

THE POLICY AND PRACTICE OF POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT
A STUDY OF QUEENS, NEW YORK

by

Jennifer Fuqua

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Affairs and Public Policy

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
ABSTRACT	xii

Chapter

1	OVERVIEW.....	1
	Assumptions about the Research Design	3
	Characteristics of the Study Design	4
	Data Collection Processes	4
	Data Analysis Processes	5
	Reporting the Findings	6
	Researcher’s Role	6
	Statement about Ethics	7
2	LITERATURE REVIEW.....	8
	Historical Perceptions of Children and Youth.....	10
	Children as Students	12
	Children as Criminals	15
	Interventions for Poor Families	16
	Modern Conditions of Children and Youth.....	21
	‘Disconnected’ or ‘Opportunity’ Youth	22
	Juvenile Justice	26
	The Promise of Equity in Education Reform in the U.S.	29
	Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)	32
	School Climate	35
	SWPBIS.....	39
	Recommendations for future education reforms in the literature.....	41
	What is Positive Youth Development?.....	44

Healthy Development.....	51
From Pathology to Opportunity.....	56
Families and Communities.....	58
Civic Engagement.....	61
Defining a Positive Youth Development Program.....	65
Characteristics of PYD Programs.....	66
Youth Work as a Field.....	68
Training.....	72
Quality Frameworks for Youth Development Programs.....	75
Categories of Youth Development Programs.....	76
Education.....	77
Community Schools.....	77
Advisories.....	79
School-based Programs.....	79
Extracurricular Activities.....	82
Workforce Development.....	83
College and Career Readiness.....	85
Service-Learning.....	86
4-H.....	86
Social Services.....	90
Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.....	91
Health.....	92
Sport and Experiential/Adventure Education.....	92
Mentorship.....	95
Morality.....	95
Positive Youth Development Policy Dynamics.....	97
Youth Development Policy.....	98
Attempts at Youth Development Policy.....	99
Youth Development Philanthropy.....	104

	Youth Development Advocacy	106
	SUMMARY	107
3	METHODS, CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS	110
	Research Design	110
	Characteristics of the Study Design	111
	Data Collection Processes	116
	Description of Fieldwork.....	118
	Data Analysis Processes	126
4	ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT: QUEENS, NEW YORK	132
	Systems of Youth Development in New York	132
	United Way.....	135
	Public-Private Partnerships for Youth Development	136
	Building a Positive Youth Development Field: Quality and Training	136
	Building a Positive Youth Development Philanthropy	144
	Advocacy for Positive Youth Development.....	146
	Health and Human Services (HHS) Procurement Processes in NYC.....	148
	Program Cost	152
	Characteristics of Queens	155
	Conditions for Youth in Queens.....	157
	Education in Queens.....	157
	Queens Community House.....	162
	Evidence of Effectiveness	165
5	PYD STUDY FINDINGS	168
	Purpose of the Study.....	168
	Finding #1: Asset-based PYD philosophy diffused throughout sample.....	170
	Common Language	172

	Consistent program models	173
	Supportive networks and partnerships.....	176
	Personal and professional commitment to practice	178
	Finding #2: High capacity of nonprofits is key to access and success	180
	Fiscal Capacity	181
	Program Capacity	183
	Finding #3: Policy decisions impact equity.....	185
	DYCD RFP targeted populations	186
	DYCD RFP program models.....	187
	The City Budget	188
	DYCD Procurement processes	189
	NYC Regulatory Frameworks	190
	Finding #4: Advocacy is an integral part of PYD System	192
	In response to NYC political process	193
	In partnership between providers, government and foundations.....	194
	As a youth leadership development strategy	194
	In response to youth concerns, i.e., safety and contact with law enforcement	196
	Finding #5: Tension remains between academic and PYD models	197
	Academic program models for afterschool	198
	Different accountability and goals.....	198
6	DISCUSSION/POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS	201
	Summary.....	201
	Collective Impact.....	207
	Discussion of the findings of the PYD Study.....	210
	Asset-based PYD philosophy diffused throughout sample	210
	High capacity of Nonprofits is key to access and success.....	212
	Policy decisions impact equity	213
	Advocacy is an integral part of PYD System.....	214
	Tension remains between academic and PYD models.....	215
	Policy Options	217
	Legislation	218

Guidelines in Procurement	221
Regulations that govern programs	223
Cross-agency initiatives.....	224
Data-driven approaches	226
Mayoral initiatives.....	227
City Coordinating Entities	228
Funding Strategies	229
Youth Master Planning.....	229
Investment in innovation	230
Cross-Sectoral Influence on Youth Policy	231
Researcher reflection	234
REFERENCES	237
Appendix	
A ECOLOGICAL RISK AND PROTECTIVE PROCESSES THAT INFLUENCE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT (BOGENSCHNEIDER 1996, PG. 129).....	269
B THE VALUES IN ACTION (VIA) CLASSIFICATION OF STRENGTHS (PARK, 2009).....	270
C YOUTH-WORK ORIENTATIONS (EDGINTON AND RANDALL, 2005)	271
D FEDERAL EFFORTS TO IMPROVE COORDINATION AMONG YOUTH PROGRAMS (FERNANDES-ALCANTARA, 2012; SCOTT, DESCHENES, HOPKINS, NEWMAN AND MCGLAUGHLIN, 2006)	273
E COMMUNITY DISTRICT MAP OF QUEENS, NY	275
F NEW YORK CITY COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICTS (2015)	276
G YOUTH-SERVING AGENCIES IN NYC (NEW YORK (CITY), 2014)....	277
H NEW YORK CITY INTERAGENCY MEMBERSHIP (2015)	278
I “CRITICAL” PARTNERSHIPS FOR EDUCATION PROGRAMS WITH STUDENTS WHO ARE COURT-INVOLVED/ DISTRICT 79 (LISANTE, 2013).....	279
J PYD STUDY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: PYD PRACTITIONER	280
K PYD STUDY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: GOVERNMENT AGENCY/FUNDER	281
L UD IRB APPROVAL LETTER.....	282

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	War on Poverty policy initiatives addressing youth and families 1964-1975 (Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012)	18
Table 2	Theories of human development found in the literature that influence youth development policy and practice	49
Table 3	Youth Development Programs found in literature review	77
Table 4	Relationship between PYD Study Research Questions and Interview Questions (see Appendices M and N, pp. 276-277)	118
Table 5	Code Mapping the PYD Study	130
Table 6	Queens Youth Development Organizations by System Level	135
Table 7	Critical Events in the formation of Youth Development Framework in Queens, New York	142
Table 8	Level Three (Dorgan and Ferguson, 2008) – Foundation Support for Positive Youth Development in NYC	145
Table 9	DYCD RFPs FY 2007-2013.....	151
Table 10	Twenty largest municipally funded youth-serving agencies operating PYD programs in Queens, New York.	160
Table 11	Youth Programs by model and location (Queens Community House)	164
Table 12	QCH Youth Programs Self-Assessment Outcomes FY ‘14	166
Table 13	PYD Study Analysis Core Categories with Dimensions.....	170

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Actors Contributing to Positive Youth Development Policy and Practice	116
Figure 2	Map of the study area: Queens, New York	121
Figure 3	PYD Study Participants: Gender and Race/Ethnicity	122
Figure 4	PYD Study Participants by Role	122
Figure 5	Networks and Relationships indicated in the PYD Study	125
Figure 6	Funding Influence on CBO Program Model Choices	174

ABSTRACT

Positive Youth Development (PYD) is a process of human development, a philosophical orientation toward social and community development, and a programmatic framework for youth services. In the United States PYD has evolved both from, and in response to, child development theory and policies about youth. A positive assets-based approach has emerged over the course of the past 20 years, and is now establishing itself as a field of policy and practice. While there is a great deal of literature about child development and evaluative studies of youth outcomes, there is little that describes the dynamics and processes of youth development policy and practice. The purpose of this study is to investigate the concept and practice of Positive Youth Development (PYD) in the U.S. and the ways in which communities create and sustain PYD. Specifically, this study is concerned with the ways PYD can be described and identified; how PYD evolves over a period of time; the dynamics and processes by which communities mobilize their developmental capacity for PYD; and the ways, if at all, that PYD contributes to social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities. Through an inductive qualitative format that includes semi-structured interviews and document review, this study will explore the dynamics and processes of the policy and practice of PYD in Queens County, New York, utilizing ecological, social movement building, organizational field development and diffusion of innovation frameworks. The policy implications of findings from this study are discussed.

Chapter 1

OVERVIEW

The purpose of this study is to investigate the concept and practice of Positive Youth Development (PYD), in the U.S., a relatively new paradigm, and the ways in which communities create and sustain PYD. Specifically, this study is concerned with the ways PYD can be described and identified; how the theory and practice of PYD has evolved over a period of time; the dynamics and processes by which communities mobilize their developmental capacity for PYD; the ways, if at all, that PYD contributes to social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities; and the policy implications of these findings.

Queens County, New York was chosen as the site for this study for several reasons. The county is part of the City of New York, which has invested in positive youth development strategies through multiple sectors and modalities over several decades, including the creation of a dedicated city-wide unit named the Department of Youth and Community Development (DYCD). This makes Queens an ideal context to explore the dynamics and processes of PYD over time. Additionally, I have a unique insight and access to the various actors involved in PYD in Queens through previous professional contacts and work experience. My intent is to continue in the investigation of PYD policy and practice as both an academic and practitioner.

Since the child saving efforts of the Progressive Era in the United States, reformers and policymakers have been concerned with child development and growth. Rapid industrialization and immigration created conditions of great affluence as well as abject poverty in the late 19th century, particularly in cities in

the United States. Early reformers were particularly concerned with the assimilation and character development of primarily poor and immigrant children. During the 20th century, various strategies and policies aimed at deficit reduction were implemented to address the ‘problems’ of youth, such as alcohol and drug use, teen pregnancy and crime. Toward the end of 1990s, the rhetoric regarding youth started to change in favor of a positive asset-based approach to youth development, now known as PYD.

PYD has been used increasingly over the past two decades in the United States as an intervention strategy, mostly intended for vulnerable groups of youth, in schools, community-based programs, and alternative settings. PYD is conceived of as a process of human development, a philosophical orientation toward social and community development, and a programmatic framework for youth services. PYD theory describes five C’s: Competence, Connection, Confidence, Caring and Character - and some argue a sixth C, Contribution (Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas and Lerner, 2005), that relate to individual developmental assets. PYD theory also describes ecological developmental assets that refer to the supports and networks that surround the individual young person.

“Instead of anticipating and trying to fix or prevent problems, this new paradigm considers the strengths, competencies, and contributions that youth can make and ways to align these strengths with resources and supports in the environment to maximize healthy development of individuals and society (p. 114, Theokas, Almerigi, Lerner, Dowling, Benson, and Scales, 2005).”

While much has been published in academic journals regarding theories of child development, including an extensive PYD literature; the effects of poverty on children and families; and the evaluative assessments of those youth interventions implemented by various public, private and on-profit entities; there is fairly little academic literature that addresses the policymaking of PYD. As an

emerging field of practice, the main sources of policy discourse are found within national and regional advocacy or ‘think-tank’ types of organizations such as the Forum for Youth Investment (FYI) and the Annie E. Casey Foundation (AEC). This study will fill a gap in the academic literature regarding the dynamics and processes of PYD, and inform the youth policy efforts of emerging PYD contexts.

This study seeks to address the following research questions, in addition to exploring the public policy recommendations that can be made based on the findings of this study:

- How has the concept of PYD developed in the U.S. and in Queens, and are there differences between the two?
- How has the implementation of PYD in Queens evolved over time?
- What theory(s) best describe(s) the evolution of the concept and practice of PYD in Queens?
- In what ways has PYD contributed to the advancement of social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities in Queens?

Assumptions about the Research Design

The research design for this study employs inductive qualitative methods, seeking to identify patterns and assumptions that emerge from the data. In depth and focused interviews were conducted with various actors in the PYD movement, including public, private and non-profit sector representatives. Evidence in the study includes youth and parent perceptions through secondary data collected by a large youth-serving agency in Queens. Assumed in the design is that the context and perspective of the study participants may result in multiple explanations for the dynamics and processes of PYD in Queens.

Characteristics of the Study Design

This study relies on multiple sources of evidence in order to inductively build a portrait of PYD dynamics and processes. The study protocol is informed by theory derived from social movement frames (Snow and Benford, 1988-1999), equity frames (Frederickson, 1974; Shafritz and Russell, 2002; Johnson and Svara, 2011; Gooden, 2014), neo-institutional frames (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; DiMaggio, 1988; Scott, Deschenes, Hopkins, Newman, McLaughlin, 2006), systems change frames (Kelly, 1968; Peirson, Boydell, Ferguson and Ferris, 2011; Preskill and Gopal, 2014) and policy diffusion (Rogers, 1995; Stone, 2000; Jordana, Levi-Faur, Fernandez i Marin, 2011). Once interview data was collected, an on-going process to analyze and identify appropriate theories or frames informed further data collection.

Data Collection Processes

In order to ensure validity, the study uses multiple sources of data and establishes a chain of evidence (Patton, 2002). Use of triangulation, member checks, and thick description also contributes to validity procedures within the study. Triangulation is a process through which themes or categories are formed across multiple and different types of information (Creswell and Miller, 2000). Member checking assists in establishing credibility by having study participants confirm the accuracy of the data or report. Thick description gives detailed contextual support to the data. PYD is defined in specific concepts, citing published studies. Some research questions will be answered in part through a comprehensive literature review (see Chapter 2). A study protocol was developed that includes an overview of the project, procedures, a schedule for data collection, study questions, and guide for report. Data collection includes primary sources, gathered from interviews, and observations and secondary sources through

document review. The primary procedures involving human subjects for this protocol are in-depth focused interviews.

In addition to qualitative interviews and observations, other sources of evidence include: correspondence, administrative records, proposals, reports; formal studies or evaluations of positive youth development in New York and news clippings, social media, and other archival evidence. The majority of evidence collected will be from Queens County and historical in nature, in order to build a portrait of a PYD movement over time.

Data Analysis Processes

Dessler (2003) has argued that there are two approaches to the explanation of events: a generalizing strategy (to show the event as an instance of a certain type of event) and a particularization (detailing the sequence of happenings leading up to an event, without necessarily placing it in a larger class). Progress in historical explanation consists of “using existing theories and laws and acquiring a more precise characterization of the initial conditions and the event itself (pg. 395).”

Process-tracing is the attempt to empirically establish the implications that should be true in a case, if a particular explanation of a case is true. When using process tracing, one asks if one event produces a series of conditions that come together in some way (or do not) to produce another condition. The simplest type of process-tracing takes the form of a detailed narrative or story presented in the form of a chronicle that attempts to show how an event came about. George and Bennett (2005) argue that the inductive side of process-tracing can contribute to the development of general theories on the mechanisms underlying the processes observed in a case. Combining typological theorizing with process-tracing makes use of both generalizing and particularizing explanations, placing cases as

instances of a class of events while also giving detailed historical explanations of each case. Careful description is a foundation of process tracing. The analysis is inadequate if phenomena are not adequately described.

Reporting the Findings

A report of the study findings includes the research questions, theoretical propositions that have guided the data collection and analysis, the units of analysis, the logic that links the data to the study's assumptions, and the criteria for interpreting the findings. To strengthen trustworthiness, key informants reviewed drafts of the findings report. These comments were then incorporated into further drafts, as well as serving as new avenues for the collection of other supporting evidence.

Researcher's Role

I have broad and sometimes deep knowledge of the topic of PYD, the settings, and several key informants, particularly in the study area. Immersed in the youth development field for more than a decade as a practitioner, I am invested in the field and concerned with its establishment as a viable area of inquiry. While there is a great deal of literature devoted to child development and evaluative studies of youth outcomes, there is relatively little research that bridges the gap between the theory, practice and policy of PYD. Most work in this area is now being conducted by advocacy and education organizations such as the Forum for Youth Investment and the Finance Project. Exploring the concepts and practices of PYD will show how PYD is aligned with theories of change and social justice. My prior professional experiences have provided me with knowledge about and access to a variety of people who are very knowledgeable about the history and current status of PYD initiatives in Queens and elsewhere. Several of these individuals

serve as key informants for this study. My professional network facilitated site entry to multiple organizations, and served as a kind of shortcut to rapport. These relationships and prior experiences gave me insights into structures and processes, assisting with framing the study. In some ways, this led to a powerful insider's perspective. Conversely, the kind of access I was able to gain did not give me the "outsider's" perspective – that of organizations, formal and informal, that may not be as well connected to the publicly-funded system of youth development in NYC.

Statement about Ethics

This study conforms to all University of Delaware Institutional Review Board guidelines and ensures informed consent for all participants, and their parents if they are minors, so that the rights of all human subjects are protected. Subjects are not anonymous to the researcher. The nature of the research requires that participants have involvement in PYD policy/practice and be identified as such. All possible identifying markers have been removed and pseudonyms assigned in the data collection process. In the event of any publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared. No videos or photos are used as part of this dissertation, or any publications and presentations. Records will be preserved in hard-copy, electronic or other media form in the School of Public Policy and Administration at the University of Delaware during the study, and will be accessible for audit purposes. Research results are reported in the form of direct quotes attributed to a pseudonym and/or grouped without identifiers. This research will only be used for its stated intended purposes.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this literature review is to investigate the growth of the concept and practice of Positive Youth Development (PYD) in the United States and the ways in which communities create and sustain PYD. In order to set the backdrop for the growth of PYD, this review also describes perceptions in the U.S. about children and youth over time and the conditions that have led to youth interventions and reform efforts. The U.S. has a history of creating movements, institutions and policies concerning child welfare, from the Progressive Movement of the late 1800s to our current reform efforts in education, child welfare and juvenile justice. These events in our history have contributed to the current literature, policy and practice of PYD.

A comprehensive search for sources related to Positive Youth Development was conducted using resources available through the University of Delaware Library, which included WorldCat, DelCat, and the online library databases Academic OneFile, Education FullText and ERIC. Sources were searched using the keywords “positive + youth +development” in the library databases for peer-reviewed journals published from 1990 to the present. RefWorks was used as a citation manager, which provided the technology to check for duplicates from the various databases as well as to code the sources through the creation of subfolders. The initial search yielded approximately 300 sources. A review of the abstracts, and in many cases full text, allowed for an assessment of these sources in answering my proposed research questions. This process led to a winnowing of these sources to approximately 150. The reasoning for excluding

some sources included: topics that were beyond the scope of my research questions, did not describe a policy or program in the U.S., or were not scholarly-oriented sources. This search on PYD is supplemented by other sources that describe the condition of ‘disconnected youth,’ ‘dropout,’ and ‘juvenile justice.’

The literature falls into a few broad categories. A distinct community of scholars, primarily driven by the Search Institute and the emerging field of applied developmental science, has been creating a body of literature that theorizes PYD over the past decade. Perhaps also not surprisingly, a large portion of the literature describes school and community program outcomes, and is evaluative in nature. Some attention is paid to family and community involvement in PYD, as well as the physical and mental health development of youth. Finally, there is attention given in the literature to describing the conditions of youth in schools and communities. There is a smaller group of literature that takes on describing the conditions of specific subgroups of youth based on culture, identity, gender, socio-economic status, family status, and juvenile court involvement. These categories found in the literature influenced the organization of this literature review, which identifies domains of youth development as well as types of PYD program interventions. Notably absent from the initial search is literature regarding youth development policy. Further searches were required outside of academic sources to locate material describing youth policy. This material is primarily produced by foundations (Annie E. Casey, Kauffman), and advocacy organizations (Forum for Youth Investment). Additional sources were shared by research participants during the course of the study. These documents include a variety of reports, proposals, and practice instruments.

Sources for this literature review were evaluated by their value in answering the following research questions: How has the concept of PYD developed in the U.S., and, more specifically, how has the concept and practice

developed in Queens? How does PYD philosophy at the national level compare to Queens? What theory or theories best describe the evolution of PYD in Queens and the U.S.? In what ways has PYD contributed to the advancement of social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities?

Historical Perceptions of Children and Youth

Little is known about Western attitudes toward children prior to the 17th and 18th centuries. There is not much written about children and youth prior to the Industrial Revolution, and texts that do exist tend to be descriptions of middle- and upper-class life. The Greeks of antiquity had no word for childhood, and ‘students’ of philosophy were older than students of today. The first evidence of sheltering children from adult activities, particularly sex, emerges in Roman discourse (Postman 1982/1994).

Following the Enlightenment Era, childhood emerged as a social construct (Ariès, 1962; Postman, 1982/1994). Shifts from oligarchical political systems and rapid industrialization in the 19th century allowed for the expansion of newly affluent classes. This surplus of wealth allowed money to be spent on children, who were now seen as individuals. Children started to appear different from adults, wear different clothing and have different language. However, the privileges of childhood did not extend to poor children, whose status “was subordinated to their utility as a source of cheap labor” (pg. 53, Postman). Adults defined children’s identities by their roles in the family and, with the advent of compulsory education, by their schooling.

Population grew exponentially in American cities such as New York and Chicago after the Civil War, fueled by successive waves of more than 28.5 million immigrants between 1860 and 1920 (Brecher, 1974), and northern migration of freed slaves from the South. Upwardly mobile artisans of the 19th century were

threatened by the growth of cheap unskilled labor created by industrialization and “race and ethnicity became the basis on which employers divided workers” (Fox Piven and Cloward, pg. 99). Although wage employees far outnumbered farmers and small proprietors by 1880, a small rural proprietor view of life and private property orientation persisted in American culture.

The conditions of children, particularly poor children, came to the forefront of reform movements of the late 19th century. Class preservation and concerns about crime motivated middle-class reformers to take increased responsibility for the conditions of children. In 1853, Children’s Aid Society founder Charles Loring Brace established the Orphan Train Movement in response to the perceived epidemic of homeless children in New York City. Children were sent by train to the homes of farm families in the West, where they would live for free while working on the farm. The movement lasted to the early 1900s, and it is estimated that 120,000 children were placed (Children’s Aid Society).

Sentiments like these resulted in the rise of the Progressive Movement among educated middle-class women like Jane Addams. Addams found herself opening the first American settlement house in the city of Chicago in 1889, following her experiences of witnessing tenement slums in East London. Her feelings about reform are documented in writings published in ladies’ magazines, and compiled in her first book “Twenty Years at Hull House” (Addams, 1910/1990). Addams was both a pioneer and a product of her time. She saw reform as necessary in cities because the “idea of self-government falls down in a ward where citizens and public authorities have little knowledge...or initiative about civic duty” (pg. 59).

Conceptions of childhood were also influenced by the emergence of modern psychology in the late 19th century. Sigmund Freud (1923/1960/1990) both confirmed and refuted the earlier works of Locke and Rousseau, by claiming

that while children had their own internal psychic drives, they were also heavily influenced by their early interactions with parents and family members. However, it is Jean Piaget's (1932/1965) developmental psychology approach which describes stages of intellectual and moral development through childhood that remains influential to modern conceptions of youth development through applied developmental science.

In 1912, the Children's Bureau in the U.S. Department of Labor was created (U.S. Dept. Health and Human Services, 2011). This marked the federal government's first involvement in child welfare. The purpose of the Bureau was to investigate and report on child welfare for the federal government, researching all aspects of a child's life throughout his or her development. The Bureau focused on infant and maternal health, child labor, and the protection of children with special needs. From 1912 through the early 1950s, the Bureau's primary work with youth ages 10 to 16 was in preventing child labor and juvenile delinquency. The Bureau tracked and evaluated the causes of delinquency, eventually establishing a division on juvenile delinquency prevention in 1954. The Bureau also implemented child health and welfare programs, originally established by the Social Security Act of 1935, to strengthen child welfare services in rural and special needs areas. Due to federal government reorganizations in the late 1940s, the Bureau was moved from the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) to the Federal Security Agency (FSA). Child health policy issues were transferred to the Public Health Service, and the FSA was integrated into the newly organized Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) in 1953.

Children as Students

It is the concept of literacy, lost during the Middle Ages, that changes conceptions of childhood. It was long believed that childhood ended at age seven,

“the age at which children have command of speech (pg. 13, Postman).” There were no primary schools, because learning occurred through experience and service. The inventions of paper and the printing press gradually replaced oral history traditions, and literacy became an indicator of adulthood. Following this shift, childhood was increasingly considered a state that should be separated and protected from adulthood.

Where schools existed, the concept of childhood developed rapidly. This was particularly true in England. Fueled by the ‘tabula rasa’ theory of John Locke (1690/1970), children were ‘blank slates’ and adults had a responsibility to fill them. An alternative and competing theory of childhood as an existing natural state was put forward by French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762/1979). These new concepts of nature (Rousseau) vs. nurture (Locke) consequently resulted in changes in the expectations and responsibilities of the family for raising children.

For most American history, there was no public or ‘common school.’ For 250 years, education in the U.S. was an extension of families, local communities or religious institutions (Loveless, 1998). Education is not mentioned in official documents until the Land Ordinance Act of 1785, which mandated that townships “set aside support for public education” (Hayes, pg. 3). Education is also not mentioned in the constitution, although the 10th amendment indirectly delegated power over education to the states.

Following the presidency of Thomas Jefferson, public education became a symbol of democracy. Compulsory education became a means to achieve social mobility and the dream of equality, although still highly segregated by race, class and gender. Children whose identities had previously been defined by their own families and communities, or by the marginalizing forces of slavery and Jim Crow, now came under the scrutiny of the state. A public school system finally emerged

in the mid-19th-century, primarily due to the efforts of Horace Mann in Massachusetts, labeled the ‘father of common schools.’ Mann convinced the Massachusetts state legislature to contribute financially to support public schools and training of teachers. He also unsuccessfully tried to introduce legislation as a United States Representative to create a national Department of Education a century before it would actually happen (Hayes, 2008), during the Carter Administration.

Our modern concept of the challenges for public education in the United States - to educate all students, reduce racial and class gaps, increase efficiency and compete successfully in a world economy - is quite different from ideas about public education in the past. Progressive era reformers conceived of schools not only as child-saving places, but also as a means of socialization (Platt, 2009). Academics like Ellwood P. Cubberly of Stanford University saw public education as a means of social control that would situate children into their future roles. The idea of industrial education was so popular that the U.S. Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 for vocational and industrial education (Ravitch, 2001). A critic of industrial education, John Dewey proposed that such a system reinforced inequities. Dewey’s seminal *Democracy and Education* (1916) describes the difficulty in transitioning from an informal education tradition to the formalized education required by increasingly complicated industrial systems. Dewey postulated, “education, in its broadest sense, is the means of this social continuity of life. Every one of the constituent elements of a social group, in a modern city as in a savage tribe, is born immature, helpless, without language, beliefs, ideas, or social standards” (pg. 8). Dewey argued that experience, not only learning for learning’s sake, was key to transitioning from informal to formal education. He believed through experience one could learn, and through education

one could find a true occupation in life. Yet even Dewey characterized the pursuit of education as steps from ‘savagery to civilization.’

From the inception of public schools in the United States, governance has involved locally elected school boards and authorities. However, local control was insufficient in combating the various challenges that emerged from rival institutions to the common school, such as local apprenticeship and religious institutions. State intervention was necessary in order to institutionalize a system of public schools. Although originally founded as an independent institution, the school has become a complex entity nested within multiple layers of local, state, and federal government (Loveless, 1998).

Children as Criminals

By creating categories of misbehavior such as truancy, Platt (2009) argues that reformers of the progressive movement invented delinquency, which didn’t exist before school attendance. One of Platt’s major critiques of the progressives is the pervasiveness of social Darwinism as an influence in child saving. As Enoch Wines, one of the first and most influential figures in the movement, is quoted by Platt, “They are born to it, brought up for it. They must be saved” (pg. 45). The belief in a hierarchy, or caste-like system, typified by the notion of the “natural” criminal or “anti-social” class, informed much of the policy that created reformatories and industrial schools – in an attempt to prevent such children (working-class and poor) from carrying out their predetermined fates. However, it is worth noting that not all children were considered worthy of saving, deemed marginal by virtue of race or religion (Ward and Myers in Platt, 2009).

Platt (2009) argues that Juvenile Court Act of 1899 in Chicago was not as “enlightened” as most had believed. Rather, it was a consolidation of procedures and practices already in place that allowed progressives, sectarians, the growing

corrections professional class and government to agree. Establishment of the court allowed the state to act in place of parents (*parens patriae*) for “the best interests of the child.” The passage of the Act in Illinois was quickly followed by the passage of similar Acts in other states. Platt provides evidence that a separate juvenile court did not result in all youth being held separately from adults, did not allow for due process for minors, and often resulted in worse conditions in youth facilities.

Platt also points out that the creation of a juvenile court system allowed for a new professional class to emerge that included reformers and new corrections roles for women. Influential organizations such as the National Prison Association and the Congress of Charities and Corrections accepted a medical model and embraced the notion of crime as a disease that could be treated and cured, leading to an explosion in the “helping” professions and the bureaucracy of welfare agencies. Such an entrenched professional class ensured that the juvenile reform institution would remain in effect, with strong support from legislators. Another effect was that women could increasingly fill new social and professional roles. It was generally accepted that women should play a central role in saving children. They were thought to have more of the altruistic and selfless qualities that were necessary to do social work. This allowed for middle-class women with little responsibility in the home to take on roles of more responsibility outside of the home with the tacit approval of society.

Interventions for Poor Families

Economic conditions for families in the United States have influenced successive waves of policy decisions in child welfare, education, employment and juvenile justice. The U.S. has used social indicators as policy measurement tools as far back as the 1920s, starting with the Department of Interior’s Bureau of Education “community scorecard” (Brown and Moore, 2003). One third of

America's workforce was unemployed by 1933 following the Stock Market Crash of 1929. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal provided emergency relief to poor families as well as farmers and industry through The Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) Program, authorized through the Social Security Act of 1935. The AFDC Program (now Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) Block Grant) was also created to provide financial assistance to children under the age of 16 who were deprived of parental support or care due to a parent's death, continued absence from the home, or physical or mental incapacity. Although later ruled unconstitutional, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933 introduced codes governing wages, hours and the right of workers to bargain collectively (Fox-Piven and Cloward, 1977). The impact of these measures, particularly regarding the welfare of children and families, was felt throughout the 20th century.

For most of the years between the enactment of the Social Security Act and the 1960s, very few poor people accessed ADC or AFDC. Federal funds only covered part of relief costs, providing an incentive for localities to make welfare difficult to obtain. All able-bodied adults without children as well as two-parent families were originally disqualified from obtaining AFDC funds. The words "families with" were added to the name in 1962, partly due to concern that the program's rules discouraged marriage.

Relief rolls expanded greatly in the 1960s and 1970s, due in no small part to a concerted welfare rights movement that coincided with the War on Poverty. Court rulings during the Civil Rights Movement removed many of the more restrictive regulations, creating new categories of people eligible for relief. Community organizations such as the National Welfare Rights Organization, formed in 1966, also distributed informational packets informing citizens of their ability to receive government assistance. Between 1936 and 1969, the number of

families receiving support increased from 162,000 to 1,875,000 (Fox-Piven and Cloward, pg. 264). The movement lost momentum due to political backlash and trends in welfare reform that shifted under the Nixon Administration.

Table 1 outlines the purposes and outcomes of War on Poverty initiatives that addressed youth and families. While some initiatives have been renamed or transferred to different units or agencies within the federal government, most remain influential today.

Table 1 War on Poverty policy initiatives addressing youth and families 1964-1975 (Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012)

Initiative	Purpose	Outcome
Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964 (P.L. 88-452)	Promote the well-being of poor youth and other low-income individuals	Job Corps, Upward Bound, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), Head Start, and Neighborhood Youth Corps, Upward Bound
Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 (P.L. 89-10)	Provide federal funding to low-income schools	Title I Funding, Migrant Education Program and Migrant High School Equivalency Program
Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965 (P.L. 89-329)	Increased federal funding to universities and created scholarships and low interest loans for students	Talent Search Program, Student Support Services and Upward Bound (transferred from the OEO to the Office of Education, and later to the U.S. Department of Education)
Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1970 (P.L. 91-378)	Employ youth of all backgrounds to perform work on federal lands	Youth Conservation Pilot Program
Comprehensive Employment and Training Activities Act (CETA) of 1973 (P.L. 93-203)	Financed employment training activities and on-the-job training	Youth Employment and Training Program and the Summer Youth Employment Program
Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJJPA) of 1974 (P.L. 93-415)	Federal support to states and local governments for rehabilitative and preventative JJD projects	Runaway Youth Program, amended (P.L. 95-115) Title III to include homeless youth
Education for All Handicapped Children of 1975 (P.L. 94-142), now known as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act	Required all public schools accepting federal funds to provide equal access to education for children with physical and mental disabilities	Individualized Education Plans

Defining poverty in the United States has been fraught with theoretical and methodological challenges. Since the 1960s, the government has defined poverty as an absolute measure based on a predetermined threshold that considers family size and cost of living increases. This measure is designed to show the relative deprivation of households and determine a host of policy-making decisions based on aggregate data. The absolute measure has been criticized for its inability to take into account other contextual factors, such as relative family expenses and regional economic differences. The U.S. Census has experimented with measures and “guidelines” that take into account adjustments for benefits as well as costs associated with medical and work expenses (Gershoff, Aber and Raver, 2003). Other measures of poverty include a self-sufficiency standard that takes into account the cost of living and relative measures that take into account the median income of a locale. More recently, researchers have begun to investigate family hardship and social exclusion as frameworks for understanding poverty and its effects on children. Children from poor families are more likely to suffer significant deficits in physical, cognitive and social-emotional development (Brooks-Gunn and Duncan, 1997).

Maternal employment trends since 1950, as well as other contextual factors such as culture, neighborhood and family have had effects on the ecology of the child in the United States. Policies such as Family Leave, established in the U.S. in 1993 after several attempts, provide guaranteed job security in the event of family or medical needs. Family Leave policies recognize the importance of employment as part of the functioning of a family. Lerner, Castellino, Lolli and Wan (2003) point out that the U.S. has lagged far behind other industrialized nations that have generous paid as well as mandatory leave.

In 1996, former President Clinton negotiated with Congress to pass the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA,

enacted August 22, 1996), considered to be a fundamental shift in both the method and goal of federal cash assistance to the poor. The bill's primary requirements and effects included: ending welfare as an entitlement program; requiring recipients to begin working after two years of receiving benefits; placing a lifetime limit of five years on benefits paid by federal funds; aiming to encourage two-parent families and discouraging out-of-wedlock births; and enhancing enforcement of child support. The newly-limited nature of the replacement program was reinforced by calling AFDC's successor Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) which became effective July 1, 1997. TANF replaced AFDC and the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training (JOBS) program of 1988 (Library of Congress, 2011).

PRWORA aimed to modify two kinds of behavior, the labor participation, family and reproductive behavior of individual poor families and the bureaucratic behavior of the agencies that administer programs to AFDC recipients. One of the main structural features of PRWORA is the devolvement of responsibility for implementation of welfare reform from the federal government to the states. Under the earlier AFDC program, states and the federal government shared the risk of increased entitlement welfare spending. Under the TANF program, states bear the full cost of spending increases above the value of their federal block grant. In an evaluation of PRWORA, the Lewin Group (2003) found that some states decided to place additional requirements on recipients.

Teitz and Chapple (1998) argue that welfare reform policies have failed due to their inability to address the total ecology of poverty. TANF policies weakened the safety net for the poorest families with children (Parrott and Sherman, 2007), evidenced by the increase in number of the “no work, no welfare” population. The length and quality of work activities varies and usually doesn’t provide a living wage. Abramovitz (2004) and Fraser (1989) also both question the

dynamics of social welfare policy and the double standard it enforces about the roles of women in society. Women tend to be the recipients of social assistance while men have tended to benefit from the more generous social insurance programs like social security. In addition, racial composition of welfare caseloads is associated with stronger sanction policies, shorter time limits, and immediate work activity requirements for welfare recipients (Gais and Weaver, 2002).

Modern Conditions of Children and Youth

In many ways, not much has changed with regard to attitudes about the dependence of children in the United States, and the notion that conforming to middle-class values leads to success. Annette Lareau (2003) suggests that students who lack middle-class cultural capital and have limited parental involvement are likely to have lower academic achievement than their peers. Social workers in schools and community agencies continue to try to “get kids out of the slums” as Beverly Warner said in an address to the National Prison’s Association in 1898. The Fresh Air Fund, formed in 1877 in NYC, still serves thousands of youth each year. Our schools continue to expel “unruly children” to “suit the convenience of teachers,” as stated in 1894 by Florence Kelly (Platt 2009). For most of the 20th century, youth policies were aimed at deficit reduction, or the eradication of youth ‘problems’ through a variety of educational and treatment models. As school reform efforts have proved, positive outcomes for children and youth were inextricably linked to a larger ecology of positive outcomes for families and communities.

In the post-modern sense, Habermas (1985) has argued that the social paradigm in which the family and state-managed education systems and agents such as CBOs/NGOs no longer inspire people to improve their well-being through collective action. In his discussion of Durkheim, Habermas argues that “the

integration of developed societies comes about via the systemic interconnection of functionally specified domains of action (p. 114),” or divisions of labor rather than collective consciousness. Individuals are socialized through cultural and symbolic meaning as interpreted through media and the markets. Therefore the symbolic nature of power and the abstractions that govern economic and environmental domains cause further disconnection from collective action for modern citizens, including youth (Guidikova, 2003).

‘Disconnected’ or ‘Opportunity’ Youth

While adolescence is a challenging time for most youth, the majority of youth in the United States live with parents who provide for their safety and well-being. Typically, young adults cycle between school, home, and independence; engaging in the exploration of careers and relationships. To succeed, young adults must develop in education, work, financial autonomy, relationships with partners and peers, citizenship and healthy behaviors. The median age of first marriage is approximately 25.8 years for women and 28.3 years for men in recent years (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). In 2010, 1.1 million young adults not attending school lived with one or both of their parents, adding to the financial burden for families (Mykyta and Macartney, 2012).

Young adults with a safety net may still face significant challenges. However, those youth who do not grow up in a secure environment or have a comprehensive system of support are at even greater risk of becoming disengaged or ‘disconnected’ from school and links to college and careers. While there are many characterizations of ‘at-risk,’ ‘vulnerable,’ or ‘disconnected’ youth, Fernandes-Alcantara (2012) suggests that vulnerable youth are those who have characteristics and experiences that may lead to the development of problem behaviors and outcomes harmful to their communities, themselves, or both. Hair,

Moore, Ling, McPhee-Baker, Brown & ChildTrends (2009) analyzed data from a nationally representative longitudinal survey of youth and found that a variety of factors affect the likelihood of an adolescent's disconnection and reconnection, including demographics, family processes, youth characteristics and behaviors, peer characteristics, and community characteristics. In particular, the researchers found that participation in a job search, job training or school-to-work program was related to a lower risk of becoming disconnected. Youth may also experience different levels of risk, or multiple risk factors, which lead to different outcomes. However, youth in this category may also manifest resiliency that mitigates negative outcomes.

The Congressional Research Service (CRS) has defined 'youth' as adolescents and young adults between the ages of 10 and 24, which total approximately 64 million or 21% of the population of the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). CRS expanded the traditional age range of 12-18 due to cultural and economic shifts in American society. Of these youth, CRS estimated that 1.9 million or 5.1% of all 16-24 year olds were out of work or not in school based on data drawn from the Current Population Survey (CPS) of households in 2007. Since the data is based on household surveys, the estimate does not include institutionalized youth, i.e., youth in prisons, juvenile justice facilities, mental health facilities, college dormitories or the military; and also does not stratify other categories of vulnerable youth, i.e., Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Questioning (LGBTQ), teen parents, runaways, homeless, English Language Learners (ELLs), newcomers, and youth in foster care and secure care (Zweig, 2003). CRS estimates that 44% of youth defined as disconnected had dropped out of high school (Fernandes and Gabe, 2009).

Vulnerable youth not included in the CPS may experience multiple risk factors, and potentially experience poor outcomes as they enter adulthood

(Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012). Factors associated with disconnection include family poverty; family structure; parental unemployment; welfare receipt; parental education; age; and race/ethnicity (35.4 percent of Black youth versus 14.8 percent of White youth. (Hair et. al. & ChildTrends, 2009). In New York City, Black and Latina young women have especially high rates of disconnectedness, at twice the rate of Black and Latino young men, while all categories of Black and Latino youth have higher rates of disconnectedness than White youth. The Metropolitan Center for Urban Education at New York University found that Black and Latino males had a 44% six-year graduation rate from the 2005 cohort in New York City. Black and Latino male dropouts in the 2006-2007 cohort tended to be overage, repeated one or more grade levels and fell behind in their first year of high school (Meade, Gaytan, Fergus and Noguera, 2009).

Tolan and Gorman-Smith (1997) have identified four types of stress that influence risk for urban children and youth: (1) chronic environmental stress, (2) life events, (3) daily hassles, (4) and role strain. This typology allows an ecological assessment of specific impacts and necessary coping behaviors for children who experience multiple stressors in urban environments. Cognitive features such as optimism, sense of control and goal orientation, can be derailed by the sense of hopelessness that constant threats to social and physical safety can promote. Other environmental inputs, such as inadequate schools, limited access to training, and cultural conventions, add to the strain on identity development for urban youth.

Nationwide, of the students who began high school in 2001, 71 percent graduated four years later. However, the graduation rate was only 53 percent in the 50 largest mostly urban school districts and the graduation rate for Black and Latino students was 55 and 58 percent respectively, as compared with 78 percent for White students (Plotts, Sable, and Chen, 2010). Feeling safe and connected to teachers and peers at school is associated with higher graduation rates. Conversely,

lack of social and emotional engagement with school is associated with lower grades, depression, delinquency and drug use (Li and Lerner 2011). In California, Black students reported the lowest levels in school connectedness, attendance, and safety, as part of the California Healthy Kids Survey (CHKS), a comprehensive health risk and resilience student self-reported data collection system. A total of 325,954 students in 7th grade and 561,317 students in 9th and 11th grades in approximately 800 school districts were surveyed. Compared to Latinos, Black students were much more likely to report being harassed. Latinos similarly also reported lower school attendance and perceptions of school safety (Austin, Hanson, Bono and Cheng, 2007).

Perceptions of race, ethnicity and class compound connectedness issues for particularly vulnerable youth in foster care. Youth feel the effects of being placed in foster care both physically and mentally. For example, in Delaware, only 30% of those receiving independent living services graduate from high school or receive a GED by age 19. By age 21, only 44 percent of youth aging out of foster care in Delaware are employed (DYOI, 2011). Berzin (2010) used latent class analysis to examine youth profiles from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth in 1997, and found foster care youth overrepresented in the two classes most at risk for difficulties in transitioning to adulthood. These classes were characterized as facing significant and multiple challenges, from low educational attainment to high rates of incarceration, teen pregnancy and drug use.

GLBTQ youth have also been found to be vulnerable to depression and stress due to stigma and prejudice (Davis, Saltzburg and Locke, 2009). A qualitative study of two groups drawn from a sample of 25 high schools found that same-sex attracted and questioning youth have significantly lower asset levels regarding psychological functioning, parental relationships and victimization (Bogaert, Busseri, Chalmers and Willoughby, 2006). Assets, first posited by

Benson (1990), refer to the strengths, competencies, and contributions that youth can make. Challenging this view, it has also been found that GLBTQ youth build communities and provide protection for each other through natural mentoring relationships (NMRs), as reported by Torres, Harper, Sàncchez and Fernàndez (2012), in their study of self-identified gay, bisexual and questioning (GBQ) male youth aged 15-22.

Perhaps even more pronounced, yet often ignored, is the tension for Native American youth between group tribal identity and external expectations (Peshkin, 1997; Spring, 2009). As Peshkin states about native tribes' 'life ways,' "schools of the outside world promote accomplishment in that world. When they do, they are at odds with the ideals of Pueblo culture as currently conceived (pg 114)." While some tribal youth navigate the two worlds successfully, significant numbers find there is a lack of economic opportunities that meet and match tribal expectations as well as their own.

Juvenile Justice

Barton (2004) characterizes our modern juvenile justice system as a series of stages through which a young person experiences contact with various authorities concerned with criminal or deviant behavior. These stages make up a system of juvenile justice that includes prevention, court processing, disposition, and aftercare. Youth development programs have historically been associated with prevention, and dedicated state funding streams identify prevention explicitly, i.e., the Youth Development Delinquency Prevention (YDDP) Program in New York State. There are multiple hearings in the court process to determine detention, judgment, and ultimate disposition.

