff. The program was a focal point for evaluation because it was designed to align with one of the city's key priorities: providing families with equal access to safe, stimulating, nurturing, and beneficial afterschool activities. With a successful pilot model, the city would be in a position to expand the model to include more afterschool programs.

The Forsyth School

The Forsyth student body was both ethnically and linguistically diverse; the school hosted a municipally supported Spanish-English immersion program for grades K–8. Many of Forsyth's students were of low socioeconomic status; 77 percent were eligible for free school lunch in 2000–01. In grades K–5, 65 percent of students had been designated as having special needs, as compared with 47 percent district-wide. The Forsyth School stated its core values to be academic focus, mutual respect, a positive and safe environment,

and critical thinking. A new curriculum, whose aim was to establish rigorous learning standards across diverse classrooms, was used for the first time in 2001–02. The leadership at Forsyth was invested in ensuring that the afterschool program supported students' scholastic achievement because of the school's enduring record of academic underperformance.

The Forsyth Afterschool Pilot Program

The Forsyth afterschool pilot program opened its doors in 2000 to serve children in grades K–8. Initially, 145 students were enrolled in the program. During the 2001–02 academic year, 100 to 120 students participated at various points throughout the year. The program enrolled a high proportion of special-needs students.

This pilot, designed to help bridge students' school and afterschool experiences, was initiated in response to the recommendations of an outside consultant. Accordingly, a task force including representatives from various municipal departments was formed to focus on increasing coordination between schools and afterschool programs. The task force guided the model's eventual design but was not actively involved in implementation. It is not clear that the task force was able to secure adequate buy-in from outside stakeholders and from those who would ultimately implement the model.

During the planning process, leadership from the public school department worked collaboratively with other departments, such as human services, and with other organizations, including youth-serving institutions, to develop the Forsyth afterschool pilot structures. Our meetings with leaders from these and other city departments revealed a collective interest in engineering the program to be as effective as possible so that it could fulfill its potential to serve as a prototype for the city and beyond. The city appointed a municipal coordinator specifically focused on afterschool organization. This appointment was a sign not only of the city's desire to work closely with the pilot program to shape students' out-of-school time, but also of its broader interest in leading the creation of an afterschool delivery model.

The municipal leadership needed the Forsyth afterschool program model to be clarified, evaluated, and improved in order to justify its comparatively liberal budget allocation. The per-pupil allocation was $4,200, more than twice that allotted to most afterschool programs nationwide (McKinsey & Co, 2001).

Our examination of the budget revealed that most of the funds were, appropriately, allocated to personnel: reasonable salaries for the director (called "teacher-in-charge") and the program assistant, as well as competitive salaries with benefits for the afterschool teachers. The teachers' backgrounds were varied: Some had college degrees or had taken college courses, some had experience working in schools, and some came from the youth development field, while for others this was their first job. The afterschool teachers were employed full time, assisting in the classroom during the school day and then helping students make the transition to the afterschool program. The program also offered a modest stipend for school-day teachers who were paired as mentors with afterschool staff. Other expenses included such standard costs as transportation, snacks, books, games, and supplies.

Program Mission and Vision

Despite agreement on the need for a coordinated afterschool program, a good deal of discussion arose among community groups, municipal leadership, and stakeholders in the school itself about the program's mission and how this mission should translate into practice. The primary tension involved disagreement on whether the program emphasis should be primarily academic—focused on raising test scores and providing homework supervision—or enrichment—targeting students' individual interests and providing kinesthetic and arts programming. Forsyth afterschool teachers and administrators, as well as those involved in the planning process, agreed that the program should feature a mixture of academics and enrichment. However, some felt this mix should be achieved through project-based learning; others believed the school curriculum should guide their work; still others were convinced the program should provide a great deal of unstructured time for children to engage in free play.

In a carefully considered planning process, the task force ultimately designed a well-rounded program that incorporated academic, socio-emotional, aesthetic, and kinesthetic learning elements. The pilot, however, appeared to be implemented hastily, so that this conscientiously designed balance was impaired. Decisions about management and structure were made without task force oversight and without open dialogue and consensus building among those responsible for implementing the program. The role of the task force did not extend past the planning phase, and adequate oversight and feedback mechanisms were not estab-lished. Because school teachers and afterschool teachers had expressed a broad range of developmental priorities during the planning process, they appeared confused about the program's mission.

The decision about who should lead the afterschool program was left to the Forsyth school principal. In light of the school's academic performance, we were not surprised to see that the principal had chosen a leader who was philosophically rooted in school-based learning and who essentially managed the program as a direct extension of the school day. Staff members' titles were symbolic of the priority the school leadership placed on school-based practices and purposes, as opposed to youth enrichment goals or unstructured play. The leader initially held the title of "vice-principal," which was subsequently changed to "teacher-in-charge." Line staff were called afterschool "teachers" rather than "practitioners" or "specialists."

Thus, the Forsyth afterschool program began with a homework and academic orientation, mimicking the structure and management of the school day. This bias did not go uncontested. One school committee member noted that there were "too many kids sitting in seats" during this preliminary phase. "If they are going to do so much sitting," she said, "let's see test scores go up!" Since its preliminary incarnation, the program has gradually moved toward including more creative enrichment activities. Front-line afterschool teachers, who expressed interest in leading enrichment projects, have completed several such projects over the past year.

Many programs that juggle complex collaborative arrangements and multiple stakeholders grapple with tension arising from competing aims. Inevitably, school departments take a perspective on the goals of afterschool programming that is different from those of youth service programs or arts institutions, while municipal interests maintain a standpoint unique to their own goals. At the Forsyth School, regular day and afterschool leadership experienced difficulty in circulating and communicating vision and mission statements and in developing a set of benchmarks by which staff could monitor outcomes.

A Bridging Model

While the Forsyth afterschool model was only one example of the city's school-based afterschool initiatives, it was distinctive by design. It was specifically intended to bridge children's school and afterschool experience through cooperative partnerships and structures. The innovation of the model was that it

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involved afterschool staff members in the regular school day and designated classroom teachers to serve as afterschool mentors.

Municipal leadership implemented this ambitious initiative with the objective of supporting students' school activities while extending the learning day in a coherent, academically strong, and child-centered way. In the planning phase, the intent of this deliberate staff integration was to ensure that children's afterschool experiences were specifically aligned with, but did not replicate, learning during the school day. For this reason, afterschool staff members were integrated into school activities primarily by participating in classrooms for several hours per week and by attending school cluster meetings along with day teachers. To support coordination, designated day teachers functioned as mentors to afterschool staff. Afterschool teachers were allotted three hours each day for planning, meetings, classroom support, and other bridging activities to support the linking objectives.

The Forsyth afterschool program had access to the school's facilities: six classrooms, the gymnasium, and other common spaces in the school. The Forsyth

One school committee member noted that there were "too many kids sitting in seats" during this preliminary phase. "If they are going to do so much sitting," she said, "let's see test scores go up!"

School was also fortunate to be situated in a community with a newly renovated youth center, a swimming pool, numerous playing fields, and a public library— all just steps away from the school building. Personnel from the youth center and branch library expressed to us a desire to share resources with the afterschool program and to collaborate on programming efforts. The wider surrounding community also featured many museums, parks, and other cultural and recreational resources for children.

The structural and philosophical issues the Forsyth program faced reflect the difficulties confronting programs across the city and nationwide as they attempt to bridge the school day with afterschool programming. The Forsyth afterschool program exhib-

ited potential, pushing the boundaries of what bridging programs can offer. The professional role of "afterschool teacher" positioned afterschool personnel in school classrooms to create a bridge between the school and afterschool day. This approach held many potential benefits, such as creating stronger collaboration and coherence between the school day agenda and the afterschool program, increasing communication with parents, and creating opportunities to build supportive relationships with students and families in multiple contexts. It also allowed the program to attract and retain dedicated candidates by offering full-time jobs. Actual practice in the Forsyth afterschool program, however, trailed program potential by a considerable margin. The controversy surrounding the program, especially in regard to its mission and budget, contributed to uncertainty among program staff and to tentativeness in program development and delivery. Qualitative changes in program structures, content and practices, and communication processes needed to occur to make the program as effective as it was designed to be.

A Day in the Life of a Forsyth Afterschool Student

It's after 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and Ana Prado[2] is finishing the school day in Mrs. Sanders's third-grade classroom at the Forsyth School. When the bell rings, Ana and a few other afterschool classmates wait for Mrs. Sanders to walk them to the cafeteria. Once there, Ana quickly spots her afterschool teacher, Mr. Miller, and some of her afterschool classmates. She makes her way through the tables filled with children from other afterschool classes and immediately jumps into conversation with her friends. Mrs. Sanders checks in with Mr. Miller, telling him about one of Ana's classmates who had had a hard time in class that afternoon. They quickly touch base about the other students in the afterschool program and then confirm that Mr. Miller will, as usual, spend his regular weekly times assisting in Mrs. Sanders' classroom. Both Mr. Miller and Mrs. Sanders know that regular check-ins are important in building clear communication about their respective roles in the afterschool model; they feel they have come a long way since the program began.

As Mrs. Sanders says goodbye, Astrud, the assistant afterschool teacher, arrives and oversees Ana's table while Mike, another staff member, goes to pick up trays of snacks for the class. Ana, happy to see Astrud, greets her immediately. Ana counts on Astrud's homework help because, like Ana, Astrud speaks both Spanish and English. Since her family immigrated from Ecuador three years ago, Ana has been trying hard in her bilingual classroom, but she still has challenges with reading and writing. Ana's parents both speak some English, but because they work long hours and are far from fluent, they are often unable to help her translate and complete her schoolwork. For Ana's parents, the Forsyth afterschool program provides her with a safe place to get her homework done and to develop new interests and skills. They see Astrud as a valuable link to Ana's teachers and to her schoolwork.

After everyone has finished snack, Mr. Miller gathers the attention of the group with a rhythmic clapping, which signals to the group that the time has come to move to their afterschool classroom. Soon the whole group joins in the clapping and starts forming a line to walk to class. On the way to class, Claude, one of Ana's classmates, lags behind and starts jumping up and down. Mr. Miller tells him to get back in line; when Claude does not obey, Mr. Miller takes five minutes off his free play time that afternoon. Ana wishes Claude and a few others who misbehave would just pay attention to Mr. Miller, because the whole class ends up with less time for fun activities when the teacher spends so much time talking to a few difficult students. She also knows that if they keep misbehaving, they could be suspended from both school and the afterschool program, and she wonders why they don't seem to be scared of getting in trouble.

Once in the classroom, Ana and the others take their assigned seats while Mr. Miller stands in front of the class. He begins by giving each student a chance to say how he or she is feeling and what he or she plans to do at home that evening. Ana likes to tell Mr. Miller about herself because he really seems to care. After the activity, Mr. Miller pulls out an easel showing math problems at the level most of the students have been doing in their day classes. The class spends about 30 minutes taking turns filling in the blanks in front of the class. Ana gets her math problem right and feels bad for her classmates who struggle, but she is glad the other students are nice and do not tease. Mr. Miller is glad that nearly all of the students participate willingly in the exercises. He takes daily planning time to develop activities that have at least some link to the third grade curriculum. He senses that his class activities are supposed to be even more linked to the school day but does not see clearly how to make that happen. Having observed how the day teachers instruct, he uses their approaches as his model for now.

After the math exercise, the class settles in for 45 minutes of homework time. Ana knows today's work will be hard, because she has a lot of reading and writing to do. She begins her homework but is distracted by Claude and his friends, who are talking loudly and moving around the room. Mr. Miller and Astrud give them warnings and further restrict their free time. Eventually, Ana makes it through most of her homework, with Astrud's help, and the class breaks for free play time, Ana's favorite part of the day. Once they move to the gym, Ana and her classmates have 20 minutes to run around, play kickball with Mr. Miller, and shoot baskets.

They return to the classroom for a second snack accompanied by announcements from Mr. Miller. He reminds the group of the upcoming roller-skating field trip. Then he tells them that on Friday they will start, with two other afterschool classes, a special enrichment unit on African drumming led by one of the other afterschool teachers. Ana and her classmates are excited; shrieks and giggles erupt as they continue to

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talk. The whole class loves field trips, and most like the idea of drumming with the other classes. A few students ask Mr. Miller when they are going to visit the neighborhood youth center and the children's museum, as they had discussed. Mr. Miller tells the class he is working on it, but he feels frustrated because it has taken longer than expected for the afterschool teachers to access the funds that would make field trips and enrichment activities possible. He has learned about project-based and experiential learning in his college classes and is eager to give his students such opportunities. His supervisor, the teacher-in-charge, has said the money is coming, but Mr. Miller nevertheless decides to bring it up again, more urgently, at the weekly afterschool staff meeting.

