After-School Programs: How They Affect Black Male Development and Educational Progress*

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Abstract

In this study, we review research on after-school programs, activities, and arrangements that support Black youth's positive academic, social, and emotional development. We then analyze data collected from 28 after-school programs funded under the W. K. Kellogg African American Men and Boys Initiative. Numerous community-based programs assist African American men and boys lead meaningful lives. Despite depressing statistics, most Black males lead productive, positive lives. This paper confirms that the massive failure and incarceration of Black males in American society is not inevitable. We present systematic evidence of alternative outcomes. We also show

examples, models and procedures that can effectively stem the tide of failure among African American men and boys. Nevertheless, far too many African American men and boys continue to "crash and burn" in the negative activities of drugs, violence, incarceration, and wasted lives. Concerning public policy, funding must be maintained and expanded for existing and new school and community-based after-school centers. These programs should provide structured activities focused on academic enhancement, reading, mathematics, and verbal skills. Black males who "go wrong" receive disproportionate attention in the media compared to the greater majority of Black males who lead upstanding, decent, productive lives. Also neglected are the individuals, groups, organizations, and institutions that produce admirable, high achieving African American men and boys. The fact that this is true is a sobering commentary on race, stereotypes, and inequality in American society.

The challenge facing scholars and practitioners today is how to learn from the experiences of Black males who somehow manage to negotiate the treacherous terrain between their goals and hopes for a better life and environments strewn with negative pitfalls. Once we more clearly understand this "Black Box" of resources, opportunities, socialization and support that leads Black males off pathways of destruction and puts them on pathways of success, we will then be better able to intervene effectively in the lives of African American men and boys. The sad fact remains that we continue to lose far too many Black males with devastating consequences for their families, communities, and the larger society. Denied opportunities to realize their potential and to become productive, contributing members of our society, these individuals represent lost, wasted resources.

The goal of the present article is twofold. The first aim is to provide a literature review of research that explores after-school programs, activities, and arrangements that enable Black youth to develop academically, socially, and emotionally. The second goal is to report results from survey data on 28 after-school programs working with African American men and boys. This second step demonstrates how youth involvement in structured activities with positive adult guidance and one-on-one mentorship appears to produce positive outcomes. These outcomes include reduced

delinquency, school performance/outcomes improvement, future job and educational goal setting, and increased self-awareness. We also hope to identify important structural and treatment delivery aspects that enable these programs to achieve positive results in youths' lives.

This paper assumes that when young people work towards maintaining a balanced healthy lifestyle, their social, personal, and academic lives will be positively influenced. As the first step in a larger research project, this paper does not present multivariate analyses or controls. Nonetheless, we suggest that community-based after-school programs can help to affect youths' total lifestyles in a positive and healthy manner. Our review of the survey data and our review of the research literature combine to demonstrate that community- and school-based after-school programs can help to improve the social, academic, and emotional development of young people through mentorship, structured activities, and remedial curricula.

Literature Review

The following section summarizes 24 research articles evaluating programs or curricula targeting school-aged children and the effect of these programs on various outcome measures of student success. A brief summary will be given of the age groups evaluated within these studies, the types of programs and curricula implemented, and the data-gathering methods used within the studies. In addition, this section will explore the evidence these studies provided to demonstrate that the participants successfully received a treatment or benefits from the program/curriculum offered. Finally, the significant outcomes found among these studies will be discussed. The study's outcomes will be discussed in terms of the Clark "Eight 'Selves' of the Whole Person" framework, which adopts a holistic view on healthy child development that emphasizes the need for growth in eight key areas[1]

The following research pieces explored various types of after-school arrangements for youth aged 6 to 18 years. For the purposes of this review, the various after-school arrangements were categorized into three areas. The first category focused on extracurricular activities and organized sports involvement of youth (38 percent). The second category explored the effects of various types of after-school care arrangements for children (38 percent). Here the research

focus is mainly on the types of supervision for children and not necessarily on the types of programs in which the youth were enrolled. The third category of studies reviewed examined the effects of community- and school-based after-school programs (25 percent). These programs tended to provide tutorial and/or mentoring services for young people. Among the studies examined, the age group most frequently evaluated (50 percent) was elementary school-aged children, 6 to 13 years of age. The majority of these articles (54 percent) used a mixture of data-gathering methods — surveys, questionnaires, achievement test data, interviews, observations and official school records — to explore the effect of these programs on student success outcomes.

Age Groups Evaluated

Of the 24 studies reviewed, 13 (54 percent) examined curricula that targeted elementary school-aged children (Baker and Witt 1995; Bernman, Winkleby, Chesterman and Boyce 1992; Hastad, Segrave, Pangrazi and Petersen 1984; Huang, Gribbons, Kim and Lee 2000; Marshall, Coll, Marx, McCartney, Keefe and Ruh 1997; Pettit, Laird, Bates and Dodge 1997; Posner and Vandell 1994, 1999; Rosenthal and Vandell 1996; Scales, George and Morris 1997; Schinke, Cole and Poulin 2000; Vandell and Corasaniti 1988; Vandell and Ramanan 1991). Of these studies, the majority focused on third through fifth graders. The second largest age group examined was high school-aged children. Six (25 percent) of the articles explored programs in which high school students were involved (Bell 1967; Landers and Landers 1978; Lueptow 1984; Marsh 1992; Melnick, Vonfosen, and Sabo 1988; Rehberg and Schafer 1967/68). Four (17 percent) of the studies examined a mixture of age groups. Kahane, Nagoaka, Brown, O'Brien, Quinn, and Thiede (2001) examined sixth- through tenth-grade students' experiences in community programs. Bredemeier and Shields (1984) examined high school- and college-aged students and Tierney, Grossman and Resch (1995) examined students aged 10 through 16. Allen and Clark (1998) examined twenty-eight primarily community-based programs that had a varied age group of clients served from elementary school age to teenagers and adults. Only one (5 percent) of the articles, Gerber (1996), examined junior high-aged children.

Type of Program/Curriculum Evaluated

Of the studies reviewed, 38 percent explore the influence of participation in organized sports and other types of extracurricular activities. These activities are either community- or school-based (Bell 1967; Bredemeier and Shields 1984; Gerber 1996; Hastad et al. 1984; Landers and Landers 1978; Lueptow 1984; Marsh 1992; Melnick et al. 1988; Rehberg and Schafer 1967/68). These articles focused on the effect of students' participation in organized sports, and school and community leadership activities have on either their school achievement or deviant behavior. The extracurricular activities included sports teams, service and/or school leadership activities. All of these articles focus on either middle school or high school students except Hastad et al. (1984), who examined sixth graders' organized sport participation. The third set of programs these studies explore focuses on students' extracurricular participation.

The second set of studies explores after-school care arrangements (38 percent). This type of care pertains to the sort of daycare the students received during after-school hours. Under this category, the type of care varied from community-based day care centers to parental care in the home. Some of these arrangements had organized programs for the youth; however, the primary focus of the arrangements evaluated under this category was the type of supervision children received. Categories of type of care often included parental care, other adult daycare sibling, or self-care. In addition, the studies included the number of days that children had sports or music lessons. All of these studies focused on elementary school-aged children (Baker and Witt 1995; Bernman et al. 1992; Marshall et al. 1997; Pettit et al. 1997; Posner and Vandell 1994, 1999; Rosenthal and Vandell 1996; Vandell and Corasaniti 1988; Vandell and Ramanan 1991).