Individuals involved in the justice system are less likely to have completed higher education, compared to those with no history of incarceration (Harlow,

2003). Approximately two in five (41%) inmates and one in three (33%) probationers have not completed high school or obtained a GED, compared to 18 percent of the general population (Burke et al. 2005). While some youth do engage in behaviors that would be considered adult crimes, most youth experience contact with law enforcement for the first time through school. Mareschal, McKee, Jackson and Hanson (2007) point out that although juvenile crime rates in the United States have been decreasing since 1994, literature and popular culture continue to consider juvenile violence a threat to communities.

Incarcerated youth require a complex array of educational, behavioral and mental health services (Barber and Gagnon, 2010). Jolivette, Leone, Mathur and Nelson (2010) contend that “children and youth with disabilities, especially those with E/BDs{emotional or behavioral disabilities}, who are involved with this system are especially vulnerable to experiencing the undesired outcomes that result from receiving inadequate and inappropriate services” (pg. 8). Low self-control shows substantive effects across different subgroups of the population and types of crime, and Hay, Meldrum, Forrest, and Ciaravolo (2010) argue that the strongest prediction of self-control is consistent parental socialization.

Unfortunately, a “pattern in the research is that many teachers in secure care settings do not use research-based instructional and behavioral approaches that are effective” (pg. 6, Barber and Gagnon).

Citing the large number of youth in juvenile detention with undiagnosed learning disabilities, Darling-Hammond (2006) argues that the problem is “substantially an education problem, associated with the sustained underinvestment in central city and poor rural schools that deprives many students of skilled teachers and other resources” (pg. 14). From 1995 to 2004, the national juvenile arrest rate for serious property and violent crimes declined 45 percent, and the homicide arrest rate declined dramatically by 70 percent. During this same

period, the numbers of youth adjudicated delinquent, placed into secure detention, and sentenced to probation all grew. For example, more than twice as many youth were adjudicated for disorderly conduct in 2004 than in 1995. Similarly, a disproportionate share of public school students referred to juvenile justice under zero tolerance policies are youth with educational disabilities (and related behavior problems), suggesting that schools rely on court interventions in responding to the behavior problems of students with special needs (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2008).

Efforts to enhance vigilance about violence and criminal activity within schools have resulted in the widespread adoption of such approaches to student discipline and rule enforcement (Sullivan, Dollard, Sellers, and Mayo, 2010). These policies have produced the effect of the juvenile justice system broadening its reach in some instances (Chen, 2008; Hirschfield, 2008). Examination of zero-tolerance policies has also revealed the overrepresentation of minorities receiving school punishment (Lawrence, 2007; Reyes, 2006; Skiba & Knesting, 2001; Skiba, Michael, Nardo & Peterson, 2002; Sughrue, 2003). A Harvard study revealed that although African-American students only comprise 17% of students enrolled in public schools, they represent 33% of out-of-school suspensions due to zero tolerance (Advancement Project/Civil Rights Project, 2000). Conger and Ross (2006) point out that pre-adjudication detention of juveniles has led to overcrowded conditions, particularly in cities like New York, citing advocates and researchers who have criticized juvenile detention facilities in New York City.

Jolivette, Leone, Mathur, & Nelson (2010) argue that this “punishment mentality” is overlooking significant numbers of juveniles in secure confinement due to reasons other than criminal behavior – including status offenses (i.e., incorrigibility and truancy) and placement in order to access mental health services. Truancy is one of the most common juvenile offenses, and is subject to

court petition (Fantuzzo, Grim & Hazan, 2005). Day, Mihalic, Tichavsky & Zahn (2009) extend the discussion of status offenses to include gender, indicating that girls are more likely to be remanded to custody for status offenses or less serious crimes, while having higher rates of mental disorders and histories of abuse (Belknap, 2001; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; Cauffman, Lexcen, Goldweber, Shulman & Grisso, 2007). Race plays a role in the adjudication of girls as well. Miller (1994) found that 75% of White girls received treatment recommendations at sentencing compared to 30% of Black girls, and that probation officers were more likely to attribute the offenses of White girls to low self-esteem and non-White girls' offenses to life-style choices.

The Promise of Equity in Education Reform in the U.S.

Spring (2007) argues that much of American education policy and practice has had the effect of deculturalization, or the removal of culture from non-European immigrants and Native American tribes, and the replacement of these cultures through education with European American culture. Efforts by schools to reduce the achievement or opportunity gap, which many believe was caused by segregation, often focus on individual students for what are perceived as individual and cultural deficits (Herbert, 1999). Pivotal in the attempt to change these effects is the seminal 1954 court decision *Brown vs. the Board of Education* in Kentucky. Prior to *Brown*, the “court accepted segregated institutions for Black people stipulating only that they must be equal to those open to White people (pg. 4, Kozol, 1991)” via *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896). The *Brown* ruling in 1954 struck down *Plessy*, recognizing that segregated schools had produced disparities of quality of education as well as opportunities. Principles of social justice hold that a just society is based on equality and solidarity. Further, a just society values human rights for all (Zajda, Maihanovich and Rust, 2006). Despite *Brown*, Kozol

(1991) has argued that racial segregation continues due to unequal distribution of funds collected through property taxes and distributed by the state in an attempt to 'equalize' the expenditures of schools. More recent court decisions such as *Bradley v. School Board of Richmond* (1965), *Milliken v. Bradley* (1977), *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), and *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007) have rejected the use of race-conscious policies to remedy past segregation (Hunter, 2009).

Research into the causes of gaps in achievement between low-income, minority students and middle-income, White students have been ongoing since the publication of *Equality of Educational Opportunity* in 1966, mandated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Coleman, 1966). The report suggested that both in-school factors and home and/or community factors contribute to the academic achievement of students and contributed to the gap. The research was based on an extensive survey with a national sample that included almost 650,000 students and teachers in more than 3,000 schools. It showed that variations in school quality showed little association with levels of educational attainment, when students of comparable social backgrounds were compared across schools. Differences in students' family backgrounds, by comparison, showed a substantial association with achievement. These findings have been replicated in other studies (Kahlenberg, 2001, 2008). The legacy of the Coleman Report has been to influence all national reform efforts since the 1960s.

States maintain the primary responsibility for setting standards and designing accountability systems, despite several attempts at federal level reform. Competing reform agendas and other constraints have led to dissonance or incoherence in state-level educational policymaking. Febey and Louis (2008) assert that policy culture within states drive the dynamics and outcomes of legislation. Elitist, moralistic and individualistic policy cultures, combined with

legislative politics, structural limitations, economic constraints and legal contexts, have contributed to a disjointed U.S education policy across states.

The past 40 years of education reform fall into four categories - choice, equity, excellence, and accountability (Loveless, 1998). Choice advocates believe that parents should be allowed to choose the school(s) their children attend, instead of districts requiring school attendance by residence. Equity reform is based on the premise that quality of education should not be related to socioeconomic conditions. Compensatory programs such as Title 1, as well as litigation to require a more equitable distribution of resources to all public schools were adopted as remedies (Hunter 2009). The Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965 (ESEA) authorizes grants through Title 1 to provide more resources for the education of children living in areas where low-income families are concentrated. Unfortunately, complicated funding formulas implemented in several successive reauthorizations do not always get dollars to every low-income family (Chait and Miller, 2009).

Another significant reform in education is the decentralization of administrative functions of school districts (Hunter, 2009). Decentralization was designed to increase parental involvement in education. The most comprehensive example of decentralization is the case of New York City. The New York State legislature passed the Decentralization Act of 1969, creating 31 districts and 31 elected school boards in NYC. In one of many struggles over control between parents and schools, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) conducted three employee strikes during 1968 in response to the dismissal of nineteen white school personnel by dissatisfied Black parents in Ocean Hill-Brownville.

In the late 1970s, a movement for minimum competency developed, solidified by the publication of *Nation at Risk* (Gardner, Larsen and Baker, 1983). Graduation requirements have been continually increased since and movements

toward national standards in academic subjects have engaged federal, state, and local officials and professional groups. The push to produce excellent outcomes also brought higher standards of accountability to ensure those outcomes. Practices in business and industry began to inform school restructuring efforts, and ‘school-based management,’ practices reflected the shift to building level decision-making (Hunter 2009). Accountability has been manifested in reforms such as merit pay and career ladders for teachers, sanctions and performance incentives for schools, and legislation allowing states to take over school districts.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)

Perhaps the single most important piece of legislation enacted to reform education in the United States is the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). ESEA has been reauthorized multiple times, and successive administrations have chosen to rename the Act. In the mid-1960s, Lyndon B. Johnson managed to push ESEA through as part of the War on Poverty. This compensatory program was passed during an era of significant resistance to public school desegregation. The Act authorized Title I, which allocated one billion dollars of categorical federal aid to improve reading and math skills of poor children. ESEA established the role of the federal government in public education (Hunter 2009) and has been the platform for successive presidential administrations to reauthorize funding for schools while reflecting the current political agenda. The passage of ESEA also ushered in an era of federal protection measures, including Title IX (1972) which protected the rights of women in education, the Bilingual Education Act (1968), and Public Law 94-142, the Individuals With Disabilities Act (1975). The Carter Administration created the first cabinet level Department of Education in 1979.

The perception that federal involvement in education was intrusive and too prescriptive led to a backlash in the 1980s. In 1981, ESEA was reauthorized as the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act (ECIA). The Reagan administration reduced federal funding for education, simplified eligibility, and increased flexibility for states. The release of *Nation at Risk* (1983), hailed as “a call to action” at the time by education reformer Diane Ravitch (Hayes, pg. 9), prompted a national focus on quality of outcomes and further supplanted the focus on equity. In response to the perceived failure of local government to improve student performance, particularly urban schools and most disadvantaged students, a new education coalition, starting with the ‘education president,’ George Bush, Sr., led to a new era of federal education policy. President Clinton embraced a greatly expanded federal role in education with more investment, reauthorizing ESEA as the Improving America’s Schools Act (1994).

The 1990s emerged as a “choice” era for education reform, characterized by public school choice, charter schools and private/public school vouchers. Equally important during this time is the standards-based movement. Choice policy initiatives were designed to promote student achievement by addressing limiting socioeconomic factors. Choice initiatives have been criticized as depleting resources from already struggling public school districts (Blank, Shah, Johnson, Blackwell and Ganley, 2003).

It is during this same time period that that efforts to link schools to community partners increased. Movements across the country built on previous work in settlement houses, community education and Communities in Schools. Various community partners, including youth development organizations and other civic organizations, emerged as new players in a broad array of school-community initiatives. Among these initiatives were the Beacon Community Schools, a school-CBO partnership model that has been replicated across the U.S. The growth

of school-community initiatives prompted the analysis of this new field in the Institute for Educational Leadership (IEL) report *Learning Together* (Melaville, 1998). Four major strategies or practices emerged from the analysis. These included the reform of services that addressed barriers to academic success such as health and crisis interventions, positive youth development programming, community development, and education reform.

NCLB (No Child Left Behind), the reauthorization of ESEA in 2002, included a comprehensive framework of standards, testing, and accountability, and removal of some discretion of local authorities (McGuinn, 2006). Twelve billion dollars was authorized for Title I through NCLB, compared to the one billion in 1965. Through outcomes and performance-based measurements, schools were rewarded as well as punished. NCLB has been criticized, mainly over the variability among state's accountability mandates and the effect that high-stakes testing have on schools – labeled as failures, states have been shown to lower their standards in order to avoid punitive sanctions. Fusarelli (2004) argues that the positive effects of NCLB were that it allowed disaggregation of data to identify specific groups of students at risk.

More recent federal attempts at education reform are included in the American Reinvestment and Recovery Act (ARRA) of 2009 which authorized competitive funds for states achieving significant improvement in student outcomes, including making substantial gains in student achievement, closing achievement gaps, improving high school graduation rates, and ensuring that students are prepared for success in college and careers. Race to The Top (RTTT) was coined a 'reform lever' by the Obama administration, and has funded states for \$100 billion in reforms that reflect similar values and strategies to NCLB. Among these strategies are adopting standards and assessments that prepare students to succeed in college and the workplace and to compete in the global

economy; building data systems that measure student growth and success, informing teachers and principals about how they can improve instruction; and recruiting, developing, rewarding, and retaining effective teachers and principals, particularly in disadvantaged communities.

To resolve the problem of schools that have been identified as ‘poorly performing,’ RTTT includes four school turnaround models: (1) The Turnaround Model, (2) The Restart Model, (3) School Closure, and (4) The Transformation Model. (NYS Department of Education, 2010). As part of strategy number three, RTTT requires that the Local Education Agency (LEA) must establish schedules and implement strategies that increase learning time and provide ongoing mechanisms for family and community engagement. RTTT does not prescribe or mandate, but rather outlines permissible activities that include partnering with parents and parent organizations, faith- and community-based organizations, health clinics, other state or local agencies to create safe school environments that meet students’ social, emotional, and health needs. Congress has continually ended session for eight years with no movement on ESEA reauthorization. In November 2015, President Obama authorized the most recent version of ESEA, the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA).

School Climate

School practices were found to have the greatest influence on grades, failure, and attendance among 24,894 ninth-graders in Chicago schools (1994-5) (Allensworth and Easton 2007). However, adolescents experience diminishing contact with teachers during their transitions within school and from youth to adulthood, a time when teacher support plays an important role in shaping student effort, prosocial behavior and well-being (Lutz, Wagner and Wigfield, 2005). Some explanations for a lack of personalization are structural, such as the

differences in the amount of time teachers spend with their students from elementary to middle and high school and the number of students that teachers teach. Additionally, counselors' relationships with students may be limited due to the student-to-counselor ratio or the by the number and types of tasks they do (Bryan and Henry, 2008).

School practices are also inextricably bound to the beliefs and norms of those who carry them out. Willis (1977) argues that, contrary to Dewey's ideal of liberty, opportunity, and happiness, he observed education reproducing and reinforcing socioeconomic status. In his hallmark ethnographic study of youth, Willis explored how academic tracking and patterns of behavior monitoring in school encouraged oppositional behavior among working class 'lads.' Michelle Fine and her colleagues also argue that urban schools in high-poverty areas accomplish more than simple 'reproduction' of class and race/ethnic inequities. Fine et al. conducted ethnographic research in California that suggests that schools in urban, high-poverty areas systematically under-educate poor and working-class youth, and youth of color, which leads to anger, social cynicism and alienation (Fine, Burns, Payne and Torre, 2004).

Cultural mistrust has been found to be a significant predictor of academic achievement. Hudley and Irving (2008) found a positive relationship among youth between cultural mistrust and oppositional cultural attitudes as well as an inverse relationship with expectations for the future and academic achievement, confirming earlier work on the development of oppositional social identities among youth of color (Ogbu, 1987). As Fine et. al. (2004) discovered, "students who view educational difficulties as largely their own fault tend to be cynical about change. They hold very low expectations for personal transformation and for the effective intervention of adult educators. There is little sense that school can/will/should help them achieve positive educational outcomes" (pg. 2209).

Through her case studies in public schools, Lewis (2003) examines the special roles of individual schools in both challenging and reproducing racial formation. While identifying schools as locations of opportunity and hope, Lewis argues that schools have the potential to reproduce essentialized concepts of race. Racial ascriptions, identities, and categories are “continually constructed, reconstructed, struggled over and resisted,” according to Lewis (pg. 189). She argues that systemic racism results in children entering school on an uneven playing field, with some groups having the power to choose among more options. Compounding this effect, Ajayi (2010) found “frameworks that conceptualize education in terms of culture-free, race-free, colorblind and race-neutral enterprise and dismiss the connected issues of race, power, and culture” (pg. 20) in his study of 57 middle and high school ESL teachers in Los Angeles. Referred to as the new racism, Bonilla-Silva (2003) describes a color-blind framework as one in which the attitudes of Whites are reflected in one of four ways: a sense of optimism that race has ceased to matter (racial optimism), a combination of progress and resistance (racial pessimism), attitudes that have an anti-black effect, i.e. school discipline (symbolic racism), or in the defense of white privilege (group position). DeCuir-Gunby, Martin and Cooper (2011) contend that middle- and upper-class students of color are actually more likely to experience discrimination because of their increased contact with Whites, and that parental messaging is an important mitigating factor in positive identity formation for these students.

Parents are also often regarded as adversaries by school officials instead of supporters of their children’s education (Noguera, 1996, 2003). Despite an increase in translation services, the New York Immigration Coalition found that close to 50% of immigrant parents were unable to communicate with teachers at parent-teacher conferences (The Equity Monitoring Project for Immigrant & Refugee Education (EMPIRE), 2007). There is evidence that schools have often

not involved families until the problem was so severe that the students were failing their courses (Corville-Smith, 1995; Weinberg & Weinberg, 1992). Holcomb-McCoy and Bryan (2010) conceptualize the counselor-parental consultation to include advocacy and empowerment, particularly with parents from marginalized backgrounds.

Teachers in high poverty schools are more likely to be inexperienced (21 percent with fewer than three years teaching experience) than those in low poverty schools (16 percent). In addition, on average, one-fifth of the faculty in high poverty schools turnover each year. Students in high poverty schools also consistently score lower on reading and mathematics tests than their peers in more affluent schools (Plotts et al., 2010). School staff are observed to express attitudes that families of low-income children of color are not interested in their education and that parents are dysfunctional, blaming parents for their children's academic challenges (Bryan and Henry, 2008). Lewis (2003), who conducted observations of several elementary schools, identifies a pattern of teacher behavior in one school of racialized discipline in the removal of 'disrupters.'

Researchers (Losen and Skiba, 2010) also contend that suspension tends not to be reserved for serious or dangerous behaviors. The majority of offenses for which students are suspended appear to be non-violent, less disruptive offenses. After fighting, the most common offenses appear to be abusive language and attendance issues such as cutting class, tardiness, and truancy. Other common reasons for school suspension are disobedience and disrespect and general classroom disruption. Longitudinal studies have shown that students suspended in sixth grade are more likely to receive office referrals or suspensions by eighth grade, prompting some researchers to conclude that suspension may act more as a reinforcer than a punisher for inappropriate behavior (Tobin, Sugai, & Colvin,

1996). In the long term, school suspension has been found to be a moderate-to-strong predictor of school dropout (Balfanz, 2003).

SWPBIS

Schools throughout the country are now encouraged to implement school-wide positive behavior support (SWPBIS) procedures as a way to improve their behavioral climate, safety, and social culture. SWPBIS has been used increasingly in schools as a means to shift from strategies that have been shown to encourage drop-out such as detention, suspension, and expulsion, as the primary response to problem behaviors, to more proactive and positive approaches that address school climate as well as individual students (Colvin and Fernandez, 2000; Mayer, 1995; Nakasato, 2000).

In one of the most often-cited case studies of SWPBIS (Bohanon, Fenning, Carney, Minnis-Kim, Anderson-Harriss, Moroz, 2006), researchers indicated that the most difficult component of behavior support to implement was encouraging the staff to directly teach what was expected. Behaviors may not have been consistently taught or prompted but were reinforced if the student exhibited them, benefiting students who were able to express expected behaviors, but not those with a skill deficit. Negative behaviors received more attention than positive behaviors, reinforcing interaction that leads to the alienation of certain groups of students.

The rapid growth of positive behavior support (PBS) may be because schools were seeking “positive” alternatives to a zero-tolerance approach to school-wide discipline, but Ackerman, Cooksy, Murphy, Rubright, Bear, and Fifield (2010) suggest that the federal funding provided in the 1997 and 2004 amendments to the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) for staff development and training in PBS also contributed. PBS is also linked to the

competency goals of Social-Emotional Learning (SEL), which has gained prominence in schools over the past two decades. SEL defines competencies for students as 17 skills and attitudes organized into four groups: awareness of self and others; positive attitudes and values; responsible decision making; and social interaction skills (see Table 2, pp. 46-48). School-based SEL programs emphasize curriculum design, coordination with larger systems, educator preparation and support, and program evaluation. (Payton, Bloodworth, Tompsett, Weissberg, , Wardlaw and Graczyk, 2000).

The purpose of PBS staff development and training is preventive – to reduce school-wide behavior problems and the number of children referred to special education. This also includes a focus on reducing discrepancies in suspension and expulsion rates between general and special education students, as well addressing significant disproportionality in identification and placement of minority students in special education, specific disability categories, and more restrictive settings (Ackerman et. al., 2010). Grohol (2012) has found that children in SWPBIS schools engage in less bullying behavior and experienced lower levels of rejection over time vs. children in schools without SWPBIS.

A three-tiered approach is utilized to develop positive learning environments and prevent problem behaviors. The first tier, school-wide PBS, uses universal strategies implemented throughout the school to support the positive behavior of all students. These strategies include: research-validated behavioral practices, which consist primarily of the direct teaching of social skills via posting of behavioral expectations (e.g., “Respect others,” “Be responsible,” “Do your best,” etc.) throughout the school, rewarding students for good behavior (typically with tokens that can be exchanged for tangible rewards or privileges), and applying punitive consequences in a consistent fashion when students misbehave; ongoing collection and use of data for decision making, with the collection and

examination of office disciplinary referral data being most common; student outcomes, primarily reduced office disciplinary referrals; and supportive systems (Ackerman et. al., 2010).

The second tier applies additional strategies for students who need more support at this targeted level. Tier 2 targets small groups of children exhibiting serious behavior problems and/or experiencing negative outcomes. For the remaining approximately 5% of students who do not respond to universal and targeted strategies, individualized supports are developed at the third tier (Delaware Positive Behavioral Support Project). Tier 3 targets individual students who exhibit chronic and serious behavior problems requiring intensive, comprehensive, and individualized interventions and services. Jolivette and Nelson (2010) state “programs and facilities that have implemented PBIS (positive behavioral interventions and supports) with incarcerated youth have experienced improvement in the overall climate and culture of the setting” (pg. 11).

Recommendations for future education reforms in the literature

Weis and Dimitriadis (2008) argue that in a new or neo-liberal economy, the working class and poor are left out and at the mercy of an increasingly competitive and dynamic economy that does not value their labor. While no guarantee, the intensified sorting through school of those who gain credentials and those who do not becomes even more important. Weis and Dimitriadis contend that the connection between “success in school and economic and social possibility is becoming tighter than ever” (pg. 2291). Darling-Hammond (2006) further argues that two critical components are needed to build an education system that serves all children; quality of teachers and teaching, and schools organized so that students are well known and supported. In order to realize this, she calls for both a

professional and government policy to support these goals, advocating an “opportunity to learn” posture which holds government accountable to the people.

School-linked services tend to grow to reflect, primarily, the operational desires and needs of the school. The variability of children’s’ and families’ needs requires access to services and strategies that are both different and open to change. Urban school counselors are challenged by the needs of students who daily face risk factors such as poverty; homelessness; neighborhoods characterized by crime, violence, and drugs; and socio-cultural factors such as discrimination and racial and language barriers (Bryan, 2005).

Partnering community-based organizations (CBOs) can provide schools with culturally diverse staff with diverse skill sets and experience, increasing the chances that youth who are bored, disengaged, and struggling academically can connect with a supportive adult, and mitigating the alienation that students who are ‘off-track’ feel. CBOs are community-driven organizations formed to meet the needs of citizens that are not met by the public and private sectors. In youth-serving CBOs, youth often play leadership roles in articulating youth needs, program development, and organizational activities. A collective values framework that includes youth is an essential component for the sustainability such school-CBO partnerships (Miller, Kobes and Forney, 2008).

A study of 39 elementary schools found that the quality of family, school, and community partnership programs was associated with rates of student attendance (Epstein, Clark, Salinas, & Sanders, 1997). A major finding in an evaluation of another initiative in Massachusetts is that it has, in large part through partnerships with community organizations, fostered better connections and more meaningful relationships between students and staff (Bathgate and Silva 2010). In Lawson’s definition of a school-based and –linked service and support model, services fit into five prototypes: (1) school-based youth services and community

school programs, (2) coordinated services for children and youth, (3) comprehensive, integrated services for children, youth and families, (4) the enabling component in educational restructuring, and (5) family-supportive community schools (Lawson and Briar-Lawson 1997).

Scales' responsive ecology for schools (1996) based on developmental assets, includes the following attributes:

- safe places
- universally-known core set of values
- consistent involvement of parents and family members
- intentional fostering of positive relationships
- active engagement of students' minds
- allowing students to explore gender and ethnic issues and ideas
- authentic instruction for all students
- asking youth to think and communicate in depth about meaningful topics
- stimulation of discussions about educational and personal futures
- development of connections between different parts of young people's lives
- connecting the school day with after-school time by having a varied program of after-school activities, many sponsored collaboratively by the schools and community resources
- encouragement and facilitation of students' contribution to the school community

Gomez and Ang (2007) suggest that the engagement and investment of schools in responsive and positive youth development, including the attributes outlined by Scales (1996), is a reasonable goal, especially since most schools have the resources and infrastructure for systems change. Youth spend a great deal of time in schools, where conditions have the potential to influence identity

formation, cognitive and social development, peer relations, and vocational development.

Pianta and Allen (2008) propose a theory of change for classroom settings that brings the excitement and engagement of extracurricular and social interactions in schools into the classroom. This includes relational supports for social-emotional well-being; autonomy and competence supports for mastery and control; and relevance to real-world applications for youth. This conceptual model proposes a flow from intervention targets such as the motivational quality of interactions between teachers and students and its relation to the quality of effort from both students and teachers, to the ultimately goal of student academic success.

What is Positive Youth Development?

Positive Youth Development (PYD) is a natural process of human development; principles or a philosophical orientation or toward social and community development; and practices that include a programmatic framework for youth services (Hamilton, S.F.; Hamilton, M.A., and Pittman, 2004). One way of describing youth development is as a process that all youth engage in over time to meet their needs and build their competencies (Pittman and Cahill, 1991). Michele Cahill, currently a distinguished fellow in Education and Youth Development at the National Center for Civic Innovation, and Karen Pittman, executive director of the Forum for Youth Investment, co-founded the Center for Youth Development and Policy Research and established the PYD framework (1991) that is primarily used for this study.

Richard Lerner (2004) considers PYD to be composed of three main elements, which he coins as the “big three;” positive adult-youth relationships, skill-building, and meaningful opportunities for youth leadership. PYD Theory

describes five capacities or C's related to individual developmental assets: Competence, Connection, Confidence, Caring and Character - and some argue a sixth C, Contribution (Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas and Lerner, 2005). A positive youth development philosophy reflects the desire of practitioners and policymakers for positive outcomes in the developmental process. A positive youth development approach recognizes the value of all young people and emphasizes their strengths and potential. Guest (2008) argues that the concept of 'teamwork' should also be fully articulated as a developmental competency in the model of positive youth development.

The concept of developmental assets, first posited by Peter Benson (1990), is grounded in the meta-theory known as Developmental Systems Theory (DST). DST is an overarching theory on biological development, heredity, and evolution (Oyama, Griffiths, and Gray, 2001). "The positive youth development (PYD) perspective is a strength-based conception of adolescence... (that)... emerges when the potential plasticity of human development is aligned with developmental assets (pg. 10, Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas and Lerner, 2005). According to Benson, developmental assets increase the probability of adaptive developmental regulation, or the self-selection and creation of opportunities throughout the life span. Benson (in Silbereisen, 2007) argues that there are three major points of potential intervention in PYD, and that these interventions in combination generate developmental assets:

- Increasing the developmental attentiveness of social contexts for youth, i.e., home, schools, communities (capacities to nurture, support, and constructively challenge youth).
- Enhancing the skills and competencies of youth.
- Creating processes and opportunities to invite youth to actively use their capacities to engage with and change their social contexts (youth

leadership, service learning, youth empowerment, and youth engagement).

Baldwin, Caldwell, Smith and Walls (2004) suggest that selective optimization with compensation (SOC) theory could provide a framework for understanding how youth attempt to regulate their own lives as they interact with their environments. SOC refers to goal-related strategies that people use to manage their external and internal resources. This process of adaptive behaviors in humans maximizes desirable outcomes and minimizes losses, developing intentional self-regulation skills (Gestdottir and Lerner 2008). McMahon, Parnes and Wernsman (2006) argue that as youth grow to function as adults, they refine their knowledge of SOC-related behaviors and show increased preference for SOC. Using a longitudinal high school sample, Busseri, Rose-Krasner and Willoughby (2006) linked SOC and PYD and found that the development of a breadth of skills predicted higher levels of successful development over time.

Erikson's ego strengths, or ego virtues, are inherent active qualities that contribute to identity development (Erikson 1959/1965). Erikson, a neo-Freudian, believed that the positive resolution of psychosocial crises at eight stages of development across the life span would promote the strength an individual needs to develop ideals, beliefs, and relationships with significant others and the broader society. Blackshire, Li, Markstrom, and Wilfong (2005) assessed 517 high school students on 8 ego strengths and on measures of their involvement in structured activities. The researchers found that extracurricular activities such as sports, student government, belonging to a club and engagement in volunteerism were positively related to several of the ego strengths.

Alternatively, the Circle of Courage (CoC) construct identifies four universal needs of all children: Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity (Brendtro, Brokenleg and Van Bockern, 2005). CoC was founded on principles

observed in indigenous and Native American communities in raising children. Whaley Children's Center, a private, not-for-profit child welfare agency in Michigan that serves vulnerable populations, used the positive model of CoC to build a strength-based environment for youth by transforming the staff environment using the four principles (Hatter and VanBockern, 2005). In addition to other methods used to transform the environment of the center to meet the four principles, staff recommended the creation of a staff council to management for the first time in the organization's history. The council used their budget to plan activities that would help morale and ensure that staff members were able to both model and provide the resources needed to address the universal needs of children in CoC.

Another key concept found in PYD literature is “thriving,” which describes the conditions supported by a civil society that allow an individual to develop her or his potential in ways that are valued by the individual. Lerner characterizes this “mutually beneficial relationship between person and society as liberty (pg. 5, Lerner, 2004).” Lerner argues that developmental systems theory provides a framework to organize and extend data pertinent to the relative plasticity of human development. Specifically, plasticity “directs both science and applications of science – for example, involving public policies and the programs of community-based organizations (CBOs) – to find ways to create optimal matches between individuals and their social worlds” (pg. 18).

Ecological systems theory, originally formulated by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979/2009) is useful in both a developmental systems framework and public policy context. Bronfenbrenner identifies four types of nested environmental systems, “like a set of Russian dolls (pg.3)” with bi-directional influences within and between the systems. The four systems he theorized are the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem. These system categories allow for

dynamic development to occur at the individual, family and societal levels.

Bronfenbrenner identifies public policy as “part of the macrosystem determining the specific properties of ... systems that occur at the level of everyday life and steer the course of behavior and development” (pg. 9).

Silbereisen and Lerner (2007) identify nine defining features of developmental systems theories that apply to positive child development. These include a relational meta-theory framework such as Bronfenbrenner’s ecological approach; the integration or fusion of levels of organization within development; regulation of development that involves mutually influential individual – context relations; integrated actions as the fundamental unit of analysis; temporality and plasticity in human development; relative plasticity of development due to variety in life span and history; intra-individual difference and change in development; optimism or the promotion of positive human development; and multidisciplinary in research and analysis. Table 2, *Theories of human development that influence youth development policy and practice*, places major theories of child development into a youth development framework of youth needs and essential competencies proposed by Pittman and Cahill (1991).

Table 2 Theories of human development found in the literature that influence youth development policy and practice

Youth Development (Pittman and Cahill)	Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow)	Ego Strengths (Erikson)	Developmental Assets (Search Institute, Benson) <i>external and internal assets</i>	Consilience (Circle of Courage)	Developmental Psychology Stages (Piaget, Kohlberg)	Positive Psychology (Seligman)	Selective Optimization w/Compensation (SOC) (Baltes, Freund, Lerner)	Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) Framework (CASEL)
Youth Needs								
Safety & Structure	Safety		<i>Parent involvement in schooling, Safety, Family boundaries, School boundaries, Neighborhood boundaries</i>			Well-being		
Belonging & Membership	Belonging		<i>Community values youth, Youth programs, Religious community</i>	Belonging				
Self-worth & Ability to Contribute	Esteem		<i>Youth as resources, Service to others, High expectations, Self-esteem</i>	Generosity		Contentment Satisfaction Optimism		
Independence & Control Over One's Life		Will		Independence				
Closeness & Good Relationships	Love		<i>Family support, Positive family communication, Other adult relationships, Adult role models, Positive peer influence, Caring neighborhood, Caring school climate, Time at home</i>					
Competence and Mastery		Competence	<i>Creative activities</i>	Mastery			Optimization: Acquire, apply, and refine means to achieve goals	

Table 2 continued.

Self Awareness	Self Actualization	Hope Purpose	Personal power Sense of purpose, Positive view of personal future			Hope Flow Happiness		
Essential Youth Competencies								
Health								
Personal and Social Skills			Caring, Equality and social justice, Integrity, Honesty, Responsibility, Restraint, Interpersonal competence, Cultural competence, Resistance skills, Peaceful conflict resolution		Level 1, Pre- Conventional: obedience and punishment, self-interest; Level 2, Conventional: interpersonal accord and conformity, social-order; & Level 3, Post- Conventional: social contract, universal ethics	Capacity for love, courage, interpersonal skills, perseverance , forgiveness, future mindedness, spirituality	Compensation: Adapting to alternative means of pursuing goals	Awareness of self & others; feelings management; constructive sense of self; perspective taking; positive attitudes and values; personal responsibility; respect for others; social responsibility and interaction skills: active listening; expressive communication; cooperation; negotiation; refusal; help seeking
Knowledge, Reasoning & Creativity			Achievement motivation, School engagement, Homework, Bonding to school, Reading, Planning and decision making			Capacity for aesthetic sensibility, originality, high talent, wisdom	Selection: Developing, elaborating, & committing to personal goals	Responsible decisions; problem identification; social norm analysis; adaptive goal setting; problem solving
Vocational Skills						Capacity for vocation		Social skills
Citizenship								Social skills

Healthy Development

A number of studies in the literature review addressed healthy development, mainly through evaluations of interventions or treatments. An underlying construct in many of these studies is a framework of both protective and risk factors related to healthy development. These factors are often used to design and assess youth programs. Kreipe, Ryan and Seibold-Thompson (2004) analogize a risk framework to a conventional medical model aimed more at deficit reduction. In deficit reduction youth models, programs focus on problems or “illness” and rely on specialists or professionals rather than involving all citizens within a community.

As delineated by Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), protective factors include school engagement, parent engagement and parental monitoring. The CDC monitors six types of risk behaviors: sexual behaviors that lead to unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases; alcohol and other drug use; tobacco use; unhealthy dietary behaviors and inadequate physical activity (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention). An ecological model of risk and protective factors for youth can be found in the appendix (see Appendix A, pg. 262).

Some studies specifically measure risky behaviors and protective factors, while others look at other variables or factors that contribute to positive youth development through physical or psychological development. One study has suggested that different types of messages for drug misuse prevention be targeted to teens because scare tactic messages resonated more strongly than messages with positive alternatives and refusal skills (Agnew, Holtz and Twombly, 2011), however this does not seem to be the norm. Raising Healthy Children (RHC) is an intervention designed to promote positive youth development by targeting risk and protective factors (Brown, Catalano

and Fleming 2005). Using a 2-part longitudinal experimental design, the authors tested the efficacy of RHC in reducing adolescent alcohol, marijuana, and cigarette use among 959 students. Their results indicated significant effects for frequency of alcohol and marijuana use but not for use versus nonuse. Brown et. al. argue that the findings provide support for preventive interventions that take a developmental perspective in targeting risk and protective factors. Chung and Elias (1996) conducted cluster analysis to identify categories of adolescents who showed problem behavior, using a sample of 556 adolescents from a suburban community. The researchers argue that the study results suggest there are meaningful links between adolescents' problem behavior patterns and self-efficacy, i.e., adolescents with low prevalence of problem behaviors reported more positive academic self-efficacy and fewer negative events than adolescents who were involved in multiple problem behaviors.

Le and Johansen (2011) argue that school multiculturalism is an important protective factor in mitigating interpersonal violence. The researchers examined the relationship between students' perceptions of school multiculturalism and serious interpersonal violence, and explored whether civic engagement, ethnic identity, ethno-cultural empathy, and positive peers mediated the relationship at all. Their study included an ethnically diverse sample of 324 middle-school youth from a city in northern California. Although Le and Johansen found a no association between perceptions of school multiculturalism and interpersonal violence, school multiculturalism was positively associated with ethnic identity, potentially contributing to school connectedness.

Adolescence has been described as the period of life with specific challenges, such as puberty, identity development, and increase in autonomy, which may result in

depressive symptoms. This phase of development has been characterized as "storm and stress" (G. Stanley Hall, 1904; Freud, 1969). Herman-Stahl and Petersen (1996) assessed 458 adolescents in sixth and seventh grade from a rural working class community over the period of one year, dividing them into four groups based on indices of depression and negative life events. They found that different levels of coping and social resources characterized these groups. Youth without depressive symptoms reported higher levels of optimism, mastery, active coping, and more positive relationships with parents and peers. Knorth, Harder, Zandberg and Kendrick (2008) reviewed 27 pre- and quasi-experimental studies covering the development and outcomes for 2,345 children and young persons from 1990-2005, and found that residential care programs applying behavior-therapeutic methods and focusing on family involvement showed the most promising short term outcomes, such as the reduction of depression or violent behavior, but also positive outcomes such as increased cognitive skills and psychosocial functioning.

Kelley and Lowe (2012) attempted to shed light on how Native American youth experience or manage stress. A qualitative approach was used to analyze written stories of stress gathered from 50 Cherokee-Keetoowah adolescents aged 14 to 18. Three health challenge groups were identified in the data: relationship disruption, imposing feelings and the actions of others, and most significantly, the burden of expectations of self or from others (n=33). The researchers found that adolescents managed stress by engaging in prosocial behaviors, i.e., connecting with valued others, engaging in meaningful activities, and choosing a positive attitude about change.

Many youth programs in the United States are aimed at the prevention of risky behaviors that result in premature sexual activity, sexually transmitted diseases and teen pregnancy. Tobin (2011) evaluated two health education programs focused on abstinence, the ESTEEM program in Texas at the Longview Wellness Center and FACTS in Oregon at Northwest Family Services. Federal programs designed to prevent teen pregnancy facilitated the development and evaluation of both programs. Both programs were developed as part of collaborations between public schools and community organizations and were found to be effective with youth from different racial and ethnic backgrounds in promoting the setting of personal goals, developing prosocial and healthy relationships, and avoiding risky behaviors.

As an alternative to deficit frameworks of teen sexuality, Romeo and Kelley (2009) argue that sexuality is a normative component of human development, key to the discussion of asset-based positive youth development. The authors propose a framework that demonstrates how sexuality education programs rooted in the Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States' (SIECUS) guidelines can further PYD goals across community contexts. Chapman and Werner-Wilson (2008) also suggest that Positive Youth Development (PYD) research and programming should include promoting healthy sexuality as an important developmental outcome for youth. Chapman and Werner-Wilson used PYD theory, Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory and Erikson's identity development theory to make connections between PYD and adolescent sexuality and found that both self-esteem and sexual experience were significant predictors of attitudes regarding sex, with parents contributing the most influence on the outcome variable.

Parenting data collected during home visit interviews with 440 mothers and their children were used to assess behavior problems via mother, teacher, and/or adolescent reports at multiple points from ages 8-14. Bates, Pettit, Laird, Dodge, and Criss (2001) found that, consistent with prior research, monitoring was associated with fewer behavior problems. Parental monitoring is essentially keeping track of the activities, whereabouts and friends of a child. The data showed that monitoring was associated with a proactive parenting style and by advantageous family–ecological characteristics. Psychological control, considered intrusive, inhibiting, and manipulative parental behaviors and interaction patterns, resulted in complex outcomes such as higher delinquency in girls and more anxiety/depression for girls and for teens who were high in preadolescent anxiety/depression.

Miller, Gilman and Martens (2009) argue that the benefits of hope and optimism, structured extracurricular activities, and sport and exercise, are linked because each can positively affect both mental and physical health in children and adolescents in schools. The researchers contend there is a strong and reciprocal relationship between mental and physical health, and by linking these two areas, positive youth development can be promoted in school contexts. Abbot, Hawkins, Kosterman, Catalano, and Hill (2005) found that the Seattle Social Development Project (SSDP), an intervention implemented in elementary school, produced broad effects on positive functioning in school and at work and on emotional and mental health at 21 years of age, 9 years after the intervention ended. SSDP is based on a model of intervention which hypothesizes that strong bonds form when families and schools actively ensure that youth have opportunities to be involved and build competencies, leading to a positive development trajectory, resulting in more positive

outcomes and fewer health-risk behaviors later. Park and Peterson (2006/2008) argue that psychologists and school counselors interested in promoting positive development need to start with different assumptions and provide an alternative framework to a disease model. They point to the recent calls in the field of psychology (Seligman, Lerner) for balanced attention to the positive aspects of human development, including life satisfaction and character strengths.

From Pathology to Opportunity

In response to the pathology or deficit models of the psychology discipline, Dr. Martin Seligman of University of Pennsylvania conceptualized a new model that he dubbed positive psychology in 1998. Positive psychology claims that the happiness of children and youth entails more than the identification and treatment of their problems. The model is the science of positive subjective experience, positive individual traits and positive institutions designed to foster these experiences and traits (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000). Within this model, positive institutions are characterized as moving individuals toward better citizenship.

Dr. Seligman then collaborated with Dr. Neal Mayerson in the creation of the Values in Action (VIA) project, now known as the VIA Institute on Character. The VIA project classifies and measures 24 character strengths (see Appendix B, pg. 263). McCormick and Boleman (2007) support Seligman's model, arguing that positive emotions can be intentionally induced, producing adaptive thinking processes and behaviors that lead to optimum health and well-being. The Master of Applied Positive Psychology (MAPP) program at the University of Pennsylvania was established under the leadership of Seligman as the first educational initiative of the Positive Psychology Center in 2003 (University of Pennsylvania).

A similar impulse, to develop a psychology grounded in principles that show how children and adolescents can become self-motivated, socially competent and compassionate adults, led to the resiliency approach to psychology known as Health Realization (HR). Kelly (2003) argues that, in contrast to positive psychology, HR's principles delineate the internal processes that effect human experiences, and within this framework provide a therapeutic model. HR proposes that the intellectual union of thought and consciousness produces all subjective human experiences. Thought is a continuous mental process, essential to psychological functioning and given the appearance of reality by a second ongoing mental process, consciousness. The mind empowers thought and consciousness to merge and create experiences.

By aligning learning opportunities with aspects of a student's individuality, Lubinski and Benbow (2000) argue that theory of work adjustment (TWA) concepts and psychometric methods can facilitate positive development among youth. The TWA framework shares concepts such as effectance motivation, flow, and peak experiences with positive psychology. The authors argue that focusing on strengths, helping people make choices, and providing a developmental context for bridging education and work facilitates positive psychological growth.

Larson (2000) contends that contexts in which youths experience both intrinsic motivation and deep attention are best suited to the development of initiative, such as structured voluntary activities like sports, arts, and participation in organizations. However, typical experiences of adolescents during schoolwork and unstructured time do not reflect conditions for learning initiative, which Larson argues is essential for adults in our society. Larson also points to evidence that youth acquire operating language that appears to correspond to the development of initiative when

participating in effective organizations. Alternatively, Baldwin, Caldwell, Smith and Walls (2004) also point out that because a child experiences increased freedom to engage in leisure opportunities throughout adolescence, leisure activities can contribute to a youth's successful transition into adulthood through the development of autonomy, role and identity experimentation, and achievement orientation.

Families and Communities

As a philosophical orientation toward social and community development, positive youth development actively involves youth, their families and their communities. Specifically, a PYD philosophy seeks to provide opportunities and supports for healthy development in an environmental context, to achieve what youth development meta-organizations like the Forum for Youth Investment would call “collective impact.” Lerner, Wertlieb and Jacobs (2003) contend that fostering civil society and social justice is consistent with the emerging field of applied developmental science (ADS). ADS considers all sectors of society, including CBOs/NGOs, as key elements of developmental systems that support the well-being and thriving of children, youth and families.