At 4:25, Mr. Miller asks the group to get ready for choice time. Most days, choice time ends up being

more homework time for Ana because she takes longer than her classmates, but today she really wants to join her friends in finishing a puzzle of the United States. Mr. Miller and Astrud remind Ana of her homework, and she insists she will do it later. A few minutes into choice time, about six of the students are picked up by their parents at early dismissal. Ana watches the parents come in to greet Mr. Miller, ask questions, and sign out their children.

After a while, Astrud asks Ana to join her with a small group of students who are still doing homework. Ana knows she had better complete her work or else her parents will be angry with her. She grudgingly gives up the puzzle and sits down to finish her homework. It is quieter now that some of her classmates have gone home, so, while Mr. Miller helps other students and works on his plans for tomorrow, Ana has time to get all of her work done. Ana's father, Mr. Prado, arrives to take her home at about 6:00 and tries, haltingly, to communicate in English with Mr. Miller. Astrud jumps in to translate and reminds Mr. Prado that the program will be having a parents' night in two weeks. Mr. Miller asks Astrud to tell Ana's father that she did a great job in class on the math board, and Ana smiles shyly while her father pats her on the back. Ana seems to feel tired and happy; she says she has had a good day at the Forsyth afterschool program.

A Four Cs Analysis

The Forsyth afterschool program had an excellent beginning. It was conceived as a model project boasting generous funding and an engaged, collaborative group of community and political leaders. It was poised to forge community consensus, increase academic success, support working families, and provide enriched and playful time for children. These goals were to be pursued by a full-time staff with benefits. Yet something was fundamentally flawed, and a great potential was transformed into a mediocre reality. As Ana's experience shows, the Forsyth afterschool program became a second-rate program that offered limited enrichment and creativity, instead importing many of the rules and rituals of the school day, such as sitting at assigned desks and filling out worksheets. Ana benefited from having a safe place to go after school where she could complete her homework and extend school learning, but she was a pressured little girl, anxious to please and to conform to unreasonable expectations. Parental expectations, school-like activities, and a somewhat punitive environment made for a mixed experience—though, interest-

ingly, parents and youth were relatively satisfied with the program and remained loyal to it. However, dissatisfaction was rampant at the political level, increases in test scores remained elusive, and staff were strongly discontented. Lack of support for the original agenda and its implementation led to gathering opposition outside the school and cast a shadow over future funding. The Four Cs framework will help us develop a picture of what went wrong with this model afterschool program.

Collaboration

The Forsyth afterschool pilot program lived out two incompatible realities. On the school level, it was not really an intermediary space bringing together a number of major stakeholders, but rather a school-dominated program whose goal was to extend the learning of the school day. This reality led to a set of strategic decisions about mission, practices, and language that did not reflect the realities and expectations outside the school, or even the deeper needs for collaboration within the school. Funding was distributed by the school departments, the leadership staff was on the school department's payroll, and the person leading the program, who was philosophically rooted in the school-based learning tradition, was viewed as a lead teacher or vice-principal.

On the other hand, external stakeholders placed high expectations on the program; its generous level of funding called for something other than one more school-based afterschool program. Strong forces in the community and municipality wanted the program to provide opportunities for children to engage in creative, nonacademic play and exploration. Many of these voices also wanted some of the funding to go to community organizations to enhance their ability to go into schools and support children in the afterschool time.

Internally, lack of collaboration took a subtler form: The afterschool teachers did not typically work closely with the classroom teachers, even though they spent a great deal of time in their classrooms and emulated their teaching methods in the afternoon. With a few exceptions, day teachers did not have input in afterschool programming, nor did the daytime classroom climate change because of the presence of the afterschool teachers.

Interestingly, the collaborative effort was strongest in the initial planning stage, when the program was being conceptualized at the city level. But due to budget-cycle considerations, the program began before it was ready and before true partnership agreements could be established. There was no steering committee to continue the good work, nor were there any agreed-upon ways to work together within the program. The basic problem was there from very early in the process: The mandate was to bring multiple parties together, and the various political forces demanded collaboration, yet no collaborative mechanisms were established by the funders and the city. This lack made a real focus on the original goals impossible. Because the program was located in a school, implementation was defined as extending the philosophy and the parameters of the school. In the process, the program missed chances to collaborate with the community, despite the fact that many community programs, libraries, and museums were in close proximity to the school, and, ironically, despite the fact that many of the main parties in the school department had declared themselves in principle open to collaboration.

Yet something was fundamentally flawed, and a great potential was transformed into a mediocre reality.

This basic misunderstanding of the nature of the collaborative process had even more significance in this case because the afterschool teachers, in contrast to all other personnel, were funded and hired by the city rather than by the school department. Thus, nonalignment of the different parties involved played itself out at every level of the program. Until these collaborative understandings, and the related power and decision-making issues, were revisited and resolved, the program could not prosper—and stood at risk of losing its support.

Communication

Afterschool programs inhabit a space in which no party is able to exert total control, in which forging a mission out of disparate parts is essential, and in which significant compromise is a daily requirement. Processes that are typically participatory rather than hierarchical—though hierarchies do, of course, exist in afterschool programs—put a premium on communication at all levels: among funders, leadership, program staff, parents, students, and other stakeholders.

At the Forsyth afterschool program, despite the fact that the planning process was marked by plenty of communication and a hopeful spirit, the actual day-to-day functioning of the program was marked by sporadic communication that was rarely effective. Once

the program was established, many critical decisions were made behind closed doors. Hiring the director, for example, was not a joint project; the school principal reassigned a school administrator who had little expertise in afterschool education. Working out communication between school teachers and afterschool teachers was left to each individual partnership. It was the exceptional pair who took the time to communicate, define goals, and work closely together. A lack of clear role definition was primarily responsible for the squandering of so much potential at all levels.

In other aspects of the program, results were mixed. There were pockets of positive communication among children and between afterschool teachers and youth. Though communication between the afterschool staff and students was good, it lacked warmth and ease. The role definition that gave professional status to the staff detracted from the informality of communication and relationships that is one of the hallmarks of great afterschool programs. Our observation notes convey the impression that children like Ana were left to interpret many practices without much help from adults. Rules and norms, rather than being set in communica-

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tion with all partners—including the kids—were handed down by teachers. Meanwhile, communication between parents and staff, though respectful, was minimal. Parental involvement was not encouraged. Communication between the afterschool director and the staff, not unexpectedly, broke down after many unresolved issues—such as Mr. Miller's desire for funding for a museum trip—had accumulated over time.

Content

Since the Forsyth afterschool program was based in the school and linked to the school day, it offered a great opportunity to align learning content and practices. Some in the community resented this content continuity, wanting the afterschool program to be fun, playful, and nonacademic. No matter how strong the program might become, those voices would have rejected an academic focus. But there were others who thought

that an afterschool program at this funding level could become a hothouse of creativity in which school standards could be pursued using non-school methods. According to this vision, learning would transcend desks and blackboards to become exploratory, experiential, and entertaining. Finally, yet others were willing to tolerate turning afterschool time into an adjunct of the classroom so long as test scores and grades were boosted significantly. The fact that the program ended up extending the school day without resulting in significant gains for the children led to demands from these stakeholders to change the program's content.

There is nothing wrong, in general, with strong content continuity between the school day and the afterschool hours. Afterschool programs have a democratizing function: In supporting all children to do well, they can help reduce the achievement gap. One innovative feature of the Forsyth program was the inclusion of afterschool staff in the school day; afterschool teachers had the opportunity to better understand how children learn by working with day teachers. The focus on homework help, besides responding to a typical demand of parents and children, also supported continuity of content.

However, one major dimension of best practice was missing: a recognition of the uniqueness of afterschool learning. While some content can, and often should, be aligned with school standards and learning goals, the ways to learn practiced in afterschool programs should feel distinct to children. Afterschool learning should be experience-rich, including many different kinds of expression for different learners: movement, art, music, sports, and so on. Homework assistance should be given in a relaxed way, making a hard chore as comfortable as possible. In fact, in general the Forsyth afterschool teachers needed to relax a little; unfortunately, the very definition of their roles as non-certified teachers without the full status of classroom teachers made them aspire all the more to practices that should not have been imported into the afterschool hours. The afterschool teachers did want to create project-based activities; our case notes show that they could not fulfill this desire because their communication with the director did not lead to results. However, even without much support, the afterschool teachers did develop pedagogical strategies that were in line with good afterschool practices, facilitating such activities as fashion shows, dance, and theater productions. The spirit of good afterschool programming lives, even in settings that do not succeed in creating innovative learning environments.

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Coherence

Admittedly, this program exhibited a high level of coherence between the school and the afterschool program, as well as in staff overlap and use of space. The program did not have the "turf battles" over use of space that afflict so many school-based afterschool programs. But there is more to coherence in intermediary spaces than simple continuity, as the Forsyth afterschool program can teach us.

Coherence is partly a product of successful collaboration; it cannot come from the school alone when the program is funded and supported by a wider constituency and when the planning process asks for a recognized difference between the school day and the afterschool hours. The coherence of the Forsyth program needed to come from all stakeholders, and too many of them were unhappy with what they saw as a lack of purpose. These stakeholders wanted afterschool time to be a space where recreation, homework, and experimentation were brought together in an informal setting. We heard many times from many different stakeholders that the sight of children sitting at desks following external rules epitomized everything that was wrong with the program.

Thus, different stakeholders defined coherence in different ways. For the school, it meant to create an afterschool environment that truly extended the school day. For many others, coherence meant the creation of a different kind of space that included the school and some of its practices, but in a larger, more open setting where new principles were applied. The differences in definition of what a coherent program would look like led to a great deal of criticism and counter-criticism, and finally to less overall cohesion for the program. Clearly, the teachers and principal also wanted new and enriching experiences for their children.

Advocates for a different, more playful environment also knew that parents wanted their children to do homework and get help to succeed academically. But the lack of collaboration, communication, and creative content alignment made the creation of a coherent philosophy and reality for the program impossible.

Results of the Four Cs Case Study

The follow-up of our work with the Forsyth afterschool program has so far been very positive; it shows that intermediary spaces can change even after long periods of trouble or stagnation. Changing afterschool program is actually easier than changing schools or other institutions, because afterschool programs are more informal and because staff turnover allows for annual reflections on how to develop new practices and procedures with new personnel.

Based on our analysis and recommendations, which revolved around the issues we have defined as the Four Cs, partners have already made many important changes. A steering committee was formed that included parents; funders developed joint expectations and agreed to a set of benchmarks. New leadership in the school hired a new director, and new role definitions were introduced. The afterschool staff no longer regard themselves as "teachers," and their role as facilitators and mentors for the children have been highlighted. Project-based learning has become the central teaching method, with a sharp increase in free play and choice time. By accepting the intermediary and transitional nature of afterschool settings and by making changes in all four of our afterschool Cs, the directors of the Forsyth program have made it more interesting, more effective, and more enjoyable for adults and children, in the process creating a stronger alignment around the core philosophy of afterschool learning as distinct from—though connected

to—the school day. *Collaboration, communication, content,* and *coherence* are all quite different today, as the Forsyth program transforms itself.

Afterschool programs can thrive only if stakeholders understand their special contributions rather than trying to make them into mirror images of the school experience. The special nature of this new social space requires researchers to develop new case study methods so they can both learn and teach a new generation of professionals and volunteers. By focusing case stud-

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ies on core elements of success or failure in afterschool programming—such our Four Cs—researchers can help practitioners create more productive outcomes for children, families, communities, and society as a whole. Program staff can also use this flexible framework for self-assessment and to clarify the mission and vision of their program.

Few social arenas provide us with the opportunity to define a field in the historic moment of its emergence, even as good research is evolving and productive training opportunities are being introduced. The evolving field of afterschool education requires us all to envision a new space for learning and development and to create theoretical tools that allow us to enhance that space with best practices.

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NOTES

[1] Some inessential details, including names, have been changed to protect the anonymity of the program.

[2] This vignette describes an actual afternoon, as recorded in our observation notes.

Investing in Social Capital
Afterschool Activities and Social Affiliation in Immigrant Youth

by Marc Camras, Ph.D.