A third set of studies explored community-based programs. The after-school programs examined were based in the youth participants' communities, and the curricula of the programs distinctly focused on the academic, social, and emotional development of the student. Six of the studies examined (25 percent) fall under this category. Five of these studies examined specific community-based or school-based programs. Scales et al. (1997)

examined the effects of student participation in a church-based after-school tutorial program. Schinke et al. (2000) explored the effects on school outcomes of participation in Boys and Girls Clubs' educationally enhanced facilities versus non-participation. Similarly, Tierney et al. (1995) focused on the impact of the Big Brothers and Big Sisters mentoring experiences on 10- through 16-year-olds. Huang et al. (2000) evaluated the impact of LA's BEST after-school program. In addition, Allen and Clark (1998) examined twenty-eight programs that worked with African American men and boys programs funded by the Kellogg Foundation. The sixth study, Kahane et al. (2001) explored surveyed youth who attended various after-school programs, as well as three specific community-based programs.

Evidence Presented that Youth Received Treatment

A key to making a claim that observable outcomes are a result of participation in a certain type of program is the ability of researchers to show that youth participants in the program actually received some sort of "treatment" during their participation in an after-school activity or school activity. Many of the articles summarized did not present concrete evidence that program participants received a specific treatment. Thirty-three percent of the studies reviewed used student self-reports to demonstrate that the youth participants received some sort of treatment or care from the programs in which they participated (Bernman et al. 1992; Bredemeier and Shields 1984; Gerber 1996; Hastad et al. 1984; Kahane et al. 2001; Marsh 1992; Melnick et al. 1988; Rehberg and Schafer 1967/68). Many of these questionnaires asked the students about the programs in which they participated: however, controls were not used to measure the differing amounts of time spent in such activities among the students. These studies tended to focus on student extracurricular activities, except one (Bernman et al. 1992) that focused on after-school care arrangements.

Another segment of the studies (25 percent) used authoritative reports by a parent/guardian, teacher, or school principal to demonstrate that some treatment was received by students (Baker and Witt 1995; Bell 1967; Marshall et al. 1997; Pettit et al. 1997; Vandell and Corasaniti 1988; Vandell and Ramanan 1991). The majority of these studies reported on students' after-school care arrangements.

A third set of studies (13 percent) solely used records (high school directories and local newspapers) to determine whether students participated in certain extracurricular activities (Huang et al. 2001; Landers and Landers 1978; Lueptow 1984).

A good portion (29 percent) of the studies reviewed used multiple sources to determine not only the type of program participation, but also the extent to which youth spent time in the program (Allen and Clark 1998; Posner and Vandell 1994, 1999; Rosenthal and Vandell 1996; Scales et al. 1997; Schinke et al. 2000; Tierney et al. 1995). These studies often combined parent, child, and program director reports about the type of curriculum in which students participated. Both the Posner and Vandell studies (1994, 1999) used a combination of parent interviews, teacher reports, and student interviews and diaries to construct the participants' daily schedules and time spent at each activity.

In terms of fidelity, or the accuracy of the description of youths' program participation, the studies that employed self-reports or authoritative-reports are classified as having low to moderate fidelity. This type of evidence, where youth received treatments, indicates that the youth actually participated in the program discussed. However, the majority of these reports fail to indicate the amount of time youth spent in the programs. Many even indicate that the type of after-school care or program participation varied during the week. For example, Marshall et al. (1997) recognized that youth might have received many different types of after-school care arrangements. When multiple types of care were received, the "more formal arrangement" was observed, "provided that the child was in that care arrangement for at least five hours per week or two afternoons" (Marshall et al. 1997, p. 502). This is problematic in that the salience of the after-school care program is not being determined. A child may benefit from a program or, on the other hand, be hindered by a particular type of care in only one afternoon a week. This study and similar studies fail to demonstrate that a consistent pattern of participation existed and that in fact the level of involvement varied.[2] While varying types of after-school care may be typical of elementary school children's lives, it is difficult to make causal assumptions about the type of care and the outcome measure because the type of care and/or participation may be irregular. This is problematic because

we do not know which type of program influenced the outcome under study.

The studies that used multiple indicators of evidence that youth received treatment from their program participation have high levels of fidelity. These studies contrast parent, student and program director reports of the child's participation in the program; in addition, many of the studies interviewed the children to create a daily schedule of their activities.

Data-Gathering Methods

The majority of studies evaluated (54 percent) used a mixture of research methods to measure the outcomes of the programs evaluated (Bell 1967; Bredemeier et al. 1984; Gerber 1996; Marshall et al. 1997; Melnick et al. 1988; Pettit et al. 1997; Posner and Vandell 1994, 1999; Rosenthal and Vandell 1996; Schinke et al. 2000; Tierney et al. 1995; Vandell and Corasaniti 1988; Vandell and Ramanan 1991). Various methods combined included teacher, student, and parent questionnaires; student or parent interviews; observations; official school records; and student time-use questionnaires. Another set of articles (29 percent) used only questionnaires or surveys. Four of these studies used only student questionnaires (Bernman et al. 1992; Hastad et al. 1984; Kahane et al. 2001; Marsh 1992; Rehberg and Schafer 1967/68); one (Scales et al. 1997) used a combination of parent, student, and tutor questionnaires; and one used surveys from student participants and program directors. Another set of articles (17 percent) used official records, including senior yearbooks, delinquency court records, graduation lists, school achievement records, and school districts' archival data to explore the relationship between extracurricular activities and positive school and social behavior (Baker and Witt 1995; Huang et al. 2000; Landers and Landers 1978; Lueptow 1984).

The data analysis methodologies varied from descriptive statistics and cross-tabulations (Bernman et al. 1992; Rehberg and Schafer 1967/68) to various multiple regression techniques (Gerber 1996; Huang et al. 2000; Marsh 1992; Marshall et al. 1997; Melnick et al. 1988; Schinke et al. 2000; Tierney et al. 1995; Rosenthal and Vandell 1996). In addition, tests were conducted to make comparisons between groups who participated in certain types of programs and those who did not (Bell 1967; Bredemeier et al. 1984; Hastad et al. 1984; Pettit et al. 1997; Posner and Vandell 1994 and 1999; Scales et

al. 1997); tests such as ANOVA and MANOVA were conducted to analyze relationships between key variables (Bell 1967; Vandell and Corasaniti 1988; Vandell and Ramanan 1991). In some instances, analyses that are more detailed were conducted using Rasch analysis (Kahane et al. 2001) and cross-lagged panel analysis (Lueptow 1984).

Significant Outcomes

Findings from the literature summarized above can be discussed in terms of the Clark "Eight 'Selves' of the Whole Person." The eight "selves" address different developmental aspects of a maturing child: These areas include the physical, sexual, intra-personal, spiritual, emotional/feeling, ethical/moral, mental/cognitive and linguistic, and the social/interpersonal. Maturity or development in each area is measured by healthy, effective choice making and expansion of skill sets in each area. Healthy growth and development of the eight selves place young people in the best position to deal with life effectively, find a measure of happiness and contentment, and motivate themselves to believe in possibility. Of the studies that could be classified, few could be arranged under more than one category, as noted below.