The community development field is characterized by (1) problem solving, (2) systems interaction, and (3) community building (Jones and Silva, 1991). In particular, community building is concerned with the efficacy of groups to take collective action. Community building has long been a tradition of settlement houses, extended by the work of the labor and civil rights movements. More recently community development corporations (CDCs) and comprehensive community initiatives (CCIs) have been able to address multiple levels of community issues ranging from housing and economic development to more holistic on-going citizen-centered community visioning and

planning processes (Mannes, Benson, Kretzmann and Norris, 2003). Traditional community development approaches (think Robert Moses) have been discarded in favor of an asset-based approach that begins with identifying and mobilizing assets already present in communities. Neighborhoods matter in the context of youth development. Swisher and Whitlock (2004) argue that neighborhood social capital is an important resource for positive youth development. Social relationships engender trust in the reciprocity of obligations, provide access to information and communicate important norms.

Oberle, Schonert-Reichl and Zumbo (2011) assessed self-reports of satisfaction with life, optimism, and ecological assets in the school, neighborhood, family, and peer group of 1,402 4th to 7th graders from 25 public elementary schools. The authors found that all of the ecological assets significantly and positively predicted early adolescents' life satisfaction, suggesting that an assets approach promotes the understanding of life satisfaction in early adolescence.

Context has also been shown to contribute to adolescent outcomes. A study of Prince George's County in Maryland (Cook, Herman, Phillips and Settersten, 2002), a large county immediately east of Washington DC, assessed the ways in which schools, neighborhoods, nuclear families, and friendship groups contribute to positive change during early adolescence. A total of 17,276, or 77%, of the students from 23 middle schools participated in the study over the period of three years. Student outcome constructs, a composite of family quality, a composite measure of peer context, and a composite of school quality were measured by surveys administered to the students. Although the study included 39 school districts, the data still showed that neighborhood qualities for individual students were similar within schools and

different from one school to the next. Supported in other literature about adolescent development (Hair et. al & ChildTrends 2009), participants in the study experienced decreased success over time in one domain on the average. However, adolescents experiencing at least four consistently better contexts did not experience decline, while adolescents experiencing four consistently worse contexts did worse over time by almost two outcomes. Researchers Cook, Herman, Phillips and Settersten (2002) argue that these outcomes suggest that achieving significant change in adolescent growth requires both theory and interventions that are pan-contextual.

In a study designed to examine attitudes toward family obligations among 800 American tenth and twelfth grade students, Asian and Latin American adolescents were found to possess stronger values and greater expectations regarding duties to their families than their peers with European backgrounds (Fuligni, Tseng and Lam, 1999). A strong sense of family obligation was associated with more positive family and peer relationships and academic motivation. However, there was no difference in academic achievement between these groups and others. There was also no evidence that ethnic variations in attitudes produced meaningful group differences. Fuligni et. al. argue that these findings therefore suggest that youth from families who retain their parents' values do not experience a negative impact upon their development.

Positive youth development interventions are often associated with educational outcomes, however, PYD is also often associated with behavior modification and social support. Garnier and Stein (2002) examined how family and peer experiences predicted adolescent problem behaviors in an 18-year longitudinal sample of adolescents (N = 198) and found that the most powerful predictors of teen drug use and delinquent behaviors were similar behaviors by peers. These peer behaviors were

also predicted by earlier family-related variables and the quality of peer relationships in childhood. Alternatively, McMahon, Parnes and Wernsman (2006) found empathy to be a predictor of prosocial behavior among African American early adolescents, particularly among males.

Social workers play a pivotal role in positive youth development interventions with youth and families. Batavick (1997) argues that a community-based family support approach is the best way for social workers to work with children and families. A strengths perspective mitigates the potential for creating dependency, by encouraging parent participation. Bowen, Richman, Rosenfeld and (1998) argue that support providers, i.e., social workers, communicate social support when families perceive their behavior as contributing to the families' wellbeing. Bijstra, Bosma, Jackson and Oostra (1998) found that good family communication is associated with satisfaction with the family and general agreement between adolescents and parents. They also found a positive association between family communication and adolescent self-esteem.

Civic Engagement

There is much discussion of the interrelated effects of positive youth development and civic engagement in the literature. Some researchers propose that the development of prosocial behaviors leads to increased capacity to participate in society, while others propose that participation in civic activities develops the prosocial behaviors and attitudes needed for healthy development as well as citizenship. Lerner, Brentano, Dowling, and Anderson (2002) argue "...healthy development involves positive change in the relation between a developing person —

who is committed and able to contribute positively to self, family, and community — and a community supporting the development of such a citizen” (pg. 15).

As previously discussed in this review, social capital is a key resource in the development of positive youth development. Communities with dense associational networks have more frequent civic events, which contribute to overall community building and social trust. Putnam (2001) has proposed a comprehensive social capital index that includes measures of community organizational life, engagement in public affairs, community volunteerism, informal sociability and social trust. Using a variety of national community indicator datasets as well as educational outcome measures, Putnam has been able to correlate the influence of social capital on educational outcomes.

Civil identity has a spotty history in the U.S. for young adults. While all voter turnout has decreased over the last 50 years, voters aged 18-24 have always had the lowest turnout for presidential elections. From historic lows in 1996 and 2000 (hovering around 30%) to close to 45% in 2008, and another drop to roughly 38% in 2012, young adults are the least active group of voters (Damon, 2001; File, 2014). Damon suggests that the benefits of social capital – the positive social connection to a community and the kinds of education and character-building that come from social bonds and bridging ties, can mitigate the disaffection of young adults for civic participation.

Ludden (2011) examined involvement in school and community civic activities among 8th and 9th graders from rural schools in the Midwest U.S. and found that half of the students in the sample were involved in civic activities. The most common school civic activities were student council and Future Farmers of America. 4-H was

the most common community civic activity. According to Ludden, those students who were involved in school and community civic activities reported more religiosity, academic engagement, and positive perceptions of parents and peers.

Service through humanitarian organizations, but not other types of organizations, was positively associated with prosocial values in a study of high school students that examined the prosocial and egoistic values associated with community service (Horn, 2012). Longer periods of service at one organization also predicted higher levels of prosocial values than concurrent service. Data drawn from the National Educational Longitudinal Study (16,749 high school students in 1990 and in 1992) in Horn's study also found that mandated community service was negatively associated with prosocial values relative to voluntary service.

Kackar, Schmidt and Shumow (2007/2012) attempted to explain how community service outcomes vary among youth of various socio-economic backgrounds by analyzing the National Household Education Survey of 1999, a nationally representative cross-sectional data set focused on community service. The researchers investigated the associations between the risk status of 4,306 adolescent students, their participation in community service, and their academic adjustment, behavioral problems, and civic knowledge. Their analysis suggests that community service acts as a compensatory factor in academic, behavioral, and civic outcomes for youth with higher levels of risk.

Barber, Torney-Purta, and Wilkenfeld (2006) examined the reported gaps between Latino and non-Latino adolescents in academic and civic outcomes through their study of 2,811 ninth graders who participated in the IEA Civic Education study. The researchers argue that while Latino students report more positive attitudes toward

immigrants' rights, they have lower civic knowledge and expected civic participation. Barber et. al. state that school characteristics such as open classroom climate and time devoted to study of political topics and democratic ideals were most associated most strongly with these results, even when controlling for language, country of birth, and political discussions with parents. LaChappelle, Pritzker and Tatum (2012) argue that photovoice, a community-based participatory research method based in photography, offers potential to strengthen Latino/a adolescents' civic engagement. Focus group data from their study of a group of fifteen adolescents indicated increased self-efficacy, empowerment, community attachment, community awareness, and intended civic engagement.

Chung and Probert (2011) found that civic engagement among African American youth related to multiple dimensions of their lived experiences. They argue that young adults who perceive higher levels of community functioning are more likely to believe that civic engagement can result in positive community outcomes. The researchers also found that youth who had previous experience with civic engagement were more likely to believe that they could personally benefit.

Youth also benefit from and contribute to justice building movements around specific issues, similarly to adults. Ross (2011) conducted an in-depth case study of the HOPE Coalition's Teens Tackle Tobacco initiative, a 3-year community-based participatory research (CBPR) project about the distribution of tobacco vendors and tobacco advertising throughout Worcester, Massachusetts. Ross used two theoretical frameworks, PYD and Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD), to assess the personal and community conditions that drove youth to get engaged in this project, how CBPR guided the group's research and action strategy, and the results. The author

argues that youth engagement could be affected by a combination of skill building and empowerment through PYD, and community organizing and justice awareness-building of SJYD. Schusler and Krasny (2010) conducted interviews with 33 educators facilitating youth environmental action in communities throughout the United States and group interviews with 46 youth participating in nine environmental action programs in New York State. The researchers discovered strong associations in the data with youth development theory, suggesting environmental action is also a valuable context for positive youth development.

Using five waves of panel data from the Youth in Transition study, Finch, Mortimer and Owens (1996) examined the effect of self-determination in male adolescents' lives on positive self-esteem. They concluded that conditions such as personal discretion in decision-making and challenging tasks have developmental significance in adolescence, building on similar previous positive psychological outcomes found in adulthood. Young people who develop positive relationships with adults perceive they have more voice in programs, and in turn perceive more benefits to program participation, based on the findings from surveys of 748 youth who participated in youth-adult partnership programs in 29 states (Borden, Perkins, and Serido, 2011).

Defining a Positive Youth Development Program

In addition to encompassing theories of human development and orientations toward social and community development, PYD is also a programmatic framework for youth services. While historically youth services have been associated with the modalities and sectors through which they have been offered, Pittman and Cahill (1991) have argued, "the term youth development must be firmly attached to young

people, not completely to the organizations that serve them." Although there is a broad range of strategies and types of programs, generally recognized themes common to the success of positive youth development include: methods to strengthen competencies; build self-efficacy; shape messages for youth behavior; increase healthy bonding with adults, peers, and younger children; expand opportunities and recognition for youth; provide structure and consistency in program delivery; and intervene with youth consistently over a significant period of time. (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, and Hawkins, 2004).

Larson, Hansen and Moneta (2006) found that service activities were associated with the development of teamwork, positive relationships, and social capital. The researchers inventoried the experiences of youth in different categories of extracurricular and community-based organized activities, from a representative sample of 2,280 11th graders from 19 diverse high schools. Youth in faith-based activities reported higher rates of experiences related to identity, emotional regulation, and interpersonal development, while sports and arts programs promoted the development of initiative. Larson et. al. found that positive developmental experiences occurred significantly more often in extracurricular youth programs than during regular school classes.

Characteristics of PYD Programs

Since the 1950s, the emphasis has slowly shifted from responding to perceived crises (federal juvenile crime initiatives), to intervention and treatment for a wide range of specific problems. Prevention approaches began to emerge three decades ago, with an emphasis on supporting youth before problem behaviors occurred. In the

1980s, prevention efforts that focused only on a single problem behavior came under increasing criticism. An operational definition of positive youth development was developed. The National Collaboration for Youth organizations endorsed a statement in the Youth Development Community Block Grant Act of 1995 (S673 and HR 2807), which defined a youth development program as one that assists youth to develop social, moral, emotional, physical, and cognitive competencies; conducts activities with primarily a nonacademic focus; employs primarily active and experiential learning methods; and promotes identified competencies through group and one-to-one activities (National Collaboration for Youth). Youth development programs involve youth in a wide range of activities, including sports, recreation, peer counseling, teaching, mentoring, tutoring, academic enrichment, arts, values education, leadership development, community service, volunteerism, literacy, after school programs, youth employment, career counseling, job, life and parenting skills training, crime and delinquency prevention, drug and alcohol abuse prevention, camping, environmental education, and ethnic and cultural enrichment.

Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003) have proposed that programs that incorporate asset-based youth development philosophy come in all shapes and sizes. Youth development programs can be small and specialized. Youth programs can be large, multi-faceted and nationally replicated. In a review of several outcomes studies of youth programs, Roth and Brooks-Gunn developed a typology that included the promotion of positive youth outcomes and mental health while preventing both substance use and violence. Several key features emerged in the most successful programs. The most effective programs had clearly stated positive development goals,

created a welcoming atmosphere, and offered differentiated program activities that accommodated formal and informal learning.

In a systematic literature review of youth development program evaluations with rigorous inclusion criteria, Catalano et. al. (2004) found a wide range of positive youth development approaches that resulted in promoting positive youth behavior outcomes and preventing youth problem behaviors. Of 161 programs that were initially identified, 77 met the researchers' inclusion criteria. These programs included single- and multiple-social domain programs that addressed at least five of fifteen positive youth development constructs identified by Catalano and his colleagues. Significant numbers of programs showed positive changes in youth behavior as well as improvements in problem behaviors. The themes found common to success involved methods to strengthen competencies; build self-efficacy; shape messages about standards for positive youth behavior; increase healthy bonding with adults, peers, and younger children; expand opportunities and recognition for youth; provide structure and consistency in program delivery; and intervene with youth for at least nine months or longer. In particular, the length of positive adult-youth relationships was found to influence the extent of positive outcomes.

Youth Work as a Field

As youth work became more defined by practitioners, academics and policymakers through the 1990s, the field became specialized and professionalized. The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development report *A Matter of Time* (1992) estimated that roughly 17,000 organizations were offering community-based youth development programs. It is also estimated that at least 300,000 individuals work in a full- or part-time capacity for youth-serving organizations, not including hundreds of

thousands of volunteers (Huebner, Walker and McFarland, 2003). The Carnegie Council identified five kinds of organizations that deliver community-based youth development programs and services: private, nonprofit, nationally affiliated youth organizations, such as Girl Scouts of the USA, 4-H, and Boys & Girls Clubs of America; grassroots youth development organizations not affiliated with any national structures, such as The Door in New York City; religious youth organizations; adult service clubs, sports organizations, senior citizens groups, and museums; and public-sector institutions such as libraries and parks and recreation departments. The National Collaboration for Youth (NCY), a 40-year old affinity group, is a coalition that includes more than 50 national, non-profit, youth development organizations. NCY states that its mission is “to provide a united voice as advocates for youth to improve the conditions of young people in America, and to help young people reach their full potential (National Collaboration for Youth). As of 2013, NCY member organizations are estimated to serve more than 40 million youth, and employ over 100,000 paid staff and six million volunteers.

Professional development and training is key to the successful performance of youth development professionals. Youth workers must have a comprehensive understanding of youth development and skills in the planning and implementation of engaging youth activities. Youth workers are also responsible for the safety and well-being of children and youth, and must understand the regulatory framework that applies to their practice. Unfortunately, many youth-serving agencies, especially those not nationally affiliated, have limited resources and capacity to provide training to staff. Funders often restrict the percentage of a budget that can be used for administration, the category that usually includes staff training. There are some

exceptions where support and training has been driven by local governments, and in partnership with intermediaries, such as the Beacon model in New York City (Department of Youth and Community Development, Beacon Program) and the LA's Best (LA'S BEST). Intermediaries may be nonprofit foundations or institutes, and in many cases – colleges and universities. In 2005, the Children's Bureau (CB) funded youth development training for supervisors of child welfare practitioners based on a key finding from earlier projects showing that supervisors needed a better understanding of the unique developmental and service needs of youth in out-of-home care to support the casework efforts of their staff (Atukpawu, Denniston, Graham and Mertinko, 2012). Some other notable federal youth development funding streams include DOL's Youth Opportunity Grants, YouthBuild, and DOE's 21st Century Community Learning Centers. The 4-H program receives funds from the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Extension Service. However, this support does not usually extend to other key areas such as operating and capital expenses, i.e.; improvements to aging facilities that further decrease the limited resources of community organizations.

Because youth spend a significant amount of their time in schools, many models of youth development have focused on school-based programming that often requires schools to partner with community-based partners. Bridging school and community culture, particularly for staff, is challenging. Bogenschneider (1996) conducted an evaluation aimed at understanding school-community partnerships that employed case study methodology to derive theories of change from five successful youth development partnerships. Differences between adult-led and youth-led partnerships were especially salient. Bogenschneider's evaluation recommended more

opportunities for youth leadership and better utilization of resources provided by partnerships. Surko, Claiborne, Lawson, Gaffney, and (2006) argue that evaluations of youth development partnerships must take into account several key features: a strengths-based approach; a focus on social settings where young people spend their time; multiple life areas with multiple evaluation outcomes representing these areas; interdependence among life areas and outcomes, i.e., comprehensive interventions; bridging systems across institutional boundaries; nontraditional partners, not typically viewed as social service providers, i.e., volunteer firefighters, EMTs, law enforcement officials, and businesses; and perhaps most importantly, evidence that young people actively promote their own positive development. Surko et. al have also suggested that five levels of evaluation are relevant in assessing the above features: (1) partnership development, (2) program implementation, (3) short- and long-term outcomes for youth, (4) organization-level impacts, and (5) community-level impacts.

Ashcraft (2003) argues that in addition to standards of practice that support and strengthen youth and families, there are several essential characteristics of a community collaboration framework. These characteristics include ensuring a clear vision of the desired outcomes, creating space for community conversations, fostering true community participation, building culture and competency as part of a commitment to change, and developing a unique collaboration framework. In order to achieve success within this framework a supportive political and social climate must be in place, along with mutual respect among members, shared ownership, and adequate resources.

In examining partnerships between schools and community organizations in central Ohio, Anderson-Butcher, Stetler and Midle, (2006) found that strong

partnerships existed between schools and youth development organizations, mental health providers, the juvenile justice sector, and parents and residents. However, a second phase of this study, which included a much larger and broadly representative sample, showed that communication, coordination, and collaboration between schools and youth development organizations were frequently limited.

Training

In the past, youth development programs suffered from a lack of professional development and training for youth workers. Programs were and still are criticized for having staff that are insufficiently prepared to deal with the complex challenges of youth and families and the various contexts in which programs provide services. Positive ongoing relationships with skilled staff have been shown to be essential to positive youth outcomes. The field suffers from high turnover due to burnout and low pay (Anderson-Nathe, 2008; Borden, Craig, & Villaruel, 2004). Gains have been made in the past ten years with the establishment of training and professional development programs in positive youth development, as well as comprehensive training accompanying new intervention programs. These programs provide coursework that is interdisciplinary, relevant to youth workers' jobs, and supported by employers.

Shockley and Thompson (2012) found that 223 youth workers participated in the 12-credit Youth Studies Certificate (YSC) offered by the City University of New York (CUNY) from 1999 to 2011. The training coursework combines practical field knowledge with theory in education, human services, psychology, sociology, development and recreation. Youth workers have the opportunity to develop critical thinking and skills that enhance the delivery of youth services. Shockley and

Thompson argue that the public/private partnership aspect of this model contributes to the stability and capacity of the youth development field as well as youth workers.

Another example of a university-based PYD training program is an online graduate program offered by the Great Plains Interactive Distance Education Alliance (GPIDEA). Bischoff and Dalla (2003) investigated the goals and structure of the program, a collaboration between five mid-western state universities (Colorado State University, Michigan State University, Kansas State University, the University of Montana, and the University of Nebraska). The program is designed so that students will be able to successfully apply multiple skills in youth development, including conceptual approaches to youth development; awareness of youth and family cultural contexts and their influences on outcomes; basic research and evaluation skills; development and resource management; problem-solving with "stakeholders;" understanding of the development and impact of local and global policies on youth; and advocacy for the continued professionalization of the field. The GPIDEA currently offers a master's degree and two graduate certificates focused on positive youth development (Great Plains IDEA).

A significant federal training program found in the literature for youth workers is the "Moving Ahead: Preparing the Youth Development Professional" program. Moving Ahead was the first joint effort of two agencies (U.S. Department of Army and U.S. Department of Agriculture, Cooperative State Research, Education and Extension Service) to address staff development for youth workers. The program was designed by researchers and educators to integrate youth development theory and practice, using pedagogy and methods designed to build on participants' existing knowledge (Huebner, Walker and McFarland 2003). Its pilot project involved nearly

600 youth staff in ten sites for 40 hours over the course of four years, which allowed for an increased understanding of adult learning in the field.

Among other training curricula found as part of the literature review for this study are comprehensive training and curriculum programs focused on specific interventions. Koehler and Seger (2005) evaluated Response Ability Pathways (RAP), a strength-based training curriculum drawn from best practices in positive youth development and positive behavior support that was designed for educators and others who work with children and youth with challenging behaviors. Koehler and Seger found that the curriculum fostered ‘response abilities’ in youth workers that gave them the understanding and confidence to respond to the needs of youth instead of reacting to their problems, as well as a guide for demonstrating positive behaviors. The Choices Program is an intervention partnership between Loyola University Chicago and a local public school that features extensive training. This ongoing partnership includes a team of faculty, graduate students, public school administrators and teachers, parents and students. Students enrolled in counseling psychology attend a course with content essential to the implementation of community-based preventive interventions, including a review of developmental and ecological theories; principles of prevention; ethics of intervention and evaluation; PYD theory, classroom management skills, and program development activities. Following site visits and meetings with public school teachers, the program is implemented in the school by the team under the supervision of faculty (Vera, Caldwell, Clarke, Gonzales, Morgan and West, 2007).

A follow-up study on a positive youth development training for group care staff in Massachusetts (Collins, Hill and Miranda, 2008) found that many staff saw

youth more positively, and felt more positive about their work. A total of 71 attendees completed a follow-up survey, revealing that 82% had discussed concepts with coworkers, 49% had referred to the curriculum, 46% had integrated youth development concepts into the program, and 5% had implemented a similar training in their group home setting.

Quality Frameworks for Youth Development Programs

Youth program quality is measured along two main concepts: structural components of programming; and processes that govern interactions within programs, between programs and families, and within agencies that operate programs. High/Scope Educational Research Foundation has developed and validated several PQAs or Program Quality Assessments directed at programming for children, youth and families. Smith and Akiva (2008) frame quality as access to key experiences related to engagement, interaction, and supportive and safe environments, undergirded by a professional learning community. They suggest that use of a fidelity tool can hold programs accountable and promote continuous improvement.

Smith, Peck, Denault, Blazeovski and Akiva (2010) have developed a “point of service” theory based on empirical profiles of quality in after-school programs. In their evaluation of 599 programs, the authors developed six pedagogy profiles in three domains: Positive Youth Development (high levels of staff practices in nearly all areas); Staff Centered (supportive environments with little opportunities for youth choice, planning and reflection); and Low Quality (lower levels of practice in all areas). Through analysis of these profiles, the authors argue that staff practices are the feature with the most potential to add quality or value to youth development. They also found that individual staff were the best frame from which to explore the quality

of practice. For example, programs that met higher-order learning objectives also scored highly on lower-order needs objectives.

Categories of Youth Development Programs

The following section is organized into categories of youth development programs identified by Fernandes-Alcantara (2012) of the Congressional Research Service (CRS). These categories represent over 50 major federal programs for youth, vulnerable youth in particular, in six policy areas— education, job training and workforce development, community service, social services, health and juvenile justice and delinquency prevention. Other categories that appeared in the literature review include mentorship and morality development.

Table 3 places youth development programs found in the peer-reviewed academic literature review into categories that identify their type and orientation, using the Edginton and Randall (2005) framework (see Appendix C, pg. 264). Edginton and Randall characterize specific orientations, i.e., the internal perspective of the youth worker and the processes and goals of youth work, through preventative, positive youth development and relational frameworks. There are many other descriptions of youth development programs to be found in practice-oriented publications beyond the scope of this review.

Table 3 Youth Development Programs found in literature review

Program	Setting/Type	Population	Orientation
Community Schools	Education	K-12+	Varies
Choices	Education	Grades 6-8	PYD
TimeWise	Education	Grades 6-8	PYD
Raising Healthy Children	Education	Elementary school-aged	Preventative
RESPECT	Education	Grades 6-8	PYD
Boys and Girls Clubs	Extracurricular	School-aged	Preventative *Orientation of evaluator
Cooking Up Fun (CUF)	Extracurricular	School-aged	PYD
YouthBuild	Workforce development	Young adults	PYD
70001 Training & Employment Institute	Workforce Development	Young adults	Preventative
4-H	Community Service *broad scope	School-aged	PYD
Triangle Tribe	Social Services	GLBT youth	PYD
PRIDE	Social Services	African-American & Latino youth	Preventative
Project Venture	Health (Experiential Education)	Native Tribes	PYD
Santa Fe Mt Ctr Anti-Bullying Initiative	Health (Experiential Education)	Latino 5 th graders	Preventative
Reclaiming Futures	JJDP	Court-involved youth	PYD

Education

Community Schools

According to the National Coalition for Community Schools, a community school is “both a place and a set of partnerships between the school and other community resources” (Coalition for Community Schools). With an integrated holistic community focus schools are conceptualized as hubs of the community, open to everyone and open beyond typical school hours. Community schools are intended to provide the space for schools and community-based partners to work together to improve educational outcomes and strengthen communities. Reviews of community schools research indicate improvements in achievement, attendance, and parent

involvement; and reductions in suspensions and high-risk behaviors (Blank, Shah, Johnson, Blackwell, and Ganley, 2003). Particularly strong components of the community schools model include service learning, youth development, family support and family and community engagement. Some of the main challenges of the model are differences in philosophy, practice and culture between schools and community partners, as well as differences in resource allocation.

Some examples of national models include: Beacon Youth Development Centers, NYC; Children's Aid Society (CAS) Community Schools, NYC; and Communities In Schools, Inc. Alexandria, VA. The Beacon initiative in New York City started with 10 sites in 1991. In NYC, Beacons are supported financially and technically through the Department of Youth and Community Development (DYCD), and today 80 programs are located throughout the five boroughs of the city. Beacons operate afterschool and on weekends, and are led by a community-based partner organization in a school. The programs are designed to bring a broad range of supports to children and families, as well as engaging positive youth development to young adults up to age 21. Beacons have been replicated in San Francisco, Minnesota, Savannah, and Philadelphia. The Children's Aid Society (CAS) operates 21 community schools in conjunction with the Department of Education in NYC that combine education with in-house youth development, health and social services. Communities In Schools, Inc. (CIS) is a national organization, with approximately 180 local initiatives, that offers information, training, technical support and linkages to a national network.

Some of the most promising practices of Beacon Community Schools address critical positive youth development goals. The Beacon initiative is conceived of as an

intergenerational model of youth and community development, able to support unique program such as Ladders to Leadership (LTL). LTL allows young people to take on progressively more responsible roles of leadership within the program. As a community development center, co-location with partner community organizations allows for a broader “collective impact” of integrated services and opportunities for both children and parents within the Beacon context (Zeller-Berkman, 2012).

Advisories

Schools across the U.S. have adopted school-wide advisory programs for middle and high school students. Advisory is a structure intended to create a personalized learning environment through weekly small group meetings and one-to-one interactions with an adult. Teachers and counselors, sometimes from community-based organizations, lead advisories. Advisory is designed to promote key life skills, metacognitive skills, and learning habits, postsecondary planning, personal growth, and interpersonal skill development (Educators for Social Responsibility, 2008). In New York City transfer high schools, students are officially registered for advisory, and it appears as a class on their program. These programs have been shown to improve teacher-student relationships, while promoting development and building feelings of belonging and caring (Akos and Hughey, 2005).

School-based Programs

Discrete school-based programs that appeared in the literature review were mainly in outcome evaluations. While one program, Choices, states its purpose as psycho-educational, these programs were primarily focused on behavior modification. Specifically, programs were designed to decrease antisocial behaviors such as

substance use and abuse, and promote prosocial behaviors such as participation in healthy activities and commitment to school.

The Choices Program is a public school-based program with a primary prevention approach designed to address the challenges of adolescence and enhance the protective factors specifically relevant to urban youth of color. Delivered to approximately 200 youth aged 12-14 each year, the program's goals and curriculum are designed with the input of a series of focus groups with youth, their teachers, and their parents. 90% of students in the school qualify for free lunch, and the majority (60%) of youth in the program are Latino, primarily Mexican-American. A large percent (25%) of students are English-language learners, reflective of the number of immigrant families in the community. Counseling psychology faculty and graduate students of Loyola University in Chicago offer the program during the school day for eight weekly sessions, once per school year. The program also includes parent interventions, held every other week, as well as two teacher consultation groups during the same eight weeks, facilitated by the Loyola team (Vera, Caldwell, Clarke, Gonzales, Morgan and West 2007).

Choices is based on principles of Positive Youth Development (Lerner, Benson) and is psycho-educational in nature. The design of the program focuses on competency promotion rather than the reduction of risky behaviors. The types of activities used in the program include small- and large-group discussions, writing projects, role-plays, journals, and values exercises. These activities reflect both urban conditions and common adolescent dilemmas. Facilitators hold mini-presentations with parents on specific themes such as communication and academics, followed by small-group discussions that allow parents to vent and strategize. During teacher

sessions, facilitators help teachers learn how to identify the mental health needs of their students as well as the cultural context of their development.

Project Adventure, Inc.'s RESPECT program is a 3-year comprehensive school reform initiative utilizing adventure-based programming as the core methodology. This project was implemented in four urban Boston public middle schools. An evaluation (Shirilla, 2009) showed declines in prosocial behaviors observed in both experimental and control students. Shirilla argues that the results exemplify the transitional nature of middle school years for all students, with urban youth often facing additional challenges such as increased levels of violence and poverty.

Baldwin, Caldwell, Smith and Walls (2004) followed one cohort of early adolescents for three years of the TimeWise: Learning Lifelong Leisure Skills curriculum, another school-based intervention, which aimed to increase positive free time use, and mitigate or prevent the initiation of substance use and abuse. The first year curriculum was comprised of six lessons that included topics such as self-awareness of time use; recognizing personal interests and managing boredom; and the active pursuit of meaningful activity (decision making and planning). In each of the second and third years (grades eight and nine), students received three booster sessions of TimeWise. 634 school youth attending nine middle schools in a rural area in the eastern United States self-reported being better able to restructure boring situations into something more interesting; having higher levels of decision making skills, initiative, community awareness; and participating in new interests, sports, and nature-based activities.

In an evaluation of Raising Healthy Children (RHC), school-based prevention program with random and control groups of 938 elementary students

enrolled in 10 area schools in the Pacific Northwest, Catalano, Mazza and Harrachi (2003) found higher teacher-reported academic performance and stronger commitment to school in RHC participants, as well as a significant decrease in antisocial behaviors and increased social competency. The researchers also found that regression results from parent-reported outcomes showed that RHC students had higher academic performance and a stronger commitment to school.

Extracurricular Activities

Extended day, after-school, and extracurricular activities all make up the universe of structured out-of-school time for school-aged youth. They share some qualities of community-based youth development programs, as some are the same programs, but are defined by their relationship to the school day. The literature includes several studies of extracurricular activity for youth, mainly regarding its relationship to outcomes such as substance use prevention, mental health, academic performance and attitudes toward school. Darling (2005) found that participation in extracurricular activity among an ethnically diverse sample of adolescents from six California high schools (N = 3,761) was associated with more positive adolescent outcomes for academic performance and attitudes toward school controlling for gender, ethnicity, and grade. Eccles, Barber and Stone (2003) found some variation among outcomes due to the type of activity, with mitigating ecological mechanisms related to identity development, peer group membership and attachment to non-familial adults. They too found positive associations with academic outcomes for most extracurricular activities, while participation in service and religious activities predicted lower rates of drinking and drug use. Eccles and Fredricks (2005) extended earlier research about extracurricular activity to test for indicators of development

across a range of activities among middle class adolescents in high school. They found that participation in extracurricular activity was linked to favorable academic, psychological and behavioral adjustment. The researchers also found evidence that these outcomes were at least partly gained through students' participation in prosocial peer groups.

Participation in Boys & Girls Clubs has been shown to have a small, but significant relationship with a decrease in poor self-concept. Anderson-Butcher and Cash (2010) used a risk and resilience approach to examine the impact of participation in Boys & Girls Clubs on the reduction of vulnerability and problem behaviors among 297 youth aged 9-16. The researchers used structural equation modeling (SEM) to examine the relationships among participation and poor self-concept and the latent constructs of vulnerability and problem behaviors. Poor self-concept was in turn directly related to increased vulnerability; and increased vulnerability was related to increased problem behaviors.

In an example of an extracurricular activity that focused on skills development, youth learned how to cook. Thonney and Bisogni (2006) evaluated a 2002 pilot project, Cooking Up Fun (CUF), which served 128 youth ages 9 to 15 in small group cooking clubs in 7 New York counties. Youth completed pre- and post-assessments during the 4- to 6-session program. Their evaluation results indicated that CUF improved selected skills, knowledge, and behaviors related to food preparation among youth participants, primarily from low-income families.

Workforce Development

YouthBuild USA is generally recognized as a model youth development and workforce development program, started informally in 1978 and incorporated in 1990

in New York City. The initiative was started at the Youth Action Program of the East Harlem Block Schools, and then was replicated in the Coalition for Twenty Million \$, City-Works, and the Young Adult Learning Academy (Stoneman, 2002). After the program succeeded in five neighborhoods in New York, the program was scaled up and replicated throughout the U.S. YouthBuild gained formal federal support through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and was then transferred to the U.S. Department of Labor due to DOL's mission of administering workforce and training programs. There are now 273 YouthBuild programs in 46 states, Washington, DC, and the Virgin Islands. Community- and faith-based nonprofit organizations are most often the sponsors of YouthBuild programs, which are often led by local social entrepreneurs. According to their website, 110,000 YouthBuild students have built 21,000 units of affordable green housing since 1994 (YouthBuild).

Another model, managed by the 70001 Training & Employment Institute, appeared in the literature review. 70001 was a federal demonstration program to reach youth not served by programs under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Programs implemented in Birmingham (Alabama) and Dallas (Texas) between January 1987 and June 1988 were evaluated. The program included outreach and recruitment; special assessment and intake; individualized employability plans; remedial education in basic skills; motivational activities; and employment training, placement, and follow-up. According to the evaluation, the demonstration exceeded its goals for enrollment and positive terminations and program costs were lower than those of JTPA, however, the Institute does not appear to exist anymore (70001 Training & Employment Institute, 1990).

College and Career Readiness

College and career readiness are fundamentally linked to positive youth development. Historically, however, program interventions have not been linked and were implemented by disparate or competing agencies. Lippman, Atienza, Rivers, Keith and ChildTrends (2008) identify the overlapping competencies of college and career readiness with positive youth development in a report that places all youth competencies into a holistic domain framework. The researchers synthesize the literature in order to identify how interventions from the three program areas could be applied to promote positive youth development in the physical, psychological, social, cognitive, and spiritual domains. The framework has implications for the further development of the overall youth development field and youth policy.

The relationship among dimensions of parenting and youths' career aspirations were examined by Eccles, Jodl, Malanchuk, Micheal and Sameroff (2001) in two specific domains: academics and sports. The researchers used multiple measures of parents' values and behaviors, youths' values and beliefs, positive identification with parents, and adolescents' occupational aspirations. They found that parents' values regarding academics predicted youths' values directly, while fathers' behaviors influenced youths' values in the sports domain. Parents' values predicted adolescents' occupational aspirations via both direct and indirect pathways similarly across the sample, which included 444 seventh graders, with approximately equal numbers of African American and European American males and females, from two-parent nondivorced families.

Service-Learning

Prior to high school graduation, a majority of youth in the United States participates in community service, while many are required to participate in order to graduate. The primary goal of service-learning is to give young adults the opportunity to interact with content matter in authentic or “real-life” settings while contributing to their communities. Billig (2003) argues that service-learning produces multiple beneficial outcomes related to students’ engagement in academic work, academic learning, personal and social development, civic responsibility and career exploration. Lakin and Mahoney (2006) conducted an evaluation of a community service program to focus on identifying the key components of a youth community service program, the experiences of youth, and participant outcomes. Their results suggest that the program was empowering and promoted a sense of community, increasing youths’ self-reported empathy and intent to be involved in future community action.

4-H

Researchers at public universities founded 4-H, the largest youth serving organization in the United States, in the late 1800s as a way to connect new agricultural innovation to the farming community. They found that young people were open to these innovations and would share them with adults. Early programs included community clubs to help solve agricultural challenges. The first of these clubs was founded in 1902 and called "The Tomato Club" or the "Corn Growing Club". The ubiquitous clover pin with an H on each leaf was introduced in 1910, with the four H’s representing Head, Heart, Hands and Health. The passing of the Smith-Lever Act by Congress in 1914 had the effect of nationalizing the 4-H organization as part of the Cooperative Extension System of USDA. 4-H has become more associated with urban

and suburban areas and populations, and broadened its philosophy as agriculture practices have changed. While 4-H is associated with community service, its scope is broad, and incorporates many categories of youth development programs. Today the Cooperative Extension System is a partnership of the National Institute of Food and Agriculture (NIFA) within the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), 109 land-grant universities, and more than 3,000 county offices. (4-H).

The 4-H Study of PYD began in 2002 with a total sample of 7,000 adolescents from diverse backgrounds across 44 U.S. states, about half of whom have been assessed two or more times. Conducted by a team led by Dr. Richard Lerner at the Institute for Applied Research in Youth Development at Tufts University, the study uses a cohort sequential longitudinal design and the sample size increases across successive waves of testing. Subsequent waves of the study involved the addition of a “retest control” cohort of youth, and a sample of their parents, who were then followed longitudinally. These methods were replicated in successive waves (Bowers, Gestsdottir, Geldhof, Nikitin, von Eye and Lerner 2011).

Data collected in the 4-H Study of PYD has informed reports authored by the Institute for Applied Research in Youth Development, as well as articles found in scholarly journals. Findings from the most recent seventh wave of the study include evidence that 4-H youth appear to have higher levels of the developmental assets considered most important: relationship with others and caring, competent, and committed adults, such as parents, teachers, and mentors; 4-H youth are more likely to contribute to their communities and actively engage in citizenship; 4-H youth have higher academic competence engagement in school; 4-H youth are more likely to report healthy habits and less likely to engage in delinquent behaviors; and 4-H youth,

both boys and girls, are more likely to participate in science, engineering, or computer technology programs and plan to pursue a career in science (Lerner and Lerner, 2011).

Bowers, Gestsdottir, Geldhof, Nikitin, von Eye and Lerner (2011) used data from the 4-H PYD study to assess whether patterns of intentional self-regulation (ISR) existed, if these patterns were related to parenting characteristics, and whether ISR trajectories were linked to positive and negative developmental outcomes. Through growth mixture modeling 1574 youth were placed into one of four ISR trajectories: Steady Decline, Elevated, Late Onset, and Pronounced Decline. The authors found that most adolescents reported an incremental decrease in ISR from Grades 5 to 11. They also found that the data supported the assumptions that parental warmth, monitoring, and school involvement were key to self-regulation development and may be essential to support successful ISR behaviors early in adolescence. In another study of intentional self-regulation in the 4-H data, Schmid, Phelps and Lerner (2011) linked the constructs of ISR and hopeful expectations for the future to test the nature of their relationship over time. The authors used cross-lagged panel analysis with Structural Equation Modeling to assess 1311 youth. They argue that earlier hopeful expectations for the future may be influential for later intentional self-regulation abilities, while both were strong predictors of PYD in middle adolescence.

The 4-H PYD study also included assessments of the relationships between youths' activities and positive youth development. Zarrett, Fay, Yibing, Carrano, Phelps and Lerner (2009) used a mixture of variable- and pattern-centered analyses to distinguish different features of participation in sports, other out-of-school-time (OST) activities, and indicators of youth development. They found that the benefits of sports depended on participation in a combination of sports and youth development

programs, and was related to positive youth development and youth contribution. Boyd, Zaff, Phelps, Weiner, Lerner (2011) used 4-H data to evaluate whether youth news media use was predictive of civic indicators such as civic duty, civic efficacy, neighborhood social connection, and civic participation. The authors used multi-group structural equation modeling (SEM) to assess the effect of interpersonal communication about politics with parents. They found that news media use was predictive of communication with parents and in turn, was predictive of civic indicators.

Shirilla (2009) evaluated the University of New Hampshire Cooperative Extension's 4-H Bear Hill summer camp, located outside of Manchester, New Hampshire. The program serves a variety of youth from the greater Manchester and Seacoast areas of New Hampshire. 2006-2007 camp evaluations suggested a positive impact on the overall social skill development of its participants, primarily intrapersonal skills. Shirilla notes that participants experienced follow-up declines in the 2007 data, drawing attention to the lack of programming specifically aimed at enhancing social skill ability during the school year.

Anderson and Karr-Lilienthal (2011) surveyed 4-H horse project members who competed in non-riding horse contests to evaluate the influence of their project participation on life-skill development. Youth indicated a positive influence on both life-skill development and horse knowledge. The researchers found that youth used these projects to increase their science-based knowledge.

Other studies of 4-H have focused on staff and volunteers. Ferrari and McNeely (2007) studied the contributions of camp counseling participation and positive youth development, addressing intensity, duration, and breadth of camp

counseling. Data were collected from 779 counselors using the Youth Experiences Survey (YES). The authors found high levels of teamwork and social skills, initiative, identity, and interpersonal relationships. Arnold, Dolenc and Rennekamp (2009) reviewed the management, competency, motivation, and satisfaction needs of 540 volunteers from the results of a statewide study of 4-H volunteers. A 23-item questionnaire was developed specifically for the study that targeted three elements: volunteer satisfaction, volunteer experience, and understanding of Extension and 4-H. The authors found that volunteers were satisfied that 4-H programs were relevant to needs of youth; felt that their experience was valuable and that they felt valued by youth; and indicated that they had learned about positive youth development.

Social Services

While there are many PYD programs that may be characterized as social services, two specific programs appeared in the literature review. Triangle Tribe, a program of Green Chimneys children's residential services in New York, NY was founded in response to the social isolation experienced by many GLBT youth in out-of-home care. A positive youth development approach at Green Chimneys allows program workers to move from a treatment model to a supportive skill-building model. Treatment-oriented models can be particularly stigmatizing to GLBT youth who often experience attempts to 'fix' them (Mallon, 1997).

Yancey (1992, 1998) argues that the social maladaptation of youth in group foster care is reflective of identity disturbances created by negative images of African-Americans and Latinos that remain unfiltered by optimal parental racial/ethnic socialization. The development of a preventive mental health intervention, the PRIDE (Personal and Racial/ethnic Identity Development and Enhancement) program, was

designed to provide promote positive self-images for youth in group foster care. Yancey highlights PRIDE's use of successful, ethnically relevant role models in interactive group sessions as a significant "hybrid" role-modeling approach (bridging dose and cost between one-to-one mentoring and career-day programs).

Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

There is little evidence that a positive youth development philosophy is successfully integrated into most formal youth detention systems. Schwartz (2003) proposes that PYD is more applicable in diversion programs than within the formal system. The author argues that the juvenile justice system is rarely able to act as an "ordinary devoted parent," thus limiting the opportunities for healthy social and emotional development. There are several key points along the "pipeline" for a young adult moving through the system. In a diversion stage, adults provide alternative options to youth with problem behaviors without invoking the law. This has become less common in an age of "zero-tolerance" policies. Youth then move through referral and/or intake, and a decision is made about whether detention is warranted. Depending on the seriousness of the crime, youth may be transferred to adult criminal court, have an adjudicatory hearing or finally be sentenced in a disposition. Juvenile court dispositions are often for indeterminate periods of time that are open for review by the court. Schwartz argues that the structure of the system is at odds with its mission; and that the system is plagued by jaded staff, inadequate measures of success, reliance on a deficit-oriented model, poor conditions and a disproportionate inclusion of youth with disabilities.

Bradshaw, Brown and Hamilton (2008) argue that that youth with different behavior problems may not equally benefit from different interventions, and that a wrap-around case management model is an appropriate alternative to detention or residential care. Wraparound is a community-based process, an approach that is both family-focused and strengths-based, and a core component of the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) System of Care model. These values are reflected in an evaluation of Reclaiming Futures (Nissen 2011), a juvenile justice reform initiative focused on treatment interventions for juvenile offenders. The program features consistent and intentional involvement of community members to share access to power and build agency. Nissen found that RF operated according to five principles: children belong to families and communities; social capital and support is necessary to help families and communities raise children; systems must promote opportunities for positive outcomes for youth; community leadership and engagement are important; and the overrepresentation of youth of color in juvenile detention and services must be continually examined and solutions advocated.

