

**THE MANY FACES OF URBAN GIRLS;
FEATURES OF POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY ADOLESCENCE¹**

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For much of its history, the study of individual (ontogenetic) development was framed by nomothetic models (e.g., classical stage theories) that sought to describe and explain the generic human being (Emmerich, 1968; Lerner, 2002; Overton, 2006). Within the context of these models, both individual and group differences – diversity – were of little interest, at best, or regarded as either error variance or as evidence for problematic deviation from (deficits in) normative (and idealized) developmental change (Lerner, 2004a, b, c, 2006). With European American samples typically regarded as the groups from which norms were derived – and, as well, with *male* samples often set as the reference group for “normality” within the European American population (e.g., Block, 1973; Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Maccoby, 1998; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974) – racial, ethnic, and gender variation from these nomothetic standards were regarded not just as differences (as interindividual differences in intraindividual change). They were interpreted as developmental deficits (e.g., see Lerner, 2004a).

This difference as deficit “lens” has been applied as well to youth developing within the urban centers of the United States (Taylor, 2003; Taylor, et al., in preparation). This association has occurred in part because youth from these areas are often children of color and/or they come from family backgrounds that were not ordinarily those involved in the research from which normative generalizations about which developmental change were formulated (Lerner, 2004a; Spencer, 2006). This characterization of urban youth as generically “in deficit” – as being “problems to be managed” (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003a, 2003b) because of differences between them and “normative” samples in regard to ontogenetic characteristics associated with their race,

ethnicity, gender, family, or neighborhood characteristics – is incorrect for both empirical and theoretical reasons.

Empirically, this characterization is an overgeneralization; it paints urban youth in brush strokes that are far too broad. That is, as is true of all young people, urban youth are diverse, varying in interests, abilities, involvement with their communities, aspirations, and life paths (e.g., McLoyd, 1998, 2006; Spencer, 2006; Taylor, 2003). For instance, the opportunity advantages of high socioeconomic status available to some European American urban youth do not protect them from manifesting risk and problem behaviors stereotypically associated with low socioeconomic status urban youth (Luthar & Latendresse, 2002) and, in turn, the low socioeconomic status of some urban youth of color does not mean that these young people engage in risk/problem behaviors or do not achieve scholastically or civically to degrees comparable to higher socioeconomic status urban youth (Mincy, 1994). Moreover, research in life-course sociology (e.g., Elder & Shanahan, 2006), in life-span developmental psychology (e.g., Baltes, Lindenberger, & Staudinger, 2006), and in developmental biology (Gottlieb, 2004; Gottlieb, Wahlsten, & Lickliter, 2006; Suomi, 2004) attests to the presence of intra-group (e.g., intra-cohort) variation that is at least as great as intergroup/inter-cohort differences.

Nevertheless, this within-group diversity has largely remained a hidden truth to many academics, policy makers, and even practitioners working in urban youth-development programs, who may assume that all urban youth may be characterized as either “at risk” or as already engaged in problematic or health-compromising behaviors. In addition to being empirically counterfactual, this view of urban youth sends a dispiriting message to young people,

one that conveys to them that little is expected of them because their lives are inherently broken or, at best, in danger of becoming broken.

Moreover, the deficit interpretation of urban youth as invariantly in deficit is mistaken for theoretical reasons as well as for empirical ones. The problems that do exist among some urban youth are neither inevitable nor the sum total of the range of behaviors that do or can exist among them. Derived from developmental systems theory, a positive youth development (PYD) perspective (Lerner, in press) stresses the plasticity of human development and regards this potential for systematic change as a ubiquitous strength of people during their adolescence. The potential for plasticity may be actualized to promote positive development among urban youth when young people are embedded in an ecology that possesses and makes available to them resources and supports that offer opportunities for sustained, positive adult-youth relations, skill-building experiences, and opportunities for participation in and leadership of valued community activities (Lerner, 2004b). Such supports exist even in those urban settings that many policy makers have abandoned as resource depleted or resource absent (e.g., Taylor, 2003; Taylor, et al., in preparation).

Goals of the present chapter

If theory and research combine to indicate that characterizations about urban youth as invariantly in deficit, and as constituting a monolithic group, are overgeneralizations, than any view of urban youth that fails to differentiate between boys and girls is at least equally ill conceived and mistaken. As do urban youth in general, urban girls as a group may be expected to show interindividual differences and, as well, they may be expected to manifest a range of behaviors across positive and problematic developmental dimensions. Accordingly, the purpose

of this chapter is to use the PYD perspective to discuss the developing characteristics of urban girls.

We illustrate our points about the diversity and strengths of urban girls by capitalizing on data from a large, national longitudinal study of youth, the 4-H Study of Positive Youth Development (Lerner, et al., 2005; Jelicic, et al., 2006). We will draw on both quantitative and qualitative data from the second wave of this study (6th graders) to discuss the facets of positive development of these early adolescent females, and to identify some factors that may be involved in the promotion of PYD, the diminution of risk/problem behaviors, and the level of contributions that these young people make to their selves, families, and communities.

To begin this discussion it is useful to provide a brief overview of the PYD perspective. This orientation to adolescence allows us to understand why diversity is not equivalent to deficit, and why there is variation in the course of development of young women growing up in urban centers.

FEATURES OF THE PYD PERSPECTIVE

Beginning in the early 1990s, and burgeoning in the first half decade of the twenty-first century, a new vision and vocabulary for discussing young people has emerged. These innovations were framed by the developmental systems theories that were engaging the interest of developmental scientists (Lerner, 2002, 2006, in press). The focus on plasticity within such theories led in turn to an interest in assessing the potential for change at diverse points across ontogeny, ones spanning from infancy through the 10th and 11th decades of life (Baltes, et al., 2006). Moreover, these innovations were propelled by the increasingly more collaborative contributions of researchers focused on the second decade of life (e.g., Benson, Scales,

Hamilton, & Sesma., 2006; Damon, 2004; Lerner, 2004b), practitioners in the field of youth development (e.g., Floyd & McKenna, 2003; Little, 1993; Pittman, Irby, & Ferber, 2001; Wheeler, 2003), and policy makers concerned with improving the life chances of diverse youth and their families (e.g., Cummings, 2003; Gore, 2003). These interests converged in the formulation of a set of ideas that enabled youth to be viewed as resources to be developed, and not as problems to be managed (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003a, 2003b). These ideas may be discussed in regard to two key hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. Youth-Context Alignment promotes PYD

Based on the idea that the potential for systematic intraindividual change across life (i.e., for plasticity) represents a fundamental strength of human development, the hypothesis was generated that, if the strengths of youth are aligned with resources for healthy growth present in the key contexts of adolescent development – the home, the school, and the community -- then enhancements in positive functioning at any one point in time (i.e., well-being; Bornstein, Davidson, Keyes, Moore, & the Center for Child Well-Being, 2003) may occur; in turn, the systematic promotion of positive development will occur across time (i.e., thriving; e.g., Dowling, et al., 2004; Lerner, 2004b; Lerner, et al., 2005) can be achieved.

