

Predicting Young Adult Civic Involvement From Adolescent Activities and Family Structure: A Social Capital Approach

*Tucker Brown**

ABSTRACT

This study employs a life-course approach to investigate the role of participation in school-based extracurricular activities as a compensatory source of social capital for adolescents, particularly those reared in non-traditional families and the effect of participation on early adult outcomes. Using Waves I and III from the Add Health data, civic involvement in young adulthood is examined. Interestingly, adolescent extracurricular activities are no more important for children from alternative family structures. However, benefits of participation are still evident from this examination, even when controlling for measures of social capital. Survey analysis techniques which control for the complex sampling design in Add Health are used.

Keywords: School-based extracurricular activities, participation, family structure, civic involvement

* *Austin Peay State University.*

INTRODUCTION

Analysis of the various outcomes related to extracurricular activity participation is an emerging area of interest in the study of adolescence (Eccles et al., 2003; Eccles and Gootman 2002; Eccles and Templeton, 2002; Mahoney, 2000; Mahoney and Cairns, 1997; Marsh, 1992; Marsh and Kleitman, 2002, 2003; McNeal, 1995, 1999a). Existing research investigating the effects of adolescent participation in school-based extracurricular activities has been outcome focused with participation being typified as a means to an end. Previous studies have illustrated predominately positive effects of participation on numerous educational and academic trajectories, as well as evidencing extracurricular activities as a deterrent to risky behaviors and substance use (for a review see Feldman and Matjasko, 2005). However, the literature has seldom accounted for the mechanisms which intervene in the relationship between extracurricular activity participation and its associated outcomes. This study concentrates on factors that mediate the effect of school-based extracurricular activity participation during adolescence on young adult outcomes and accounts for the influence of the social circumstances in which they occur.

Few studies of adolescent extracurricular activity participation have incorporated theoretical frameworks into their investigations. This investigation contributes to the existing body of work through the incorporation of a social capital framework (Coleman, 1988a, 1990; Furstenberg, 2005). Social capital theory has been applied to the study of the family and the education system, therefore, an investigation of school-based extracurricular activity participation among adolescents is a relevant extension of the theory.

Preceding analyses of extracurricular activities and their subsequent effects have relied on single-level cross sectional data in their examinations. Further, much of the existing research has focused on one outcome and few have used longitudinal data (for discussion see Eccles et al, 2003, Feldman and Matjasko, 2005; McNeal, 1995). This study expands the understanding of extracurricular activity participation by incorporating a life-course approach that employs longitudinal data solicited from adolescents and their parents. This research investigates the role of participation in school-based extracurricular activities and its subsequent effects on civic involvement in young adulthood. The analyses account for factors that potentially mediate the effect of participation in extracurricular activities from a social capital perspective.

Theoretical Perspective

Employed in this study are a life-course approach and a social capital framework for the investigation of factors mediating the effect of school-based extracurricular activities on early adult outcomes (high school graduation, college attendance, civic involvement, and illicit substance use). The life course perspective provides a framework for the exploration of multiple interdependent trajectories (Eckenrode and Gore 1990; Elder 1994). Viewed as a multilevel phenomenon, life course trajectories can include pathways through social institutions and organizations as well as the social trajectories of individuals and their developmental pathways (Elder, 1994). Life course theory is well suited to an investigation of extracurricular activities and their subsequent effect on young adult outcomes.

The framework adapted for this study builds from previous studies of how families reproduce, reciprocate, and transfer social capital to its members, and the subsequent academic outcomes that result (Bourdieu, 1973; Coleman, 1988). The conceptualization of social capital is borrowed from Furstenberg's (2005) discussion of how families create and distribute social capital, "Social capital- like human capital- is presumed to enhance life chances by mobilizing social rewards, reinforcing commonly shared standards, and gaining connections and assistance to achieve economic, political, and social ends" (p.812). Children also create social capital outside of the family with their links to the community and institutions (Furstenberg, 2005). In consideration of the perceived benefits of participating in school-based extracurricular activities, a framework drawing on social capital theory is a logical extension. This study explores the influence of family structure, race, gender, socioeconomic status, and intra-family and extra-family social capital as mediators to the effect of school-based extracurricular activity participation on civic involvement. These factors are theorized to influence the social capital resources of the adolescent and potentially influence the effect of extracurricular activity participation, a documented source of social capital.

Review of Literature

Adolescence. This study employs adolescents as its primary unit of observation. The period considered adolescence is formative and has the potential to influence future well-being in adulthood (Mullan, K. et al., 2002). Generating and obtaining social capital during adolescence is believed to cumulatively enhance the productive capabilities and life chances of the individual throughout the life course.

Social capital. Social capital is the conceptualization of one's networks and relationships and their interactions within the society in which they occur, ultimately increasing the productive ability of the individual or group (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Croninger and Lee, 2001). Social capital theory enables the investigation of the culture created within social systems (Furstenberg, 1996; Furstenberg and Hughes, 1995) and how this culture promotes positive outcomes for children (Croninger and Lee, 2001). Within this theoretical framework, extracurricular activities are perceived as an avenue for the generation of social capital separate from academics (Feldman and Matjasko, 2005). In this study, extracurricular activities are examined as a potential social network that facilitates the creation of social capital (White and Gager, 2006; Lin, 2001).

Extracurricular activities. School-based extracurricular activities have been shown to have a positive effect on academic success (Gerber, 1996). Seventy-percent of high-school students are involved in some form of school-based extracurricular activity and more than fifty percent participate in school appropriated sports (Eccles and Barber 1999; Barber et al., 2005). Longitudinal research has illustrated positive outcomes for adolescents who participate in extracurricular activities (Eccles and Barber, 1999; Larson, 2000). Intuitively, participation in school based extracurricular activities reduces the adolescent's unsupervised discretionary time and potentially socializes the adolescent to the culturally prescribed norms for occupational success (Eccles and Barber, 1999; Marsh 1992). Participation in extracurricular activities may potentially provide community connections and access to additional social capital beyond the adolescent's family (Casey, Ripke, & Huston, 2005; McNeal, 1999; Youniss et al., 1997). Considering the potential accumulation of social capital over the life course (Coleman, 1990) and participation in extracurricular activities as potential social capital, it is conceivable that positive effects would exist for both short and long term outcomes. This study examines the effect of the total number of extracurricular activities participated in and the effect of participation based on the type of activity. This is an important distinction and will provide a more thorough understanding of extracurricular activity participation (see McNeal, 1995).

Family structure. Increasingly, American children are being raised in single-parent families; this reflects a rise in U.S. divorce rates as well as the increasing birth rate of non-married mothers (Dawson, 1999). It is estimated that close to half of all recent first marriages will end in divorce (Castro and Bumpass, 1989; Cherlin, 1991, Bumpass, 1984). According to the 2000 census, single-parent households account for 28% of all households containing children, furthermore, 50% to 60% of all children will spend some time

living in a single-parent arrangement, most commonly with their mother (Simmons and O'Neil, 2001). Alternative family structures commonly result from a loss or trauma and often involve one parent moving out of the home (Biblarz and Raftery, 1999). Such events can be stressful in the immediate and can potentially impact future life course trajectories (Biblarz and Raftery, 1999; Amato and Booth 1997; Wallerstein 1989). Children reared in single parent family structures have reduced average educational, occupational, and earning achievement when compared to their two-parent counterpart (McLanahan, 1995; Amato and Keith, 1991b; Biblarz and Raftery 1993; McLanahan and Sundefur, 1994; Amato and Booth, 1997).