Health

Sport and Experiential/Adventure Education

Healthy physical development is a key competency of positive youth development. Physical activity contexts include organized sport, school physical education, recreational activities and motor skill development programs. Organized sports can promote positive social, psychological, and motor development. Cato (2006) found that park and recreation programs could make a positive contribution to youth development. Findings in Cato's study of 37 middle-school students revealed

that involvement in this program led to drug education, modest improvements in academic achievement, improved skills and knowledge in decision making, and better attitudes toward leisure.

Gano-Overway, Newton, Magyar, Fry, Kim, and Guivernau (2009) attempted to show how perceptions of a caring youth sport context influenced prosocial and antisocial behavior, specifically positive and negative affective self-regulatory efficacy (ASRE) and empathic self-efficacy (ESE). Their findings, taken from a questionnaire that measured perceptions of the caring climate, ESE, ASRE, and social behavior, showed that perceptions of caring positively predicted ASRE and ESE. They also found that positive ASRE positively predicted ESE, suggesting that perceptions of caring influence prosocial and antisocial behavior in youth by developing their ability to monitor, manage, and control positive affect, as well as their ability to empathize.

In a study that explored the impact of summer sport- based positive youth development (PYD) program, Anderson-Butcher and Riley (2012) gathered qualitative data on individual youth, parent, family, and community level outcomes from ten parents using a semi-structured interviews. Some of the key outcomes that parents identified were youth biopsychosocial development and positive changes in affect, parents' peace of mind due to child involvement, improved family interactions, youth involvement in prosocial activities, and community interaction/support. Parents also pointed out the importance of certain program characteristics such as the qualities and roles of counselors, the incorporation of lessons for sport and life, opportunities for peer/family interactions, program structure, and the provision of resources.

In experiential and adventure-based programs, the literature describes a variety of frameworks. Wojcikiewicz and Mural (2010) used a Deweyian framework to

explore the features of sail-training and sailing-instruction programs. These experiential features include a liveliness and purpose associated with informal learning; an intentionally shaped learning environment; pedagogical purpose; and activity that is 'educative.' An example of a culturally grounded outdoor/experiential education youth development program comes from the National Indian Youth Leadership Project. Project Venture (PV) has been integrated by nearly 60 American Indian and other communities in 18 states, and in 2004, was named a Model Program by the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (Carter, Straits and Hall 2007). The program goals include the promotion of positive self-concept, effective social skills, a community service ethic, self-efficacy, and positive decision-making and problem-solving skills. PV has served over 4000 youth, and is one of the only programs providing culturally grounded youth development for American Indian youth to collect and use data. Carter et. al. conducted multivariate analysis of PV outcomes that showed a significant difference between the substance use patterns of treatment and control participants across time, with treatment youth demonstrating less growth in substance use, specifically alcohol use.

Another study assessed the effect of an experiential, adventure-based program on resilience in fifth-grade Latino students. Beightol, Jeverson, Carter, Gray and Gass (2012) used a mixed-methods quasi-experimental design to measure the impact of the Santa Fe Mountain Center's Anti-Bullying Initiative on internal assets. The researchers suggest that the adventure education program positively affected certain resilience traits. Among the evaluators' recommendations to practitioners was connecting the adventure experience to the school or home setting.

Mentorship

While not directly attached to a particular program, another model that appeared in the literature review was mentorship. Bingenheimer, Zimmerman and Notaro (2002) interviewed 770 adolescents from a large Midwestern city. Fifty-two percent reported having a natural mentor. The authors define natural mentors as non-parental adults such as teachers, extended family or neighbors who may play important roles in youths' lives. The authors found that natural mentors had compensatory but not protective effects on problem behaviors, and both compensatory and protective effects on school attitudes. Koeske, Rishel and Sales (2005) also explored the frequency and quality of contact that youth have with non-parental adults and how this contact influences child behavior. The researchers surveyed seventy-five mothers regarding their child's contact with non-parental adults and their child's behavior and also found that more frequent and high quality contact was related to fewer behavior problems.

Morality

A small, but significant strand in the literature is related to moral or spiritual development in youth. Development of moral judgment and behavior is a key component of religious-based youth development, but also factors in other frameworks such as culturally-grounded or service oriented youth development. Lerner (2004) argues that morality is integrated into human biological nature because of the behaviors required for reproduction and survival. Mutually supportive relationships between individuals and societies result in positive individual – context functioning according to Lerner. In their review of the literature on morality and spirituality in youth development, Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, and Hawkins (2004)

struggled to find one definition or model, but found some research that linked spirituality to moral reasoning, and positive associations between religiosity and youth well-being and prosocial behaviors.

Hill and Swanson (1993) found that metacognition was linked to the development of moral reasoning and behavior in a study of 139 youth in three age groups. Swanson suggests that natural age-related increases in cognition and awareness of morality was related to moral action, and older students were more likely to rate highly on ethical behavior than younger students. Klatt and Enright (2009) have explored the specific role of forgiveness within the PYD paradigm. The researchers link evidence of positive developmental outcomes related to forgiveness to three PYD components: moral identity, developmental assets, and youth as co-producers of their development. King and Furrow (2004) also suggest that religiously active youth have high levels of social capital resources. The researchers used a social capital model to explore how social interaction, trust, and shared vision influenced moral behavior in 735 urban youth and found that moral outcomes were mediated through social capital resources.

Building strengths and character in the context of religiosity has been a long tradition, made more formal in the U.S. as churches, temples, mosques and other faith-based institutions respond to contemporary life. Central to faith is family and the relationship to God and community. Each faith has cultural-symbolic traditions and frameworks for youth development within their communities. In some traditions, these processes remain more insular, whereas other traditions actively seek out and share practices among “outsiders.” In response to a system of education rooted in Protestantism, over the course of the 20th century the Catholic Church in the U.S.

established thousands of schools that serve both Catholics and non-Catholics. The Church also established extensive social service programs that serve youth and families through more than 1400 Catholic Charities. In the last 30 years, Catholic youth work has been guided by “A Vision of Youth Ministry” that includes religious education, relationship-building, goal-setting, and developmental needs-based programming (Dowling, E.M. and Dowling, R.J, 2003).

Benson and Roehlkepartain (2003) describes religious communities as “socializing systems” that contribute to well-being and develop assets. The author’s review of studies using the Developmental Assets Framework (Benson and Leffert, 2001), show a relationship between participation in religiously sponsored activities and higher levels of the 40 developmental assets. This relationship is somewhat mediated by a context of other supportive developmental resources. An analysis of the data identifies restraint, participation in youth programs, service to others and positive peer influence as those assets exhibited most in comparison to inactive or nonreligious youth.

Positive Youth Development Policy Dynamics

PYD is a philosophical orientation toward social and community development in addition to its characterization as a process of human development and a programmatic framework. PYD has been used increasingly in the United States as an intervention strategy in schools, community-based programs, and alternative settings. PYD theory describes ecological developmental assets that refer to the supports and networks that surround the individual young person. “Instead of anticipating and trying to fix or prevent problems, this new paradigm considers the strengths, competencies, and contributions that youth can make and ways to align these strengths

with resources and supports in the environment to maximize healthy development of individuals and society” (pg. 114, Theokas, Almerigi, Lerner, Dowling, Benson, and Scales, 2005).

Recent years have seen a shift in emphasis from providing educational and employment services to individual youth, to fostering prosocial communities where nurturing and developing the talents of the next generation are core commitments (Tyler et. al, 2008). This approach seeks to engage all members of the community—government officials, educators, youth-serving organizations, social service agencies, mentors, families and youth themselves—in helping young people connect to meaningful education and work (Shore, Shore and Casey, 2009).

Benson (2002) conceptualizes asset-building strategies as a combination of (1) the mobilization of sustained adult engagement in asset-building relationships with children and youth; (2) the mobilization of youth as leaders in using their capacities with peers, younger children and in their communities; (3) the mobilization of multiple sectors, i.e. schools, congregations, in activating their asset-building potential; (4) a comprehensive community infrastructure of quality early childhood after-school, weekend, and summer programs for children and youth; and (5) the mobilization of community supports, i.e., finance, leadership, media and policy, to support and sustain the above strategies.

Youth Development Policy

The United States is the only western industrialized nation that has yet to implement a national youth policy. Although multiple attempts have been made in the last fifteen years, the federal government has failed to approve a single overarching federal policy that addresses the challenges of youth. Current federal youth policies

developed from multiple programs established through Progressive Era child welfare initiatives in the early 20th century and expanded during New Deal and Great Society initiatives. The pressing need to focus on child labor and the protection of children with special needs resulted in the establishment of the Children's Bureau in 1912, the earliest federal attempt at youth policy. The New Deal resulted in work and education support programs for older youth to assist with the poverty of the Great Depression. Roosevelt's administration also introduced the American Youth Act (S. 1463) which sought to establish a federal National Youth Administration (NYA) to administer a system of public-works projects that would employ young persons who were not employed or full-time students. The House and Senate never brought the act to a vote. Following World War 2, federal policies increasingly focused on addressing delinquency (Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012). Today, youth policies and service structures vary in states and municipalities, and are concentrated in six main areas—workforce development, education, juvenile justice and delinquency prevention, social services, public health, and national and community service. More recent attempts at youth policies (1990 – present) mainly address specific populations or represent efforts to consolidate and coordinate the administration of youth services (see Appendix D, pg. 266).

Attempts at Youth Development Policy

The constellation of organizations and agencies that serve and advocate for youth in the United States encompass multiple sectors and philosophies. These include agencies that have been funded and/or appointed by federal, state or local governments such as education, youth development, child welfare and labor agencies; multi-sector collaborations such as 4-H Extension, which includes the USDA, land-grant

universities and colleges and non-profits; private non-profit and for-profit youth serving agencies who provide in-school and out-of-school time services such as mentoring, counseling, enrichment, etc.; and foundations that support youth development through financial and programmatic support and advocacy, such as the Annie E. Casey Foundation, Children's Defense Fund, and the Forum for Youth Investment. This has amounted to a fragmented overall approach, with not only duplication, but also entirely different philosophies about youth development. While there was no overarching youth policy, previously the federal government did address the needs of vulnerable youth through the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration (YDDPA) (predecessor to the Family and Youth Services Bureau). The YDDPA identified four adolescent needs: a sense of competency, a sense of usefulness, a sense of belonging, and a sense of power or potency. These needs were then addressed through YDDP programs implemented across the U.S. (Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012). Today the Family and Youth Services Bureau, located in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, states that PYD is the driving principle of the agency (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2011).

Consensus among child development theorists and practitioners began to develop in the 1980s regarding the model needed for successful transition to adulthood in the United States, and found its voice in the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development's reports, *Turning Points* (1989) and *A Matter of Time* (1992). *A Matter of Time* was the result of a national study of community-based youth organizations directed by Jane Quinn, who currently heads the community schools initiative at Children's Aid Society (CAS) in New York City. *A Matter of Time* reflected the growing concern among reformers that attention be paid to key developmental

attributes among youth and joined a growing movement that called for a positive strengths and assets approach to working with youth in schools and communities (Benson 1990, Pittman 1991). Hahn (2002) argues that *Turning Points* (1989) was instrumental in defining a holistic approach that informed the field's philosophy and federal youth development programming policy. This movement represented a significant shift in philosophy from previous theories and practices in psychology, education, and juvenile justice, and presented a challenge to existing paradigms of youth service provision.

In addition to concerns about unified definitions of positive youth development and practice, multiple presidential administrations identified concerns over the coordination of federal youth programs. The U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) identified 131 programs for 'at-risk' or delinquent youth across 16 agencies in FY1996. In 2002 the White House Task Force for Disadvantaged Youth compiled a similar list of more than 300 programs in 12 agencies targeting youth and outlined a number of concerns. The task force found that many youth programs appeared to provide the same services and share similar goals, which the task force characterized as mission fragmentation. The task force also expressed concern about mission creep, because agencies with distinct goals and missions were found to provide similar services to the same groups of youth. Among other concerns of the task force were poor coordination of services for specific sub-groups of vulnerable youth, limited program accountability due to a lack of rigorous evaluation, and funding streams such as earmarked appropriations that reduce accountability (Executive Office of the President, 2003).

One reason for the growth of diverse and disjointed youth services, according to Hahn (2002), is the general trend of devolution of federal programs to states, counties, and cities. The KIDS COUNT Indicator Brief, a project of the Annie E. Casey Foundation, suggests five strategies to reduce the number of ‘disconnected’ or ‘opportunity’ youth: re-engage disconnected youth and young adults in education, provide workforce development programs geared to the needs of disconnected youth and young adults, include disconnected youth in economic recovery investment and planning, address impediments to employment, create developmental opportunities that recognize the importance of social networks, and aim for comprehensive reform, with a focus on cross-system collaboration.

Scott, Deschenes, Hopkins, Newman and McLaughlin (2006) have argued that attempts to pass comprehensive youth policy will continue to fail if legislators treat youth policies from a sectoral perspective, instead of coordinating the efforts of all federal youth serving agencies. Several attempts have been made, including the Youth Development Community Block Grant (YDCBG) of 1995 (H.R. 2807/S. 673), which proposed consolidating more than twenty federal youth programs administered by the U.S. Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, and Justice in order to shift from categorical interventions to an overarching youth development approach. The legislation did not prescribe activities, but did require states to submit a plan to HHS that outlined their youth development priorities. The block grant was based on three factors: the number of youth in the state, the number of low-income youth in the state, and the average incidence of juvenile crime. YDCBG was referred out of committee in both the House and Senate and then died.

Another attempt was made in 2001 with the Younger Americans Act (H.R. 17/S. 1005), which sought to create a central funding source to fund a network of youth programs with specific features aligned with positive youth development, including ongoing relationships with caring adults; safe places with structured activities; access to services that promote healthy lifestyles; opportunities to acquire marketable skills and competencies; and opportunities for community service and civic participation. A block grant would have been distributed to states based on the number of youth receiving free or reduced-price lunch, and states in turn would distribute funds appropriate youth-serving agencies and organizations. The Younger Americans Act of 2001 did not pass committee in the House or Senate (Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012). A few successful attempts at creating a state youth policy have occurred in states such as Massachusetts, New York, Iowa, and Kentucky (Scott, Deschenes, Hopkins, Newman, McLaughlin 2006).

Pittman, Yohalem and Irby (2003) have argued that, instead of creating one definition of youth development policy, that a set of lenses be used to describe and assess policies that affect young people. The authors identify four domains, or lenses, in operation across states and communities. These include: (1) the environmental impact lens, (2) the developmental impact lens, (3) the prevention/preparation impact lens, and (4) the out-of-school/community-based services lens. They advocate for a clarification in policy-making for youth development as a field that includes ALL actors impacting youth development, not only as a system delivered primarily by CBOs.

Congress passed the Tom Osborne Federal Youth Coordination Act (P.L. 109-365) in 2006. The Act was never funded. However, P.L. 109-364 did establish a

Federal Youth Development Council. In 2008, the Interagency Working Group on Youth Programs was formed under Executive Order 13459 to address coordination across youth agencies as well. The Osborne Act and the Interagency Working Group share similar goals and are both chaired by the HHS Secretary. Some of the main differences between the two bodies are related to the funding, membership, duties, and level of authority required to carry out their missions. The Council required a federal appropriation to HHS, and executive and congressional consultation regarding representatives from outside groups. The Council was also charged with a role in the assessment of the needs of youth and the promotion of positive youth development through goal-setting and resource allocation. The Working Group consists exclusively of federal staff, and among its duties is the creation of a federal website on youth (youth.gov) that provides training and disseminates strategies (Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012). In 2013, the Interagency Working Group created a draft strategic plan entitled “Pathways for Youth.” The plan includes three overarching goals related to (1) collaboration and coordination; (2) evidence-based and innovative strategies; and (3) youth engagement and partnerships. The Working Group also identified several cross-cutting initiatives for member agencies related to shared language, collaboration, dissemination of best practices, and evaluation practices (Interagency Working Group on Youth Programs, 2013).

Youth Development Philanthropy

Despite the lack of a national youth policy, a number of foundations have made positive youth development a priority through funding initiatives in the public, private and nonprofit sectors. The philanthropy community has become increasingly diverse since the early days of the philanthropist/industrial capitalist. Many

foundations formed during this time remain the largest private foundations devoted to “solving” social problems, i.e., the Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Russell Sage Foundation. Three other types of foundations have emerged in the past several decades. These include community foundations like the New York Community Trust, family or corporate foundations, and operating foundations. Grantmakers for Children, Youth and Families is a membership association and independent nonprofit that has a network of more than 500 foundations that support children and youth initiatives and meet annually to develop and promote youth funding agendas (Grantmakers for Children, Youth and Families).

Among the first foundations to pick up on trends from research about positive youth development was the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY). CCNY made the future of children a priority in 1983, and designated a task force on education and young adolescents in 1987 (Petersen and McClure, 2003). Annie E. Casey Foundation collaborated with the City of New York in creating the Beacon Schools, and the Ford Foundation has invested in multiple community youth development (CYD) initiatives, including Private/Public Ventures’ CYD demonstration project, the Academy of Educational Development’s Center for Youth Development and Policy Research, and the National 4-H Council’s Innovation Center (pg. 26, Hahn 2002).

The focus of foundations has moved from primarily funding services or programs to broader and longer community-led initiatives with high impact for children and families. Petersen and McClure (2003) propose that most foundations have funding programs that focus on (1) development rather than charity, (2) supporting innovation rather than ongoing program support, (3) leveraging funds with

others rather than being the sole funder, and (4) helping pilot new ideas rather than funding already proven approaches. That being said, the authors assert that sustainability of such initiatives is also an emerging priority among foundations.

Youth Development Advocacy

The youth development field has also made strides in addressing youth policy recently, particularly through the work of national organizations like the Forum for Youth Investment (FYI). FYI is a nonprofit organization founded in 1998 by Karen Pittman and Merita Irby whose stated mission is to help communities make sure all young people are “Ready by 21: ready for college, work and life.” Among the activities managed by the Forum is the Children’s Cabinet Network, the only national network of state policy coordinating bodies for children and youth. The network includes Children’s Cabinets, P-20 Councils, and an Early Childhood Advisory Council. The Forum supports the work of the network by coordinating virtual and in-person meetings among members and with federal policymakers; providing regular updates on federal funding opportunities; creating publications on topics of interest to Children’s Cabinets; and providing technical assistance, meeting facilitation and coaching on projects like children’s budgets, creating a Children’s Cabinet, developing goals and sharing data, generating a statewide plan, and mapping a state’s fiscal resources for young people. Children’s Cabinets are intended to systematically improve cohesion in the ways states address the development of children and youth. Children’s Cabinets are typically made up of representatives of state government agencies with child- and youth-serving programs. When operating ideally, members meet regularly to coordinate, develop common outcomes, and collaboratively decide upon and implement plans to foster the well-being of young people.

As a complement to the work of Children’s Cabinets, FYI and the Finance Project have collaborated in spearheading Children, Youth and Families (CYF) Resource Maps. A CYF resource map describes the total amount of resources devoted to children, youth and families in a given municipality. The project has been implemented across the U.S., and involves a cross-sectoral group of stakeholders. Among the goals of the project are to provide policymakers with a new vision of the work they are doing for children, youth and families that allows for a greater understanding of spending priorities and the context for their decision making.

Advocates have also been able to take advantage of other important data collection on children and families and leverage this evidence for public education and policy-making. Established in 1990, the KIDS COUNT project provides federal, state and local data on child well-being. This foundation initiative was followed by the federal government’s “Trends” series (US Department of Health and Human Services) in 1996. Data on children was instrumental in influencing the enactment of the State Child Health Insurance Program (CHIP) in 1997, a landmark piece of legislation ensuring health coverage for all children (Allen and Martinez, 2003).

SUMMARY

This literature review explores how the concept and practice of Positive Youth Development (PYD) developed over time in the U.S. The review also outlines the theories of human development that have influenced PYD (see Table 2, pg. 46). PYD can be defined as a process of human development, a philosophical orientation toward social and community development, and a programmatic framework for youth services. PYD in the U.S. has evolved both from, and in response to, child

development theory, attempts to promote equity in education and fragmented policies about youth.

In identifying children and youth as a protected class, reformers at different points in American history imposed oversight mechanisms that both helped and hindered. Children's identities in the U.S. have been formed by their relative success within the public school paradigm. Failure to succeed within this framework has resulted in various attempts to study and modify child behaviors and alleviate socioeconomic conditions. These efforts have coincided with a dramatic increase in the number of institutionalized, detained and incarcerated youth. The literature shows that youth of color have disproportionate levels of disconnectedness to school and contact with juvenile justice.

A positive assets-based approach to youth development has emerged over the course of the past 20 years, and is now establishing itself as a field of practice. PYD is an integration of concepts of healthy child development that have grown out of the work of both academic theorists (Benson; Lerner; Seligman) and practitioners (Pittman and Cahill). PYD is ecological in nature, and takes into account multiple areas of development, including social, emotional and intellectual development. This is reflected in the PYD literature devoted to families and communities, as well as civic engagement. This overarching philosophy is evident in the range of programs that appear in the literature, as well as in their stated outcome goals (see Table 4, pg. 132). The range of types of programs also continues to reflect the goals of the multiple federal agencies that fund youth programs i.e., education, labor, human services, and criminal justice. Most of the literature describing programs is evaluative in nature, and some of the key findings of these studies include outcomes such as the promotion of

prosocial behaviors and peer groups; improvement in teacher-student relationships; building feelings of belonging and caring; higher levels of decision making skills, initiative, and community awareness; participation in new interests, sports, and nature-based activities; and the development of core values. Further study is required to assess how well PYD contributes to social justice and opportunity.

As a programmatic framework for youth services, organizations such as the Forum for Youth Investment are approaching an overarching philosophy through campaigns like “Ready by 21,” and more standardized training has appeared through academic institutions (Great Plains IDEA, CUNY). While there is a great deal of literature about theories of child development and studies of youth outcomes, there is little that describes the dynamics and processes of youth development policy and practice. This may not be surprising given the fact that the U.S. has failed at several attempts to enact a federal youth policy. Current federal efforts at youth policy are primarily concerned with the improved coordination of youth services across multiple federal agencies. Most youth policy work and discourse is found in advocacy and ‘think tank’ organizations (Forum for Youth Investment, Annie E. Casey, Kauffman). In particular, FYI has taken a grassroots approach, working with states and local municipalities to explore their own youth policies and resources. Given that many federal youth-serving agencies have chosen to embrace PYD concepts and practice, support for national youth policy that moves beyond coordination among disparate agencies may be imminent.

Chapter 3

METHODS, CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS

Research Design

The research design for this study employs inductive qualitative methods, seeking to identify patterns and assumptions that emerge from the data regarding the dynamics and processes of PYD policy and practice. In depth and focused interviews were conducted with various key actors involved in PYD, including representatives of the public and non-profit sectors. These representatives were chosen based on their ability to describe PYD policy and practice in Queens, NY, over time, from specific micro-, macro- and meso-level ecological perspectives. Embedded in the study is an analysis of youth and parent attitudinal data collected by a large youth serving agency in Queens.

Use of qualitative methods allows the study to question underlying assumptions about the nature of reality, the relationship of the researcher to the study, the role of values, and the process of research. A qualitative paradigm maintains that reality is subjective and multiple as seen by participants of the study; the researcher interacts with that being researched; assumes bias; and builds meaning through an inductive process that is emergent and context-bound. Analysis of the survey data collected from youth and parents allows the study to present an aggregate picture of the attitudes of youth and parents toward youth development practice within the study area, as well as explore the potential outcomes and how they relate to the literature about outcomes. Assumed in the design is that the context and perspective of the study

participants may result in multiple explanations for the dynamics and processes of PYD in Queens. This study addresses the following research questions:

- How has the concept of PYD developed in the U.S., and, more specifically, how has the concept and practice of PYD developed in Queens?
- How does PYD philosophy at the national level compare to Queens?
- What theory(s) best describe(s) the evolution of PYD in Queens and the U.S.?
- In what ways, if any, has PYD contributed to the advancement of social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities?

Characteristics of the Study Design

This study relies on multiple sources of evidence in order to inductively build a portrait of an asset-building movement. Theory derived from social movement frames (Snow and Benford, 1988-1999), neo-institutional frames (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; DiMaggio, 1988; Scott, Deschenes, Hopkins, Newman, McLaughlin, 2006), and policy diffusion (Rogers, 1995; Stone, 2000; Jordana, Levi-Faur, Fernandez i Marin, 2011) inform the study protocol. Individual-level actions are examined through in-depth interviews. Other evidence includes reports drawn from survey assessments of youths' and parents' perceptions of and attitudes toward youth development practice. Socializing systems actions are examined through policy and document review and in-depth interviews. Community-building actions are examined through review of local socio-economic data and policy contributing directly or indirectly to a movement of PYD. Once primary interview data was collected, an on-going process to analyze and identify appropriate theories or frames informed further data collection.

Snow and Benford (1988) have identified social movement frames that are useful to examine PYD, i.e.; individual actors (identity); contexts or situations that need to be changed; ideas that influence actions; strategic planning that operationalizes action; and reflection and decision-making processes that develop ongoing strategies. Pastor and Ortiz (2009) define social movements as “sustained groupings that develop a frame or narrative based on shared values, that maintain a link with a real and broad base in the community, and that build for a long-term transformation in power (pg.7).” Pastor and Ortiz identify ten key elements to a successful social movement and five key capacities that allow social movements to sustain themselves. These key elements include:

- Vision and frame of change
- Authentic base with key constituencies
- Commitment to the long haul
- Viable economic model
- Vision of government and governance
- Scaffold of solid research
- Pragmatic policy package
- Recognition of the need for scale
- Strategies for scaling up
- Willingness to network with other movements

The capacities needed to sustain social movements include the abilities to organize; research, frame and communicate; assess power dynamics; manage large and growing organizations; and engage and network with others. The last key capacity that Pastor and Ortiz identify as an overarching skill is the ability to refresh the vision and leadership of social movements.

The concept of organizational field refers to a collection of diverse but interdependent organizations “that constitute a recognized area of institutional life” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, pg. 143). Partnerships between schools and community-based organizations (CBOs) were highlighted in the literature review (Surko et. al., 2006; Anderson-Butcher et. al., 2006), and provide complementary evaluative frames for the evaluation of the communication, coordination, collaboration and outcomes of PYD partnerships. The “organizational field” is also a useful framework to assess how advocacy organizations like the Forum for Youth Investment are working to reform and restructure several interrelated, highly institutionalized fields, including education, social services, and juvenile justice. Indicators of advocacy and field development will be used to map youth development in Queens County, New York.

Indicators of Field Development (Scott, Deschenes, Hopkins, Newman and McLaughlin, 2006):

- Presence of visible champions who provide ideological energy and focus
- Number and influence of national (and international) conferences, publications, and events intended to clarify the agenda
- Number of legislative acts that significantly advance the agenda
- Number of nonprofit organizations, service and advocacy, devoted to the cause
- Number of foundations operating at the national, state, and community levels
- The development of metrics and data-gathering mechanisms for assessing progress in achieving field-level objectives
- The development of university-based programs supporting data collection, research, policy formulation, and dissemination activities

Primarily used to describe the integration of new technologies into the market place, diffusion of innovation theory (Rogers, 1995) seeks to explain how, why, and at what rate new ideas and technology spread. Rogers posited that this process occurred primarily through communication among social networks. Any innovation relies on widespread adoption in order to be maintained, and so Roger's analysis includes time as a variable and a consideration of the factors that influence the adoption of new ideas, as well as the process of decision making itself.

Particularly salient to this study, is how Roger's concepts have been applied to political science and administration. Policy diffusion examines how and why institutions adopt new ideas, or engage in 'policy transfer' (Stone, 2002). Stone explored the role of non-governmental organizations such as foundations, think tanks and community-based organizations in promoting the spread of policy ideas and found that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play a role as policy entrepreneurs because their concern with a certain issue leads to the development of a broad network that becomes a source of new ideas. Jordana, Levi-Faur, Fernandez i Marin, (2011) also analyze policy transfer through the concept of channels of transfer and stages of diffusion that draws on international regulatory examples. The researchers distinguish three major stages of diffusion: the incubation period (low adoption rates); the takeoff period (dramatic increase in adoption rates); and the saturation period (rate decreases, but number of adopters still increases).

Policy convergence, which can be an outcome of policy transfer, is another key concept explored by Stone (2002). Stone identifies four possible causes behind convergence: (1) emulation, (2) harmonization, (3) elite networking and policy communities, and (4) penetration. The concept of emulation in Stone implies sharing

ideas and adapting policies to address local conditions. Harmonization is a process that promotes interdependence and is sustained by governmental institutions. Stone also describes a process in which elite networking and interaction can cause policy transfer. Regular interaction of experts and practitioners, such as through conferences or sustained communication, may form common patterns of understanding regarding policy in a given field. Penetration is the most violent characterization of policy convergence in Stone, exemplified by coercion and the use of power.

Indicators of Policy Transfer (Stone, 2002):

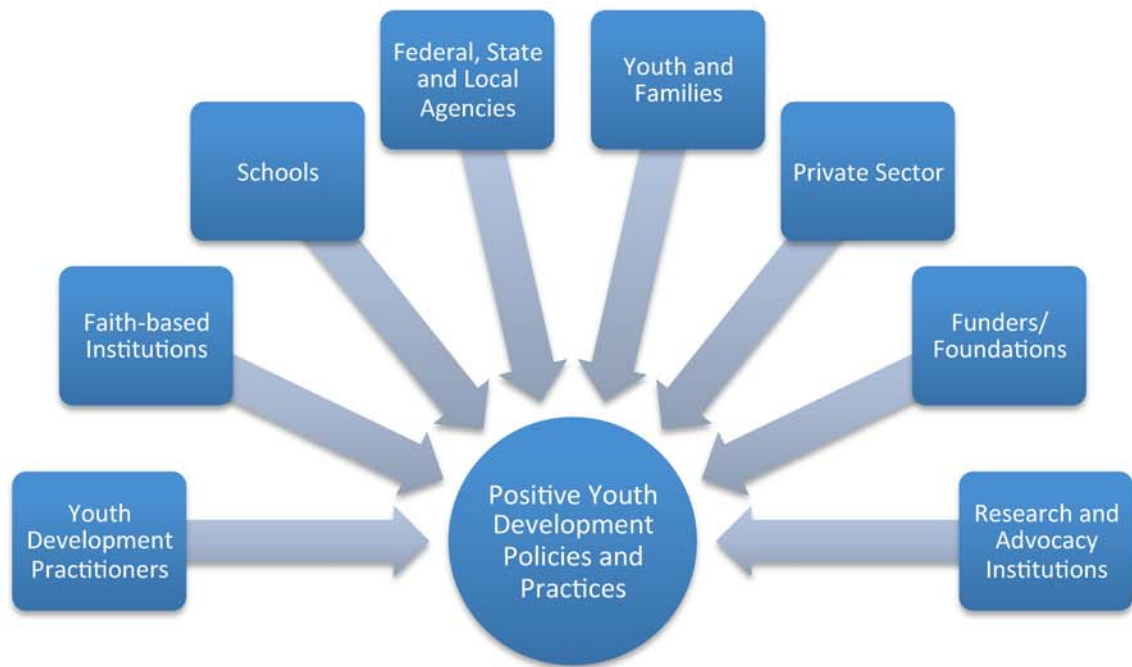
- acting as a clearing-house for information
- involvement in the advocacy of ideas
- involvement in policy networks
- intellectual and scholarly base providing expertise on specialized policy issues

These frames and their indicators were used to inform the creation of study protocols and were analyzed through the creation of codes, categories and typologies that emerge from the data. Once data was collected, an on-going process to analyze and identify appropriate theories or frames informed further data collection. Queens County, New York was chosen as the site for this case study for several reasons. The county is part of the City of New York, which has invested in positive youth development strategies through multiple sectors and modalities over several decades, including the creation of a dedicated city-wide unit named the Department of Youth and Community Development (DYCD). I also have a personal connection to a

network of colleagues in the youth development field in Queens and the greater New York City area.

Data Collection Processes

Figure 1 Actors Contributing to Positive Youth Development Policy and Practice



In order to ensure validity, the study uses multiple sources of data and establishes a chain of evidence (Patton, 2002). Elements of multiple paradigm assumptions regarding qualitative inquiry influenced my choices of validity procedures. In a postpositivist or systematic paradigm, triangulation contributes validity to the lens of the researcher, while member checking validates the data through the lens of the study participants. Triangulation is a process through which themes or categories are formed across multiple and different types of information.

Member checking assists in establishing credibility by having study participants confirm the accuracy of the data or report. In a constructivist paradigm thick description contributes validity to the data for external readers. Thick description gives detailed contextual support to the data. Finally, in a critical paradigm, researcher reflexivity challenges and validates the lens of the researcher, through the acknowledgement of researcher prior knowledge and bias (Creswell and Miller, 2000).

A study protocol was developed that includes an overview of the project; procedures; a schedule for data collection; study and interview questions; and guide for report. Documenting the processes of qualitative inquiry is one of the primary ways to assess the dependability of the research. Included in these strategies are the creation of an audit trail, and the triangulation of sources. The audit trail includes the above protocol as well as the use of memos that document the data collection. The primary procedure involving human subjects for this protocol is in-depth focused interviews. Interviews were conducted face-to-face, and only one via telephone when a face-to-face interview was not possible. Study participants have direct or indirect involvement in PYD policies and/or practice in Queens County, NY. Study participants include administrators, policymakers, youth workers, teachers, parents and youth 18+. Study participants are varied in age, gender, ethnicity, race and socioeconomic background.. The total number of study participants includes 28 key informants who are highly knowledgeable and represent multiple sectors and participant roles in PYD in Queens County (reflected in Figure 1 on the previous page).

In addition to qualitative interviews, other sources of evidence include: letters, correspondence, other personal documents; agendas, announcements, minutes;

administrative records, proposals, reports; formal studies or evaluations of same “case”; and news clippings, social media. Other archival evidence includes: public use files, i.e. census; service records; organizational records, i.e. personnel or budget; maps, geographic representations; and youth survey data previously collected. The study database includes: case study notes – the result of interviews, observations or document analysis; and a bibliography of documents collected during study. The majority of evidence collected is from Queens County and New York City and historical in nature, in order to build a portrait of a PYD movement over time.

Table 4 Relationship between PYD Study Research Questions and Interview Questions (see Appendices M and N, pp. 276-277)

Research Question	Interview Question
R1: How has the concept of PYD developed in the U.S. and in Queens, and are there differences between the two?	P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P9, P10, P11 G1, G3, G4, G5, G6, G7, G8, G10
R2: How has the implementation of PYD in Queens evolved over time?	P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9, P10, P11 G1, G3, G4, G5, G6, G7, G9
R3: What theory(s) best describe(s) the evolution of the concept and practice of PYD in Queens?	P1, P2, P3, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9, P10, P11 G1, G2, G3, G6, G9
R4: In what ways has PYD contributed to the advancement of social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities in Queens?	P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P8 G2, G3, G4, G5, G6, G7, G9
Policy Implications	P7, P8, P9, P10, P11, P12 G8, G9, G10, G11

Description of Fieldwork

The research protocol for this study was presented to the University of Delaware Institutional Review Board (IRB) for review. The proposal for the study was a qualitative data collection process that included interviews, site visits and document

review that would inform an inductive process of theory building about the dynamics and processes of positive youth development in the U.S. and in Queens, NY. This group of documents was submitted online; and included the standard protocol form, as well as copies of the interview guidelines and a copy of the consent form. Fieldwork for this study was conducted in the winter and spring of 2014 in New York City, following University of Delaware IRB approval. Confirmation of IRB approval appears in Appendix L, pg. 277. Initial outreach consisted of sending an invitation letter and study consent form via email to a broad selection of highly knowledgeable youth development practitioners, technical assistance providers and funders who fill a variety of roles. Specifically, each potential interviewee had significant knowledge and/or experience with youth development programs in Queens, NY. Representatives of direct service providers in Queens, larger city-wide organizations with programs in Queens, private foundations funding Queens organizations, organizations that provide training and technical assistance, youth development advocacy organizations, and youth-serving city agencies were all invited in order to develop a purposive sample. Interviewees from local service providers included young adult and direct service staff, program supervisors and executive directors. Representatives from city-wide organizations tended to be in leadership roles within the organization.

To develop the study participant sample, I researched organizations located within the study area, as well as organizations networked through the New York City Department of Youth and Community Development. As I reached out to study participants, representatives of foundations and government agencies would refer me to other highly knowledgeable potential interviewees. Of the 55 potential interviewees

that I made outreach to, I was able to obtain consent from and interview 28 study participants.

Interviews ranged from one hour to two and a half hours in length, and, in general, were conducted at the location of the organization. Each interview was recorded with the use of a digital recorder, and with the interviewee's written and verbal consent. Interviews were conducted using the IRB approved interview protocol, and each interviewee was asked the same questions with some variation in question prompts based on their answers. To a large degree, study participants were known professional colleagues or had travelled in similar professional networks as my own. I believe that this was a limitation as well as an asset. While I had some, but limited, access to study participants outside of my own professional networks, I was also successfully able to engage a wide representation of youth development agencies, advocates and practitioners.

Figure 2 represents a map of program sites for the twenty largest municipally funded youth programs in Queens, overlaid with Queens Community District boundaries and PYD Study interview sites. Diamonds in one color represent program sites for one organization, while red stars represent PYD interview sites. Swimmer icons represent local YMCA NYNJ chapters. Because a number of interviews were conducted with city agencies, foundations, intermediary advocacy and technical assistance organizations and citywide youth service providers, interview location sites extend beyond the boundary of Queens. Interviews were conducted in seven of the fourteen CDs in Queens, while interviews with citywide organization representatives provided coverage and knowledge of the remaining CDs. This map was created using

Google Maps with a publicly-funded youth program dataset and shape files retrieved from the City of New York website (New York (City) 2015).

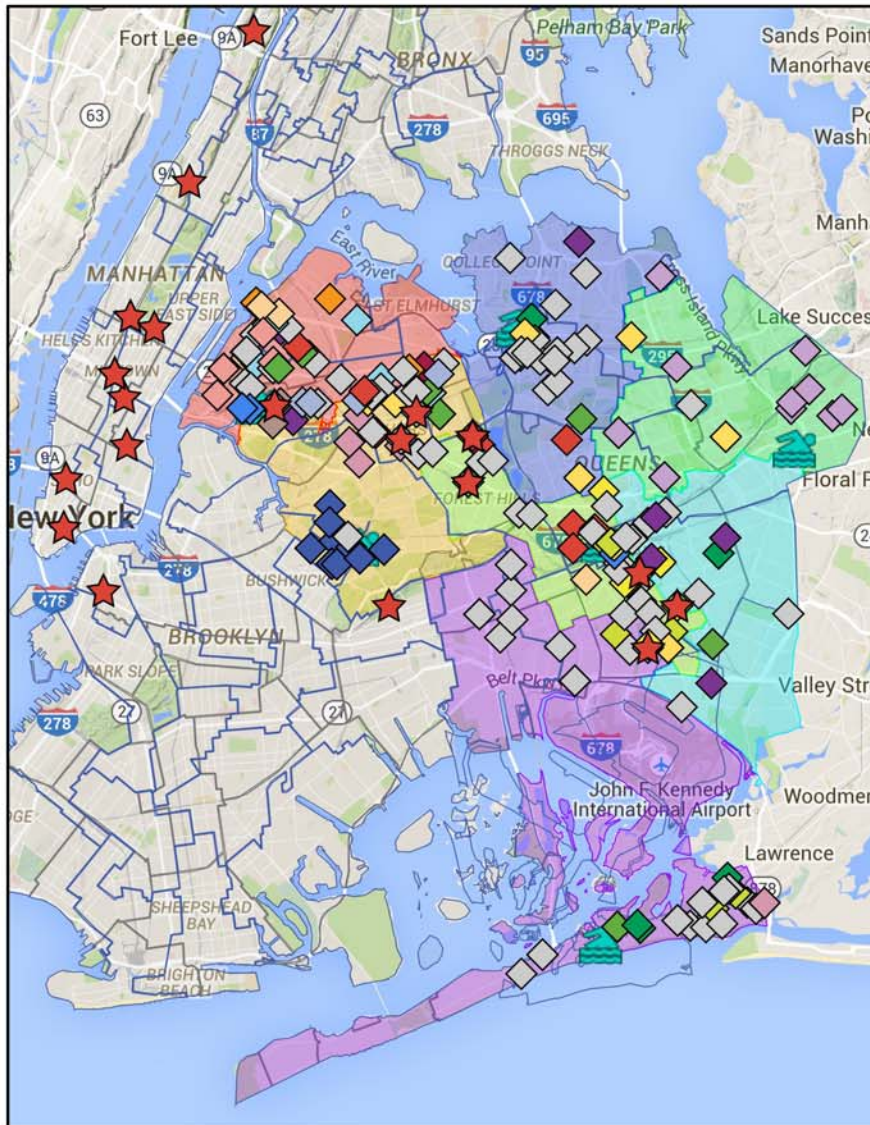


Figure 2 Map of the study area: Queens, New York

Figures 3 and 4 below show demographic data about PYD study participants. Figure 3 indicates the gender and race/ethnicity of study participants, while Figure 4 shows a breakdown of roles that study participants play within the NYC Youth Development System. 93% of all study participants were between the ages of 25 and 64. Two study participants were young adults between the ages of 18-24 who were frontline youth staff, and two study participants were program officers older than 64.

