

Student Council, Volunteering, Basketball, or Marching Band: What Kind of Extracurricular Involvement Matters?

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We examined the potential benefits and risks associated with participation in five types of activities: prosocial (church and volunteer activities), team sports, school involvement, performing arts, and academic clubs. Our sample included 1,259 mostly European American adolescents (approximately equal numbers of males and females). First, we explore the link between involvement in these activities and our indicators of positive and negative development. Involvement in prosocial activities was linked to positive educational trajectories and low rates of involvement in risky behaviors. In contrast, participation in team sports was linked to positive educational trajectories and to high rates of involvement in one risky behavior, drinking alcohol. Then, we explore two possible mediators of these associations: peer associations and activity-based identity formation. The evidence supported our hypothesis that group differences in peer associations and activity-based identities help explain activity group differences.

The release of *A Matter of Time* by the Carnegie Corporation of New York (1992) put the spotlight on the role that productive use of time might play in successful adolescent development. It illustrated how much discretionary time adolescents have and how much of this time is spent on unstructured activities such as “hanging out” with friends, watching television, and listening to music. The authors argued that constructive, organized activities would be a better use of the adolescents’ time for the following types of reasons: (a) idle

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time is the devil's playground—doing good things with one's time takes time away from opportunities to get involved in risky activities; (b) one can learn good things while engaged in constructive activities—for example, specific competencies and prosocial values and attitudes; and (c) involvement in organized activity settings increases the possibility of establishing positive social supports and networks. To date, however, there has been relatively little longitudinal, developmentally-oriented research focused on either the benefits or costs of how adolescents spend their discretionary time. Most of the relevant research has been done in sociology and leisure studies, with some recent attention to the benefits of activity involvement growing out of concern with the potential importance of community-service activities for youth development. In this article, we investigate the longitudinal correlates of activity involvement during the high school years. Initially, we report on the patterns of involvement of high school sophomores to provide a richer picture of the social life of today's adolescents. Then, we report on both the short-term behavioral correlates and the long-term sequelae of engagement in different types of activities.

Most of the sociological research into the correlates of youth activity involvement has focused on extracurricular school activities. This research has documented a link between adolescents' extracurricular activities and adult educational attainment, occupation, and income, even after controlling for social class and ability (Landers & Landers, 1978; Otto, 1975, 1976; Otto & Alwin, 1977). Some of these studies also documented a protective association between extracurricular activity participation and involvement in delinquent and other risky behaviors (e.g., Landers & Landers, 1978).

Research within leisure studies has taken a slightly different path. In this area, there have been extensive discussions of the difference between relaxed leisure and constructive, organized activities. Relaxed leisure is characterized as enjoyable, but not demanding (watching TV). Constructive leisure requires effort and provides a forum in which to express one's identity or passion in sports, performing arts, and leadership activities (Agnew & Petersen, 1989; Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Csikszentmihalyi & Kleiber, 1991; Fine, Mortimer, & Roberts, 1990; Grieses, 1989; Haggard & Williams, 1992; Kleiber, Larson, & Csikszentmihalyi, 1986; Larson & Kleiber, 1993; Larson & Richards, 1989). It is often assumed that there are more beneficial developmental outcomes for adolescents associated with constructive leisure than with relaxed leisure because constructive leisure provides the following opportunities: (a) to acquire and practice specific social, physical, and intellectual skills that may be useful in a wide variety of settings; (b) to contribute

to the well-being of one's community and to develop a sense of agency as a member of one's community; (c) to belong to a socially recognized and valued group; (d) to establish supportive social networks of both peers and adults that can help one in both the present and the future; and (e) to experience and deal with challenges. We know little, however, about the instrumental role that relaxed and constructive leisure has on adolescent development.

Some recent research indicates positive consequences of participation in organized activities (e.g., Simmons & Blyth, 1987). For example, Mahoney and Cairns (1997) and McNeal (1995) found that extracurricular activities were related to a lower chance of school dropout, particularly during the early high school years and for high-risk youth. Mahoney (1997) has also shown a connection to reduced rates of criminal offending. In addition, adolescents involved in a broad range of adult-endorsed activities report lower rates of substance use than their noninvolved peers (Youniss, Yates, & Su, 1997). Sports, relative to other school-based activities such as student government and academic clubs, have been linked to lower likelihood of school dropout and higher rates of college attendance (Deeter, 1990; Elliott & Voss, 1974; Hanks & Eckland, 1978; Holland & Andre, 1987; Howell & McKenzie, 1987; Kirshnit, Ham, & Richards, 1989; McNeal, 1995); this is especially true for low-achieving and blue-collar male athletes (see Gould & Weiss, 1987; Holland & Andre, 1987; Melnick, Vanfossen, & Sabo, 1988).

Participation in extracurricular activities has also been linked to increases on indicators of positive development such as self-concept, high school grade point average (GPA), school engagement, and educational aspirations (Lamborn, Brown, Mounts, & Steinberg, 1992; Newmann, Wehlage, & Lamborn, 1992; Winne & Walsh, 1980). This is particularly true if one is involved in a leadership role. Similarly, involvement in high school extracurricular activities is predictive of several indicators of healthy adult development, including active participation in the political process and other types of volunteer activities, continued sport engagement, and better mental health (DeMartini, 1983; Glancy, Willits, & Farrell, 1986; Youniss, McLellan, Yang, & Yates, in press; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997; Youniss, Yates et al., 1997). In contrast, sports have also been linked to increased rates of school deviance (Lamborn et al., 1992).

A third line of research involves studies that focus on the question of causal direction and selection. For example, Larson (1994) used longitudinal analyses to study the association between sport participation and delinquency. His results suggest that the apparent protective relation of sports to low rates of delinquency actually reflects the negative impact of delinquency

on sports participation: that is, adolescents engaged in delinquent behaviors drop out of school athletic participation over time. He found no evidence that participation in sports led to a decline in engagement in delinquent activities. In contrast, participation in other youth organizations did predict a decline in engagement in delinquent activities.

In this article, we examine both the potential benefits (psychological attachment to school, better GPA, lower rates of school absences, and higher rates of college attendance) and the potential risks (engagement in risky behavior, including substance use) associated with participation in various forms of constructive leisure. Five types of involvement are considered: prosocial (church and volunteer activities), team sports (any school team), school involvement (pep club, student council), performing arts (drama, marching band), and academic clubs (science club, foreign language club). These organized extracurricular activities were selected because they require effort and are settings in which adolescents can express their identities and passions (Csikszentmihalyi & Kleiber, 1991). In the first section of the article, we explore the link between involvement in these types of activities and our indicators of positive and negative developmental trajectories. To both control for selection factors and better understand the causal direction of the relation, we use longitudinal analyses. In the second half of the article, we explore possible reasons for these associations. In this section, we focus on two possible mediators: peer associations and activity-based identity formation.

METHOD

Study Design and Sample

The data come from the Michigan Study of Adolescent Life Transitions (MSALT). This is a longitudinal study that began (in 1983) with a cohort of sixth graders drawn from 10 school districts in southeastern Michigan. The vast majority of the sample is White and comes from working- and middle-class families living in small industrial cities around Detroit. We have followed approximately 1,800 of these youth through eight waves of data beginning in the sixth grade (1983-1984), and continuing into 1996-1997, when most were 25 to 26. The analyses presented here include 1,259 respondents who both completed the survey items about activity involvement and had outcome data from the waves of data collected in 1990-1991 (Wave 6—when most were 12th graders) and in 1992-1993 (Wave 7).

