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EXPLORING ADOLESCENTS’ SUPERVISED AND UNSUPERVISED OUT-OF-SCHOOL TIME EXPERIENCES AND THEIR RELATION TO POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTAL OUTCOMES

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by

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ABSTRACT

Out-of-school time (OST) constitutes a period of risk and opportunity for youth. The variety of supervised and unsupervised activities that they may spend this time engaging in may relate to positive or negative developmental and behavioral outcomes. For researchers and practitioners interested in promoting positive youth development, it is important not only to understand what youth are doing in their OST, but to also understand individual and contextual factors that promote healthy experiences and development within the OST context. This dissertation aimed to better understand youth’s supervised and unsupervised OST experiences in two studies. The first study utilized qualitative data collected from African American middle school students to examine how adolescents perceive their supervised and unsupervised OST contexts. Findings indicate that adolescents perceive three different OST contexts related to adult supervision: direct supervision, indirect supervision, and no supervision. Within these three contexts, adolescents reported positive and negative perceived settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints. The second study used findings from the first study to develop a measure of OST that included questions about adolescents’ perceived settings, behaviors, and experiences within directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised OST contexts. Exploratory factor analysis using data from a sample of 303 African American middle school students (Mean age = 12.97; SD = 1.03) revealed similarities and differences among adolescents’ perceived settings, experiences, and behaviors across the three contexts. Within the directly supervised context, the following OST themes emerged: positive feelings, negative feelings and behaviors, and conscientious behavior. Within the indirectly supervised context, the following themes emerged: positive feelings, positive behaviors, negative feelings, adult support and guidance, and freedom. Within the unsupervised OST context, the following themes emerged: positive feelings, positive behaviors, negative feelings, conscientious behavior, freedom, unhappiness with the context, and
participation in thrilling behavior. Within context subscale composite scores were computed based on results from the exploratory factor analyses. Factors from within-context SEM models related to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., social competence, self-efficacy, responsible choice making, clear and positive identity, school engagement). Finally, a latent model that included all OST subscales across contexts was tested, but the model fit was poor. Even though the fit of the cross-context model was not acceptable, the within context models indicate that the relationships between OST contexts and developmental outcomes share similarities and differences across contexts, revealing the need for researchers of OST to conduct studies that attend to the three adult supervision contexts: direct supervision, indirect supervision, and no supervision. These findings also have implications for applied work as practitioners can use such findings to help design ways to: recruit youth into and retain them in organized programs; promote healthy behaviors in unsupervised contexts, and identify key OST components that may promote positive developmental outcomes.
# Table of Contents

LIST OF FIGURES ................................................................................................................. vii  
LIST OF TABLES ................................................................................................................... viii 
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..................................................................................................... ix  

Chapter 1  Introduction ............................................................................................................ 1  
   Conceptualizing Out-of-School Time ................................................................. 2  
   Out-of-school Time as a Context for the Promotion of Positive Development .......... 3  
   OST Experiences among Minority Adolescents ...................................................... 5  
   Summary and the Current Dissertation ................................................................... 6  
   Research Aims ............................................................................................................. 8  

Chapter 2  Exploring Adolescents’ Supervised and Unsupervised Out-of-School Time Experiences ................................................................. 11  
   Traditional Ways of Operationalizing Out-of-School Time Components ............. 12  
      Activity Type ......................................................................................................... 13  
      Level of Supervision/Structure ......................................................................... 14  
      Summary of Limitations of Existing Research .................................................. 17  
   Comprehensive Understanding of Adolescents’ Out-of-School Time ................... 18  
      Activity Participation .......................................................................................... 18  
      Setting ................................................................................................................. 20  
      Behavior ............................................................................................................. 22  
      Experience .......................................................................................................... 22  
      Constraints ........................................................................................................... 24  
   Summary and Current Study ...................................................................................... 25  
   Study Aim .................................................................................................................. 26  
   Method ...................................................................................................................... 26  
      Procedure ............................................................................................................. 26  
      Sample ................................................................................................................. 28  
      Interview .............................................................................................................. 29  
   Analytic Strategy ...................................................................................................... 29  
   Results ....................................................................................................................... 29  
      Vignettes of Participants ..................................................................................... 31  
      Presentation of Results ....................................................................................... 34  
      OST Themes ........................................................................................................ 35  
      Experiences ......................................................................................................... 60  
   OST Settings, Behaviors, Experiences, and Constraints across Contexts ............. 89  
      Supervision ......................................................................................................... 90  
   Discussion ................................................................................................................ 111  
      Implications for Practice and Policy ................................................................. 115  
      Limitations and Future Directions ...................................................................... 118  
   Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 119
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Direct Supervision OST Model........................................................................179
Figure 2.2: Indirect Supervision OST Model.................................................................180
Figure 2.3: Unsupervised OST Model...........................................................................181
Figure 2.4: Tested OST Model across Contexts.........................................................182
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1- Summary of OST Setting Themes.................................................................120
Table 1.2- Summary of Constraints, Experiences, and Behaviors by Participant...........121
Table 1.3- Summary of OST Behavior Themes.........................................................122
Table 1.4- Summary of OST Experience Themes.....................................................123
Table 1.5- Summary of OST Constraints Themes....................................................124
Table 1.6- Summary of OST Settings, Behaviors, Experiences, and Constraints.........125
Table 2.1- OST experiences and behavior within an directly supervised context Factors
       Resulting from PAF Analyses...............................................................................173
Table 2.2- OST experiences and behavior within an indirectly supervised context Factors
       Resulting from PAF Analyses...............................................................................174
Table 2.3- OST experiences and behavior within an unsupervised context Factors Resulting
       from PAF Analyses...............................................................................................175
Table 2.4- Similarities and Differences within Scales across Contexts.......................176
Table 2.5- Factor-level Similarities and Differences across OST Contexts...............177
Table 2.6- Summary of Within-context Independent Variables in Relation to Outcomes....178
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Current research indicates that free time, or out-of-school time (OST), is a period of risk and opportunity (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992) and that experiences and activity participation within formal and informal OST are related to positive and negative outcomes (After School Alliance, 2004; Gottfredson, Gerstenblith, Soule, Womer, & Lu, 2004; Mahoney, Larson, & Eccles, 2005). However, there is still much to learn about adolescents’ OST, especially among African Americans. An estimated 50% of African American adolescents’ OST is spent in activities without formal guidelines or leadership and only 3% of time is spent in activities that do have formal guidelines or leadership (Bohnert, Richards, Kolmodin, & Lakin, 2008). Thus, researchers and practitioners interested in promoting positive developmental outcomes and reducing negative outcomes must understand important experiences and behaviors within formally supervised contexts (e.g., after-school programs, organized sports), informally supervised contexts (e.g., playing games with family), and unsupervised contexts. Secondly, unsupervised contexts, or contexts where adults are not present have generally been operationalized as “hanging out” and have been linked to negative outcomes such as delinquency (Osgood, Anderson, & Shaffer, 2005). However, the few studies that have operationalized unsupervised/unstructured OST more broadly show promise that unsupervised activities include much more than “hanging out” and that positive experiences and outcomes are related to participation in unsupervised/unstructured OST contexts (Bohnert et al., 2008; Haggard & Williams, 1992). This dissertation aimed to gain a better understanding of African American adolescents’ supervised and unsupervised OST experiences through semi-structured interviews
and surveys. Specifically, the information collected from interviews with adolescents was used to
develop a measure that reflects OST settings, behaviors, and experiences whereas the information
collected from the surveys was used to relate aspects of adolescents’ OST experiences to positive
development.

Conceptualizing Out-of-School Time

The terms out-of-school time and after-school time have been used to generally describe
time immediately after school and before school (e.g., Kleiber & Powell, 2005; Pittman, Tolman,
& Yohalem, 2005). Leisure, on the other hand, has been operationalized as (a) participation in
recreational or cultural activities (e.g., sports and hobbies); (b) an activity setting (e.g., activities
that take place in parks or theaters); (c) time free of obligation (e.g., non-school or work time);
and (d) participation in self-actualizing and intrinsically motivating behavior (Csikszentmihalyi &
Kleiber, 1999; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997). Some authors distinguish between free time and leisure
by defining free time as unobligated time outside of school and chores and by describing
recreation/leisure as activity participation and relaxation (Caldwell, 2005). From the latter
perspective, leisure occurs within OST. Thus, recreation and free time occur in the absence of
obligations such as chores, work, and homework whereas out-of-school time generally refers to
any time that is not spent in school. The following discussion incorporates leisure and free time
studies to further understand youth’s OST context. Here, OST refers to youth’s non-school hours
which may include weekends and leisure and free time activities.

In Study 1 (Chapter 2) of the dissertation, OST does include homework and chores, but in
Study 2 (Chapter 3), it does not. Because qualitative methods were used in Study 1 to gain an
understanding of adolescents’ OST time, adolescents’ were not restricted in their discussion of
their descriptions of OST behaviors, experiences, and settings. However, for Study 2 of the
dissertation, which used a quantitative method to understand how OST relates to positive
developmental outcomes, adolescents were asked to think about their OST experiences that did
not include homework or chores. This was to capture perceived settings, behaviors, and
experiences that did not include the obligated tasks of homework and chores.

**Out-of-school Time as a Context for the Promotion of Positive Development**

OST activities have the potential to build on the positive influence school activities have
on adolescents. There is a growing body of research that links OST activities to positive
adolescent outcomes and developmental processes such as competence, identity, well-being, self-
perception, and educational outcomes (Coatsworth, Palen, Sharp, & Ferrer-Wreder, 2006; Eccles,
Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003; Haggard & Williams, 1992; Jacobs, Vernon, & Eccles, 2005;
Mahoney, Harris, & Eccles, 2006). There is also some research that indicates that the relationship
between OST activity participation and outcomes might differ by race. For example, Mahoney
and colleagues (2006) found that for White youth, self-esteem increases with the amount of time
spent in activities but levels off at 5 hours per week and for Black youth, self-esteem increased up
to about 20 hours per week spent in activities and declined with 20 or more hours.

Some of the most commonly studied outcomes in relation to OST activity participation
are educational and behavioral. Eccles and colleagues (2003) found that youth who participated in
prosocial activities (e.g., church attendance and volunteering), team sports, performing arts,
school involvement activities (e.g., student government and pep club), and academic clubs
exhibited better than expected educational outcomes (e.g., high GPA, college attendance, and
college graduation). Similarly, high school students who participated in extracurricular activities
reported higher grades, more positive attitudes towards school, and higher academic aspirations (Darling, 2005). Among a sample of low-income youth, those who participated in school-based programs in middle school reported higher grades in middle school and in their first year of high school (Pedersen & Seidman, 2005).

Mahoney and colleagues (2006) investigated racial/ethnic differences in relation to educational outcomes and activity participation. They found that for White youth, reading achievement increased with the amount of time spent in activities up to about 20 hours, then decreased with 20 hours per week or more spent in activities. However, the difference between those who participated in 20 plus hours and those who did not participate in activities was not significantly different. For Black youth, reading achievement increased with the amount of time spent in activities up to about 15 minutes, and then declined. For White and Black youth, reading achievement was always higher for those participating in activities compared to those who did not.

Results from studies are conflicting and indicate that sometimes antisocial/delinquent behavior is positively linked to OST activity involvement and other times the relationship is negative. For example, Pederson and Seidman (2005) found that participation in school-based activities in middle school was related to lower rates of antisocial behavior among low-income, high school students. Similarly, Darling (2005) found that participation in extracurricular activities was related to lower levels of smoking, marijuana use, and the use of other drugs compared to youth who did not participate. Finally, Mahoney and colleagues (2006) found that there was a decline in alcohol use for those spending less than 15 hours in activities and an increase in alcohol use for those spending 15 hours or more in activities. However, youth who participated in 20 or more hours per week showed lower levels of alcohol use than those who did not participate at all. Whereas Fauth, Roth, and Brooks-Gunn (2007) linked participation in non-sport activities such as arts and student government to lower rates of substance use, participation
in sports was related to greater levels of substance use and delinquency. Likewise, Eccles and colleagues (2003) found that participation in sports was the only activity that was related to higher rates of substance use. The inconsistencies among findings discussed above highlight the importance of understanding contextual factors in relation to OST and development.