Figure 3 PYD Study Participants: Gender and Race/Ethnicity

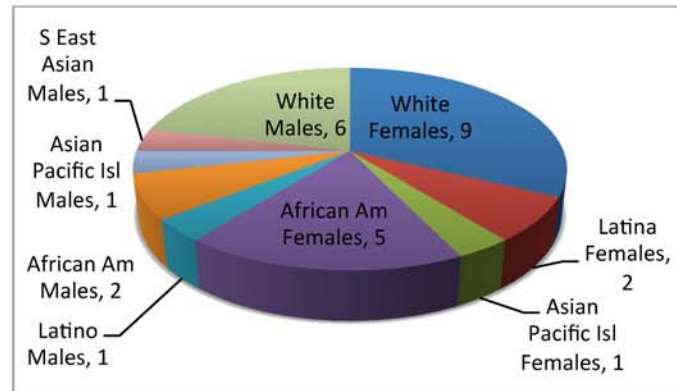
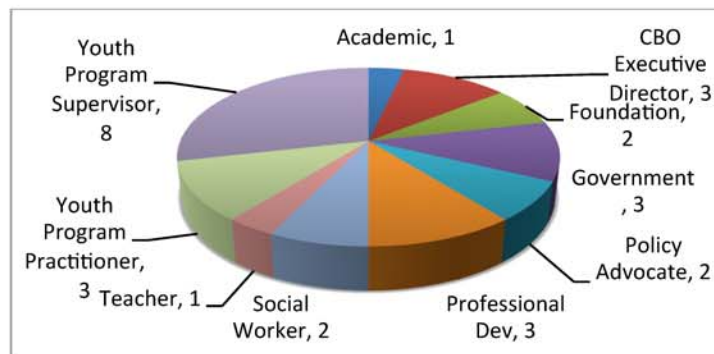


Figure 4 PYD Study Participants by Role



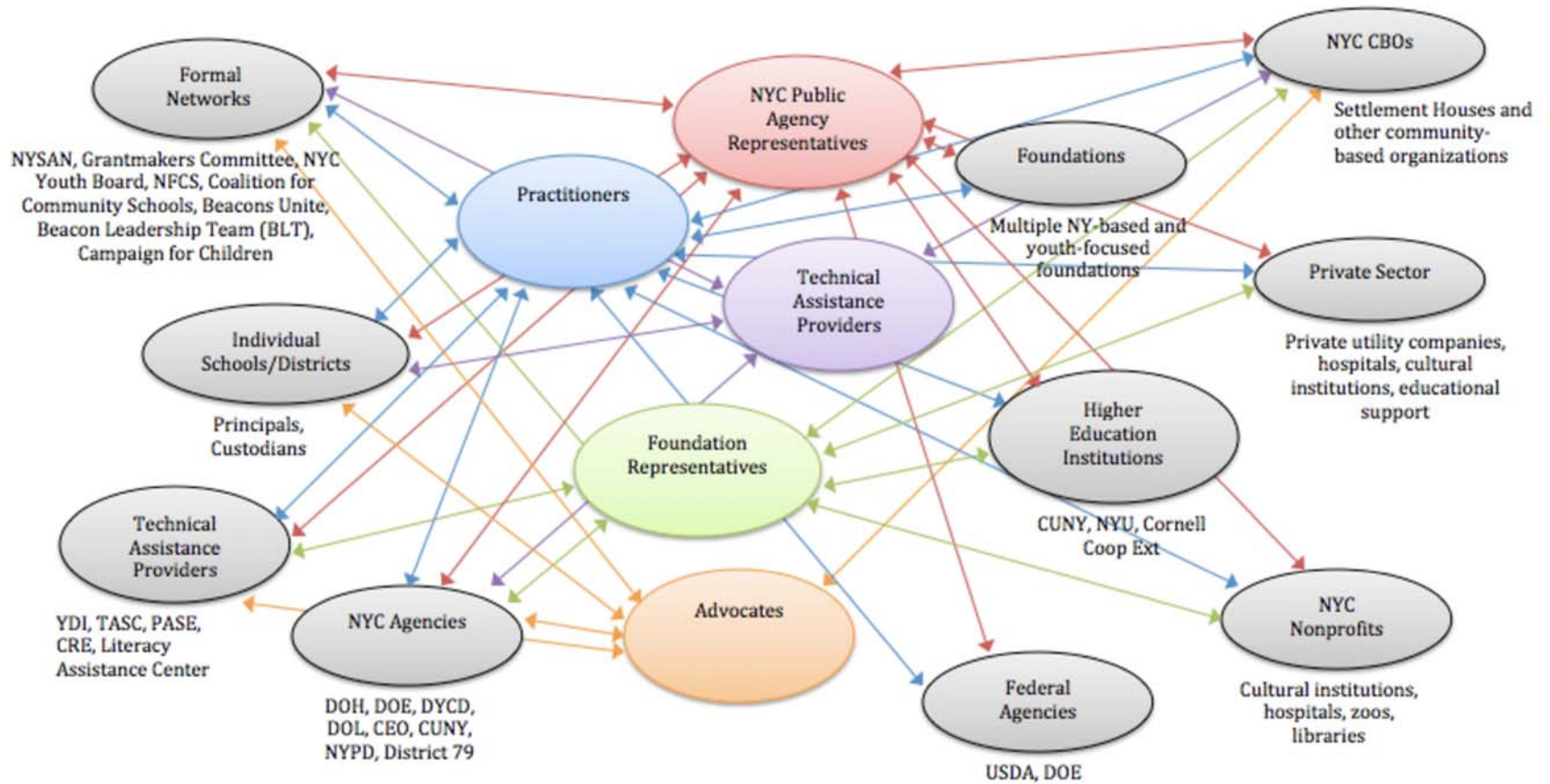
All participants in the study had more than five years in the field. In the cases of the young adult frontline staff, they had previous experience as youth program participants and youth staff. In general, most study participants had well over ten years in the field, with many holding over twenty years in the field. Additionally, nearly all study participants spent their whole careers working in New York City and Queens. One significant feature of the study group is the larger number of white women in leadership roles of larger nonprofit organizations and foundations. While this characteristic would need to be verified by further study of youth development organizations, this seems consistent with my knowledge of these organizations in general. This changes and becomes more diverse both in gender and race/ethnicity in smaller culturally-based organizations, and at the program supervisor and director levels. While Queens has a significant Asian, South East Asian and Pacific Islander population, this group is under-represented in my sample.

Some of the limitations of outreach and fieldwork were related to access, time and travel. I had hoped to include more representativeness from smaller cultural and faith-based youth organizations. I found that I had challenges in reaching out to these types of organizations. First, it was difficult to identify viable and current organizations, and then identify a current contact at that organization. High-capacity organizations were more likely to have consistent contacts who actually had the time to be interviewed for a study like mine. Second, it was also natural that I would be able to access more supervisory staff than frontline staff, who needed to be engaged in working with children and youth during their work hours. My fieldwork was conducted over the course of several months in 2014, during which I travelled back

and forth between Delaware and New York in order to do the interviews. Scheduling interviews was challenging, not only because of study participants' busy schedules, but also because New York experienced several large snowstorms in a row during this time. This resulted in a couple of lost study participants, despite multiple rescheduled interviews. As an unfunded doctoral study, unaffiliated with a government or foundation evaluation/study, eventually time, cost and access issues led me to stop outreach and begin analysis.

Figure 5 shows the complexity of networks and relationships indicated in the interview data, which provides more supportive evidence for the core categories represented in Table 5, pg. 139. Bronfenbrenner's (1979/2009) ecological systems theory is useful in describing these relationships. Bi-directional influences within the PYD system occur across microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems, and macrosystems (Bronfenbrenner); or what Dorgan and Ferguson (2008) refer to as system levels that occur at the grassroots, local, regional and national levels. These influences are indicated by color-coded arrows that match study participant categories.

Figure 5 Networks and Relationships indicated in the PYD Study



Data Analysis Processes

Dessler (2003) has argued that there are two approaches to the explanation of events: a generalizing strategy (to show the event as an instance of a certain type of event) and particularization (detailing the sequence of happenings leading up to an event, without necessarily placing it in a larger class). Progress in historical explanation consists of “using existing theories and laws and acquiring a more precise characterization of the initial conditions and the event itself” (pg. 395, Dessler,).

Process-tracing attempts to empirically establish the variables and implications that should be true in a case if a particular explanation of a case is true. The simplest type of process-tracing takes the form of a detailed narrative or story presented in the form of a chronicle that attempts to show how an event came about. George and Bennett (2005) argue that the inductive side of process-tracing can contribute to the development of general theories on the mechanisms underlying the processes observed in a case. Combining typological theorizing with process-tracing makes use of both generalizing and particularizing explanations, placing cases as instances of a class of events while also giving detailed historical explanations of each case. Miles and Huberman (1994) describe a set of analytic exercises for qualitative data that include: putting information into different arrays, making a matrix of categories and placing evidence within categories, creating data displays, tabulating frequency of events, and putting information in chronological order or another temporal scheme. To address internal validity this study employs similar techniques to establish meaning through methods such as pattern matching, explanation building, addressing rival explanations, and use of logic models. Pattern-centered approaches can be used to

address behavioral complexity involving multi-level data and variables that combine differently within different people, within and across time. Such methods allow the creation of profiles that link individual study participants to patterns of activities relevant to describing youth development policy and practice (Peck, 2007; Smith, Peck, Denault, Blazeovski and Akiva, 2010).

The goals of this study were broad, and involved description and theory building in order to develop a picture of PYD policy and practice dynamics. Some goals were partially fulfilled through the process of writing the literature review. Chapter 2 of this study described both historical and modern conceptions of youth; the significant systems impacting youth in the U.S., including education, public welfare and juvenile justice systems, and how they have changed over time; the physical, psychological, social and moral development aspects of youth development; and the policies, practices and dynamics that have emerged in the U.S. to make up a PYD Framework. These elements were further described and compared in Chapter 4 to the dynamics of youth development policies and practices found in New York City and Queens. Review of organizational reports, literature, and internal communications, as well as evidence gathered through semi-structured interviews, allowed for further exploration of the dynamics and processes by which communities mobilize their developmental capacity for PYD. Analysis of data was an ongoing, iterative process, with interview data informing document review and providing a perspective into respondents' understandings of these larger processes and dynamics.

Data collected from the 28 interviews was transcribed into approximately 500 pages of data and then coded using NVivo software. Interview questions for this study appear in Appendices M and N (pp. 276-277). Accompanying the process of data collection was the creation of memos for each interview as well as

chronicling processes of analysis. Individual interview memos noted observations about my relationship with the study participant, their roles in their organizations, their interactions with other organization members, emotions present during the interview, and climate within the setting of the interview – primarily the sites of youth development programming. I used these memos to help me with placing my data into contexts for my emerging ideas of the youth development system. I also kept memos that described my processes as I moved through data collection. These memos helped me to clarify the connections between participant interview data and other supporting evidence that led to the creation of the core findings categories. Within the data participants were given pseudonyms or referred to by role. Each node classification was assigned a series of attributes to serve as a basis for comparison. While some of my memo-ing was done using the software, I often felt more comfortable writing notes using small notebooks. This allowed me to work out comparisons and relationships visually in lists and matrices.

Coding occurred through several passes of the data. I first engaged in open coding, sifting through the data in order assign logical codes to pieces of data. To a certain degree, data chunks could be compared on the basis of interview questions, but this was not always true because some topics were more important, or part of an ongoing thread, for certain participants. Because my questions were designed to be open-ended, interviewees interpreted and answered questions differently – as I realized during analysis, often through their own ‘lenses.’ These lenses showed different nuances based on their role in the system and relationship or ‘closeness’ to the community served by the program. My own lens, of having experiences as a practitioner, also influenced my interpretations of the data. This was useful in the early stages of microanalysis for exploring in more detail the meaning of individual pieces of data. In order to place these meanings in context I was led to

do more collection of relevant secondary data in the form of reports, internal documents and other online sources. Much of this work appears in Chapter 4 as description and ordering of the development and ecology of youth development systems in New York. However, I felt I also had to check my assumptions and step back and look for a broader perspective about what the data in my study was really providing, and how events and processes influenced that data in order to come up with core categories and findings.

NVivo allows for easy transitions between data nodes, making ‘constant comparisons,’ or breaking down data into manageable pieces for comparison of similarities and differences, possible (Corbin and Strauss, 2014). This process resulted the emergence of several broad themes related to advocacy, policy, practice and research. To a degree, these themes were driven by my questions. I believe that it is a strength that I was able to elicit very specific answers that relate to my study questions, while it may also have been a limitation in finding other topics that could be relevant. The two themes with the most frequency in the data were practice and advocacy, perhaps not surprisingly given that the majority of study participants were practitioners. Each broad theme includes several dimensions that may be either structural or process-oriented. Further coding of the data included analysis of change over time and the relationship of the data, if at all, to the theoretical frameworks used to inform the study protocol.

Several specific analytic categories emerged from interview data. These categories have multiple dimensions that sometimes interact with other categories. These core categories could be found in nearly every interview. Each category, or overarching concept, as well as the most salient dimensions of each category, is then discussed in Chapter 5 using “thick description” (Denzin, 1989) that includes direct quotations from the interview data and supporting evidence from secondary

document review. In many cases, this circular analysis process enabled me to identify at least temporal chains of evidence, and often very explicit connections between concepts in the interview data and other sources of data.

The coding and categories for the PYD Study are mapped below in Table 5. Relationships between codes, categories and the research questions for the PYD study are indicated.

Table 5 Code Mapping the PYD Study

Research Questions				
RQ#1	RQ#2	RQ#3	RQ#4	Policy Implications
Core categories derived from Pattern Variables				
.....Asset-based PYD Philosophy diffused throughout the sample..... High Capacity of Nonprofits is key to access to resources and successPolicy decisions impact equityAdvocacy is an integral part of the PYD SystemTension remains between academic and PYD models.....				
(Second Iteration: Pattern Variables)				
Common Language Consistent Program Models Supportive Networks and Partnerships Fiscal Capacity Program Capacity Academic Program Models for OST Accountability differences	Common Language Consistent Program Models Supportive Networks and Partnerships Committed Practice Fiscal Capacity Program Capacity Academic Program Models for OST Accountability differences	Common Language Consistent Program Models Supportive Networks and Partnerships Committed Practice	Response to NYC political process Partnership btw providers, govt. and foundations Youth leadership strategy Response to youth concerns	RFP Targeted Populations RFP Program Models The City Budget Procurement Processes Regulatory Frameworks Fiscal Capacity Program Capacity Academic Program Models for OST Accountability differences

Table 5 cont.

(First Iteration: Initial Codes and Content Analysis)				
Researchers' Perspectives Funders' Perspectives Org Histories Org Structures Career Pathways PYD Policies PYD Policymaking Processes	PYD Practices Challenges in PYD Practices Supportive Networks Prof Development Program Types Lessons from PYD Practice Evidence-based Practice Outcomes measurement Practitioners' personal stories Advocates' personal stories Org Histories Org Structures Career pathways PYD Supervisor Practices Youth challenges Youth experiences as participants	PYD Practices Evidence-based Practice Supportive Networks Career Pathways PYD as form of Social Justice	Advocates' personal stories PYD as a form of Social Justice Youth challenges Youth experiences as participants	Youth as economic investment Funders' Perspectives Outcomes measurement PYD Policies PYD Policymaking processes
Data	Data	Data	Data	Data

Chapter 4

ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT: QUEENS, NEW YORK

Systems of Youth Development in New York

Youth development systems in Queens County, New York cannot be separated from the history and systems of youth development in New York State and New York City. The dynamics of policy and practice in the borough are fully influenced by and integrated with state and city policies and systems. Dorgan and Ferguson (2008) conceptualize a youth development system in three levels. Level Zero is the grassroots voluntary level of youth development, which includes activities such as voluntary sports leagues and church youth groups. Level One includes frontline organizations such as CBOs, juvenile courts, and local branches of national youth-serving organizations. Level Two includes local support organizations such as officials, policymakers, funders and technical assistance providers. Finally, Level Three is the regional and national counterpart to Level Two. These include federal agencies, private foundations and other national intermediary institutions. New York State and New York City have a long history of youth development activities, from the voluntary, or informal, to highly formal multi-sector initiatives. Significant regional and national organizations and agencies are either located in New York, or doing work in New York.

Publicly coordinated and funded youth services were established in New York post-World War II, and developed from informal recreation programs into the evidence-based multi-sector initiatives we see today. Initially the domain of child-saving institutions like settlement houses and religiously based institutions,

informal youth programming became more formalized as a response to an increase in youth gang activity. War on Poverty initiatives and education reform provided multiple venues to address the needs of children, youth and families. Local United Way chapters, born out of 'community chest' cooperative fundraising efforts, began to contribute to the strengthening of human service providers and officially became a 501(c)(3) nonprofit in NYC in 1968.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, systems of youth development in NYC and NYS became more sophisticated as the number of nonprofits devoted to youth programming increased, and the research and private foundation communities began to focus on youth development. The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development published two important reports about youth and afterschool time that became highly influential - "Turning Points: Preparing American Youth for the 21st Century" (1989) and "A Matter of Time: Risk and Opportunity in the Nonschool Hours" (1992). These reports were followed by the publication of "The Troubled Journey: A Portrait of 6th to 12th-Grade Youth (Benson, 1993)" which introduced the Developmental Assets framework to a wide audience. Publicly funded direct programming and coordination has continually increased over the last 25 years. New York City led by establishing an interagency coordinating council on youth in 1989, followed by New York State's Partners for Children in 1997, and finally a federal level coordinating body, the Interagency Working Group on Youth Programs in 2008.

A key feature of youth development in New York State is the Youth Bureau system. In New York City, the Department of Youth and Community Development acts as the municipal youth bureau. Designation of a youth bureau in a geographic area is essentially based on population (20,000 or more), for the purpose of planning, coordinating and supplementing the youth development

activities operated by the public, private and nonprofit sectors. During the Pataki Administration, the youth bureau system was being considered for national replication through the failed Younger Americans Act (New York (State), 2002).

Today, the NYC Interagency Coordinating Council on Youth (ICC) promotes interagency collaboration on youth issues and partnerships among city agencies, community-based organizations and nonprofit providers. Members include representatives of city agencies that directly and indirectly serve youth. The ICC is led and directed by the Commissioner of DYCD. Special work groups within the ICC focus on needs and quality of services to specific populations of youth, such as the Court-Involved Youth Work Group and the Supporting LGBTQ Youth Work Group. Reduction in the duplication or fragmentation in services to improve cost efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery is another key goal of the ICC (New York City Department of Youth and Community Development, ICC). There is some debate among practitioners as to the effectiveness of the ICC. As of 2015, ICC has begun the process of changing its focus to engaging the private sector in the promotion of youth employment opportunities (S. Matloff-Nieves, personal communication, November 1, 2015).

While most Children's Cabinets are state coordinating bodies, New York City instituted a Children's Cabinet in 2014. The Cabinet is composed of representatives from 24 mayoral offices and city agencies that impact children and youth. Because the Cabinet is a permanent coordinating body, New York now has a citywide backbone organization to address issues of outcomes, system management, partnerships and professional development.

Table 6 Queens Youth Development Organizations by System Level

Level Zero Grassroots	Level One Formal frontline	Level Two Local intermediary	Level Three Regional/National
Local volunteer sports leagues Local volunteer cultural organizations Local volunteer religious organizations CYO (Catholic Youth Organization)	Local schools Local YMCA/YWCAs Local YMHA/YWHAs Local settlements Child Center of NY Safe Space HANAC MRNY Coalition for Hispanic Families Maspeth Town Hall Police Athletic League Greater Ridgewood Youth Council New York Junior Tennis League Sports and Arts Foundation Local Goodwill Chapters Local Catholic Charities Smaller nonprofits	DYCD ICC NYC Children’s Cabinet TASC* PASE YDI* DOE (NYC) YMCA (NYNJ) United Way NYC UNHNY Community Service Society Citizens Committee for Children NYC	TASC* YDI* FYI NYS-OCFS Partners for Children CEO (Center for Educational Opportunities) DOE (NYS/US) United Way Children’s Defense Fund Afterschool Alliance New York City Youth Funders (NYCYF)

* Organizations that expanded their scope.

United Way

United Way is a major partner with public and nonprofit human service organizations in New York City. In 2013, United Way of NYC invested over \$55 million in three priority areas: education, income support and health. United Way makes awards for direct service, advocacy, and through intermediary partners like the NYC Department of Education. Another major goal for United Way is the strengthening of NYC nonprofits through investing in capacity building and board governance training. As seen in Table 10 (pg. 164), a majority of the largest youth-serving agencies in Queens are United Way NYC members. While United Way has developed into a sophisticated international organization, it still maintains its volunteer-oriented community chest practice of local membership donations.

Public-Private Partnerships for Youth Development

In an age of corporate social responsibility rhetoric, many attempts have been made to build cross-sector partnerships for youth. The International Foundation for Youth (IFY) has been a proponent of CSR (corporate social responsibility) partnerships, and encourages private sector organizations to work with the foundation to develop and implement innovative projects. One such project profiled by IFY is the longstanding partnership between Timberland apparel company and City Year. City Year was founded as a service commitment for young adults in 1988 in Boston, but quickly was replicated in other cities, including New York. The two organizations joined together to promote and integrate community service within the Timberland corporate structure, while creating pathways of opportunity within the company for City Year graduates.

DYCD has integrated the private sector into its youth development framework in a number of different ways. While most of the providers that contract with DYCD are nonprofits, DYCD also contracts with private for-profit companies. Through the Young Adult Internship Program (YAIP) and Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP), DYCD partners with thousands of private sector employers in New York City through a youth services intermediary. Other ongoing partnerships include a girls basketball championship sponsored by Nike, annual Skate Day at LeFrak Center in Prospect Park, and the Soccer for Success program with the US Soccer Foundation (Department of Youth and Community Development, 2014).

Building a Positive Youth Development Field: Quality and Training

As youth development systems grew in New York, so did the level of evidence-based practice and professionalization. The early 1990s were a momentous time for youth development in New York. In 1991, NYC Mayor

David Dinkins established the Beacon Community School Initiative, which was designed by Youth Services Commissioner Richard Murphy, and then Fund for the City of New York Vice President Michele Cahill. That same year, Karen Pittman and Michele Cahill presented testimony on youth development to the US House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, and Cahill established the Youth Development Institute (YDI) in Manhattan. YDI became a primary capacity-building organization working in partnership with NYC Youth Services and then the newly reorganized (1996) Department of Youth and Community Development. In 1998, YDI published the now ubiquitous ‘flip-books,’ short manuals that described youth development theory, outcomes and core competencies for youth workers. These flip-books were disseminated throughout the city in hundreds of DYCD-funded programs. As a practitioner, I received my first copies in the late 1990s. Today YDI works with approximately 200 organizations locally and nationally (Zeller-Berkman, 2012).

The NYS Office of Children and Family Services (OCFS) partnered with Cornell Cooperative Extension and the Association of NYS Youth Bureaus (ANYSYB) in 1997 to provide the Advancing Youth Development (AYD) training curriculum to youth services providers throughout the state. The Academy for Educational Development (AED) and National Network of Runaway and Youth Services developed the AYD curriculum, supported through a grant from the United States Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. By 2002, AYD had been disseminated among 60 interagency teams, 275 trained facilitators and 900 front-line youth workers (New York State, 2002). The State Office of Youth Development (a division of OCFS) contracted with the David P. Weikart Center for Youth Program Quality to develop an assessment tool to gauge the features of positive youth developmental settings. The Weikart Center is a

collaboration of the Forum for Youth Investment and High/Scope Educational Research Foundation.

During this time period unprecedented federal investment in afterschool programs was initiated in 1998 through the 21st Century Community Learning Centers (21st CCLC). In New York City, two key intermediary capacity-building organizations formed that same year - the Afterschool Corporation (TASC) and the Partnership for Afterschool Education (PASE). TASC set out to build a citywide system of daily comprehensive after-school programs and created a model for after-school programs that became known as the TASC model. With the advent of No Child Left Behind, this model was able to show evidence of quality of outcomes that matched national goals for education. PASE was founded to professionalize the field - bringing networking, capacity building, and visibility to the field (Kelley, 2007).

The New York State Afterschool Network (NYSAN) began in 2001 as an advisory group to the New York State Education Department for the implementation of the 21st Century Community Learning Centers (21st CCLC) program. In 2003, the group formally became NYSAN with the support of the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and TASC. Today, NYSAN is part of a national network of 47 statewide networks supported by the Mott Foundation. The NYSAN Quality Self-Assessment (QSA) Tool, developed in 2008, has been adopted by the NYS Education Department, the NYS Office of Children and Family Services, and the NYC Department of Youth and Community Development.

The Wallace Foundation, based in NY, awarded DYCD a one-year planning grant to develop a comprehensive municipal system in 2003. With DYCD as the lead agency, a coordinated process involving partners across New York State led to the development of a Quality Improvement System (QIS) that is

still in use. These partners included TASC, CUNY, NYSAN, PASE, Ramapo for Children, YDI and Policy Studies Associates. DYCD created a dedicated unit devoted to capacity-building, and working groups devoted to key aspects of afterschool programming held cross-sector meetings to engage the widest range of stakeholders. The success of these processes led to a further investment of \$12 million by the Wallace Foundation. DYCD was able to integrate the newly formed NYSAN tools into its assessment framework and focus on the development of universally accepted core competencies for youth workers (Yohalem, Devaney, Smith, Wilson-Ahlstrom, 2012).

These events made the creation of the nation's largest municipally funded afterschool program, dubbed the Out-of-School Time Initiative (OST), possible in 2005. OST absorbed other afterschool programming previously funded by DYCD, and created new programs with a total investment of \$45 million (New York City DYCD, COMPASS). By 2012, the budget allocated to OST had grown to \$91.5 million distributed across 452 programs (DYCD, 2012; Yohalem, Devaney, Smith and Wilson-Ahlstrom, 2012). In 2014, DYCD received an unprecedented \$145 million investment to baseline funding for afterschool programming, and OST was renamed the Comprehensive After School System of New York City (COMPASS) with a total budget of \$151 million. DYCD also launched School's Out New York City (SONYC) to serve middle-school students in 2014, resulting in a total number of more than 800 programs and a budget of \$260 million devoted to youth programming (DYCD, 2014).

Policy Studies Associates (PSA) has been engaged by DYCD since the inception of OST as an evaluator for the initiative. PSA published the first 3-year evaluation of the OST Initiative in 2009. At that time, OST had served more than 181,000 individual youth in 622 programs city-wide at no cost. PSA found several

indicators of quality programs within the system. Programs showed evidence of varied activities; exposure to new experiences; positive relationship-building with peers and adults; effective staffing patterns that ensured low staff to participant ratios; ongoing professional development with organizations such as PASE; effective partnerships with schools and parents; improved outcomes in participation and social development; and increased academic motivation. One of DYCD's main goals for OST was to meet the needs of working families, and PSA also found evidence of parental satisfaction with OST programming on multiple levels. Parents were generally happy with program offerings, and felt that the program would help their children academically and socially. Parents also reported that they were able to keep their jobs, not miss work, and/or work more hours due to the program (Russell, Mielke, Reisner, and Policy Studies Associates, 2009).

In a 2011 report, PSA provided analysis of data collected from youth survey data, OST program director survey data, interview and activity observation data from site visits, participation and enrollment data from DYCD's online data system, and student-level demographic and educational performance data from DOE's databases. PSA developed four recommendations based on their evaluation. These include (1) staff meetings and professional development that are focused on improving the quality of youth programming; (2) strong relationships with schools, particularly school-day teachers; (3) intentional program design that emphasizes skill-based and active learning strategies; and (4) planned programming to strengthen youth-youth and youth-staff relationships (Sanzone, Vaden, Russell, and Sinclair, 2011).

DYCD has developed into a powerful broker and convener of professional development for the field of youth development. DYCD aims to engage practitioners in learning experiences that provide opportunities for self-reflection,

promote sharing exemplary practices, and encourage innovation. DYCD offers a regular menu of workshops for service providers, peer learning groups for supervisors and executives, managers' institutes, coaching and leadership caucuses. DYCD has also partnered with a number of organizations such as City University of New York (CUNY) and National Institute on Out-of-School Time (NIOST) to provide other learning opportunities that may provide credentialing or stipends for youth workers. Other partnerships include the Community Action Board; the Mayor's Fund, a private not-for-profit corporation that develops partnerships between the City of New York and private businesses; local Neighborhood Advisory Boards; the New York City Youth Board; the statewide network of Youth Bureaus; the Workforce Investment Board Youth Council; and the Interagency Coordinating Council.

Table 7 shows the critical events that have led to the current youth development system framework in New York State, City, and Queens. Federal and state concerns about juvenile delinquency led to the formation of state and municipal structures that in turn eventually supported the creation of local community-based nonprofits. Federal legislation led to inclusiveness and diversity of program models, and foundations and advocates spurred the development of asset-based frameworks of positive youth development.

Table 7 Critical Events in the formation of Youth Development Framework in Queens, New York

Time Period	New York State	New York City	Queens
1940s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New York State Commission Act (1945) focuses on delinquency, youth development and street gangs - New York State Legislature establishes the Boards of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES) (1948) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NYC passes resolution to create the NYC Youth Board (1947) - Youth Board coordinates with schools (1948) and creates direct service programs (1949) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal youth programming, organizations like Goodwill, Catholic Charities, Police Athletic League, Flushing YMCA and the Parks Dept are operating programs
1950s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NYS Board of Regents and NYS Department of Education respond to <i>Brown v Board of Education</i> with NY campaign to achieve desegregation in schools (1954) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth Board expands to serve more neighborhoods (1955) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth Board Borough Coordinators created (1955) - Queens Child Guidance (now Child Center of NY), Samuel Field YM/YMHA, and Cross Island YMCA are established (1953-1955) - Jacob Riis Neighborhood Settlement House relocates from Manhattan to Queens (1950)
1960s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - War on Poverty Initiatives (EOA, ESEA, HEA) provide states with resources for children, youth and families - Series of lawsuits in NYS limit school desegregation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth Board folds into Human Resources Administration, and becomes known as the Youth Services Agency (1966) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth service units established in each Community Planning District (1966-1971)
1970s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Association of New York State Youth Bureaus (ANYSYB) founded (1971) - Council on Children and Families established (1977) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Youth Services Agency is no longer part of HRA, and operates under name of Youth Board (1972) and direct services are redistributed to other agencies while the Youth Board maintains coordination (1975) - The staff of the Youth Board become known as the Youth Bureau (1976) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contracts with community-based agencies are expanded (1976-1980) - Several large agencies established, including Forest Hills Community House (now Queens Community House), Sunnyside Community Services, Hellenic American Neighborhood Action Committee, Maspeth Town Hall and Southern Queens Park Association (1972-1975) and Arthur Ashe establishes the NY Junior Tennis League (1971) in the home of the U.S. Open in Flushing Meadow Park
1980s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New York State grants HHS Community Services Block Grant (CSBG) to NYC Community Development Agency (1981) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Department of Youth Services established by NYC Council to serve youth through the age of 21 (1989) - Interagency Coordinating Council on Youth (ICC) established (1989) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Greater Ridgewood Youth Council and Coalition for Hispanic Families established (1981-1986)

Table 7 continued.

1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Family and Youth Services Bureau (FYSB) of the United States Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) awards State Youth Development Collaborative Project funding to New York (1998) - 21st Century Community Learning Centers (21st CCLC) initiative funded through DOE (1998) - State Office of Children and Family Services (OCFS) established (1998) - New York selected as one of ten states to participate in National Governors Association (NGA) Youth Policy Network (1999) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Beacon Initiative launched by Mayor Dinkins, designed by Youth Services Commissioner Murphy (1991) - Youth Development Institute (YDI) founded by Michele Cahill (1991) - Department of Youth Services and Community Development Agency merge to create Department of Youth and Community Development (DYCD) (1996) - The Afterschool Corporation (TASC) and the Partnership for Afterschool Education (PASE) are launched in NYC (1998) Initial talks planning PASE 1993-4. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - None of the first 10 Beacons are located in Queens. Following the election of Rudy Giuliani, Beacon Initiative expanded to include sites in every community district, including Queens (1994-2001) - Sports and Arts Foundation, South Asian Youth Action (SAYA), New Immigrant Community Empowerment (NICE), and Make the Road By Walking (now Make the Road NY)) first established in Brooklyn established in Queens (1992-1999) after merging with the Latin American Integration Center
2000s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assets Coming Together (ACT) for Youth established by NYS Dept of Health (2000) - The federal Workforce Investment Act (WIA) goes into effect in NYS (2000) with the NYS DOL as lead agency - 21st CCLC reauthorized through NCLB (ESEA) (2002) - New York State Youth Leadership Council, led by undocumented youth, is formed in support of the Dream Act (2007) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -DYCD assumes responsibility for youth employment and workforce programs (2002) and creates a capacity-building unit (2003) - DYCD administers Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP) (2003) - The Wallace Foundation awards DYCD a one-year planning grant to develop comprehensive afterschool system (2003) and invests an additional \$12 million over next 5 years (2004-9) - The City of NY implements the Out-of-School Time (OST) Initiative, the nation's largest municipally funded after-school system and DYCD is the lead agency for comprehensive youth and community services (2005) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> OST sites established in every community district (2005)
2010s		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - DYCD establishes Cornerstone Programs in inactive NYCHA centers (2010) and expands OST and Cornerstone Programs (2013) - Funding for afterschool programs are base-lined in the City Budget (2014) - Mayor Bill DiBlasio and DYCD launch largest ever expansion of afterschool programs (SONYC) and change name of OST to COMPASS NYC (2014) -Mayor DiBlasio creates NYC Children's Cabinet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New Cornerstone and OST Programs located in Queens (2010-2013) - Cornerstones are expanded in Queens, and new SONYC programs are sited at most middle-schools, while OST programs become COMPASS programs (2014)

Building a Positive Youth Development Philanthropy

The influence of philanthropy on Positive Youth Development cannot be denied. Foundation-sponsored research has spurred the development of broad cross-sector initiatives and an enormous investment in youth development systems. From earlier work by the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation of New York to the Wallace Foundation investment into the OST system in New York City, foundations have served as sources of innovation for sometimes challenged and fragmented youth programming frameworks. A community of philanthropy around youth development has developed in New York City, manifested in the creation of NYC Youth Funders (NYCYF). NYCYF is a coalition of both private and public philanthropic organizations. NYCYF's stated goals are to work through its member organizations to promote quality in grant-making practices, identify priorities for youth funding, disseminate high-quality models and lessons from the field, provide space for networking, ensure the continued relevance of NYCYF priorities to the field and facilitate policy and funding discussions with appropriate stakeholders. Current board members include representatives from the Pinkerton Foundation, the Aprendes Foundation, Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation, Tiger Foundation, the Wallace Foundation, New York Community Trust, Altman Foundation, Centerbridge Foundation, the Andrus Family Fund, Ford Foundation, the Cricket Island Foundation, New York Life Foundation, the Robert Bowne Foundation, the Teagle Foundation, Mayor's Fund to Advance New York, and William T. Grant Foundation.

Table 8 shows some of the strongest philanthropic supporters of youth development programming in New York City and beyond. While some foundations' priorities are specifically related to youth services and attached to

particular models of after school programming (i.e. TASC), others see their missions as combatting poverty and inequity through positive youth development. Some fund research about youth development, and some fund direct service. The Wallace Foundation funded the start up of the OST system by funding DYCD, who in turn funded community-based providers of OST programs. A few foundations, in particular the Ford Foundation and Edward W. Hazen Foundation, have identified their priorities as promoting youth leadership and youth organizing. This list represents foundation support that appears among PYD study participants.

Table 8 Level Three (Dorgan and Ferguson, 2008) – Foundation Support for Positive Youth Development in NYC

Foundation	Youth Development Priorities	Program models Organizations
Wallace Foundation	After school, arts education, summer and expanded learning	OST, Beacons, Extended Day, Expanded (TASC),
William T. Grant Foundation	Inequity reduction, research-informed policymaking, youth services quality in NYC	After School, TASC
Pinkerton Foundation	Comprehensive direct-service youth programming in NYC	After School, Summer Learning, Career Education, GED, Life Skills, Juvenile Justice
Robin Hood Foundation	Poverty reduction	Children’s Aid Society Carrera Model, TASC, GED, Life Skills, Eagle Academies, Charter Schools, WIC
Open Society Foundations	Civil society, human rights	Public Education, After School
Carnegie Corporation of NY	Education, literacy	After School, youth worker professional development
Ford Foundation	Social, economic, democratic development	Youth service leadership, public education
Edward W. Hazen Foundation	Inequity reduction	Youth organizing leadership
MetLife Foundation*	Literacy	After School
Edna McConnell Clark Foundation	Disconnected youth	Children’s Aid Society Carrera Model, BELL^, Communities in Schools, Harlem Children’s Zone

Table 8 continued.

Annie E. Casey Foundation	Strengthening families, access to opportunities	KIDS Count, Jim Casey Youth Opportunities Initiative
Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation	Global policy and advocacy, inequity reduction, postsecondary success	YouthBuild, Public Allies, American Youth Policy Forum, Americas Promise, City Year, Gateway to College National Network (Multiple Pathways model in NYC)
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation	Civil society, pathways to opportunity	After school, 21 st Century Learning Centers, NYS After School Network
Robert Bowne Foundation (closed Dec 2015)	Literacy	OST, TASC, After School Matters Journal/Fellows

As the field has grown, the philanthropic community has changed its priorities and ways of working with grantees. For example, the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation Youth Development Fund has been able to move from grant management to partnership management with grantees. The foundation sought to change its grantmaking in order to see real change and improved outcomes for vulnerable youth. This meant larger more flexible grants to fewer organizations and significant capacity-building to develop better, stronger organizations. This was achieved through a rigorous vetting process and a significant reduction in each portfolio manager’s (program officer) caseload (Ryan and Taylor, 2013).

Advocacy for Positive Youth Development

Advocacy for positive youth development happens on multiple levels in New York City. It is mostly driven by networks of nonprofit organizations led by a coordinating body. These networks have formed for various purposes and at various times. While sometimes they may have competing agendas, they often work together in coalition to respond to opportunities and threats. A primary ongoing threat is the annual “budget dance” with the Mayor of the City of New York and City Council. The Mayor’s Office will release a preliminary budget with

cuts to youth services and it is expected that the advocacy community will organize, mobilize, and protest. This dance uses up precious time and resources for nonprofits, so the community has learned to work together and pool these resources.

One significant coordinating body is United Neighborhood Houses of New York (UNHNY). UNHNY is a membership organization of 38 settlement houses and community centers in New York City. Founded in 1919, UNHNY promotes a neighborhood-based, multi-service approach in the settlement house tradition. While UNHNY provides opportunities for capacity-building, it also provides significant policy development and advocacy by employing dedicated policy staff and coordination with other city-wide advocacy groups.

One such group is the Neighborhood and Family Services Coalition (NFSC), founded in 1980 by Sister Paulette LoMonaco, Executive Director of Good Shepherd Services. NFSC convenes representatives from youth serving organizations across the city to address advocacy strategies, mainly city budget issues. In recent years, NFSC has also focused on other youth services issues such as youth workforce professionalization and procurement procedure barriers. While the demand for quality programs and highly qualified youth workers has grown, compensation and benefits have not increased based on city contracts. The procurement process has also presented barriers for human service organizations that are required to implement timely programs with delayed contract registration and payments. These delays effectively resulted in organizations running programs at great financial hardship to the organization or not being able to run programs at all.

Another significant advocacy group for youth development in NYC is the Campaign for Children, a partnership between the Emergency Coalition to Save

Child Care and the New York City Youth Alliance. The Campaign first came together in 2011 in response to severe proposed budget cuts for childcare and after school programs. The Campaign, together with other organizations such as the Citizen's Committee for Children of New York, Inc. (CCCNY) was able to successfully advocate for more than \$120 million of City Council discretionary funds that were then baselined in the regular budget.

Health and Human Services (HHS) Procurement Processes in NYC

The City of New York invests billions annually in services through competitive contracts. Contracts are awarded to providers that deliver a range of human services such as mental health counseling, workforce training, foster care, after school programs, senior centers, and shelter and housing programs. The processes used to select providers and award contracts are referred to as procurement. Launched in November 2013 by the Mayor and Deputy Mayor for Health and Human Services, the HHS Accelerator is an online system designed to streamline the procurement process. The Accelerator was developed through a process that included interviews and focus groups with representatives of city agencies and service providers. The goal of HHS Accelerator is to remove redundancies and engage providers in a more deliberate multi-year planning process that results in better experiences for providers and improved outcomes for targeted populations. Organizations can store required corporate documents one time in a Document Vault, rather than producing new documents for each RFP (New York (City) HHS Accelerator).

Currently, DYCD, along with all Health and Human Services (HHS) agencies, require proposers to have an approved service application with the City of New York. The service application indicates a provider's qualification in one of

the following areas: Academic Support; Community Engagement; Language Skills; Life Skills; Health Education and Support; Literacy; Recreational Services; Child Care; Case Management; Preventive Services; or Food and Nutrition. Only providers with approved applications receive RFPs through the HHS Accelerator System.

Prior to the use of HHS Accelerator, providers would look out for notification of RFP releases, attend proposer's conferences and submit multiple, sometimes up to 8, copies of proposals in person during work hours at the main office of DYCD in downtown Manhattan. This trip could take several hours out of a programming day for a practitioner working the other boroughs. Often, providers would have only 2-3 weeks to submit a bid and 5 weeks to compile and submit all materials for proposals from the date of the release. For some initiatives, several addenda would be made in order to clarify or change language following a release, and then providers would have to ensure that those changes were reflected in their proposals. Providers were also rated using a "Vendex" system for vendors that often included outdated and erroneous information. The Deputy Mayor's Office for Health and Human Services (2010) described the process as "complex, slow, and error-prone." Fiscal capacity of provider organizations remains a pressing concern for both the City and service providers.

The following table (Table 9) represents the breadth and types of requests for proposals issued by DYCD between 2007 and 2014, prior to the launch of HHS Accelerator. The RFPs listed in Table 9 include continuing program models such as Summer Youth Employment (SYEP), Beacon, and OST, as well as newer initiatives such as the Young Adult Internship Program (YAIP), a partnership with the Center for Economic Opportunity (CEO) to provide disconnected youth with short-term internships. In 2010, DYCD implemented Cornerstone programs at

underutilized New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) centers. Not reflected within this table is the expansion of Cornerstones in 2013 with an additional 45 centers, as well as the overall expansion and change in name of OST to COMPASS (Comprehensive After School System) and SONYC (Schools Out NYC).

Table 9 also shows the targeted populations in Queens for each given RFP. While there is some variation, DYCD generally has used community districts, councilmanic districts and community school districts as the geographic boundaries for service proposals. Those districts that are consistently targeted include Ravenswood and Long Island City (CD 1); East Elmhurst and Corona (CD 3); Elmhurst and Lefrak City (CD 4); Ridgewood (CD 5); Flushing (CD 7); Woodhaven (CD 9); Jamaica and St. Albans (CD 12); and Far Rockaway (CD 14). See Appendix H, pg. 271, for a map of Community Districts in Queens. As part of its administration of federal Community Services Block Grants (CSBG), DYCD has also designated Neighborhood Development Areas (NDAs) to target low-income communities. NDAs are relatively similar to CDs, but do not fall along the same exact boundaries.

Most of these RFPs required similar elements as part of the proposal. In addition to a full description of program elements and provider qualifications, very specific forms and attachments are required. These include documents such as a Proposal Summary Form, Price Proposal Form, Doing Business Data Form, Acknowledgement of Addenda Form, and provider corporate structure and tax documents. With some variation, most RFPs required that organizations adhere to nondiscrimination laws, consent to fingerprinting and background checks, accessibility (ADA) laws, and other regulatory frameworks based on the program model – such as School-Age Child Care Licensing (SACC) and NYS Day Camp

Permits (administered by the Department of Health (DOH). Early on DYCD allowed providers to perform their own due diligence on background checks, but that soon changed in favor of a city-administered notification system. In many cases, providers were also required to show proof of liability insurance, particularly in school-age programming. In the case of school-based programming, providers are also required to obtain extended use permits from the DOE. Other layers of regulation include New York State Runaway and Homeless Youth (RHY) requirements and legal visitation compliance for court-involved fathers in the Fatherhood Initiative.

These documents were retrieved from the DYCD website in June of 2014. Only one RFP that was issued between 2007 and 2014 is not included in this table because it was for one Beacon program located beyond the study area in Brooklyn. Full RFP documents are no longer publicly available on the DYCD website. Proposers now search procurement titles for descriptions and lists of the required service applications.

Table 9 DYCD RFPs FY 2007-2013

Date	Model	Queens Options	Unit Cost
FY 07-08	Service Learning	CD 2	\$1,125
FY 07-08	Service Learning	CDs 12, 14	\$1,125
FY 07-08	Young Adult Internship Program (YAIP)	CD 12 (target) CDs 1, 3, 4, 7	\$3200-3800
FY 07-08	Immigrant Services (Legal Services for youth)	CDs 1, 3, 4, 7, 12	\$1250-1500
FY 07-08	Fatherhood Initiative	CDs 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14	\$1350-1500
FY 07-08	Beacon	21 existing Queens PS/MS/IS/JHS sites	\$400k + 10% cash match
FY 08-09	Technical Assistance	Based on model	\$1300 FDE
FY 08-09	OST Expansion	Queens target zip codes: 11101, 11102, 11106, 11355, 11368, 11369, 11372, 11373, 11377, 11385, 11418, 11434, 11435, 11691	\$2800

Table 9 continued.

FY 08-09	Adult Literacy (ABE, GED, ESOL)	CDs 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 12	Non-specific
FY 09-10	Summer Youth Employment (SYEP)	Proportionately awarded within the borough	\$325
FY 09-10	Runaway and Homeless Youth	Option #1: Drop-in Centers CDs 1, 3, 10, 12, 14	Non-specific
FY 09-10	Beacon (Queens)	2 specific locations: Rockaway and Jamaica	\$400 k + 10% cash match
FY 09-10	OST Technical Assistance	Based on TA option	\$1300 FDE
FY 09-10	OST High School (Queens) Option #1: Tax levy Option # 2: WIA	Non-specific	#1: \$900 (school year) \$1350 (year round) #2: \$2700
FY 09-10	Neighborhood Development Area (NDA)	Queens NDAs 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 12, 14	Middle School: \$1600 High School: \$2000-2750 (incentive/internships)
FY 09-10	Family Literacy	Non-specific	\$7500/family
FY 10-11	Out of School (OSY) Workforce Development (WIA)	Non-specific	\$7500-10,000 over 2-3 years
FY 10-11	OST Parks and Recreation	Specific site/park CD1	\$540
FY 10-11	OST High School (Queens)	Non-specific	\$900 (school year) \$1350 (year round)
FY 10-11	Cornerstone Initiative	5 specific Queens NYCHA centers	5-12: \$2800 13-21: \$1300 22+: \$600
FY 10-11	Adolescent Literacy	One Queens-wide award	\$5000
FY 11-12	YAIP	CDs 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12	\$3200-3800
FY 11-12	Teen Action (Life Skills)	CDs 3, 4, 9, 12, 14	\$1350
FY 11-12	Fatherhood Initiative	CDs 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13	\$2220
FY 11-12	Adult and Young Adult Literacy	CDs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12	\$3500
FY 11-12	SYEP Payroll Systems	One Citywide	App \$900k
FY 12-13	OST (Elementary and Middle School Options)	Targeted zip codes given preference	Elementary: \$3200 Middle School: \$2100
FY 13-14	SYEP	CDs 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14	\$325- 700 (unsubsidized)
FY 13-14	Fiscal Agent/Field Review	Based on type of contract	Range based on # and size of contract(s) \$2k-8k @
FY 14-15	Comprehensive Literacy Services (Adolescent Lit)	CDs 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14	\$1200 – 8800 (incl internship)
FY 14-15	Runaway and Homeless Youth	One Queens drop-in center non-specific	Non-specific

Program Cost

In 2009, the Wallace Foundation commissioned Public/Private Ventures and the Finance Project to conduct an analysis of the cost of quality OST

programming. Data was collected from 111 programs in six cities, including New York, and each program was screened on several criteria for quality. These criteria included high participation rates, well-established and high-capacity programs, and other research-based structural characteristics associated with quality. Findings from the analysis were then used to create an online cost calculator, available on the foundation's website, that takes into account the varying cost of living in different cities, as well as other differing program characteristics (Grossman, Lind, Hayes, McMaken and Gersick, 2009).