A key subsidiary hypothesis to the notion that aligning individual strengths and contextual resources for healthy development is that there exist, across the key settings of youth development (i.e., families, schools, and communities), at least some supports for the promotion of PYD. Termed “developmental assets” (Benson, et al., 2006), these resources constitute the social and ecological “nutrients” for the growth of healthy youth (Benson, 2003). Although there is some controversy about the nature, measurement, and impact of developmental assets (Lerner,

in press), there is broad agreement among researchers and practitioners in the youth development field that the concept of developmental assets is important for understanding what needs to be marshaled in homes, classrooms, and community-based programs to foster PYD.

In fact, a key impetus for the interest in the PYD perspective among both researchers and youth program practitioners and, thus a basis for the collaborations that exist among members of these two communities, is the interest that exists in ascertaining the nature of the resources for positive development that are present in youth programs, e.g., in the literally hundreds of thousands of the after-school programs delivered either by large, national organizations, such as 4-H, Boys and Girls Clubs, Scouting, Big Brothers/Big Sisters, YMCA, or Girls, Inc., or by local organizations. There are data suggesting that, in fact, developmental assets associated with youth programs, especially those that focus on youth development (i.e., programs that adopt the ideas associated with the PYD perspective; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b), are linked to PYD. In addition, Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003b) report that findings of evaluation research indicate that the latter programs are more likely than the former ones to be associated with the presence of key indicators of PYD.

This finding raises the question of what are in fact the indicators of PYD. Addressing this question involves the second key hypothesis of the PYD perspective.

Hypothesis 2. PYD is Comprised of Five Cs

Based on both the experiences of practitioners and on reviews of the adolescent development literature (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner, 2004b; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b), “Five Cs” -- Competence, Confidence, Connection, Character, and Caring -- were hypothesized as a way of conceptualizing PYD (and of integrating all the separate indicators of it, such as

academic achievement or self esteem). These five Cs were linked to the positive outcomes of youth development programs reported by Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003b). In addition, these “Cs” are prominent terms used by practitioners, adolescents involved in youth development programs, and the parents of these adolescents in describing the characteristics of a “thriving youth” (King, et al., 2005).

A hypothesis subsidiary to the postulation of the “Five Cs” as a means to operationalize PYD is that, when a young person manifests the Cs across time (when the youth is thriving), he or she will be on a life trajectory towards an “idealized adulthood” (Csikszentmihalyi & Rathunde, 1998; Rathunde & Csikszentmihalyi, 2006). Such adulthood is theoretically held to be marked by “contribution,” often termed the “Sixth C” of PYD (e.g., see Lerner, 2004). Contribution, within an ideal adult life, is marked by integrated and mutually reinforcing contributions to self (e.g., maintaining one’s health and one’s ability therefore to remain an active agent in one’s own development) and to family, community, and the institutions of civil society (Lerner, 2004b). An adult engaging in such integrated contributions is a person manifesting adaptive developmental regulations (Brandtstädter, 1998, 1999, 2006).

In turn, within the youth development field, longitudinal research has begun to test the idea that the development of the Five Cs, either as individual indicators of a thriving youth, and/or as first-order latent constructs that are indicators of a second-order PYD construct, predict conceptual and behavioral indicators of contribution that may be indicative of development towards an idealized adulthood (e.g., see Jellicic, et al., 2006). Table 1 presents definitions of the Five Cs that are derived from the youth development literature (e.g., Lerner, et al., 2005; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003a, 2003b).

Insert Table 1 about here

A second subsidiary hypothesis to the one postulating the Five Cs is that there should be an inverse relation within and across development between indicators of PYD and behaviors indicative of risk behaviors or internalizing and externalizing problems. Here, the idea – forwarded in particular by Pittman and her colleagues (e.g., Pittman, et al., 2001) in regard to applications of developmental science to policies and programs -- is that the best means to prevent problems associated with adolescent behavior and development (e.g., depression, aggression, drug use and abuse, or unsafe sexual behavior) is to promote positive development.

In sum, replacing the deficit view of adolescence, the PYD perspective sees all adolescents as having strengths (by virtue at least of their potential for change). The perspective suggests that increases in well-being and thriving are possible for all youth through aligning the strengths of young people with the developmental assets present in their social and physical ecology. An initial model of the development process linking mutually influential, person \leftrightarrow context relations, the development of the Five Cs (i.e., well-being, within time, and thriving across time), and the attainment in adulthood of an “idealized” status involving integrated contributions to self, family, community, and civil society was presented in Lerner (2004b) and Lerner, et al. (2005). In essence, this model specified that on the basis of mutually influential relations between individual actions (involving self-regulatory behaviors) and positive growth-supporting features of the context (developmental assets), that is, through person \leftrightarrow context

relations, the individual develops the cognitive, affective, and behavioral characteristics included within the PYD concept (see Table 1).

Further, as a result of this individual development, there emerges the “sixth C” of contribution (to the context that, in turn, supports the development of the person as an individual; Lerner, 2004). The working definition of the outcome variable of Contribution is “Effecting positive changes in self, others, and community that involve both a behavioral (action) component and an ideological component (i.e., actions based on a commitment to moral and civic duty)” (see Alberts, et al., 2006). In addition to the impact of PYD on Contribution, the model specifies that, as a result of the development of PYD, the individual’s development is marked as well by the diminution of problem and risk behaviors. This model is shown in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Although still at a preliminary stage of progress, there is growing empirical evidence that the general concepts and main and subsidiary hypotheses of the PYD perspective find empirical support. Indeed, within this chapter we offer such support in regard to the positive functioning of urban girls within the early adolescent period, i.e., in sixth grade. To provide this empirical evidence we draw on data developed within the Institute for Applied Research in Youth Development – in the 4-H Study of Positive Youth Development (Lerner, et al., 2005). We present below the general characteristics of this study and then turn to the analyses of data specifically pertinent to urban girls.

THE 4-H STUDY OF POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

The 4-H Study of Positive Youth Development is a longitudinal investigation supported by a grant from the National 4-H Council. The 4-H Study was designed to test the theoretical model shown in Figure 1. The study began in 2002-2003 by studying a national cohort of about 1,700 fifth grade youth (from 13 states across all regions of the United States) and their parents (Lerner, et al., 2005). At this writing, the study is in its fourth wave (2005-2006), and involves about 3,500 youth from 21 states and about 2,500 of their parents. Full details of the methodology of the 4-H Study have been presented in Lerner, et al., 2005; Theokas & Lerner, in press; and Jellicic, et al., 2006).