Well-being is related to OST indirectly through activity experiences and identity processes. Activities hold unique and shared identifying characteristics, suggesting that individuals likely select activities based on their own sense of identity (Haggard & Williams, 1992). Adolescents who participate in activities that are self-defining and expressive (e.g., related to goals, foster flow experiences) are more likely to experience well-being and greater internal assets (Coatsworth et al., 2006). Additionally, Eccles and colleagues (2003) found that there is a social structure among activities. That is, those who participate in specific activities tend to describe themselves similarly and exhibit similar behavioral and academic characteristics. The field is beginning to learn more about the relationship between OST activity participation and identity, but more work is needed to understand directionality and the extent to which identity formation might be an outcome of activity participation and OST experiences.

OST Experiences among Minority Adolescents

Limited information is known about African American adolescents’ OST (Larson, Richards, Sims, & Dworkin, 2001), but there is growing evidence that adolescents’ OST activities differ by race and socio-economic status (SES). For instance, African American adolescents are less likely to participate in activities within the community and activities that have formal guidelines and leadership and that are facilitated by an organization (Bohnert et al., 2008; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992). This may be due, in part, to a lack of
resources and excess of neighborhood dangers that constrain activity participation within urban areas (Larson et al., 2001). Although urban African American adolescents seemingly have lower levels of engagement in community-based activities compared to peers in other racial groups, urban African American adolescents have opportunities for positive development within OST. For example, working-class adolescents are exposed to fewer opportunities to participate in organized adult-supervised activities and as a result, experience greater levels of autonomy during free time (Lareau, 2000).

Some aspects of urban African American adolescents’ personal time seems risky, but protective factors are also integrated within this time. For example, urban African Americans spend less time doing homework compared to Asian adolescents because African Americans tend to have shorter school days (Larson et al., 2001). Even though spending less time focusing on academic development serves as a risk factor, urban African American youth exhibit protective factors in that they spend less time in public places and more time with family compared to their Asian and European American peers (Larson et al., 2001). Taken together, African American adolescents have unique OST experiences and opportunities that are not necessarily better or worse than adolescents’ from other racial groups. Given that racial and SES differences do exist between groups, it is important for researchers to build an understanding of OST based on the experiences of minority. The identification of OST dimensions that are meaningful to minority youth will help inform future research studies, practice within community organizations, and interventions.

Summary and the Current Dissertation
Work within the fields of leisure studies and human development has investigated the types of activities youth participate in and has identified components that are important to promote development within supervised/structured environments, or more specifically, after-school and recreational programs. Although researchers are beginning to gain a strong understanding of important features within settings (e.g., physical and psychological safety, opportunities to belong, opportunities for skill building) that may help promote positive outcomes (Caldwell, 2005; Eccles & Gootman, 2002a; Perkins & Borden, 2003), the extent to which these models apply to unsupervised activities and supervised activities that are not structured programs is less clear. Moreover, further research is needed within the African American community especially considering the great amount of time spent in unsupervised/unstructured activities.

For researchers and practitioners interested in promoting positive youth development, it is important not only to understand what youth are doing in their OST, but to also understand individual and contextual factors that promote healthy experiences and development within the OST context. Therefore, the overall goal of the dissertation was to identify important settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints within adolescents’ OST, develop a measure that reflects adolescent-perceived supervised and unsupervised OST settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints and relate these OST components to youth development. Study 1 of the dissertation was a qualitative piece where I used interviews from adolescents to better understand their settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints within supervised and unsupervised OST contexts. Study 2 explored the factor structure of a new measure that was based on the findings from analysis of qualitative data collected in Study 1. The factor structure of the adolescent OST measure was explored and adolescent-perceived scores related to settings, experiences and behaviors within and across supervised and unsupervised OST contexts were analyzed.
Research Aims

**Aim 1** of this dissertation was to explore the range of youth’s perceptions of out-of-school time settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints, within both supervised and unsupervised OST contexts, in interview narratives of racial minority adolescents. A sample of 12 racial minority adolescents participated in one-on-one interviews about their supervised and unsupervised OST activities. To address Aim 1, two research questions were investigated.

**Research Question 1.1** asked: What themes emerge from interviews with adolescents relating to their perceptions of settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints about and within supervised and unsupervised OST? Findings indicate that racial minority adolescents’ OST settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints within supervised and unsupervised contexts share similarities to findings in the current literature. New themes emerged from the interviews as well.

**Research Question 1.2** asked: How do adolescents’ perceptions of settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints differ according to level of supervision? Findings indicate that racial minority adolescents’ perceived three different OST contexts related to supervision: direct supervision, indirect supervision, and no supervision. Adolescents experienced positive and negative settings, behaviors, and experiences as well as constraints within each of the three contexts.

The findings from Study 1 were used to develop a survey to administer to 303 predominately African American students (Study 2 within Chapter 3). The survey was designed so that adolescents could answer questions about their OST settings, behaviors, and experiences within directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised OST contexts. Study 2 of the dissertation addresses Aim 2.1 and Aim 2.2.

**Aim 2.1** of the dissertation was to explore the factorial structure of a new measure of adolescent out-of-school time experiences across levels of adult supervision (i.e., direct
supervision, indirect supervision, no supervision). Research Question 2.1 asked: What settings, behaviors, and experiences emerge within adolescents’ directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised OST? How are settings, behaviors, and experiences within these contexts similar and different? Exploratory factor analysis illustrate that factors within each of the three OST contexts are unique. Even factors that represent the same broader theme (e.g., positive feelings, positive behaviors) are made up of unique items within each context.

Given these unique OST components across contexts, a second aim for Study 2 was to investigate how OST themes within OST contexts related to outcomes. Aim 2.2 of the current dissertation was to examine how adolescents’ perceptions, experiences and behaviors within and across each level of OST supervision relate to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., social competence, self-efficacy, positive school attitudes, responsible decision-making, clear and positive identity). To address Aim 2.2, Research Question 2.2 asked: How do adolescents’ perceptions of OST settings (e.g., adult supervision, rules and restrictions), behaviors (e.g., skill building, experiencing something new, building relationships, being conscientious), and experiences (e.g., positive feelings, negative feelings, freedom) within each context relate to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., social competence, self-efficacy, responsible choices, positive identity, school engagement)? Three SEM models (one for each context) were tested. Findings indicated that within each OST context, OST themes related to positive developmental outcomes.

Finally, I examined how the unique OST themes within each context work together to relate to positive developmental outcomes. Therefore, in support of Aim 2.2., Research Question 2.3 asked: How do adolescents’ perceptions of OST settings (e.g., adult supervision, rules and restrictions), behaviors (e.g., skill building, experiencing something new, building relationships, being conscientious), and experiences (e.g., positive feelings, negative feelings, freedom) across levels of supervised contexts relate to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., social competence,
self-efficacy, responsible choices, positive identity, school engagement)? A latent SEM revealed that the themes from across the three OST contexts collectively relate to positive developmental outcomes.
Chapter 2

Exploring Adolescents’ Supervised and Unsupervised Out-of-School Time Experiences

During the school-week, after accounting for eating, sleeping, personal care, and school, an estimated 30% (51 hours) of youth’s week remains free from required obligations (Hofferth & Sandberg, 2001). This free time, or out-of-school time (OST), context constitutes a period of risk and opportunity for youth (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992) because youth may spend this time engaging in supervised and unsupervised activities that relate to positive and negative developmental and behavioral outcomes (After School Alliance, 2004; Gottfredson et al., 2004; Mahoney, Larson et al., 2005). Among urban African American adolescents, an estimated 50% of OST is spent in activities without formal guidelines or leadership and only 3% of time is spent in activities that do have formal guidelines or leadership (Bohnert et al., 2008). Thus, researchers and practitioners interested in promoting positive developmental outcomes and reducing negative outcomes must be able to identify important experiences and behaviors within formally supervised contexts (e.g., after-school programs, organized sports), informally supervised contexts (e.g., playing games with family), and unsupervised contexts that relate to outcomes. Therefore, the current study aimed to better understand African American adolescents’ supervised and unsupervised OST experiences through semi-structured interviews that reflected their perceived OST contexts, experiences, and behaviors.

Work within the fields of leisure studies and human development has investigated the types of activities youth participate in and has identified components that are important to promote development within supervised/structured environments, or more specifically, after-school and recreational programs. Although researchers are beginning to gain a strong understanding of important features within settings (e.g., physical and psychological safety, opportunities to belong, opportunities for skill building) that may help promote positive outcomes
The extent to which these models apply to either supervised activities that are not structured programs or to unsupervised activities is less clear. The following literature review discusses the way traditional contexts of OST have been operationalized (e.g., structured/unstructured, activity type) and the limitations associated with these definitions. The review continues by presenting various aspects of OST (e.g., activity participation, activity context) that relate to adolescent outcomes.

**Traditional Ways of Operationalizing Out-of-School Time Components**

The terms out-of-school time and after-school time have been used to generally describe time immediately after school and before school (e.g., Kleiber & Powell, 2005; Pittman et al., 2005). Leisure, on the other hand, has been operationalized as (a) participation in recreational or cultural activities (e.g., sports and hobbies); (b) an activity setting (e.g., activities that take place in parks or theaters); (c) time free of obligation (e.g., non-school or work time); and (d) participation in self-actualizing and intrinsically motivating behavior (Csikszentmihalyi & Kleiber, 1999; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997). Some authors distinguish between free time and leisure by defining free time as unobligated time outside of school and chores and by describing recreation/leisure as activity participation and relaxation (Caldwell, 2005). From the latter perspective, leisure occurs within OST. Thus, recreation and free time occur in the absence of obligations such as chores, work, and homework whereas out-of-school time generally refers to any time that is not spent in school. The following discussion incorporates leisure and free time studies to further understand youth’s OST context. Here, OST refers to youth’s non-school hours which may include weekends and leisure and free time activities as well as time spent doing homework and chores.
Although some research does link OST experiences to adolescent outcomes, many of these studies are limited in the way they operationalize activity participation. More research is needed that investigates a broader scope of adolescents’ experiences and behaviors across supervised and unsupervised OST. The two most common ways of operationalizing OST activities include the categorization of activities by level of supervision and by activity type.

**Activity Type**

Related to the idea of structured and unstructured activities is that of categorizing activities by domain such as sports or volunteering. These findings reveal that activity participation among various structured activities may yield different outcomes based on activity domain such as sports or performing arts (Eccles et al., 2003; Fauth et al., 2007). For example, Eccles and colleagues (2003) found that team sports were related to higher rates of drinking but better educational outcomes, performing arts was related to less risky behavior, and school-involvement activities was related to lower risky behavior and greater academic outcomes. Fauth and colleagues (2007) found that participation in sports was related to lower levels of anxiety/depression and higher levels of delinquency and substance use. Participation in arts and student government were negatively related to substance use but youth who participated in these activities exhibited increases in substance use with time. Thus, sports seem to be related to positive academic and emotional outcomes but negatively related to behavioral outcomes, whereas participation in other activity domains is beneficial behaviorally and academically.
Level of Supervision/Structure

Much of the research that links activity participation to developmental outcomes focuses on the way an activity is structured. Structured activities have been defined as those that are organized, supervised by adults, place limitations on adolescents’ time use, and focus on skill-building (Mahoney et al., 2006; Osgood et al., 2005). Additionally, Mahoney and Stattin (2000) suggest that in order for an activity to be considered structured, the group must meet at least once a week and include same-age peers. Structured activities might take place in school and/or community settings (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Eccles et al., 2003; Mahoney, 2000). Examples of structured activities include extracurricular activities that are school-based (e.g., clubs/organizations and student council) or community-based (e.g., organized activities like club sports teams).

Adolescent outcomes associated with participation in supervised or unsupervised activities have been both positive and negative. After-school programs serve as an example of supervised OST and considerable effort has been directed toward designing and implementing efficacious after-school programs (Bodilly & Beckett, 2005; Halpern, 2002). Current research indicates that after-school programs can serve as a context to prevent problem behavior (Gottfredson et al., 2004; Pierce & Shields, 1998; Riggs, 2006), serve as a resource for students at risk for academic failure (Cosden, Morrison, & Marcias, 2001; Mahoney, Lord, & Carryl, 2005; Morris, Shaw, & Perney, 1990; Riggs & Greenberg, 2004), provide opportunities for the promotion of social capital (Apsler, Scott, Fraster, & McMahan, 2006; Carruthers & Busser, 2000), and foster positive development (Dworkin, Larson, & Hansen, 2003). For example, Posner and Vandell (1994) found that elementary-school-age children who participated in structured after-school programs and engaged in academic enrichment activities exhibited academic gains and other positive outcomes like peer relations and emotional adjustment. Additionally, findings
suggest that after-school programs that provide a balanced structure (Caldwell, 2005; Pierce, Hamm, & Vandell, 1999) and promote social competence (Gottfredson et al., 2004; Pierce & Shields, 1998; Riggs, 2006; Roffman, Pagano, & Hirsch, 2001) help reduce youth’s problem behavior.