The key finding of the cost study was that costs varied substantially. The researchers found several reasons for these differences. The first of these were program director or agency choices such as program hours of operation, types of activities and staff ratios. Program costs could be spread across longer days and larger programs to a point, bringing down the average cost per participant. Costs also varied due to available resources, such as funding and in-kind resources. Most OST programs studied relied on three to five sources of funding, balancing public and private sources. Lastly, local conditions, such as the ages, needs and interests of children, and the cost and regulatory structures in different cities, influenced cost variation. Staff salaries tended to be lower for elementary and middle school programs than high school and specialty programs like arts and sports. In one city, the school district charged a much higher rate for room use, affecting the cost of all school-based programs.

Unit cost (annual cost per participant) has long been a contentious subject for DYCD and community providers in NYC. The annual budget for Beacons has not increased since the model was first implemented in 1991. It has become the norm that the highest capacity providers will supplement their program offerings by using several resources in one location, i.e., Beacon, 21st Century Learning

Centers, and Advantage After School. More recent RFPs for Beacon programs go further by requiring a ten percent match (\$40,000) in order to apply. The regulatory frameworks in place in NYC require all providers to adhere to staff ratios that often result in lower hourly rates for frontline staff. Further compounding the cost constraints for NYC providers is the stipulation that there be no fee-for-service operated out of DYCD programs, limiting the opportunities for supplementing the cost of programming. This then requires organizations to have well developed internal fundraising mechanisms that supplement programming through other public, private or foundation sources.

In FY 2015, the City of New York proposed a budget that introduced new investments in youth services, baselined funds for existing programming, and cut other programming. \$145 million dollars of new investment in middle school after school and summer programming was approved, while an additional \$51 million was baselined for OST programs that were formerly 30,000 City Council discretionary OST slots. Additional monies were baselined for Beacons, Beacon Enhancement Funds and Cornerstone Initiative programs. The Executive Budget did not restore Council member discretionary funds for youth development programs in individual districts (Citizen's Committee for Children, 2015). History repeated itself as groups such as the Campaign for Children, UNHNY and CCCNY advocated for restoration of proposed cuts in the City Budget. For the most part their efforts were successful in maintaining current levels of service in other models, despite the priority for OST or COMPASS and SONYC programs.

Characteristics of Queens

Queens is one of five boroughs of the City of New York. Founded by Dutch settlers before being colonized by the British (Queens Historical Society), Queens County originally included what is now Nassau County, Long Island. In 1898 the county was consolidated with other contiguous New York counties and part of Westchester County to become the City of New York. Along with the borough of Brooklyn, Queens is separated from the other three boroughs by the East River. The Atlantic Ocean borders the Rockaways area of Queens while the East River joins the Long Island Sound near Whitestone and Bayside.

Today the borough of Queens is known for its ethnic and economic diversity and its historic immigrant neighborhoods. Queens accounts for roughly 40% of the total land area in the City of New York and 32.5% of the population (NYC Department of City Planning). In 2010, the total population of Queens was 2,230,722. 461,901 or nearly 21% were under the age of 18, and 48% of this population were foreign-born. Queens is home to the city's largest Asian identified population, at 22.94% compared to the city's average of 12.6% (US Census Bureau, 2010). 35% of lots in Queens are one or two family dwellings, well above the city average of 27% (NYC Department of City Planning).

As part of the City of New York, Queens shares in its public infrastructure. Over 120 agencies serve the city and range from relatively small agencies such as the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) to the Department of Education (DOE), which is the largest school system in the U.S. (New York (City) Web Portal). The city operating budget is well over \$69 billion. Costs include agency expenses, but also uncontrollable expenses such as snow removal and natural disaster relief (NYC, Preliminary Budget). As of 2014, the city had paid out upwards of \$1.4 billion in short-term and long-term assistance in response to

Hurricane Sandy (NYC Mayor's Office of Recovery and Resiliency). The Rockaways in Queens were greatly impacted and continue to be vulnerable to coastal flooding. A network of transportation hubs connects Queens to other boroughs by subway, bus, highways and bridges primarily governed by the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) and the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. Queens is home to two of three greater metropolitan area airports, LaGuardia Airport and John F. Kennedy International Airport. JFK Airport employs approximately 37,000 people while LaGuardia Airport employs nearly 11,000. Together the two airports generate over 50 billion dollars in economic activity annually for the borough and the city (Port Authority of NY and NJ).

Queens has more single and two-family dwellings than the average in New York City at 35% (NYC Department of City Planning) and accounts for nearly half of all such dwellings within the city limits. This is particularly true in community districts contiguous with Nassau County, which are more suburban in character. However, four of ten FHA Homes developments within the city are located entirely in Queens. Queens also has 22 public housing developments with 17,112 apartments (NYCHA)

As part of the City of New York, Queens is governed by the Office of the Mayor and by the Queens delegation of the New York City Council. The Council has 51 members who represent districts in all five boroughs. Members monitor the performance of city agencies, approve the budget, serve on committees or caucuses, and legislate on issues of concern to their districts. Queens is made up of 14 council districts (). With the exception of one council member, the Queens delegation is entirely made up of Democrats. An additional 31 elected officials in the New York State Senate and Assembly represent Queens County at the state level while five U.S. Congress members also serve the borough. City, state and

congressional district boundaries are all unique, resulting in complex and overlapping representation of neighborhoods (see Appendix H and I, pp. 271-272).

Conditions for Youth in Queens

Youth in Queens face significant challenges, although not all have the same hurdles. In 2010, 82,265 youth aged 15-17 years old were counted in Queens (US Census, 2010). The teen birth rate varies widely between districts, reaching 44.9 per 1000 in Queens Community District (QCD) 1 (CSD 30) and as low as 2.5 per 1000 in QCD 11 (CSD 26) (NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, Bureau of Vital Statistics). This disparity is mirrored in juvenile arrest rates, with more arrests overall in the same vulnerable districts, and a greater number of felony arrests vs. misdemeanor arrests (Citizen's Committee for Children). These vulnerable districts, which include Long Island City, Jackson Heights, Elmhurst/Corona, Jamaica/ St. Albans, and The Rockaways, also carry the burden of the majority of children under the age of 18 in foster care (NYC Administration for Children's Services). The NYC Department of Environmental Protection records that youth living in Long Island City are exposed to 148,694 pounds of toxic air emissions per year, more than the total amount for all the other boroughs combined (Citizen's Committee for Children).

Education in Queens

Of a total of 985,695 students enrolled in public schools in the City of New York in 2014, approximately 29% or 282,957, are Queens students. Queens students share similar diversity of ethnicity, language, newcomer status and socioeconomic status with other boroughs, counting 15% of all students as English Language Learners (ELLs) (NYC Department of Education, data) and as of 2012, 72.5% of all students as eligible for free or reduced lunch (NYS Department of

Education, Queens County data). There are 7 distinct school districts within Queens County. The New York City Department of Education offers 655 publicly funded education programs in Queens, ranging from Pre-K to Pre-College Programs (NYC Department of Education, data). 80 are high school programs that range from smaller specialized high schools to large high schools like Benjamin N. Cardozo High School in Bayside, with an enrollment of 3628 (Queens High School Directory).

Students in Queens perform well academically, however, school buildings are at 100% utilization rates on average in Queens, with Community School District (CSD) 24 (Sunnyside, Woodside and Jackson Heights) at 110%. Roughly 54% of Queens schools are overcrowded, 17% above the city average (NYC School Construction Authority, 2011). Districts with high utilization rates are the same as districts with higher rates of students eligible for free or reduced lunch. 20% of households located in these districts are below the federal poverty level (US Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2011). “Temporary” trailers, erected to accommodate overflow, are a familiar sight in many neighborhoods. These trailers often have inadequate HVAC, as they were meant for temporary use but remain for years. The structures also present safety issues. With limited points of egress, emergency evacuation is more difficult. Conversely, teachers are often alone and responsible for preventing unwelcome visitors from gaining access to the classroom.

The framework for youth services in Queens is similar in many respects to other boroughs of the City of New York. Public schools are the primary delivery locations, followed by community-based centers. While some characteristics are uniquely Queens, for example experiential science museum programming offered at the Hall of Science, there has been a concerted effort to create a consistent and

comprehensive city-wide system. In Table 10, the twenty largest municipally funded youth-serving agencies that operate PYD programs in Queens are highlighted. These agencies or organizations range from local branches of much larger organizations (YMCAs, Catholic Charities, Goodwill Industries); and large social service organizations only operating in Queens; to smaller, more culturally-based organizations (New York (City) Afterschool Programs Database, 2015, individual organization annual reports/form 990 as noted).

Table 10 Twenty largest municipally funded youth-serving agencies operating PYD programs in Queens, New York.

	Total # Programs	Agency	# Served	Year Started	Focus 1	Focus 2	Annual Public Funding	Source
1	23	Child Center of NY	18,000	1953	Counseling/ Prevention	PYD	Multiple NYC agencies (DYCD, ACS, DOH, DOE, OCFS, HHS) \$3.2 million	Annual Report 2014
2	19	Greater Ridgewood Youth Council*	6,000	1981	PYD		NYS, NYC \$5.7 million	990 2014
3	16	Samuel Field YM & YWHA*	35,000	1955	Jewish Community Services	PYD	\$5.9 million	990 2014
4	15	Queens Community House*	20,000	1975	Community Settlement House	PYD	Total contracts \$12 million, youth contracts \$6 million	Financial Statement 2014
5	13 (Q)	Police Athletic League*	40,000 (5 boros)	1914/1932 (Queens)	Youth Athletics	PYD/JJ	\$18,000	Annual Report FY '11-'12
6	12 (Q)	New York Junior Tennis League	75,000 (5 boros)	1971	Youth Athletics		\$6 million	Annual Report FY '12-'13
7	11	Jacob Riis Neighborhood Settlement House	unreported	1890/1950 (Queens)	Community Settlement House	PYD	\$2 million (primarily youth services)	Annual Report 2014
8	11	Safe Space*	unreported	1919	Counseling/ Prevention	PYD	\$10.4 million total, youth contracts \$1.6 million	Financial Audit 2012-2013
9	11(Q)	Sports and Arts Foundation*	20,000 (5 boros)	1992	Afterschool	PYD	NYS, NYC \$16 million	Annual Report 2010-2013
10	8 (Q)	Hellenic American Neighborhood Action Committee (HANAC)	30,000 (4 boros)	1972	Greek Community Services	PYD	\$9.4 million	990 2014
11	8	Southern Queens Park Association*	2,000 youth (400,000 through the parks)	1972	Community Recreation Services	Community Services	\$2 million	990 2012
12	8	Sunnyside Community Services*	20,000	1974	Community Settlement House	PYD	\$5 million total, youth contracts \$1.5 million	990 2013
13	7	Goodwill Industries NY/NJ (Astoria)*	unreported	1915/1942 (Queens)	Community Services		\$26 million	990 2012
14	7	Make The Road NY*	1200 youth (15,000 total)	1997	Organizing/ Advocacy	Immigration	\$2.4 million (\$3.7 million foundations)	Annual Report 2011

Table 10 continued.

15	6	Catholic Charities Brooklyn/Queens*	2200 youth (110,000 total)	1900	Faith-based Community Services		\$59 million	Annual Report 2013
16	5	Coalition for Hispanic Families*	3000 youth	1986	Hispanic Child Services		\$8.6 million	990 2011
17	5	Maspeth Town Hall*	1000	1973	Youth and Community Services		\$1.8 million	990 2013
18	5	YMCA Cross Island	Unreported	1854/1955	Athletics and Community Services		\$25 million (\$100 mil member fees)	YMCA NY Annual Report 2014
19	5	YMCA Flushing	Unreported	1854/1926	Athletics and Community Services		See above	YMCA NY Annual Report 2014
20	5	Research Foundation CUNY	Unreported	1963	Research and Education		Fed: \$174 million, NYS: \$57 million, NYC: \$65 million	990/Annual Report 2013

* United Way Member

Queens Community House

Founded in 1975, the Queens Community House (QCH), formerly known as the Forest Hills Community House, is now the fourth largest municipally funded youth service provider in Queens. QCH is part of a network of 38 settlement houses throughout New York City that are members of the umbrella organization United Neighborhood Houses of New York (UNHNY). The “mother house” is located in a NYC Housing Authority (NYCHA) facility in the Rego Park/Forest Hills neighborhood in central Queens. QCH offers comprehensive community services that serve children, youth, adults and seniors. During the 1990s and 2000s, youth program offerings were greatly expanded as new opportunities for contracting with the city and state became available. Now QCH offers youth programming in 25 program sites – 9 community-based centers, 7 high schools, 3 middle schools, 3 elementary schools, and 3 colleges. QCH offers children and youth programming at 20 of the 25 sites (Queens Community House).

In FY '14, QCH enrolled approximately 3750 children and youth in programs, with an additional 800 drop-in attendees. Program participants range in age from 5-24. This includes approximately 830 elementary school students, 810 middle school students, 1590 high school students, and 520 young adults in college or non-identified. About 75% of QCH program participants are immigrants or from first generation immigrant families. Program participants are roughly 45% female, 53% male, and 2% transgender or other identified; and identify their race/ethnicity as Latino (34%), Black/African American/Afro-Caribbean/African (27%), Asian/Pacific Islander (15%), White/Caucasian (9%), Native American (1%), Multi-ethnic (4%), and Other - usually Middle Eastern (7%), with 3% not identified. Although QCH does not collect

family income information, most program participants attend public schools with at least 60% or more eligibility for free and reduced lunch. QCH employs 63 full-time youth staff, 160+ part-time youth staff, and up to 250 paid high school student interns annually (S. Matloff-Nieves, personal communication, March 18, 2015).

Youth programs at QCH are funded through a mix of public and private sources. According to Susan Matloff-Nieves, former Associate Executive Director for Youth Services, DYCD (about \$4 million) and the NYC DOE (over \$2 million) are the two public largest sources for youth programming at QCH. Foundation funding totals about \$760,000, with Robin Hood Foundation (\$310,000) and Pinkerton Foundation (\$130,000) as the largest sources of support (S. Matloff-Nieves, personal communication, March 18, 2015). These funds support a variety of program models implemented by the agency. Those models are reflected below in Table 11. While QCH utilizes program models that originated with DYCD and DOE such as OST/COMPASS programs, Beacon, SYEP, YABCs and LTW Transfer High Schools; QCH has also successfully developed and implemented homegrown programs such as Hot Spots Teen Outreach, College and Career Options, Access for Young Women (AFYW), Summer Video & Photography, Generation Q and the Food Justice Youth Leadership program. Some programs represent unique partnerships, such as the College Access and Success Program (CASP), a college retention program in partnership with local Queens community colleges; and the Neighborhood Intergenerational Chore and Errand (NICE) program, a partnership with seniors services and the Department for the Aging. Generation Q is the first drop-in LGBTQ youth development center in Queens, originally a project of concerned residents and former public school teacher and local city council member Danny Dromm.

Table 11 Youth Programs by model and location (Queens Community House)

Program	Agency/Model	Population served	Location and Areas Served
After School and Summer Camp Programs (14)	DYCD/COMPASS and SONYC (OST)	Elementary/Middle School	Rego Park, Forest Hills, Jamaica, Flushing
College Access and Success Program (CASP)	QCH/CASP	High School/ College, Out-of-School Youth /Young Adults	Long Island City, Jackson Heights, Elmhurst, Corona, Jamaica, Ozone Park, Bayside, serving entire borough
College & Career Options	QCH/Options	Middle School/ High School, as well as 5 th grade	Elmhurst, Rego Park, Forest Hills, Jamaica, Ozone Park, Flushing, serving entire borough
Young Adult Borough Center (YABC) (2)	DOE/ YABC	High School	Ozone Park, Corona, serving entire borough
VOYAGES South Preparatory High School	DOE/Transfer LTW High School	High School	Jamaica, serving entire borough
VOYAGES Preparatory High School	DOE/Transfer LTW High School	High School	East Elmhurst, serving entire borough
School-Based Youth Development Centers (2)	DOE/AIDP; DYCD/COMPASS High Schools FY'15	High School	Elmhurst, Jamaica, serving entire borough
Beacon Program (1)	DYCD/Beacon	Elementary through Adult	Forest Hills, serving entire borough
Access for Young Women	QCH/AFYW	Middle School through High School	Forest Hills, serving entire borough
Advice through Athletics	QCH/Hot Spots	Middle School through Young Adult	Rego Park/Forest Hills, serving entire borough
Evening Teen Center	QCH/Hot Spots	Middle School through Young Adult	Rego Park/Forest Hills, Flushing, serving entire borough
Neighborhood Inter-generational Chore & Errand (NICE)	QCH/NICE	Intergenerational – High School and Seniors	Forest Hills
Youth Employment Services	QCH/YES	High School through Young Adult	Forest Hills, serving entire borough
Summer Youth Employment Program	DYCD/SYEP	High School through Young Adult	Forest Hills, serving entire borough
Summer Video & Photography	QCH/SVP	Middle School/ High School	Forest Hills, serving entire borough
Generation Q	QCH/Generation Q	LGBTQ Youth and Allies	Forest Hills, serving entire borough
Food Justice Youth Leadership program	QCH/FJYLP	Middle School through Young Adult	Flushing, serving entire borough

Evidence of Effectiveness

QCH conducts its own internal reviews in addition to being rated by funders, i.e., the Vendex rating from the City of New York and DYCD performance reviews. Senior youth directors conduct site visits and review program data, and QCH Youth Services conducts an annual evaluation that surveys participants, parents and staff. QCH engages in a competitive RFP process for most of its programs every three to six years, and on several occasions has been asked to apply for specific RFPs. In a personal communication (March 18, 2015), Matloff-Nieves highlighted the fact that the CASP Program maintained a 70% one -year retention rate at two Queens community colleges for students who took an alternative path to the high school credential. This rate is significantly higher than the CUNY retention rate for all students.

The basis of the annual evaluation is criteria that were identified through a comprehensive community planning process in 2009 that included youth, families and staff. QCH asked parents and youth what QCH uniquely contributed to in the child's growth. From the results, QCH came up with 4 factors to measure annually. The agency surveys parents, participants grades 3 and up, and staff for 3 perspectives in order to triangulate their results. A total of 932 surveys were collected in FY '14, and staff filled out 777 individual participant assessments. Participant assessments were based on four outcomes: learning engagement, communication skills, interactions/relationships with others, and positive decision-making. Each of these criteria has also been shown to be evidence of quality programs in the research (Russell, Mielke, Reisner, and Policy Studies Associates, 2009 and Sanzone, J., Vaden, Y., Russell, C. A., & Sinclair, B. 2011). These outcome measures are also

reflected in the literature that defines positive youth development. This literature includes the “big three” (Lerner, 2004), the “five C’s” (Lerner et al, 2005), and Developmental Systems Theory (Benson, 1990). Each of these conceptions includes positive peer and adult relationships; skill and competency-building; and youth leadership and contribution to community. Within each outcome category are several individual indicators that were rated on a scale of 1-5 (1= needs improvement to 5=demonstrates leadership). The results of this internal data collection is represented in Table 12, which shows some difference in perspective between staff, parents and participants, but generally positive attitudes about outcomes of QCH youth programming.

Table 12 QCH Youth Programs Self-Assessment Outcomes FY ‘14

Outcome	Staff	Parents	Participants
Positive relationships with peers and adults	95%	84%	88%
Improved decision-making skills	92%	86%	77%
Improved communication skills	94%	87%	67%
Improved engagement in school	92%	84%	*
Doing better in school/improved academics	*	86%	74%
More community involvement	*	75%	56%
Satisfied with program	*	85.5%	71.6%
Thinking about college	*	*	73%
Displaying independence	*	86%	*
Having fun	*	*	85%

* statistics were not available for this group on this criteria

Regarding evidence-based practice, Matloff-Nieves expressed that practitioners she has talked to seem confused by the term, and feel pressured to refer

to their practices as “evidence-based.” However, she asserts that most of the important and valuable work with youth is responsive to youth needs and choices. She cites the consent issues with street outreach as an example. One of the signature programs of QCH, Hot Spots, engages populations of youth that may be transient or unaffiliated. For Matloff-Nieves, the work that is harder to measure is as equally important and valid as those measured using specific program evaluation outcomes (S. Matloff-Nieves, personal communication, November 1, 2015).

Chapter 5

PYD STUDY FINDINGS

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the concept and practice of Positive Youth Development (PYD), in the U.S., and the ways in which communities create and sustain PYD. Specifically, this study is concerned with the ways PYD can be described and identified; how the theory and practice of PYD has evolved over a period of time; the dynamics and processes by which communities mobilize their developmental capacity for PYD; and the ways, if at all, that PYD contributes to social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities.

Specifically, this study explored the following questions:

- How has the concept of PYD developed in the U.S. and in Queens, and are there differences between the two?
- How has the implementation of PYD in Queens evolved over time?
- What theory(s) best describe(s) the evolution of the concept and practice of PYD in Queens?
- In what ways has PYD contributed to the advancement of social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities in Queens?

Through the literature review and supplementary document review, I was able to describe how concepts of children and youth have evolved in the United States, resulting in systems that support children, youth and families. While similar

movements occurred across the U.S., usually tied to federal legislation, New York City was often at the forefront of praxis. There is evidence that this occurred in part due to the number of philanthropic and research institutions located in New York. New York City was also able to implement new models at a scale that allowed for innovation and research to occur, further pushing the envelope toward an asset-orientation in youth development. Initially, innovation in youth programming was primarily the domain of Manhattan-based organizations, but through public-private partnerships more resources were eventually directed toward the “outer boroughs,” including Queens.

Queens cannot really be separated from its identity as a part of the City of New York, although it has its own specific characteristics. As the City formalized its youth system, Queens also moved from a mostly informal youth system to a highly formal and networked youth system. The PYD system is nested within and among the multiple local, state and federal systems for children and youth. These conditions result in the findings that appear in this study. There is evidence of strong cohesion in theory and practice, as well as evidence of highly developed networks of advocacy.

Several specific analytic categories emerged from interview data. These categories have multiple dimensions that sometimes interact with other categories. These core categories could be found in nearly every interview. Each category, or overarching concept, as well as the most salient dimensions of each category is discussed using “thick description” (Denzin, 1989) that includes direct quotations from the interview data and supporting evidence from document review. In many cases, this circular analysis process enabled me to identify at least temporal chains of

evidence, and often very explicit connections between concepts in the interview data and other sources of data.

Table 13 PYD Study Analysis Core Categories with Dimensions

Core Category	Dimensions
Asset-based PYD philosophy diffused throughout sample	Common language Consistent program models Supportive networks and partnerships Committed practice
High capacity of Nonprofits is key to access and success	Fiscal Capacity Program Capacity
Policy decisions impact equity	RFP targeted populations RFP program models The City Budget Procurement processes Regulatory Frameworks
Advocacy is an integral part of PYD System	In response to NYC political process In partnership between providers, government and foundations As a leadership development strategy In response to youth concerns, i.e., safety and contact with law enforcement
Tension remains between academic and PYD models	Academic program models for afterschool Different accountability and goals

Finding #1: Asset-based PYD philosophy diffused throughout sample

As shown in previous discussion of the ecology of positive youth development in NYC, systems of youth development in NYC and NYS became more sophisticated following the release of the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development reports and Peter Benson’s 1993 publication introducing the Developmental Assets Framework. Publicly funded direct programming and coordination has continually increased at the city, state and federal levels since the 1990s. Independent organizations and foundations have also contributed to the language of positive youth development through publications, training and professional development. Study participants’ observations of their organizations and practices showed evidence of the impact of this

legacy. YDI ‘flip-books,’ although nearly 20 years old, were mentioned by several study participants. Study participants also mentioned participation in Advancing Youth Development (AYD) training. Youth-serving organizations accessing the research and knowledge generated by the academic and foundation communities led to early adoption of asset-based youth development principles, while the integration of these principles into the municipal system has persuaded the widespread adoption of the philosophy.

Evidence of systems and field development appear in both the interview data and secondary data collected from document review. Kelly (1968) describes systems as having several dimensions that include interdependence, cycling of resources, adaptation and succession, or change over time. Indicators of field development include visible champions; high impact conferences; legislation; growth in the number of PYD organizations and the number of foundations that prioritize PYD; development of effective data collection and evaluation processes; and growth in university-based programs that contribute to research and policy formation (Scott, Deschenes, Hopkins, Newman and McLaughlin, 2006). Evidence and discussion presented in Chapter 4 about Queens youth development organizations (Table 6, pg. 143), critical events in the formation of the current youth development framework (Table 7, pg. 148) and foundation support for positive youth development (Table 8, pg. 156) show the scope, levels, interconnectedness and impact of the public, nonprofit, and private sectors on the development of the NYC PYD system and field. Table 7 in particular shows the nature of change within the system over time by considering historical forces, factors and events.

As shown in Figure 5, pg. 123, the PYD study participants are highly connected to various agents of the system and each other. The principle of interdependence focuses on reciprocal connections between entities and functions of a system. The principle also implies that change in one component will affect the properties of other components or their relationships. Critical events like the Wallace Foundation award to DYCD for planning and implementation of a comprehensive OST system in NYC made the opportunity available to more children and youth than ever before. In the process of creating this system, DYCD also created a professional development framework for positive youth development at an immense scale. Change at this level required the participation of providers and advocates to work out the kinks and allow DYCD to adjust and be successful in its implementation

Common Language

While there was some discussion in the literature about how the positive youth development field has yet to develop common language and goals, I found evidence of strong cohesion among all study participants in their understandings of the definition and meaning of PYD. While each participant spoke from his or her lens, language used by researchers, funders and capacity-building organizations are reflected in their statements, and all expressed asset-based and youth-centered approaches to youth development. PYD was described as an approach to programs, as a system, as relationships within a system, and as a holistic developmental process.

As one funder stated, “we really want to see programs that are **youth centered** where youth get an opportunity to really engage in some decision making around what they’re doing, how they’re doing, where they are...”

While an advocate explained, “positive youth development to me is a **strength based approach** to the work which really starts from the strengths that are inherent in every young person, and building on the strength and providing positive opportunities that create the conditions to enable young people to build on their own strengths.”

These sentiments were echoed by a practitioner, who described “seeing young people as not sort of recipients of service or as vessels to be filled up with lots of positive messages, but **young people as assets** in a community or in a society... listening to young people and soliciting or respecting the voices of young people, and taking their choices into account and partnering with young people in a way where they're getting to have some control over their own destiny.”

Another practitioner describes how PYD moves beyond programs, “for me a positive youth development is **a system of working with young people**. ... I think it's not only about the individual relationship with the worker, although that's important that there be a strong and trusting relationship, but it's also about the environment that we create for young people.... and in the best positive youth development environments we would be able to connect young people to resources beyond our own immediate system.”

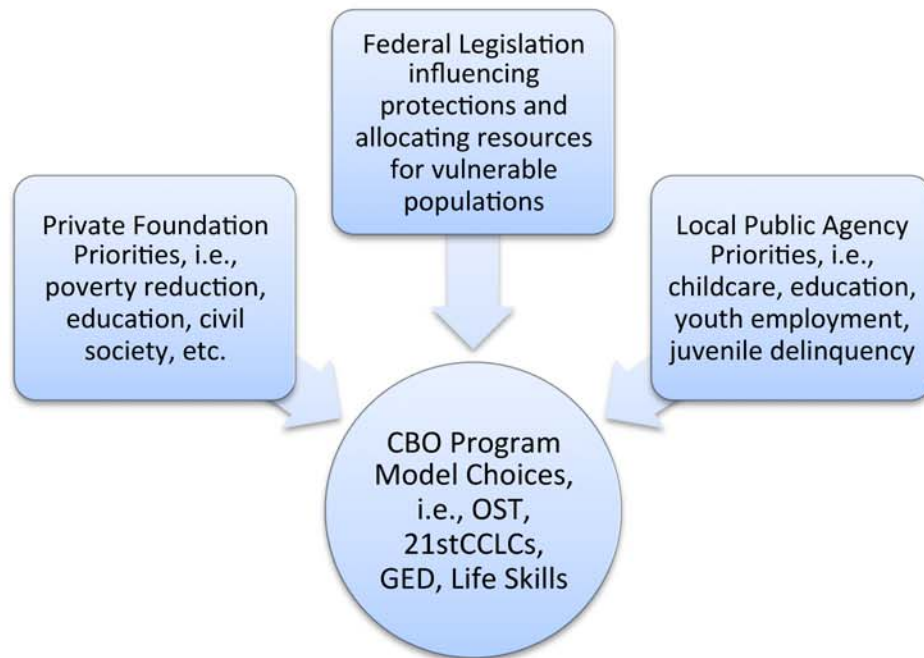
One government agency representative described their approach to PYD, “for us it's about engaging in people at different points in their growth. We understand that **young people evolve**. Their needs change and the programs have to reflect those changes.”

Consistent program models

Successive waves of far-reaching initiatives such as 21st Century Community Learning Centers (CCLC), Advantage Afterschool Programs, and the largest municipally funded afterschool system – the OST or COMPASS System, show influence on study participants’ practices and the practices of their organizations. To some degree, the consistency of program models is a result of my study sample and the available data about youth development programs in NYC. I have also identified some relationship to resource-driven decision-making on program models. As shown in the logic model below, resources influence the diffusion of specific program models

throughout the NYC System. Think tank program research and evaluation is fed by private foundation and government funding. Publicly funded programs usually come with a research and evaluation component that may be implemented internally or contracted out to think tanks and academic institutions. The research, in turn, influences both foundation and public priorities for program model funding.

Figure 6 Funding Influence on CBO Program Model Choices



Independent advisory and capacity-building organizations such as the Afterschool Corporation (TASC), the Partnership for Afterschool Education (PASE), and the advisory and quality assessment coordination of the New York State Afterschool Network (NYSAN) reinforce these priorities through their advocacy and

promotion of these program models. DYCD incorporated NYSAN tools as a part of its overall strategy for capacity-building in the OST network. These practices show evidence of policy transfer and convergence (Stone, 2002). Statewide networks such as NYSAN help youth development practitioners to craft coherence among the varied policies governing children and youth services, and build new methods and standards that can be shared with diverse providers.

Within the sample, most participants identified similar or identical models of programming that were associated with city, state or federal sources of funding. This contributed to common language and understandings of programming, as well as shared understandings of criteria and regulatory frameworks associated with these models. Higher level representatives of high-capacity providers would mention multiple models and funding streams, while program staff would describe individual program models.

As one program supervisor explained, “I work with the **school-based youth development** department, which is comprised of nine schools; three elementary, four middle school, and two high school. They are various models - attendance improvement, dropout prevention for the high schools and then we have a **Beacon and OST** models for the elementary and middle schools.”

A program supervisor at another organization described how multiple models were in place in one location, “it’s a **21st century program**, but we also have **OST and Advantage and DOE funding** in that building.”

Frontline staff described more of the nuts and bolts daily activity. “My program is a youth program based inside the school building which provides an array of programming from after-school to evening center for teens. We have adult programming, we have Saturday academics and then we have summer camp. Our Afterschool Program is a **project-based model design**, which the kids are allowed to choose their schedule based on their interest.”

One component to youth leadership that was frequently mentioned is the Ladders for Leaders program, a professional internship program associated with Summer Youth Employment, but also referred to when describing other opportunities for youth to gain professional experience in various work settings. Within the youth-serving CBO community in Queens, it was common that youth participants would move into Counselor-In-Training and Counselor roles, with some moving into Coordinator and Director positions over time.

One frontline youth worker described a youth project at his program, “our **youth council**, which is like a Ladders to Leadership Program where young people get to learn about city and local and federal government. They learn about how decisions are being made. They learn about just the importance of youth voice and youth power and even though they're at an age where they're not old enough to vote.”

Another practitioner described the settlement houses as ladders for opportunity, “Many of the settlement houses, I think they are so good at this creating these **ladders of opportunities** for kids and I think it’s very real. That exposure to new opportunities and ...specific skill building and career building and ultimately paid positions. It’s the perfect scenario for positive youth development.”

An executive director also commented, “you were talking about the ladder professionally, what we've seen... **staff who have been youth workers or group leaders in our programs who are now directors**. And we have one example... somebody who was my staff member who will be later on presenting to the Board on OST programs and her work in that area. That's a very big deal for us.”

Supportive networks and partnerships

Key elements for creating common understandings of PYD practice and programming are supportive networks and partnerships. Study participants expressed their access and use of a well-developed and multi-layered public, private and nonprofit network of afterschool, youth development, and education organizations.

These connections in the PYD study are reflected in Figure 6, pg. 171, and included best practices networks, research and evaluation institutions, advocacy networks, and technical assistance providers. This access was due primarily to opportunities made available through public program models and funding streams, although many study participants had long personal histories of supportive networks and learning communities in human and youth services as a part of their careers. These activities appear to have led to policy emulation and harmonization across the sample (Stone, 2002). Capacity-building, as well as the financial resources provided by multi-year contracts, appears to have led to longevity for a number of Queens community-based providers, as shown in Table 10 (pg. 164). While federal models such as 21st CCLC and state networks through Advantage and NYSAN played a role, DYCD appears most often in the data as a connector. This may be influenced by the explicit choice that DYCD has made during recent RFP processes to include external technical assistance providers as contracted services to youth –serving organizations, as well as obviously the location of the study.

One practitioner described her relationship with DYCD, “DYCD is a great resource. We look at them as **partners and allies**. We work very closely with them around training, staff development and evaluation. They provided us with a lot of tools that we use to monitor quality and designing programs. So I just wanted to acknowledge the fact that they're a big resource.”

Another key partner identified by a practitioner, “Universities... they do research, they do supportive services. They want their students to actually have real world experiences. A prime example would be, we host this year; we are **hosting 57 masters of social work students**.”

Another practitioner described her organization’s philosophy about working with other CBOs, “in terms of nonprofits there are collaborative relationships with other youth serving organizations. I

think what we've tried to do to **stay very active on what we consider to be field building**, whether it's setting standards for the field or articulating what the field is... just building relationships among each other... looking at each other's models... it's hard to get that space because we're all competing for funding but we try to build it.”

While there was strong evidence of partnership, the scale and diversity of the system, as well as competition for resources, also manifested in challenges for the field. These challenges were related to coordination and decision-making processes, primarily rooted in fears about losing identity and resources.

A representative of an intermediary organization expressed some of the challenges, “everybody can win. But it's hard to find just the right partner who shares your vision, who's willing to engage in shared decision-making, goal setting. Where there's back and forth, **who's willing to put a little money on the table?**”

Another practitioner cautioned, “the **partnership has to be mapped out**- it can't just be assumed... it can't be a handshake, it can't be just me and you having a conversation.... it has to be based on the agencies, right? Mapping it out, putting it down in paper and making sure that it's not forever.... we are doing this MOU for a year or two years and then with a plan to reiterate and reassess, it's just like a lease really. I find that is really important.”

Personal and professional commitment to practice

Overwhelmingly study participants indicated a great personal commitment to positive youth development as their chosen field. This was shown through their longevity in the field, and personal stories that both inspired and motivated them to continue doing the work. Most study participants had a strong connection to place and community that furthered the commitment. For some, it was a specific sense of belonging to a neighborhood in Queens, or similar experiences of growing up in NYC. In a field plagued by high turnover and low pay, it appeared that this personal passion was key to their commitment.

As one technical assistance provider explained, “I am a New Yorker... I grew up in the housing projects in Queens, as a matter of fact in Long Island City. Jacob Riis. Queensbridge. I always wanted to be a teacher. Literally, I kid you not, my family members will tell you that I used to take the kids in the building and bring them up to our apartment and teach them. Get them a little snack. Sit them down. Teach them how to write their names. ... I was **personally just always driven** to want to do something related to education.”

Another practitioner describes her own personal journey, “I grew up in Bronx, still live in the Bronx- a housing development ... I had a friend who was murdered and at that moment we wanted to retaliate. It took **my connection... with the community director for the center** who saw me that day and said, "What's going on?" and I told her and she said "well, why don't you call everyone into the center and let's talk." So that night that night we formed a youth group and I was the president of the youth group and I've been involved since.”

A story of loss and commitment to giving back are echoed in another practitioner’s words, “I was part of this group of youth. I was kind of like their mentor.... One of the young members became very close to me...She was graduating that year and she wanted to go to the college that I was graduating ... she was killed in a shootout that they had outside her school. I said when I graduate ... I was just going to **dedicate my time to a change**. I cannot change it all but if I can help a little bit.... That’s how I end up still being here after 20 years of doing the center.”

Another practitioner feels responsible to share the experiences that she had growing up, “personally, I grew up in one of the roughest neighborhoods in Brooklyn....I come from an immigrant family, my mother was always clear that she wanted... me to be involved in positive experiences, so I went to afterschool programs... I got to go camping, I got to visit other states and see people living different lifestyles so I knew that there was something beyond my community and when I decided what I wanted to do as a career, I recognized that **the experiences that I had as a child with positive adults, family, teachers molded me into who I am** and I felt like that was where I wanted to dedicate my career... to reaching over and working with young people.”

As one advocate described, “for me, I think what brought me to youth development, and what's exciting, was kind of more its **roots in youth**

participation... I do think that at it's best our youth development framework really pushes for young people to be viewed as active contributors. I think that's most important.”

For others, a professional commitment drives their involvement in positive youth development. While additional accreditation has been developed for youth work through universities, such as the CUNY Youth Studies Certificate, human services work has long been the domain of social workers. Most publicly-funded youth services contracts require Program Directors have at minimum a Masters degree, and more often specifically a Masters in Social Work (MSW). It is worth noting that personal commitment is still key, as CBO Program Directors often earn half the salary of school social workers employed by the DOE.

A practitioner describes her path into youth development practice, “I started out in community health as a **social work intern** and was placed here in my first year. I was exposed to working with our summer camp to start teen programming, and then from there I just developed more of an interest in it...”

She goes on to describe her experiences working in the field, “It was really exciting to sit around in a room with other people and just to be able to talk about these **concepts and what did it mean and what did it look like...** in our practice... so that was pretty neat for me, especially just having been new to all of this... and then having that be **integrated in practice** that I did.”

Finding #2: High capacity of nonprofits is key to access and success

Another theme that was continually echoed in the data is the fact that capacity building is essential for youth-serving nonprofits. Within the PYD system, the funding, programmatic and regulatory frameworks require nonprofits to have high fiscal and program capacity in order to participate. Public sources of funding and program models come with performance measures in both fiscal and program areas. Practitioners were very concerned about the cost of meeting these performance and

regulatory measures. Building capacity in nonprofits has become an important priority for foundations and government, as evidenced by the growth of technical assistance providers and professional development. Cycling of resources (Kelly, 1968) refers to the ways in which they are created, distributed, used, exchanged, managed, conserved and transformed within a system. In this case, there is evidence that the system, and agents within the system have been able to use characteristics of the system to achieve transformation in capacity building for youth service providers.

Fiscal Capacity

Overwhelmingly, practitioners expressed concerns about the level of funding needed in order to meet the goals for their programs. The implication is that a majority of the nonprofit providers in the study are relying on one source of funding and that level of funding is inadequate to meet the goals outlined by the funder. Some providers have been able to combine resources, or are large enough to supplement the funding provided by government contracts. In the case of the Beacon model, DYCD has made it a requirement that providers show a 10% match to their investment. Diversification of funding is a trend that has been encouraged by the public and private funding communities so that nonprofits meet research and evidence-based outcome goals.

One funder describes their work with smaller organizations, “Actually, what **a number of our smaller organizations have done is either, they’ve gone out of business, they have merged, or have found ways where they can share overhead** with another organization... What people are really focusing on now is diversifying their funding and a lot of that is through individual donors, and how do you do that? That has been a lot of what our grantees have been asking for, is help with fundraising. Figuring out, okay, where do we get money?”

One practitioner describes their struggles to stretch program dollars, “Funding in general- the budget doesn't hold for extra stuff. **People come out of pocket.** It is hard to get back money. We are trying to explore a donation part more and recycling stuff. We had bought toys for the kids and the packing paper -we stretched it out, flattened it out and folded it so that we have paper...we stretch it as far as we can.”

Another issue for nonprofits has been the restrictions on spending public money for administrative costs. One funder explains what's needed in her opinion, “long-term funding and also adequate funding...I don't think that when you're a charity that you should be spending 80% on your administrative costs, but the thing that I don't think people understand is that **if you're going to have a solid organization, you have to have also a solid administration** that's really supporting the work that's going on...I think that's essential.”

Another practitioner explains, “I think it's getting harder and harder for people to make a living at it even though more money is going to the field. It's not translating into more secure jobs for workers and well compensated jobs for workers. There was one year when we actually had cost of living adjustments for staff -I think it was 2007, and then there was the financial crash.... we've provided an incredible level of job security through a very uncertain period where we've been able to shrink only by attrition. But **I don't think we've been able to provide people with professional growth and the long-term security.** So people are not putting money into pensions and we don't have a pension system and that concerns me.”

In contrast, a practitioner from another large high-capacity organization described the measures they took to respond to the economic recession, “In 2008 our board started saying there is a recession coming, you need to prepare for this. Instead of just placating them and saying yes, yes... we actually listened. Our president and our CFO made the decision in advance when we really truly knowing that the recession was hitting, we did a **4% cut across the board.** Which was painful right and hard really, really hard... but we did it and we've **stayed in the black** the whole time.”

An advocate describes how capacity impacts program quality “...if an organization like [X] has a contract and has the ability to raise some private money to augment the government contract, the children in that program get more robust services. **If another smaller organization gets a contract for the same program but they can't raise the**

private money to augment it they get a thinner service - and that's really not the way it should be.”

The advocate goes on to explain how this drives his work, “one part of our advocacy right now is that the government has to fund the cost of the model and provide cost of living adjustments as times goes on... It all comes down to that. **You don't have the money to provide the service that you're required to provide which means that you have to have staff with less experience, with like lower levels of education credentials.** Those things really make an impact not being able to really invest in training and professional development.”

As another practitioner explains, “the other trend is that people have gone from small organizations to larger organizations... and what does that mean for the small culturally based organizations? I mean, we've even gone from being local to being borough wide and that's been part of our survival... **grow or die**....now the message is merge or die, but we haven't done it yet. That's what a lot of funders are saying to us that, you know, a neighborhood-based organization is not viable.”

Program Capacity

Among the recommendations made in the PSA Evaluation of OST programs were those related to staffing and staff practices. Typical staffing patterns in youth programs include a large number of part-time staff comprised of young adults in high school and college, with a small number of full-time staff with higher qualifications in social work or education. Each staff member must comply with regulatory frameworks that govern their programs. In NYC, this includes training, fingerprinting and staff ratios for school-age childcare (SACC) permits, along with any other performance measures dictated by the program contract and policies set by the individual organization.