This trend has serious implications for children living with one biological parent in regards to frequency and availability of parental supervision and support. Residing with a single parent can contribute to less frequent participation in school related activities, reduced educational outcomes, negative health and emotional outcomes, and deviance, "It is conventional wisdom that children in single-parent families have less parental supervision than their counterparts in two-parent households" (Zick and Allen, 1996, p. 65). Even when the effects of family socioeconomic status are controlled, negative outcomes have been attributed to single parents' reduced involvement and less stringent supervision of children (Aquilino, 1996; McLanahan, 1997). In addition to single-parent families, children reared in step-parent families have outcomes that are typically worse than their two-biological parent counterparts. Commonly, this is attributed to a level of reduced supervision as the step-parent competes with the child for the attention of the biological parent while providing little additional supervision (Sandefur et. al, 1992).

The importance of adult supervision and positive influence during adolescence has been well documented and points to the disadvantage an adolescent faces when reared in a non-traditional structure (McLanahan and Sundefur, 1994). One explanation for the reduced outcomes associated with adolescents from non-traditional family structures is a reduction in available social capital (Coleman 1988a, 1990; Furstenberg, 2005). This reduction may be a result of compromised supervision and/or diminished availability of social resources in the community as a result of the structure (Furstenberg, 2005). The drawbacks of the situation are further exasperated when the lack of clearly defined roles, supports, and interventions for alternative families are accounted.

Extracurricular activities may have the potential to compensate for the theorized reduction in available social capital, for children raised in non-

traditional families. Previous studies have investigated and documented the role of extracurricular activities and their protective benefits for adolescent participants well into young adulthood (Eccles, et al., 2003; Landers and Landers, 1978). With this in mind, extracurricular activities may have the potential to serve as a surrogate parent by providing additional social capital to adolescents residing in non-traditional families and give adolescents the opportunity to connect with caring non-familial adults (Eccles, et al., 2003). Increasing involvement in these activities could act as a counterbalance to the documented social disadvantages an adolescent faces when residing in a non-traditional family structure.

Civic involvement. In this study, the conceptualization of civic involvement resembles Putnam's (1996) encompassment of civic engagement in *The Strange Disappearance of Civic America*, referring to, "people's connections with the life of their communities, not only with politics" (p. 2). In comparison to the past, Americans are less likely to civically participate and volunteer in their community, a vital component of democracy and social capital (Putnam, 2000; de Tocqueville (1835/1991). The decreased level of social trust among young Americans is pronounced (Putnam, 1995; Rahn and Transue, 1998) and civic participation in young adulthood appears less obligatory (Bennett and Bennett, 1990).

In discussion of family structure and its relationship to civic involvement, Putnam (1996) illustrated that when controlling for education, age, and race, single men and women, divorced, separated, and the never married are less trusting and less civically engaged than married people. With regard to adolescents from single-parent families, the available social capital is often reduced (Coleman, 1988a) which may negatively impact future civic involvement in young adulthood (Putnam, 1995). Further, adolescents reared in single-parent homes are less likely to participate in extracurricular activities (Harrison and Narayan, 2003) subsequently compounding the negative effects of family structure on civic involvement in young adulthood. Involvement in extracurricular activities during high school is positively associated with political engagement and related volunteer type activities in adulthood (Smith, 2003; Youniss, McLellan, Yang, and Yates, 1999; Youniss, McLellan, and Yates, 1997; Youniss, Yates, and Su; 1997).

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. To address the issue of causality, independent and control variables collected at Wave I are incorporated into analyses to control for their effects on young adult outcomes at Wave III. It is hypothesized that

there is a positive influence of overall participation in extra-curricular activities on young adult outcomes.

Hypothesis 2. Further, it is hypothesized that the effect of extracurricular activities is non-linear. It is believed that increases in activities at low levels of the activities scale are more important than increases at the high end.

Hypothesis 3. The next hypotheses pertain to variables representative of the parent-child relationship, key components of intra-family social capital. It is posited that adolescents who perceive a close-caring relationship with either parent will be positively related to civic involvement in young adulthood when compared to adolescents who do not perceive a close-caring relationship with at least one parent. For the parental control measures, it is hypothesized that in comparison to adolescents who perceive their parents as moderately controlling, adolescents who perceive their parents as exercising low control or high control will have a lower tendency to becoming civically involved.

Hypothesis 4. A second set of variables indicative of intra-family social capital are hypothesized to impact young adult outcomes. These measures include parental educational expectations and parental involvement with the adolescent's education. It is hypothesized that adolescents who perceive their parents as having increased expectations for high school graduation and college graduation will be more civically involved in comparison to adolescents who do not perceive their parents to have expectations for high school or college graduation. Also, it is posited that adolescents who perceive their parent(s) as involved with their education will be more likely to be civically involved as young adults when compared to adolescents who do not perceive their parents as involved with their education.

Hypothesis 6. With respect to social capital resources outside of the family, it is hypothesized that adolescents from families that attend religious services will have increased propensity to being civically involved when compared to adolescents from families not attending religious services. Also, it is hypothesized that adolescents who have parents that are civically involved will have an increased tendency to being civically involved when compared to adolescents with parents who are not civically involved. Parental networking, an additional source of social capital, is predicted to positively influence civic involvement in comparison to adolescents with parents that are not in contact with the friends of their offspring.

Hypothesis 7. Additionally, it is hypothesized that activities will be less important in models controlling for intra-family and extra-family social capital because it is believed that an important aspect of participation in extracurricular activities is the exposure to positive mentorship. This may compensate for the reduced levels of intra-family and extra-family social capital available to non-traditional families.

Methods

Data

National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) was chosen for its ability to predict high school graduation, college attendance, civic involvement in young adulthood, and young adult drug use for respondents who resided in non-traditional family structures during adolescence. Add Health is a nationally representative study exploring the causes of adolescent health-related behavior among 7th through 12th graders and their associated outcomes in young adulthood (www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth). Add Health examines the role of social contexts (families, friends, peers, schools, neighborhoods, and communities) and the influence of context on adolescents' health and risk behaviors (www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth). The data were collected in two waves between 1994 and 1996 and solicited information at the individual, family, school, and community levels (www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth). Add Health respondents from Wave I were re-interviewed in 2001 and 2002, creating a third wave examining the impact of adolescence on young adulthood (www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth). At the time of the Wave III re-interviews, the respondents' ages ranged from 18-26, providing opportunity for the assessment of adolescence experiences on young adulthood outcomes (www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth). The study originates with an in-school questionnaire administered to a nationally representative sample of students in grades 7 through 12 (www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth). Then, the study reconvenes with a series of in-home interviews of students approximately one, two, and six years later (www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth). The original respondents are re-interviewed, allowing the direct measurement of the influence of their experiences at one point in time on their choices and the consequences of their choices at another time. (www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth).