The physical developmental arena encompasses the child's physical-biological growth (able to maintain good physical health, especially nutrition, hygiene, and appearance). Measures of physical self-development include health care maintenance; avoiding drug use, alcohol and/or smoking; and the amounts of sleep and physical activity a child obtains.

Three articles reported significant outcomes pertaining to the physical self of children. Hastad et al. (1984) found after comparison of deviant behavior among youth sport participants and non-participants aged 11 to 13 years, the participants reported 10 percent less drug-related participation. Along the same lines, Tierney et al. (1995) found that youth aged 10 to 16 years of age who participated in the Boys and Girls mentoring program showed a negative change in their initiation of drug use (-46 percent). In addition, this study found a 27 percent decrease in participants' initiation of alcohol use and a decrease of 32 percent in the number of times participants said they hit someone. Similarly, Allen and Clark (1998) found in the pre-test that most of the youth participants in the Kellogg African

American Men and Boys (AAMB) programs[3] reported that they do not smoke, drink or do drugs, and have not gotten in trouble with the law. In the post-test, participants' use of cigarettes, alcohol, and drugs remained constant. In addition, the youth reported that negative involvement with the law did not increase during their participation in the programs. All three studies used self-reported data for measurement of students' deviant activities. These studies showed that participation in extracurricular activities decreased the likelihood of delinquent behaviors.[4]

The sexual self-developmental area, similar to the physical self, is classified as an aspect of the physical-biological maturity of a child. None of the articles reviewed focused on this area of development.[5] The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth selves are all aspects of the personal character development of children. When children have positive intrapersonal selves, it allows them to show a strong sense of self; they will exhibit self-confidence, a healthy personality, positive identity, and be able to motivate herself. This skill set involves a strong sense of self and the ability to envision high levels of success.

One of the articles reviewed explored the effects of after-school care on the development of the intrapersonal self of children. Marshall et al. (1997) used data from a three-wave longitudinal study of elementary school children in Boston. The dependent variable, the internalizing and externalizing problems scale, was designed from the Conners Parent Rating Scales (CPRS) to assess children's behavior adjustment. The scale included measures to assess conduct disorders, anxiety, restlessness, disorganization, and psychosomatic, obsessive-compulsive, and antisocial behaviors. This study found that mothers or guardians of lower-income children reported greater externalization problems among their children who were in unsupervised care situations (self-care or sibling care) and fewer internalization problems among children who attended after-school programs.

A fourth personal character aspect refers to the spiritual self, which includes the active pursuit of a path that seeks the meaning of one's existence. A measure of this maturity aspect includes self-talk or meditation, music, dance, prayer, and/or ritual. Only two articles examined spiritual aspects of youth development. The Allen and Clark (1998) research reported the inclusion of questions to youth

participants about their spiritual activities. These researchers found that at Time 2, youth participants slightly increased the amount of time spent in worship and spiritual activities. Scales et al. (1997) offer a descriptive analysis of students' and parents' perceptions of a church-based after-school program. Youth participants were asked in questionnaires whether the church program was perceived as helping the young people to improve in their academic subjects at school and in their family relationships at home. The study found that a larger percentage of females than males related positively to attending choral music rehearsal.

A fifth aspect of a child's personal character growth includes the emotional/feeling self. This developmental aspect includes a child's ability to create positive social bonds/attachments and to understand multiple perspectives on issues. Measures of this self-development area include the child's level of self-awareness and attitude or outlook toward life. Other indicators of the emotional/feeling self include level of motivation, management of feelings, propensity to self-pity, and level of self-talk.

Similar to the Marshall et al. (1997) study of the emotional/feeling self, Bernman et al. (1992) found that children cared for by older siblings might be at greater risk for negative self-esteem. In addition, Pettit et al. (1997) found that high amounts of self-care predicted poorer behavior adjustment, even after controlling for socioeconomic status and prior adjustment. All three studies focused on elementary school-aged children. While the findings are similar, each study used different indicators to measure the emotional state of the children under study. Where Marshall et al. used parent ratings to measure the children's emotional state, Bernman et al. operationalized self-esteem using student self-report questionnaires, asking students about self-appraisal and relative self-worth. Pettit et al. measured student adjustment based on teacher ratings of their students' social skills, competence, and externalizing and internalizing behavior problems.

The following three studies on children's emotional/feeling self showed that mentorship through structured, community-based after-school care programs helped to improve student participants' attitudes toward the future as well as their relationships with family members. In an evaluation of extracurricular activities, Rehberg and

Schafer (1967/68) found a positive association between educational expectations and extracurricular participation. The relationship was strongest for respondents least positively disposed toward a college education, and weakest for respondents most disposed toward a college education. Rehberg and Schafer measured educational expectations using a fixed-response item that requested respondents to indicate how far they actually expected to go in school. This study suggests that participation in interscholastic athletics helps to increase children's valuation of education and adds to positive motivation for the future. However, this relationship is an interactive one, limited to students who are least positively disposed toward a college education.

Along similar lines, the Tierney et al. (1995) evaluation of the Big Brothers and Big Sisters community mentoring program demonstrated that program participation produced a 2 percent increase in the quality of family relationships, a 3 percent increase in participants' trust in their parents, and a 37 percent decrease in respondents' saying they lie to their parents. The attitudinal measures were typically scales created from a series of items or questions combined to form a single measure, and behavioral outcomes were typically based on the responses to single questions. For example, the relationship with family was measured with the use of four scales from the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment and had questions that focused on communication, trust, anger, and alienation subscales. Thus, this study again suggests that program participation helps to increase the development of children's emotional/feeling self positively by helping children create positive social attachments.

Similar to the Rehberg and Schafer (1967/68) and the Tierney et al. (1995) research, the Allen and Clark (1998) study found that generally youth participants in the Kellogg AAMB programs were able to form attachments to responsible coaches, educators, and/or employers/clients. This pattern was confirmed by the correlation between the number of months that volunteers were involved in the program and the better attitude of the youth participants as indicated in their self-report responses. Many of the programs made effective use of mentoring strategies to help participants establish and/or maintain stable, success-oriented lifestyles. Through the bonds and relationships that were established between the young people and

adult mentors, these programs were able to reinforce core values for school, work, and life. In many cases, negative behaviors displayed by youth participants before they entered the programs were reversed. Research reported by Rehberg and Schafer, Tierney et al., and Allen and Clark suggests that mentoring relationships formed in community-based programs can allow youth participants to create positive social bonds and attachments to positive role models. In turn, these young participants are more receptive to the positive messages and mentoring offered by the programs.

The sixth aspect that leads to young people's personal character development is their ethical/moral self. This skill set provides young people with the ability to display ethical values, cope with crises and challenges, show integrity and responsibility, and have the ability to be proactive. Measurements of the ethical/moral self in young people can include involvement in delinquent activities and civic behavior. Specific indicators include service to the community, participation in social activities and clubs, and relationships with mentors, or adult-youth interactions.