One practitioner describes a common feature of staffing in youth programs, hiring high school students to work with younger children. “We've been running CIT [Counselors in Training] for I think probably like about seven years now. I would say people who actually choose,

and sort of high school schedules, work and become staff people, I'd say about **50% of CITs become staff people.**"

For another practitioner, this feature is an integral part of youth development. "We do a lot of culture-building here in all of our programs. So every program has a culture and **we like to look at our young people as models for other young people** and that's when they're here, when they're at school, when they're at home... and we constantly have those conversations with them and they have those conversations with each other."

However, another practitioner describes their challenges with staffing, "I know we and many other agencies have a **huge turnover of their part time staff**. The key to positive youth development is relationships."

Given these circumstances, one program director describes the challenges of making quality programming happen. "Change from a human perspective, change is very difficult. It's exciting to some, deeply threatening to others. But that's my job. I was brought in as a change agent....Is everybody interacting? **Are all the people that we have interacting with kids delivering the very highest level of service they possibly can?**"

Access to external professional development, while it can be challenging for programs to accommodate, seems to have positive effects on many levels for staff, as one practitioner explains. "I like working with other people outside of the agency... because **I had a chance to work with other people, but [also] to do some other things**. I had the funding to do things. It does open up the door a little bit. One thing is that instead of griping about things, again being disgruntled, what are you going to do to change it? How are you to make this work?"

The importance of professional development is discussed by another practitioner, "any kind of professional development where we can work with colleagues around a theme over time as opposed to a one shot... where you can **learn something, go back and apply it, come back and reflect on it, go back and apply it, come back....** that's really important, that longitudinal stuff."

Another program supervisor describes how important strategies are diffused throughout programs. "By training and certification I'm a social worker so I come at things from a mental health standpoint. The

individuals that are running some of our youth sites have a basic understanding of Erickson's theories and CBT behavior or models....
they talk about strengthening perspectives without using that clinical term for it..."

Finding #3: Policy decisions impact equity

Most study participants had strong feelings about the power of positive youth development in promoting equity. Practitioners felt strongly that programs made an impact on youth and families, and shared stories about changes that they had seen in young people. Funders and representatives of public agencies also felt strongly about what they saw as their mandate to ensure that money was well spent on the most vulnerable populations of youth and families. These attitudes are in line with Frederickson's (1974) conception of equity as a basis for a just democratic society, as well as a legal and practical basis for distributing public services, and the principle that each citizen deserves and has the right to be given equal treatment by the political system (Shafritz and Russell, 2002). These priorities are also reflected in secondary data in Chapter 4 in the discussion of foundation priorities (Table 8, pg.156) and RFP priorities for DYCD (Table 9, pg. 161).

The National Academy of Public Administration Board of Trustees (2000) developed four criteria for measuring equity within the public sector: procedural fairness, access, quality and outcomes. Procedural fairness ensures equal protection and due process in personnel actions and business and operational dealings. Access refers to distributional equity and ensures that appropriate allocations of resources are made with fair results for all stakeholders. The quality criteria refers to consistent quality of service to all stakeholders, and finally the outcome criteria ensures the absence of disparities in processes, equal access and procedural activities.

DYCD RFP targeted populations

As both a youth development agency and community development agency, DYCD has primarily used the community district system as a basis for deciding upon the geographic area of populations served by their programs. DYCD has used demographic information gathered from these districts to determine priority districts. In 2009 DYCD created new designations for particularly low-income communities called NDAs or Neighborhood Development Areas. NDAs were designed to include pockets of low-income residents in contiguous low-income districts, as well exclude pockets of medium and high-income residents from these districts. Some foundations such as the Robin Hood Foundation see their priority as serving only the most in need populations of youth and families. In establishing priority communities, DYCD attempts to ensure some amount of distributional equity. However, in a city like New York, where youth are highly mobile in using public transportation to travel from home to school, it can be tricky to locate programs based on geographic boundaries and the political process is always a factor.

Equity has not always been a concern. “The Beacon program was started under Mayor Dinkins and the first 25 were based on precincts with the highest crime or poverty and Giuliani expanded, eventually to 80, but he made it political pork... Council members who he wanted to reward or get on their good side... he would give them a Beacon...so **[we’ve] now inherited a system where programs were sited not necessarily based on need, but politically.**”

A public agency representative describes the current process of identifying target communities. “[I] think how Queens benefited is how other boroughs benefited in out of school time, we looked at zip codes, we looked at five or six **criteria that identified a neighborhood or a zip code as a high need ZIP code** or community and we invested disproportionately in those communities. So neighborhoods like Far Rockaway and Southeast Queens Jamaica would get a higher proportion of the money.”

However, the representative went on to point out that, “the challenge in neighborhoods like this is that **local providers don't have high capacity and there's a disconnect between need and the capacity.**”

One advocate has a different take on the process. “You’re spreading very limited resources very thinly and then the worst part was that DYCD had to come up with some kind of seemingly fair way of doing that. What they chose to do was use the code analysis and to look at for one big factor was income budget code. It was a very blunt instrument, and so what ended up happening is that **communities that have economic diversity would sometimes not qualify because the higher income residents in that zip code would obscure the needs of the lower income.**”

Several Beacons have been continually in danger of being defunded due to their location in non-priority zip codes. As one practitioner explained, “...there's negotiation and then in June the Mayor says, "Okay I'm going to refund you," but **in that process there is a lot, of course, obviously, disruption, anxiety for staff, for families.** Then at the last minute, you are scrambling to then put together program. So it's very disruptive. In terms of budgeting, **the budget dance is not conducive to good positive youth development programming.**”

DYCD RFP program models

As shown in the discussion of DYCD program models in Chapter 4 (Table 9, pg. 161), the goals for DYCD program models are to provide both high quality and comprehensive services to support youth and community development throughout NYC. In its promotion of consistent program models supported by a capacity-building network, DYCD attempts to ensure process equity by maintaining comparable quality of service provided to children and youth. DYCD implements comprehensive program models that serve multiple ages and populations such as OST COMPASS and SONYC Programs, Beacons and Cornerstones; program models that address specific needs or populations such as Literacy Programs, Immigrant Services, Runaway and Homeless Youth, NDA Programs, Teen Action Programs and Fatherhood Initiative Programs;

and program models that promote workforce development such as Service Learning, YAIP, SYEP, and OSY WIA Programs. More recently, the City has recognized a gap in its programming that results in inequitable outcomes, which has led to the increase of summer programming.

“There's been a lot of documented research that ... that **the achievement gap between low income and middle income students is usually occurring during the summer** when middle-class young people have access to more a wider array of enrichment programs whereas young people in poor neighborhoods don't...then that's why we targeted neighborhoods that have the highest need students because they're usually the poor neighborhoods.”

One program model roll-out took advantage of an opportunity to build a partnership with another public agency while serving a vulnerable population. “One of the initiatives that we started back in 2009 which is called Cornerstone Programs, it happened at a time when NYCHA, the New York City Housing Authority, had a budget crisis and they had to close down a number of centers. So we took a look at how can we step in to assist, actually operate programs in the centers that they were closing... I think **what we learned quickly was that if you are living in public housing you are at the same poverty level throughout the city of other families living in public housing.**”

As one public agency representative explained, they also take feedback on program models from providers seriously when planning for new programs. “We've been discussing a new model that the mayor has advocated of 15 hours a week. Feedback that we've gotten is that 15 hours a week is not likely to happen, that people [young adults] won't show up that often, and that **feedback is important because we roll out a model that doesn't work (then) it doesn't serve anyone. It's a waste of taxpayer dollars.**”

The City Budget

Despite the incredible investment that DYCD made in OST, for at least a decade leading up to 2014, each year this investment was in jeopardy as the City Budget went through rounds of cuts. While cutting program budgets certainly

impacted distributional equity, the mere threat of budget cuts often impacted the quality of programming as well. The ongoing threat of closure due to lack of funding impeded organizations' abilities to provide consistent high-quality staff and ongoing supportive relationships with youth.

A representative of a public agency acknowledged the impact of the yearly budget battle on service providers. "You can't operate a system on year-to-year funding. And I would hear from providers that they lose good staff. **No one's going to stay if they don't know if the programs can be funded for more than one year.** And so it's hard to maintain quality if you have no financial stability."

A technical assistance provider also expressed concerns about the contracting and budget processes. "Inconsistent funding of after schooling is such a disservice to everyone and I think it has impacts on multiple levels. On a practical level peoples' jobs and childcare are forever at the mercy of..."no more money for that - we need to do something new, so we're opening another site or closing this site." what coherence and community building is that? I think... **it also sends a wider message that this service is dispensable - it's not a critical service.**"

DYCD Procurement processes

As described in Chapter 4, DYCD procurement processes are governed by the procurement policies of the City of New York. As of 2014, all human service agencies under the Deputy Mayor for Health and Human Services (HHS) use the HHS Accelerator System for procurement. The HHS Accelerator provides more efficiency and procedural fairness to contractors already in the system. Prior to HHS Accelerator, proposers participated in a cumbersome process requiring multiple paper copies to be delivered to DYCD during business hours. While this process was a headache for all involved, any provider could attend proposers' conferences and ask questions. Now providers must be pre-approved as a provider in a specific service area that

corresponds with the RFP in order to even access the document. This streamlines the process for vetted providers, while making the process more difficult for new proposers. While ensuring the quality of providers to implement programming, new procurement procedures may also be barring access to smaller, neighborhood- and culturally-based organizations.

One practitioner describes how organizations scramble. **“Seventeen [public] agencies running different funds is confusing and really makes small agencies or any agency have to chase money nonstop and that’s dangerous. I think the payment especially from a city- that’s a challenge I mean if you are a small agency ...we can bankroll something for a while before having to get a pay... not everybody gets to do that and that’s a challenge and that does not even the playing field.”**

An advocate discusses the impact of procurement on access, **“I would say probably also the limitation of resources has meant that government has really raised the bar on what it takes to be able to apply for an RFP and execute one of these contracts.”**

He goes on to explain how the higher standard, **“often rules out smaller community based organizations, parent groups, ethnic groups who are best suited to be able to respond to the need in a community that has a very specific culture, language, religion. They get pretty much shut out of those competitions** whereas in the past like 20 years ago when I first started there were real efforts made to be able to bring those kinds of organizations into the funding world so that they could provide services for their communities. I think it’s very hard for those organizations to be able to get any kind of government resources for these kinds of programs.”

NYC Regulatory Frameworks

For organizations running multiple models with multiple funding sources, this led to challenges related to regulatory frameworks such as cost, staffing ratios and space issues. Those organizations that are not able to meet these regulatory frameworks are simply not competitive for city contracts, and failure to comply can

result in the loss of program permits and/or licenses, as well as status as an approved city vendor. The purpose, of course, of regulation is to ensure the safety and quality of publicly-funded programming for children and youth. The intent should result in process and outcome equity. In practice, youth-serving organizations in NYC have been required to conform to multiple regulatory frameworks, often duplicative – sometimes at odds with each other, that cost unallocated time and money. Only high-capacity organizations have the ability to juggle the administrative and fiscal costs. More recently, DYCD has recognized this as a barrier and attempted to coordinate across city agencies serving youth.

As one practitioner explains, “**we are so excessively overregulated** that it's almost impossible... people are fingerprinted up the wazoo, they come in and count heads... It really shuts down some of the points of entry for young people.”

Another practitioner describes their obligations. “We are regulated by different departments. We are regulated by the Department of Health. We are regulated by the Department of Education and then we have agency regulations and then we have also the funder’s regulations. It’s important because it’s all about safety but it makes it a little bit challenging for us because none of these departments communicate. **We are in the middle, but we still have to comply with all of them at the same time.**”

Another program supervisor described how a fingerprinting policy impacts programs, “so many policies come out of legislators or elected officials that are there for a temporary period of time. They come in they make a change, they leave and it disappears or doesn’t. This week alone we’ve been discussing fingerprinting from the state level so the PETS system P-E-T-S... **so they implement this regulation, put out the policy but don’t operationalize it. Or limit the communication of that operationalization of it and so it’s coming out and some people are caught up right away and some aren’t.**”

A representative of a government agency describes how they attempted to address regulatory issues, “We made some advances with DOH. Historically programs needed the SACC license - school-age childcare

license - throughout the school year to operate and then in the summer they got a separate license for summer camp. We met with DOH, and we push, push, pushed and DOH now has modified their regulations to allow all the school year licenses to run throughout the summer. **It streamlined a lot of things for programs... less time trying to get a permit, more time planning.**”

Finding #4: Advocacy is an integral part of PYD System

In NYC the PYD System has been influenced by the norms, values, demands, options and constraints of the system. A chief coping strategy of system agents like nonprofits, foundations, and even public agencies has been advocacy. Historically, systems agents have had to respond annually to the political process around the City Budget. Over time, advocacy has transformed relationships within the system to create partnerships between advocates and public agencies, and ultimately adapt and transform budgeting allocation to youth programs. In 2014, the new Mayor was able to baseline several streams of funding for OST programs in the City Budget, lending a great deal more stability to the provision of youth services around the city.

Speer (2008) points out that community organizing, as a process, is practiced explicitly by a subset of all community-based organizations. Some youth-serving organizations expand their service programming to include community organizing, while others include organizing only as a secondary activity or not at all. The four common approaches include civic education, which is more classroom oriented; service learning, which includes an experiential element; political action, which engages youth in a specific political or social act; and positive youth development, which views civic development as part of personal identity development (Lerner, 2004, Ravitch 2008).

It can be argued that the formal advocacy networks that have formed around youth development in NYC - the Campaign for Children, Afterschool Alliance, and Neighborhood and Family Services Coalition; the presence of professional policy staff in city-wide youth serving networks; and the support of foundations and public agencies for advocacy – are all strong indicators of social movement building (Pastor and Ortiz, 2009). Advocacy networks in NYC have shown high-level capacities in organizing, framing, growing, networking and assessing power dynamics.

In response to NYC political process

To a certain degree, advocacy networks have grown and developed as a necessary response to political processes related to the City Budget. The ‘budget dance’ referred to by several study participants is a highly contentious process that involves tense negotiations between the Mayor’s Office, the City Council, and City Agencies. Over time this process has developed into a dance of sorts with grassroots groups doing citywide advocacy in their districts, on the steps of City Hall, and during public testimony in chambers.

As one advocate explains, “to me **the number one, the most important policy document of the city of New York is budget...**The number one policy that I have worked on my entire career and I continue to, is the city budget and then by virtue of that, the city budget and federal budget. Fortunately or unfortunately depending on how you look at it, the lion’s share of resources for youth development in New York City come from New York City.... Anyway the reality is we’re nowhere near the need and so really continuing to try to advocate stronger, more fiercely, louder, better, smarter to get more and more resources.”

The struggle is a constant one. “**There’s...always political pull in other directions.** There was a political pull during the Giuliani administration to make the Beacon finished. It was about anti-drug, stuff which, just to me not, which is yes, very much what Beacons do

but that's not the positive youth development approach. That's the problem-focused approach."

In partnership between providers, government and foundations

Advocates have become very sophisticated in their methods and strategies. The advocacy network crosses boundaries between practitioners, foundations, technical assistance providers, and citywide policy advocates. These relationships have helped to create powerful media and data tools, as well as coordinated efforts. Over time, public agencies have seen the benefit of working in partnership with advocates in order to successfully navigate the budget dance. Successful advocacy campaigns have been responsible for maintaining significant portions of public agency budgets.

As one program officer explains, "the nonprofit community ... advocacy has been a major supporter of our programs. If it wasn't for them, many of these cuts in the last three years probably would not have been restored by the City Council. As difficult as it is to operate a program with a third of the Beacon programs, it could be much worse if we didn't have it. So **the advocates have been a big supporter and a big help.**"

Providers also feel able to advocate for important programmatic changes with DYCD. "For us, we also have monthly youth director meetings and **I will say this about DYCD, they to allow us to express our opinion.** They do allow us to express ourselves about things that we don't necessarily agree with... We were able to push and band together as directors to say "we don't agree with this policy" and we need to change this."

As a youth leadership development strategy

Another key element found in the interview data was the importance of advocacy as a youth development strategy. As discussed in Chapter 3, civic engagement appears as a strong indicator of positive youth development. Some researchers propose that the development of prosocial behaviors leads to increased

capacity to participate in society, while others propose that participation in civic activities develops the prosocial behaviors and attitudes needed for healthy development as well as citizenship (Lerner, Brentano, Dowling, and Anderson, 2002). PYD study participants echoed these concepts in their responses.

One program director describes his organization's approach to civic engagement. "I think that in a lot of ways youth development contributes to social justice and equity. I think one way is through relationship building and the way that **youth grow to feel valued like their ideas and their opinions matter**. They have a voice in something because often what we see around questions of social justice is that someone's voice isn't being heard, or many peoples' voices or they're not being taken seriously."

Many providers describe more specific opportunities for youth to advocate. "We have a community organizing division with some staff who are focused on parent organizing and then staff who are focusing on youth organizing. They're just taking very much a community organizing approach about sort of **working with a group of young people to identify issues within their local school environment and to connect with youth organizing groups across the city to address citywide issues.**"

Another program director describes how youth advocacy works in her school. "We've invited different organizations like The Trevor Project to help us out and get a little bit more aware... we challenge our teachers who are very traditional constantly. **We challenge them [teachers] to think beyond their classroom, but also about their own self-awareness of teaching young people of color.** Here at the school, we're looking for paradigm shifts, honestly, with our young people, looking beyond on how do these things just affect me but how does it affect the entire community."

A practitioner from a culturally-based organization explains, "we feel very strongly that young people should not be following an adult agenda. They should be developing their own voices. What I mean by that is we don't want young people to just be attending rallies and holding signs. **What we want to be doing is developing young people in a way that they can be leading rallies on issues that matter to them.**"

Programs also feature youth as leaders in citywide forums. “Last year for the first time we had a forum on the [X] model. We were the group that was asked to provide the youth and coordinate the youth voice. So we organized... everybody's youth ambassadors, who came and sat at the tables, involved in the program but we also provided the young person who spoke about his own experience with the program...**it was really moving to hear this kid talk to a citywide group of heavy-duty decision-makers about his experience with the program** model, of the development of the internship experience, the college and career readiness...”

For another practitioner, access to programming is about social justice. “We have arts, sports, education and community building. All of these programs, all of these departments are about access. They are about social justice. That I truly believe is what makes this organization tick, **giving access to what people would not have access to**. That's the definition of poverty, right? Like not having access, **not just to money, but not having access to park lands, healthy environment, health care**, etcetera. You're not just impoverished when you go to the bank and you put your ATM card and you're impoverished, you don't have access.”

In response to youth concerns, i.e., safety and contact with law enforcement

Contact with school safety officers and law enforcement was a specific advocacy theme that was featured in interviews with practitioners who work with teens. Safety concerns are exacerbated in Queens school buildings that are at full-capacity or over-utilized. Building use remains contentious because of the different philosophies governing School Safety, the Department of Education, and the community-based organizations working with youth during the school day and in out-of-school-time. CBOs rely on their networking and relationships to mitigate disproportionate youth contact with School Safety, however, usually have little actual power to influence a safety officer's actions. It is much more likely that influence with the educational leader (the principal) will promote changes in practices and policies that influence adult attitudes about youth. DYCD has instituted multiple school-based

youth development models that seek to build school-CBO partnerships, while the DOE has also implemented multiple models that bring CBO partners into schools. Some of these models, such as the Beacons, YABCs, and Transfer High Schools, are specifically designed to meet the needs of disconnected youth. These youth may find themselves right back in the same situation that led to their disconnection from school when zero tolerance policies hold sway.

As one practitioner working in a school stated, **“every day we see a student being handcuffed thrown out of our school downstairs.”**

Another practitioner laments the situation. **“Sometimes I feel like there’s really no control of the policies that are implemented for our young people** and it becomes a challenge, these bigger policies that are externally created ...For example like the scanning - we came from a non-scanning to scanning school. We realized that we’re constantly at odds with Safety because we’re talking about 2 different entities, the Police Department - how they think they should run things, and the Department of Education... **because we’re at odds sometimes we do see that they’re criminalizing our young people... what we’ve done is we’ve pushed back a lot.”**

Other police policies also had an impact on evening teen programming. **“I think the dropping of the stop and frisk [under the current mayor, Bill DiBlasio] was very important as well. It didn't necessarily help our work, but it really led to distraction and a very toxic environment that really affected kids and our staff.** We've had staff who were stopped, not necessarily frisked, but stopped and searched, their property searched. We've had staff arrested leaving work with their staff ID because the police had a suspicion of someone, and it was a young person, that led to hours in court.”

Finding #5: Tension remains between academic and PYD models

Although much work has been done to promote partnership between schools and CBOs through DYCD, tension remains on multiple levels. For some time, the trend in afterschool has been toward an extended school day model. Shortcomings

identified in academic development during the school day have become the domain of afterschool programs. This has created an ongoing tension for nonprofit youth program providers about the cost of such programs and how many children and youth can be served. Providers have had to grow and build their capacities in this area in order to remain competitive for afterschool contracts.

Academic program models for afterschool

No Child Left Behind (2001) and Race to The Top (2009), added layers of accountability to the original equity agenda of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. During the past decade, measures designed to expose and address equitable academic outcomes became unfunded mandates. The pressure that schools feel to show results in academic outcomes have led to what's known as 'teaching to the test' and a reduction of so-called non-essentials such as recreation, arts and music. This also led to an increase in using academic standards to design and evaluate afterschool programs.

As one practitioner explains, “**there's been a real drive away from positive youth development towards academics in a very narrow sense.** So where I used to get \$40-\$50,000 to run the teen center that would serve 600 to 1000 kids, now I get that same amount of money to move 30 kids from level whatever to level whatever to just do an academic piece. That's a much smaller group that's more targeted, but it leaves out hundreds and hundreds of kids that used to use the same space.”

Different accountability and goals

As previously discussed, the philosophy of positive youth development is a strengths-based conception of adolescence. Inherent in this framework is the self-selection and creation of opportunities on the part of young people themselves.

Practitioners engaged in positive youth development work strive to create conditions for youth to actively use their capacities to engage with and change their social contexts. This paradigm is contentious and sometimes in opposition to the goals and accountability inherent in our education system. The academic models that most incorporate some of these principles are School-Wide Positive Behavioral Support (SWPBS), and Social-Emotional Learning (SEL). While these models emphasize competencies and skill-building, the end game has been the pursuit of behaviors that meet short-term goals and enhance academic outcomes. There is, however, some evidence of the influence of the communities schools movement and the private sector on the design of “third-way” school programs that emphasize ‘habits of mind’ and 21st century skills.

A practitioner argues that education reform has created a challenge for youth development practice. “NCLB, I think has definitely had a huge impact because it really drove the testing regime and then on top of that really... using test scores to evaluate teachers and principals in schools. **It just put acceleration behind the energy to focus after school programs and youth development programs on test scores** ...to say that first and foremost, these are not the outcomes of the youth development system... **It is unfair to put the outcomes of a \$70 billion system on a tiny little Beacon OST program’s funding stream**, but also really having to make the case for the ways in which youth development does improve young people’s holistic outcomes - including academic, but it’s not to be measured in test scores.”

A technical assistance provider explains how education reform influenced their organization. “**There is tension in the field though between focusing on youth development versus focusing on academic achievement**... it may have slowed the momentum towards positive youth development practices and after school programs. On the other hand...in the last six months this seems to me...there is increasing focus on habits of mind and core competencies in 21st Century skills.”

There is evidence of this movement in the opposite direction, as one public agency representative explains, “**we contract with community-based organizations where youth development principles and practices are the norm, and so that that's a policy decision** because some people would say you could hire guidance counselors and social workers at DOE and it would be the same thing. Why not? Why bring an outside group in? But we believe that it's more the norm in those CBOs and they have a different perspective and the balance in this setting will be good for young people.”

Chapter 6

DISCUSSION/POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

As I pursued this study, and continually peeled back the layers of the onion, I had to ask myself, what would a federal youth policy look like? How could it be coordinated and implemented, and is it even necessary? Attending to the development of a federal youth policy raises a number of philosophical, political and logistical questions. These questions are grappled with at all levels of the youth development system. At the most basic level, we have to address what we want as a society for young people, and how we choose to facilitate those goals. Are we mitigating risk and cost to society? Or are we supporting the free choice of capable and rational citizens, including youth? Our political history in the United States has created a children's structure that is inexorably linked to systems of education and welfare, systems that have educated and protected, as well as segregated and labeled.

Positive Youth Development has been described as a developmental process that all youth engage in over time to meet their needs and build their competencies (Pittman and Cahill, 1991). Developmental Assets (Benson, 1990), is grounded in the meta-theory known as Developmental Systems Theory (DST). DST is an overarching theory on biological development, heredity, and evolution (Oyama, Griffiths, and Gray, 2001). Benson (in Silbereisen, 2007) argues that there are three major points of potential intervention in PYD, and that these interventions in combination generate developmental assets:

- Increasing the developmental attentiveness of social contexts for youth, i.e., home, schools, communities (capacities to nurture, support, and constructively challenge youth).
- Enhancing the skills and competencies of youth.
- Creating processes and opportunities to invite youth to actively use their capacities to engage with and change their social contexts (youth leadership, service learning, youth empowerment, and youth engagement).

Another key concept found in PYD literature is “thriving,” which describes the conditions supported by a civil society that allow an individual to develop her or his potential in ways that are valued by the individual. Lerner characterizes this “mutually beneficial relationship between person and society as liberty” (pg. 5, Lerner, 2004). Lerner, Wertlieb and Jacobs (2003) contend that fostering civil society and social justice is consistent with the emerging field of applied developmental science (ADS). ADS considers all sectors of society, including CBOs/NGOs, as key elements of developmental systems that support the well-being and thriving of children, youth and families. Lerner, Brentano, Dowling, and Anderson (2002) argue “...healthy development involves positive change in the relation between a developing person — who is committed and able to contribute positively to self, family, and community — and a community supporting the development of such a citizen” (pg. 15). Chung and Probert (2011) further argue that young adults of color who perceive higher levels of community functioning are more likely to believe that civic engagement can result in positive community outcomes.

A third way, based in our conceptions of civic participation as well as human development, has come from the positive youth development field. Our willingness to embrace a third way has a lot to do with where we fall in our perspectives of the role

of policy. Trends in recent years have been to focus on big data and reinforcing evidence-based outcomes in education and welfare. In this paradigm, net outcomes (or maximizing aggregate welfare) justify costs, policies and procedures. Alternatively, positive youth development is suggesting that youth, like adults, have the right to develop their own free will and make their own choices using a logical set of competencies or capabilities. This shifts the focus from societal-level impact to individual communities, families and youth. If we think of civic participation as specific connections to members of the community, it becomes less abstract and more focused on action. As John Dewey suggested, the practice of democracy is an ongoing critical and experimental process informed by learning, experience and deliberation. These practical actions are inherent to positive youth development as it's been conceived in the field.

Promoting civic participation relies on culture and conditions that will allow trust and engagement, not only among the elite policy gatekeepers, but also with those communities targeted by policy interventions. There is a difference between authentic engagement and contract management. Without intention, any initiative can fall into the trap of marketing pre-set strategies to communities rather than actually engaging people based on shared aspirations for the community. Potapchuk (2013) argues that “fit” is more than local data and evidence of best practices. True alignment is only possible through the sometimes messy and slow process of building networks and partnerships. It is also key that our conception of evidence-based practices be expanded to adapt to local contexts, such as the street outreach programs operated by Queens Community House.

As discussed, civic engagement appears as a strong indicator of positive youth development. The intentional development of prosocial behaviors in a youth program can lead to increased capacity to participate in society. Researchers have also argued that participation in civic activities develops the prosocial behaviors and attitudes needed for healthy development as well as citizenship (Lerner, Brentano, Dowling, and Anderson, 2002). As one program director describes his organization's approach to civic engagement, *"I think that in a lot of ways youth development contributes to social justice and equity. I think one way is through relationship building and the way that youth grow to feel valued like their ideas and their opinions matter. They have a voice in something."*

Community and place-based initiatives around youth development are not new. In NYC, settlement houses have operated for more than one hundred years. United Neighborhood Houses of New York (UNHNY) coordinates a network of 38 settlement houses and community centers. President Obama's Promise Neighborhoods initiative is modeled after the highly successful Harlem Children's Zone. Beacons and community schools have operated in NYC and across the country since the 1990s. The Community Schools model has new traction in the current ESSA legislation, and NYC is set to open more than 100 new community schools by 2017. Cities and states are embracing a holistic cradle-to-career pipeline conception of children and youth. To ensure success, however, these initiatives need vehicles for on-the-ground interaction with young people, families, and neighborhoods.

Ashcraft (2003) argues that in addition to standards of practice that support and strengthen youth and families, there are several essential characteristics of a community collaboration framework. These characteristics include ensuring a clear

vision of the desired outcomes, creating space for community conversations, fostering true community participation, building culture and competency as part of a commitment to change, and developing a unique collaboration framework. In order to achieve success within this framework a supportive political and social climate must be in place, along with mutual respect among members, shared ownership, and adequate resources.

One of the most significant movements influencing current trends in youth policymaking is collective impact. Collective impact operates under the premise that all stakeholders (public agencies, nonprofits, for-profits, communities and families) must coordinate and share emergent goals for youth. Key to its success is a backbone organization to coordinate the effort. The movement has support from FSG, The Aspen Institute, and FYI. The high level of expertise associated with this movement has led to real successes for cities and states that have integrated collective impact practices and philosophy. In theory, collective impact has the potential to bring true alignment to youth initiatives, and create a “third space” for civic participation.

The work is hard, however, and the best-laid plans may not always come to fruition. Even in NYC, where the youth system is highly developed, there are concerns about the coherence and alignment of goals to fit the diverse contexts of youth, families and neighborhoods. The recent reauthorization of ESSA includes multiple place-based initiatives that call for deep community analyses, partnership and engagement. However, simply because the language appears in the contract doesn't mean that partnerships approach this ideal. Although youth work has become a profession, it is still not as valued as teaching or social work. This disparity is reflected in pay, resources, and power in decision-making. Partners are held to different

standards and levels of responsibility, leading to misunderstandings and distrust. Procurement processes and regulatory hurdles may also preclude smaller neighborhood and culturally based organizations from applying for and maintaining publicly funded contracts. There will always be a space for advocacy within any partnership structure, including collective impact.

Beyond a recommendation for an overall framework for partnership and coordination, there are several promising programs and practices at the federal, state and city level that show alignment with collective impact and youth development strategies. Through ESSA, the U.S. Department of Education has reauthorized 21st Century Learning Centers and Promise Neighborhoods, and introduced full-service Community Schools. ESSA specifically calls for the inclusion of holistic supports and youth development activities as part of these efforts. Statewide Afterschool Networks are operating in 47 states, and are perfectly situated to take on the role of a backbone organization for a collective impact initiative around children and youth. States and cities, like NYC, have also created Children's Cabinets in order to address the needs of children and youth in a coordinated and holistic way. While not as new, cities have successfully instituted youth master planning processes to identify the scope of youth needs, as well as the resources available, and to coordinate future efforts. Cities are also addressing budget crises by establishing Children's Funds through special taxation, to ensure that children's services are adequately resourced and safe from disproportionate budget cuts.

The impact of visionary leaders, and their contributions through nonprofit advocacy, philanthropy, research, and capacity building, has been essential to integrating positive youth development practices into youth systems over the past 20

years. Advocates like Karen Pittman have been the drivers of the positive youth development agenda, and have been able to translate this message across sectors, program models, states and cities. Moving forward, the question is not, “do we have the right program?” We have many programs and practices that have been shown to have positive outcomes for youth. Throughout the history of education reform efforts since ESEA, we have sought the magic bullet, and then tried to replicate it. Collective Impact strategies have the potential to really address the contextualizing and coherence issues around implementing a system for youth, and allow for a third space for engagement.

Collective Impact

Guidikova (2003) argues that sustainability is a key concept related to youth policy. Sustainable development is not possible if systems of education and labor produce a deteriorating labor market and young adults who are poorly qualified and unemployable. The author argues that social policies have to take into consideration the structural nature of youth but also transition to policies based on individualized assessment of conditions and processes in youth social development. These recommendations have found their manifestation in the youth readiness movement, also described as a cradle-to-career pipeline. In NYC, the settlement house structure has served as a cradle-to-career pipeline for more than one hundred years. As one of the practitioners I spoke to pointed out, *“it’s all those things that people talk about, the caring relationships that develop, the safety and security offered by settlement houses be it, whether it’s through an after school program, or some other type of program, that exposure to new opportunities... skill building and career building and ultimately paid positions.”*

Readiness for youth is wrapped in the larger framework of collective impact. The “readiness” movement, a synthesis of models from research and the field, is driving the current national conversation about youth development. The Forum for Youth Investment (FYI) and its affiliate, the David P. Weikart Center for Youth Program Quality, have actively and intentionally been promoting the “Ready By 21” Project. FYI has involved a broad coalition of organizations at local, state and national levels in order to build common understandings of readiness concepts and outcomes; and promote the integration of readiness practices within and across youth systems. Partners in the work include local and state governments, private and public foundations, advocacy organizations, and youth-serving organizations. The framework that has emerged includes a combination of readiness practices and readiness abilities. Readiness practices are concerned with the environments, people and experiences that promote youth agency and skill-building; while abilities are related to the development of holistic and comprehensive assets (see Table 2 for Assets, pg. 46).

The American Youth Policy Forum (AYPF) has adopted a more specific definition of readiness around college and career goals for youth. AYPF advocates clear and measurable outcomes such as successfully completing credit bearing college coursework or industry certification without remediation, and the employer desired skills to succeed in an innovation-based economy. AYPF specializes in providing youth program site visits for policymakers and practitioners, as well as forums and in-person convenings. (Hooker, S., Brand, B., & American Youth Policy Forum, 2009).

Collective Impact is a conceptual framework that focuses on a specific social issue and features broad cross-sector collaboration. What makes collective impact different from other types of collaboration is the scale and depth of the commitment

from the partners. Collective impact initiatives are conceived as structured processes that lead to a common agenda, shared measurement, continuous communication, and mutually reinforcing activities among all participants. Key to the functioning of the initiative is the support of a “backbone” organization with dedicated staffing and resources (Kania and Kramer, 2011).

Kania and Kramer argue that large-scale social change comes from better cross-sector coordination rather than from the isolated intervention of individual organizations. Collective Impact represents a shift from how nonprofits have been operating in the U.S. - what the authors call “isolated impact.” As part of education and welfare reform efforts, funders have typically pursued solutions found in single organizations, hoping to grow and replicate these strategies. Kania and Kramer conclude that this has led to nonprofits working at odds, overlapping and replicating their efforts while draining finite resources.

The Strive Together model (Edmondson and Hecht, 2014) is an example of a thriving Collective Impact initiative. Strive Together is a national network of 65 community partnerships in 32 states and Washington D.C. The focus of their work is educational outcomes. Edmondson and Hecht describe the network as a community of practice in which representatives from each effort connect regularly to share what they are learning. Sharing important and effective resources freely is a hallmark of the network. Strive capitalizes on the scale and diversity of its partners to develop data around universal collective impact processes as well as those processes that require adaptation to a local context. Strive partners impact over 8.2 million students nationwide.

Pittman, Yohalem and Irby (2003) have argued that, instead of creating one definition of youth development policy, that a set of lenses be used to describe and assess policies that affect young people. The authors identify four domains, or lenses, in operation across states and communities. These include: (1) the environmental impact lens, (2) the developmental impact lens, (3) the prevention/preparation impact lens, and (4) the out-of-school/community-based services lens. They advocate for a clarification in policy-making for youth development as a field that includes ALL actors impacting youth development, not only as a system delivered primarily by CBOs.

Discussion of the findings of the PYD Study

Asset-based PYD philosophy diffused throughout sample

As I looked at current discussion about youth policymaking, one word kept coming up: “alignment.” This was also an important concept for all of the funders and technical assistance providers I spoke with in NYC. For Karen Pittman, co-founder, President and CEO of FYI, alignment efforts have been key to realizing the potential of Collective Impact. At the very least, a common language and understanding of the framework is necessary to begin the work of alignment. For example, United Way has been a major driver of the 40 Developmental Assets Framework in its education work and through statewide campaigns like “IM 40.” An assets framework has been fully embraced in a significant number of local, state and national contexts, as shown in previous discussion.

Alignment for Collective Impact goes beyond language, however. The Forum for Youth Investment (FYI) has developed and implemented a number of mapping

strategies with youth development initiatives in order to assess the impact of resources and partnerships. Some of the key alignment recommendations that have come from this work are related to partnership transparency and clarity. The truth may be that there are multiple overlapping efforts within a community. Navigating the sensitivity that may arise from sharing and defending ‘turf’ is essential when negotiating limited resources. Pittman (2015) outlines four specific steps: (1) be clear on why you’re starting alignment discussions, (2) be clear about the range of alignment options, (3) be clear on what it will take to manage the process and how long it may take to complete it, and (4) document decisions and anticipate their impact.

In NYC, the funding communities, both public and private, have driven alignment goals. As the major backbone organization and city agency tasked with youth development, DYCD has been able to convene stakeholders by virtue of holding the purse strings. The agency’s work with the Wallace Foundation allowed DYCD to not only address efficiency concerns, but also to address the overall impact of the agency’s allocations. This work led to trust and change in the City Budget process. In 2014, DYCD received an unprecedented \$145 million investment to baseline funding for afterschool programming, and OST was renamed the Comprehensive After School System of New York City (COMPASS) with a total budget of \$151 million. DYCD also launched School’s Out New York City (SONYC) to serve middle-school students in 2014, resulting in a total number of more than 800 programs and a budget of \$260 million devoted to youth programming (DYCD, 2014). While this is significant, one must also place this investment in context with other city investments in children. According to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) the total NYC Department of Education budget from federal, state and local sources for FY’ 15 is

\$21 billion; Children’s Services total budget is \$2.8 billion; and DYCD’s total budget is \$582 million (New York (City) Office of Management and Budget).

Over time, other backbone organizations such as the Youth Development Institute (YDI), the Partnership for Afterschool Education (PASE), and the Afterschool Corporation (TASC) have formed in NYC, as previously discussed. These organizations formed as separate entities, yet they shared overlapping goals. It took some time, as well capacity-building within DYCD, for these entities to start to approach alignment within the OST structure. These and other smaller, more neighborhood or culture-based, organizations still have yet to actually approach alignment in the sense described by advocates of collective impact. For example, TASC promotes a very specific model of extended school day for OST, while there are variations among OST providers about the design of afterschool. DYCD has continually navigated this diversity using data and feedback from grantees and communities. In turn, organizations like YDI, PASE and TASC have also been highly effective at creating networks of youth-serving organizations through their capacity-building and technical assistance work. The partnerships are both collaborative and transactional. Each of these intermediary organizations have also proven to be relatively trusted as advisors to the process.

High capacity of Nonprofits is key to access and success

CBOs are unique among nonprofit organizational forms. They are citizen-driven organizations that pursue social change for distressed communities. CBOs’ missions are carried out by providing direct services, engaging in community-building, and influencing local political and policy outcomes. In youth-serving CBOs, youth play significant leadership roles. CBOs risk losing their individual community

missions and values if systemic capacity-building efforts cannot be adapted to local contexts. Miller, Kobes and Forney (2008) argue that some professionalizing activities risk contributing to a CBO becoming a traditional service provider. They advocate that capacity-building maintain community-based decision making and youth voice. The scale and scope of CBO activities may also make capacity-building unwelcome or financially prohibitive. Successful capacity-building is also related to the stage of development for a CBO. CBOs go through cycles of growth and decline. Leadership, internal structures, and interactions with external forces all influence the ability of a CBO to incorporate capacity-building.

Social work practice also influences practice in PYD – so much of the work that is carried out by CBOs in youth development is implemented by social workers. Cultural competence is essential to practice, becoming mandated in social work education by the Council on Social Work Education in 1968 (Tourse and Blythe, 2003). Social work reflects on its practice from a person-in-environment perspective, holistic and ecological, in which the person and environment are influenced by each other. This includes understanding how policies influence practice and effect “clients”, and how policies influence the practitioner and communities the practitioner serves. Tourse and Blythe argue that “transdisciplinary” work is necessary in order to construct a comprehensive cultural-practice approach, where inter-professional collaboration and coordination are the norm. Building this infrastructure creates a competency-building and sharing network that leads to better outcomes.

Policy decisions impact equity

As discussed in Chapter 5, in order to ensure equitable outcomes, any youth development initiative must begin with honest internal assessments of organizational

behaviors, practices and policies. Disaggregating data by race, gender, class, sexual orientation and other characteristics allows the initiative to see where to set goals to ‘move the needle.’ In order to avoid reinforcing stereotypes or scapegoating certain communities, it is necessary to do analysis of these disparities in order to get to root causes. Building movements toward equity requires more than just data, however. It is incumbent on the initiative to relate this data and analysis to a community narrative that can shift public perception and build the case for allocating resources to targeted populations (Sebastian Arias and Brady, 2015). It is then that policy can approach the principle that each citizen deserves and has the right to be given equal treatment by the political system (Shafritz and Russell, 2002). Ultimately, advancing equity is an iterative process that requires thoughtful policymaking and participation from all sectors, public, private and civil.

Advocacy is an integral part of PYD System

Given the direction that our youth development systems are headed, now more than ever cross-sector partnerships will depend on advocacy. Advocacy is a necessary function of partnership building, regardless of the language used to describe the partnership or the structures that have been defined. Over time, advocacy transformed relationships within the NYC system to create partnerships between advocates and public agencies, and ultimately adapt and transform budgeting allocation to youth programs. The advocacy network crosses boundaries between practitioners, foundations, technical assistance providers, and citywide policy advocates. In NYC, organizations such as the Neighborhood and Family Services Coalition convene representatives from youth serving organizations across the city to address advocacy

strategies. Successful advocacy campaigns have been responsible for maintaining significant portions of public agency budgets.

Advocacy extends to youth-adult relationships along the pipeline as well. As highlighted by the PYD study participants, vulnerable youth experience disproportionate contact with school safety officers. This issue remains salient, demonstrated by the recent scandal involving a school safety officer using excessive force on a female student in the classroom. While this may seem like an extreme example, in some schools it can be closer to the norm. As one practitioner working in a school stated, “every day we see a student being handcuffed thrown out of our school downstairs.”

Tension remains between academic and PYD models

Education partnerships have become ubiquitous, proliferating in response to legislation and reform efforts (Fusarelli, 2008). Collaborations include social service agencies, businesses, religious and cultural organizations, and post-secondary or higher education institutions. Schools have grown to be a focal point of the delivery of a variety of services, including job counseling and referral, health care, and mental health services. More recently under NCLB, school collaborations have been questioned as to their effectiveness and possible distraction from schools’ primary mission of academic instruction. Schools remain publicly funded because we believe that there is a public good inherent in education – from which our society benefits – thus contributing to community development and social capital.

Both schools and youth organizations are potential learning communities, or what Yoshikawa and Shinn (2008) describe as “participatory learning at the organizational level.” Achieving this goal requires buy-in on multiple levels across

stakeholders in youth development systems. The most common strategy is the establishment of a collaborative team that engages in an initial assessment and goal-setting process. This buy-in must continue to be established through training and professional development and addressing the well-being of collaborative partners. In the broader context of communities, buy-in is achieved through community engagement and organizing and the convergence of senior leadership or umbrella organizations.

However, school and OST provider alignment remains challenging, as shown in the perceptions of both educators and youth development practitioners in the PYD Study. This feeling is echoed across the country, as reported by America's Promise Alliance (2015) in its evaluation of four case studies of expanded learning opportunities (ELOs). In Louisville, Karen Napier, Director of Education Initiatives for the United Way, describes the struggle: "We have an invisible divide: The school system has all these responsibilities, but community organizations aren't held to the same standards as schools for accountability. The challenge is building that network and communicating." (America's Promise Alliance, pg. 11)

Some initiatives are championing "third way" opportunities that integrate academic reinforcement, enrichment programs and community providers all into a redesigned learning day. While specific models vary, one of the key components for "third way" schools is a focus on social and emotional development (SEL). Rochester New York has implemented time collaborative schools that have extended the length of the school day, giving extra time to integrate youth development during the school day and increase academic supports during what would have been afterschool. City

officials claim that this has led to even greater overall alignment with school improvement goals (America's Promise Alliance, 2015).