Previous research shows that adolescents who participate in structured extracurricular activities are less likely to engage in antisocial behavior (Mahoney, 2000; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Sinha, Cnaan, & Gelles, 2007; Zaff, Moore, Papillo, & Williams, 2003) and more likely to have a higher level of academic achievement (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Mahoney, Cairnes, & Farmer, 2003) and positive psychosocial functioning (Bartko & Eccles, 2003). One qualitative study also linked voluntary, structured activities to mediating developmental processes including identity work, the development of initiative, and building social skills and capital (Dworkin et al., 2003). However, Eccles and colleagues (2003) linked higher rates of structured sports involvement with increased alcohol use. Therefore, it is not safe to assume that an activity is not related to negative outcomes just because it is structured.

Unstructured activities have been defined as the opposite of structured activities (e.g., unsupervised, no focus on skill-building). Examples of unstructured activities include “hanging out,” chores, pick-up sports games, and after-school programs that do not guide youth’s behavior (Mahoney et al., 2006; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Osgood et al., 2005; Persson, Kerr, & Stattin, 2007). When unsupervised activities are defined only by sedentary activities or by hanging out, unsupervised activity participation is linked mostly to negative outcomes. For example, hanging out is positively related to alcohol initiation (Strycker, Duncan, & Pickering, 2003) while sedentary activities such as watching TV and playing video games are related to outcomes such as increases in overweight (Koezuka et al., 2006) and declines in physical activity (Motl, McAuley, Birnbaum, & Lytle, 2006) among adolescents. Likewise, Sharp, Coatsworth, Darling, Cumsille, and Ranieri (2007) collapsed passive behaviors (e.g., watching TV) with risky behavior.
(e.g., drinking alcohol) into a single passive/risk activity category and found that activities in this category were related to lower levels of goal-directed behavior compared to other categories. Interestingly, when unstructured activities are defined more broadly, research findings are more positive. For example, participation in activities like backpacking and chess have value for expressing and affirming identity among college students (Haggard & Williams, 1992). Thus, there is reason to believe that positive experiences and outcomes may result from adolescents’ participation in unsupervised OST activities.

Although OST activities are typically termed structured or unstructured, these labels are limiting because they do not accurately capture all possible OST activity component combinations. For example, just because an activity is supervised by adults does not necessarily mean that the activity also promotes skill-building (Mahoney, Stattin, & Magnusson, 2001). Likewise, just because adults are not present during an OST activity, does not mean that adolescents are participating in activities that do not provide skill-building opportunities (Haggard & Williams, 1992). Research findings suggest that more than half of African American adolescents’ time is spent participating in leisure activities, that only 3% of this time is spent in supervised activities, and that time spent with classmates and friends are most strongly related to participation in leisure activities compared to spending time with others (e.g., family) in other activities (e.g., homework, maintenance) (Bohnert et al., 2008). Given the complexity of OST activity participation, it may be more informative to study the OST context in which activity participation takes place. Studying OST in terms of supervised and unsupervised contexts as opposed to structured and unstructured activities allows for the inclusion of multiple OST components to be studied at once. For example a supervised activity may or may not be organized by adults (e.g., little league baseball game vs. supervised trip to the movie with a friend initiated by adolescent). Larson and colleagues (2001) and Bohnert and colleagues (2008) highlight this complexity by reporting that urban African American adolescents spend 38% of
their time with family and 18% of their time with friends and 54% of their time is spent in leisure. The current study discusses the OST context in terms of supervised and unsupervised activities to allow for the best possible understanding of what adolescents are doing in their OST and the components of their activities.

**Summary of Limitations of Existing Research**

Currently, the literature does not provide consistent findings on outcomes related to supervised or unsupervised activity involvement or outcomes associated by activity domain/type. Evidence links supervised and unsupervised activities to positive and negative outcomes (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Another major concern is the restricting concepts of supervised and unsupervised activities that by definition, to no encapsulate different combinations of experiences and setting types within an activity (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Osgood et al., 2005). Instead, a broader study of OST in terms of supervised and unsupervised contexts may yield more in depth and accurate reflections of adolescents’ OST. Although the adolescent OST literature is growing, most of these studies are on White adolescents and therefore, much less is known about adolescents who belong to racial minority groups. Given the mixed findings that the OST activity literature exhibits and the field’s limited understanding of adolescents’ personal OST experiences, it is important to re-conceptualize the way that OST activities are studied in order to gain a stronger understanding of how supervised and unsupervised OST relate to youth development among racial minority adolescents.
Some researchers have begun to identify more elaborate ways of promoting positive youth development within programs and recreation settings. For example, the National Research Council and Institute of Medicine (2002) presents eight program features that include the following: physical and psychological safety, appropriate structure, supportive relationships, opportunities to belong, positive social norms, support for efficacy and mattering, opportunities for skill building, and integration of family, school, and community efforts. Whereas these features are geared towards programming specifically, Caldwell (2005) utilized the 8 features, developmental research, and leisure research to develop three broader categories hypothesized to promote positive youth development within the context of recreation. Caldwell (2005) proposes that there are three major elements of recreation and leisure that help promote positive youth development: context, activity, and experience. The following section summarizes themes that emerge from current literature, that include the following: activity participation (e.g., type, domain, breadth, depth), settings within activities (e.g., adult control, adult support, rules and restrictions), and experience within activities (e.g., interest, boredom), behavior (e.g., build skills) and constraints (e.g., not enough time) to activity participation.

Activity Participation

Adolescents participate in a number of different types of activities and participation in different types of activities has been linked to developmental outcomes. The activity participation component of OST refers to the domain of an activity (e.g., school, commercial, public/recreational, and more casual or private), activity type, the depth of an activity, and the
breadth of activities. Activity domains may include school sponsored activities that overlap with course-work and OST, school sponsored activities that only occur during OST, commercial activities (e.g., going to the mall or movies), public/recreational activities (e.g., park, library, and recreation center), and/or more casual activities (e.g., hanging out with friends, spending time on the internet, reading, and playing video games).

Depth refers to the amount of time youth spend in one activity, and breadth, the number of activities in which youth participate. Including time in the study of OST activities will provide insight into the fields debate regarding whether too much time in certain activities may be detrimental (Elkind, 2001; Mahoney et al., 2006). Research investigating the effects of intensity of participation has been mixed. There is some evidence that depth is related to higher levels of risk behavior (Busseri, Rose-Krasnor, Willoughby, & Chalmers, 2006). Others have not found that too much participation in structured activities is bad, but instead, found that for many youth, when they are not participating in organized activities, they are engaging in more sedentary activities like watching TV (e.g., Mahoney et al., 2006). It is clear that more extensive empirical investigations are needed.

While some studies have ignored the concept of breadth all together (Junge, Manglallan, & Raskauskas, 2003; Kaltreider & St. Pierre, 1995; Riggs, 2006), others are beginning to acknowledge breadth as a factor that needs to be accounted for (e.g., Anderson-Butcher, Newsom, & Ferrari, 2003; Cosden et al., 2001). Individuals’ OST experiences and the way these experiences relate to outcomes differ across contexts and across individuals (Brody et al., 2001; Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Coatsworth et al., 2006; Dworkin et al., 2003). Thus, it is possible that the broader adolescents OST activities and experiences are, the greater their positive developmental outcomes will be. In fact, activity participation breadth, that is, the number of activities youth participate in, is related to positive academic, psychological, and behavioral outcomes (Fredricks
& Eccles, 2006) and reduced risk behavior, positive interpersonal functioning, and positive
development (Busseri et al., 2006).

Research indicates that the number of activities youth participate in declines with age,
although the time spent in activities does not change (Jacobs et al., 2005). The decline in breadth
of activities may be due to the fact that as school-based activities become more competitive
(between middle school and high school) youth tend to drop out (Pedersen & Seidman, 2005).
Although there is a decline in structured activity participation, increased, or at least maintained
levels of participation are important as the length of time across years spent in extracurricular
activities among high school students is positively related to higher grades and academic
aspirations (Darling, 2005).

**Setting**

Setting refers to influential aspects of the environment that impact youth’s opportunities
to participate in activities and gain healthy experiences within activities. According to Caldwell
(2005), the activity context should provide opportunities for youth to have a choice and a voice in
decisions, have an appropriate level of structure, guidance and supervision, help build healthy
peer relationships, and provide a safe and appropriate physical environment. Research indicates
that an appropriate level of structure and guidance and supervision, help build healthy peer
relationships, and provide a safe and appropriate physical environment (Caldwell, 2005; Eccles &
Gootman, 2002b).
**Adult Control, Support, and Guidance**

Given that opportunities within activities can foster PYD, it is important to study the role that adults play in OST in terms of support, control, and their ability to foster development. Control and support refers to the level of control and support (i.e., direct supervision, level of monitoring, and social control, autonomy, guidance) received from adults during youth’s OST time activities. Traditionally, if adults are present, the activity is defined as structured. Whereas positive outcomes have been linked to direct supervision (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Mahoney, 2000; Mahoney & Cairnes, 1997; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Sinha et al., 2007; Zaff et al., 2003), it has also been linked to negative outcomes such as increased stress and boredom among youth (Shaw, Caldwell, & Kleiber, 1996). Thus, it is important for OST researchers to measure adolescents’ responses to the types of supervision they experience.

Within activities, the type of adult care that youth can experience varies; therefore, researchers must understand the effectiveness of adult control aside from direct supervision (see Osgood et al., 2005). Social control and monitoring influence adolescents’ OST activities and so adults do not necessarily need to be in youth’s presence to have an impact (Osgood et al., 2005; Vandell & Shumow, 1999). Hutchinson, Baldwin, and Caldwell (2003) found that that parents set parameters by communicating rules and expectations with their adolescents, provide them with resources, and allow them to have their freedom. Interestingly, youth are more likely to participate in and feel competent about activities that their mothers highly value (Jacobs et al., 2005). Parental monitoring is influential in youth’s OST activities in that it is related to the level of trust parents have for their children and the type of activity youth are likely to engage in (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Adults may exert control over youth’s OST experiences using overt or covert strategies (Hutchinson et al., 2003). Adults have the ability to enhance or diminish OST time experiences and outcomes (e.g., Conroy & Coatsworth, 2004; Shaw et al., 1996). Mentoring
Behavior

Adolescents’ positive behaviors, including choices they make and activities they engage in to build skills and learn new things occur during OST (Caldwell, 2005). Decision making, activity planning, and one’s ability to adapt activities according to one’s preferences are skills that reflect initiative and freedom (Larson, 2000). Planning and decision making involves recognition of various activities, the selection of an activity, and the organization of sequential actions to pursue that activity and increases between the ages of 7 and 11 (Gauvain & Perez, 2005). Adolescents’ with planning and decision-making skills will be better able to participate in personally meaningful OST activities (Weissinger, Caldwell, & Bandalos, 1992) which is related to positively to outcomes such as well-being (Coatsworth et al., 2006) and negatively to outcomes such as school drop-out (Farrell, Peguero, Lindsey, & White, 1988).

Experience

Personal experiences within OST activities are important for a couple of reasons. First, positive and negative feelings within OST activities are related to behavioral outcomes (Hunter & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003; Iso-Ahola & Crowley, 1991). Additionally, adolescents’ experiences will be unique according to each individual (Coatsworth et al., 2006; Dworkin et al., 2003). What is exciting and engaging to one adolescent might not be to another adolescent. Thus, it is not
enough to link types of activities or activity contexts to outcomes. Researchers must also understand adolescents’ personal experiences within OST to gain a comprehensive understand about how and why all components of OST activity participation relate to outcomes. These experiences include positive and negative feelings and autonomy and are discussed in further detail below.

**Positive and Negative Feelings**

Intrinsic motivation in OST is negatively related to OST boredom (Weissinger et al., 1992) and OST boredom is the opposite of OST interest. Whereas levels of adolescents’ interest in activities have been linked to optimism and pessimism, self-esteem, and autonomy (Hunter & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003; McLeod & Vodanovich, 1991), OST boredom has been linked to negative outcomes such as substance use (Iso-Ahola & Crowley, 1991), school drop-out (Farrell et al., 1988), and vandalism and rejection of adult structure (Caldwell & Smith, 1995). Thus, it is important for researchers, practitioners, and parents to encourage adolescents to participate in activities that are personally meaningful.