Measures

The adolescents were administered an extensive interview with items tapping a wide range of constructs. The specific constructs used for the first part of this article are summarized below.

Activity involvement. In the 10th grade, we collected detailed information on the adolescents' involvement in a wide variety of activities in and out of school. Adolescents were provided with a list of 16 sports and 30 school and community clubs and organizations. They were asked to check off all activities in which they participated. We clustered the extracurricular activities into five categories: *prosocial activities*—attending church and/or participating in volunteer and community service-type activities; *performance activities*—participating in school band, drama, and/or dance; *team sports*—participating in one or more school teams; *school involvement*—participating in student government, pep club, and/or cheerleading; and *academic clubs*—participating in debate, foreign language, math or chess clubs, science fair, or tutoring in academic subjects. These categorizations focus on the actual content or domain of the activity.

Risk behavior. In addition to information on involvement in positive extracurricular activities, we also collected detailed information on the adolescents' involvement in risky/problematic activities in 10th and 12th grades, such as drinking, getting drunk, skipping school, and using drugs. The risk behavior measures used the following categories to indicate frequency of engaging in the activity in the previous 6 months: 1 = *none*, 2 = *once*, 3 = *2 to 3 times*, 4 = *4 to 6 times*, 5 = *7 to 10 times*, 6 = *11 to 20 times*, and 7 = *21 or more times*. Drinking alcohol at Wave 6 had an extra category, with 7 = *21 to 30 times* and 8 = *31 times or more*.

Academic outcomes. We also collected data on the students' attachment to school, using one 7-point item about how much they liked school in both 10th and 12th grades. In addition, information on academic performance and assessment test scores was obtained for every participant from their school files. For these analyses, we use school records of the participants' cumulative GPAs at the 11th and 12th grades, as well as verbal and numerical ability subscores on the Differential Aptitude Test (The Psychological Corporation, 1981) administered in the ninth grade. Finally, in our 1992-1993 wave, we collected college attendance information.

Family characteristics. We included mother's education as a measure of family social economic status to use as a control variable in the multiple regression analyses. This variable was assessed based on the mothers' questionnaire collected at the first wave, when the adolescents were in the sixth grade. Mothers indicated on a 9-point ordinal scale their highest level of education with 1 = *grade school*, 3 = *high school diploma*, 6 = *college degree*, and 9 = *Ph.D. or other advanced professional degree such as an MD*. The modal responses for this sample were 3 (high school degree, 37.8%) and 4 (some college or technical school, 34.1%). We then collapsed this scale into a 3-point ordinal scale with 1 = *no more than high school diploma* (46.2%), 2 = *some college* (38.3%), and 3 = *Bachelors' degree or more* (15.5%).

Procedure

The data were collected via self-administered questionnaires that were completed at school during regular school hours. For the 10th- and 12th-grade waves, the adolescents were released from their classrooms to fill out the questionnaire in a large common room—usually the lunchroom. In addition, complete school records from Grade 5 to Grade 12 were collected for all participants; these included grades, absences, courses taken, and any disciplinary measures taken by the schools. The young adult surveys were mailed to the participants' homes and returned via postage-paid envelopes. On completion of the survey, participants were sent \$20.

RESULTS

Descriptive Patterns

First, we describe the patterns of males and females in activity involvement in the 10th grade. These results are presented in Tables 1 and 2. Table 1 summarizes the distribution of in-school and out-of-school activities by gender, with team sports aggregated into a single category. Table 2 breaks down the team sports into individual school-based competitive sports teams.

Next, we computed a total number of activities by summing all the in-school and out-of-school clubs and activities that were checked. On average, these adolescents participated in between one and two activities and/or clubs. Females participated at higher rates than males, $F(1, 1243) = 25.49, p < .001$; females' mean = 1.79 ($SD = 1.71$) and males' mean = 1.33 ($SD = 1.44$). How-

TABLE 1: Percentage of Females and Males Participating in Each Type of Activity

| <i>Activity</i> | <i>Females</i> | <i>Males</i> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| School team sports | 45.6 | 66.7 |
| Sports club | 13.1 | 25.5 |
| Dance classes | 15.6 | .7 |
| Dance | 14.4 | 5.2 |
| Band/orchestra | 19.1 | 14.3 |
| Drama | 13.0 | 6.1 |
| Art | 8.6 | 7.7 |
| Student government | 10.5 | 5.4 |
| Pep club/cheerleading | 12.4 | 3.1 |
| Cheerleading as team sport | 11.5 | .2 |
| Church | 18.2 | 10.8 |
| Service club | 3.2 | 2.4 |
| Tutoring/math, science, computers | 2.3 | 2.3 |
| Tutoring/other subjects | 1.3 | 1.2 |
| Science fair | 1.0 | .7 |
| Math club | 0.0 | .5 |
| Chess club | 0.0 | .7 |
| Computer club | .6 | 2.3 |
| Foreign language club | 12.6 | 4.5 |
| Debate club/forensics | 1.2 | 1.4 |
| Career-related clubs | 2.9 | 2.4 |
| Other school clubs | 3.8 | 3.3 |
| SADD | 10.2 | 3.0 |
| Peer counseling | 3.5 | 1.2 |
| ROTC | .4 | 3.3 |
| Scouts/Girls' and Boys' Club | 2.2 | 4.7 |
| 4H | 3.5 | 1.9 |
| Junior Achievement | .9 | 1.6 |

ever, 31% of the sample did not participate in any activities or clubs. Because sports were so common, we aggregated them separately by summing all of the different teams checked. Not surprisingly, males participated on more different teams than females. However, 45% of the sample had not competed on any school athletic team. Finally, we calculated the breadth of the adolescents' participation by summing the number of different types of activities for each adolescent (e.g., participation in several different sports, or several different types of clubs, only counted as one type of activity). Females also participated in a wider range of activities (mean = 1.54, $SD = 1.19$), than males (mean = 1.21, $SD = .90$; $F[1, 1243] = 28.21, p < .001$).

TABLE 2: Percentage of Females and Males Participating in Each Type of Competitive School Sports Team

| <i>Type of Sport</i> | <i>Females</i> | <i>Males</i> |
|----------------------|----------------|--------------|
| Baseball | 3.2 | 26.3 |
| Basketball | 10.7 | 25.3 |
| Football | 2.9 | 31.9 |
| Golf | .6 | 8.9 |
| Ice hockey | 1.3 | 9.1 |
| Soccer | 3.5 | 8.4 |
| Wrestling | 1.3 | 15.9 |
| Field hockey | .6 | 1.6 |
| Swimming/diving | 11.8 | 12.7 |
| Tennis | 9.2 | 8.0 |
| Track/cross-country | 12.0 | 16.2 |
| Gymnastics | 4.7 | 1.4 |
| Softball | 16.5 | 3.0 |
| Volleyball | 17.1 | 5.2 |

Next, we aggregated the adolescents' responses into five broad categories of activities: prosocial, sports teams, performing arts, school involvement, and academic clubs. Participants were given a yes score if they had checked off at least one activity/club within the broad category. A description of participation by gender is found in Table 3. Consistent with results reported above, the males were more likely to engage in at least one sport activity than were females ($F[1, 1243] = 63.72, p < .001$). In contrast, the females were more likely to be involved in prosocial, performing arts, and school involvement activities ($F[1, 1243] = 23.71, p < .001$; $F[1, 1243] = 70.49, p < .001$; and $F[1, 1243] = 52.49, p < .001$, respectively).