Four studies have outcomes that can be classified under the ethical/moral self. In an attempt to explore the different effects of sports and everyday life contexts on the moral reasoning of athletes and non-athletes, Bredemeier and Shields (1984) used Haan's interactional model of moral development. This model is a five-level model characterization of moral growth, which focuses on the processes used when people seek intersubjective "moral balances" regarding rights and obligations. This study found that sports participants' levels of moral reasoning when discussing sports dilemmas were lower than levels characterizing reasoning about issues within everyday life contexts. Thus, moral reasoning for athletic participants varies according to the type of moral dilemma proposed. However, extracurricular participation may have positive affects on actual behavior.

Concerning the direct relationship between extracurricular activities and delinquent behavior, the following three studies found that participation helped to prevent young people's negative behavior. Landers and Landers' (1978) study of extracurricular activities examined rates of delinquency as an indicator of ethical and moral behavior. This study found that among male high school students,

rates of delinquency were highest for students not engaged in extracurricular activities. Similarly, Melnick et al. (1988) found a modest negative relationship between sports involvement and delinquency. As noted earlier, Hastad ei al. (1984) found a negative relationship between youth sport participation and deviancy. This study found that sports participants reported .07 percent less school-related deviance, 5.4 percent less non-school related deviance, and 9.2 percent less composite deviancy than youth who did not participate in sports. The negative association was particularly pronounced for boys.

The seventh self involves intellectual aspects of a young person's development. The mental/cognitive and linguistic skill set involves the youth's ability to comprehend and analyze school activities, including reading, writing, listening, speaking, and computation. Measurements of this skill set generally include school grades, standardized tests, and out-of-school learning through tutoring.

Overall, the studies of the mental/cognitive and linguistic self found that participation in extracurricular activities was positively related to academic achievement. Of the studies that examined academic achievement, four examined after-school care (Baker and Witt 1995; Posner and Vandell 1994, 1999; Vandell and Corasaniti 1988). This set of articles focused on the type of supervision children received during the after-school hours. A second set of articles focused on community-based programs (Allen and Clark 1998; Huang et al. 2000; Schinke et al. 2000; Tierney et al. 1995); this group of studies explored the effects of youth participation in community programs intended to improve children's social, academic and emotional development. A third group of articles explored the effects of youth participation in organized extracurricular activities (Bell 1967; Gerber 1996; Melnick et al. 1988; Rehberg and Schafer 1967/68). The articles under the sports and extracurricular category explored a mixture of activities, including sports participation and leadership activities.

The definition and indicators used for academic achievement varied slightly among these studies that focused on mental/cognitive outcomes. Researchers' measurements for achievement included levels of academic involvement (time spent in learning activities), standardized test scores, grade point averages, and school report cards. Among the three studies that examined the relationship between

after-school care and academic achievement, the researchers measured achievement by using a combination of school report cards, students' grade point averages, and standardized test scores. For example, Vandell and Corasaniti (1988) used school report cards and students' cumulative grade point averages as indices of students' academic grades. In addition, these researchers used standardized test scores from the California Test of Basic Skills, the Cognitive Abilities Test, the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, and the Texas Assessment of Basic Skills.

The three studies that explored the connection between students' involvement in community-based programs and academic achievement used two different indicators for the outcome variable. Schinke et al. (2000) focused on the level of student participants' academic involvement, such as their engagement in reading and their enjoyment of tutoring, reading, and verbal skills. Similarly, Allen and Clark (1998) examined program participants' involvement in the after-school program and its connection to the amount of time they spent in other constructive out-of-school activities and their academic learning activities. However, Tierney et al. (1995) employed the more conventional measures of school success, relying on a combination of students' grades, scholastic competency exams, and the number of classes and days skipped during the school year. Similarly, Huang et al. (2000) measured student academic success using standardized tests of mathematics, reading, and language arts. This study found that involvement in the LA's BEST school-based program, for at least four years, helped to increase students' school attendance, which in turn helped to improve the students' performance on standardized exams, controlling for their gender, ethnicity, and income and language status.

Like the community-based programs, the two studies that examined students' extracurricular participation and academic outcomes used measurements of academic involvement and standardized exams. Resembling the Schinke et al. (2000) research, Bell (1967) examined school involvement as a key indicator for academic success by comparing students who remained in school with those who dropped out of school. Consistent with the majority of other articles that explored academic outcomes, Gerber (1996) used standardized exams, specifically math, reading and science

cognitive tests, to represent academic achievement.

Other measures of this developmental area include educational and occupational aspirations. Two studies found positive relationships between extracurricular participation and a youth's future educational and occupational aspirations. Melnick et al. (1988) reported modest support between athletic participation and educational aspirations. In their review of community-based after-school programs, Allen and Clark (1998) found that most youth participants and teen/adult participants had career goals for high-status occupations. Between the pre-test and the post-test, the percentage of youth participants who wanted to work in the entertainment industry or as professional athletes declined. The career aspirations of program participants included middle- and upper-class professions such as law, medicine, engineering, and teaching. In addition, at Time 2 a significant increase occurred in the number of youth participants who reported their educational goal was to earn at least a college bachelor's degree. This finding could be partly attributed to the moderate correlation between the variable measuring the amount of time spent with adults and the youth's increased self-awareness.

These eleven studies demonstrate a need for a combination of measurements for academic outcomes that include the universal standardized tests and grade point averages in tandem with indicators of students' academic involvement and educational aspirations. When using these measurements for academic achievement, researchers found significant positive relationships between students' participation in structured after-school activities and academic achievement.

Bell (1967) showed a significant difference between extracurricular participation among students who remained in high school versus those who dropped out. Similarly, Gerber (1996) found that the extent of participation in extracurricular activities was positively related to academic achievement. Participation in school-related activities was more strongly associated with achievement than was participation in non-school related extracurricular activities. Along similar lines, other studies showed that participation in formal after-school programs positively affected participants' academic achievement (Posner and Vandell 1994, 1999; Schinke et al. 2000;

Tierney et al. 1995). Vandell and Corasaniti (1988) contrasted outcomes of children placed in various types of after school care, including, home care with their mother, latch-key programs, day care centers and care through baby sitters. The researchers among other things found that children who did not attend day care centers after school received more negative peer nominations, made lower academic grades, and had lower standardized test scores. The authors caution to keep in mind the self-selection factor, day care centers may be reserved for certain problem behavior youth, and the questionable quality of the after school programs included in the study. These pieces of research suggest that children who participate in formal after-school arrangements, which either center on mentoring and/or educational enhancement, help to develop the intellectual aspects of children's lives more so than if they had not participated in such a program.

The eighth skill set involves the social aspects of young people's development, including their ability to show reliability and to work with people from diverse cultural backgrounds (respects and values human diversity); effective communication, and conflict resolution; and the avoidance of delinquency and other negative behaviors. Overall indicators of a young person's having a mature social/intrapersonal self can be extracted from what they do with their leisure time. Specific gauges include any type of work or chores performed by the youth, mingling with pro-social individuals and groups, and participation in service groups or youth programs.