Framed by an instance of developmental systems theory, developmental contextualism (Lerner, 2002, 2004b), the 4-H Study is designed to follow youth across the second decade of life. The data set is being and will continue to be used to bring empirical evidence to bear on the two main hypotheses of the PYD perspective and, as well, on the subsidiary hypotheses associated with each of the two main hypotheses. The data set allows as well the appraisal of the use of the PYD perspective for understanding subsamples of youth within the larger 4-H Study. Accordingly, we describe below the link between the PYD perspective and a sample of urban girls within the data set from the second wave of the study, i.e., Grade 6. We turn here to a description of this sample of girls and of the quantitative and qualitative data we used to explore the link between the PYD perspective and the developing characteristics of these youth.

Assessing the Developing Characteristics of Urban Girls within the 4-H Study

Lerner, et al. (2005) and Jellicic, et al. (2006) have described the overall characteristics of girls within the 4-H data set. Here, using both quantitative and qualitative data, we will examine

whether the urban girls we discuss in this chapter differ from the overall sample of girls on measures of PYD, contribution, and risk. In turn, we will assess within-group characteristics of these of urban girls. We will use quantitative and qualitative data available within the 4-H Study data set to assess whether there exists, across these approaches to understanding the participants, comparable views of the characteristics of the urban girls. Several questions will frame our analyses.

Key questions

In confirmation of the second of the two hypotheses framing the study of PYD, initial research within the 4-H Study has established the empirical utility of operationalizing positive development through the “Five Cs,” as first-order latent constructs, and through a score for PYD itself, as a second-order latent construct (Lerner, et al., 2005). Also consistent with Hypothesis 2, this prior research has demonstrated the empirical utility of the indices of the “Sixth C,” Contribution, and of risk and problem behaviors that exist within our measurement model. For instance, within Grade 5, there was a positive relation between scores for PYD and Contribution and an inverse relation between PYD scores and scores for risk/problem behaviors (Lerner, et al., 2005). Moreover, Jelacic, et al. (2006) demonstrated that Grade 5 PYD scores are positively related to Grade 6 Contribution scores and negatively related to Grade 6 risk/problem behavior scores.

In all these findings, girls showed higher mean levels of PYD and Contribution than boys, and the correlations among PYD, Contribution, and risk/problem behaviors were higher for girls than for boys. However, although these data were differentiated by socioeconomic status and race/ethnicity, they were not disaggregated with respect to urban status. What we found in

these earlier analyses was that all SES and race/ethnic groups had mean PYD scores reflective of good functioning and that PYD scores were higher for youth with higher SES. In addition, we found that European American and Latino youth had higher PYD scores than did African American youth.

Accordingly, in this chapter we ask whether urban girls within the 4-H Study sample show levels of PYD, Contribution, and risk/problem behaviors comparable to the non-urban sample of girls in the 4-H Study and if the links among these constructs found for the overall sample of girls (in Jellicic, et al., 2006) are seen as well within the sample of urban girls. In addition, we include contextual variables that may be important to consider when focusing on urban girls in particular. Living in a mother-headed household may adversely affect development, while stability of living situations may provide greater access to programs and individuals that will promote PYD. Participation in out-of-school activities can offer opportunities for sustained, positive adult-youth relations, skill-building experiences that exist even in those urban settings that have often been dismissed as resource poor (Lerner, 2004b). Breadth of participation was found to be positively associated with PYD and Contribution (Balsano, et al., 2006) for the entire aggregated 4-H sample and this relationship is evaluated here as well.

The 4-H Study data set includes several open-ended questions as well as items associated with quantitative scales (e.g., Alberts, et al., 2006). The presence of open-ended questions were coded for constructs relevant to PYD. In order to explore whether the characterization of urban girls afforded by the quantitative measures within the data set converged with characterizations derived from qualitative assessments, coding of three open-ended questions was done. As

detailed below, these open-ended questions pertain to young people's ideas about the characteristics that define a thriving adolescent, a youth who shows exemplary personal and social behavior, who is doing well in all walks of life; to young people's descriptions of the characteristics they would manifest if they were showing exemplary functioning; and to the characteristics of functioning they actually manifest.

Based on classic and contemporary developmental scholarship about self development in adolescence (e.g., Harter, 1998, 2006; McCandless, 1970), we reasoned that positive functioning should be reflected in girls' depictions of an exemplary other person (i.e., of an "idealized other"), of the exemplary "self," and of the actual self. Accordingly, we sought to describe the nature of the depictions provided by urban girls of idealized other, idealized self, and actual self, and asked to what extent did the terms used to provide these three descriptions reflect constructs associated with the Five Cs and Contribution (see King, et al., 2005). To explain how we addressed these questions asked of our quantitative and qualitative data, we describe below features of the general methodology of the 4-H Study.

METHODS

To understand the characteristics of positive development present among urban girls within the 4-H Study, we used data from the student questionnaire administered to adolescent participants in this investigation at Wave 2 (sixth grade). Additional information about the method can be found in Lerner, et al. (2005), Theokas and Lerner (in press), and Jelicic (2006).

Sample

At Wave 2, participants came from sites located in 18 states and varied by race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, religion, family structure, rural-urban location, and geographic region.

Schools were chosen as the main method for collecting the sample. Assessment was conducted in 60 schools and in five after school programs. Participants were 1,871 sixth grade adolescents (43% males; mean age = 12.18 years, SD = .89 years; 57% females, mean age = 12.10 years, SD = .80 years) and 1,281 of their parents.

In order to look specifically at urban girls, we selected those who live in a large or mid-size central city as defined by the 1990 census. The demographic characteristics of these “urban girls” are shown in Table 2, along with the characteristics of “non-urban” girls” in our sample.

Insert Table 2 about here

The Student Questionnaire (SQ) and the Parent Questionnaire (PQ)

As mentioned above, the measurement model used in the larger 4-H Study of PYD was designed to provide indices that would test the developmental contextual, individual \leftrightarrow context model of the development of PYD. Accordingly, the SQ included measures pertinent to the “Five Cs” of PYD, problem behaviors, pubertal level of development, individual and ecological assets, developmental regulation, after-school activities, and demographics. The PQ was composed of two types of items: (a) items about the parent or guardian and (b) items about the child. Information regarding the specific items included in both questionnaires can be found in Lerner, et al. (2005). Within the SQ, youth responded to open-ended questions intended to appraise self-generated definitions of thriving in adolescence. More information about the measurement model used in the 4-H Study is presented in Lerner, et al. (2005).

Procedures

At each research site, teachers or program staff gave each child an envelope to take home to their parent or guardian, containing a letter explaining the study, consent form, a parent questionnaire, and a self-addressed envelope for returning the parent questionnaire and consent form. For those youth who received parental consent, data collection was conducted either in the school or program by trained study staff or hired assistants for remote locations. The procedure began with reading the instructions for the student questionnaire (SQ) to the youth. Participants were instructed that they could skip any questions they did not wish to answer. Data collection took approximately two hours, which included one or two short breaks. Students who were unable to be surveyed at their school or 4-H site, in that they were either absent during the day of testing or the school superintendent did not allow testing to occur in the school, received a survey in the mail.