We also assessed whether mother's education was related to participation in any of these five general categories. We divided mother's education into three categories and ran ANOVAs for each of the activity clusters. The only significant relation occurred for prosocial activity involvement ($F[2, 724] = 9.82, p < .01$): Adolescents with mothers having a college degree or higher were twice as likely (37%) to be involved in prosocial activities as adolescents with mothers having a high school degree or less education (18%); those with mothers having some college education fell in between (23%). Trends were evident for both team sports ($F[2, 724] = 2.82, p < .06$), and performing arts ($F[2, 724] = 2.60, p < .08$), with 53%, 63% and 58% of adoles-

TABLE 3: Participation Rates of Female and Male Students in Extracurricular Activities (in percentages)

| | <i>Females</i> | | <i>Males</i> | |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> |
| Prosocial activities | 498 (73) | 187 (27) | 481 (84) | 91 (16) |
| Sports teams | 372 (54) | 313 (46) | 191 (33) | 383 (67) |
| Performing arts | 389 (57) | 297 (43) | 450 (79) | 122 (21) |
| School involvement | 526 (77) | 157 (23) | 519 (92) | 46 (8) |
| Academic clubs | 572 (83) | 113 (17) | 509 (89) | 63 (11) |

cents in the three mother education categories participating in sports and 33%, 31%, and 42% of the adolescents in the three mother education categories participating in performing arts.

Concurrent and Long-Term Correlates

In this section, we report on the relation between 10th grade extracurricular activity involvement and other psychological and behavioral outcomes. We examine whether specific types of extracurricular activities are more beneficial or risky than others.

Prosocial activity involvement. Tables 4 and 5 illustrate the findings for involvement in prosocial activities. Adolescents involved in prosocial activities in 10th grade reported less involvement in problem behaviors; this difference is especially marked at Grade 12, 2 years after the activity data were collected. These results suggest that prosocial involvement is a protective factor with regard to the age-related increases in these risky behaviors. Prosocial involvement is also linked to better academic performance and greater likelihood of being enrolled full-time in college at age 21.

We tested this hypothesis more directly using longitudinal regression analysis. The results are shown in Table 6. In each equation, we entered the 10th-grade level of the risky behavior to get an estimate of the extent to which each of the other predictors explained change in frequency of engaging in the particular risky behaviors. We also entered gender, mother's educational level, and two intellectual aptitude variables (performance on the Differential

TABLE 4: Mean Levels (and standard deviations) of Risk Behaviors and Attachment to School in 10th Grade by Participation in Extracurricular Activities

| | <i>Prosocial Activities</i> | | <i>Sports Teams</i> | | <i>Performing Arts</i> | | <i>School Involvement</i> | | <i>Academic Clubs</i> | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> |
| Drink alcohol | 2.7 (1.9) | 2.0** (1.4) | 2.5 (1.8) | 2.6 (1.8) | 2.6 (1.9) | 2.4** (1.6) | 2.5 (1.8) | 2.6 (1.6) | 2.6 (1.8) | 2.4 (1.5) |
| Skip school | 1.7 (1.0) | 1.4** (.7) | 1.7 (.9) | 1.6 (.9) | 1.7 (1.0) | 1.5** (.7) | 1.7 (1.0) | 1.5+ (.8) | 1.7 (1.0) | 1.5 (.9) |
| Use drugs | 1.5 (1.4) | 1.2** (1.0) | 1.5 (1.3) | 1.4 (1.2) | 1.5 (1.3) | 1.4 (1.2) | 1.5 (1.3) | 1.4 (1.2) | 1.5 (1.3) | 1.3 (1.1) |
| Like school | 4.4 (1.7) | 4.8** (1.6) | 4.3 (1.8) | 4.7** (1.6) | 4.3 (1.7) | 4.9** (1.6) | 4.4 (1.7) | 5.0** (1.6) | 4.5 (1.7) | 4.8** (1.5) |

+ $p < .10$. ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 5: Mean Levels (and standard deviations) of Risk Behaviors and Academic Outcomes in 12th Grade and College Attendance in Young Adulthood by Participation in Extracurricular Activities

| | <i>Prosocial Activities</i> | | <i>Sports Teams</i> | | <i>Performing Arts</i> | | <i>School Involvement</i> | | <i>Academic Clubs</i> | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> |
| Drink alcohol | 4.5 (2.5) | 2.8** (2.0) | 3.5 (2.4) | 4.4** (2.5) | 4.3 (2.5) | 3.6** (2.3) | 4.0 (2.5) | 4.1 (2.4) | 4.0 (2.5) | 4.0 (2.5) |
| Get drunk | 3.9 (2.2) | 2.4** (1.8) | 3.2 (2.1) | 3.8** (2.2) | 3.7 (2.3) | 3.2** (2.1) | 3.5 (2.2) | 3.6 (2.1) | 3.6 (2.2) | 3.3 (2.1) |
| Skip school | 3.2 (1.6) | 2.6** (1.5) | 3.1 (1.7) | 3.0 (1.5) | 3.0 (1.5) | 3.1 (1.7) | 3.0 (1.6) | 3.1 (1.5) | 3.1 (1.6) | 2.8 (1.6) |
| Use marijuana | 2.0 (1.8) | 1.3** (.9) | 1.7 (1.5) | 1.9 (1.6) | 1.9 (1.7) | 1.6+ (1.4) | 1.8 (1.7) | 1.6+ (1.1) | 1.8 (1.6) | 1.7 (1.5) |
| Use hard drugs | 1.4 (1.2) | 1.2* (.8) | 1.3 (1.0) | 1.4 (1.2) | 1.4 (1.2) | 1.3 (1.0) | 1.4 (1.2) | 1.1* (.5) | 1.4 (1.1) | 1.3 (1.1) |
| Like school | 4.6 (1.8) | 4.8 (1.8) | 4.5 (1.8) | 4.8** (1.8) | 4.7 (1.8) | 4.7 (1.9) | 4.6 (1.8) | 4.8 (1.8) | 4.6 (1.8) | 4.8 (1.8) |
| High school grade point average | 2.5 (.7) | 2.9** (.6) | 2.6 (.7) | 2.6 (.7) | 2.5 (.7) | 2.8** (.7) | 2.6 (.7) | 2.9** (.7) | 2.5 (.7) | 3.0** (.7) |
| Percentage in full-time college | .48 (.50) | .65** (.48) | .47 (.50) | .56* (.50) | .49 (.50) | .58** (.49) | .49 (.50) | .68** (.47) | .48 (.50) | .72** (.45) |

+ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Aptitude Tests for verbal and mathematical abilities) as controls because these constructs have emerged in other studies as predictors of both academic achievement and involvement in risky behaviors. Finally, we entered 10th-grade prosocial activity involvement. The standardized betas for each of these predictors are included in Table 6 to allow for comparisons of the magnitude of the predictive relationship. As one would expect, the strongest predictor is the 10th-grade level of involvement in the risky behavior, suggesting considerable stability in the individual differences in these behaviors over the high school years. Nonetheless, involvement in prosocial activities is related to change in this engagement in a protective direction; that is, the students who are involved in activities such as attending church and doing volunteer work show less of an increase in these risky behaviors over the high school years than their noninvolved peers.