Executive Summary

The 2000 Census indicates a significant increase in foreign-born and first-generation students in public schools, at a time when multicultural communities are challenging long-held notions about civic participation in America. This study of Teen Educators Advocating for Community Health (TEACH) illustrates how an innovative afterschool program attempted to nurture social capital and a sense of belonging in immigrant youth. Drawing on Robert Putnam's distinction between the *bonding* and *bridging* forms of social capital, the study argues that afterschool programs can help immigrant youth develop affiliations with diverse others outside their own communities by developing relevant programming that engages youth with children and adults in a variety of informal settings. The study examines the particular TEACH activities—community service, career development, and a class on public health issues—and features that worked to foster new relationships, attitudes, and feelings of responsibility toward others: Focusing on social affiliation and its role in promoting civic engagement, the study explores how participation in such activities can help immigrant youth attend to the welfare of their own community and of the larger society.

"The biggest problem I thought I would have before we started was the problem with making friends, since most of the people in this [program] were Mexican and I was the only one that was Korean. I thought I would have problems getting along with people. But once I went to the class, everyone was so nice and helpful. . . . The thing I like about TEACH was that I got to interact with a lot of different people and make a lot of new friends. . . . In afterschool activities, you are surrounded by people you don't know. In this class, you get to know everyone you work with. . . . The things we did and participated in helped me to interact with people easier and make friends easier. It will help a lot in my future because I'll have to make new friends when I go to college and after college. . . . The idea of learning together can help me a lot in the long run, because when I go out to society to work, I would have to learn to cope with others."
(Mimi, TEACH program participant, June 2000)

While the transition to adulthood is formidable for many adolescents (Hamburg, 1998), it presents unusual difficulties for immigrant youth. Besides facing the developmental tasks common to all adolescents, immigrant youth have to acquire communication and language skills; acclimate to new educational, cultural, and social settings; and develop awareness of social issues in their new country. Because these teens often confront academic and social problems in school (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Gibson, 1988), while their schoolmates are segregating into social groups along economic, racial, and ethnic lines (Epstein, 1989; Berndt & Keefe, 1995), immigrant youth can feel alienated and marginalized (Olneck, 1995; Trueba, Jacobs, & Kirton, 1990).

Afterschool programs can not only complement schools' efforts to provide teens with a quality education, but also provide opportunities for teens to interact with diverse others in an organized setting (Kohler, Frickey, & Lea, 1985) and to connect to the larger society. This paper will examine a collaborative effort between educational and community institutions that resulted in an afterschool program for immigrant high school youth. I will illustrate

The Coalition for Hispanic Family Services Arts and Literacy Program

the kinds of afterschool activities that can foster the sense of affiliation immigrant youth need in order to engage in the life of a multifaceted and diverse community.

The Teen Educators Advocating for Community Health (TEACH) program was designed to address some of the academic and social difficulties immigrant and minority youth face in schools. By involving students in community service, vocational training, and a course on public health issues related to adolescence, the TEACH program provided students of diverse ethnic backgrounds with meaningful educational experiences and social opportunities they might not otherwise have had. While it began as an intervention for youth who were either not pursuing higher education or at risk of dropping out, its goals expanded as more diverse youth were drawn to participate. It worked to help students who felt marginalized in school to develop social affiliation with diverse others. It also helped them expand on the knowledge, skills, and competencies they acquired in school and in home communities so that they could both address the needs of their own communities and participate in the larger society.

To provide background for my study of the TEACH program, I will look at the ways institutions historically have supported youths' connections with community life and examine research that indicates why afterschool programs are suitable sites to foster social affiliation. This information can point to what might be done outside of school to help adolescents connect to diverse others and to the society at large so that they can contribute to their own and the broader community. After discussing the background and context of the TEACH program, I will examine data on the teens' experiences as they participated in the program in order to illustrate the kinds of

I define social affiliation as a sense of belonging and purpose generated by establishing connections with others and with issues that are important to one's community and the society at large.

activities and programmatic features that can nurture social affiliation. This evidence reinforces the idea that organizations can and should provide teens with participatory experiences that promote the development of relationships and social networks.

SOCIAL AFFILIATION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

I define *social affiliation* as a sense of belonging and purpose generated by establishing connections with others and with issues that are important to one's community and the society at large. The concept of *social capital* was developed by James Coleman and Pierre Bourdieu to help contextualize theories of education. Coleman (1988) defined *social capital* as a variety of social structures that facilitate certain kinds of actions for individuals within those structures. For instance, Coleman's social capital can include "obligations and expectations," "norms and effective sanctions," "authority relations," and "appropriable social organization" (Coleman, 1990, p. 306–313). For Bourdieu (1986), *social capital* refers to the resources of social relationships and networks—provided primarily by families—from which an individual can garner institutional support. This institutional support is the kind embodied in the maxim, "It's not *what* you know but *who* you know." The amount of social capital a person has depends not only on that person's network of connections but also on the amount of social capital the people in the network have. These networks produce and reproduce useful relationships that can secure material or symbolic profits (Bourdieu, 1986). Such connections, for instance, often help young people find work and get into college.

Borrowing from Bourdieu's sociological framework, Robert Putnam (1995) turned *social capital* into a public term. Putnam defined *social capital* as networks of reciprocity that are needed to coordinate social action. He claimed that because social capital serves as a resource for individuals and groups, communities that have higher levels of social capital have lower levels of crime, children with fewer social ills, and better educational and social outcomes for teens. He suggested that social capital makes our nation healthier, wealthier, wiser, safer, and better able to govern a just and stable democracy. Social capital provides connections that establish trust, facilitate conflict resolution, link people's fates, and turn aspirations into realities.

Putnam argued that in the last third of the 20th century, Americans withdrew from opportunities to connect with others. He, and others who joined the discussion, attributed this deterioration in the civic fabric to a variety of macro-social structural changes such as television, dual-income families, and suburban sprawl (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Putnam, 1995). Putnam's scholarly effort was meant as a wake-up call for Americans from all walks of life to reconnect with their communities, especially across racial and economic lines. However, he focused on adult connections, mostly in middle-class white communities, overlooking the social networks and participatory practices inherent in most immigrant and minority communities.

Putnam (2000) later expanded his discussion of social capital in order to show that it can be either benign or malevolent: It can be instrumental in raising funds for public work projects or in sponsoring international terrorism. Putnam further divided benign social capital into "bonding" and "bridging" forms (2000, p. 22). *Bonding* social capital is inward-looking or exclusive. It tends to reinforce group identities and homogeneity and to build solidarity, as is common in, for instance, private clubs or local ethnic societies. Bonding social capital is readily found in immigrant communities and organizations that support them. *Bridging* social capital is outward-looking or inclusive. It incorporates people across a range of social dimensions such as race and class. It generates broader social identities as in, for instance, such organizations as Mothers Against Drunk Driving or pro-choice movements. In doing so, it produces long-term social relations whose purpose is to enhance the well-being of society at large. Bridging social capital also provides individuals with access to information and assets not available in their own communities. According to Putnam, bridging social capital improves democracy, but this kind of social capital is in decline.

While bonding social capital fosters connection to one's own community, bridging social capital fosters connections to diverse others and to the society at large. Putnam does not address the fact that immigrant communities' bonding social capital helps them improve their lot and acquire a piece of the political pie. Still, his pronouncement that bridging social capital is necessary to sustain our society's well-being is timely. The social networks of immigrant youth are often concentrated within their own ethnic communities. Helping such young people develop bridging social capital can speed the process of integration, prepare students for the workplace, and lay a foundation for participation in civic life.

PROVIDING IMMIGRANT ADOLESCENTS WITH SOCIAL AFFILIATION

This paper takes youth as the starting point for examining social affiliation and its role in nurturing civic involvement. Adolescence is an appropriate time to examine how individuals connect with others in an attempt to deal with societal issues and concerns. Adolescents are simultaneously beginning to consciously

reflect on their experiences and to develop a sense of responsibility and commitment to others, to values, and to lifestyles that give their lives meaning and direction.

While much of the research on social affiliation and civic involvement in youth has focused on native-born youth, demographic trends in the United States suggest that we should shift our attention to immigrant youth.[1] Given the large number of youth who are immigrants or whose families have recently immigrated, it is not only prudent, but also a social and economic necessity, to foster their engagement with the community at large.[2]

Historically, the public school has been the primary institution charged with integrating immigrant youth by teaching English; inculcating American values such as independence, differentiation, and self-sufficiency; and changing habits, behaviors, and attitudes (Garcia, 1995; Olneck, 1995; Thompson, 1971). However, afterschool programs have increasingly been addressing a variety of social needs and concerns. While they were often designed to reduce juvenile crime and anti-social behavior, afterschool programs are increasingly providing academic support. In the process, they may also provide educational challenges and developmental opportunities that encourage youth to connect with diverse others and with society. This paper will illustrate some of the resources and means on which institutions can draw to create afterschool programs that nurture the development of social networks beyond non-native youths' home communities.

Historical Efforts to Provide Social Affiliation for Immigrant Youth after School

Historically, every immigrant community has developed its own institutions (Garcia, 2003; Min, 1992) or relied on informal familial and community networks to support social affiliation and ethnic identity (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Hurh & Kim, 1984). These institutions and networks are potent sources of the bonding social capital that have enabled immigrants to "get ahead" in American society.

Outsiders began working with immigrant and minority youth to promote social adjustment and foster integration into society largely during the Progressive movement toward the end of the 19th century—though churches, as early as the 1830s, were the first organizations to address the needs of immigrant and minority youth after school (Brown & Theobald, 1998). The Settlement House Movement, begun by Jane Addams and Ellen Starr, was designed to help the immigrant working class cope with the problems that stemmed from indus-

trialization, urbanization, and immigration (Addams, 1910). Motivated to a large degree by social reform, the settlement houses and their workers attempted to be the major agency of social reorganization and cultural adjust-

Since different activities meet different developmental needs, if we want to develop social affiliation, we need to create the kinds of activities for youth that foster it.

ment in immigrant neighborhoods. Their assistance came in the form of education and socio-cultural assimilation as they provided training programs for children, youth, and adults. Older youth were introduced to philosophy, debate, and social psychology; classes in literature, art, music, and drama were designed to inculcate American values and middle-class concepts of character (Addams, 1910). Teen social clubs, which promoted tolerance and respect for difference, helped immigrant youth connect to American society by introducing them to American environments and American ways of doing things. The overarching emphasis of the settlement house activities was cultural transformation and assimilation. To this end, the settlement house movement supported immigrant communities and organizations because they would help facilitate the process of Americanization for members of their ethnic communities.

In the early 20th century, when mandatory secondary education released large numbers of youth from work obligations (Zelizer, 1985), afterschool opportunities separate from church-based activities became readily available. Lodges, service groups, political parties, and unions established youth branches to recruit and train future members. Ethnic youth organizations, whose focus was on preserving cultural traditions rather than on integration, were also flourishing (Brown & Theobald, 1998). The youth service organizations that sprang up in the 1920s—YMCA, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Junior Red Cross, Boys Clubs—mostly catered to native-born young people who could afford their activities.[3] Some have since made important changes in their missions in the wake of broader social changes. Organizations such as 4-H and the numerous clubs it spawned, for example, began to expand their mandate to serve immigrant and minority adolescents in the cities (Kohler, Frickey, & Lea, 1985).

More recently, growth of afterschool programs that serve immigrant and minority as well as native-born

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youth has exploded. A 1995 survey conducted by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development found over 17,000 organizations that were devoted exclusively to

While participation in community service activities

in adolescence in no way guarantees adult

participation, studies show that the majority of

adults who are actively engaged in community life

had a history of participation as adolescents

youth or had youth outreach components. Only recently has evidence been gathered about the work of these programs. The studies focus on linking participation in afterschool programs to improved peer relations, rates of English proficiency, attitudes towards school, and interpersonal skills (Kahne, Nagaoka, Brown, O'Brien, Quinn, & Thiede, 2001; Posner & Vandell, 1999; U.S. Department of Education, 2000).[4] However, the studies have not focused on immigrant populations or on the

development of connections to the larger society. For instance, Heath and McLaughlin (1993) examined minority youth participation in afterschool programs in inner cities. While they found that adult staff imparted to youth a sense of social cohesion and that youth developed identities more closely tied to their environment than to their ethnicity, they did not specify whether the youth they studied were non-native born or whether program activities created connections to the society at large.