Measures

As noted above, the 4-H Study assesses both positive characteristics of youth and, as well, risk/problem behaviors. In addition, assessments are made of the “6th C,” Contribution, of youth participation in after-school activities (which are hypothesized to serve as assets for PYD), and of several features of the context of youth.

The Five Cs and PYD

The Five Cs and PYD are measured using items from four measures: the Profiles of Student Life-Attitudes and Behaviors Survey (PSL-AB; Benson, Leffert, Scales, & Blyth, 1998), the Self-Perception Profile for Children (SPPC; Harter, 1983), the Peer Support Scale (Armsden & Greenberger, 1987) from the Teen Assessment Project Survey Question Bank (Small & Rodgers, 1995), and the Eisenberg Sympathy Scale (Eisenberg et al., 1996). PYD is constructed

as the mean of the Five Cs. Detailed information regarding the measurement of each of the Cs is presented below.

Confidence. Confidence is constructed as the weighted mean of 12 items on the student questionnaire. Six of the items measure positive identity (Theokas et al., 2005) and come from the Search Institute's Profile of Student Life – Attitudes and Behaviors Survey (PSL-AB; Benson, et al., 1998). The response format for these six items ranged from 1 = *strongly agree* to 5 = *strongly disagree*. An example of an item used to measure positive identity is “On the whole I like myself.”

The remaining six items used to construct the confidence indicator are the items that form the self-worth scale from the Self-Perception Profile for Children (SPCC; Harter, 1983). Harter (1982) developed a structured alternative response format to assess perceived competence in a domain. Participants are asked to choose between two types of people. Once they have selected which person they are most like, they are asked to decide if it is “really true for me” or “sort of true for me.” The items are counterbalanced so that half begin with a positive sentence, reflecting high competence, while half begin with a negative sentence, reflecting low competence. Each item is scored from 1-4, with 4 reflecting higher perceived competence. An example of an item used to assess self worth is “Some kids don't like the way they are leading their lives BUT Other kids do like the way they are leading their lives.”

Competence. Competence is constructed as the weighted mean of 17 items on the student questionnaire. Twelve of the items used to measure competence come from the Self-Perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1983). Six of the items form the academic competence scale and six of the items form the social competence scale. As mentioned above, the SPPC uses

a structured alternative response format. An example of an item from the academic competence scale is “Some kids feel like they are *just as smart* as other kids their age BUT Other kids aren’t so sure and *wonder* if they are as smart.” An example of an item from the social competence scale is “Some kids have *a lot* of friends BUT Other kids *don’t* have very many friends.”

The remaining five items used to index competence come from the Search Institute’s Profile of Student Life – Attitudes and Behaviors Survey (PSL-AB; Benson, et al., 1998). Four of these items measure school engagement. Three of these items have a forced choice response to ascertain how often a respondent does something. The response format for these items ranged from 1 = *Usually* to 3 = *Never*. An example of an item measuring school engagement using this response format is “How often do you feel bored at school?” The fourth school engagement item “At school I try as hard as I can to do my best work” used a response format ranging from 1 = *strongly agree* to 5 = *strongly disagree*. The final item measuring competence, “What grades do you earn in school?” had a forced choice response format that ranged from 1 = *Mostly A’s* to 8 = *Mostly below D’s*.

Character. Eighteen items from the Search Institute’s Profile of Student Life – Attitudes and Behaviors Survey are used to measure character (PSL-AB; Benson, et al., 1998). These items measure interpersonal skills, valuing of diversity, personal values, and social conscience. The five items that measure personal values and the six items that measure social conscience use a forced choice response format and ask participants to rate how important each item is in their life. Response formats range from 1 = *not important* to 5 = *extremely important*. An example of

an item measuring personal values is “Telling the truth, even when it’s not easy,” while an example of an item measuring social conscience is “Helping other people.”

One of the items the items used to measure valuing of diversity “Getting to know people who are of a different race than I am” uses the same response format as above for measuring importance. The remaining 3 items used to measure valuing of diversity and the 3 items used to measure interpersonal skills ask participants to think about the people who know them well and how they think they would rate them on each of the items. The response format is forced choice and ranges from 1 = *not at all like me* to 5 = *very much like me*. An example of an item measuring valuing of diversity that uses this response format is “Knowing a lot about people of other races.” An example of an item used to measure interpersonal skills is “Caring about other people’s feelings.”

Caring. Five items from the Eisenberg Sympathy Scale (ESS; Eisenberg et al., 1996) are used to measuring caring. The items measure the degree to which participants feel sorry for the distress of others. The response format for these items ranged from 1 = *really like you* through 3 = *not like you*. High scores indicate low levels of sympathy. An example of an item from the ESS is “I feel sorry for people who don’t have the things I have.”

Connection. To index connection, 22 of the items from the student questionnaire are used. These items measure connection to family (six items), school (seven items), peers (four items), and community (five items). All of the items measuring connection to family, connection to school, and connection to community come from the PSL-AB. Five of the items measuring connection to family, six of the items used to measure connection to school, and all of the items used to measure connection to community use the forced choice response format ranging from 1

= *strongly agree* to 5 = *strongly disagree*. An example of an item measuring connection to family is “My parents give me help and support when I need it.” An example of an item measuring connection to school is “I get a lot of encouragement at my school.” An example of an item measuring connection to community is “Adults in my city or town make me feel important.”

The sixth item measuring connection to family “If you had an important concern about drugs, alcohol, or sex, or some other serious issue, would you talk to your parent(s) about it?” uses a forced choice response format ranging from 1 = *yes* to 5 = *no*. The seventh item measuring connection to school “How often do you feel bored at school?” uses a forced choice response format ranging from 1 = *usually* to 3 = *never*.

The items used to measure connection to peers come from the Teen Assessment Project Survey Question Bank (TAP; Small & Rodgers, 1995). These items, in which participants must decide how true a statement is for them, measure peer support (Armsden & Greenberger, 1987) and use a forced choice response format that ranges from 1 = *always true* to 5 = *almost never true or never true*. An example of an item is “My friends care about me.”

Contribution

Contribution is measured as a composite score of twelve items that are divided into four subsets. The first subset, called Leadership, is an item from the PSL-AB “During the last 12 months, how many times have you been a leader in a group or organization?” that uses a forced choice response format ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *five or more times*. The second subset, called Service, is derived by adding the responses of three items created for the study. For each item, participants are asked to indicate whether participation in a particular activity applies to

them. An example of an item is “volunteer work.” The third subset, called Helping, is a measure of the average of two items from the PSL-AB in which participants respond about the average amount of time they spend doing certain activities during an average week. The response choices range from 0 = *zero* to 5 = *11 or more hours*. One of the items is “Helping friends or neighbors.”