Involvement in prosocial activities at Grade 10 is also positively related to both liking school at that level and a higher GPA at the 12th-grade level. In addition, being involved in prosocial activities in the 10th grade is positively related to attending college full-time at age 21. Only the relation to 12th-grade GPA remained significant in the multiple regression analyses.

Team sports. Tables 4, 5, and 7 show the relation of involvement in team sports to engagement in risky behaviors. Apparently, involvement in team sports at Grade 10 is a risk condition for engagement in one of these risky behaviors at Grade 12; namely, drinking alcohol. When one tests this hypothesis using the type of longitudinal regression analyses just described for prosocial activities, being involved with team sports does indeed contribute significantly to an increase in alcohol use and getting drunk over the high school years after controlling for mother's education, student gender, and intellectual aptitude (see Table 7).

Involvement in team sports also serves as a protective condition for academic outcomes. Sports participants liked school better at both the 10th and 12th grades. They were also more likely to be attending college full-time at age 21 than nonparticipants. Finally, sports participation predicted an increase in liking school between the 10th and 12th grades, a higher than expected 12th-grade GPA, and a greater than expected likelihood of being enrolled full-time in college at age 21.

Performing arts. Those adolescents who were involved in performing arts at Grade 10 were less frequently engaged in risky behaviors at both Grade 10 and 12 than those who were not. This is particularly true for alcohol-related behaviors (see Tables 4 and 5). However, when one controls for prior levels of drinking in the longitudinal regression analyses (see Table 8), we could find

TABLE 6: Standardized Regression Coefficients for Risk Behaviors and Academic Outcomes in 12th Grade and College Attendance in Young Adulthood Predicted From 10th-Grade Participation in Prosocial Activities

| <i>Predictor Variable</i> | <i>Drink Alcohol</i> | <i>Get Drunk</i> | <i>Skip School</i> | <i>Use Marijuana</i> | <i>Use Hard Drugs</i> | <i>Like School</i> | <i>High School Grade Point Average</i> | <i>Full-Time College</i> |
|--|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------------|
| 10th-grade level of dependent variable | .48** | .46** | .22** | .45** | .27** | .31** | | |
| Gender | .07 | .10* | -.03 | .06 | -.03 | .01 | -.14** | .00 |
| Maternal education | .00 | .00 | -.05 | .04 | .03 | -.04 | .07* | .13** |
| Verbal ability | -.05 | .03 | .05 | .03 | -.04 | .00 | .16** | .16** |
| Math ability | .05 | .02 | -.19** | .05 | -.05 | -.10 | .47** | .16** |
| Prosocial activities | -.20** | -.20** | -.10 + | -.14* | -.11* | .02 | .13** | .04 |
| Adjusted R^2 | .31** | .30** | .10** | .23** | .10* | .09** | .42** | .12** |

+ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 7: Standardized Regression Coefficients for Risk Behaviors and Academic Outcomes in 12th Grade and College Attendance in Young Adulthood Predicted From 10th-Grade Participation in Sports

| Predictor Variable | Drink Alcohol | Get Drunk | Skip School | Use Marijuana | Use Hard Drugs | Like School | High School Grade Point Average | Full-Time College |
|--|---------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| 10th-grade level of dependent variable | .51** | .50** | .23** | .47** | .29** | .29** | | |
| Gender | .07 | .11* | -.02 | .07 | -.02 | -.01 | -.18** | -.03 |
| Maternal education | -.03 | -.04 | -.06 | .01 | .02 | -.04 | .08* | .13** |
| Verbal ability | -.04 | .04 | .06 | .04 | -.04 | .01 | .17** | .17** |
| Math ability | .03 | -.02 | -.21 | .04 | -.07 | -.10 + | .49** | .16** |
| Sports participation | .15** | .09* | .01 | .04 | .02 | .12* | .07* | .10* |
| Adjusted R^2 | .30** | .27** | .09** | .21** | .09** | .10** | .41** | .13** |

+ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 8: Standardized Regression Coefficients for Risk Behaviors and Academic Outcomes in 12th Grade and College Attendance in Young Adulthood Predicted From 10th-Grade Participation in Performing Arts

| <i>Predictor Variable</i> | <i>Drink Alcohol</i> | <i>Get Drunk</i> | <i>Skip School</i> | <i>Use Marijuana</i> | <i>Use Hard Drugs</i> | <i>Like School</i> | <i>High School Grade Point Average</i> | <i>Full-Time College</i> |
|--|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------------|
| 10th-grade level of dependent variable | .52** | .51** | .23** | .47** | .29** | .31** | | |
| Gender | .08 | .12* | .01 | .08 | -.01 | .01 | -.12* | .02 |
| Maternal education | -.02 | -.03 | -.06 | .01 | .02 | -.04 | .09* | .13** |
| Verbal ability | -.04 | .03 | .05 | .03 | -.04 | .00 | .14** | .15** |
| Math ability | .03 | -.01 | -.21 | .04 | -.07 | -.09 | .49** | .17** |
| Performing arts | -.10+ | -.05 | .10* | .01 | .02 | -.01 | .13** | .07 |
| Adjusted R^2 | .28** | .27** | .10** | .21** | .09** | .09** | .42** | .12** |

+ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

no evidence that 10th-grade involvement in performing arts affects the direction or magnitude of change in drinking behavior over the high school years.

Participation in performing arts was also related to greater liking of school at both the 10th and 12th grades (see Tables 4 and 5) and to higher 12th-grade GPA and a greater likelihood of attending college full-time at age 21. The longitudinal regression analyses suggest that this protective role is only significant for 12th grade GPA. The other two longitudinal relations become nonsignificant once the various control variables are included in the equation.

Finally, this was the only activity domain in which we found consistent evidence of a gender-by-activity involvement interaction: Males, but not females, engaged in performing arts were less likely than their peers to drink alcohol and skip school in Grade 10 and to drink alcohol in Grade 12 ($p < .01$ in each case).

School-involvement activities. As can be seen in Tables 4 and 5, participation in school-related clubs and nonathletic activities was not related consistently to engagement in risky behaviors. In contrast, it was positively related to liking school at Grade 10 and to both 12th-grade GPA and the likelihood of attending college full-time at age 21. By and large, these patterns were confirmed in the longitudinal regression analyses (see Table 9). Participating in these kinds of school-related activities predicted better than expected 12th-grade GPA and greater than expected likelihood of attending college full-time at age 21.

Academic clubs. Participation in academic clubs was primarily related to academic outcomes (see Tables 4, 6, and 10). This was true at both the bivariate and longitudinal multivariate level. Adolescents who participated in academic clubs had higher than expected high school GPAs and were more likely to be enrolled in college at 21 than their noninvolved peers.