The following set of findings highlight the importance of the type of after-school care arrangement for children's social developmental. These studies found that the type of after-school arrangements youth participate in affects their ability to interact with other young people and adults. Bernman et al. (1992) found that children cared for by older siblings may be at greater risk for negative social development and children under self-care were significantly more socially isolated than children in adult care were. Similarly, the Marshall et al. (1997) and the Posner and Vandell (1994, 1999) studies found that children in after-school programs spent more time interacting with peers than children in parental care or other adult care. However, the Marshall study found that children in after-school programs spent less time watching television than those in other types

of after-school care; yet the Posner and Vandell (1994) study found the opposite. The Posner and Vandell (1994) study did find that overall, when maternal education, race, and family income were controlled, attending a formal after-school program was associated with better social adjustment in comparison to other types of after-school care. Similarly, the Vandell and Ramanan (1991) study found that children in the care of single mothers after school in comparison with children in other types of adult-supervised after-school care had higher ratings of antisocial behaviors, anxiety, and peer conflicts. Thus, parallel to the outcomes under the mental/cognitive and linguistic self, studies focusing on elementary school-aged children and their after-school care arrangements show that youth participation in formal after-school care programs helps positive development in the area of social support and networking.

The findings are slightly weaker for studies examining extracurricular participation and the development of children's social selves than studies examining type of after-school care arrangements. Melnick et al. (1988) found that athletic participation was modestly related to perceived popularity; however, athletic participation was strongly related to extracurricular involvement. Similarly, Tierney et al. (1995) found that program participation showed a slight 2 percent increase in participants' feelings of emotional support from their peer relationships. Allen and Clark (1998) did find that between Time 1 and Time 2, the amount of time that youth participants spent studying or doing homework increased by nearly 40 percent. Thus, the more time the youth participated in the after-school programs, the more time the youth's leisure time became dedicated to success-oriented learning activities such as studying, doing homework, reading and writing.

Specific Practices

In regard to "promising practices," the following lessons were apparent from the accumulated research record: Formal after-school arrangements that center on mentoring or educational enhancement help develop the intellectual aspects of children's lives. After-school care programs that include a low child-staff ratio, larger center size, staff education, and a variety and flexibility of curriculum activities lead to more positive program perceptions by both children and

parents. A comprehensive after-school tutorial program, including a high ratio of tutors to students, parent participation, program director contact with schoolteachers, and interested adults to tutor and care for the youth, helps to improve children's academic success at school and their family relationships at home. Structured non-school, community-based after-school programs — including 4-5 hours of discussion, 1-2 hours of creative writing, 4-5 hours leisure reading, 5-6 hours of homework, 2-3 hours helping their youth, and 4-5 hours of board games between adult directors and youth participants — can enhance the educational performance of economically disadvantaged early adolescents who live in public housing. One-on-one mentoring experiences help improve youth participants' lives academically and socially, as well as in their family relationships. Elementary school-aged children who are left in the care of adults after school are more likely to have higher self-competence scores and be less socially isolated than children who are left under the supervision of their siblings or by themselves. Children who are in after-school care programs and have the opportunity to engage in activities with other children their age are less likely to have behavioral adjustments. In addition, programs that provide youth with structured activities, including computer skill lessons, academic, recreational and remedial activities, and entrepreneurial, personal and academic development, help youth develop socially, academically, and personally.

Overall, these studies found that the specific programs offered at the community level helped to increase the youth participants' growth in multiple developmental areas. While the articles do not specifically discuss the advantages or disadvantages of programs designed to affect simultaneously youth's development across multiple areas, the articles reviewed do offer evidence that programs can positively affect youth participants' maturity on many different levels simultaneously. Specifically, Allen and Clark (1998), Schinke et al. (2000), and Tierney et al. (1995) demonstrate that community-based programs can positively affect youth participants' academic success, enjoyment, and aspirations. At the same time, the programs can help the youth avoid deviant behavior, such as skipping school and using illegal substances.

Purpose of AAMB Research

The studies reviewed above explore the after-school activities of youth aged six through 18. The studies found that youth who spend time in formal and structured after-school activities benefit in the interaction with their peers and social adjustment (Bernman et al. 1992; Marshall et al. 1997; Pettit et al. 1997; Posner and Vandell 1994) and their academic achievement (Posner and Vandell 1994). Overall, children who are placed in child care arrangements with structure and activities benefit more than children who are placed in unstructured programs (Baker and Witt 1995; Posner and Vandell 1994). Similarly, youth who participate in extracurricular activities and organized sports increase the likelihood that they will remain in school as well as have improved academic outcomes (Bell 1967; Gerber 1996). In addition, youth who participate in extracurricular activities are less likely to engage in deviant behavior, including drug usage, and school- and community-related deviance (Hastad et al. 1984; Landers and Landers 1978). Along the same lines, the six studies that reviewed community and school-based after-school programs found that youth who participate in these structured programs experience increases in time spent in adult-guided activities, high-yield literacy building activities, and constructive learning activities. Because of such experiences, these youth participants have a greater enjoyment and engagement in educational activities, are less likely to participate in antisocial activities, have improved academic outcomes, and find improved relationships with family and peers (Allen and Clark 1998; Schinke et al. 2000; Tierney et al. 1995).

Narrowing the present discussion further, an underlying theme in many of these studies is the issue of race. Ten of the studies (42 percent) include in their data samples youth from differing racial/ethnic groups. Eight of the studies (33 percent) either highlight a comparison between white and African American youth outcomes, or specifically look at African American youth in after-school programs.[6] For example, Schinke et al., (2000) explored the effects of youth participation in a selected number of Boys and Girls sites with educational enhancement programs. This study included youth of different races (63 percent African American, 19 percent Hispanic, 13 percent white, 5 percent Asian) and reported that program youth (versus non-program comparison youth) experienced greater

engagement, enjoyment, and performance in academic activities. These studies include multi-race samples in their analyses and identified extracurricular and community programs as successful in working with diverse populations.

More specifically, a handful of the studies reviewed explored the differential effects of program participation among African American and white students or the effects of program participation in majority African American populations. In an examination of school- and non-school related extracurricular activities and academic achievement, Gerber (1996) found that the amount of participation in extracurricular activities was positively related to academic achievement. However, this relationship was stronger for white students overall.

Along the same lines, Posner and Vandell (1999) explored the after-school activities of African American and white children from low-income households from third to fifth grade. Among key differences between African American and white children's after-school activities, African American children spent more time in transit after school (probably due to the school district's busing policy), and consequently had less time than white children available for after-school activities. In addition, by fifth grade African American children's participation in after-school activities surpassed the time spent by white children in such programs (Posner and Vandell 1999:876). However, there were similar patterns between white and African American children in regard to academic success. The African American youth who had greater emotional adjustment, higher academic grades, and less behavioral problems spent less time in unstructured activities (e.g., hanging out, watching television) in fifth grade than did children with poor adjustment scores (p. 877). Higher academic grades were associated with children participating in extracurricular activities as fifth graders. However, fifth graders reported by teachers as having better emotional adjustment had spent the prior three years in non-sport extracurricular activities. Regarding gender differences among African American children, boys watched more television than girls did.

Correspondingly, Kahane et al (2001), in analysis of after-school programs with an African American student sample, found that almost all after-school programs provide significantly more engaging and sufficient learning and social contexts for students than the school

day, according to student surveys. In addition, this finding was particularly greater for African American male youth. Thus, it seems that for African American students, as many of the above studies have found for multiracial populations, structured, adult-led after-school programs help young people develop academically and socially.