Thus, while evidence suggests that afterschool programs and youth organizations can supplement schools' efforts to integrate youth into community life, little is known about how they can support the development of social networks and promote tolerance, the ability to adopt different roles in various contexts, and a sense of responsibility toward others and society. Since different activities meet different developmental needs, if we want to develop social affiliation, we need to create the kinds of activities for youth that foster it.

Social Affiliation through School-based Service Learning

Though schools have traditionally been considered a central force in integrating immigrant students (Olneck, 1995) and fostering democratic values (Niemi & Junn, 1998), it is not clear that they have been successful in nurturing social affiliation in immigrant youth. A lack of social integration can stem from institutional resistance to integration (Goode, Schneider, & Blanc, 1992), negative perceptions and judgments of immigrant students (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Gibson, 1988; Grey, 1990; Matute-Bianchi, 1991), or a lack of cultural awareness that often manifests itself as a mismatch between the home and school (Au & Jordan, 1981). Catsambis (1994), Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba (1991), and Matute-Bianchi (1991) found that teachers who frequently stereotype Latinos as academically limited discourage these students by suggesting they be placed in remedial classrooms. Educational anthropologists have found that ESL students' physical and social isolation from the regular academic program reduces opportunities to interact, in English, with peers outside their own group, thereby perpetuating the students' marginal status (Gibson, 1988; Grey, 1990).

Rather than feeling welcome and incorporated into a school, immigrant youth often experience the stress of being rejected or demeaned by their peers because of their different language, dress, social class, nation of origin, physical characteristics, religion, culture, and values (Allen, Denner, Yoshikawa, Seidman, & Aber, 1996;

Arredondo, 1984; de las Fuentes & Vasquez, 1999; Rumbaut, 1994; Waters, 1994). The customs, organizations, and social groups of these youth are often seen as inferior and strange. Feelings of alienation and marginalization in the school can create academic and social problems for these students (Olneck, 1995; Trueba, Jacobs, & Kirton, 1990). These circumstances make it difficult for immigrant youth to develop feelings of affiliation towards other students and other communities.

One way that schools have helped immigrant youth integrate is through community service. A review of studies of school-based community service or service learning is invaluable in understanding the influences that can support youths' acquisition of social affiliation.[5] Service learning in schools has been growing in importance since the 1970s (Annette, 2000; Boyer, 1990).[6] Advocates of a participatory form of service with an educational component believe that service instills habits of political participation that help sustain community and nation through training for democratic behavior (Boyte, 1993; Newmann, 1990). Community service is seen as promoting social responsibility and encouraging connections between youth and society (Youniss & Yates, 1997).

Studies assessing the effects of community service on psychological and social development and on a sense of social obligation have demonstrated that community involvement helps break down stereotypes, produces positive feelings towards others, and leads to self-awareness. It also increases an individual's sense of empathy, social relatedness, bonding to social institutions, and willingness to contribute to society (Conrad & Hedin, 1982; Conrad & Hedin, 1991; Eyler & Giles, 1999; Hedin & Conrad, 1991; Morgan & Streb, 2000; Newmann & Rutter, 1983). An example of the power of service learning to promote social affiliation comes from Youniss and Yates's 1997 examination of middle-class African-American students in a private Catholic school who were enrolled in a social justice class and required to do community service at a soup kitchen. In the task of looking beyond the boundaries of personal experience, the youth were driven to think about such collective realities as racism, classism, homelessness, and poverty. They were supported in this search by a set of religious values and ideologies that connected them to other generations, gave significance to their present experience, and provided them with hope for the future (Youniss & Yates, 1997).

According to Yates and Youniss (1998) and Youniss, McLellan, and Yates (1997), an understanding of one's relationship to others emerges as a process of being introduced to the possible roles and processes required for adult civic participation and of struggling to understand who one is within a social and historical framework. Fendrich (1993) noted that the development of a sense of agency in and responsibility to the community's well being in adolescence increases the likelihood of civic involvement in adulthood. Hart & Yates (1996) hypothesized that the connection between early and later civic engagement stems from factors including opportunities to participate, to develop a connection to a social group of peers who value service, and to nurture one's own sense of commitment. In volunteer service activities, youth learn an ethic of participation and develop the communication skills needed to understand and influence group decision making (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). While participation in community service activities in adolescence in no way guarantees adult participation, studies show that the majority of adults who are actively engaged in community life had a history of participation as adolescents (Fendrich, 1993; Hanks & Eckland, 1978; Ladewig & Thomas, 1987; Lindsay, 1984; McAdam, 1988; Otto, 1976; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995).

There are several distinctions between the studies of service learning and the work I undertook. None of the research examining service learning explored ways that institutions can foster social affiliation between youth participants from diverse backgrounds. Studies of service learning have not focused specifically on immigrant adolescents and therefore can tell us little about how community engagement might affect them. Immigrant, as opposed to native-born, youth often have distinct orientations toward the wider community, a different understanding of their involvement, and possibly alternative outcomes from their service. Furthermore, the predominant focus of literature on youth development through service has been on the outcomes of participation in school-based service projects rather than on the kinds of out-of-school activities that foster social affiliation. Focusing on specific out-of-school activities for immigrant youth allows us to see what elements of an activity facilitate the acquisition of social affiliation, how the interactions that occur within the activity can promote a sense of belonging, and how a sense of belonging can foster current and future involvement.

Barriers to Social Affiliation

While immigrant youth may not have a choice to participate when their schools require civic involvement, they can choose the activities in which they participate after school. In one study of an ethnically and socioeconomically diverse sample of high school students,

Brown and Theobold (1998) found that rates of participation in extracurricular activities was slightly higher among European-American students than among African-American or Asian-American students and considerably lower among Latino youth. Immigrant students who face negative stereotypes and discrimination and who reside in ethnic enclaves often choose to participate in extracurricular activities with members of their own community (Grossman, Beinashowitz, Anderson, & Sakurai, 1992).[7] These studies suggest that rather than nurturing bridging social capital and a sense of belonging to the society at large, the school environment may push immigrant youth toward the safety and comfort of their own community institutions and the bonding social capital they offer.

While alienation and cynicism have been used to explain why afterschool programs that involve service to a broader community are not attractive to Hispanic and other minority youth (Torney-Purta,1990), other reasons include the fact that religious institutions play a significant role in the lives of many immigrant youth (Bankston & Zhou, 2002) and that extracurricular activities often compete with familial obligations such as working to support the family or providing childcare for siblings (Allen, Denner, Yoshikawa, Seidman, & Aber, 1996; Olneck, 1995; Sue, 1981). Extracurricular activities in this country are also a means for adolescents to develop and explore their unique interests. This exploration, with its emphasis on autonomy, differentiation, and self-reliance, is at odds with most of the world's cultures, which are more group oriented (Rotheram-Borus, Dopkins, Sabate, & Lightfoot, 1996; Shemaria, 1993). Cultural differences and priorities may also explain why many youth and their parents prefer youth to focus on academics after school (Wong, 1990) and to socialize within their networks of friends and family.

Immigrant youth who do establish connections with native-born students often find that exposure to American ways results in intergenerational conflict as teens feel the conflicting demands of two cultures (Kakaiya, 2000). The may feel they have to choose between connecting to their parents and their home culture and values on the one hand or fitting in with native-born peers and mainstream American culture on the other (Ramirez, 1989).[8] While some youth may wish to choose diverse friends and participate in mainstream activities, their parents and peers may prefer that they engage in activities with members of their own community (Olneck, 1995). However, in other families, parents may promote a bicultural identity, encouraging their children to establish friendships with native-born youth so that they develop the values and skills needed to succeed in the larger society (Strier, 1996).

Immigrant youth therefore often participate in activities related to their own cultural organizations. The strong connections to the home community nurtured by such participation provides these youth with resilience through solidarity, social reciprocity, and mentoring (De León, 1996; Gibson, 1988), sheltering them from the difficulties of being strangers in a foreign land. Bonding social capital provides a sense of belonging and acceptance. Within-group affiliations and the social support they provide can improve minority youth's self-esteem and well-being (Rotheram-Borus et al., 1996).

Development of Bridging Social Capital

While scholars note the importance of loyalty and social interactions within immigrant communities (Keefe & Padilla, 1987), many recognize, like Putnam, that bridging social capital is essential if these communities are to gain acceptance and status, as well as greater success in political, social, economic, and educational arenas (Fong, 1998; Hughey & Vidich, 1998; O'Regan, 1993; Villareal, Hernandez, & Neighbor, 1987). This bridging can occur within a broader immigrant community, as in a pan-Hispanic community that includes Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and other Latinos; between different immigrant communities, such as Hmong and Hispanic; and between immigrant and native-born communities, such as Korean and African-American. The benefits of bridging social capital for immigrant youth can be a greater sense of fitting in, increased resources through social networks, and the improvement of English language skills (Gordon, 1964).

Developing social affiliation in immigrant youth addresses not only the issues and problems these youth can face in school and in the wider society but also the potential societal ramifications of their lack of integration. While research has shown that each immigrant group has unique issues and circumstances that either facilitate or inhibit their involvement in the wider community, a number of steps can be taken to improve the likelihood of immigrant youths' involvement. Afterschool programs can supplement schools' effort to provide the knowledge, skills, and relationships that help immigrant youth to develop a sense of belonging and to contribute to the welfare of society.

A PROGRAM TO PROMOTE SOCIAL AFFILIATION

Teen Educators Advocating for Community Health (TEACH) is one such program designed to foster social affiliation in immigrant and minority youth. I began the program in the winter of 1998 and conducted the research described below between then and the spring of 2000. After describing the program's background, participants, and design, I will illustrate, with excerpts from participants' reflective writings and from interviews, ways in which the program's activities nurtured social affiliation and prepared the students for civic engagement.

Examining the role activities played in fostering the teens' connections to society addresses Dewey's (1927) conviction that the connections individuals make within their local communities are what brings about improvement in society. This examination also speaks to Dewey's belief that social change can occur if individual citizens became aware of and connected to larger social issues.

Genesis

The TEACH program was born out of a desire by the University of California, San Diego (UCSD) to create afterschool programs that would form part of an educational pipeline for Latino youth. Latino families, a local Boys and Girls Club, and staff from the city's Housing Commission were interested in expanding university-sponsored afterschool programming that already existed for K–6 Latino children. After a year of meetings with these parties, with potential youth participants, and with administrators of a high school district, I was asked to develop a program, which would be jointly supported by the district and UCSD, to serve Latino youth. We decided to work with Ten Palms High School, where only 8 percent of students did not continue with their education after high school. Many of those who were not succeeding—who were truant or repeatedly kicked out of class, or who were likely to drop out—were Latinos.

I spent the next year putting together the TEACH program. After gathering support from the university, I worked with the school's bilingual program coordinator to recruit students. The coordinator approached students individually, while I worked with classes that served our target population: ESL (English as a Second Language) and AVID classes. AVID (Advancement Via Individual Determination) classes are designed to provide high school students with the social and cultural capital to get into college. Besides tutoring, study skills, and assistance with college applications and financial aid forms, AVID offers students a support network in the school so that

students know they have a teacher willing to advocate on their behalf.

Participants

At Ten Palms High School, 80 percent of the students were white, 11.5 percent were Asian, 7.6 percent were Hispanic, and 0.9 percent were American Indian, Pacific Islander, or African-American.[9] The school is ranked first in its county and eleventh in the state on the Academic Performance Index, a measure of California's statewide standardized test. Only 5 percent of the students qualified for the federally funded meal program, and about 4 percent participated each semester in special classes including AVID, bilingual/sheltered classes for bilingual students in regular school subjects, and ESL classes. In these special classes, according to school statistics, approximately 65 percent of the students were Hispanic and about 35 percent were from Asia or the Middle East.[10]

Afterschool programs can supplement the schools' effort to provide the knowledge, skills, and relationships that help immigrant youth to develop a sense of belonging and to contribute to the welfare of society.

Each semester, 15 to 23 students enrolled in the TEACH program, with 50 to 100 percent of them being Latino/a. By the end of the data collection period, 64 teens had completed the program. Forty-two were Hispanic, 17 were Asian, two were Persian, one was Turkish, and two considered themselves of mixed race. These last two and three others were the only non-immigrant participants. Fifty-eight percent of TEACH participants qualified for the federal lunch program. After the first semester, at least a third of enrollees were students who had previously taken the program. We learned from conversations with school staff and with teens who signed up but dropped the class in the first few weeks that students who were in the classes we targeted but did not participate in TEACH were deterred because they could not get to and from the program, had to work, or were needed to provide childcare at home.