Analytic Method

Young adult civic involvement was predicted using linear regression and. The complex sample design of Add Health is accounted for through the incorporation of analytic weights. STATA has been chosen for analysis due to its ability to handle complex survey data and is equipped with survey functions. Survey functions allow the incorporation of variables adjusting for weight, stratified variables, and clustering. This prevents the biasing of estimates and standard errors.

Measures

Dependent Variables

Civic involvement. Data assessing civic involvement are taken from the in-home questionnaire administered during Wave III. Adolescents are asked to indicate for which, if any, civic activities they have participated within the last twelve months. The activities include: volunteer or community service, donated blood, registered to vote, and voted in the last presidential election. The responses to these questionnaire items are coded one for yes (indicating participation) and zero for no participation. Civic involvement is assessed by combining questionnaire items regarding activity participation of the young adult to form composite involvement scores. Composites involvement scores range from zero to four. Zero is indicative of no civic involvement and a score of four is the maximum amount of involvement possible.

Activity Variables

Overall extracurricular activity participation. Data on extracurricular activity participation are taken from the in-school questionnaire administered during Wave I. Adolescents are asked to indicate for which, if any, extracurricular activities they participate. The activities include a list of thirty activities which can be categorized as clubs, arts, service, and sports. The responses to these questionnaire items are coded one for yes (indicating participation) and zero for no participation. Total activity scores (formed by adding all possible activities) range from zero to thirty three, the maximum amount of participation possible. Due to small numbers of cases and the unlikelihood of an adolescent being able to participate in over 10 activities in a given school year, the participation variable was limited to responses of zero to ten. Students reporting more than 10 activities were dropped from the analysis as it is believed that these students were not responding honestly to the questionnaire. Existing studies have conceptualized

extracurricular activity participation in similar terms and have treated participation as a proxy to normative embeddings (McNeal, 1995; Coleman, 1988). Further, in this analysis the index of activities is not centered. Because the activity index ranges from 0 to 10, it was not necessary to center the variable because with the limited range of the data activities and the non-linear measure of activities are not overly correlated. Further, the change from zero to one is meaningful and of particular interest, so it is more useful for the simple slope than the centered variable would be.

Non-linear measure of extracurricular activity participation. To test for a potential non-linear relationship of extracurricular activity on young adult outcomes, extracurricular activity participation is squared and included in the models.

Family Structure

The family structure variable comes from the family situation at wave I. Similar to previous studies of family structure, these measures of family type do well at encapsulating the major effects of the various structures (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994; Biblarz and Raftery, 1999; Wojtkiewicz, 1993). A series of dummy variables were created with the reference (omitted) group being the two biological (or adopted) family structure. The dummy variables are *single mom*, *single dad*, and *step-parent*. Building off of the work of Amato (2000) the single-parent family structure is conceptualized as a household containing at least one-biological parent or adoptive parent and no stepparent. Children living with one parent and the parent's cohabiting partner were coded as living with single parents, because of the instability of the cohabitation situation. Step-parent households included those living with either the mother and step-father or the father and step-mother. Children living with neither parent, such as children living with grandparents, in foster care or on their own were removed from the analysis as many of our focal variables concerned parental influence.

Demographics

Race/ethnicity. Respondents were asked to indicate their race and ethnicity and were given a list of responses from which to choose. Regardless of race, all respondents indicating they were Hispanic were coded as Hispanics. Those individuals who identify themselves as multi-racial are classified using their response to the "best race" question which asks them to select the one or "best" race with which they most closely identify. Those not choosing

a best race and American Indians or Pacific islanders are classified as others. Our final race/ethnicity list includes: non-Hispanic white, Hispanic, Black, Asian, and other.

Gender. The respondent's gender (male or female) at Wave III is recorded (the Wave III measure contains some corrections to the Wave I measure). Dummy variables are constructed with males serving as the reference group in all analyses.

Age. The respondent's age at Wave I is recorded in years.

Socioeconomic Status

Parental education. The parental education variable comes from Wave I of the parent questionnaire. Parental education is computed by taking the maximum value of either the respondent's mother's or father's highest educational attainment. In single parent homes, the education of the resident parent was used. Commonly, the average level of parental education is used as an indicator of socioeconomic. However, the maximum value of either parent is employed in this analysis because it is presumed that the highest level of either parent's education is more influential, and a better predictor than the average education of both parents. The values range from one to four. Those responding that they had no degree or a high school degree were coded one. Those respondents whose highest educational attainment was some college were coded two. Respondents who had a college degree are coded three and those respondents with education beyond four years of college are coded four.

Parental occupational prestige. Occupational prestige is taken from Wave I of the parent questionnaire. Similar to parental education, the occupational prestige variable is derived by taking the maximum value of the resident mother or father's occupational prestige. In single parent homes, the occupational prestige of the single parent was used. To compute occupational prestige respondents who indicate they are unemployed or working in service or blue collar jobs are coded 1. Those who work in technical or clerical positions are coded 2 and the respondents with professional or managerial employment are coded 3.

Household income. The income variable is taken from the Wave I parent questionnaire. Parents were asked to report their total household income before taxes and to include their income, income from others in the house, welfare benefits, dividends, and all other sources of income in their

calculation. Responses range from \$0 to \$999,000 and were operationalized into four mutually exclusive categories. Those with incomes between zero and \$24,000 were typed low income, those households with an income ranging between \$25,000 and \$49,000 were coded middle income, and household incomes above \$50,000 are typed as high income households. High income households are the reference group in all analyses. Due to the frequency of occurrence, all missing values were combined to form a missing category employed for analysis.

Intra-Family Social Capital

Adolescent's perception of parental closeness and caring. In Wave I, the adolescents are asked how close they feel to their parents. Then, they are asked how much they feel their mother and father cares about them. The responses to those items range from not at all (coded 1) to very much (coded 5). The results were then dummy coded so that responses of 4 or greater for either question were assigned 1 and responses of less than 4 were coded zero. A coding of 1 is indicative of feeling close to a parent or feeling that parent's care for the adolescent. If the adolescent reported feeling close to either their mother or father they were coded one for parental closeness and if they reported that they felt either their mother or father cared about them were coded one. These variables were then combined to form a composite measure of the adolescent's perception of parental closeness and care ranging from zero to 2. This variable is then employed for analysis.

Adolescent's perception of parental control. The variable parental control is created with data extracted from Wave I of the in-home questionnaire. Adolescents are asked a series of questions regarding whether or not their parents let them make decisions regarding: time to be home on weekend nights; the people they hang around with; what to wear; how much television to watch; what is watched on television; what time to go to bed on weeknights; and what to eat. The responses to these questions are coded one for yes, adolescent decides on own, and zero for no, adolescent not allowed to make the decision. Responses are then scaled to form composite scores. Adolescents with scores ranging from five to seven are typed as having parents who exercise less control and are coded 1 on low control. Scores ranging from two to four are typed as having parents who exercise moderate control and are the reference group. Those adolescents with scores ranging from zero to one are considered to have parents who exercise most control and are coded 1 on high control.

Perceived parental expectations for high school graduation. Parent's college expectation is taken from the Wave I in-home questionnaire. Adolescents are asked how disappointed would their mother would be if they did not graduate from high school. The questions are repeated for the adolescent's father. Responses range from one to five and a response of one indicates the lowest disappointment level and low expectation. A response of five is indicative of the highest disappointment and thus a high expectation for high school graduation. The variable is recoded into a dummy variable with scores ranging from one to three assigned a zero and are the reference group, and scores of four or greater are coded one. The reference group is considered low parental high school expectations and a score of one is labeled as high expectation for college graduation. The maximum value of either the adolescent's mother's or father's expectation for high school graduation is employed in the analysis and single-parent families have the only parent's expectation for high school graduation score used.