**Autonomy**

In the OST experience model, autonomy refers to the extent to which adolescents feel (a) a sense of personal responsibility, (b) like they have a choice and a voice, and (c) like they contributed to the organization/initiation of an activity. This dimension addresses whether youth take an active role in their OST or participate in activities because they have to or feel pressured to. As mentioned earlier, adults may supervise adolescents at different level (e.g., direct
supervision or indirectly monitoring). Given that adult involvement varies in adolescents’ OST, it is likely that many youth feel independent or autonomous at some point. Initiative (Larson, 2000) and autonomy (Ryan & Deci, 2000), important aspects of OST to foster positive youth development, are very apparent during OST activities.

**Constraints**

Youth sometimes face constraints to participation in OST and leisure activities (Caldwell & Baldwin, 2005). These constraints could include a lack of transportation, equipment, facilities, or adult support or competing obligations such as having to care for younger siblings or working a job to contribute to family finances. External barriers (e.g., community is not safe, and people do not get along) are predictive of participation in structured activities (Morrissey & Werner-Wilson, 2005). Moreover, youth who live in violent neighborhoods and participate in community clubs are more likely to experience increased exposure to violence, leading to anxiety and depression (Fauth et al., 2007). Constraints may also be related to social class. Lareau (2002) demonstrated that not all families value structured activities or have the resources for them. She found that low-income families often lacked the human and financial resources required for organized activities and, also, that low-income families felt that childhood was a time for unstructured time use. Therefore, for some youth, unstructured activities may be the only option they have for their free time. However, it is still possible that adolescents will benefit from these activities, as long as they contain components that foster healthy development.
Summary and Current Study

Despite the fact that aspects of OST have been operationalized differently across studies and results have been mixed, previous research is helpful in that it highlights the relevance of promoting healthy OST among adolescents. Classifying adolescents’ activities as supervised/non-supervised and/or by activity type limits researchers’ understanding of adolescents’ personal experiences within OST. Instead, classifying OST contexts as supervised or unsupervised may be more efficient. Some research attempts to take these broader methods and investigate different aspects of adolescents OST. For example, the National Research Council and Institute of Medicine’s (2002) eight program features and Caldwell’s (2005) recreation and OST elements are beneficial because they utilize empirical evidence to promote positive youth development in out-of-school time settings. The recreation and OST elements models highlight important components that are related to positive youth development and the contents of the models can be directed towards programming or other group activities. However, much of the research on OST aspects thus far focuses on supervised, structured settings. Less is known about adolescents’ experiences and behaviors within both supervised and unsupervised contexts. Thus, the current study aimed to understand adolescents’ perceptions of supervised and unsupervised contexts and experiences as well as adolescents’ behaviors within these OST contexts.
Study Aim

Aim 1

Aim 1 of this dissertation was to explore the range of youth’s perceptions of out-of-school time settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints, within both supervised and unsupervised OST contexts, in interview narratives of racial minority adolescents.

Research Question 1.1

What themes emerge from interviews with adolescents relating to their perceptions of settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints about and within supervised and unsupervised OST?

Research Question 1.2

How do adolescents’ perceptions of settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints differ according to level of supervision?

Method

Procedure

Study participants included students who participated in the Teaching Enhancing Nurturing After-school Program (T.E.N.). T.E.N. is designed to facilitate academic and social competencies through an integrated learning approach at three different sites in Harrisburg,
Pennsylvania. T.E.N.’s goals are as follows: (1) improve children’s reading and spelling proficiencies; (2) increase children’s effective use of social skills to improve their behavior within home and school environments; (3) improve parents’ ability to manage their children’s behavior, provide nurturing support, and demonstrate increased involvement in their children’s academic, social, and community activities; and (4) decrease the frequency of social services involvement due to conditions of neglect or abuse. In an attempt to achieve the aforementioned outcomes, Hempfield Behavioral Health, Inc. strives to operate the T.E.N. program with stringent adherence to the recommended components suggested by 21st Century Community Learning Centers (U.S. Department of Education, 2005). Utilizing a multi-modal intervention strategy interactive activities are developed to challenge and improve academic, personal, social, and family functioning. Program components are as follows: reading sessions, tutoring/mentoring, social skills program (Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies, Kusche & Greenberg, 1994), home visits, parent meetings, and teacher consultation. Because the current study will focus on delinquency/social competence and academic achievement, it is important to note the program elements that might be related to those outcomes.

T.E.N. was developed to identify and provide early intervention services for children in grades 1 through 7 who are at risk of academic failure and/or delinquency. Students were selected to participate in T.E.N. if they exhibited one or more of the following risk factors: academic failure, consistent truancy from school, disruptive behavior, previous legal contact for a minor offense, and family dysfunction. Nominations for at risk youth were taken from teachers, clergy, school counselors, and principles. Students were mandated to attend daily; students who accrued absences during normally scheduled hours, Monday through Friday, were dismissed from the program. Additionally, students who attended T.E.N. received a small amount of monetary compensation, bi-weekly for their attendance.
Forty (20 females) 6th-8th grade students participated in the T.E.N. after-school program at the time of data collection. The first step in recruiting participants was the administration of the consent forms to all participants. T.E.N. staff distributed consent forms to students to take home to their parents. Second, the interviewer spent a day and a half in the after-school program with participants before the study began to help establish a comfort level between the students and interviewer. During these visits, the interviewer explained what the project was about to students and spent time talking with them about topics not related to the current research project. They discussed why the project was important, what students would be asked to do if they decided to participate, that students responses would be kept confidential, and that those who participated would receive monetary compensation. Students whose parents provided permission to participate and who themselves agreed to participate were eligible to be interviewed. Before the start of each interview, the interviewer made sure that the digital recorder would have enough power to last through the entire interview so that the interview would not be disrupted for any controllable reason. Interviews were conducted in an empty classroom located in the same hallway as the other after-school program classrooms. The door remained open during the interview. Thus, the interviewer could help assure the participant that the interviews were private and confidential, but the participant could still feel comfortable in his/her school environment.

Sample

Of the forty consent forms that were distributed, 55% (n=22) were returned and 59% (n = 13) of students who returned consent forms were granted parent permission. Of the students who were granted parental consent, only one student chose not to participate in the interview. The final sample consisted of 12 predominately (83%, n= 10) African American 7th and 8th grade students (58.3% (n= 7) female, 75% (n=9) 7th grade) who lived in an urban, east coast city.
Interview

The interview consisted of two main sections: supervised OST experiences and unsupervised OST experiences. Participants were asked to think about a specific context (supervised OST for section 1 and unsupervised for section 2) and were then asked four main questions per section. For each section, participants were asked to, “Tell me about one thing that you spend the most time doing when you’re not in school and there’s at least one adult in charge,” “Tell me about your favorite way to spend time when you’re not in school and there’s at least one adult in charge,” and “Tell me about your least favorite way to spend time when you’re not in school and there is at least one adult around to tell you what to do.” For each of the three questions above, participants were asked follow-up questions that reflected why they chose the activity they did, the things they liked and disliked about the activity, and things they would change about that activity or how they feel when participating in that activity. Participants were also asked, “Are there certain things you wish you could do more of when you’re not in school and adults are in charge?” for the supervised OST section and, “Are there certain things you wish you could do more of when you’re not in school and adults are not in charge?” for the unsupervised section. Finally, students were asked if they would like to share any additional free time experiences that they had not had a chance to talk about. The length of interviews averaged one half hour. See Appendix A for interview questions.

Analytic Strategy

The aim of the current study was to explore the range of youth’s OST supervised and unsupervised activities and experiences using interview narratives of ethnic minority adolescents.
To address the research questions and overarching aim, transcripts from interviews were analyzed using a coding scheme (Appendix B) and the Atlas.ti data analysis module.

To examine dimensions of OST experiences revealed in the interviews and to determine the extent to which the dimensions overlap with or provide unique information related to OST, all interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed word-for-word. A code list based on theory was developed prior to the interviews being conducted. This coding scheme included codes related to demographics, context (e.g., supervised, unsupervised), setting, behavior, experience, and constraints.

Participants were asked to describe OST activities that were their favorite, least favorite, and that took up the most time within both supervised and unsupervised contexts. Responses from these questions and follow-up questions (e.g., what do you like about it, what would you change) were coded in terms of perceived settings, behavior, experiences and constraints. Participants were also asked to describe an activity within supervised and unsupervised contexts that they wish they could do more often. These responses were used to determine constraints to participation in desired activities.

To code interviews, there was one primary coder (Faulk) and two additional coders (Caldwell and Coatsworth). Based on theory, Faulk developed a coding scheme of expected responses. Faulk reviewed the twelve interviews and adapted the coding scheme based on responses. Themes and subthemes were adapted, added, or deleted accordingly. For example, activities such as babysitting and swimming were added along with experiences such as feeling competitive and feeling sneaky. After Faulk developed a coding scheme that was more representative of the responses, she selected three interviews that represented all participants’ responses. Faulk, Coatsworth, and Caldwell then coded these three interviews independently, using the coding scheme that Faulk had provided. All coders met to review how interviews had been coded. They determined that coding was generally consistent across all three coders. Any
discrepancies were discussed and resolved. Additionally, additional codes and themes were added to the original coding scheme at this point. For example, additional experiences that had not previously been included in the coding scheme (e.g., feeling affectionate, experiencing conflict with others, feeling secretive or sneaky) were added. Because such strong consistency was obtained when Caldwell and Coatsworth reviewed the first three interviews, they did not review additional interviews.

After all interviews were coded based on the coding scheme, codes were entered into the qualitative data analysis software: Atlas.ti. Atlas.ti was used to generate counts or frequencies of OST themes. A description of these themes are presented below.

**Results**

Before addressing the specific aim of the study, I will describe the interview participants at an individual level. This information is provided so the reader can gain a deeper understanding of the participants.

**Vignettes of Participants**

Emily is a confident, enthusiastic seventh grade girl who has a passion for socializing. She feels like her mother restricts her in almost every arena of socializing, including spending time in the neighborhood with friends, being on the internet, talking on the phone, and spending time with boys. She says she tests her mother’s limits sometimes by not going directly home after she is dismissed from her out of school program or going beyond her time limit on the phone.
Sometimes, she is able to work out a compromise with her mother about rules, but other times, she is punished for breaking them.

Isabella is a conscientious seventh grade girl who carries many responsibilities within her household doing chores and caring for her younger siblings. She says she sometimes feels restricted because of her day-to-day tasks at home. She indicates she enjoys the time that adults are home because that means that she will have time for herself. She enjoys participating in activities where she feels comfortable, she can be herself, and she can trust those that are involved. She really enjoys participating in her dance group and after-school program.

Natalie is a seventh grade girl who says she loves to compete. She is active and social, appreciates having “alone time”, and considers getting good grades a priority. Natalie is concerned that other people maintain appropriate attitudes and tempers during supervised and unsupervised activities. This may be because she says she has a temper and she tries her best to control it. Adults and friends help her control her attitude.

Sophia is a seventh grade girl who is laid back and direct. She desires to explore new things, get out of the city, and for her own city to have more exciting leisure opportunities (e.g., restaurants, amusement parks) for her and her family. Sophia enjoys talking to friends and does not like doing chores or being bored.

Samantha is a seventh grade girl who enjoys socializing with her friends and getting out of the house. She enjoys her hobbies: doing hair and playing double-dutch. She says she values her privacy but also values adults as resources (e.g., provide help, protection, organization of activities).

Alyssa is an eighth grade girl who values the time she spends with her family. Getting along with friends is also important to her. Alyssa is allowed to go over to her friend’s house and indicated she is responsible. She appreciates rules that adults enforce.
Grace is an eighth grade girl who enjoys play-fighting with others or annoying her peers and siblings. When she participates in an after-school program, she usually talks with adults because she feels lonely.

Jacob is a seventh grade boy who has a passion for playing video games. He says that he accepts that he has restrictions in relation to video games, but will occasionally sneak (a game) when adult is not home.

Ethan is a seventh grade boy who works hard to complete projects outside of school with his uncle. Although he did not seem particularly passionate about any one OST activity, he does enjoy sleeping, relaxing, being lazy, and exercising.

Joseph is a seventh grade boy who is responsible, mature, talkative, and articulate. Maintaining mutual respect with his mom and his friends is very important to him and something at which he seems to succeed. He understands that he is gaining independence in OST because he is getting older and understands that many responsibilities and expectations come along with that independence. He expresses his sense of responsibility in making sure that friends who come over his house remain safe from neighborhood violence.

Jayden is an eighth grade boy who values helping out his family and spending time with them. His personality is fun and caring. He enjoys spending time doing his hobby- working on cars- and playing basketball.