DISCUSSION

Consistent with the majority of studies, we found clear evidence that participation in extracurricular activities during the high school years provides a protective context in terms of both academic performance and involvement in risky behaviors. Participation in all five types of extracurricular involvement predicted better than expected high school GPAs. Participation in sports, school-based leadership, school-spirit activities, and academic clubs predicted increased likelihood of being enrolled full-time in college at age 21. Involvement in sports also predicted increases in school attachment. Participation in prosocial activities was related to lower increases in alcohol and drug use, as

TABLE 9: Standardized Regression Coefficients for Risk Behaviors and Academic Outcomes in 12th Grade and College Attendance in Young Adulthood Predicted From 10th-Grade Involvement in School Leadership or School Spirit Activities

| <i>Predictor Variable</i> | <i>Drink Alcohol</i> | <i>Get Drunk</i> | <i>Skip School</i> | <i>Use Marijuana</i> | <i>Use Hard Drugs</i> | <i>Like School</i> | <i>High School Grade Point Average</i> | <i>Full-Time College</i> |
|--|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------------|
| 10th-grade level of dependent variable | .53** | .51** | .22** | .46** | .28** | .30** | | |
| Gender | .11* | .14** | .01 | .07 | -.02 | .02 | -.14** | .02 |
| Maternal education | -.02 | -.02 | -.04 | .01 | .01 | -.03 | .10** | .14** |
| Verbal ability | -.05 | .01 | .03 | .04 | -.03 | -.01 | .15** | .14** |
| Math ability | .03 | -.01 | -.21** | .04 | -.07 | -.09 | .48** | .16** |
| School involvement | .03 | .06 | .10 + | -.03 | -.07 | .04 | .10** | .10* |
| Adjusted R^2 | .27** | .27** | .10** | .21** | .09** | .09** | .41** | .12** |

+ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 10: Standardized Regression Coefficients for Risk Behaviors and Academic Outcomes in 12th Grade and College Attendance in Young Adulthood Predicted From 10th-Grade Involvement in Academic Clubs.

| <i>Predictor Variable</i> | <i>Drink Alcohol</i> | <i>Get Drunk</i> | <i>Skip School</i> | <i>Use Marijuana</i> | <i>Use Hard Drugs</i> | <i>Like School</i> | <i>High School Grade Point Average</i> | <i>Full-Time College</i> |
|--|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------------|
| 10th-grade level of dependent variable | .53** | .51** | .22** | .47** | .29** | .31** | | |
| Gender | .11* | .13** | -.02 | .08 | -.01 | .02 | -.15** | .02 |
| Maternal education | -.03 | -.03 | -.05 | .01 | .02 | -.04 | .07* | .12** |
| Verbal ability | -.05 | .03 | .06 | .03 | -.05 | -.01 | .14** | .14* |
| Math ability | .03 | -.01 | -.20** | .04 | -.07 | -.10 | .49** | .16** |
| Academic Clubs | .02 | -.02 | -.06 | .02 | .02 | .03 | .11** | .13** |
| Adjusted R^2 | .27** | .27** | .09** | .21** | .09** | .09** | .41** | .13** |

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

well as to lower levels at both Grades 10 and 12, and participation in performing arts served this same function for males. Furthermore, each of these results hold true when social class, gender, and academic aptitude are controlled.

In contrast, participation in sports is also linked to increases in use of alcohol. Contrary to the results reported by Larson (1994), our results provide good evidence that participation in sports does lead to increases in some behaviors that might be considered problematic. In addition, our results clearly support the conclusion that participation in sports has positive academic consequences. It is likely that the difference in our outcome measures explains this discrepancy. Larson (1994) used a very global indicator of delinquency, in which alcohol and drug use was only a small component. His measure also included no indicators of academic success. In contrast, we used quite specific outcome measures, and our results indicate that participation in sports has both positive and potentially negative consequences.

What can we conclude? The evidence presented thus far is mostly consistent with the conclusion reached in the Carnegie Corporation (1992) report, *A Matter of Time*. However, the pattern is not as simple as one might expect. Both the magnitude and the direction of the relations depend on the outcome being considered and, to some extent, on the gender of the adolescent. For example, although participation in team sports is related to increased GPA and increased probability of attending college full-time, it is also related among males to such risky behaviors as drinking alcohol. Similarly, although being involved in school spirit and leadership clubs does not appear to reduce the frequency with which one does risky things such as use drugs, drink alcohol, and skip school, it is related in a positive direction to our indicators of academic success. Only involvement in prosocial activities (in this case, primarily church attendance) appears to be protective against increases in alcohol and drug use and increases in skipping school.

Several investigators have offered explanations for these effects. For example, in 1969, Rehberg suggested five possible mediators for the effects of sports participation: association with college-oriented peers, exposure to academic values, enhanced self-esteem, generalization of a high sense of personal efficacy, and superior career guidance and encouragement. In 1961, Coleman stressed the values and norms associated with the different peer clusters engaged in various types of extracurricular activities. Spady (1970) stressed the benefits in self-esteem one attains from the increases in peer status associated with successful participation in extracurricular activities. Otto and Alwin (1977) added skill and attitude acquisition (both interper-

sonal and personal) and increased membership in important social networks (more recently relabeled social capital by Coleman and Hoffer, 1987).

More recently, investigators have focused on the links between peer group formation, identity formation, and activity involvement. For example, Fine (1987) has explored the relation of participating in Little League to both peer group and identity formation. He has stressed how participation in something like Little League shapes both children's self-definition as a "jock" and their most salient peer group (see also Eccles, 1993; Hantover, 1978; Kirshnit et al., 1989; Kleiber & Kirshnit, 1990). In turn, these characteristics (one's identity and one's peer group) influence subsequent activity choices—creating a synergistic system that marks out a clear pathway into a particular kind of adolescence. Similarly, Eckert (1989) has explored the link between peer-group identity formation and activity involvement. As one moves into and through adolescence, individuals become identified with particular groups of friends or crowds (see also Brown, 1990). Being a member of one of these crowds helps structure both what one does with one's time and the kinds of values and norms one is exposed to. Once again, over time, the coalescence of one's personal identity, one's peer group, and the kinds of activities one participates in as a consequence of both one's identity and one's peer group can shape the nature of one's pathway through adolescence. Consistent with these perspectives, we are interested in how activity participation is linked to both peer group and identity formation. We assume that activity choices are a part of a larger system of psychological and social forces that influence development—forces linked to peer group affiliation and identity formation. Knowing what an adolescent is doing often tells us a lot about who the adolescent is with. Many of the activities we study take up considerable amounts of the adolescents' time and are done with other adolescents and adults. Thus, it is likely that participation in some of these activities directly affects adolescents' peer groups precisely because such participation structures a substantial amount of peer group interaction. One's coparticipants become one's peer crowd, and such peer crowds often develop an activity-based culture, providing adolescents with the opportunity to identify with a group having a shared sense of style. Similarly, leisure may help to clarify personal identity while maintaining relationships with peers. Involvement in a school organization or sport links an adolescent to a set of similar peers, provides shared experiences and goals, and can reinforce friendships between peers (see also Larson, 1994). Thus, extracurricular activities can facilitate adolescents' developmental need for social relatedness and can contribute to one's identity as an important and valued member of the school community.

SYNERGISTIC FORCES WITH PEER GROUP CULTURES AND IDENTITY FORMATION

The ideas outlined above are consistent with the work of Erikson (1968), and more recently, Adams and Marshall (1996) and Youniss, Yates, and Su (1997). These scholars suggest that adolescents seek out an identity that allows them to be actors in their social world and that allows them to feel effective, successful, and connected in their everyday activities (see also Williams & McGee, 1991). Extracurricular activities of the kinds we are studying provide youth with the opportunity to form just such identities. In addition, because participation also influences peer group formation, participation feeds into the type of synergistic system described above and depicted in Figure 1.

We explore these ideas in this section. This work represents the beginning of our efforts to explore these issues. In this section, we focus first on the link between activity participation and peer group characteristics and then on the link between activity participation and peer-group and activity-based identities.