All of the non-Hispanic students in TEACH were from middle- or upper-middle-class backgrounds and lived in condominium and townhouse complexes near the school. Some of these non-Hispanic immigrants were children of parents who had come to work in the county's high-tech industries; the rest had been sent by their parents to live
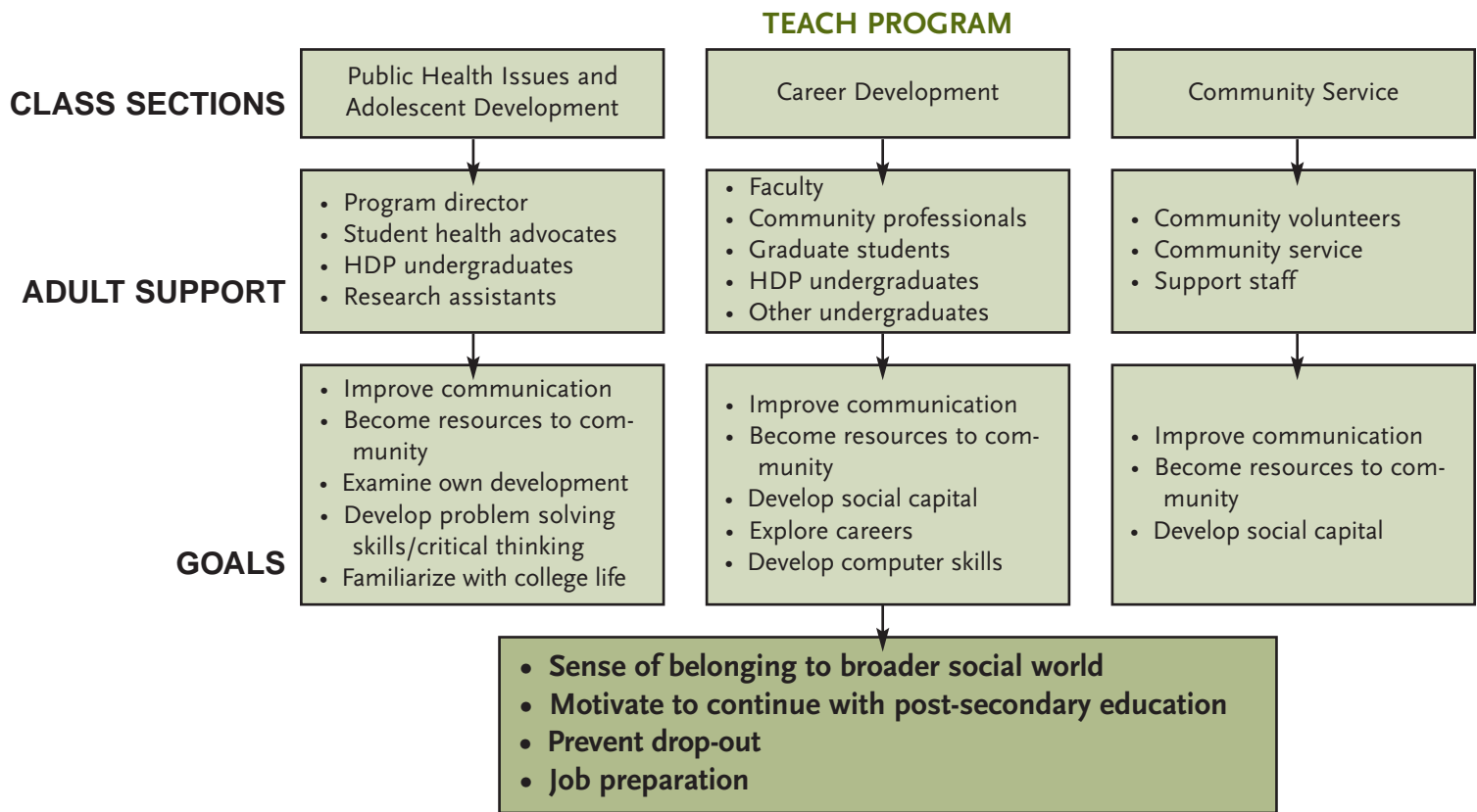
TEACH PROGRAM

CLASS SECTIONS

| Public Health Issues and Adolescent Development | Career Development | Community Service |

ADULT SUPPORT

Public Health Issues and Adolescent Development	Career Development	Community Service
• Program director • Student health advocates • HDP undergraduates • Research assistants	• Faculty • Community professionals • Graduate students • HDP undergraduates • Other undergraduates	• Community volunteers • Community service • Support staff

GOALS

Public Health Issues and Adolescent Development	Career Development	Community Service
• Improve communication • Become resources to community • Examine own development • Develop problem solving skills/critical thinking • Familiarize with college life	• Improve communication • Become resources to community • Develop social capital • Explore careers • Develop computer skills	• Improve communication • Become resources to community • Develop social capital

- **Sense of belonging to broader social world**
- **Motivate to continue with post-secondary education**
- **Prevent drop-out**
- **Job preparation**

Figure 1. Programmatic Structure of TEACH

with relatives in order to get an education in the U.S. In contrast, all but two of the Hispanic students lived in two Hispanic enclaves of low-income housing that were markedly separate from the surrounding wealthy white neighborhoods. While only one of the Hispanic students had a parent who had attended college, all of the non-Hispanic students had at least one such parent.

Program Design

TEACH was divided into three different segments that required students to attend for an hour and a half on each of three different days during a 13-week semester, as illustrated in Figure 1.[11] The class segment on public health and adolescent development met on Thursdays. Under my guidance, university undergraduates who worked on campus as Student Health Advocates (SHAs) presented a curriculum designed to introduce teens to a wide range of issues dealing with human development across the lifespan, such as personal relationships, discrimination, sexuality, parenthood, eating disorders, and substance abuse prevention. The sessions typically began either with a short introduction of the topic or a presentation from a representative of an organization such as Planned Parenthood, Alcoholics Anonymous, or Mothers Against Drunk Driving. The SHAs then facilitated small-group discussions or activities around the day's topic. Finally, small groups presented a summary of their dis-

cussion or activity to the whole group so that participants could share what was covered and learn from each other.

The second segment of TEACH was two hours a week of community service. We organized a variety of sites, including a Boys and Girls Club, churches, a public housing site, and an elementary school, in which the teens worked with preschool and elementary school children. Other students volunteered at libraries, community service organizations, and an animal shelter. Students' activities included tutoring, babysitting, working with kids on computers, organizing sports and games, sorting and racking used clothing, distributing food, and previewing literature and films on teen pregnancy prevention.

The Monday segment of the program focused on career training. During the first month, the teens met at a local elementary school to learn basic computer skills. They opened email accounts and learned simple computer applications such as word processing and navigating the Internet. If time permitted, they began to construct their own web pages. After four weeks, the students chose from a variety of career groups. They worked for nine weeks in small groups with professionals, learning about careers and designing related projects. For instance, students in the medicine and health group worked with pediatric residents to design websites on cancer and on eating disorders. Students in the business and finance group worked with a stockbroker to develop a budget,

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stock portfolio, or business plan. The visual arts and communication group worked with graduate students to produce videos, while the social sciences group did field work with the help of graduate students. A physics professor and his students ran a science and technology group in which students made radios, telephones, and strobe lights. Education professors taught computer game design, a web developer taught web page construction, practitioners of alternative medicine taught therapeutic techniques, a journalist taught online publishing, and a theatre major directed short dramas related to the Thursday sessions.

I brought in other resources from the university and community, in addition to the career group leaders, to enhance the program. Campus student organizations I recruited included not only the SHAs but also Student Safety Awareness and the Early Academic Outreach Program. I added additional undergraduate mentors by opening the site to students in a practicum course in Human Development Research and by persuading academic departments to provide undergraduate volunteers with school credit. During the two years we were hosted by a Boys and Girls Club, I also got club staff volunteers to organize activities designed to help integrate the students into the club.

RESEARCHING CHANGE IN INDIVIDUALS AND COMMUNITIES

In designing the TEACH program, I intended to bring about change both in the teens and in their communities.

The visual arts and communication group worked with graduate students to produce videos, while the social sciences group did field work with the help of graduate students. A physics professor and his students ran a science and technology group in which students made radios, telephones, and strobe lights.

I worked with the school district and the school's bilingual coordinators to improve the educational and social potential of the school's immigrant and minority students. My study of the program and its benefits to the teens and their communities had elements of an action research model. Action research is intended to change an organization through the participation of a researcher (Eden & Huxham, 1996). My research was interactive and collaborative: It was designed to affect the behavior and knowledge of the research subjects and to influence practice and policy in the school, community, and university. TEACH and the data I provided about it enabled the school district to increase the amount of support offered to immigrant and minority teens. At the same time, TEACH was meant to encourage the youth to take greater responsibility for improving the health and well-being of their communities. Constructed around youth development and increasing civic involvement, my research agenda emphasized mentoring and intergenerational interactions,

				FORMAT			
Data Sources	Field Notes	Weekly Journals	Teen Interviews	Audio Recordings of Sessions	Pre- and Post-Surveys	Weekly Homework Assignments	Leadership Questionnaires
Project Director	✔		✔	✔			
Student Health Advocates and Undergraduates	✔						
Participants		✔			✔	✔	✔
Staff	✔		✔	✔			

Table 1. TEACH Data Sources

developing topics of interest for the teens, finding a variety of adults to share career opportunities, and working with these adults to create hands-on projects that would ignite an interest in learning. By organizing TEACH around community service, career development, and public health issues, I had structured opportunities to observe the formation of social affiliation.

Using participant observation methods, I collected detailed information about what was happening during activities and how the youth were experiencing their par-

My research was interactive and collaborative: It was designed to affect the behavior and knowledge of the research subjects and to influence practice and policy in the school, community, and university.

ticipation. The data came from multiple sources, as shown in Table 1. Much of the data either was from the youth about their experiences, or was written or recorded by others involved in the program about those same experiences. As the program director, I wrote participant observation field notes and interviewed teens, undergraduates, my liaisons at the school, and a couple of the teens' ESL teachers. I also made audio recordings of several discussions during public health classes and of presentations the teens made either to TEACH participants or to other peers during our recruitment days at the school. I had the SHAs' field notes on the public health activities, and observer-participant field notes from the undergraduates in the human development practicum.[12] I also collected and analyzed surveys and interviews with the teens and school staff that several of the human development practicum students conducted as part of their research projects.

These data supplemented the teens' own descriptions of events in their journals and homework assignments by providing information about what the teens were experiencing and what they were doing with the knowledge, skills, and competencies they were acquiring. I also collected and analyzed homework assignments: autobiographies, peer interaction reflections, and questions about their thoughts and beliefs on issues from the public health class. I had the students' community service journals, in which they described and reflected on their interactions with children or adults, wrote about the population being served, and compared that community to their home community. The students filled out leadership questionnaires and pre- and post-surveys before beginning and after completing the program. I also analyzed the six videos from the video production class. I involved the teens, undergraduate mentors and research students, and the bilingual coordinators in analyzing the data.

After compiling all the data, I chose five teens as examples for this study. They are not a random sample; rather, I was conscientious about representing the diverse characteristics of the TEACH teens and of students in ESL, AVID, and bilingual classes at Ten Palms High School. I focused on three girls and two boys because there were more girls than boys in TEACH. Two of the girls, Alice (AO) and Claire (CL), and one of the boys, Chris (CC), were Hispanic and of low socioeconomic status. Mimi (MK), who is Korean, and Sal, (SE), who is Persian, were from the middle to upper-middle class. The students had varying English-language abilities: Claire and Sal were at a low level, Alice and Chris were in the middle, and Mimi was at a higher level. I chose these students because they took the course twice, which was the modal category of times the 64 teens registered to take TEACH—though many who repeated the program did not do so in the semester immediately following their first semester in TEACH. Teens who took the program once were less likely to have been affected by the program, while students who took it more than twice would

likely have been affected to a greater degree. Data from two semesters' worth of participation allowed me to analyze how the program's resources and networks affected the students' sense of social affiliation when they participated in community life over a sustained period of time. Previous research on service learning showed that six months was the minimum time period for service to have an impact (Niemi, Hepburn, & Chapman, 2000). By focusing on those who took the program twice, I narrowed the group from 64 participants to 20, and then selected a representative sample from this smaller group. Because a little fewer than half of the 64 TEACH participants had previous experience as volunteers, I chose two who had previously volunteered and three who had not.[13] I selected the excerpts included in this article based on two criteria: They were representative of what several teens or undergraduates wrote or said, and they clearly conveyed ideas or beliefs.