In line with much of the research reviewed, our data analysis attempts to explore further programs specifically designed to develop positively academic, social, and personal maturity among African American males. More specific for our purposes was the need not only to identify programs that have been successful in their efforts to work with Black males and achieve positive outcomes, but also to understand in a detailed way how/why these programs work. Thus, the remainder of this paper pushes the analysis of what youth do in their after-school time further by examining programs that specifically target African American men and boys. In addition, the following discussion highlights the important structure of the programs, as well as how their services are delivered.

We return here to the "Black Box" analogy as we attempt to move from vague ideas or notions to a specific, systematic understanding of the processes whereby Black males develop positive outcomes. An important goal of our cluster evaluation of the African American Men and Boys Initiative was to identify elements, practices, philosophies, and procedures common across programs that are proven successful in their work with African American men and boys. In addition, we hoped to identify exemplary examples or programs that represent "best practices" in this area of endeavor. Models that will facilitate the replication of these activities in other African American communities across the country can come from this specific and concrete information. Lessons learned from these programs can also help to inform other communities as they face the challenges of bringing their young of various economic levels, race, ethnicity, and gender into productive roles as adults and citizens.

Based on our review of the published literature, we developed six research questions to be examined in this paper:

1. What is the relationship between youths' length of time in the program and their time doing high-yield activities?

2. What is the relationship between youths' perceived support

from parents, school, kin, and friends with youths' personal development?

3. What areas of personal development correlate most strongly with educational aspirations and achievement?

4. What is the relationship between variables measuring youths' weekly time in relationships with program volunteers and other caring adults with the youths' personal development?

5. What is the relationship between program leaders' efforts/strategies to acquire money and volunteers with the ratio of youths-to-adults in the program?

Data and Methodology

This study of programs in the W.K. Kellogg Foundation African American Men and Boys Collaborative consisted of three main phases: a pilot study, a pre-test, and a post-test. The primary goal of the first pilot study was to provide baseline information on program participants. This study asked, "What are the characteristics of program participants? How did they learn about these programs? What attracted them to these programs? What activities and services did the program provide? In what ways did the program affect the participants' lives?" Results from this study are summarized in an unpublished report (Allen et al. 1997).

In a second phase of our work (Allen et al. 1997), we developed a shorter form of the instrument for a preliminary (pre-test, Time 1) survey of program participants funded by the African American Men and Boys Initiative. This short-form survey provided a means for dynamic assessment of program process and participant outcomes. For the third phase of our work (Allen and Clark 1998), the design incorporated a pre- and post-"treatment" data collection approach. Program participants completed the survey at the beginning of the program and then again after having been involved with the program for a specified period (between six and ten months). Our goal was to secure empirical data on program participant outcomes. Student participants were asked to complete a weekly time-use sheet (Monday through Sunday from 6:00 a.m. until 11:30 p.m. in half-hour intervals) outlining the activities they participated in during a usual week. Comparison of results between Time 1 and Time 2 would show whether and how programs affect participants' values, activi-

ties, life goals, attitudes, and other outcomes over time.

The specifics of our data collection and data analysis procedures were as follows. Twenty-one community-based programs working with African American men and boys participated in this evaluation. Of these programs, 15 had high school populations and 14 had elementary school-aged populations. Eight of the programs overlapped in the age groups of youth enrolled. The elementary and high school students in this sample were given two paper-and-pencil surveys. Each student survey was administered by program staff familiar with the surveys and trained in their administration. A pre-test of each survey was administered in September/October 1996; a post-test of each survey was given in May/June 1997. The first survey collected demographic data from the participants as well as data designed to measure their academic, social, emotional, physical, intrapersonal, and ethical development. The second survey, an assessment of the students' time-use patterns in the previous 168-hour week, measured their involvement in twenty-six categories of activities. These categories focused on four major areas of life: learning, health maintenance, work, and leisure. In addition, project directors responded to a survey about their perceptions of each respondent's progress in the key areas over the period from pre- to post-test. The directors also responded to questions about their own social and educational backgrounds, the number of employees and volunteers working with the youth, recruitment strategies, public relations practices, involvement of parents, and fundraising efforts.[7]

Data from both youth surveys were coded for all students in the sample. Responses from the Director's Survey were linked to the student cases in the data file for each student in their respective programs. For example, the director's responses from Project 2000 were linked to the eleven elementary school students and the thirteen high school students (in the sample) who participated in this program. For the preliminary analyses reported in this paper, descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations were calculated.

The current analysis includes 304 youths separated into elementary and high school sub samples. Within the elementary school aged sample (N = 131), the youth are primarily African American (96 percent) and male (82 percent). The ages of the youth within the elementary sample range from five to 15 years, with the majority (81

percent) being between 10 and 14 years of age. Within the high school sample (N = 173), the youth are primarily African American (98 percent) and male (87 percent). The ages of the youth within the high school sample range from 13 to 25 years of age, with the majority (80 percent) ranging from 14 to 17 years of age.

Who Is Being Served by the AAMB Programs?

Almost 17,000 youth were served by the thirty AAMB programs in 1996 (this sizeable number for youth served by these programs was mostly attributable to the large weekly audience of the Omega Boys Club "Street Soldiers" radio program). Appendix I shows the name and geographic locations of the programs in each of three "villages." The primary objective for the Entrepreneurial Leadership Development Village was to help participants develop job-related or business-related skills. The primary focus of the Personal and Academic Leadership Development Village was developing participants' life-management and/or literacy skills. The main objective of the Family and Community Leadership Development Village was to develop participants' skills to work effectively with agencies and/or with families in their local communities. This village distinguishes itself from the others by its emphasis on explicitly assisting participants to attain higher standards of living. It is reasonable to begin by asking, "How do the youth programs studied here deliver their services?" In response to this question, detailed descriptions of selected individual programs can be found in Appendix I.

Most programs were located in the East, Midwest, or South regions of the country. In this sense, the West is somewhat underserved. Seven programs were situated in the Entrepreneurial Leadership Village. Five Entrepreneurial Leadership programs were in East Coast cities and two in Southern cities. Fifteen programs were situated in the Personal and Academic Leadership Village. Five of these programs were in East Coast cities, four were in South/Southeast cities, five were in Midwest cities, and one was in a West Coast city. Eight programs were located in the Family and Community Leadership Village. Three programs were in East Coast cities, two in South/Southeast cities, two in Midwest cities, and one in a West Coast city.

Results of Research Questions

In an effort to examine the research questions posited above, we conducted an exploratory analysis of these data using correlation coefficients. The findings are presented below, grouped by research question and by age/grade level of the student respondents.

Our first research question examines the relationship between youths' length of time in the program and their time doing high-yield activities. Not surprisingly, we found within the elementary age sample that youths' time in the project (1 = one year involvement or more; 2 = less than one year for youth) correlates with youth doing fewer community activities (-.246**), and with spending less than 22.5 hours per week engaged in leisure activities (-.246**). Thus, the more time a youth has spent in a program, the more time she has participated in program activities, and the less amount leisure time she has. Similarly, within the high school population, the variable measuring the time a youth has spent in a program is negatively correlated with smoking cigarettes (-.196*); positively with time spent on leisure activities (.197*); negatively with amount of sleep (-.180*); and cultural awareness increased (-.210*). The less time a youth spent in one of the twenty-eight programs reviewed, the more likely they smoked cigarettes and participated in leisure activities. They were also less likely to have sufficient sleep time and to feel they were culturally aware. In sum then, there is a positive relationship between youth participation in these community programs and healthy, well balanced personal development.