METHOD

Additional Measures

Friend characteristics. Composition of the peer network was measured in 10th grade with a series of questions asking "what proportion of your friends are each of the following?" The items included in these analyses were "planning to go to college," "doing very well in school," "regularly drink alcohol," "regularly use drugs," and "likely to skip class." The response scale ranged from 1 = *none* to 5 = *all*, with 3 = *half*.

Identity group. At the 10th grade, we asked the participants to make a prototype judgment regarding their identity. Because the movie *The Breakfast Club* (Hughes, 1985) was quite popular at the time, we decided to use it as the basis of our measure of identity. There are five main characters in this movie—each one representing a stereotypic adolescent type. We asked the participants to indicate which of five characters (the princess, the jock, the brain, the basket case, and the criminal) was most like them. We told them to ignore the sex of the character and base their selection on the type of person each character was. The adolescents had no difficulty with their

selection—less than 5% left the question blank. About 9% selected the criminal, 11% selected the basket case, 12% selected the brain, 28% selected the jock, and 40% selected the princess. Although the gender distribution was sex-typed, there were substantial numbers of each sex in each of the given identity groups to allow for analyses.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Peer Groups

As noted above, activity settings provide a peer group as well as a set of tasks. To the extent that one spends a lot of time in these activity settings with the other participants, it is likely that one's friends will be drawn from among the other participants. It is also likely that the collective behaviors of this peer group will influence the behaviors of each member. To the extent that this is true, some of the behavioral differences associated with activity participation may be a consequence of the behavioral differences of the peer groups associated with these different activity clusters.

The relevant results are summarized in Tables 11 and 12. At both 10th and 12th grades, the peer group characteristics were consistent with the outcomes reported in the first section of this article. This is particularly true at Grade 12. Consistent with the positive association of activity group membership with academic outcomes, the peer groups for participants are characterized by a higher proportion of friends who plan on attending college and are doing well in school (with the exception of the sports participants). Concordant with the protective association of prosocial participation with drug and alcohol use, adolescents involved in prosocial activities, compared to their peers, have fewer friends who use alcohol and drugs; they also have few friends who skip school. Finally, congruent with the association of sports participation with increased drinking, adolescents who participate in team sports have a higher proportion of friends who drink than their peers.

These results are compatible with the analysis outlined above. Consequently, it is certainly possible that peer group association is one of the mediators of the association between activity group membership and adolescent outcomes.

Identity Categories

Table 13 summarizes the distributions of identity types for each of our five activity groups. The significance levels for these one-way ANOVAs are indi-

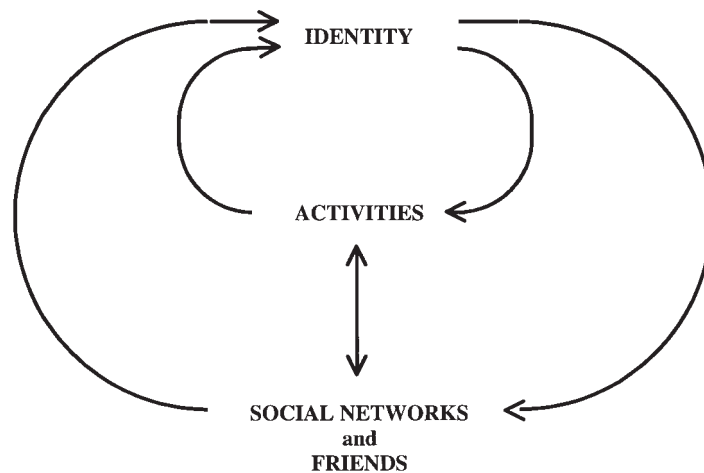


Figure 1. Synergistic influences among identity, friendship networks, and activity involvement.

cated with stars after the activity group. The significant contrasts are summarized in the last column.

One of our activity groups is clearly related to the identity characters: sports. As one might expect, the jocks stand out in the team sports group. This is clearly an activity-based identity. The evidence for activity-based identities is less clear for the other four identities, primarily due to the high proportion of adolescents in all identity groups who participated in at least one team sport during their 10th grade school year. Ignoring team sports, the princesses are overrepresented in both the performing arts and school-involved activity groups, and the brains are overrepresented in the prosocial activity group. The criminals are characterized by either very low or relatively low participation in all activity groups except team sports, and the basket cases are characterized by relatively low participation in all groups except the performing arts.

It is possible that some of the activity group differences on the outcomes identified in the first part of this article reflect behavioral differences associated with these different peer-group identity categories.

Tables 14 and 15 summarize the differences between these identity groups on both the risky behaviors and academic outcomes discussed earlier at both Grades 10 and 12. As one would expect, the criminal was highest on most of

TABLE 11: Mean Levels (and standard deviations) of Friend Characteristics in 10th Grade by Participation in Extracurricular Activities

| | <i>Prosocial Activities</i> | | <i>Sports Teams</i> | | <i>Performing Arts</i> | | <i>School Involvement</i> | | <i>Academic Clubs</i> | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> |
| College plans | 3.7 (1.1) | 4.0** (.9) | 3.6 (1.1) | 3.9** (1.0) | 3.7 (1.1) | 3.9** (1.0) | 3.7 (1.1) | 4.1 (.9) | 3.7 (1.1) | 4.0** (1.0) |
| Do well in school | 3.3 (1.0) | 3.6** (.9) | 3.3 (1.0) | 3.5** (.9) | 3.3 (.9) | 3.5** (1.0) | 3.4 (1.0) | 3.6 (.9) | 3.4 (1.0) | 3.6** (.9) |
| Drink regularly | 2.8 (1.3) | 2.4** (1.1) | 2.6 (1.2) | 2.7 (1.3) | 2.7 (1.2) | 2.6* (1.2) | 2.7 (1.3) | 2.8 (1.2) | 2.7 (1.2) | 2.6 (1.2) |
| Use drugs | 1.8 (1.1) | 1.5** (1.0) | 1.9 (1.1) | 1.7* (1.1) | 1.8 (1.1) | 1.7** (1.0) | 1.8 (1.1) | 1.6 (1.0) | 1.8 (1.1) | 1.6* (1.0) |
| Skip class | 2.7 (1.2) | 2.4** (1.1) | 2.8 (1.2) | 2.6** (1.1) | 2.7 (1.2) | 2.5** (1.2) | 2.7 (1.2) | 2.6 (1.2) | 2.7 (1.2) | 2.5+ (1.2) |

+ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 12: Mean Levels (and standard deviations) of Friend Characteristics in 12th Grade by Participation in Extracurricular Activities

| | <i>Prosocial Activities</i> | | <i>Sports Teams</i> | | <i>Performing Arts</i> | | <i>School Involvement</i> | | <i>Academic Clubs</i> | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Yes</i> |
| College plans | 4.0 (1.0) | 4.2** (.9) | 3.9 (1.0) | 4.1** (.9) | 3.9 (1.0) | 4.2** (.9) | 4.0 (1.0) | 4.4** (.7) | 4.0 (1.0) | 4.3** (.7) |
| Do well in school | 3.4 (.8) | 3.6** (.8) | 3.4 (.9) | 3.5 (.8) | 3.4 (.8) | 3.6** (.8) | 3.4 (.8) | 3.7** (.8) | 3.4 (.8) | 3.7** (.8) |
| Drink regularly | 3.2 (1.3) | 2.6** (1.2) | 2.9 (1.3) | 3.2** (1.3) | 3.2 (1.3) | 2.9* (1.2) | 3.1 (1.3) | 3.1 (1.1) | 3.1 (1.3) | 2.9 (1.2) |
| Use drugs | 2.0 (1.1) | 1.6** (.9) | 1.8 (1.0) | 1.9 (1.1) | 2.0 (1.1) | 1.8* (.9) | 1.9 (1.1) | 1.8 (.9) | 1.9 (1.0) | 1.8 (1.0) |
| Skip class | 3.1 (1.2) | 2.7** (1.2) | 3.0 (1.3) | 3.0 (1.2) | 3.0 (1.2) | 3.0 (1.3) | 3.0 (1.2) | 3.1 (1.3) | 3.1 (1.2) | 2.9 (1.2) |

+ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 13: Mean Levels (and standard deviations) of Activity Participation in 10th Grade by Breakfast Club Identity

| | <i>Princess</i> | <i>Jock</i> | <i>Basket</i> | | <i>Contrasts</i> | |
|------------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|----------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| | | | <i>Brain</i> | <i>Case Criminal</i> | | |
| Prosocial activities** | .26 (.44) | .16 (.37) | .35 (.48) | .26 (.44) | .12 (.32) | Br > P, J, C; Ba, P > J, C |
| Sports teams** | .45 (.50) | .87 (.34) | .49 (.50) | .28 (.45) | .47 (.50) | J > P, Br, Ba, C; P, Br, C > Ba |
| Performing arts ** | .50 (.50) | .19 (.40) | .39 (.49) | .44 (.50) | .24 (.43) | P > J, Br, C; Br, Ba > J, C |
| School involvement ** | .28 (.45) | .15 (.36) | .12 (.32) | .15 (.36) | .05 (.22) | P > J, Br, Ba, C; J > C |
| Academic clubs** | .19 (.39) | .08 (.27) | .21 (.41) | .18 (.39) | .12 (.32) | P, Br, Ba > J |

** $p < .01$.

the risky behaviors, and the brain was the lowest at both grade levels. But consistent with the results reported earlier on the association of activity involvement with drinking behavior, the jocks reported relatively high levels of alcohol use at Grade 12. This finding is especially interesting given the stability of group differences across the 2-year gap between the self-identification as a criminal or jock and the rating of the risk behaviors. Interestingly, the princesses also report rather high levels of alcohol use in Grade 12.

Tables 14 and 15 also show the results for the positive academic outcomes. The expected pattern of results occurred for each of these measures as well: The brains had the highest rates of college attendance, followed closely, however, by the princesses and the jocks; the criminals had the lowest. Princesses, jocks, and brains also reported enjoying school the most at both grade levels. The results for college attendance are especially interesting, given that this outcome was measured 4 to 5 years after the self-categorization as a *Breakfast Club* stereotype.

These preliminary results suggest that there is a link between identity, patterns of activity involvement, and other indicators of successful and risky adolescent development. This is most evident in the contrast between the jock and the criminal. These two groups are doing equally well in school in terms of their GPAs, and both are equally involved in alcohol consumption at Grade 12. What distinguishes them? The jock has a school-based activity identity whereas the criminal does not. It is not that the criminal is not involved in sports; although less likely to be involved in sports than the jocks, 47% of the

criminals were participating in school-based team sports in the 10th grade. Unfortunately, this changed between 10th and 12th grades. Consistent with the findings of Larson (1994), 70% of these sports-participating criminals had dropped out of sports by Grade 12. This represents the largest dropout rate for all five identity types. Eckert (1989) suggested that one of the key distinguishing characteristics of the burnouts in her study (a group much like the groups who labeled themselves the criminal and the basket case in this study) was the lack of a school-based identity. Over time, this group became increasingly detached from school, leading in many cases to dropping out of high school prior to graduation. A similar process may be going on for our criminal group. They also appear to be disconnecting from school and school-based activities over their high school years and are least likely to graduate from high school and least likely to be attending college at age 21. Although not quite so extreme, a similar process may also be going on in our basket case group.

As noted earlier, it is also likely that the nature of the peers one hangs out with as result of one's identity and of one's activity patterns is a primary mediator of this link. Table 16 summarizes the identity group differences in peer network characteristics. Both the criminals and the brains had consistent profiles of friends. On one hand, the criminals stood out as having the fewest proportion of friends who were doing well academically and planning to attend college and the highest proportion of friends engaged in risky behaviors. Consequently, it should not be surprising then that this group had the worst outcomes on both of these sets of outcomes despite the fact that they were actually doing all right in terms of their own GPAs.

On the other hand, the brains had the highest proportion of friends rated high on academic outcomes and low on risky behaviors. Consequently, it is not surprising that these youth themselves had the most consistent set of outcomes.

In contrast, the jocks and princesses had a more mixed pattern in terms of risks and protective factors. On one hand, the proportion of their friends with good academic outcomes was about the same as the brains' peer network. On the other hand, the proportion of their friends who drank and skipped school was also quite high. This pattern is consistent with the jocks' own behavior patterns.

CONCLUSIONS

The analyses reported in the second section represent the beginnings of our exploration of possible ways that participation in various types of activi-

TABLE 14: Mean Levels (and standard deviations) of Risk Behavior in 10th Grade by Breakfast Club Identity

| | Princess | Jock | Basket | | Contrasts | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| | | | Brain | Case | | |
| Drink alcohol** | 2.7 (1.8) | 2.6 (1.8) | 1.8 (1.1) | 2.5 (1.7) | 3.6 (2.4) | C > P, J, Br, Ba; P, J, Ba > Br |
| Skip school** | 1.6 (.8) | 1.6 (.9) | 1.3 (.8) | 1.7 (.9) | 2.5 (1.5) | C > P, J, Br, Ba; P, J, Ba > Br |
| Use drugs** | 1.4 (1.1) | 1.3 (1.0) | 1.1 (.5) | 1.5 (1.4) | 2.9 (2.5) | C > P, J, Br, Ba; P, Ba > Br |
| Like school** | 4.8 (1.6) | 4.8 (1.5) | 4.8 (1.5) | 4.0 (1.8) | 3.6 (2.0) | P, J, Br > Ba, C |

+ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 15: Mean Levels (and standard deviations) of Risk Behavior in 12th Grade by Breakfast Club Identity

| | Princess | Jock | Basket | | Contrasts | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---|
| | | | Brain | Case | | |
| Drink alcohol** | 4.4 (2.4) | 4.8 (2.7) | 2.9 (2.1) | 3.5 (2.1) | 5.2 (2.5) | P, J, C > Br, Ba |
| Get drunk** | 3.8 (2.1) | 4.1 (2.4) | 2.6 (1.8) | 3.3 (2.1) | 4.5 (2.3) | J, C > Br, Ba P > Br |
| Skip school** | 3.1 (1.5) | 3.1 (1.5) | 2.5 (1.7) | 3.2 (1.7) | 4.1 (1.6) | C > P, J, Br, Ba P, J, Ba > Br |
| Use marijuana** | 1.6 (1.4) | 2.0 (1.8) | 1.4 (1.2) | 1.9 (1.5) | 3.2 (2.4) | C > P, J, Br, Ba J > Br |
| Use hard drugs** | 1.3 (1.0) | 1.4 (1.2) | 1.2 (.9) | 1.4 (.9) | 2.0 (1.6) | C > P, J, Br, Ba |
| Like school | 4.7 (1.8) | 4.8 (1.8) | 4.8 (1.7) | 4.6 (1.8) | 4.8 (1.9) | |
| High school GPA** | 2.6 (.7) | 2.5 (.7) | 3.0 (.7) | 2.6 (.7) | 2.2 (.7) | Br > P, J, Ba, C P, J, Ba > C; P > J |
| Percentage in full-time college** | .55 (.50) | .56 (.50) | .62 (.49) | .39 (.49) | .31 (.46) | P, J, Br > Ba, C |

+ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

ties might influence other indicators of adolescent development. In the first section, we documented a predictive link between activity participation and increases in both academic outcomes and engagement in risky behaviors. In

TABLE 16: Mean Levels (and standard deviations) of Friend Characteristics in 10th Grade by Breakfast Club Identity

| | <i>Princess</i> | <i>Jock</i> | <i>Brain</i> | <i>Basket</i> | | <i>Contrasts</i> |
|---------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|--|
| | | | | <i>Case</i> | <i>Criminal</i> | |
| College plans** | 3.9 (1.0) | 4.0 (1.0) | 4.0 (.9) | 3.5 (1.2) | 3.1 (1.2) | P, J, Br > Ba, C; Ba > C |
| Do well in school** | 3.5 (.9) | 3.5 (.8) | 3.6 (.8) | 3.2 (1.1) | 2.9 (1.1) | P, J, Br > Ba, C; Ba > C |
| Drink regularly** | 2.7 (1.2) | 2.8 (1.2) | 2.2 (1.1) | 2.6 (1.1) | 3.4 (1.2) | C > P, J, Br, Ba; P, J, Ba > Br |
| Use drugs** | 1.7 (1.0) | 1.6 (.9) | 1.4 (.9) | 1.9 (1.1) | 2.8 (1.5) | C > P, J, Br, Ba; Ba > P, J, Br; P > Br |
| Skip class** | 2.8 (1.2) | 2.6 (1.1) | 2.1 (1.0) | 2.8 (1.1) | 3.5 (1.2) | C > P, J, Br, Ba; P, J, Ba > Br |

+ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

the second part, we documented relations among activity participation, peer-group identity formation, and friendship networks. What can we conclude as we look across these three aspects of adolescents' lives? Adolescents who participated in prosocial activities had the most consistently positive outcomes—high academic achievement and low rates of involvement in risky behaviors. They were also the group most likely to identify themselves as brains and the group who had the most friends who were academic-oriented and the fewest friends engaged in risky behaviors. These identity and peer group patterns could help explain why it was only participation in prosocial activities that served as a protective influence for both sets of outcomes. It is among this group of adolescents that the three spheres of influence converge on both positive academic outcomes and low involvement in risky behaviors.

A different pattern of convergence characterized those youth involved in team sports. For this group, both identity group and peer group were associated with positive academic outcomes and relatively high levels of alcohol consumption. This pattern of convergence could help explain why being involved in team sports is associated with increases in both drinking and academic achievement.

A less extreme example of this type of convergence was also evident for those adolescents involved in school-related and school spirit-related clubs/organizations. This group also exhibited positive academic trajectories; in addition, however, they were just as likely to drink alcohol as their nonparticipating peers and showed a trend toward increasing rates of skipping school from the 10th to the 12th grade. They were also the group most

likely to label themselves as princesses, who, in turn, were especially likely to have a high GPA, to be attending college at age 21, to drink alcohol and skip school on a fairly regular basis, and to have a substantial proportion of friends who evidenced the same profile.

Consequently, it should not be surprising that involvement in sports and school-based/school spirit-related activities was related to a different pattern of change over the high school years than participating in prosocial activities. The results for all three of these groups are consistent with the perspective on synergistic relations among these three domains of adolescent development outlined earlier and illustrated in Figure 1. Activity choice is likely to both grow out of and reinforce emerging identities—particularly those aspects of identity linked to instrumental success and finding one's place in the social milieu. Activity choice also channels friendship networks due to propinquity and to shared interests. Friendship networks further reinforce the value of various types of activities and identities. Friendship networks also develop cultures of their own, which set the norms for a wide range of behaviors and long-term expectations and aspirations, thus influencing adolescents' behaviors across several domains (see Brown, 1990; Eckert, 1989; Sherif & Sherif, 1964). Consequently, the patterns of associations of activity participation with other indicators of adolescent development should depend on the nature of the peer culture and shared values associated with the groups of adolescents who dominate each activity setting.

Although our results are consistent with this analysis, the results reported here are basically correlational. In the future, we plan to do the detailed longitudinal causal modeling to verify the directional relations implied in this analysis. In addition, we will investigate the influences on activity participation. Given our interest in identity, we will pay particular attention to those characteristics of the self-system that are likely to influence activity choice, such as ability self-concept, expectations for success, subjective values, and perceived norms (see also Ajzen & Driver, 1991; Eccles, 1983; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). We also have data on the role of family, school, and elementary school participation patterns as influences on activity choices during adolescence.

We had a second goal in this article. Information regarding the patterns of involvement of adolescents in a variety of out-of-school and extracurricular activities provides us with a more complete picture of the social context of development during this period. What do adolescents do when they are not in formal educational or family settings? About 40% of adolescent waking hours are discretionary (no school, homework, employment, or chores), yet we know almost nothing about what teenagers do with their leisure time (for

an exception, see Carnegie Corporation, 1992; Larson & Kleiber, 1993). We need to know more about a wider range of social settings, including athletics, school clubs and activities, and community service. Consequently, we also presented the patterns of activity involvement of this sample of adolescents as important descriptive information about the lives of today's youth.

The majority of the youth (69%) in this study were involved in some type of organized activity during their discretionary time. On average, most of the females were involved with more than one such activity, and most of the males were involved in less than two such activities. The range of activities was quite broad, with females exhibiting a more diverse pattern than males. For both males and females, the three most common activities were team sports, bands or orchestras, and church, with participation on sports teams being the most common by a substantial margin. Within sports, males and females exhibit sex role-stereotyped patterns. It is noteworthy, however, that the 10th grade males and females in this sample were equally likely to be participating on swimming/diving teams and tennis teams, and females were more likely than males to be participating on softball and volleyball teams.

In conclusion, we have documented the types of activities U.S. adolescents were participating in during the early 1990s. We also documented the relation of activity participation to indicators of other positive and risky developmental outcomes. Involvement in prosocial activities was linked to positive educational trajectories and low rates of involvement in risky behaviors. In contrast, participation in team sports was linked to positive educational trajectories and to high rates of involvement in one type of risky behavior: drinking alcohol. The fact that this activity was associated with both good educational outcomes and drinking is consistent with other studies reporting that some involvement in risky activities such as drinking and cutting school is not necessarily problematic in terms of the consequences for long-term educational success (Schulenberg, Maggs, & Hurrelmann, 1997). One must take into account the meaning of the particular behavior in the broader context of the adolescent's life and development. If the risky behavior takes place in the context of a group of highly motivated and otherwise mentally healthy adolescents, it is unlikely that the risky behavior will, in and of itself, have extremely negative consequences (e.g., drinking among athletes and princesses). In contrast, if the risky behavior is part of a broader syndrome of behaviors and disaffection from socially accepted institutional settings such as schools, then the risky behavior is likely to be prognostic of poor subsequent developmental outcomes (Eckert, 1989; Jessor & Jessor, 1977).

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