DESIGNING ACTIVITIES TO PROMOTE SOCIAL AFFILIATION

TEACH activities were designed to provide students with meaningful educational opportunities they might not otherwise have had and to help them develop knowledge and competencies that would enable them to address and serve the needs of their communities. I wanted the teens to learn about issues that were relevant to their lives; to meet peers, children, young adults, and adults with diverse backgrounds; to develop knowledge and skills that could be valuable in the future; and to do something that would make them feel useful. The career development classes, community service, and public health class were designed to provide the youth with opportunities to expand their social networks. They fostered a sense of affiliation by giving the teens opportunities to cultivate connections with others and with the society at large. The teens made these connections as they participated in real-life experiences, gained perspective on social issues, learned to see themselves as resources, and created a TEACH community.

Fostering Social Affiliation in Informal Learning Environments

During discussions early on in the program, I asked the teens why they thought minority youth neither participated fully nor asked for help or information in school. Representative responses included "Others might laugh" (MN, 1998[14]), "Teens have low confidence" (AO, 1998), "It is taking a risk" (MH, 1998), and "You have to be able to say 'I don't know'" (SE, 1998). When I asked them

> The teens made these connections as they participated in real-life experiences, gained perspective on social issues, learned to see themselves as resources, and created a TEACH community.

how it gets easier to participate and acquire information, they said, "Confidence and experience makes it easier to ask" (RH, 1998), "You realize it is for your own benefit" (AO, 1998), and "With greater self-esteem, there is less concern about what others may think of you" (MN, 1998). Being able to participate, ask questions, and seek assistance without feeling embarrassed was a significant concern for these teens.

To help them establish relationships and feel comfortable amongst themselves and with the adult participants, I tried to create an informal learning environment where the teens weren't required to provide a correct answer and "didn't feel like [they] were being judged" (CL, 1999). The career groups each had between three and eight teens. The Thursday sessions, though they included the entire class, were designed to be less formal than a regular school class. The whole group always met in a circle, and most of the time was spent in small groups that we formed of teens from diverse backgrounds. An SHA wrote, "I've . . . come to realize the

> "All the people in the TEACH program, I trusted them."

value in having everyone sit in a circle. It makes the class more like an informal talk, so that everyone can feel more comfortable raising questions and not get embarrassed" (JH, 1998). She recognized that the way the room and participants were organized was a factor in fostering involvement. The "group cohesion really helped get all necessary information across" (JH, 1998) and allowed the youth to hear responses to questions from other teens and adults.

The teens recognized that this level of rapport allowed them to ask uncomfortable questions without being embarrassed. Claire said in an interview that "I have more trust when we're in the small groups. I feel like I can focus more and people are paying more attention to me. Like I pay attention to them" (CL, 1999). Mimi wrote:

> All the people in the TEACH program, I trusted them, I felt confident around them that they wouldn't laugh at me. Because we were able to talk about

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some personal issues in the classroom discussions without being embarrassed or without worrying about how people would think, I think each and everyone in our class has some kinds of trust in people. The teachers and UCSD people always made us feel that the stuff we say is important and not stupid and that they care. (MK, 2000)

These girls felt they could speak out because they knew that their contributions were valuable and valued by others. They could explore thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and values with others in the program once a sense of trust and connection had been established.

Though small, informal discussions and learning environments were the mainstay of the program, the public health segments usually involved the whole group. The SHAs and I developed activities and recruited speakers on issues that the teens, their families, or their friends experienced. We wanted to nurture a sense of social affiliation by helping the teens connect to issues they and the larger society face. To do so, we provided activities that would help them develop perspective by sharing values, beliefs, and opinions. For instance, we explored the topic of teen pregnancy through films, visits by representatives of Planned Parenthood, and panels of teen mothers. These activities gave the teens an opportunity to develop empathy and understanding as they worked through social issues and developed a relationship to those issues. We (and the school) attempted to convey the experience of being a teen parent by having

students carry dolls around for a week. Hearing teen mothers discuss their experiences gave the youth a chance to develop a deeper understanding of the issues teen moms and their children face than they would have gained by listening to statistics. They could ask questions, reflect on the answers, and formulate positions and responses. Mimi wrote, "I think it's the best when you get advice from other experienced people, people who already had to go through the same problem. This way you can see the advantages and disadvantages of the choices [they made]" (MK, 1999).

The process of searching for meaning and of connecting with a broader community around social issues nurtured social affiliation. For example, an undergraduate described in a field note how a discussion about a video shown by a Planned Parenthood representative turned out differently than he had expected:

This video followed two Latino couples. . . . The video went over the consequences of having a child at a young age, i.e. the health risks, the financial hardships, the lives teen parents live. . . . When the movie finished, the presenter asked the students, "What does society think of teenage pregnancy?" Nobody spoke, so Marc ended up calling on people. . . . The discussion then went to the problems with the video. Catalina said, "They didn't talk about the parents and whether they were involved." Another teen said, "They only discussed the negative aspects of having a child," and several of the students shook

their heads in agreement. Then Chris said, "The people in the video were all Hispanic." The teens had a reason to question the video that was shown because it only had Hispanic couples. Catalina and Chris pointed out that this sort of thing does not only happen to Hispanics and that it was unfair to generalize. I think the TEACH program has helped them to question what is seen and heard and to watch things with a critical eye. (TG, 2000)

As the teens analyzed and critiqued the video, they connected media literacy with civic involvement. The Latinos objected to the portrayal of teen pregnancy as a Hispanic problem. In addition, though the video was meant to scare them, they critiqued the lack of portrayal of the positive aspects of having a child for many teen parents.[15] In sharing their perspectives on and interpretations of the issue, the teens saw how different people could watch the same video or discuss the same topic yet focus on different aspects of the presentation and make unique interpretations. As the undergraduate points out, activities such as viewing the video and discussing it allowed the teens to deliberate, debate, and critique social issues. They were learning to "speak with other people that speak and think different[ly][16]" (CL, 1999).The teens were learning about and developing a connection to social issues; they were discovering how they relate to those issue and how others view them as well. In addition, they were developing a sense of fairness, of what is right and wrong with society, and of the ways the media can slant issues. The teens' increased knowledge and depth of understanding enhanced their ability to connect both with other teens and with issues youth face.

TEACH discussions on teen health issues allowed the students to get to know what others think, believe, and feel, which in turn helped them develop empathy for others. Talking to the girls in the class and hearing from Latina teen mothers in the video and the panel provided Chris with a new perspective on girls, guys, and teen pregnancy:

> I got kind of scared because of some things that the girls said that they felt like they were worthless and that they didn't want to live. I also realized some things that us guys do. For example we basically manipulate the girls and make them do what we want from them. . . . I've kind of have changed the way I think about how teens can get pregnant just like that, and how it is for the girls to go through all that pain and the problems. I think my [perception] of pregnancy changed because of the presentations. (CC, 2000)

Talking to the girls in the class and hearing from Latina teen mothers in the video and the panel provided Chris with a new perspective on girls, guys, and teen pregnancy.

In addition to recognizing the detrimental effect of guys' behaviors on girls' mental health, Chris found a new appreciation and sympathy for what girls can experience. Getting to know how girls felt about relationships and pregnancy altered his perspective on women and enhanced his connection to them. Recognizing how his behavior could influence others, Chris was learning to treat girls with care and respect. He was also learning to think critically about social issues as a result of listening to different viewpoints.

After two weeks of discussions about sex education and whether or not it should be taught in school, Mimi could see the differences between the way she and her peers related to the topic. While the discussions gave Mimi a sense of closeness with her peers in that they were all teens whose reality was that others made decisions for them, she also reflected on the difference in their values and beliefs about sex education, teen pregnancy, and youth rights. She found that listening to others, learning how people can view things in different ways, and developing empathy were necessary conditions for people to work together for the common good.

> After listening to other people's opinions it was easier for me to change my mind. Then I figured that changing perspective can be really helpful during living our lives. . . . If everyone can put them selves in other people's shoes, our world would be so much more peaceful. I began to realize that people fight because they are selfish and they always think that they are the right one. . . . But I believe that if we try to listen and have patience then it will be easier to change our perspectives and understand each other more. (MK, 1999)

For Mimi, being a good listener made it easier to understand other people. By learning from her peers, Mimi was developing a sense of self in relation to the social world. She was also achieving one of the goals she identified in the pre-program survey: learning how to work with people.

The career groups were another place for the teens to explore social issues such as racism and stereotypes.

Whether it was the boys learning what it means to be a girl in a relationship, or non-Hispanic immigrants learning what it means to be followed around a convenience store by a manager, the youth were gaining perspective and empathy, dispelling stereotypes and preconceived ideas, and generating thoughts and solutions about how to improve the health and well-being of their communities.

The projects of the video production groups, for example, gave the teens an opportunity to respond to negative stereotypes. In one of the two groups, the teens produced one film analyzing negative media portrayals of minorities; the other was a reenactment of being watched and followed while shopping. In a field note, one of the leaders, also a member of a minority group, illuminates how the teens felt about being portrayed negatively in the media and by society. While the quotations are her own, they are based on numerous discussions with the teens, and on the films.

> Students chose to look at minority representations and misrepresentations in the media and negative stereotypes of today's youth. . . . In recognizing that the media circulates meaning, the students were especially concerned with "how minority youth are misrepresented or not represented at all by popular culture in television and movies." . . . The TEACH students . . . discussed media's misrepresentations of ethnic minorities and made a parody on how they are criminally stereotyped because of their age. In doing so, the TEACH students were "voicing their views and beliefs within the realm of sociological discourse." It gave them a chance "to speak up and speak out about the injustices that they see affecting their lives." (VC, 2000)

Devoting one of the three TEACH classes exclusively to teen issues, and relating several other parts of the program to youth issues as well, provided discussion content and activities in which the teens could share their views. Whether it was the boys learning what it means to be a girl in a relationship, or non-Hispanic immigrants learning what it means to be followed around a convenience store by a manager, the youth were gaining

perspective and empathy, dispelling stereotypes and preconceived ideas, and generating thoughts and solutions about how to improve the health and well-being of their communities. In the process, they were developing connections with other people and with society at large. These connections created a level of comfort that facilitated their acquisition of knowledge and understanding. Such connections also nurtured a sense of responsibility to others and provided a basis for the ability to work with diverse others.

Mimi's response in the post-survey at the end of the program reflects the change that many of the teens experienced between the time they started and finished the TEACH program.

> I feel that I'm part of a group and that I'm important to the group like everyone else. . . . Everyone knows each other and cares for each other in this program. Everyone gets along and there is nothing that we are embarrassed about, just like a family. . . . It seems to me that [the TEACH students] care and are thoughtful and sometimes this reminds me of Korea where everyone used to hang-out together. (MK, Survey, 1998)

Because of opportunities to affiliate with diverse others, share personal stories, and discuss embarrassing topics, Mimi was able to overcome her personal fears about people who were not Korean and to establish familial ties with diverse peers. In a city and neighborhood where she had long felt herself a stranger, Mimi found a community that was built around care, thoughtfulness, trust, and camaraderie. These are the qualities that Eliasoph (1998), Rosenblum (1999), and Sanjek (1998) suggest are necessary in order for people to become engaged and concerned citizens.

Supporting Social Affiliation through Intergenerational Interaction

When the teens began the program, they were not naturally inclined to socialize with peers from different ethnic groups. One undergraduate "noticed that students tended to congregate around computers where their friends were and that their friends consisted of people of similar ethnic backgrounds" (NB, 1999). Besides placing the teens in diverse small groups on Mondays and Thursdays so that they had to interact with peers they did not know, I structured community service opportunities so that they would have to interact across generations. The activities and interactions at their community service sites gave them a sense of camaraderie with children, peers, and

adults. Their service showed them that they could learn from others who were different and that they could relate to others who were also learning English. Chris observed, "Being bilingual helped me in TEACH because I can understand other people's feelings that don't speak English" (CC, 1999).

Working with immigrants from different backgrounds reduced the anxieties the youth had about others. Claire's interaction with a child from Thailand at her community service site demonstrates how learning about diverse others breaks down barriers to meaningful interaction.