Finally, a fourth subset is called Ideology, which is a scale that measures contribution ideology with four items from the Teen Assessment Project Survey Question Bank (TAP) and two items that were created for this study. The items from TAP use a forced choice response scale ranging from 1 = *strongly agree* to 5 = *strongly disagree*. An example of an item is “It is important to me to contribute to my community and society.” The two items that measure contribution ideology that were created for this study ask participants to think about their future and to assess their chances for doing certain things. The response format ranges from 1 = *very low* to 5 = *very high*. An example of an item is “be involved in community service.”

Activity participation outside of school

Based on Eccles and Gootman (2002), a *Youth Activity Survey* was developed for inclusion in the Student Questionnaire. Participation in 26 potential after-school activities in Wave 2, respectively, were assessed. The activity list included structured activities, service activities, instruction, and paid work.

Activities were categorized into four specific categories: Youth development programs, sports, arts, and clubs. Youth development programs included the five major national youth-serving organizations with an expressed PYD mission (National 4-H, YMCA or YWCA, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, Boys and Girls Clubs and Big Brothers Big Sisters). Sports participation

was assessed with two questions (sports and martial arts). Youth's participation in arts was assessed with five questions (school band, drama, dance, music, and arts/crafts), whereas two items were used to assess youth's participation in other after school clubs (academic club and religious youth group).

For each item, youth reported if they participated in each of the activities, during the current school year or summer. In the present report, data from the responses to the activities survey were scored for breadth of participation, that is, the number of activities in which a youth reports being involved (out of a possible 15 different activities). Balsano, et al. (2006) found that breadth of activity participation in Grade 5 is positively related to PYD and Contribution in Grade 6.

Depression

At Wave 2, depression is measured by the 20-item Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977). Using a forced choice response format ranging from 0 = *rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)* to 3 = *most or all of the time (5-7 days)*, participants report how often they felt a particular way during the past week. An example of an item is "I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me." Higher scores indicate higher levels of depressive symptoms.

Risk behaviors

Risk behaviors are measured through scales of substance use and delinquency derived for this study from the PSL-AB and from the Monitoring the Future (2000) questionnaire. The six items used to measure substance use or abuse ask participants to indicate during the last 12 months have you ever done any of the following. The questions use a forced choice response

format ranging from 1 = *never* to 4 = *regularly*. An example of an item is “Have you ever sniffed glues, sprays, or gases?” The four items used to measure delinquency ask respondents how many times during the last 12 months they have done something. There is a forced choice response format ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *five or more times*. An example of an item is “How many times have you hit or beat up someone?”

Family measures

Several features of the family and community context of the participants were measured. For the present analyses, the following indices were included.

Family structure. This information was obtained from the youth and indicates whether or not they live with one or more parents or guardians (excluding aunts and uncles, friends).

Duration of residence in a neighborhood. Youth responded to a question about how long they have lived in their current. There was a forced-choice format with response alternatives ranging from “1” = less than one year to “6” = more than five years.

Mothers’ education. The adult who filled out the PQ was asked to indicate the youth’s mother’s highest level of education.

Per capita income. Annual household income was obtained from the PQ and divided by the number of people living in the household.

Open-ended items used to assess exemplary other, idealized self, and actual self

As noted above, the SQ includes several open-ended questions. Three of these questions were used to assess girls’ conceptions of an exemplary, thriving youth (idealized other), of their own ideal characteristics (idealized self), and of their actual self. These questions were, respectively: 1. Everybody knows kids in their school or neighborhood that they think are doing

well in all areas of their life. In your opinion, what is he or she like? What sort of things does he or she do?; 2. Everybody also has an idea about how she or he would like to be. If you imagine yourself doing really well in all areas of your life, what would you be like? What sorts of things would you do?; and 3. Now, think about yourself and your life now. How would you describe how you are doing? What are you like? What sorts of things do you do?

The analysis aimed to address two questions. First, how do urban girls describe thriving? We were specifically interested in determining if the girls used the language consistent with the 5 Cs and Contribution in their descriptions of thriving, and what other aspects of their lives did urban girls emphasize as being important. Second, what can we learn about well-being of urban girls from their descriptions of themselves?

Two sets of codes were used to meet the research goals. The first set of codes was derived from the theoretical framework of Five Cs and the sixth C, Contribution, in order to assess to what extent girls' descriptions of thriving utilize the language of PYD. This decision was based on recent work by King, et al. (2005), who found that definitions of thriving by adults and youth were able to be organized according to the "Five Cs" of PYD. Additional codes were generated from the data through open coding (i.e., identification of concepts within the data) (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to capture descriptions of thriving that were outside of the framework provided by the terms linked to the Five Cs and Contribution.

A preliminary codebook was developed by two raters based on the answers provided by 75 randomly selected participants. In order to determine intercoder reliability, each rater used this preliminary codebook to independently code an additional 75 randomly selected cases. There was a 91.26% agreement between the two raters and a high Cohen's kappa, $k = .92$. Given

this consistency, the remaining youth answers were coded by one of the two raters.

The second set of codes was developed to assess well-being of urban girls based on their descriptions of themselves in positive or negative terms. For a sample of 30 cases, there was a 97% agreement between the two raters and a Cohen's kappa of 0.873. Given this consistency, the remaining youth answers were coded by one of the two raters.

RESULTS:

THE MANY FACES OF URBAN GIRLS

The purpose of the analyses conducted for this chapter was to assess whether urban girls within the 4-H Study sample show levels of PYD, Contribution, depression, and risk/problem behaviors comparable to the overall sample of girls in the 4-H Study and if the links among these constructs found for the overall sample of girls (in Jelicic, et al., 2006) are seen as well within the sample of urban girls. We assess also whether within the sample of urban girls there is variation associated with SES, race/ethnicity, and geographic area of residence within the United States. Our expectation was urban girls would be comparable to the overall sample of girls in regard to the quantitative measures assessed in the present research.

In addition, in order to explore urban girls' views of thriving and of their own well-being, we coded responses to three open-ended questions that were aimed at assessing, respectively, young people's ideas about the characteristics that defined an exemplary, thriving youth (an "idealized other"); the characteristics they would manifest if they were showing exemplary functioning ("idealized self"); and the characteristics of functioning they actually manifest ("actual self").

Quantitative findings: Urban girls manifest PYD

Table 2 shows means on demographic and outcome variables for urban and non-urban girls in the 4-H Study of PYD and indicates whether or not differences are significant. The sample of urban girls differs from non-urban girls in terms of race/ethnicity and religion (they are more likely to be African American and Latina than European American, and more likely to be Catholic than Protestant). In addition, looking at the geographic distribution of girls in our sample, there are more urban than non-urban girls in the southwestern US and fewer urban than non-urban girls in the southeastern and midwestern U.S. Finally, the urban girls have somewhat lower per capita family income, have mothers who are slightly less well educated, participate in slightly fewer activities, and have higher levels of depression than their non-urban counterparts. These differences are statistically significant, but very small.