Andrew is a seventh grade boy who greatly desires to have his mom’s trust so that he can have more freedom to go out on his own and explore things in his neighborhood. However, he constantly gets caught breaking the rules. He insists that he would not have to break his mom’s rules if she would trust him. Although there is this tension with his mom, he enjoys time bonding with his mom.
Presentation of Results

The following discussion presents results from the qualitative data analyses. This includes counts of OST themes derived from Atlas.ti. For the current study, the number of times a theme was coded was defined as a reference. References do not take into account the number of times a theme was mentioned by the same person; instead they represent the total number of times a theme was mentioned. For example, if one adolescent mentioned a specific theme two times and another adolescent mentioned the theme 1 time, that theme was referenced three times. Subthemes were highlighted within a theme if it was referenced by at least one third (n=3) of the sample. If a topic seemed important, but was only mentioned by one or two adolescents, the topic was included in an “other” category.

The tables presented in the following sections include a column entitled “Highest ref / partic.” The value presented in this column reflects the most times a specific theme was referenced by any of the participants. For example, if three participants referenced a theme five, one, and two times, respectively, the number five would be represented in the “Highest ref/partic.” column because the greatest number of times the theme was referenced by any one participant was five.

Finally, it is important for the reader to remember that the data discussed below results from a sample of 12. Thus a theme mentioned by 9 people represents 75% of participants while a theme mentioned by 3 people was mentioned by 25% of the sample.
OST Themes

Aim 1 of the current study was to explore the range of youth’s OST supervised and unsupervised settings, behaviors, and experiences using interview narratives of ethnic minority adolescents. Research question 1.1 asked: What themes emerge from interviews with adolescents relating to their perceptions of settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints about and within supervised and unsupervised OST? To address this question, interview responses were reviewed and common themes were identified. These themes can be categorized within four broad categories: settings within OST, behaviors within OST, experiences within OST, and constraints to enjoyable OST activities. The following section describes setting, behaviors, experiences, and constraints within OST as described by racial minority adolescents.

Setting

Setting refers to the environment of an OST activity and was referenced 59 times. Two main themes emerged from the participants’ descriptions of settings. Adolescents talked about adult support and guidance within supervised contexts (e.g., adults serve as a resource, show that they care) and restriction and rules within supervised and unsupervised contexts (e.g., feel restricted or limited; Table 1.1).

Adult Support and Guidance

Examples of adult support and guidance were mentioned 40 times. The most frequently discussed roles of adult support and guidance were: adults severe as resources, adults provide rules, adults support autonomy, adults show that they care, and adults provide encouragement. Additionally, the following topics related to adult support and guidance were mentioned only
once or twice: encouragement from adults, trust from adults to make responsible decisions, and adults are not there when you need them.

_Adults Serve as a Resource._ Eighteen adolescents explained that the benefits of involving adults in their OST experiences were because adults serve as organizers, friends, mediators, advice givers, money providers, protectors, and transporters. Two adolescents described how adults serve as a resource in social contexts. For example, Joseph explained how he and his friends had fun things to keep them occupied because his mom had planned activities ahead of time. Similarly, Natalie explained how usually, when her friends have parties, “…parents might be just around cuz serving stuff like different things like that. Or, trying to I don’t know, how I can say…make things organized. There we go. Like, they’re trying to organize things…”

Five participants discussed how adults provided them with advice related to laws (e.g., not stealing and fighting), social issues (e.g., arguments with friends), general problems, and how to prepare to be successful in the future. For example, Natalie described how advice from her mother was helpful during Natalie’s first unsupervised outing with friends.

Natalie: Yeah. Like the first time when me and my best friend like went to the movies, that was like our first time by ourselves. So, my mom was like, “Don’t go into no store, don’t be stealing nothin’” and things like that because she’s like, “They do have cameras. They may say that they don’t work, but they do and dadadadadadada. So we be like, “Ok.”

INTERVIEWER: Ugh hugh.

Natalie: “Ok.” We be sitting there, trying to like- lookin’ around like, “Is she still talking to us?” But, yeah, that was for the right reasons because I do know like, I think when we went to the mall like a couple times after our first time, somebody stole something and
we was like, “Oh man, we was in that store.” We was like, “Check our pockets and all that.” He was like, “Check your bag, check your bookbag.” And like, “that’s not us.” And we just kept going about our business. So, basically, yes, her advice did come in handy.

Others also provided examples of the types of advice provided by family members as well as after-school program counselors. Joseph explained how the male counselors at his after-school program give him advice about making good choices and being successful in life.

INTERVIEWER: Oh, oh, oh. Ok. So, what do you do here? What are your responsibilities here?

Joseph: Um, do homework. Um, you gotta do homework. You gotta be able to like, you gotta be able to want to do new things. You have to be able to be responsible. They’re basically teaching us how to be men with all of the problems out here with young black men today. It’s basically pushing us one step further to be able to know what we’re doing to get a nice job, have a nice car, have some kids in the family, treat a woman right. Stuff like that. Being able to take care of yourself, keep yourself clean, get a nice job, get an education, know how to be responsible, respect somebody, be able to show your kids to be this way and act this way and always do the right thing.

Another participant explained how her after-school program counselor served as an educational resource. Natalie was pleasantly surprised that her after-school program counselor selected an interesting book for the girl’s book club. Natalie explained, “…like I wouldn’t pick up the book, but it’s like you know, it’s actually a good book that she picked for us…” Natalie also
provided example of how adults serve as mediators when she explained how her after-school program counselors help her control her temper.

INTERVIEWER: Can you give me an example of when you think they’re like guiding you and it’s a good thing? Can you think of a time?

Natalie: When…when…I can’t even think right now. I’m so tired. Um, if we’re like arguing- yeah, that’s probably the best thing. Cuz like during sports, that’s when I’m like most hype, but like when you tell me to calm down, I know I could go over the deep end a bit. But I know they have to bring it to my attention that I do need to bring it back some.

INTERVIEWER: Ok.

Natalie: Cuz if I don’t do that, then like, I don’t know what could stop me.

Three adolescents discussed adults serving as a financial resource. For example, when one male participant was asked what he enjoyed about going to the mall when an adult was in charge, he responded, “Um, well, sometimes it’s fun cuz they get to buy me stuff sometimes.” After explaining disadvantages, Isabella explained the benefits (i.e., advice and money) of having a family member close by during the day.

Like I can tell her, like what’s going on in school or like if I don’t have money for a field-trip the next day and I know I’ll see her, I’ll ask her. Like she’s there when I need her.

Adults Provide Rules. Eight adolescents discussed how adults set rules for adolescents during OST. Two adolescents mentioned that adults make rules related to the time adolescents spend with their friends. For example, when discussing how his mother gives him independence
when spending time with friends, Joseph stated, “So, we knew the rules, we just had to make sure that we followed them.” One adolescent discussed how adults set rules to protect him for two different activities. Andrew explained that his mother monitors the shows he watches on TV and will tell him to change the channel when the show he is watching is inappropriate. He also shared that his mother will not let him walk to a popular location in the city because it is too far.

*Adults Allow Autonomy.* Autonomy support from an adult within OST was mentioned six times across interviews; three of these references came from the same interviewee. A range of contexts through which adults provided autonomy support were discussed, including activities with family, friends, and a church youth group. For example, one participant discussed how her cousin has the whole top floor of the house to herself and when Emily is over, the aunt does not go upstairs. Natalie explained that once her work is done during her church youth group, she is allowed free time and chooses to talk with her friends. Joseph provided an example of his experience of receiving autonomy support from his mom when he is with his friends, and how his mom balances supervision and autonomy support.

**INTERVIEWER:** Ok. Um, when you’re not in school and there is an adult in charge, what do you think is your favorite thing to do?

Joseph: When I’m in school and an adult’s not around?

**INTERVIEWER:** When you’re not in school and an adult is around.

Joseph: Um, probably call over my friend’s and have a sleep over. Just basically clown around.

**INTERVIEWER:** Ok. How often do you get to do that?

Joseph: Um, like kinda often. Kinda often, stuff like that. Either I’ll call them over to their house or I just call them just to talk. Stuff like that. I like hanging out with friends. Like if, like my mom tells me you can only call somebody over only when I’m here. Stuff
like that. So like, that gives me, I feel like I have independence.

As long as you’re here, I can have somebody over. I feel as
though we can have fun with parental supervision.

INTERVIEWER: Why do you think that is?

Joseph: Cuz like she wants to make sure that like- she knows that I’m
like, I’m responsible and stuff like that, but she wants to make
sure that none of my friends tear up the house. Basically cuz like
lettin’ somebody else into your house, you might know ‘em, but
you never know what they’re going to do. I mean like, you could
walk into their house and they say they’re going to the bathroom
and walk into your room and they just take all your stuff.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

Joseph: So, you can never really trust anybody.

INTERVIEWER: So, what do you think your mom does, so that she can
make sure that your friends are in line, but you still feel like you
are independent?

Joseph: I mean like, cuz like, whenever I’m with my friends and
they’re at my house, I may just be like hey, this is my house. I
can basically do whatever I want. But yall need to learn to
respect my house. We’re cool and all, but I still live here. So,
don’t mess anything up. Plus my mom, she plans out schedules,
stuff like that. Like my last Birthday party, we went to the
movies. They basically slept over, we went to Pizza Hut, a whole
bunch of stuff like that. So, we basically made a schedule to keep
them in line, make sure they do what they did. I mean like, they
don’t like a lot of other kids, so they’re a little more mature. Like my little sister, stuff like that, but we knew what we had to do and we weren’t allowed to do.

INTERVIEWER: Ok.

Joseph: So, we knew the rules. We just had to make sure that we followed them.

Adults Show that They Care. Four adolescents discussed how adults show that they care during OST. Adults did this by showing respect for the adolescent, providing quality time, and befriending adolescents. One participant, Joseph explained how his mother shows respect for him by giving him weekends off from doing chores. He does chores Monday through Friday and explained that, “On the weekend I’m off duty. So that’s pretty cool.” Two adolescents shared that in their OST, adults show that they care by acting like a friend. For example, Grace explained that during her OST, when an adult is in charge, she spends the most time sticking to herself at her after-school program. This sometimes causes her to get lonely, and so, she appreciates that adults reach out to her.

INTERVIEWER: Um, how do you feel when you’re in [the after-school program] and there is an adult in charge and you’re sticking to yourself?

Grace: Um, I feel like I’m shy.

INTERVIEWER: Ugh hugh.

Grace: And sometimes lonely.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhmm.

Grace: But, that’s pretty much all.

INTERVIEWER: That’s all, nothing else?

Grace: Nope.
INTERVIEWER: Um, is there anything special or fun about when you’re in [the after-school program] and there’s an adult in charge and you’re sticking to yourself?

Grace: Um, yeah. Cuz they usually be like well, come over here and sit with us and tell us about your day. So, that’s what I like about it.

INTERVIEWER: Who does that?

Grace: The directors.

*Other.* A few noteworthy experiences with adults that were only mentioned by one or two participants include receiving encouragement from adults, feeling like adults are not there when they are needed, and feeling like adults do not trust the adolescent. Two adolescents discussed receiving encouragement from adults during their OST. One, Joseph, was told that he was a good writer and was encouraged to participate in a speech contest. The other, Emily was encouraged by a family member to continue writing books.

My [sister’s] dad…he told me that like cuz he read the stories that I be writing sometimes cuz sometimes I write then I finish one and he encourage me to write more and he told me that when I actually finish one he goin’ take it out [to where he lives] and try and get it published.

One participant discussed her frustration with adults not being around when she needed them. When asked about her OST experiences when she felt like an adult was not in charge, she described times…

Like when I gotta cook for myself. Like that. Or if I need help on my homework or something, they don’t be there, and then when I don’t need them, they be there…when I can’t get the computer to work, don’t nobody be around. That do make me mad. But that’s all.”
Rules and Restrictions

Rules and restrictions were referenced 19 times. Two broad themes relating to rules and restrictions within OST emerged from adolescents’ discussions: feeling limited/restricted and understanding that rules serve a good purpose.