> Today I help[ed] a girl from [Thailand]. It was cool. We had a conversation. We compared both countries. I share my ideas and how is my country. We talk about her country, [what] it look[s] like. We talked about language and food and everything. And she is lear[n]ing Spanish and other languages. . . . Also, I learn[ed] that if you study hard from the [beginning] your future [will] get more [easy] because a kid [learns new things very easily], a language, anything. Because they don't have [a] problem. [Their] mind is clean. (CL, 1999)

As Claire and the child learned about each other, Claire was making discoveries about herself and others. These discoveries dissolved stereotypes and taught Claire about humankind, geography, language, and food.

Claire's interactions with children and the diverse teens in the program were part of a change in Claire that occurred as she began to feel more comfortable with non-Hispanic people. At first she said that she liked to hang out only with Hispanics because "they speak Spanish. Americans and Asians are different, their culture is so different. I've always been afraid to say something bad, that I'd offend someone. My Spanish-speaking friends have similar interests and ways of viewing the world even though they all come from different countries" (CL, 1998). A semester later, an undergraduate interviewed Claire about her friends. Claire said, "Now I'm friends with some of the people I've met in TEACH. We don't talk about where we're from or our culture; we just understand each other 'cause we've moved from a [foreign] country to the U.S. We know what it's like to come here as strangers. I can be friends with Asians now cause we can share stories about where we come from" (CL, 1999). TEACH activities had provided Claire with an opportunity to get to know diverse peers and children in ways that challenged her stereotypes and reduced her anxieties. Sharing stories, talking about social issues, and

In a city and neighborhood where she had long felt herself a stranger, Mimi found a community that was built around care, thoughtfulness, trust, and camaraderie.

discovering commonalties with diverse others helped prepare Claire to work more comfortably with non-Latinos.

The participation of the undergraduate SHAs and research practicum students provided another opportunity for intergenerational interaction to help the teens build social networks outside their own community. A field note from one of the undergraduates illustrates how she served as a bridge for teens who spoke different languages.

> A few minutes later I noted that almost everyone sitting around the table I was at spoke in English. Except Carson and James who spoke in Chinese, or possibly a dialect of Chinese. I don't know what they were talking about. Also Claire and Alice were speaking in Spanish, discussing an upcoming dance show they will be performing in at school. I chimed in on their conversation in English, asking them what type of dance they were working on. Claire responded in Spanish, while Alice spoke to me in English. I mentioned that I am a dance minor at UCSD and that I teach dance at Carlsbad High School. Both Claire and Alice's eyes widened as they turned to one another smiling, then turned back to face me. Alice asked me in English what kind of dance I do and teach. I responded that I've done everything from African and Latin dance through Jazz and Modern. They told me their dance was Jazz. James then asked how long I have been dancing and I said since I was really young. Carson wanted to know what I liked about dancing. (NB, 1999)

By bringing a conversation in Spanish to a larger group where everyone shared English as their second language, the undergraduate helped James and Carson connect with Alice and Claire. Instead of several separate conversations in Chinese and Spanish, the table was now abuzz with students' talk about dance in English.

The opportunities for social affiliation provided by TEACH allowed the teens to learn from children, peers, and adults of different origins, backgrounds, and histories and to bond with these diverse others. They also developed connections to issues of concern to their communities and the larger society. Knowledge

> *Instead of several separate conversations in Chinese and Spanish, the table was now abuzz with students' talk about dance in English.*

about diverse others dispelled some of the teens' stereotypes and preconceived ideas. Their perspectives and relationships to the world around them began to broaden and change: Claire changed the way she thought and felt about non-Hispanics, Chris changed the way he thought and felt about women, and Mimi made friends with non-Korean students.

Developing Civic Involvement

While changes in how one thinks and feels about diverse others can lay a foundation for developing bridging social capital, actual participation in social networks outside the program was the next step along the continuum toward participation in diverse communities in adulthood. In the next set of examples, I will explore the relationship between social affiliation and civic involvement using data from and about Alice, Mimi, and Sal. This data illustrates how participation in TEACH increased these teens' sense of responsibility to others and changed their perception of their role in the community. The connections these three teens established to others and to the society at large nurtured a sense of belonging and responsibility—one component of civic involvement. All three continued to be involved, at varying levels, in service to others when they weren't participating in TEACH.

After a semester in TEACH, the teens were asked by the Boys and Girls Club if they would be interested in running a summer computer program for children similar to two programs at our community service sites. Alice was one of the first teens to volunteer. She was, according to the club's youth director, "instrumental in coordinating her peers" (RS, 1998). The teens had decided to call the program the "TEACH Summer Computer World." After working with children and other teens for a month, the teens decided to start a class in English and computers for adults. They developed curricula and a class schedule, set up babysitting for parents with children, and did publicity around their neighborhoods. According to the club staff member who supervised the youth,

> Alice put in the most time helping to set up and run the program. She got her friends to put up fliers in two neighborhoods and she knocked on people's doors to try and get parents to come. She took the lead in developing activities for parents who had

never worked on computers and for parents who wanted to learn English. (JP, 1998)

Although only four adults and a handful of kids showed up at either of the two classes during the four weeks they were offered, the experience demonstrates how Alice had learned to act on a sense of responsibility and commitment to the well-being of her community. Her participation in TEACH and as a community service volunteer gave her an opportunity to use her energy to improve community life. As a teen leader and coordinator, she worked both with children who came for the summer computer camp, who were mostly white children, and with Latino parents from her own community.

The school's bilingual coordinator, a year later, also recognized Alice's leadership skills and sense of responsibility for others:

> Alice has really picked up in her leadership skills. She is not a senior, but she was such an incredible leader that kids that were seniors actually came to her for help. . . . She would help kids with assignments they couldn't understand or couldn't finish. . . . She is more assertive, asking more questions, trying to get different information that she needed. Like, she is really being an advocate for herself and her peers. . . . She is also a good role model because of her own actions and she makes lots of positive choices. . . . Really staying away from drugs and alcohol and vocalizing that, and saying this is a choice I am making. . . . She has made changes because of the information she received in TEACH, like the information on teen pregnancy. I know she talks with a lot of the girls about that. . . . She has thought through career ideas. . . . She is assertive with teachers in a positive way. . . . She doesn't give up when she has difficulties. (NA, 1999)

After two semesters of involvement in the program, Alice had gained her teachers' respect and become a role model for her peers. Besides helping her peers with homework and computers, she was advocating for herself and her peers: taking charge, asking questions, and sharing information with the bilingual coordinator to her own and others' benefit. As she made smart choices about her future and let her friends know how important these choices were to her, Alice was modeling skills needed to engage in a social world that increasingly expands after high school.

Mimi, too, made connections through TEACH activities that set her on the road to community involvement. Her community service work with chil-

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dren changed her orientation both toward children and toward service. When Mimi started the program, she, like many of the TEACH teens, told us that she did not look forward to community service in general and, in particular, "seriously hated little kids [and] did not want to do anything with them" (MK, 1999). Her community service site targeted English language learners, most of whom were Latino. The more she interacted with the children, the more she learned from them.

> When we were playing games everyone worked as a group and worked together. . . . When you are a kid, it seems like it's easier to make friends and get along with each other. Today, I noticed that kids were just kids. I mean, they fight over little things and they become friends again in split seconds. I discovered a lot of things that adults should learn from the little kids. I think they really have a pure mind and a loving heart. (MK, 1998)

By watching this mixed group of children, Mimi learned how easy it can be to make and sustain friendships with diverse others. Her field note reflects what Nancy Rosenblum (1999) and Michael Schudson (1998) advocated when they discussed social aspects of citizenship and the importance of human relations: that interaction and tolerance are essential for citizens to work together.

By the end of her first semester of community service, Mimi felt good about herself because of what she was doing:

After two semesters of involvement in the program, Alice had gained her teachers' respect and become a role model for her peers.

> I really Realized the importance of the [community service] sites. Not only I can get the community service hours that college board is looking for but I can learn alot about these kids. Also I can get that feeling that's kind of hard to explain, but kind of a feeling that you've done something really great and something good. (MK, 1998)

Mimi had connected to her community service. She learned about kids, herself, and the value of helping others; she felt needed. The following fall semester, she continued to volunteer at her community service site though she was not participating in TEACH. When she enrolled again in TEACH seven months later, she brought a friend, and both volunteered at Mimi's community service site. By the time she graduated, she said that volunteering at her service site "changed the way I thought about the kinds of activities I'll become involved with in the future. I want to work with children when I get older and also, I want to open a similar program like this in Korea" (MK, 1999).

Similarly, Sal blossomed during his time with TEACH from shyness to a newfound trust in his own skills and his ability to help others; he became a significant player in the program. During the beginning of Sal's second semester in TEACH, an undergraduate asked for his help as she was trying to help a new participant paste a written document into an e-mail. She wrote,

> As we were winding up the final exercise, an Asian boy asked me a question about how to execute a particular function on the computer. I admitted that I was just as in the dark as he was. I then noticed that the boy seated to the left of him [Sal] had completed the task. I asked the second boy if he could show us how to complete the last portion of the assignment. His eyes widened as he shook his head with a fervent, "Of course! No problem." He asked the Asian boy where he was stuck, then he backtracked on his own computer so that both computer screens looked the same. Next, he used his own computer to guide the other boy through the necessary steps to completion. When they finished, the Asian boy thanked the other boy for his help and I did too. I pointed out that I wouldn't have known how to complete the task if it weren't for his assistance. (NB, 1999)

> By studying activities rather than programs, processes rather than outcomes, we can get a sense of some of the influences that can orient teens outward.

Sal was excited about the opportunity to help a peer and the undergraduate. Through their "engagement with others in a system of ongoing guidance and support" (Rogoff, 1994, p. 216), Sal and the other boy were learning how to function in community activities. The undergraduate was teaching the new teen how to ask for help and was fostering a level of comfort between the two teens. She recognized that being useful to others can be the basis for developing bridging social capital:

> I believe that the boy I asked to help us felt honored and acknowledged for his familiarity with the computer. . . . I think this interaction was also of importance since it gave the student that helped us (I believe he is of Middle Eastern background, but am not certain yet) a bridge through which he could connect with the Asian boy and myself. I know that in the future, I will feel comfortable approaching him with questions, and I believe that the Asian boy probably feels more at ease in asking for assistance from this peer in the future, as well. (NB, 1999)

Sal acquired the computer skills he used that day during his first semester in TEACH. He learned not only to set up an email account and use word processing but also to create web pages. He became so proficient that, during his second semester in the program, I asked him and three of his peers who had returned to TEACH to give an introduction to web surfing. Though Sal was uncomfortable and could not command the undivided attention of his classmates, he was able to convey the information needed to surf the web while protecting one's identity and privacy. During that same semester, Sal made a web page on eating disorders for his medicine and health career group.

After Sal had graduated, I needed a new computer instructor. I asked Sal to run the computer career class. Though he was going to school and working to pay for his education, he ran the class for three semesters without compensation. As a volunteer, Sal taught the basic four-week computer course and then taught a smaller group of teens how to make web pages. His improved English and increased self-confidence made him a good teacher. He not only took responsibility for helping other teens learn but also established social networks with

adults that gave him confidence in his abilities and provided a source of references for job and college applications. His web skills enabled him to get a job at a web design company during his freshman and sophomore years that helped pay his college expenses.

ACTIVITIES THAT FOSTER CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The TEACH data suggest that activities can foster civic engagement by providing a context in which teens can experience social affiliation. TEACH activities brought the youth together with diverse children, adults, and peers in small, intimate environments in order to establish community on a local level. In their community service, the Monday career groups, and the Thursday discussions, the teens were encouraged to teach, learn, express opinions, and challenge themselves. The informal small-group discussions, the intimacy of the activities, the relevance of the material, the intergenerational contact, and the opportunity to help others broadened the teens' perspectives. They learned to seek answers to difficult questions, to examine and interpret alternative points of view, and to reflect critically on society and their role in it. TEACH activities gave teens the opportunity to communicate with and trust diverse others, develop empathy, share what they had learned with their peers and community, and establish connections with the wider social world.

Foundations for the Development of Bridging Social Capital

Structuring activities to bring immigrant youth together with diverse peers, children, and adults can lay a foundation for developing bridging social capital. By studying activities rather than programs, processes rather than outcomes, we can get a sense of some of the influences that can orient teens outward. Knowing what activity configurations and elements of activities contribute to social affiliation, and recognizing what can happen within an activity to affect participation, can help youth workers organize activities that encourage immigrant youth to become engaged in community life.