Perceived parental expectations for college graduation. Parent's college expectation is taken from the Wave I in-home questionnaire. Adolescent's are asked how disappointed would their mother be if you did not graduate from college. The questions are repeated for the adolescent's father. The variables are combined and recoded in an identical manner to high school graduation expectations, with low expectations serving as the reference group. A score of one is indicative of at least one parent being disappointed if the adolescent did not graduate from college.

Perceived parental educational involvement. Parental educational involvement is computed by taking the maximum value of either the adolescent's mother's or father's educational involvement score, with children living with a single parent having that parent's score assigned to the school involvement variable. Mother's and father's school involvement are composite scores derived from the Wave I in-home questionnaire. Adolescents were asked if in the past four weeks they have done the following with their mother: talked about school work or grades; worked on a school project; or talked about other things you are doing in school. The questions are repeated for the adolescent's father. The involvement items are coded one for yes and zero for no. The items are combined to form composite scores for both the mother and father. Composite scores range from zero to three. Those scoring zero and one are typed as low involved parents and those with scores of two and three are considered high involved parents. Low involved parents are the reference category for the dummy variable and high involved parents are coded one.

Extra-Family Social Capital

Family religious service attendance. Data for this variable are taken from both the Wave I adolescent in-home questionnaire and the parent questionnaire. It should be noted that the parent questionnaire was administered to the adolescent's primary caretaker, so the parental religious service attendance measure is based on the primary caregiver's response. Both the adolescents and their parent or primary caregiver are asked how often they have attended religious services in the past 12 months. Those attending once a week or more are coded 3, once a month or more but not every week are coded 2, those attending less than once a month are coded 1, and those never attending religious services are coded 0. The adolescent responses are then combined with the parental responses to form a family religious service attendance scale ranging from zero (never attending) to six (maximum attendance).

Parental civic involvement. Data for this variable are taken from the Wave I parent questionnaire. The adolescent's primary caregiver is asked to indicate of which of the following activities they have participated: parent/teacher organization, military veteran's organization, labor union, hobby or sports group, or a civic or social organization. The responses are coded 1 indicating participation and zero for no participation. Then the responses are combined to form a composite score for parental civic involvement. Composite scores range from zero (no participation) to 5 (maximum participation).

Parental networking. Data for this variable are taken from the Wave I parent questionnaire. The adolescent's primary caregiver is asked to indicate how many of the parents of their son's or daughter's friends they have talked with in the last four weeks. Responses range from zero to 6 or more. These responses were then collapsed and recoded. Those parents who had not talked to the parent's of their son's or daughter's friends in the past month were coded zero, those parent's who had talked to 1 or 2 of their son's or daughter's friends were coded 1, those parent's who had talked to 3 or 4 of their son's or daughter's friends were coded 2, those parent's who had talked to 5 or more of their son's or daughter's friends were coded 3.

Adolescent work history. Data for this variable are taken from the Wave I in-home questionnaire. Adolescents are asked to indicate how many hours they work for pay in a typical non-summer week. Responses range from zero to 60 hours per week. These responses were then used to create a series of dummy variables representative of the adolescent's employment experience. Adolescents not working during a typical non-summer school week serve as

the reference group to which all comparisons will be made. The dummies for working 1-10, 11-20, 21-30, 31-40, and over 40 hours a week are coded 1 and all others are coded zero. Dummies were used to investigate a possible curvilinear effect, with low amounts being beneficial and large amounts being harmful.

Interaction Variables

Three interaction variables are tested in the final model. The interactions include: step-parent family structures by extracurricular activity participation, single mother family structures by extracurricular activity participation, and single father family structures by extracurricular activities. The interaction variables were constructed by multiplying the family structure variables by the activity variables.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 includes the entire descriptive statistics for all of the variables in the sample as a whole. The total sample utilized for this analysis consists of 11,023 adolescents. Overall, adolescents in this study participate in an average of 2.17 extracurricular activities (Table 1). Among the adolescents sampled 62% lived with both parents, 11% resided with one biological parent and one step-parent, 24% were living with just their biological mother, and 3% were living with only their biological father. Males and females are equally represented in this study. The racial/ethnic composition of this sample is 10% Hispanic, 16% African-American, 4% Asian, 2% of other races, and 68% white. The average age of the respondent at the time of the Wave I data collection was 15.77 years, with the minimum age being 12 and the maximum age of 21.

The average level of parental education (4-point scale) is 3.08 and the average parental occupational prestige (3-point scale) for the sample is 2.76. The distribution of household income in this sample is as follows 21% of the families report missing incomes, 22% of the families report low incomes, 27% of the families report middle incomes, and 30% are high income households (Table 1). Because of the frequency of the response, those who did not report an income are included in the analysis. In terms of parental control, 69% of the parents in the sample are perceived as exercising low control, 24% are perceived as exercising moderate control, and 7% are perceived as highly controlling. The average perception of parental closeness and care is 1.73 and 79% of the sample report a perceived close and caring relationship with at least one parent. Of the respondents surveyed, 51%

perceived their parents to be involved with their education. With regard to parental educational expectations, 84% of the sample perceived their parents as having increased expectations for high school graduation and 64% believed their parents to have increased expectations for college graduation (Table 1).

The average family attended religious service attendance score was 3.99 (7-point scale). In this study the average parent was civically involved in .76 activities (6-point scale) and scored 1.31 on talking to their offspring's friends' parents in the past month scale. Among the adolescents sampled, 47% were unemployed, 28% worked between 1 and 10 hours, 13% worked between 11 and 20 hours a week, 7% between 21 and 30 hours a week, 3% between 31 and 40 hours a week, and 1% working beyond 40 hours a week (Table 1). With respect to the dependent variable, the average level of young adult civic involvement is 2.02 activities and the mean for drug use is .40 indicating that the average respondent is moderately civically involved.

Presented in Table 2 are the means, or proportions for categorical variables, and the linearized standard errors for all of the independent and the dependent variable, separated by family structure. Also, the homogeneity of the family structures across variables is tested by computing a Pearson chi-square statistic and the results are presented in Table 2. Pearson chi-square statistics with p-values of .05 or less are denoted with an asterisk and indicate a statistically significant, dependent relationship of family structure to the variable in question. Weights correcting for the complex nature of the survey design are applied to correct for the biasing of estimates and standard errors.