Policy Options

As the evidence gathered in this study has illustrated, there are a number of youth development initiatives in the U.S. that show effectiveness in 'moving the needle' toward equitable outcomes for youth. These initiatives, and ultimately movements, have grown in response to public policy; have influenced public policy; and created whole new networking organizations around youth development. This section will discuss policy options in federal, state and local governments, as well as how the philanthropic, nonprofit and private sectors can continue to influence growth in the impact of youth development initiatives.

Solarz, Leadbeater, Sandler, Maton, Schellenbach and Dodgen (2004) developed crosscutting recommendations for asset-based policymaking in response to the adverse conditions they saw effecting children, youth and families. These are primarily related to ensuring that strengths and competencies are a focus; that representatives of groups that are targeted by an intervention are involved in meaningful ways throughout the process; that private and public funding support research on strengths-based approaches be increased – thus improving methodologies for gathering evidence about these approaches; that public and private resources at the federal, state and local levels should be allocated to build and support an infrastructure for strengths-based approaches; and demonstration projects should be funded to test promising strengths-based approaches.

Youth development policy can be a piece of legislation at any level; guidelines in procurement such as RFPs; program requirements; regulations that govern

programs; cross-agency initiatives; and mayoral or gubernatorial initiatives. Specific policies that encourage collective impact include strategies such as including planning grants with implementation grants; requiring multiple sector engagement; implementing data sharing agreements; sharing accountability for outcomes; building in collaboration with blended funding streams; making allowances for tailoring to local conditions; requiring the documentation of the collaboration; supporting the emergence of new ideas and practices; funding for backbone organizations; and grant criteria that require defined backbone functions (Ferber and White, 2014).

Legislation

As previously discussed, attempts at overarching federal youth policy have remained relatively unsuccessful, although there is general agreement regarding a positive youth development framework among the various federal agencies that address children, youth and families. In 2015, the Campaign for a Presidential Youth Council made some headway when Representative Larson and Representative Bishop introduced House Joint Resolution 47. As of December 2015, the resolution has 50 official Congressional supporters, according to James Ferencsik, Chair for the campaign (J. Ferencsik, email communication, 12/28/15).

The federal government makes more than 200 distinct investments in children. These include traditional children's initiatives like education and welfare. They also include other investments that improve the quality of life for children and families, like Medicaid and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (formerly Food Stamps). Some of the most significant investments in children come from the U.S. Department of Education, authorized through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) is the latest

reauthorization of ESEA, and was signed into law by President Obama on December 10, 2015. The jury is out on how much of an improvement ESSA is over the much-criticized 2001 NCLB Act. It appears that both sides of Congress agree that the legislation is a compromise. Much of the oversight included in NCLB has been moved from federal to state jurisdiction, expanding the flexibility of states to identify and remediate poor performance, particularly in disadvantaged populations. This freedom replaces the widespread use of waivers implemented under Obama and Secretary of Education Arne Duncan.

The Act includes reauthorization of several programs that promote school-community collaboration, while also embracing new language and program models reflective of the cradle-to-career pipeline. 21st Century Learning Centers and Promise Neighborhoods have been carried over, and full-service Community Schools have now been included as eligible for federal funds. Regarding language used in the new law, it is notable that some edits and additions reflect an asset-based orientation. For example, “safe and drug-free communities” has been replaced by “student support and academic enrichment grants,” and “public charter schools” has been replaced by “expanding opportunity through quality charter schools.” The language also reflects an expanded idea of the family and its relationship to schools. “Parent involvement” is now “parent and family engagement.”

Under Student Support and Academic Enrichment Grants (Title IV, Part A, 21st Century Schools, first authorized in 1998), local educational agencies, or consortiums of agencies, may use funds to develop and implement programs and activities that are coordinated with other schools and community-based services and programs, or conducted in partnership with an institution of higher education,

business, nonprofit organization, or community-based organization. The Act suggests the types of activities that would be appropriate. These include college and career guidance and counseling programs; programs and activities that use music and the arts as tools to promote constructive student engagement, problem solving, and conflict resolution; and programming and activities to improve instruction and student engagement in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM).

The Act goes on to specify how communities can establish or expand 21st Century Community Learning Centers that offer the types of activities mentioned above, while also offering meaningful parent engagement. ESSA specifically defines eligible proposers as nonprofit organizations with records of success in OST programs and activities. The legislation also leaves the possibility open to new proposers who can show how they have evaluated community needs and what measure they will take to meet those needs. Proposers must also specify how the Community Learning Center will continue after funding under ESSA ends.

Under “National Activities” in ESSA is the Community Support for Schools Success Program, which provides grants to community schools that offer full-service holistic approaches to education by integrating academic and social supports, particularly for children attending high-poverty schools. The Coalition for Community Schools advocated for the inclusion of full-service community schools as part of ESSA, using their network of more than 200 partners to influence legislators. Martin Blank, Director of the Coalition for Community Schools and President of The Institute for Educational Leadership, maintains that the change reflects “a vision that recognizes that educators must work in partnership with their communities to help all young people thrive.” (Coalition for Community Schools, 2015) ESSA goes so far as

to use and define the term ‘pipeline services’ in relation to Community Schools and Promise Neighborhoods. The definition is aligned with conceptions of cradle-to-career and collective impact strategies that emphasize a continuum of coordinated supports, services, and opportunities for children from birth through postsecondary education and career.

First authorized in 2010, Promise Neighborhoods funds planning and implementation grants for a comprehensive continuum of coordinated services in neighborhoods with high concentrations of low-income individuals and multiple signs of distress, such as poverty, childhood obesity, academic failure, and juvenile delinquency, adjudication, or incarceration. Nonprofits, higher education institutions and Tribal communities can apply for Promise Neighborhoods. These organizations may take on responsibilities that formerly were the domain of schools. For example, as part of providing early education supports, organizations must ensure appropriate diagnostic assessments and referrals for children with disabilities and developmental delays.

Guidelines in Procurement

Both Promise Neighborhoods grantees and full-service Community Schools are required to contribute matching funds equal to the federal grant to be eligible, unless a special waiver can be applied. The Department of Education prioritizes consideration for evidence-based activities. For nonprofits with less financial capacity, this can represent a hardship. The application requirements for Promise Neighborhoods are extensive. Proposers must submit an application that addresses outcomes for children at all points along the pipeline. Proposers are required to provide extensive analysis of the needs and assets of the neighborhood, and how these

pipeline opportunities meet those needs and engage those assets. In addition to these requirements, proposers must show how the program will continue when federal funding ends.

Funding challenges were among the most discussed issues of the PYD study. Overwhelmingly, practitioners expressed concerns about the level of funding needed in order to meet the goals for their programs. Some providers have been able to combine resources, or are large enough to supplement the funding provided by government contracts. In the case of the Beacon model, DYCD has made it a requirement that providers show a 10% match to their investment. Diversification of funding is a trend that has been encouraged by the public and private funding communities so that nonprofits meet research and evidence-based outcome goals.

Guidelines for procurement have a great impact on what types of organizations can apply. One advocate in the PYD study pointed out that smaller community based organizations, parent groups, and ethnic groups have all been shut out of most competitions for government dollars. It is difficult for any organization that is not already highly resourced to apply. One reason for this has been the cost per unit, as well as allowance for administrative costs, specified in RFPs. While the demand for quality programs and highly qualified youth workers has grown, compensation and benefits have not increased based on city contracts. As discussed previously, the total contract allocation for Beacons has remained the same since the 1990s, while program requirements and standards have increased. The effect is essentially a COLA freeze on an already underpaid nonprofit workforce. The procurement process has also presented barriers for human service organizations that are required to implement timely programs with delayed contract registration and payments. These delays

effectively resulted in organizations running programs at great financial hardship to the organization or not being able to run programs at all.

Regulations that govern programs

While regulations are designed to provide protection and standards for programs paid for by public dollars, in practice, they have the potential to hinder program performance. As one practitioner in the study stated, “it’s important because it’s all about safety but it makes it a little bit challenging for us because none of these departments communicate. We are in the middle, but we still have to comply with all of them at the same time.” Youth-serving organizations in NYC have been required to conform to multiple regulatory frameworks, often duplicative – sometimes at odds with each other, that cost unallocated time and money. Only high-capacity organizations have the ability to juggle the administrative and fiscal costs. More recently, DYCD has recognized this as a barrier and attempted to coordinate across city agencies serving youth.

When acting in partnership, one of the most daunting hurdles between schools and community-based organizations is the sharing of child, youth and family information. Often, community-based providers do not have access to school data and vice versa. The rules governing information sharing in the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) can make this aspect of partnership challenging. Because schools are not constrained by FERPA when analyzing data internally, they can be the ideal place to analyze afterschool data. However, district offices may not have the resources to provide useful analyses to partners, and afterschool staff are still precluded from doing their own contextual analyses of the data. In some cases, community-based partners have been designated with special status as school staff. In

Louisville, 65 OST providers agreed to offer computer labs with access to school-approved software. This allowed the local school district to designate them as “learning places.” As part of this agreement, providers have access to CASCADE, the local district’s student data system. Accessing the system allows OST providers to see academic and attendance data in real time, allowing for timely interventions (America’s Promise Alliance, 2015).

Cross-agency initiatives

There are many examples of cross-agency initiatives for youth at the federal, state and local levels. At the federal level, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has funded the Essentials for Childhood program, a collaboration with five state health departments. These five departments act as the backbone organizations for coordinating a holistic framework of strategies to promote safe, stable, nurturing environments for children. At the state level, a number of states and localities have created “Children’s Cabinets.” State leadership from related departments work toward shared goals on issues from early childhood education to disconnected youth programs. Because they are permanent structures, processes of collaboration can be developed and refined, resulting in more holistic approaches to youth policy.

Currently, Statewide Afterschool Networks operate in 47 states and provide a range of coordinated supports in the form of research, resources, and technical assistance to state and local level stakeholders. Statewide Afterschool Networks have developed valuable expertise in both policy and practice issues. The New York State Afterschool Network (NYSAN) began in 2001 as an advisory group to the New York State Education Department for the implementation of the 21st Century Community Learning Centers (21st CCLC) program. Statewide Afterschool Networks help link

afterschool program providers representing multiple stakeholders from the community, non-profit, and faith-based sectors, develop training opportunities, and identify a common language around afterschool opportunities. In New York, NYSAN engaged state and local agencies in developing quality standards and assessment tools. These networks have the potential to act as backbone structures for collective impact around OST at the state level by coordinating and communicating goals for children that are tied to different funding streams. For example, network members can identify areas where regulatory requirements such as health and safety standards need alignment and develop shared guidelines. This allows providers to meet only one set of streamlined criteria while still using funds from multiple funding sources. As part of Arkansas' Out-of-School Network efforts, a 2008 Governor's Task Force produced specific recommendations around shared assessment and professional development for afterschool. These recommendations were later codified into the state's 2011 Positive Youth Development Act (American Youth Policy Forum, 2013).

Eligible applicants under ESSA typically only include local educational agencies (LEAs) and nonprofit school partners who run programs. One of the goals outlined in the new legislation under 21st Century Schools is to identify and eliminate state barriers to the coordination of programs, initiatives and funding streams. Given the amount of flexibility that has now been given to states to identify and address their own educational challenges, there is a great opportunity for LEAs to fund statewide networks through 21st Century Schools. Funding the network will allow a broader impact on children and youth, not just those youth attending 21st Century Community Learning Centers.

Data-driven approaches

In order to successfully meet goals for children and youth, cities need access to accurate and timely information about the outcomes of pipeline interventions. This has led to cities to create comprehensive management information systems (MIS). An MIS is not simply a data system. Across the entire scope of programs and organizations that work with youth, a systemic technology solution is needed to track and correlate information on youth participation, and to establish networks of skilled professionals to share, analyze, and act on that information. Outcomes measures are usually based on academic outcomes and youth development outcomes. In general, schools hold academic information such as report cards, grade completion, and achievement on standardized tests. Youth development measures such as social and emotional well-being, community engagement, and healthy behaviors can be assessed by tools such as the Search Institute's Developmental Asset Profile (DAP).

There are multiple barriers to the development of such an MIS system, and most cities still do not have one in place. Cities must address privacy laws, accountability for data use, separate data collection and analysis processes and technological challenges. Building an MIS requires that a backbone organization assist the partners in crafting coherence about what types of data to collect, how to use that data, how to share data, and then how to interpret that data. (Institute for Youth, Education, and Families, 2011)

In NYC, DYCD was able to build its initial OST online system with support from the Wallace Foundation. The system was piloted with the first OST grantees and has gone through a series of changes since its inception in 2004. The system now incorporates COMPASS, SONYC, Beacon, Teen ACTION and Cornerstone programs. However, the system remains separate from other agency systems serving

children and youth in NYC. There are specific program models funded through the Department of Education that allow some access to DOE data systems for community-based partners, such as Attendance Improvement Drop-Out Prevention (AIDP), Young Adult Borough Centers (YABCs) and Transfer High Schools. However, the access to school data is often granted as a privilege, not as a regular function of working in partnership.

The Institute for Youth, Education, and Families (2011), a project of the National League of Cities, has identified a series of steps in creating a management information system used by successful cities around the country. First, most citywide systems are evolutionary rather than completely new. Agencies already have data systems for monitoring their programs. It is important to first identify what may already exist. Successful leaders have then developed shared measures and outcomes – resulting in harmonizing reporting requirements and overall alignment of citywide youth development goals. From a technical standpoint, creating the MIS architecture also requires that partners identify what user roles, functionality or features must be incorporated into the system to satisfy the business requirements of all of the partners. Finally, the design requires decision-making around where to host the system, how to use it, and how it gets shared. Once these steps are completed, cities have been able to pilot the system and then expand and improve the system.

Mayoral initiatives

Edelstein (2008) points out that there has been a trend in mayoral interest in education since the 1991 takeover of Boston public schools. This trend has continued to varying degrees in Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Trenton, Providence, Hartford and New York City. NYC Mayor Bloomberg (2002-2013)

assumed direct control over the city's public school system by appointing Joel Klein as Chancellor in 2002. Under Bloomberg, NYC school districts were reorganized and centralized, and new partnership models for high school were implemented.

The political configuration of school systems for cities that are integrated into a county-based system of government make this type of increased control difficult. The standards and accountability movements have contributed to mayors focusing attention on education, often an extremely complex and contentious endeavor. Also contributing is the perception that education should be linked to other human and social services, i.e., youth development – thus collaborative and strategic approaches.

Cities around the country are now adopting a number of strategies that promote the cradle-to-career strategy. These include city capacity building structures such as commissions; departments and coordinating entities that can sustain multi-sector collaborations; comprehensive youth master plans; comprehensive data systems; sustainable funding strategies; and supporting the implementation of innovative neighborhood-based initiatives such as Promise Neighborhoods and Community Schools.

City Coordinating Entities

Many cities, like NYC, have created a mayor's office or department that provides strategic direction and coordination for the range of services for children available through the city or its partners. In 2014, Mayor Bill DiBlasio announced the creation of the first NYC Children's Cabinet, a multi-agency effort to create a comprehensive framework of support for children. The impetus for creating a Children's Cabinet came from the tragic death of a toddler under the supervision of

the Administration of Children’s Services (ACS). The Cabinet is composed of representatives of 24 city agencies and mayoral offices, and works with the Casey Family Foundations on capacity building. The work of the Cabinet has resulted in a comprehensive plan to open more than 100 community schools in NYC by 2017 (Office of the Mayor, City of New York).

Funding Strategies

The National League of Cities (2009) has pointed out that many cities have developed separate funding sources dedicated to children’s services. These include children’s “funds” recovered from a portion of city revenues, dedicated tax levies, new development fees, and community trust funds. In San Francisco, budget cuts to children’s services in 1990 resulted in a campaign for a referendum to the city charter. The referendum guaranteed that a portion of property tax revenues would be dedicated to the San Francisco Children’s Fund. Voters approved the amendment in 1990, again in 2000, and most recently in 2014. The amendment established a baseline budget for children’s services that was proportional to general fund revenue. The San Francisco Department of Children, Youth and Their Families (DCYF) administers the fund.

Youth Master Planning

As of 2009, more than 30 cities had instituted comprehensive youth master plans to coordinate services provided by multiple stakeholders (National League of Cities, 2009). The plans allow cities to identify what programs and services are currently operating, how these services may overlap, and direct resources to where they are most needed. Like any city planning process, youth master plans use data to inform decision-making and investments across communities. Youth master plans

have many labels – for example, children and youth agenda, blueprint, or bill of rights – but include the same components. These include a vision of the future, an assessment of current needs, and a plan for moving forward while ensuring accountability and sustainability. YouthBudget analysis was developed by the Center for Youth Development and Policy Research to examine and document the resources that are allocated to youth in a given community. Through the process, communities can assess their levels and areas of investment and plan for future spending. The development of a youth master plan presents an opportunity to bring together schools, youth, parents, community organizations and other community stakeholders in creating a comprehensive agenda for children and youth. In Louisville, a group of leaders were able to use a master planning process to develop a YouthPrint in 2010. The comprehensive plan grew out of a public-private partnership between city government, public schools and the United Way. The National League of Cities, Forum for Youth Investment and America’s Promise Alliance all provided technical assistance to the group.

Investment in innovation

Recent trends in public funding have also included the willingness to invest in promising practices for youth outcomes. At the federal level, this includes investment in three levels of initiatives – those that are promising but still in development, those with some success that need to show validation of their methods and practices, and those that are ready to scale up across local or even national systems. These opportunities are made available by the Investing in Innovation (i3) Fund, established under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA). i3 provides funding to support local educational agencies (LEAs) and nonprofit organizations

working in partnership with LEAs. The U.S. Department of Education made more than 150 grants totaling more than \$1.3 billion in FY '10-'15 (US Department of Education, Investing in Innovation Fund (i3)).

In NYC, former Mayor Michael Bloomberg launched the Center for Economic Opportunity (CEO) as a “laboratory” to test anti-poverty strategies in 2006. The Center is housed within the Office of the Mayor and is tasked with designing, implementing, funding, and evaluating cutting-edge initiatives that build human capital and provide work supports. Since its inception, CEO has funded 60 anti-poverty initiatives that target the working poor, young adults, and children. The unique structure has allowed CEO to continue or replicate successful initiatives and discontinue programs that achieve insufficient results.

Cross-Sectoral Influence on Youth Policy

Foundation-sponsored research has spurred the development of broad cross-sector initiatives and an enormous investment in youth development systems. From earlier work by the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation of New York to the Wallace Foundation investment into the OST system in New York City, foundations have served as sources of innovation for sometimes challenged and fragmented youth programming frameworks. While some foundations' priorities are specifically related to youth services and attached to particular models of after school programming (i.e. TASC), others see their missions as combatting poverty and inequity through positive youth development. Some fund research about youth development, and some fund direct service.

As previously discussed, the Wallace Foundation, based in NY, awarded DYCD a one-year planning grant to develop a comprehensive municipal OST system

in 2003 that led to a further investment of \$12 million (Yohalem, Devaney, Smith, Wilson-Ahlstrom, 2012). The Wallace Foundation has continued their investment in youth systems across the country. In 2012 the foundation awarded Grand Rapids, Michigan \$765,000 for a Youth Community Data Center, enabling the city to connect afterschool programs with daily school attendance and assess their effectiveness for the first time (America's Promise Alliance, 2015).

As the field has grown, the philanthropic community has changed its priorities and ways of working with grantees. For example, the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation Youth Development Fund has been able to move from grant management to partnership management with grantees. The foundation sought to change its grantmaking in order to see real change and improved outcomes for vulnerable youth. This meant larger more flexible grants to fewer organizations and significant capacity-building to develop better, stronger organizations. (Ryan and Taylor, 2013).

The National League of Cities (2009) reports that a modest number of cities have turned to nonprofit intermediary organizations, instead of a city office or department, to support and coordinate cradle-to-career initiatives. Organizations such as higher education institutions and other nonprofits may be better positioned to sustain multi-sector collaborations over time, and able to withstand changes in city administration. A nonprofit intermediary may also have greater capacity to perform certain functions of the initiative, such as conducting research. These local intermediaries are typically tied to the city through funding and often include municipal officials on their governing boards.

At the national level, the "Ready by 21" Network has 17 partners; including FYI, the Search Institute, United Way, the Children's Cabinet Network, Child Trends,

the National Collaboration for Youth, Spark Action, and Gallup, among others. This network has a powerful scope, reaching 37 states and numerous counties and cities within those states. Members of the network have served as collaborators and conveners with local governments to implement cradle-to-career strategies.

FYI uses the phrase “visible and valued” to describe youth agency skills and abilities. As part of making these competencies visible and valued, organizations such as FYI have made deep discussion and engagement with practitioners a priority through the annual national conference, their ongoing Thought Leader webinar discussions, and web-published reports and blog series. FYI, the Finance Project, and the Center for Program Quality have continually refined mapping tools for communities to discover the scope and cost of youth work. Using such tools allows an open discussion about what works, what are areas for partnership and improvement, and what is counter-productive.

FYI and the Weikart Center (2015) have recently begun to focus on the impact of Social-Emotional Learning (SEL) in afterschool. Researchers from the Center observed eight Afterschool Challenge sites in 2015. They were able to identify the features of high performing programs and develop a set of indicators. SEL practices in the Challenge offerings were rated substantially higher than other OST programs for adolescents on measures of emotional management, empathy, teamwork, responsibility, initiative, and problem solving. High performing programs allowed for youth input and ownership, but were also challenging and skill-building. Other key features included safe spaces for risk taking and responsive practices that met the individual needs and interests of youth. High performing programs supported staff in a similar way, so they could reflect, improve and be energized by the work. Identifying

indicators for SEL will help schools and community-based partners to share the same goals and use the same assessments for young people.

The Ready by 21 National Meeting is entering its 5th year in 2016. The meeting brings together policy and practitioner leaders from around the country who are invested in youth development. The main strategies discussed in the National Meeting are related to collective impact initiatives, policy alignment and program quality improvement. This year's agenda includes building and strengthening your partnerships; expanding learning outcomes and opportunities; improving out-of-school time quality and performance; embracing readiness in the pursuit of equity; aligning policies and resources; reaching opportunity youth; and creating child and youth master plans. FYI and its partners have become a central clearinghouse for information around youth policymaking, sharing and promoting strategies across sectors, evidence of policy transfer and convergence.

Researcher reflection

When I began this process, I had come from a particularly challenging position as a community-based practitioner working in a partnership high school model. I remember feeling that my knowledge about the larger policy issues surrounding our practice was lacking, and that I needed perspective and clarity. I have always been drawn to “big picture” thinking, and I wanted to step back and take a look. The process has been life changing. I am not the same person I was when I began this journey.

Doing qualitative research is like following breadcrumbs, or maybe reading tea leaves. There is a constant process of discovery and interpretation. I felt compelled to show how secondary sources supported the conclusions that I was making, for fear

that I was a lunatic and somehow completely misinterpreting the data. Triangulation is comforting. I finally understood what it meant to build categories, and link them to larger themes. In the end, I feel more capable of conceptualizing and carrying out research.

I set about trying to answer some broad questions for this study. Through the process of describing the growth of the Positive Youth Development framework and field in Queens and the U.S., I was able to understand more clearly the relationships between actors in youth systems. This allowed me to place the participant data from the study into a context and build a story about Positive Youth Development.

Some of the main limitations of this research have to do with the sample. I was able to get good participation from community-based youth development practitioners. However, I had limited participation from other actors in the youth system. As the study progressed, my conception about the system moved beyond a nonprofit model of youth services, and I would have liked to have gone back and interviewed more representatives of other child serving public agencies. NYC now has a structure in its Children's Cabinet that brings all of these principal actors together, which would make outreach and recruitment, if not easier, at least more streamlined. Also, while one of the findings that emerged is how difficult it is for smaller neighborhood and culturally based organizations to compete for public contracts, it was difficult for me to access representatives of these types of organizations for inclusion in my study. More inclusion of these organizations would yield further insight into the validity of this finding.

Another limitation of this research is its reliance only on interviews for primary data collection. While I was able to glean some anecdotal information by

traveling to different sites to conduct the interviews, it would have been better if I also had been able to observe meetings or other specific events that related to partnership, capacity-building or policymaking. While some of these events are certainly private, there are other opportunities that could have supported the validity of my conclusions. Thankfully, in the age of the internet, I was able to access memos, reports, documents, emails, webinars, and other materials that supported my descriptive efforts.

This research has been really useful in helping me to identify what areas for further research I might pursue. Some new questions that I have are related to the differences between neighborhood or place-based organizations and larger, perhaps higher capacity organizations, and their impact on the civic engagement of youth and families. On the one hand, program models have been refined through evidence-based practices and targeted interventions, and higher capacity organizations should be able to deliver high quality programs, thus ensuring equitable outcomes. On the other hand, practitioners really seem to feel that it's a disservice to communities to limit access to public resources for smaller and potentially lower capacity organizations.

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Appendix A

ECOLOGICAL RISK AND PROTECTIVE PROCESSES THAT INFLUENCE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT (BOGENSCHNEIDER 1996, PG. 129)

Level	Risk Processes	Protective Processes
Individual	Antisocial behavior; alienation or rebelliousness; early initiation	Well-developed problem-solving skills and intellectual abilities; self-esteem, self-efficacy, and personal responsibility; well-developed social and interpersonal skills; religious commitment
Family	Poor parental monitoring; distant, uninvolved, and inconsistent parenting; unclear family rules, expectations, and rewards	Close relationship with at least one person
Peer	Association with peers engaged in risk behaviors	Close friend
School	School transitions; academic failure; low commitment to school	Positive school experiences
Work setting	Long work hours	Required helpfulness
Community	Low socioeconomic status; complacent or permissive community laws and norms; low neighborhood attachment; community disorganization and high mobility; media influences	Belonging to a supportive community; bonding to family, school, and other social institutions

Appendix B

THE VALUES IN ACTION (VIA) CLASSIFICATION OF STRENGTHS (PARK, 2009)

Value	Definition
Wisdom and Knowledge	Cognitive strengths that entail the acquisition and use of knowledge, creativity, curiosity, open-mindedness, love of learning, perspective
Courage	Emotional strengths that involve exercise of will to accomplish goals in the face of opposition, either external or internal; honesty and authenticity, bravery, perseverance, zest
Humanity	Interpersonal strengths that entail "tending and befriending" others; kindness, love, social intelligence
Justice	Civic strengths that underlie healthy community life; fairness, leadership, teamwork
Temperance	Strengths that protect against excess; forgiveness, modesty, prudence, self-regulation
Transcendence	Strengths that build connections to the larger universe and provide meaning; appreciation of beauty, gratitude, hope, humor, spirituality and religiousness

Appendix C

YOUTH-WORK ORIENTATIONS (EDGINTON AND RANDALL, 2005)

Orientations	Preventative	Positive Youth Development	Relational Youth Work
View of Youth	Problems to be managed; incompetent and incomplete individuals	Acquiring life-skills	Complete persons; in need of close personal relations
View of Personal Change	Individualistic; youth lack knowledge and skills needed to avoid potentially harmful situations; aim toward achieving predetermined behavioral outcomes	Developmental (i.e. sequence of developmental stages and tasks); Youth acquire needed skills and competencies; aim toward achieving predetermined developmental outcomes	Constitutive view; youth change as a result of relationships/ communicative practices; aim toward achieving co-constructed meaning
Focus	Prevention and management of problem and risky behaviors	Decrease personal deficits; increase assets; increase ability for autonomous action	Establishing sustained and positive patterns of interaction, dialogue, and personal relations between adults and youths; support ability for relational action
Goal	Conformity to ideal behaviors; promotion of autonomous action	Conformity to specific ideals, values and attitudes; promotion of autonomous action	Support of the ongoing, relational "self-becoming" process; promotion of relational connection

Appendix C continued.

Method	Communication; passive transmission	Communication; active transmission; means-end relationships	Communication; dialogue; dialogic relationships
Content	Curriculum to control “risky” and problem behavior	Educational and enrichment programs for youth; community asset- building efforts; individual concerns, interests and experiences	Focus is not on content, but rather emphasis is placed on communicative practices
Organization	Agencies provide prevention programming	Youth-serving agencies; community settings, schools, families	Youth-serving agencies; community settings, schools, families
Responsibility	Professionals	All members of community	All members of community

Appendix D

FEDERAL EFFORTS TO IMPROVE COORDINATION AMONG YOUTH PROGRAMS (FERNANDES-ALCANTARA, 2012; SCOTT, DESCHENES, HOPKINS, NEWMAN AND MCGLAUGHLIN, 2006)

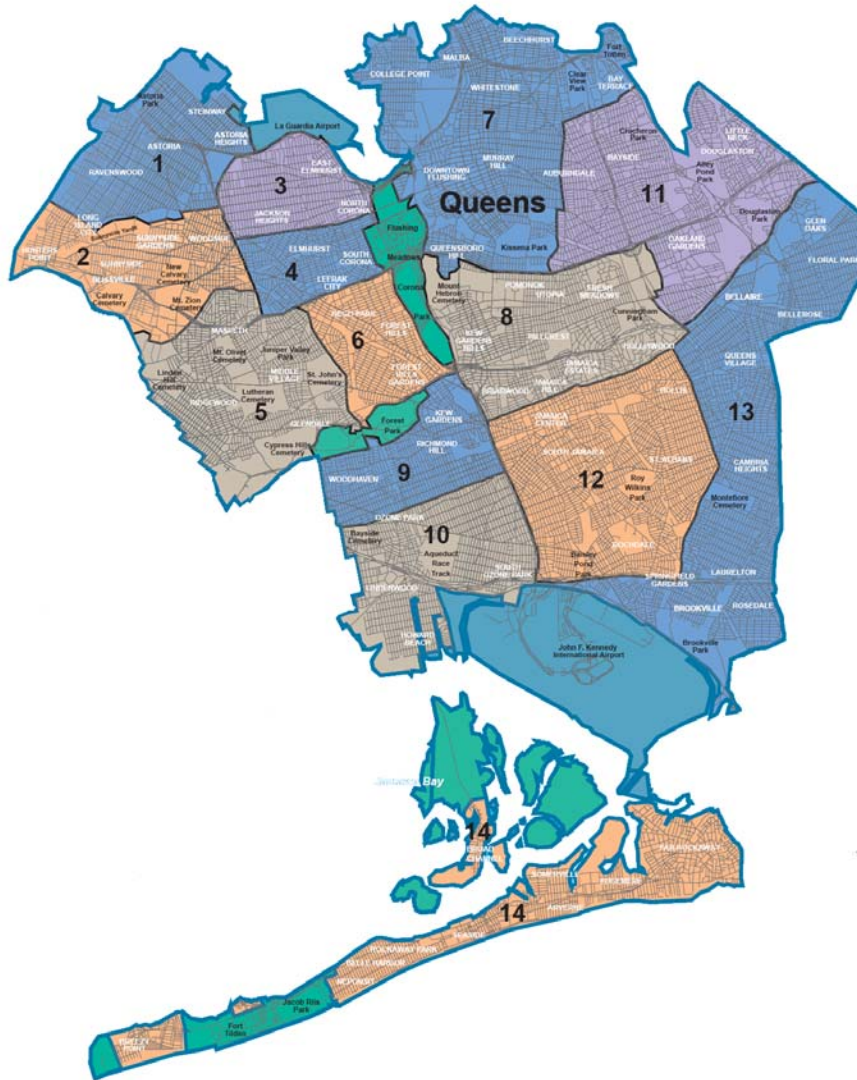
Initiative	Purpose	Outcome
The Claude Pepper Young Americans Act of 1990 (Title IX of the August F. Hawkins Human Services Reauthorization Act, P.L. 101-501)	Sought to increase coordination among agencies that administer programs for children and youth, and enhance the delivery of social services to children, youth, and their families through improved coordination at the state and local levels	The Federal Council on Children, Youth, and Families was authorized, and grant funding was established for coordinating resources and providing comprehensive services to children, youth, and families at the state and local levels, however, the law was never funded
Youth Development Community Block Grant (YDCBG) of 1995 (H.R. 2807/S. 673),	Consolidated more than 20 federal youth programs administered by the U.S. Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, and Justice in order to shift from categorical interventions to an overarching youth development approach	YDCBG was referred out of committee in both the House and Senate and then died
YouthBuild Transfer Act (P.L. 109-281) 2006	YouthBuild transferred from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to the U.S. Department of Labor because of DOL's mission of administering workforce and training programs	Program is now funded under the Workforce Investment Act
Tom Osborne Federal Youth Coordination Act (Title VIII of the Older Americans Act, P.L. 109-365) (2005), later incorporated into the reauthorization of the Older Americans Act (PL 109-365) as Title VIII. Reintroduced as the Federal Youth Coordination Act (2009).	Created the Federal Youth Development Council and specified that it would be chaired by the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. 2009 Act amended earlier Act to create the White House Office of National Youth Policy	The Council was authorized for FY2007 and FY2008, but was not ultimately established. Funds were not appropriated for these years. 2009 Act introduced but not enacted

Appendix D cont.

Executive Order 13459, 2008	Established an Interagency Working Group on Youth Programs, modeled after Helping America's Youth (HAY) initiative	Working Group received appropriation from Congress, through HHS, has convened town halls and meetings, published a draft strategic plan, and developed framework for plan
The Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention {JJDP Act of 1974 (P.L. 93-415)}	Coordinate programs and policies: juvenile delinquency prevention, unaccompanied juveniles, missing/exploited children	Council led by the Attorney General and the Administrator of OJJDP and includes the heads of all the federal agencies that touch on these broad areas, has more recently broadened its focus to other at-risk youth
Shared Youth Vision Initiative (2003)	U.S. Depts of Education, Health and Human Services, Justice, Labor, and the Social Security Administration partnered to improve communication and collaboration across at-risk youth programs	Interagency Work Group convened that conducted regional forums in 16 states to develop and coordinate policies and research, competitively funded states and provides technical assistance
Federal Mentoring Council (2006)	Address the ways that leadership teams of 8 agencies can combine resources and training and technical assistance to federally administered mentoring programs and to serve as a clearinghouse on federal mentoring	Since the Council was convened, it has met quarterly, maintains a website: http://www.federalmentoringcouncil.gov , and is an unfunded initiative with in-kind participation.
Child Welfare Partnerships (current)	HHS's Administration for Children and Families (ACF) has partnered with other agencies to focus on the mental health and educational needs of children in foster care	Jurisdictions have worked on action plans to implement strategies for collaboration, and they continue to implement these plans
Partnerships for Youth Transition (FY2003 - present)	HHS's Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) and ED's Office of Special Education cosponsor long-term support to young people ages 14 -25 with serious emotional disorders and mental illnesses	Evaluation of the program suggests that it has contributed to positive outcomes for youth, particularly in the areas of education and employment.
Safe Schools/Healthy Students (SS/HS) Initiative (FY 1999 – present)	HHS, ED, and DOJ have provided joint grant funding for the Safe Schools/Healthy Students Initiative: reduce violence and drug abuse at schools (K-12) and in communities	After-school and summer tutoring programs; recreational activities such as chess club; volunteering; and coordinated social service and academic activities for youth at risk of engaging in delinquent behavior, including mental health care services, peer mentoring, and parent workshops.
Drug-Free Communities Support Program (FY1997 – present)	SAMSHA, White House Office of National Drug Control Policy grants to community coalitions	Intended to strengthen the capacity of the coalitions to reduce substance abuse among youth (and adults) and to disseminate timely information on best practices for reducing substance abuse

Appendix E

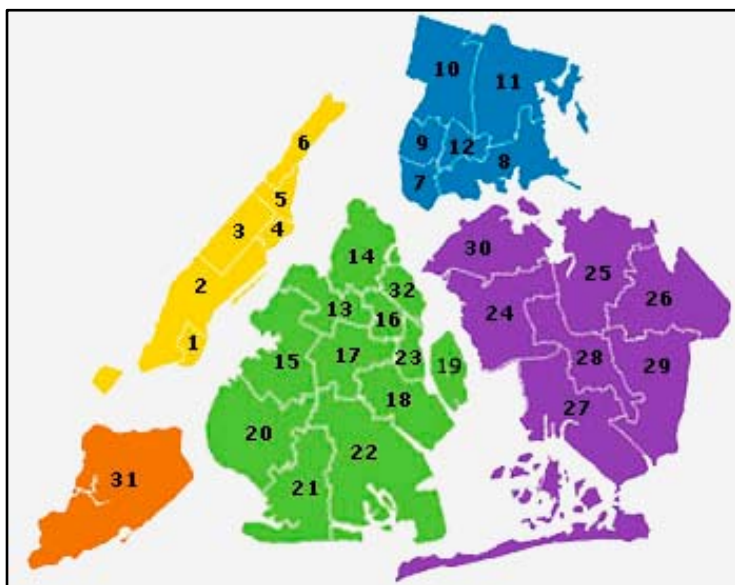
COMMUNITY DISTRICT MAP OF QUEENS, NY



(Weissman Center for International Business, Baruch College CUNY retrieved 8/23/15 from: <http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/nycdata/population-geography/maps-boroughdistricts.htm>)

Appendix F

NEW YORK CITY COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICTS (2015)



(Inside Schools, The Center for New York City Affairs, The New School, retrieved insideschools.org 8/3/2015)

Appendix G

YOUTH-SERVING AGENCIES IN NYC (NEW YORK (CITY), 2014)

Agency Name	Number of Youth Served FY 2014	Agency Budget for Youth FY 2014
Administration for Children's Services (ACS)	208,453	\$3 Billion
Department for the Aging (DFTA)	1,754	\$214,000
Department of Citywide Administrative Services (DCAS)	600	\$2 Million
Department of Correction (DOC)	3,558	\$52 Million
Department of Cultural Affairs (DCA)*	N/A	N/A
Department of Education (DOE)	1 Million	\$25.9 Billion
Department of Environmental Protection (DEP)	60,000	\$225,865
New York City Fire Department (FDNY)	300,000	\$900,000
Department of Health and Mental Hygiene (DOHMH)	2 Million	\$157.7 Million
Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC)	331,038	\$737.8 Million
Department of Homeless Services (DHS)	58,428	\$578 Million
New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA)	106,607	\$23.1 Million
Human Resources Administration (HRA)	26,004	\$3.1 Million
Department of Parks and Recreation (NYCPR)	88,599	N/A
New York City Police Department (NYPD)	78,000	\$567,000
Department of Probation (DOP)	21,927	\$35 Million
Brooklyn Public Library (BPL)	526,609	\$28.6 Million
New York Public Library (NYPL)	800,117	\$55.7 Million
Queens Borough Public Library (QPL)	851,404	\$21.8 Million
Department of Youth & Community Development (DYCD)	238,374	\$276.6 Million

*The Department of Cultural Affairs does not distinguish cultural activities by population.

Appendix H

NEW YORK CITY INTERAGENCY MEMBERSHIP (2015)

Direct youth services:

Administration for Children's Services
Department for the Aging
Department of Citywide Administrative Services
Department of Correction
Department of Cultural Affairs
Department of Education
Department of Environmental Protection
New York City Fire Department
Department of Health and Mental Hygiene
Health and Hospitals Corporation
Department of Homeless Services
New York City Housing Authority
Human Resources Administration
Department of Parks and Recreation
New York City Police Department
Department of Probation
Brooklyn Public Library
New York Public Library
Queens Borough Public Library
Department of Youth and Community Development

Indirect services for youth through policy and budget support:

The Council of the City of New York
Deputy Mayor's Office for Policy
Mayor's Office of AIDS Policy Coordination
Mayor's Office of City Legislative Affairs
Mayor's Office of the Criminal Justice Coordinator
Mayor's Office of Health Insurance Access
Mayor's Office of Operations
Mayor's Office for People with Disabilities
Mayor's Office of Management and Budget

Appendix I

“CRITICAL” PARTNERSHIPS FOR EDUCATION PROGRAMS WITH STUDENTS WHO ARE COURT-INVOLVED/ DISTRICT 79 (LISANTE, 2013)

City Agencies:

New York City Police Department/School Safety

ACS/Division of Youth and Family Justice Department of Probation

Department of Health and Mental Hygiene Department of Youth and

Community Development Department of Correction (East River Academy)

Interagency Committees/Networks:

NYC Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee

School Justice Taskforce

Alcohol/Substance Abuse Provider’s (ASAP) Youth Committee

ICC Court-Involved Youth Working Group (DYCD)

Re-Entry Education Network

Appendix J

PYD STUDY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: PYD PRACTITIONER

- P1: Could you please describe what positive youth development means to you? What are some examples of good practice, theory or policy?
- P2: In what ways, if any, do you believe that PYD contributes to social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities?
- P3: Could you please describe the area or program(s) related to youth development that you are currently engaged in? How did you become involved in this area or program?
- P4: What are some of the most significant successes that you have seen in your PYD work? What have been some of the most significant challenges?
- P5: Could you describe how your PYD work has involved external partners, in the county, state and beyond? i.e., private, public, non-profit sectors.
- P6: What resources have you found to be most helpful to your PYD work? Why? How have you used or plan to use these resources?
- P7: Could you describe some of the PYD policies/practices that have contributed to the successes and/or challenges that you/your organization have faced?
- P8: In what ways, if any, do you believe that PYD policies/practices in your county or organization have contributed to social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities?
- P9: What policies/practices have most hindered your work? Why? How have you incorporated or resisted such policies? Have you been engaged in the new development or changing of policies or practices?
- P10: In what ways do you believe that your/organization's practice has or will contribute positive youth development in the county? What does this look like to you?
- P11: Are there any other key sources of information, policies/practices or documents that you would recommend be included in this study?
- P12: Do you have any recommendations for other organizations or counties in creating and maintaining PYD?
- P13: Are there any other issues or questions that you would like to raise?

Appendix K

PYD STUDY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: GOVERNMENT AGENCY/FUNDER

- G1: Could you please describe what positive youth development means to you/your agency? What are some examples of good practice, theory or policy?
- G2: In what ways, if any, do you believe that PYD contributes to social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities?
- G3: Could you please describe the area(s) or policy(s) related to youth development that you/your agency are currently engaged in? How did you become involved?
- G4: What are some of the most significant successes that you have seen related to PYD work? What have been some of the most significant challenges?
- G5: Could you describe some of the most significant PYD policies/practices that have contributed to the successes and/or challenges that the county has faced?
- G6: Could you describe how your PYD work has involved partners in the county, state and beyond? i.e., private, public, non-profit sectors.
- G7: What resources have you found to be most helpful to your agency's PYD work? Why? How have you used or plan to use these resources?
- G8: What policies/practices have most hindered your agency's work? Why? How have you incorporated or resisted such policies? Have you been engaged in the new development or changing of policies or practices?
- G9: In what ways, if any, do you believe that PYD policies/practices in Queens county have contributed to social justice and equal opportunity in schools and communities?
- G10: Are there any other key sources of information, policies/practices or documents that you would recommend be included in this study?
- G11: Do you have any recommendations for other counties in creating and maintaining PYD?
- G12: Are there any other issues or questions that you would like to raise?

Appendix L

UD IRB APPROVAL LETTER



RESEARCH OFFICE

210 HULLIHEN HALL
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
NEWARK, DELAWARE 19716-1551
Ph: 302/831-2126
Fax: 302/831-2828

DATE: October 5, 2015

TO: Jennifer Fuqua
FROM: University of Delaware IRB

STUDY TITLE: [515700-3] The Policy and Practice of Positive Youth Development A Study of Queens, NY

IRB REFERENCE #
SUBMISSION TYPE: Continuing Review/Progress Report

ACTION: Approved for Data Analysis Only

APPROVAL DATE: October 5, 2015
EXPIRATION DATE: September 29, 2016
REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review

REVIEW CATEGORY: Expedited review category # (6.7)

Thank you for your submission of Continuing Review/Progress Report materials for this research study. The University of Delaware IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a study design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulation.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the study and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the study via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Federal regulations require each participant receive a copy of the signed consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this office prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported to this office. Please use the appropriate adverse event forms for this procedure. All sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

Please report all NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this study to this office.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of three years.

Appendix L continued.

Based on the risks, this project requires Continuing Review by this office on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate renewal forms for this procedure.

If you have any questions, please contact Nicole Farnese-McFarlane at (302) 831-1119 or nicolefm@udel.edu. Please include your study title and reference number in all correspondence with this office.