For instance, if the objective of a program is to develop a connection to important societal issues, the activities should provide teens with the opportunity to analyze, critique, and discuss approaches to those issues. If the objective is to develop civic engagement, teens should perform community service with adult role models who demonstrate altruism through their participation with diverse others. If the objective is to promote social affiliation in community service, then teens should work with others, rather than alone, whether they are sorting clothes,

sealing envelopes, or caring for children. If the objective is to help immigrant youth develop bridging social capital, the program must set up activities that involve learning about and getting to know diverse others, not just those whom teens already know. Getting to know diverse others takes time and requires sharing one's beliefs, values, and experiences, which in turn means that participants are vulnerable to each other. Activities must therefore be structured to provide a supportive environment. Because the development of bridging social capital was one of our desired outcomes, TEACH activities were designed in such a way that the teens had opportunities to work with youth and adults from a variety of backgrounds and to acquire and share information in a variety of situations, so that they could feel connected to the society at large.

According to Eyler and Giles (1999), an appreciation of different cultures and the reduction of negative stereotypes are first steps in the process by which involvement affects interpersonal development. In the TEACH program, sustained exposure to diverse others in activities that required conversation and collaboration provided the teens with opportunities to recognize their similarities with their peers—in terms of ideas; beliefs; and the process of adjusting to adolescence, a new country, and a new culture—and to explore their differences. They could then use this information to rethink stereotypes and to develop empathy and new perspectives. In comparing their opinions on issues concerning their communities' health with those of their peers and adult mentors, they developed relationships outside their immediate circle of family and friends. In creating a community that differed from their home and school community, the teens were developing connections to the larger society. Many teens' orientation toward diversity changed because of these opportunities to affiliate with diverse others. Claire, for instance, discovered that she could be friends with Asians and enjoyed working with them at her service site, while Chris developed a greater respect for females.

The trust the teens developed for diverse others expanded their circle of relationships and laid a foundation for the development of bridging social capital. Sanjek (1998) saw and Putnam (2000) thought that such connections were needed to help communities resolve issues, build the long-term social relations that support society's well-being, and provide access to opportunities to get ahead. These connections also speak to Nina Eliasoph's (1998) observation that participation in a public arena helps cultivate a sense of community in which people can learn to care about the larger social world. The activities TEACH established were part of the process of develop-

ing social networks and building a "democracy of every-day life" (Rosenblum, 1999).

Questions for Further Research

Though participation in the TEACH program fostered relationships and increased understanding about diverse others among the teens, most of the connections between the teens were more like acquaintanceships than friendships. I knew from the pre-surveys that forming friendships was not a priority for most of the teens when they started the program. Of 40 pre-survey responses to questions asking what teens wanted to get out of the program, only one listed wanting to socialize with others, two listed wanting to learn how to work with people, and two listed wanting to meet new people. Nevertheless, I expected that more friendships would develop than actually did. Though some teens significantly increased their social circle within and outside of TEACH, only a few formed close friendships with peers they had not known prior to the program. For example, though Claire said that she overcame her hesitation about establishing relationships with non-Hispanic teens and could become friends with Asians, her only friends in the program were other Latinas. Of the five students I've focused on in this article, only Sal, Mimi, and Alice mixed socially or formed friendships with diverse teens at school, according to our liaison and several of the teens' teachers—and Mimi was the student who wrote in her pre-survey that she wanted to meet new people and make friends.

The trust the teens developed for diverse others expanded their circle of relationships and laid a foundation for the development of bridging social capital.

We did find that bridging social capital appeared to develop more often when the teens had to spend longer periods of time working together with their diverse peers either at the community service sites or in the career groups. Geographical considerations, compounded by carpools and friends' choices, affected the choice of service sites, so that many of the Asian and Middle Eastern teens went to a site near where they and their friends lived while the Latino students chose sites near their own homes. These considerations thus inhibited the development of relationships with diverse others. However, we also found that the career groups fostered bridging social capital when the teens divided into groups based on interest rather than on whether their friends were also going to be in the group.

Factors such as age, gender, personality, previous social experience, and parental orientation toward outside groups could also have affected the teens' orientation toward making new friends. These factors are worth investigating to see why more friendships were not established and what conditions are necessary to foster close friendships with diverse others. Is it that teens need to spend more social time with diverse peers, or do they need to have grown up with them? Exploring the development of friendships, or lack thereof, would help us better understanding how bridging social capital is established and sustained, and how it affects immigrant youth. It may be that formation of close friendships is unnecessary for the development of bridging social capital. It may also be the case that acquaintanceships and a level of comfort with diverse others are building blocks that lead to bridging social capital. If either of these are true, then the kinds of connections TEACH activities enabled its participants to form may well have provided the teens with a foundation for bridging social capital.

Participation in TEACH did not lead the teens to engage more in the school community. None of the teens participated more in extracurricular activities except one for which they received school credit.[17] However, TEACH did foster a sense of community outside of school that the teens recognized as important and valuable, as shown by their responses in the post-

They returned because they came to see the program as a comfortable and safe place to explore their adolescent experiences with other immigrant and minority teens.

surveys, by the number who continued with community service, and by the fact that 46 percent of them took the course more than once. They returned because they came to see the program as a comfortable and safe place to explore their adolescent experiences with other immigrant and minority teens. Claire and Sal summed up the feelings of many of the TEACH students. Claire wrote that the TEACH students were "more interested in [learning] material and take themselves more seriously" than others at the school. "We seek out answers and like discussing issues" (CL, 1999). Sal wrote, "there have been days in which I didn't go to school but I went to TEACH program. It doesn't feel like a classroom. It feels more like a room with a bunch of teenagers who want to learn

about their community and participate in different activities" (SE, 1999). Thus, even if the sense of community that teens got from their participation in TEACH did not transfer to a sense of belonging to the school, knowing more people reduced the teens' isolation in school. The teens could talk with others, for instance, in their ESL classes, with whom they would not otherwise have engaged. In addition, they could feel more comfortable in social situations that required interacting with diverse others. This comfort may have contributed to the fact that almost half of the teens participated in community service after TEACH.[18]

A last issue for further exploration lies in the fact that the majority of teens did not take greater advantage of the mentoring opportunities TEACH provided. The teens did embrace opportunities to establish relationships with undergraduates and adults in the program and at their community service sites; they did not avoid adults who were not from their own community. Yet, despite the benefits of affiliating with adults, the teens rarely drew on their new adult social network. Only a handful of teens asked for our assistance in filling out college and financial aid forms. Only a few—only Sal in the group of five I focused on—asked me or the undergraduates for letters of recommendation for a job. In addition, one of my assistants and I were the only adults to establish relationships with the teens that included socializing outside of the program. We met with several different groups of girls for meals on occasion during the summer, and two teens invited me to their graduation—but only a handful of the teens were included in these groups. Without opportunities to spend time with them at home and school, I had no information about any social capital they might have been getting from adults at school or in their communities. Knowing the sources teens use to build social capital could provide more information about how and when bonding and bridging social capital develop. Examining other sources of social capital would tell us whether afterschool programs are redundant or rather provide opportunities teens might not otherwise have. It would also be important to ascertain whether language, cultural, or age barriers caused discomfort for some teens. Finally, understanding how teens valued adult mentorship and what they expected from it could also serve other youth workers who try to establish and maintain productive mentoring relationships.

Acquiring bridging social capital is a process rooted in relations and activities. Though the teens did not necessarily establish bridging social capital in TEACH or establish close friendships with their peers and adult

mentors, they did start to acquire the tools necessary to work successfully with diverse others in colleges, workplaces, community groups, political meetings, and voluntary organizations. They improved their communication skills, broke down barriers, and developed a community. They acquired a greater sense of responsibility and commitment to their own communities and to society—and acted on that commitment. Focusing on the activities that foster social affiliation, and on the role social affiliation plays in developing civic engagement in immigrant youth, is a focus on possibilities: the possibilities for growth and future success that can happen when youth get to know diverse others and learn about issues of concern for the broader society. If afterschool programs can help young people form productive social networks, then they can become places where the sons and daughters of immigrant parents gain access to the invisible networks of relationships that facilitate success for the children of native-born or more privileged families.

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NOTES

[1] According to the 2000 Census, 11 percent of the United States' population, or 31 million people, are foreign-born. Over eight million of those immigrants are from Asia, while 16 million are from Latin America. Five percent of children in the first through twelfth grades are foreign-born, 20 percent have at least one foreign-born parent, and over 10 percent speak a language other than English at home. In California, where TEACH is located, one out of every four students was born outside the U.S. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

[2] Here are a few examples of some of these social and economic realities: Only 51.3 percent of all Hispanics and 43.6 percent of Mexican Americans aged 25 or over have at least a high school education. Hispanics have lower family incomes and higher unemployment rates than non-Hispanics and, because of their concentration in lower-income jobs, higher rates of employment do not improve their socioeconomic situation (National Council of La Raza, 1992). Central American immigrant families have the highest unemployment and lowest-level occupational status (McCloskey, Southwick, Fernandez-Esquer, & Locke, 1995) because most are without working papers, which leaves them susceptible to exploitation by employers who pay reduced wages for service jobs.

[3] Only when the Boys Club changed to the Boys and Girls Clubs did the organization shift its focus from male youth to youth of both genders from all races and classes.

[4] For additional literature on the success of afterschool programs, see www.afterschoolalliance.org; Bradford (1991); Hattie, Marsh, Neil, & Richards (1997); Schinke, Orlandi, & Cole (1992); St. Pierre, Mark, Kaltreider, & Aiken (1995).

[5] The significant difference between community service and service learning is that the latter has an educational component that often includes reflection and incorporation into a class curriculum while the main component of the former is service.

[6] According to data from the National Service-Learning Clearinghouse based at the University of Minnesota, the number of students engaged in high school service learning increased 363 percent from approximately 2.7 million in 1984 to 12.5 million in 1997. By 1999, 64 percent of all public schools, including 83 percent of public high schools, had students participating in community service activities (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1999).

[7] A lack of school success, rejection by peers and teachers, and prejudice can not only lead to feelings of

marginalization, but can also be related to higher rates of dropping out of school than in native-born populations (Ogbu, 1996; Olneck, 1995). This has been found to be true in some Hispanic communities (Horowitz, 1983; Suarez-Orozco, 1989) and in some Asian and Pacific Islander communities (Kiang, 1990; Lee, 1996; Pang, 1995).

[8] It is not true that all youth experience parental conflicts. Arredondo (1984) and Gibson (1988) have shown that many immigrant youth maintain non-conflictual relationships with their parents during adolescence.

[9] These statistics were provided by Ten Palms High School for the 1998–1999 and 1999–2000 school years.

[10] The majority of Hispanics were immigrants from Mexico; a minority came from other countries in Central America. The Asian students were mostly from Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, India, and Japan; the Middle Easterners were from Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan.

[11] We offered high school credit for a psychology class during our second semester and were able to offer participants both university extension credit and AP (Advanced Placement) credits at the high school by our third semester. This AP credit signified that the grade they received on their high school transcript was one grade higher than the grade they received from the university for participating in TEACH.

[12] I refer to the undergraduates as *observer-participants* because their primary task was observation while their secondary task was participation. Their participation, however, was different from that of the SHAs, who planned the sessions and knew in advance what was going to happen.

[13] There were several reasons I did not control for age. The group of Hispanic TEACH students included many 16-year-old freshmen, many 16- and 17-year-old sophomores, and several 18-year-old juniors.

[14] Teens who were not members of my five-student sample are identified by their initials only.

[15] We were told, by a panel of teen mothers and by several of our own girls who got pregnant and had children, that the experience of motherhood often improved their relationships with their parents, generated respect and a higher status from other community members, allowed them a greater degree of familial independence, and made them feel more mature.

[16] Where I thought it necessary for clarification, I have corrected the students' writing in brackets.

[17] The bilingual coordinators were asked to keep track of the teens' involvement in school activities and report back if any were involved. During three of the five years we ran the program, the school offered an elective for credit to Hispanic girls to help boost their self-esteem. Fewer than 10 of the program's teens regularly participated in this group.

[18] We conducted phone interviews with the teens in the spring of 2001. Of the 43 with whom we were able to speak, 21 had been involved in community service after their involvement in TEACH.