The first research question explores the relationships between variables measuring youths' participation in community-based enrichment programs and perceived personal development. Similarly, our second research question examines the relationship between youths' perceived support from families, friends, and community members and their personal development. Among the elementary age group sample, we found that the support of immediate family is correlated with higher youth ratings of progress (.214*) and with likelihood of improved school performance (.269*). Support of extended family also correlated with perceived school improvement (.278**), better attitude (.194*), and a perception of improvement in more areas (.215**). Similarly, the support of the school staff correlates with higher educational goals (.248**). Spiritual support cor-

relates with the likelihood that respondents say they are more self-aware (.216*) and with a perception that improvement has occurred in multiple areas (.214*). Perception of mentor support correlates with the number of program activities the youngster is involved in (.441**).

Along similar lines, within the high school sample we found that the support of immediate family (parents) is correlated with likelihood that participants' school performance improved (.280**). Support from siblings is correlated with less frequent drug use (.323*) and a tendency for participants to say they are a better (.201**), more self-aware (.190**) person. In addition, the support of friends/peers correlates with the likelihood that the participant will indicate they are a better person (.271**), are more culturally and self-aware (.323**, .317**) and that they are doing a better job (.223**). Friend/peer support is also correlated with reported school improvement (.178*). Support of mentors correlates with indications that participants had a better attitude (.245*), were a better person (.239*) and were more culturally aware (.284**). In addition, spiritual support correlates with lower frequency of drug use (.425*) and with higher educational goals (.282**). The exploration of question number three illustrates the relationship between the various types of support youth perceive they have and variables measuring their personal development.

The above discussion surrounding the first two research questions highlights the importance of youth participation in community programs, as well as in their perceptions of support from family and community mentors in relation to their personal development. Our third research question flows from the second research question: What is the relationship between youths' educational aspirations and variables measuring their areas of personal development. Assuming that participation in community-based programs coupled with support from family and community mentors increases youths' educational aspirations, what in turn is the relationship between youths' educational aspirations and other aspects of their personal development? Within the elementary age group, we found that the variable measuring high educational goals correlates with participants' reporting that they have a better attitude (.208*). Among the high school sample, a positive correlation was found between youth,

the variable measuring youths' educational goals, and their drug use (.498**). Thus, the higher the educational goals, the more likely the youth has not engaged in the use of drugs and alcohol.

While we are currently only conducting bivariate correlations and cannot establish the causal direction between the variables or the effect one variable has on the other, we suggest that important foundations are being established through youths' participation in these community-based programs. When youth spend time in these programs, they feel their schoolwork have improved, they have better attitudes and have higher educational and occupational aspirations. In turn, when youth have higher educational goals, they tend to be more committed to positive lifestyles.

The remaining two research questions turn focus on the structure of the community-based programs. Research question number four explores the relationships between variables measuring youths' weekly time interacting with program volunteers and other caring adults, and variables measuring their perceived personal development. For this question, we asked, "What is the relationship between variables measuring youths' weekly time interacting with program volunteers and other caring adults with the youths' personal development?" This question explores the relationship between the structure of the program and youths' personal development.

Within the elementary age group, the ratio of clients to volunteers (essentially, a measure of overcrowding in a program) is inversely correlated with the likelihood that youths perceive their schoolwork has improved (-.189*). Within the high school-aged group, the two variables measuring how long the volunteers have been involved and the total volunteer hours per year correlate with youths' reports of better attitude (.209**, 216**) and more time spent volunteering in their community (.360*, .175*). It appears that there is a moderate relationship between the numbers of youth participating in programs and the numbers of adults providing mentorship and guidance, with young people's perceptions of their personal development. The more overcrowded a program is, the less likely youth will report improved schoolwork. The less overcrowded a program is, the more likely youth will feel as if they have benefited from the program's services. Thus, the structure of the program is key. As Kahane et al. (2001) note, not all programs designed to improve

achievement and development of youth provide positive opportunities.

Our final research question asks what the relationship is between program leaders' efforts/strategies to acquire money and volunteers with the ratio of youths-to-adults in the program. Within the elementary age group, we found that the ratio of clients to volunteers is correlated with efforts to publish newsletters (-.450**), proposals submitted (-.347**), and public relations methods used (-.520**). Volunteer hours per year are correlated with public relations being done (.409**), the number of times per year a newsletter is published (.612**), the number of proposals submitted (.202*) and having more relationships with other service organizations (.312**). Similarly, within the high school age group, we found that a large ratio of clients-to-volunteers seems to have a negative relationship to recruitment strategies in the following ways. Ratios are correlated with recruitment techniques (-.152*), efforts to recruit volunteers (-.951**), and strategies used (-.313**). Volunteer hours per year are correlated with recruitment techniques used (.429**), public relations being conducted (.599**), and relationships with other service organizations (.279**). Thus, the more overcrowded a program is, the less efforts are made to publicize the program and solicit funding. Conversely, the more hours volunteers are present working within the program, the more efforts are made to submit proposals for funding, publish newsletters and publicize the program. In addition, the hours in which volunteers are active within a program, the more opportunities are forged for collaboration with other community service organizations.

These last two research questions are important to understanding how certain community-based programs are able to arrive at positive outcomes with the youth they serve. We have found that when programs are overcrowded (i.e., have a higher clients-to-volunteers ratio), then the youth perceive that they are not benefiting from the programs' services. In addition, when programs are overcrowded and have fewer hours being volunteered by mentors, the administration is less able to promote the organization through public relations and in turn receive less attention from potential volunteers or fundraising sources.

To continue the present preliminary data analysis, we conduct

t-tests to explore participants' changes in survey responses between Time 1 to Time 2. This analysis allows us to compare the significant differences between respondents' answers in the first and second surveys. Among the elementary sample (N = 131), using data from the detailed time schedule that youth were requested to complete, we found that between Time 1 and Time 2, significant increases in time were spent in structured academic activities. For example, during an average week, the youth experienced an increase of 46 minutes in tutored lessons (sig. < .01), 89 minutes in study time (sig. < .05), and 38 minutes in computer time (sig. , .05). In addition to increased amounts of time in structured activities, the youth experienced an increase of 3 hours and 45 minutes in their time with adults (sig. < .01).

Similarly, t-tests were performed within the high school sample (N = 173) and significant increases were found in the youths' time in constructive activities. We found that between Time 1 and Time 2, the youth had an average increase of 2 hours spent in school enrichment activities (sig. < .000) and 2 hours performing health activities (not including sleep) (sig. < .05). Similar to the elementary sample, the youth experienced an increase of 2 hours and 20 minutes in time spent with adults per week (sig. < .01).

While these time increases in structured activities may overlap with the time spent with adults, this overall growth in the time youth spent with adults is viewed as a positive lifestyle change — one that will contribute to the social, personal, and academic aspects of the youths' lives. This more focused analysis, along with the above literature review, suggests and reinforces the idea that positive changes in young people's lifestyles, through participation in structured adult-led community programs, can lead youth to more productive time use.