In order to determine whether or not urban girls within the 4-H Study exhibit the same patterns of relationships between background and contextual factors and PYD, Contribution, and risk/problem behaviors found in analyses of the overall sample (in Jelicic, et al., 2006), multiple regression analyses were conducted. The results are summarized in Table 3. SES is determined jointly by mother's education and per capita family income. In order to control for missing data due to missing PQ information, a variable was included in the analyses that indicated presence/absence of PQ (and therefore, SES) information.

First, the relationships between PYD and the combined effects of SES, living in a single mother family, duration of residence in a neighborhood, and activity participation were considered. The overall model is significant, accounting for 10.2% of the variance in PYD. In terms of the individual predictors, family income was positively related to PYD, with other

variables controlled, indicating that PYD is accounted for by higher family economic resources in the sample. Table 3 summarizes this analysis.

Insert Table 3 about here

We then considered the effects of PYD, SES, living in a single mother family, duration of residence in a neighborhood, and activity participation on variables that capture positive outcomes (i.e., Contribution) and indicate the existence of possible problems (i.e., depression and risk/problem behaviors). In order to do this, the outcome variables of contribution, depression, and risk/problem behaviors were regressed on PYD, SES, living in a single mother family, duration of residence in a neighborhood, and activity participation (see Table 3). These variables account for 40.3% of the variance in Contribution scores, $p < .001$. Both breadth of after-school activity participation and PYD have significant coefficients ($p < .01$) when the other variables are controlled for. As breadth of participation and PYD increase, so too do adolescents' contribution scores. Any covariation between SES factors and contribution are mediated through PYD and activity participation for these urban girls. For depression, 16% of the variance is accounted for by the background variables, PYD, and breadth of participation. PYD has a significant negative relationship with depression, such that lower PYD predicts higher levels of depression. However, there is a significant and positive relationship between breadth of participation and depression in this sample. If this finding is replicated, it may be that new are finding evidence of what Elkind (1981) terms "the hurried child," that is of a relation between a child's engagement

with numerous extracurricular activities and the child's affect. Future, longitudinal analyses will be able to assess if there exist developmental patterns of covariation consonant with such a link.

Finally, as demonstrated in analyses of the entire 4-H Study sample, there is a negative relationship between PYD and risk/problem behaviors. For these sixth graders the incidence of risk/problem behaviors is very low and has low variance. Nevertheless, lower levels of PYD are significantly related to this variable when other background variables are controlled for, albeit the effect is small ($R^2 = .08$). Breadth of participation is not significant in this model.

Qualitative findings: Urban girls show variation in their depictions of idealized other, idealized self, and actual self

The qualitative part of the data analysis aimed to answer two questions. First, what do urban girls write about when asked about thriving (or doing well)? We were specifically interested in determining if the girls used language consistent with the 5 Cs of PYD in their descriptions of thriving, and any other attributes or activities the youth used to describe someone who is doing well. Second, what can we learn about well-being of urban girls from their descriptions of themselves?

In order to address the first question we analyzed the girls' descriptions of an exemplary youth (or other), idealized self, and actual self. Of the 277 girls included in our sample, 239 participants provided codable descriptions of actual self, 247 participants offered codable responses to the idealized self question, and 229 participants wrote codable answers to the exemplary youth (or other) question. Answers such as "I don't know," nonsensical sentences, and sentences that did not contain information regarding thriving, such as "This friend wants to

be older and she tries to act older but she's only twelve" were considered uncodable.

However, there were only nine uncodable answers, all of which were in response to the questions about idealized self and idealized (exemplary) other.

Based on the final coding, we found that more than half of the girls used language consistent with the 5 Cs and Contribution when describing a thriving youth. One hundred forty-one (53.8%) girls used this language when describing an idealized other, 146 (55.7%) when describing idealized self, and 163 (62.2%) when describing actual self. Urban girls discussed competence mostly in relation to academic competence (such as getting good grades) and athletic competence, e.g., "I am on the honor roll and I have great grades in all of my classes" and "I'm good at most sports except hockey." Girls wrote about connection mainly in relation to peers and family, for example, "I spend time with my family" and "My friends are great. They respect me and they are an important part of my life." Caring was expressed in multiple ways including caring for friends, family, and animals, as in "I like to take care of my animals" and "I love everyone and myself." Urban girls discussed character as being good to others and doing the right thing, "I listen to my elders" and "I think of myself as a hard worker." Confidence was written about as being proud of oneself, e.g., "I'm doing really well in school and I'm kind of proud of myself." Among the 5 Cs, for all three items combined, respondents most often mentioned Competence (out of 277 girls, 152 mentioned Competence, 93 mentioned Connection, 88 mentioned Character, 30 mentioned Caring, and 11 mentioned Confidence).

The outcome of Contribution was most often described by the girls as helping one's family or community. Sample statements include "I baby sit and help people" and "I help out and organize school groups to keep kids in school."

At the same time, there were other concepts, not captured by the 5 Cs and Contribution framework that were important for girls when they described thriving. These other concepts included: 1. various activities, for example, sports and outdoor activities, arts and drama, hobbies, spending time with friends, and shopping; 2. descriptions of positive personal characteristics and behaviors, such as being spiritual and popular; 3. negative personal characteristics and behaviors, such as being lazy, bossy, and getting into trouble; 4. descriptions of positive and negative emotions, such as being happy or sad; 5. descriptions of positive and negative characteristics of contexts, such as family and neighborhood; and 6. descriptions of physical appearance. One hundred and fifty-seven (59.9%) mentioned the concepts in these six thematic categories when describing an exemplary other youth, 153 (58.4%) used these concepts when describing the idealized self, and 192 (73.3%) used these concepts when describing the actual self. For all three items combined, the most often mentioned “non-C” themes were positive personal characteristics and outdoor activities/sports participation.

In essence, then, most of the answers to the open-ended questions included both language consistent with the 5 Cs and Contribution and, as well, descriptions of issues that are perhaps developmentally and personally important but are not considered as reflecting indicators of PYD. For example, the following description of an exemplary youth was coded as containing themes of competence and contribution, which are consistent with PYD framework and, as well, specific activities such as arts and drama, “She is a good friend to me. She helps me get through hard times. She dances a lot and does a lot of really great things. Her grades are doing well too.” The following description of idealized self was coded for themes of competence and connection, which are consistent with PYD framework, and also for themes relating to positive personal

characteristics, “I would want to have straight A’s. I’ll be smart, and my mom will be proud of me.” For instance, the following example of a description of the actual self was coded for the PYD-related themes of character and connection, and for themes reflecting other types of activity: “I am responsible of my sister, respectful. I am liking school a lot, and my teacher because she teaches fun stuff. I like reading, I like seeing TV a lot.”