*Feel Restricted or Limited.* Fifteen adolescents talked about feeling restricted or limited during their OST. Seven talked about how they have to alter their behaviors because of rules, eight discussed how they felt OST activities that they were engaged in were interrupted or altered because adults’ interference, and one expressed that she felt limited in the OST activities she could participate in because of limited resources in her neighborhood (see constraints). In relation to behaviors being restricted, many participants shared that adults set rules about phone use, going out in the neighborhood to walk around or talk with friends, and playing video games. Those who discussed restrictions and limitations in terms of interruptions shared examples of how they will be participating in an activity, and then the activity is interrupted or has to be altered. Some of the reasons for interruptions included adults micromanaging tasks, adolescents’ feeling limited in what they can say when they are with friends and an adult is present, and having to lower one’s voice or go to one’s room to talk on the phone. Additionally, one participant mentioned that she felt limited by a peer because her peer was so controlling that it made the activity (going to the mall) less enjoyable.

*Adolescents Realize Rules Serve a Purpose.* Three adolescents talked about how the rules that adults enforce serve a good purpose. For example, when explaining that his mom gives him independence and freedom to entertain friends when they come over his house, Joseph explains that, “…[mom] wants to make sure that like- she knows that I’m like, I’m responsible and stuff like that, but she wants to make sure that none of my friends tear up the house.” Similarly, Alyssa explained that adults’ rules and restrictions protect kids from watching inappropriate things on
Finally, Natalie expressed that even though she thinks the rules of her after-school program are strict, they serve a purpose.

Like, when I go to [the after-school] program, yeah, I have my friends here. But, we also have to follow certain rules, regulations, and directions that they have to give us. Not that I have a problem with it cuz yeah, most of them are not reasonable, but they’re for a reason. So it’s just like, they’re just there to guide you but sometimes, it’s a little bit over the top.

Other

Feeling like everyone one in an OST activity is unique was mentioned twice by two adolescents. Joseph explained that the uniqueness of everyone is something he enjoys about spending time with family.

I mean, the thing about it is family night, whether I’m with the whole family or just my mom and my sister, everybody has a different mind and a different personality. We tell jokes, we um, we talk about stories, stuff like that. We might even watch the game a little bit. We get- like a lot of cousins, we basically run around and have a lot of fun, we race each other around. So, everybody has their own different mind-set. It’s basically like being in school, being in a classroom, bringing different mind-sets to the game. Then, just using it to your advantage. So, that’s what makes it fun. And you basically like having fun from different points in time. Stuff like that. Older people, younger people, babies. Like they all have a different perspective. So, that’s what makes it cool.
Isabella talked about one of the activities she spent the most time doing which is participating in her dance group. When asked why she enjoys it, she responded, “Like the uniqueness of everybody. How everybody brings ideas together to make sure that what we need to get done is done.”

**Summary of Setting**

In terms of context, adult support and guidance and rule enforcement and restrictions were mentioned most often by the minority adolescents who participated in the current study compared to other themes that they mentioned such as adults allow autonomy, adults show that they care, and adolescents feeling like rules and restrictions serve a purpose. Adult support and guidance was a common theme as it was referenced 40 times (Table 1.2). Eighty-three percent (n = 10) of the sample referred to adult support and guidance and rules and restrictions at least once. Interestingly, one participant did not refer to either. Adolescents from the current study shared examples of adult support that ranged in context from organized after-school programs to unstructured time with family (Table 1.2).

**Behaviors**

Adolescents provided a great deal of information regarding the types of behaviors they engage in during OST and discussed 148 examples of those behaviors. These behaviors refer to things adolescents do during OST and are categorized within the following six themes: learning and skill building, making decisions, experiencing new things, being conscientious of one’s actions, participating in thrilling behavior, and taking alone time to think and relax (Table 1.3).
Learning/Skill Building

Learning and skill building was the most common OST behavior discussed by adolescents. These behaviors were referenced forty-one times and emerged from the following themes: adapt activity, build skills or learn new things, solve problems, and personal expression.

*Adapt Activity.* Adolescent provided twelve examples of how they change an activity to make it more fun. They tend to adapt activities when doing chores or homework, when they are bored, or when they have limited resources. Adapting chores or homework to make them more interesting or exciting was discussed five times. One method of adaptation was to turn on music or play with siblings to make things more interesting. Three adolescents talked about adapting activities when they are bored. They bring up interesting things to talk about with their friends as opposed to the normal-everyday discussions, walk the dog, and redesign their MySpace page. For example, when talking about MySpace, Isabella shared, “And then, there are those days when nobody’s online. I feel like, ‘Oh my gosh, MySpace is lame!’ Then I’m like, ‘Ok, I’m going to stay online, though,’ and I just do my whole page over like.” When the planned activity to socialize with friends became boring, Isabella adapted the activity into something constructive to hold her interest.

*Learn New Things and Build Skills.* Learning new things and building skills was discussed ten times. One of the discussions focused on where they learned the skills (an after-school program). The other references discussed what skills adolescents learned. These skills were related to education, money management, learning about the lifestyles of others (e.g., from documentaries), history, and building a healthy body. One adolescent, Jayden, also talked about learning skills from his basketball coach and then practicing those skills on his own.

INTERVIEWER: No? Do you think it’s different when, um, you’re just playing with your friends like when it’s not basketball season than when you’re playing with like a coach?
Jayden: Well, it’s more harder with a coach cuz you got practice and stuff. With my friends, we just get to play around.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhm. Do you think- do you like one over the other or do you think they both have good things and both have bad things?

Jayden: They both have good things cuz when I practice, I get better. And then, like, when I um- when I’m playing with my friends, then I can use that- what I learn- to be better.

Solve Problems. Adolescents provided ten examples of how they solve problems during their OST. Adolescents explained that many of the problems that were solved during their OST are related to social conflicts and life (e.g., how to act like a man). Adolescents also figured out how to get transportation to a desired activity and how to share resources like computers. In relation to solving social conflicts, Natalie provides an example of how her friends helped calm her temper.

My friends know how to calm me down. Like, it would probably- like my friends, I will sit there and be mad, and they just start cracking jokes cuz I love to laugh. And they start cracking jokes, that’s when I’m like, “Man, can’t I sit in my angriness a little longer?!!” So, they like know how to bring me out of it sometimes which needs to happen.

Personal Expression. Adolescents discussed how they express themselves during their OST activities. This behavior was mentioned nine times and took place in the presence of friends and family and through discussion, journaling, and MySpace. For example, Isabella explained her experience with friend in an after-school program. She shared,
Like, I feel like we liked. Cuz I’m around people I trust and we can talk about anything or I could tell them something or like vent to them about how I’m feeling and I know that it will stay between us. So.

Another adolescent, Joseph, illustrated that he feels comfortable expressing himself to friends and family when he feels like they are doing something wrong. For example, he reminds his mom to eat healthy and stands up to his friends and plays the role of mediator when his friends start to get rowdy.

Joseph: Um, like sometimes, it’s very rare, but like sometimes somebody might get too serious like when we’re wrestling. Like they might get hurt the wrong way and they take it too serious and it’s like a real fight. But, that’s really rare. It’s like it only happened like once or twice I’ve ever done that. And like it’s usually not me, it’s usually like the same people. But, it’s very rare. So like I usually have to split them up and be like, “Yo, ya’ll know what- ya’ll two have known each other for like the longest probably here. Don’t push the wrong buttons. Cuz if ya’ll keep pushing the wrong buttons, I’m a push both of ya’lls’ buttons. And then everybody is gonna be pushin’ each other’s buttons and then all y’all are gonna have to leave and then I’m gonna be on punishment.”

Monique: Yeah.

Joseph: “And I don’t want that to happen.”

INTERVIEWER: Ok. So you kinda take control. How does that make you feel when they start fighting and you have to take control and kind of calm everybody down?
Joseph: I mean, I feel like a little bit better cuz like I feel like I’m basically like. I mean like, it’s a good thing and a bad thing. So like, at that point, you basically feel like Superman. You have to save everybody. I mean like I feel good splittin’ ‘em up but like I feel bad at splittin’ ‘em up cuz like this is ya’l’s problem and ya’ll need to take care of that. I mean like, ya’ll don’t be fighting in my house. If ya’ll goin’ fight, take it outside. Basically, stuff like that. But, I feel like I don’t want to split it up, but I know I have to split it up. I’m goin’ split it up, but once you go outside, ya’ll can keep going. As long as ya’ll tell your parents exactly what happened. Don’t try and bring my name into it.

Building Relationships

Adolescents discussed building relationships with their friends and with adults during their OST. Building relationships was referenced twenty-eight times by thirteen people.

Building Relationships with Friends. Building relationships with friends was referenced twenty-one times by nine participants. Adolescents mainly talked about what they are doing when they build relationships with friends, where they are when they are building relationships with friends, and who they are with. Nine adolescents referenced what they are doing when they build relationship with friends and these activities include talking on the phone, spending time on the computer, and dancing in an organized group. For example, Isabella explained that spending time on MySpace is one way through which she spends most of her OST.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Umm. So, who are you usually with when you do this? Is it- are there other people around?

Emily: It depends. Like when I’m talking to certain people. Like, when
I’m over my friend’s house. We both like- she only got one computer so like we’ll be both like one pulled up and then like, we’ll be like, “Oh, look what he say,” “Look what she say.” So, it’s not really like when I be at my cousin’s house it be me and my cousin and her best friend and we just all be like talking like, we’re not talking to each other but like we’ll let each other read our messages.

Eight adolescents referenced where they are when they build relationships with friends. These places included outside in one’s neighborhood, at an after-school program, at the mall, at friend’s homes, and at one’s own home. Natalie provides an example of this as she explains why she enjoys attending an after-school program.

But at [the after-school program], it’s real cool cuz like, I got a lot of friends here. I might call them my sisters and stuff like that- different things like that. We might just like sit down and we just like make jokes to make each other laugh. It could be like on the stupid side or it could be like- make you wonder and be like, “Wow, that was kinda funny.” It’s just different things like that. Cuz like I really like coming to the program so, it’s real real fun.

Three adolescents referenced who the friends are that they are building relationships with. One adolescent talked about building relationships with friends of the opposite sex. Another student, Joseph, discussed building relationships with friends with older friends.

Isabella: …a lot of my friends, like, they’re my age but like I’m in the 7th grade but like I ugh, I got like this 8th grade friend and his name, like his name is [name of male friend] or whatever. Like we basically get each other a little bit better than like some of the
7th graders. I even have a couple 5th grade friends.

Natalie discussed building a closer relationship with her best friend.

INTERVIEWER: What’s special or fun about going out to the movies?

Natalie: Just. It’s just me and my friend. Like it’s just me and her. Like, it’s not always that we have to be with people-be with others, but it’s sometimes like when you’re with your best friend, it’s just y’all time.

Building Relationships with Adults. Building relationships with adults during OST was referenced seven times. There were some similarities and differences in the way adolescents talked about building relationships with adults compared to building relationships with friends. For example, when talking about building relationships with adults, adolescents talked about who they were building relationships with (e.g., family, mentors), and how they build these relationships (e.g., doing chores together). One unique factor with adults, however is that the “who” was sometimes connected with the “where” and “how.” For example, Joseph explained his interactions with mentors at an after-school program.

Joseph: I mean like, I can really connect to the adults the most cuz like I’m a little bit more mature that a couple of these guys are. But like, they know how to have fun too. I mean, we joke around all the time. And like we talk about each other, but it’s all good cuz we’re just joking around, stuff like that. Basically, how guys are.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhm.

Joseph: We basically do like stuff that like we can have fun with. Stuff that we can understand. So, it’s always fun.
Adolescents also talked about the types of relationships they build with adults. For example, some adolescents talked about mentor or parent relationships. Natalie discussed building friendships with adults.

Or, they can just like be real real cool and then like, you know, like they’re like one of your friends but you still, no matter what happens, treat them with respect. But they’re just like a tad bit older than you. So.

Conscientious

Adolescents expressed that they act conscientiously during OST. Being conscientious was referenced twenty-six times among participants and was broken up into two themes: making responsible decisions and minding manners.

Mind Manners. Making the decision to mind one’s manners during OST was discussed nine times among six adolescents. Adolescents discussed minding their manners during OST in relation to who they are with and what they do mind their manners. For example, Joseph explained, “So like my little sister bugs me a lot so like I’m trying to make sure that I do the right things and not try to get her in trouble or get myself in trouble or get both of us in trouble.” This theme also extended to adolescents’ description of who they are with. For example, one adolescent talked about making smart decisions while he babysits his sister so that he won’t get his sister or himself in trouble. Another adolescent talked about having to show more respect when an adult was present as opposed to when an adult is not present when she is with her friends. In terms of how adolescents mind their manners, they explained that they are careful of the things they say, listen to adults, ask permission when appropriate, and be careful to behave.