Summary, Conclusions and Implications

There is encouraging evidence that numerous community-based programs throughout the nation have been successful in their efforts to assist African American men and boys lead meaningful lives. These programs show that despite depressing statistics, dire predictions, and foreboding pronouncements, most Black males lead productive, positive lives. Nevertheless, far too many African American

men and boys continue to "crash and burn" in the negative activities of drugs, violence, incarceration, and wasted lives.

It is recognized that African American men and boys face tremendous hurdles on the way to productive citizenship. It is also recognized, however, that somehow the majority of Black men and boys have been successful in their efforts to achieve productive, positive lifestyles. Where this is the case, it is important to document the patterns, experiences, and personal relationships that made such outcomes possible. Programs funded under the Kellogg Foundation African American Men and Boys Initiative have proven records of accomplishment in achieving positive outcomes for their participants. They have shown themselves to be effective vehicles for assisting the healthy, constructive development of youth into upstanding, contributing citizens.

This study uses survey data from program participants to describe the population served by the Youth and Teen/Adult Programs. In addition to providing a baseline description of program participants, we sought to spell out in some empirical detail their experiences, goals, values, and outcomes. This is a way to understand common themes, challenges and achievements at the program and individual levels.

Among the practical lessons learned from this research, which included a systematic review of the literature examining out-of-school learning/development experiences for African American males and the analysis of empirical data from many organizations serving Black males, is that after the school bell has rung, lessons concerning public policy and lessons concerning "best practices" are found. With respect to public policy, funding needs to be available for the maintenance of existing — and the creation of — new, school- and community-based after-school centers for young people. The ideal centers will be places where youth will have the opportunity to engage in healthy and positive academic and sports-related activities under the mentorship of adults. These programs will have structured activities that focus on academic exercises such as reading, mathematics, and verbal skills. In addition, these programs will have a sports component helping to demonstrate to students the value of sportsmanship, healthy behavior, and enjoyment in exercise.

As research shows, such programs currently exist in churches, com-

munity centers, and schools across the nation. Student involvement in these programs improves students' overall academic performance, positively affects their self-concept and attitudes toward school and their family and peers, and reduces their involvement in delinquent activities. However, more funds need to be made available to attract experienced and dedicated executive directors to administer and recruit volunteers for these programs.

Extensive research on human development and common sense make it clear that rarely is human success a solo project. Rather, successful people are usually products of networks of individuals, groups, institutions, and organizations that helped them to identify, develop and exercise their capabilities. A catch phrase, drawn from African folklore and popularized by Marian Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense Fund, summarizes the point: "It takes a village to raise a child." Community-based organizations and the people who staff and/or lead them are essential elements in the "village" that, along with family and friends, embraces, nurtures, guides, and empowers successful African American men and boys. This is especially true in settings where the ability of families to nurture, guide, and protect their children has been compromised. Paradoxically, Black males who "go wrong," and the institutions that process them (e.g., the criminal justice system), receive much more attention in the media than do the greater majority of Black males who lead upstanding, decent, productive lives. Also neglected in the process are the individuals, community groups, organizations, and institutions that work effectively to produce African American men and boys who are good citizens. The fact that this is true is a sobering commentary on race, stereotypes and inequality in American society.

In order to be truly effective, efforts to repair the breach in the U.S. and to reestablish civil society and civil life must address the incredible numbers of African American males who are incarcerated. The fact that America, with nearly two million people behind bars, ranks second only to Russia in rates of incarceration, speaks volumes about the deterioration in civil life in American society. Incarceration, or enforced separation from society, is the ultimate evidence of a deterioration in the values, ideas, and commitments that should bind members of a society. The fact that African American males, who are less than 10 percent of the national population, rep-

resent just under 50 percent of the nation's prison population is an even more telling commentary on their status in American society. At the point when *polis*, civic dialogue, community institutions, family ties, collective will, and civic empowerment are weakened or fail, massive imprisonment becomes inevitable. Incarceration confirms the ultimate failure in the social contract between individuals, between individuals and the larger society, and between the races.

This paper confirms that the massive failure and incarceration of Black males in American society is not inevitable. We present systematic evidence of alternative outcomes. We also show the models and procedures that can effectively stem the tide of failure among African American men and boys. James Baldwin was quoted to say that in a racially oppressive country like America, "the wonder is not that so many fail, but rather that so many succeed." The challenge before us is to focus on those success stories, understand their underlying processes and to replicate the models.

Notes

[1] The key areas include physical self, the sexual self, the intrapersonal self, the spiritual self, the emotional/feeling self, the ethical/moral self, the mental/cognitive and linguistic self, and the social/intrapersonal self.

[2] The two studies that relied on records such as school yearbooks to indicate whether youth participated in extracurricular activities is classified as having low fidelity. These reports were not accurate and do not show the extent of involvement.

[3] The motivating purpose of the National Task Force on African American Men and Boys was to contribute to the growth and development of African American men and boys as healthy, positive, contributing citizens. To accomplish this goal, the Task Force encouraged long-term, sustained, comprehensive interventions into the lives of young men and boys who are at risk in American society (Allen and Clark 1998, p. 24).

[4] In terms of physical activity, Allen and Clark (1998) found a slight increase in the Kellogg AAMB program participants' time spent in enrichment activities, including hobbies, organized sports, educational television and working on the computer.

[5] Presumably the reason for this is that in many studies, the subjects were elementary school-aged children. The sexual self includes healthy sexuality, self-examination, awareness discussions and exploration/

intimacy. Researchers may have assumed that this aspect of children's development was not relevant at this age, or that the programs examined did not affect nor were designed to affect participant's sexual maturity.

[6] Six of the studies (25 percent) make no mention of race, or only have a sample containing white youth.

[7] Those interested in detailed information, please contact the first author.

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Appendix

Geographical Region	Entrepreneurial Leadership Village (n=7)	Personal & Academic Leadership Village (n=15)	Family & Community Leadership Village (n=8)
East Coast	The Club (Boston, MA) Champs Cookies (Washington, DC) OIC (Philadelphia, PA) Boston Health CREW (Boston, MA) Project LEEO (Roxbury, MA)	Project 2000 (Washington, DC) National Trust (Washington, DC) Ellington Fund (Washington, DC) Bridging Bridges (Cambridge, MA) Boys Choir of Harlem (New York, NY)	Institute for Resp Fatherhood (Washington, DC) Nat'l. Urban Coalition (Washington, DC) People's Church (Washington, DC)
South/SE	Pathways (Dermott, AR) Our Family Table (Atlanta, GA)	Ervin's Youth Club (Clearwater, FL) Piney Woods (Piney Woods, MS) Omega Little Brothers (Helena, AR) Keep Hope Alive Commerce, TX	Project Alpha (Atlanta, GA) Federation of South. Coops. (Epes, AL)
Midwest		Youth Leadership Acad (Milwaukee, WI) University of Kansas (Lawrence, KS) Athletes Against Drugs (Chicago, IL) No Dope Express (Chicago, IL) Boys to Men (Chicago, IL)	MAD DADS (Omaha, NE) E. End Rites of Passage (Cleveland, OH)
West Coast		Al Wooten Jr. Boys to Men (Los Angeles, CA)	Omega Boys Club (San Francisco, CA)