We conclude that when 6th grade urban girls are asked to describe thriving (or well-being) in their own words, more than half of them describe characteristics, activities, and contexts that are seen as contributing to positive youth development by using terms associated with the 5 Cs and Contribution. At the same time, there are additional themes that are important to these girls that do not reflect indicators of PYD, at least as indexed by the Five Cs and contribution. King, et al. (2005) reported comparable findings..

In order to address the second question – what can we learn about the well-being of urban girls from their self-descriptions, we looked at the description of actual selves that the girls offered. We found that most of the girls described themselves as doing well when answering the question about actual self, [“Now, think about yourself and your life now. How would you describe how you are doing? What are you like? What sorts of things do you do?"]. Out of 236 cases that contained responses, we were able to code 221 of them in order to assess whether or not the girls view themselves in a positive light. Fourteen answers were deemed uncodable for this purpose. Some uncodable data were nonsensical sentences, such as "I am in the middle I like to hang out with my friends." Answers were also deemed uncodable if they provided descriptive information that could not be evaluated for positive or negative content, such as "I wear glasses. I always tie my hair the same way every day." In addition, uncodable data

included answers that did not pertain to the question, such as "I would be nice and better looking, and I will be a tennis player."

One hundred and seventy-one girls (61.7%) provided descriptions of themselves and their environment only in positive terms. Among those answers, we saw a range of responses from very upbeat to more subtle descriptions. The following self-descriptions are the examples of the more positive end of the positive spectrum: "I am doing incredible in my life. I have a wonderful and supportive family and I have great friends. I help other people with chores and I enjoy life," and "My life is great. I'm having fun and I have a lot of friends. I'm in volleyball, and in drama." Less positive and more neutral answers included responses such as "I'm doing ok. I'm just a regular pre-teen. I do nine sports each year!," and "Well, I would describe me doing ok, not great, not bad, just fine and ok."

Forty-one respondents (14.8%) used both positive and negative terms when describing themselves. Examples of these descriptions include such answers as, "I am a good friend. I am good to people. I am nice but I can be mean sometimes. Be good to people, be generous" and "I am not so good. Me and my stepfather don't talk at all, when we do we always argue. I'm good, respectful, nice, and get into lots of fights with brothers and sister. I like just to be with my friends and spend most of my time with family."

When respondents described themselves both in negative and positive terms, it was often explained in terms of more than one reason. Sometimes, as in the examples above, the girls talked about difficulties in their relationships with their family members. Other girls, as in the example below, mentioned family issues: "At times I feel very lonely. Not having a father around, and (some)times I'm happy. I like reading and drawing." Yet others, while describing

themselves in a positive way, described their life as generally difficult: “I try to work hard in school. I try to help around the house as much as I can. Right now my life is hard and sad.”

Additional negative issues mentioned by the girls included difficulties with school, being teased or disliked by peers, concerns about physical appearance, and awareness of negative personal characteristics such as bossiness and laziness. While more negative, it may be that these respondents are more reflective and insightful, or have higher standards for themselves than girls who only talk about themselves in positive terms.

Only nine girls (3.2%) described themselves exclusively in negative terms. Examples include such answers as “I think my life right now is like a four-way to nowhere, which means confusing. I’m like really confused right now,” “Everybody hates me. I am always hated and depressed,” and “I’m not doing so well. When mother got pregnant she stop(ped) working. We didn’t catch up on our bills and I need clothes...” These self-descriptions suggested that there are some girls (albeit only a few in this sample) that are struggling with growing up and managing relationships with peers and family.

In sum, based on these analyses, we found that most of the urban girls in our sample view themselves as doing well. This result is consistent with the quantitative findings of high levels of PYD, moderate levels of Contribution already by sixth grade, and low levels of depression and risk/problem behaviors in this sample of urban girls.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

We believe our findings tell a useful and provocative story about urban girls during a portion of their early adolescence (i.e., their sixth grade year). As is true of all girls we are assessing within the 4-H Study, urban girls are doing well, at least as indexed by their reports on

quantitative items linked to the Five Cs of PYD and Contribution and, as well, as evidenced by qualitative coding of their statements on the open-ended questions we posed to them. Despite the presence of some variation between our samples of urban and non-urban girls and within the sample of urban girls, the overall view one can derive from the present findings is that in early adolescence the probability is that urban girls have the cognitive, affective, and behavioral characteristics that are indicative of healthy, positive development (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner, 2004b; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b).

While these results thus lend further support to the strength-based conception of adolescence and, as such, speak against the use of deficit model of urban youth (or youth in general), at the same time the findings we have reported suggest that the Five Cs model of PYD indicators is a necessary but as well an incomplete frame for depicting the dimensions along which urban girls may thrive. As found also by King, et al. (2005), our qualitative findings suggest that there exist concepts associated with positive development that are not captured by the current set of quantitative indicators of the PYD concept. While a preponderant portion of our qualitative data triangulated with our quantitative findings to indicate the usefulness of the quantitative operationalization of PYS through the Five Cs and Contribution, the qualitative data revealed that there were a half dozen additional themes that were reflected in the girls' conceptions of thriving in others and in themselves.

A key implication of these qualitative findings is that future research about PYD must expand the operationalizations used to index PYD. Clearly, the quantitative indicators of PYD associated with the Five Cs and Contribution may capture a great deal of the variance in describing PYD among youth in general and in regard to urban girls in particular as well. In the

study of the person we know that there are features of structure and function that are shared by all individuals, and these quantitative indices may provide suitable appraisals of these nomothetic features of behavior and development. However, people also possess characteristics that are shared by others in a particular group they are in (i.e., they possess group differential characteristics) and, as well, each individual may possess characteristics unique to her, i.e., there may be idiographic characteristics (Emmerich, 1968; Lerner, 2002). The qualitative data we have reviewed suggest that urban girls, as a group, may possess differential features of their behavior and development. In addition, these data suggest that there may be important idiographic features of development as well (e.g., in regard to our findings that there is a small group of girls who are struggling in regard to their senses of self and/or that there may be, for some girls, an association between out-of-school activities and affect that reflected the “hurried child syndrome”).

In short, then, the richness of the qualitative analyses both confirm the utility of the quantitative approaches being taken to studying PYD and to testing the development systems ideas about the utility of a strength-based approach to youth development (Lerner, in press). At the same time, these analyses suggest that these quantitative approaches need to be expanded to identify and, through applications of research to policies and programs, support the varied and important ways that urban girls travel across their adolescence towards a positive and productive life.