Making Responsible Decisions. Making responsible decisions within OST was referenced by adolescents nineteen times among four participants. These decisions were related to friends, family, and personal relationships or experiences within OST. When in the presence of friends,
adolescents discussed following rules, being safe and avoiding violence, respecting others, and balancing play time with study time. For example, when asked how he spend time with his friends, Jayden explained, “…We go to the court sometimes and then – or we go to the library first then the court.” In relation to family, adolescents explained that they tried not to complain when their family members were doing something that they did not like (e.g., take too long at the mall), tried to set a good example for siblings when they babysat, and tried to support the family as best they could. For example, Joseph explained how he contributes to the family financially.

Joseph: Basically, like being able to help out my mom just a little bit more. I get paid $3 a day. Every other week I get like $30 maybe. $6 a month.

INTERVIEWER: Your mom pays you?

Joseph: No, they pay me here at the program. I’m helping out my mom with the paychecks.

Finally, adolescents made responsible decisions for themselves. One adolescent, Joseph, talked about how his new independence during OST mean that he had to, “stay in school [and] keep myself off the streets.” Another adolescent, Natalie, talked about showing “restraint” when she got upset with adults on a trip to a nearby city.

Natalie: So, that’s like, “Man!” So, it’s like, you have to watch what you say, watch your actions, and watch how you um conduct yourself in the public, period. So that’s like a little bit restraint. But, you have to carry yourself like that normally. You have to adjust to it.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And how do you feel about that? About the way you have to carry yourself when adults are around?

Natalie: Like sometimes, you can just feel tired and want to say what’s
on your mind. But like that’s what you can do with like your friends. Like if you could really trust that person if they won’t tell nobody. Or like, whatever that is. But, like, with an adult, they could be like, “Oh, I can’t believe you just said- are you getting smart with me?” Or somethin’ like that, like you’re like, they think you’re trying to be smart when you’re not being smart and you’re just trying to be real. So, like that could jeopardize you and like, “Oh man, are they gonna call my mom?” So that’s like, also restraint.

Doing Something New

Eleven adolescents discussed their engagement in new experiences during OST. These behaviors were categorized into doing something new or rare, exploring new things, and getting out of the house and were referenced 21 times.

Doing Something New or Rare. Doing something new or rare was referenced sixteen times among adolescents. These types of behaviors included spending time with friends, taking over-night field trips for academic tournaments, watching TV, spending time on the computer, cooking, going outside in the neighborhood, and going on vacation. For example, when asked why she enjoys swimming as an after-school program activity, Natalie responded, “Cuz you don’t get to go swimming year-round.” Similarly, when Isabella was asked why watching TV was one of her favorite activities, she responded, “Cuz I don’t get to do it as much as I do anything else.”

Exploring New Things or Getting Out of the House. Exploring new things or getting out of the house was a behavior referenced four times. These examples referred to visiting new cities. For example, Natalie explained that not going anywhere was one of her least favorite ways to spend her OST. When asked why she liked to go places like new cities, she explained,
Because like just going out of town for like, just- just to do it. Like it’s not like for a reason, “Oh, I have to go like to school for a week here.” I wouldn’t try to do that, plus I had to. Um, but, that’s it would be fun because- then again, most likely, when you’re with your friends’ parents, they act all nice cuz you’re not their child. So, like and it would be fun because you’re just goin’ somewhere new or something to mix in your life for a change.

Thrilling

Engaging in thrilling behavior was referenced twenty-seven times by adolescents. Thrilling behavior refers to breaking rules and being or feeling secretive or sneaky.

Break Rules. Making decisions to break rules in OST was discussed ten times by five participants. Participants revealed how they break rules during OST. Adolescents sneak on the computer, sneak out of the house to spend time with friends in the neighborhood, sneak on the phone, sneak on the computer, sneak to watch TV, play video games, cook, sneak and drink soda, and have boys over. Emily explained how an adult who watches her when her mom is away allows her on the computer.

I mean, he can’t really control me. But like, he the one who let me be on the computer a lot cuz my mom she be like “No, don’t let her on the computer.” He be like, “Just wait ‘til everybody go upstairs. Go ahead, get on.” So like, that’s what I do most of the time.

Secretiveness and Sneakiness. Feeling is this a feeling or a behavior??secretive or sneaky was discussed twelve times among adolescents. Twelve of the activities that related to feeling secretive or sneaky involved breaking rules related to talking on the phone, being on the computer, sneaking out to spend time with friends in the neighborhood, sneaking boys in the
house, spending time on the computer, and playing video games that were restricted because of violent content. For example, Andrew described how he sneaks on the computer when his mom is not home.

Andrew: And um, sometimes I sneak on her computer.
INTERVIEWER: Mmhm.
Andrew: Because she doesn’t know that I know the password, but I do.
INTERVIEWER: Ugh hugh.
Andrew: And I just don’t do it when she’s around so then she really thinks I don’t know it. And every time she types it in, I pretend like- I turn around so I don’t see the password. But, I know it. I get on when she’s not around.
INTERVIEWER: Ok. So, you go on- what do you do on the computer?
Andrew: I usually just play games and look up cheats for my video game.

…

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, how do you feel when you’re on the computer?
Andrew: Like I’m doing something but it’s supposed to be secretive, but I’m still having fun.

One adolescent discussed feeling secretive and sneaky from the excitement of making prank calls. She explained,

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, let’s see. Is there anything special or fun about being on the phone when there is not an adult in charge beside what you already said?
Samantha: Prank call people.
INTERVIEWER: And what’s fun about prank calling?
Samantha: Cuz you act like somebody else and just mess with them.

INTERVIEWER: And so what do you think is fun about being able to act like you’re somebody else and they don’t find out?
Samantha: Cuz like you give them so many hints and they just don’t know it’s you and you just start with them.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhmm.
Samantha: And then they next day they come, they see you, they be like, “Somebody just called me and said all this stuff.” And it be you and it’s just funny.

Alone Time to Think or Relax
Adolescents talked about how they take time to do things on their own which helps them think or relax. This behavior was discussed five times among four participants. Adolescents explained that sometimes they desire spending time on their own when they are stressed, have spent too much time with friends, or just because. When they take alone time, they will sometimes just sit back and relax and other times will entertain themselves doing something like watch TV or write poetry. Joseph explains a typical “me time” experience for him.

Joseph: Um, like I said, I do like a lot of art work so like I’m always coming up with new ideas. I do like a lot of rap artist. I do like a lot of portraits of them. I design sneakers a lot. I like come up with ideas for sneakers.

Stuff like that.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. How often do you get to do that stuff?
Joseph: Um, usually like during the weekend. Like I’m usually loaded with homework. Um, studying, stuff like that. Plus I gotta worry about like
getting in shape, stuff like that. Worried about my family. So, I never really like get a lot of me time sometimes. It’s very rare that I don’t get me time, but like, I try to get it whenever I can.

INTERVIEWER: So, when you have me time, do you like to do your art work?

INTERVIEWER: Um, so how do you feel when you have me time?
Joseph: Um, I keep me to myself. When I’m by myself, I’m basically like a quiet dude. I don’t even really like talk to myself. I basically like concentrate on doing what I’m doing. Sometimes, when I have me time, I don’t worry about rapping at that time, I don’t worry about video games, I don’t worry about reading books. Sometimes I just pop a cd into my cd player, turn it up at like a little low level, close my door, make sure that I can hear the music but I can’t hear anything outside that door, lay down on my bed, and just like zone out. Just do myself.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhm. And how do you feel when you do that?
Joseph: It feels good. I feel like whenever I’m listening to my music and I’m like by myself doing my own thing, I feel like I’m in like another world.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhm.
Joseph: I feel like I’m in my own world and like I’m doing whatever I want. I feel like I’m the rap artist at that point in time. So like, it’s a cool thing for me. I feel a little bit like laid back. I feel a little bit more mellow. Like I just feel like a cool person. It even makes me tired at times.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhm.
Joseph: I might like fall asleep, I might like wake back up, I be like, “Wow, the cd’s still playing.” So like, and then I just like lay down in my room,
maybe stare at the walls a little bit. Throw my baseball up and down a little bit, my basketball, something like that. And I just zone out and just do myself.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Is there anything you wish you could change about that time?

Joseph: Just to have more.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

Joseph: So many cds and so little time. That’s all I gotta say. I mean like, cuz I hate the radio. The radio- like you can turn to one station and then turn to the next station and I be like, “Wait, I just heard that on the last one.”

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

Joseph: They play the same song over and over. I mean like, I even like a lot-we have Comcast, stuff like that- I even like a lot of the um, a lot of the music channels. I love MTV Jams. You never stop, they’re always doing something that involves music. I love watching videos. I like listening to the music, a whole bunch of stuff like that. The whole 9. So, music has always been my thing.

Summary of Behaviors

Adolescents indicated that during their OST they did the following: learn new things and build skills, act conscientiously, experience new things, engage in thrilling behavior, and take time for themselves. Learning new things/building skills was the most frequently mentioned behaviors 41 references (Table 1.2). Across all twelve participants, 75% of the sample (n=9) discussed making responsible decisions and building relationships, 75% (n =9) referenced being secretive or sneaky, 67% (n = 8) discussed learning or building skills, 67% (n = 8) referenced
acting conscientiously, and 58% discussed engaging in new experiences. That is, all themes within the behavior category were discussed by at least half of the participants with the exception of the taking alone time theme which was discussed by 33% of the sample. These findings suggest that the aforementioned behaviors are important to adolescents OST.

Experiences

Adolescents discussed a wide range of experiences within OST. These experiences were referenced 249 times and were categorized into the following themes: positive feelings (e.g., interest), negative feelings (e.g., frustration and annoyance), and freedom (Table 1.4).

Positive Feelings

Adolescents described many positive feelings experienced during OST. The most commonly mentioned positive feelings were: relaxed, passionate, and affectionate. Positive feelings that were referenced a moderate number of times include: comfortable being themselves, maturity, food, efficacious, and healthy. Positive feelings that were discussed or described only 1-4 times include: ownership, competition, everyone with them is unique, and feeling normal.

Relaxed. Adolescents discussed or described feeling relaxed during OST twenty-five times. Adolescents referenced relaxation during activities such as spending time with family, friends, alone, and within after-school programs. Five relaxation references related to time during activities with friends, either at a friend’s house or spending time with friends in one’s neighborhood or at an after-school program. Across the sample, adolescents provided three examples of feeling relaxed when with family.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. What’s special or fun about family night?

Joseph: Um, I couldn’t really point out a specific thing because family
nights period, is just like the best thing. You feel good whether
or not you had a good day. If you had a good day, that’ll just
make it 10 times better. But if you had a bad day, you feel 10
times better. So, it just feels good, period.

Adolescents also described feeling relaxed during time that they set aside for themselves. Relaxation during me time was referenced three times. Andrew explains, “Also, when I’m done like playing with my friends and I just feel like relaxing, when I don’t feel like playing with them, I like go home and watch TV or just play my game.”

There were eight references to feeling relaxed while watching TV, being on the phone, being on the computer, playing video games, or playing music. For example, Sophia described why she enjoys being on the computer.

INTERVIEWER: How do you feel when you’re on the computer?

Sophia: Um, happy, enjoy it, peaceful, um, and good.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, is there anything special or fun about being on the computer?

Sophia: You get to chat with your friends on Myspace and you get to listen to funny comments and that’s it. And play games.

Feeling relaxed while participating in an after-school program was referenced three times. One of these experiences involved family while another involved friends. For example, Isabella described why participating in an after-school program is one of her favorite things to do.

Or like. Like sometimes, when I’m at the after school program, being around my friends and just feeling comfortable. Like, “Oh, I haven’t seen you in a while. Hi, how are you doing?” It’s like, just feel like, I guess, free, basically.
Natalie, on the other hand, explained that the after-school program is relaxing because the activities are not always educational.

Natalie: Mmhmm. It doesn’t have to be education all the time.

INTERVIEWER: So is it not educational sometimes?

Natalie: Yeah, like sometimes, we might just relax. Like yesterday, we did candy apples. So, that was kinda fun.

Finally, a few adolescents mentioned ways of feeling relaxed that were not as common as the other methods. For example, two references of feeling relaxed were experienced during sports or exercise. When asked what he enjoys about playing basketball, Jayden responded, “Good cuz like sometimes, it relieves stress.” Additionally, one adolescent expressed feeling relaxed during OST was when they were not arguing with others or once they expressed themselves to others. Specifically, Natalie mentioned two different types of activities where she experienced relaxation in relation to conflict, or lack thereof. Natalie explains how she feels after participating in one of her least favorite OST past-times: arguing.