In terms of the focal variables extracurricular activity participation and family structure, adolescents from step-parent families participate in an average of 2.28 activities, adolescents from single-mother families participate in an average of 2.19 activities, adolescents from single-father families participate in an average of 2.28 activities, and adolescents from two biological parent families participate in an average of 2.46 activities (Table 2). Thus, adolescents from traditional families participate the most and adolescents from single mother families the least. Single father families have the lowest average levels of family religious service attendance and traditional families have the highest. Single mother family structures have the lowest average scores on civic involvement and traditional families having the highest. For parent networking, single father families have the lowest averages while two biological parent families are the most networked. With regard to the indicators of community-based social capital,

traditional families have higher levels on average (Table 2). These descriptive findings are in accord with Coleman's (1990) assertions that changes in the family in terms of physical and psychological availability of the parents may have adverse effects for the offspring's accumulation of social capital. Adolescents have different employment distributions by family structure with children from single mother families least likely to be employed and children from single father and step-parent households most likely to work 21 or more hours per week. Adolescents reared in single mother and single father families have the lowest average civic involvement. Congruent with the relevant literature, traditional families fare better on most of the measures in this analysis.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for the Entire Sample

<i>Activity Variables</i>	Mean	N	Standard Error	Min	Max
Overall participation	2.17	10900	0.05	0	10
Overall participation squared	8.62	10900	0.32		
Arts	0.28	11023	0.01	0	1
Clubs	0.33	11023	0.01	0	1
Service	0.22	11023	0.01	0	1
Sports	0.58	11023	0.01	0	1
<i>Family Structure</i>		10460			
Step-parent family	0.11	1088	0.00	0	1
Single mother	0.24	2673	0.01	0	1
Single father	0.03	350	0.00	0	1
Two Biological Parents	0.62	6349	0.01	0	1
<i>Demographics</i>					
Hispanic	0.10	1716	0.02	0	1
Black	0.16	2408	0.02	0	1
Asian	0.04	834	0.04	0	1
Other	0.02	211	0.00	0	1
White	0.68	5854	0.03	0	1
Female	0.50	5923	0.01	0	1
Male	0.50	5100	0.01	0	1
Age	15.77	11018	0.13	12	21
12.00		5			
13.00		924			
14.00		1381			
15.00		1795			
16.00		2149			
17.00		2217			
18.00		1915			
19.00		572			
20.00		52			
21.00		8			
<i>Socioeconomic Status</i>					
<i>Parent's education (Max)</i>	3.08	11023	0.04	2	5
Beyond college		1521			
College degree		2718			
Some college		2310			
HS or less		4474			
<i>Income</i>		11023			
Missing	0.21	2625	0.01	0	1
Low	0.22	2339	0.01		
Middle	0.27	2840	0.01		
High	0.30	3219	0.02		
<i>Parent's occupational prestige</i>	2.76	11023	0.02	2	4
Professional or mgmt.		3833			
Technical or clerical		2667			
Service, blue collar, or unemployed		4523			

Table 1 (continued)
 Descriptive Statistics for the Entire Sample

	Mean	N	Standard Error	Min	Max
<i>Intra-Family Social Capital</i>					
<i>Parental Control</i>					
Less control	0.69	7676	0.01	0	1
Moderate control	0.24	2485	0.01	0	1
High control	0.07	730	0.01	0	1
<i>Parental care and closeness</i>					
Most care and closeness(2)	1.73	11010	0.01	0	2
1.00	0.79	8570			
No care or closeness(0)	0.15	1729			
	0.06	711			
<i>Parent's School Involvement</i>					
Involved (1)	1.52	11023	0.01	1	2
Uninvolved	0.51	5731			
	0.49	5292			
<i>Parent's Expectation for HS</i>					
High (1)	0.84	10980	0.01	0	1
Low	0.84	9208			
	0.16	1772			
<i>Parent's Expectation for College</i>					
High (1)	0.64	11023	0.01	0	1
Low	0.63	7096			
	0.37	3927			
<i>Extra-Family Social Capital</i>					
Family religious service attendance	3.99	8121	0.03	0	6
Parental civic involvement	0.76	9311	0.02	0	5
Parent networking	1.31	9576	0.03	0	3
<i>Adolescent Work Experience</i>					
Not working	0.47	5395	0.01	0	1
1-10 hrs/wk	0.28	2839	0.01	0	1
11-20 hrs/wk	0.13	1495	0.01	0	1
21-30 hrs/wk	0.07	779	0.01	0	1
31-40 hrs/wk	0.03	354	0.00	0	1
More than 40hrs/wk	0.01	64	0.00	0	1
<i>Dependent Variable (Wave III)</i>					
Civic Involvement	2.02	10779	0.04	0	5
Max involvement		306			
4.00		1153			
3.00		2402			
2.00		3090			
1.00		2202			
No involvement		1626			

Table 2
 Descriptive Statistics by Family Structure

Activity Variables	Two biological parents		Step-parent		Single mother		Single father		p
	Mean	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Error	
Overall participation	2.46	0.07	2.28	0.13	2.19	0.08	2.28	0.19	0.0006*
Overall participation squared	10.20	0.46	9.32	0.82	8.76	0.54	8.98	1.04	0.0006*
<i>Demographics</i>									
White	0.76	0.03	0.71	0.04	0.59	0.04	0.73	0.06	0.0001*
Black	0.09	0.02	0.11	0.02	0.28	0.03	0.14	0.05	0.0001*
Hispanic	0.10	0.02	0.13	0.02	0.10	0.02	0.08	0.03	0.8500
Asian	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.0001*
Other	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.02	0.5800
Female	0.50	0.01	0.49	0.03	0.54	0.02	0.43	0.05	0.001*
Age	15.25	0.12	15.40	0.14	15.30	0.13	15.34	0.18	0.0900
<i>Socioeconomic Status</i>									
Parent's max education	3.24	0.04	3.05	0.06	2.87	0.05	3.05	0.13	0.0001*
Parent's max occ. Prestige	3.09	0.03	2.96	0.05	2.76	0.03	2.52	0.10	0.0001*
Missing income	0.11	0.01	0.09	0.02	0.11	0.01	0.10	0.03	0.2700
Low income	0.14	0.01	0.22	0.03	0.53	0.02	0.30	0.05	0.0001*
Middle income	0.31	0.01	0.32	0.03	0.26	0.02	0.32	0.05	0.0700
High income	0.44	0.02	0.37	0.03	0.12	0.02	0.28	0.04	0.0001*
<i>Intra-Family Social Capital</i>									
Parental closeness and care	1.80	0.01	1.46	0.04	1.88	0.01	1.85	0.05	0.0001*
Low control	0.63	0.02	0.61	0.03	0.68	0.02	0.79	0.04	0.0001*
High control	0.07	0.01	0.08	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.15	0.03	0.1700
Moderate control	0.30	0.02	0.31	0.03	0.26	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.02*
Parental expectations for HS grad	0.86	0.01	0.81	0.02	0.87	0.01	0.87	0.03	0.003*
Parental expectations for college grad	0.67	0.01	0.53	0.03	0.71	0.02	0.70	0.06	0.0001*
Parental school involvement	1.54	0.01	1.59	0.03	1.52	0.02	1.50	0.05	0.02*
<i>Extra-Family Social Capital</i>									
Family religious service attendance	4.24	0.06	3.45	0.13	3.70	0.10	3.12	0.23	0.0001*
Parental civic participation	0.88	0.03	0.69	0.05	0.64	0.04	0.71	0.09	0.0001*
Parent networking	1.51	0.03	1.20	0.06	1.13	0.04	0.99	0.10	0.0001*
<i>Adolescent Work Experience</i>									
Not working	0.49	0.01	0.47	0.03	0.53	0.02	0.48	0.06	0.005*
1-10 hrs/wk	0.35	0.01	0.28	0.02	0.29	0.02	0.28	0.06	0.01*
11-20 hrs/wk	0.10	0.01	0.15	0.02	0.11	0.01	0.14	0.04	0.046*
21-30 hrs/wk	0.04	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.08	0.03	0.1200
31-40 hrs/wk	0.02	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.5800
More than 40hrs/wk	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.2500
<i>Dependent Variable (Wave III)</i>									
Civic involvement in young adulthood	2.14	0.04	1.90	0.06	1.86	0.05	1.85	0.10	0.0001*