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Table 1
 “Working Definitions” of the 5Cs of Positive Youth Development

C	Definition
Competence	Positive view of one’s actions in domain specific areas including social, academic, cognitive, and vocational. Social competence pertains to interpersonal skills (e.g., conflict resolution). Cognitive competence pertains to cognitive abilities (e.g., decision making). School grades, attendance, and test scores are part of academic competence. Vocational competence involves work habits and career choice explorations.
Confidence	An internal sense of overall positive self-worth and self-efficacy; one’s global self-regard, as opposed to domain specific beliefs.
Connection	Positive bonds with people and institutions that are reflected in bidirectional exchanges between the individual and peers, family, school, and community in which both parties contribute to the relationship.
Character	Respect for societal and cultural rules, possession of standards for correct behaviors, a sense of right and wrong (morality), and integrity.
Caring	A sense of sympathy and empathy for others.

Note. Derived from Lerner, et al. (2005), and Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003a, 2003b).

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Percentages of Demographic Characteristics and Outcome Variables for “Urban” and “Non-Urban” Girls in the 4-H Study of PYD****

Demographic characteristics	Urban Girls (n=277)	Non-Urban Girls (n=799)
Mothers' education in years (mean, sd)	13.30 (2.94)	13.93 (2.35)**
Per capita family income in dollars	11,396.73 (9,293.17)	13,879.47(8,254.18)**
Race/Ethnicity (%)		
African American	16.9%	4.9%***
Asian American	3.7%	2.3%
American Indian	6.0%	2.9%*
European American	27.3%	72.4%***
Latino/a American	36.7%	13.0%***
Multiracial	8.6%	3.6%**
Other	0.7%	0.9%
% Single mother households	13.0%	7.7%**
Time living in neighborhood (%)		
Less than 1 year	11.4%	8.9%
1 to 2 years	12.9%	10.8%
2 to 3 years	13.7%	9.3%*
3 to 4 years	5.5%	9.8%*
4 to 5 years	10.6%	9.6%
More than 5 years	45.9%	51.6%
Religious affiliation (%)		
Protestant	7.9%	25.4%***
Catholic	63.8%	33.1%***
Other Religious Affiliation	20.4%	29.8%*
Non-Religious	7.9%	11.6%

Geographical region (%)		
Northeast	22.1%	15.1%**
Southeast	15.9%	31.6%***
Northwest	13.0%	9.9%
Mid-Atlantic	0.0%	2.5%**
Mid-West	12.7%	36.5%***
Southwest	36.2%	4.4%***
PYD (mean, sd; ranges 1-100)	75.24 (13.30)	76.19 (12.83)
Contribution (mean, sd; ranges 1-100)	46.34 (13.85)	46.58 (13.04)
Depression (mean, sd; ranges 1-52)	14.70 (9.76)	12.58 (9.54)**
Risk/problem behaviors		
(mean, sd; ranges 1-12)	1.08 (1.77)	0.95 (2.11)
Breadth of activity participation		
(count of activities, range 1-22)	2.61 (1.95)	2.91 (1.98)*

Key: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

****Independent samples t-tests were computed for all continuous variable comparisons and chi-square analyses were conducted for all categorical variable comparisons.

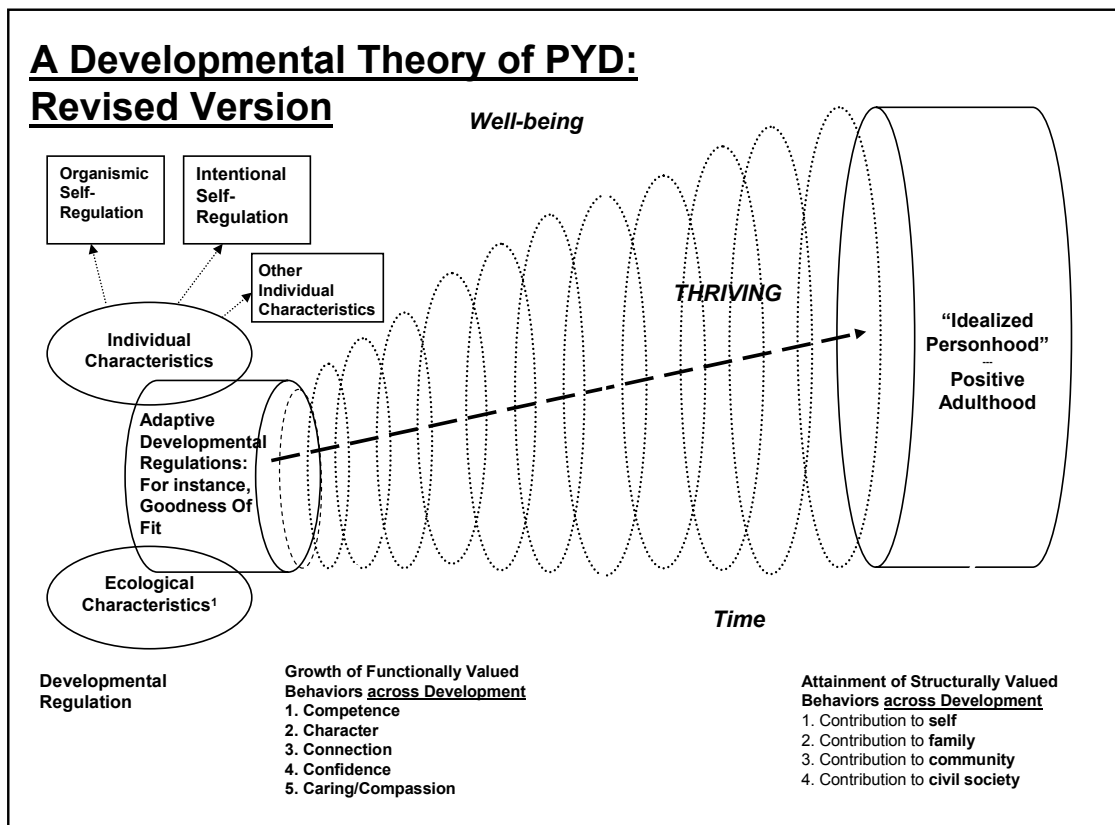
Table 3

Hierarchical Regression of PYD, Contribution, Depression, and Risk/Problem Behaviors on SES (Mother's Education, Per Capita Income, PQ Present?), Family Structure (Single Mother Household), Time in Neighborhood, Breadth of Activity Participation, and PYD for Urban Girls Sample (n=277)

	PYD	Contribution	Depression	Risk/problem Behaviors
Intercept	62.648***	-11.172	39.725***	4.568***
Mom's Ed	.040	.643	-.399	-.097
Income (in \$1000)	0.447*	0.029	-0.004	-0.012
PQ Present?	.072	1.683	-1.108	-.049
Single Mom	3.721	2.472	-2.112	.065
Time in Neighborhood	.851	-.028	-.196	.005
Breadth of Participation	.837	1.411**	.791*	.003
PYD	--	.577***	-.266***	-.028**
R ²	.102**	.403***	.160***	.080
df(Residual)	165	141	162	162

Key: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Figure 1



¹Human resources; physical/institutional resources; collective activity; and accessibility in families, schools, and communities (Theokas, 2005)