* p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Results

Previous research has illustrated a positive relationship of participation in school-based extracurricular activities on civic involvement in young adulthood (Smith, 2003; Youniss, McLellan, Yang, and Yates, 1999; Youniss, McLellan, and Yates, 1997; Youniss, Yates, and Su; 1997). Further, the more social capital resources from which an adolescent may draw are believed to foster civic involvement in young adulthood. Because social capital resources available to the adolescent may be reduced in non-traditional families, extracurricular activities are analyzed for effects that may counterbalance the documented disadvantages. This analysis operationalizes indicators of young adult civic involvement creating an index and composite civic involvement scores for each respondent to be employed in linear regression analyses. The indicators include volunteering or community service in the past 12 months, blood donations in the past 12 months, being registered to vote, and having voted in the last presidential election. Six theoretical constructs are posited for analysis. These include: extracurricular activity participation, social location and family demographics, intra-family social capital, extra-family social capital, school-based perceptions and behaviors, and psycho-social adjustment.

Base Model

Model 1 produced a pseudo r-square of .053 (Table 3). The results indicate a positive non-linear association of extracurricular activity participation with civic involvement in young adulthood. The effect of participating in extracurricular activities becomes less beneficial to civic involvement in young adulthood after participation surpasses seven activities. The focal variable family structure significantly predicts civic involvement in young adulthood. Adolescents residing in step-parent, single mother, and single father families are negatively related to civic involvement in young adulthood when compared to adolescents reared by both biological parents.

Demographic Model

Model 2 controls for demographic measures (Table 3). Importantly, extracurricular activity participation and family structure remain as significant predictors of civic involvement in young adulthood. There is a positive non-linear effect of extracurricular activities and alternative family structures negatively predict civic involvement in young adulthood. When analyzed with the focal independent variables, the effect of being an African-American no longer has a significant effect on civic involvement in

young adulthood when compared to whites (model 2, Table 3). This finding may be attributable to the disproportionate amount of African-American adolescents being reared in single parent family structures (Cherlin, 1992). Because there is only one parent the resources to social capital are reduced by half. Therefore, the negative effect of being an African-American on civic involvement is possibly mediated by the family structure. However when compared with non-Hispanic white adolescents, Hispanic, Asian, and adolescents of other races maintain significant negative relationships with civic involvement in young adulthood (model 2, Table 3). Again, this finding could reflect a lack of citizenship among these populations that impedes civic involvement. Gender is not a significant predictor in this model and age becomes a positive predictor of civic involvement.

Socioeconomic Status Model

Next, socioeconomic status indicators are incorporated (model 3, Table 3). Of the focal variables, extracurricular activity participation retains a significantly positive non-linear relationship with civic involvement in young adulthood. The effect size of extracurricular activity participation is reduced by the inclusion of socioeconomic indicators. Stepparent families remain as a significant negative predictor of civic involvement in young adulthood. But, including indicators of socioeconomic status causes the effect of single-mother and single-father family structures to no longer significantly differ from traditional families with respect to civic involvement. This model suggests that the negative effects of single-parent family structures on civic involvement in young adulthood are mediated through socioeconomic status. Relevant studies of socioeconomic status and its relationship to civic involvement have shown that those of lower socioeconomic statuses tend to be less civically involved (Putnam, 1996). With regard to civic involvement, socioeconomic status may function as a proxy for social capital. It has been suggested that those of lower socioeconomic statuses may have a shorter reach for attaining social capital (Furstenberg, 2005; Coleman, 1988a; 1990). So if civic involvement is fostered by social capital, this may explain the loss of significance for the single mother and father families as predictors and supports diminished social capital as an explanation for the negative effect of non-traditional family structures on civic involvement in young adulthood.

In relation to civic involvement in young adulthood, the effect of race is not significantly different from the previous model even when measures of socioeconomic status are controlled. However, the effect size of Hispanics is reduced when socioeconomic measures are introduced. Gender remains

insignificant and age retains a positive effect. In terms of the socioeconomic indicators, parental education and parental occupational prestige are positive predictors of civic involvement in young adulthood. Therefore, adolescents whose parents are more educated and hold more prestigious occupations positively predict civic involvement in comparison to adolescents reared by less educated parents with less prestigious occupations. Missing, low, or middle income households negatively predict civic involvement in young adulthood when compared with their high income equivalents (Table 3). Since single-mother families are the most common non-traditional family and income not family structure predicts low civic involvement, this finding lends support to the notion of the importance of diminished social capital resources as a significant disadvantage of non-traditional families (Coleman, 1988a, 1990; Putnam, 1996).

Intra-Family Social Capital

Parent-child relationship. Model 4 examines the parent-child relationship for effects on civic involvement in young adulthood (Table 3). The effects and relationships of extracurricular activity participation, family structure, demographics, and family socioeconomic status are not significantly different from model 3 (Table 3). Parental caring and closeness is the only significant predictor of civic involvement in young adulthood. Adolescents who feel they have a caring and close relationship with at least one parent are positively associated with civic involvement as a young adult in comparison to adolescents who do not perceive a caring and close relationship. Parental control during adolescence is not related to civic involvement in young adulthood.

Parental educational expectations and involvement. Measures of the adolescent's perceptions of their parent's educational expectations and educational involvement were incorporated into model 5 (Table 3). Expectations and educational involvement are elements of the family culture that inspire trust and reciprocity, the foundation of social capital (Coleman, 1988a). With the exception of missing income households and perceived parental closeness and caring being reduced to non-significance (model 5, Table 3) none of the variables from the previous analysis are significantly affected by the incorporation of these variables. These results suggest that the effects of missing income households and perceived parental closeness and caring on young adult civic involvement are mediated through parental educational expectations and involvement. Extracurricular activity participation retains a positive non-linear effect on civic involvement in young adulthood.

Adolescents from stepparent households remain negative predictors of civic involvement in young adulthood.

The results indicate that parental educational involvement and parental expectations for college attendance significantly predict civic involvement in young adulthood. Compared to adolescents with uninvolved parents, those adolescents whose parent(s) are involved with their education are positively related to civic involvement in young adulthood. Adolescents who perceive their parent(s) as having increased expectations for college attendance positively predict civic involvement in young adulthood. The adolescent's perception of parental expectations for high school graduation did not significantly predict civic involvement in young adulthood.

Extra-Family Social Capital

Model 6 (Table 3) introduces measures of extra-family social capital. Family religious service attendance, parental civic participation, and parental networking serve as indicators of extra-family social capital and research has shown that families with increased levels of social capital are more likely to have offspring that civically participate (Bourdieu, 1973; Putnam, 1996). All of the extra-family social capital indicators positively predict civic involvement in young adulthood. Parental civic participation is the strongest predictor of their offspring's involvement and is likely a reflection of the familial culture regarding the establishment of and conformity to expectations, trust, and reciprocation (Bourdieu, 1973; Coleman 1988a).

Controlling for extra-family social capital, extracurricular participation persists as a positive non-linear predictor of civic involvement in young adulthood. However, the negative effect of being reared in a stepparent family disappears when controlling for extra-family social capital. This finding is consistent with previous studies of social capital and family structure citing reductions in available social capital as an explanation for the negative effect of the step-parent family structure (Furstenberg, 2005; Coleman, 1988a; 1990).

In terms of the other variables in the model, Blacks are not significantly different from non-Hispanic whites. Hispanics, Asians, and adolescents of other races negatively predict civic involvement in young adulthood, possibly a reflection of citizenship and voter eligibility. With the exception of Blacks, the other race/ethnicities have increased effect sizes when controlling for extra-family social capital. Females are no different from males and age remains a significant positive predictor of civic involvement

during young adulthood. Parental education and occupational prestige maintain significant positive relationships with civic involvement in young adulthood. None of the income measures significantly predict civic involvement when extra-family social capital measures are controlled. This further supports the assertion that negative effects of lower and middle level incomes may be due to having less social capital to draw upon (Putnam, 1996). It may not be the economic disadvantage that negatively effects civic involvement in young adulthood, but the lack of community based social capital. The effect of the parent-child relationship variables is consistent with the model 5 (Table 3). Of the educational expectation and involvement variables, only parental school involvement significantly predicts civic involvement when extra-family social capital is controlled. The effect of perceived parental expectations for college graduation is the same size but loses its significance, suggesting some collinearity between parental college expectations and extra-family social capital.

Adolescent Work Experience

The adolescent's work experience is incorporated into model 7 (Table 3). Adolescents who worked 1-10 hours or 31-40 hours a week are positively associated with civic involvement in young adulthood when compared to their unemployed counterpart. Regarding civic involvement in young adulthood, adolescents who worked 11-20 hours, 21-30 hours, or more than 40 hours a week do not significantly differ from unemployed adolescents. However, all of the coefficients are positive, suggesting that working is associated with greater civic involvement in young adulthood.

With the exception of low income households, including adolescent work history does not significantly impact the relationship or significance of any of the previously included measures (model 6, Table 3). The low income coefficient changes from -.11 to -.12 and becomes statistically significant. This change is too small to be substantively significant.

Additionally, it was hypothesized that participation in extracurricular activities is more beneficial for adolescents from alternative family structures and interactions between family structures and activity participation were incorporated into model 6 to determine this (analysis not shown). Step-parent families significantly interacted with extracurricular activity participation, but the effect is negative. This finding suggests that participating in activities while residing in stepparent families during adolescence is less beneficial to civic involvement in young adulthood when compared to adolescents in two biological parent families (analysis not

shown). The interactions between single-father and single-mother family structures and extracurricular activity participation were not significant. This finding suggests that participating in activities while residing in stepparent families during adolescence is less beneficial to civic involvement in young adulthood when compared to adolescents in two biological parent families. The interactions between single-father and single-mother family structures and extracurricular activity participation are not significant in this model.

Table 3
Hierarchical Modeling of Theoretical Constructs Regressed on Civic Involvement in Young Adulthood (Regression Coefficients)

	model 1	model 2	model 3	model 4	model 5	model 6	model 7
<i>Wave 1 Variables</i>							
Activity	.26***	.25***	.18***	.18***	.17***	.17***	.17***
Activity2	-.02***	-.02***	-.01***	-.01***	-.01***	-.01***	-.01***
<i>Social Location and Family Structure</i>							
<i>Family Structure</i>							
Step-parent	-.16**	-.18***	-.15*	-.13*	-.13*	.11	-.11
Single mother	-.16**	-.16***	.04	-.05	-.06	.03	-.03
Single father	-.25*	-.25*	.14	-.14	.15	.03	-.03
<i>Demographics</i>							
Black		.08	0.01	0.003	0.007	.03	.02
Hispanic		-.43***	-.27***	-.27***	-.28***	-.3***	-.29***
Asian		-.53***	-.55***	-.55***	-.57***	-.66***	-.64***
Other		-.35*	-.29*	-.28*	-.29*	-.32*	-.31*
Female		0.03	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.007	0.02
Age		.03*	.03**	.04**	.04**	.04**	.04*
<i>Family SES</i>							
Parent's max education			.21***	.21***	.21***	.17***	0.18***
Parent's max occ. Prestige			.13***	.13***	.12***	.1***	.1***
Missing income			-.12*	-.11*	.09	0.01	0.01
Low income			-.17**	-.17**	-.15*	-.11	-.012*
Middle income			-.1*	-.1*	-.09*	.05	-.006
High income			ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
<i>Intra-family Social Capital</i>							
Parental closeness and care				.08*	0.04	0.01	0.01
Low parental control				-.004	-.001	0.02	0.02
High parental control				0.06	0.7	0.6	0.05
Moderate parental control				Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
<i>Educational expectations and involvement</i>							
Parental expectations for HS grad					0.07	0.04	0.05
Parental expectations for college grad					0.08*	0.09	0.09
Parental school involvement					.11***	.15***	.14***
<i>Extra-Family Social Capital</i>							
Family religious service attendance						.03**	.03**
Parental civic participation						.09***	.08***
Parent networking						.05*	.05*
<i>Adolescent Work Experience</i>							
Not working							Ref
1-10 hrs/wk							0.11*
11-20 hrs/wk							0.01
21-30 hrs/wk							0.09
31-40 hrs/wk							0.23*
More than 40hrs/wk							0.21
Pseudo r-square	0.053	0.07	0.127	0.129	0.132	0.141	0.144
N	10661	10657	10657	10644	10611	7521	7521

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Discussion

Research has suggested that social capital and exposure to its sources may be diminished in non-traditional family structures. This study hypothesizes

that extracurricular activity participation has the potential to serve as a counterbalance, providing adolescents additional exposure to social resources that may encourage civic involvement among young adults. In this chapter, the effect of participating in school based extracurricular activities during adolescence supports this hypothesis and shows the potential to foster civic involvement in young adulthood.

Overall participation in extracurricular activities has a significant positive effect on civic involvement during young adulthood and this positive effect remains evident in all of the models. Controlling for the effects of variables previously documented as predictors of civic involvement, participation remains a positive predictor of civic involvement. A non-linear effect of participation is evident for adolescents who participate in more than nine activities. Even though being highly involved may not be as beneficial for civic involvement as more moderate levels of involvement, it is more beneficial than not participating at all. Therefore, being involved in extracurricular activities to any extent as an adolescent may be a precursor to future civic involvement as a young adult.

Family structure, a second focus of the study, predicts civic involvement among young adults in less elaborate models. As expected, the negative effect of family structure disappears when measures of socioeconomic status and extra-family social capital are included. This finding lends support to previous research asserting that the negative effects of being reared in alternative families may be attributed to a reduction in available social capital (Coleman, 1990; Furstenberg, 2005) especially when the economic situation is accounted (Putnam, 1996).

It is believed that participation in extracurricular activities can provide additional exposure to social resources and caring adults. In this sense, extracurricular activities would function as a “surrogate parent” with regard to civic involvement during young adulthood. This research supports the notion. The positive effect of overall activity participation is steadfast in all models. Even when measures thought to typically mediate the effect of participation are controlled, participation positively predicts civic involvement in young adulthood. Furthermore, the benefits of extracurricular activities are commonly explained as an additional source of social capital. But, measures conceptualized as indicators of social capital are controlled in model 6 (Table 3) and the effect and relationship of overall activity participation remains significant. With respect to civic involvement, this finding implies that participating in extracurricular activities may be beneficial beyond the accumulation of social capital.

REFERENCES

- Amato, P. and Keith, B. (1991a). Parental divorce and adult well being: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 53: 43-58.
- Amato, P. and Keith, B. (1991b). Separation from a parent during childhood and adult socioeconomic attainment. *Social Forces*, 70, 187-206.
- Aquilino, W. (1996). The life course of children born to unmarried mothers: childhood living arrangements and young adult outcomes. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 58, (2). 293-310.
- Biblarz, T. and Raftery, A. (1993). The effects of family disruption on social mobility. *American Sociological Review*, 58:97. 97-109.
- Bourdieu, P. (1973). The three forms of theoretical knowledge. *Social Science Information*, 12, (1), 53-80.
- Bumpass, L. (1984). Children and marital disruption: A replication and update. *Demography*, 21, 71-82.
- Casey, D. M., Ripke, M. N., & Huston, A. J. (2005). Activity participation and the well-being of children and adolescents in the context of welfare reform. In J. L. Mahoney, R. W. Larson, and J. S. Eccles (Eds.), *Organized activities as contexts of development: Extracurricular activities, after-school and community programs* (pp. 65-84). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Castro, M. and Bumpass, L. (1989). Recent trends in marital disruption. *Demography*, 26, 37-51.
- Cherlin, A. (1991). Longitudinal studies of the effects of divorce on children in Great Britain and the United States. *Science*, 252: 1386-1389.
- Cherlin, A. (1992). *Marriage, divorce, and remarriage*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Press.
- Coleman, J. (1988a). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 95-121.
- Coleman, J. (1988b). The creation and destruction of social capital: implications for the law. *Notre Dame Journal of Law, Ethics, and Public Policy* 3: 375-404.
- Coleman, J. (1990). *Foundations of social theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dawson, D. (1999). Family structure and children's health and well-being: data from the 1988 national health interview survey on child health. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 53, (3). 573.
- Eccles, B., Barber, B., Stone, M. and Hunt, J. (2003). Extracurricular activities and adolescent development. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59, (4) 865-889.
- Eccles, J. and Gootman, J. (Eds.) (2002). *Community programs to promote youth development*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Eccles, J. and Templeton, J. (2002). Extracurricular and other after-school activities for youth. *Review of Research in Education*, 26, 113-180.

Eccles, J. and Barber, B. (1999). Student council, volunteering, basketball, or marching band: what kind of extracurricular involvement matters? *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 14, 10-43.

Eckenrode, J. and Gore, S. (1990). Eds. *Stress Between Work and Family*. New York: Plenum.

Elder, G. (1994). Time, human agency, and social change: Perspectives on the life course. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57, (1) 4-15.

Furstenberg, F. (2005). Banking on families: how families generate and distribute social capital. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67, (4), 809-821.

Furstenberg, F. (1996). The future of marriage. *American Demographics*, 18, 34-40.

Furstenberg, F. and Hughes, M. (1995). Social capital and successful development among at-risk youth. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57, (3), 580-592.

Gerber, E. (1996). Legislative response to the threat of popular initiatives. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40, (1), 99-128.

Harrison, P. and Narayan, G. (2003). Differences in behavior, psychological factors, and environmental factors associated with participation in school sports and other activities in adolescence. *Journal of School Health*, 73, (3) 113-120.

Landers, D. and Landers, D. (1978). Socialization via interscholastic athletics, its effect on delinquency. *Sociology of Education*, 51, 299-301.

Larson, R. (2000). Toward a psychology of positive youth development. *American Psychologist*, 55, (1), 170-183.

Mahoney, J. (2000). School extracurricular activity participation as a moderator in the development of antisocial patterns. *Child Development*, 71(2), 502-516.

Mahoney, J. and Cairns, R. (1997). Do extracurricular activities protect against early school dropout? *Developmental Psychology*, 33(2), 241-253.

Marsh, H. (1992). Extracurricular activities: Beneficial extension of the traditional curriculum or subversion of academic goals? *Journal of educational Psychology*, 84(4), 553-562.

Marsh, H. and Kleitman, S. (2002). Extracurricular school activities: The good, the bad, and the non-linear. *Harvard Educational Review*, 72(4), 464-514.

Marsh, H. and Kleitman, S. (2003). School athletic participation: Mostly gain with little pain. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 25, 205-228.

McLanahan, S. (1997). Parent absence or poverty: which matters more? In Duncan, G. and Brooks-Gunn, J., eds. *Consequences of growing up poor*. New York: Russell Sage.

McLanahan, S. and Sundefur, G. (1994). *Growing up with a single parent: what helps, what hurts*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- McNeal, R. (1995). Extracurricular activities and high school dropouts. *Sociology of Education*, 68, 62-81.
- McNeal, R. (1999a). Participation in high school extracurricular activities: Investigating school effects. *Social Science Quarterly*, 80, (2), 291-309.
- McNeal, R. (1999b). Parental involvement as social capital: differential effectiveness on science achievement, truancy, and dropping out. *Social Forces*, 78, (1), 117-144.
- Mullan, K., Duncan, G., and Boisjoly, J. (2002). Evaluating the role of the "nothing to lose attitude" on risky behavior in adolescence. *Social Forces*, 80, (3), 1005-1039.
- Putnam, R. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy* 6, (1), 65-78.
- Putnam, R. (1996). The strange disappearance of civic America. *The American Prospect*, 7, (24).
- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Touchstone Books.
- Rahn, W. and Transue, J. (1998). Social trust and value change: The decline of social capital in American youth, 1976-1995. *Political Psychology* 19, (3), 545-565.
- Sandefur, G., McLanahan, S., and Wojtkiewicz, R. (1992). The effects of parental marital status during adolescence on high school graduation. *Social Forces*, 71, (1), 103-121.
- Wallerstein, J. (1989). *Second chances: men, women, and children a decade after divorce*. New York: Ticknor and Fields.
- White, A. and Gager, C. (In press). Idle Hands and Empty Pockets? Youth Involvement in Extracurricular Activities and SocialCapital. *Youth and Society*.
- Wojtkiewicz, R. (1993). Simplicity and complexity in the effects of parental structure on high school graduation. *Demography*, 30, 701-717.
- Youniss, J., McLellan, J., and Yates, S. (1997). What we know about engendering civic identity. *American Behavior Scientist*, 40, 619-630.
- Youniss, J., McLellan, J., Yang, S., and Yates, M. (1999). The role of community service in identity development: normative, unconventional, and deviant orientations. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 14, (2), 248-261.
- Youniss, J., Yates, M., and Su, Y. (1997). Social integration: Community service and marijuana use in high school seniors. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 12, 245-262.
- Zick, C. and Allen, C. (1996). The impact of parents' marital status on time adolescents spend in productive activities. *Family Relations*, 45, (1), 65-71.