I feel like I lost like 3 pounds off my shoulders. Like, cuz that’s stress that can build up. So like once I get everything and out, there’s not really nothing to hold on to except if you want to start with me again. That’s the only thing. Different things like that.

Excited. Adolescents described feeling excited during OST twenty-one times. They talked about feeling excited when they are with friends, spending time with family, participating in an after-school program or other organized activity, playing sports, engaging in a hobby/work, shopping, and being sneaky. Adolescents discussed feeling excited when with friends eight times across five participants. In reference to feeling excited when with friends, two of the participants discussed talking on the phone. Whereas one of them enjoyed making prank calls, the other
enjoyed gossiping with friends. Isabella stated, “Sometimes [talking on the phone] can be exciting cuz I’ll be hearing some juicy news or something like that.”

Others simply enjoyed being with friends (e.g., being outside, joking around). Feeling excited due to independence was discussed three times by two participants. One participant, Joseph exhibited excitement over the fact that as he is becoming older and acting responsibly, he is being granted more independence. The other participant expressed excitement over having independence and freedom while talking to friends on the internet.

Feeling excited while spending time with family was discussed four times by three participants. Activities with family members where adolescents feel excited include play fighting with siblings, babysitting cousins, playing with the dog, and enjoying family members’ company).

Two participants discussed feeling exciting during their after-school program participation. One focused on being with friends while the other talked about how she enjoyed the activities and socializing. Finally, one participant discussed the excitement she feels when she participants in her dance group. Isabella stated, “Like it’s fun and exciting. Like I get to like hang out and then like learn new things about hip hop.”

*Passionate.* Twenty accounts of feeling passionate were coded among seven (58% of) adolescents expressing passion for the activities that they participate in. They exhibited passion for their OST activities by the things they said about certain OST activities. For example, when talking about his love for music, Joseph’s passion for music became evident.

Joseph: No, not really. Oh, I listen to music a lot. I love music! I’ve loved it ever since day one. My mom’s a huge hip hop fan, my dad’s a huge hip hop fan. If you were to combine all the CDs that they have, they would have at least 300!

INTERVIEWER: Wow! That’s a lot of cds
Joseph: Yeah, they listen to a lot of music. I’ve always wanted to- key thing here: I’ve always wanted to go back in time into like the 1980s or the 1990s and like be there when KRS-1 made a CD. Or be there when 2 Pac made a cd. Or be there when Dr. Dre came out with a song. I’d just love to go back in time and just do that and just be there. Cuz that- to me, right- to me that point in time, that was when hip hop was cool. That was when – that was when it made you think. I mean like, I’m not frontin’ on stuff that’s here today and now about Soulja Boy and everybody else.

INTERVIEWER: Right.

Joseph: I’m not hatin’ on that. But, I like more stuff that like makes you think that like makes you verbalization, lyricism. That’s what gets me into music.

He continues to say: “I write rhymes. I basically put my mind to work cuz I know that I can write. So, plus my love of hip hop- put ‘em together, just do my own thing.”

Jacob also expressed his passion for video games. He was asked if there were any activities that he would like to do more often when an adult was in charge.

INTERVIEWER: Um, and what is it about the game that you wish you could play it more often?

Jacob: It’s just addicting.

INTERVIEWER: Why is it addicting?

Jacob: I don’t know.

Monique: Just because?

Jacob: Yeah, I mean, it’s just fun. Like once you learn the controls, it
just gets fun.

_Affectionate_. Adolescents referred to feeling affectionate during OST eleven times. Ten references were related to experiences with family while one reference was related to participation in an organized dance group. For example, when asked what was special about spending time with her siblings, Isabella responded, “It’s like sometimes it’ll be fun cuz like we’ll sit down and watch a movie and I’ll make popcorn and we’ll all be snuggled up under the covers or somethin’.” Jayden also felt affectionate when helping his family. Jayden shared his experience babysitting his little sister.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And so sometimes, when you’re watching her, you go walk outside?

Jayden: Yeah, I take her with me. Like I live like- my house is in-between two houses and it’s like we have ally-ways. And like we go walking around there and me and her go to the playground and she has this little basketball thing and like I set it up for her and we play outside. Or, I take her down to the basketball court and teach her how to play basketball.

INTERVIEWER: Cool. So, what’s special or fun about being able to walk around and go play outside?

Jayden: Being with my little sister.

Andrew exemplifies an affectionate experience when he and his mother watch TV together.

INTERVIEWER: Um, so what is- is there another word besides “ok” that you could use to describe how you’re feeling when you watch TV with an adult?

Andrew: Well, I could say that like it feels that they’re trying to bond
with me. Like, they’re trying to spend some time with me.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And what’s special or fun about watching TV with an adult? When an adult is in charge?

Andrew: Well, sometimes me and my mom, we’ll talk about the show.

INTERVIEWER: Mmmh.

Andrew: And we would like laugh together and talk about it together and stuff and it’ll be really fun.

Comfortable Being Themselves. Feeling comfortable being one’s self during OST was mentioned or referred to eight times by six people. Adolescents shared that they were comfortable when they were with friends, by themselves, on the computer, and with parents or guardians. For example, when describing what experiences are like with his friends, Samantha stated, “Good cuz you just do, I don’t know- you just be yourself around your friends or whatever.” Similarly, when describing her experience on MySpace, Isabella shared, “MySpace is me. You wanna know something about me, look me up. I just love MySpace.”

Mature. Feeling mature during OST experiences was mentioned or referred to seven times by three adolescents. Feeling mature was related to being granted more responsibilities and freedom during OST, engaging in intriguing conversations with friends or adults, and resolving conflicts among friends. For example, Grace explained that talking with adults during her after-school program was one of her favorite things to do because she feels mature.

INTERVIEWER: Um, and how do you feel when you get to talk to them?

Grace: I feel good I think, to me.

INTERVIEWER: How come?

Grace: Um, cuz I get to sit there with an adult and act mature around them and when I get with like kids my age, I act goofy. So being
around them makes me feel like I’m grown up.

Joseph discussed feeling both mature and immature when in the company of friends.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. How do you feel when you guys have the contest?

Joseph: Um, basically like- we tap into like being a little bit older, but like we also tap into like being like a little bit younger again cuz like. Girls mature faster than guys. It’s basically like scientifically proven.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhm.

Joseph: And stuff like that. So like we can tap into like, we like 13-14 years old and be acting like little 5 or 6 year olds or whatever.

INTERVIEWER: How so?

Joseph: Like, we like wrestle- we wrestling some, right? And like as soon as we start like you can get like hit in the face and then like get all serious and like, “Mm, why you hit me bro?” and then like start fighting. It be so much fun, but like once we get to that point, we like, “Now we need to start to man up and just like take control away of like whatever is happening.”

INTERVIEWER: Ok, so that’s how you act older too?

Joseph: Yeah.

Efficacious. Feeling efficacious was mentioned or referred to seven times by three people. Adolescents discussed feeling efficacious with friends, with hobbies/work, and with making right decisions. For example, Joseph illustrated that he is not afraid to step up to his friends when he stated when he described his attitude towards making sure his friends behave. He stated, “I can basically do whatever I want. ‘But ya’ll need to learn to respect my house. We’re
cool and all, but I still live here.’” When asked what was fun about participating in one of his favorite activities, playing basketball, Jayden responded, “Fun- cuz it’s like being in something I know how to do. Cuz like, I’m good at it so.”

Healthy. Feeling healthy during OST experiences was mentioned five times by four adolescents. Four were related to sports or exercising and one was related to eating healthy. For example, when asked about one of his favorite OST activities, exercising, Ethan stated, “…It helps me build muscle. Um, it’s easy to do….” Joseph explained that when he is with his family and they are too busy to have a home-cooked meal, he will not get unhealthy food.

So, we’re running around town, we don’t have time to get something to eat, so we all stopping at a fast food restaurant. My mom keeps telling us we’re going to stop doing this but then we just keep doing it over and over. I’m so like, this is an irrelevant thing, you’re- make up your mind. It’s like, it starts to get like, a little irrelevant so, I’m trying to like- so like I don’t even get anything whenever we go out to eat unless it’s like one of those special days like we won a game or something like that. So like, I said, “No, we’re going home. We’re going to make a sandwich.”

Or something like that. “Make a salad, make chicken, do something!” So, just trying to get healthier. That’s one thing that I could change- that I would love to change.

Ownership. Feeling a sense of ownership was mentioned four times among four participants. OST ownership experiences were related to shopping, having a webpage, having control of the remote control, and having the computer to one’s self. For example, Isabella provides an OST experiences that allows her to take pride in having her own webpage. She stated, “Like my friends are always talkin’ about they got their own page and like I was like ooo, I would
like my own website.” On the other hand, Jacob provides an example of an OST experiences where not having what he needs becomes frustrating.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, what fun or special about being able to play computer games when an adult is not around?

Jacob: Well, because um, like they won’t tell me I have to get off the computer.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhmm.

Jacob: And then like, they won’t tell me I have the computer and then like they won’t tell me I have to get off the computer and then say that I can get back on when they get done and then they never get done.

Competitive. Feeling competitive and appreciating competition was mentioned four times among three adolescents. All experiences talked about competitions among friends. These competitions included rap competitions, physical strength competitions, contests on MySpace to see who had more friends, and sports competitions within an after-school program.

Other. Feeling normal was a unique positive feeling that was only mentioned by one or two participants.

Although this was only referred two once within the interviews, but seemed very relevant to this participant. Isabella, who frequently babysits her siblings and helps around the house explained that watching TV was one of her favorite things to do when adults were around because she was able to do things that normal kids do.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhmm. Ok. How come- why do you wish you could do it more often?

Isabella: Because like normally, I’ll call somebody and they’ll be like “Ok, I’m watching TV, I’ll call you back,” and I be like “Ok.”
Like, it’s like- like I am a normal kid, but it’s like some things I
do like more than a normal kid would like watch your little
sisters, folding things, like that.

Negative Feelings

Adolescents described many negative feelings that they experience during OST. Negative
feelings were referenced 62 times. The most commonly mentioned negative feelings were:
frustration/annoyance, boredom, and conflict. Negative feelings that were discussed or described
less frequently include: not having fun, experiencing discomfort, experiencing a lack of focus and
carelessness, and feeling lonely.

Frustration/Annoyance. Twenty-nine adolescents described feeling frustrated or annoyed
during their OST. These frustrations were related to adults, siblings, friends, rules, adults not
being around when adolescents need them, feeling board, and having a lack of community
resources. Frustrations related to interruptions caused by adults were discussed eight times by five
adolescents. Some of these examples stemmed from receiving unsolicited advice from an adult,
adults not being around when an adolescent needed help, and helping an adult with something. A
few of these examples also related to adults interrupting something that an adolescent was already
doing and enjoying. For example, Jayden explained that one of the things he does most often
during OST is help around the house. When asked how he feels when doing those things, he
explained that it depends, “Ugh well, it really don’t matter if she asks me to do it when I’m not
doing something. But, when I’m doing something, I kind of get frustrated but I do it anyway cuz
that’s, yeah- so I have to do it.” One adolescent also expressed that it is frustrating when an adult
micromanages a task. For example, one of her least favorite ways to spend her OST was to do
dishes. When asked why this was something she did not enjoy, she explained, “Cuz like. ‘You did
this wrong, you did this wrong.’ And, it’s like, ‘Ok, I’m going to fix it!’”
Adolescents’ feelings of frustration during OST were also related to experiences with siblings. These types of frustrations were noted five times across three participants. Adolescents explained that when they babysit their siblings or help them with homework, they often become annoyed. Some also explained that it is sometimes frustrating even playing with a sibling. For example, Jacob shared that playing with his little brother is one of his least favorites OST activities.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, so, how do you feel when you’re playing with your little brother?

Jacob: Mm, well, it all depends. I mean, cuz like he’ll get mad. If like we’re playing a board game, he’ll get mad if he loses. So, I have to let him win.

INTERVIEWER: So, how does that make you feel?

Jacob: He’ll like get mad and run downstairs and tell my mom.

Feeling frustrating during OST because of rules that were set by adults was discussed five times among two participants (see Rules and Restrictions above). Moreover, feeling frustrated because of chores during OST was mentioned three time across three participants. Being bored and frustrated and being frustrated because of a lack of community resources were only mentioned once.

Bored. Adolescents discussed feeling bored during their OST experiences fifteen times. Feelings of boredom were related to spending too much time in one activity, doing chores, and parents not being around. Adolescents also discussed activities they start doing once they start feeling bored. Examples of how spending too much time in one activity might lead to boredom were discussed five times among three participants. Samantha explained that even though being on MySpace is one of her favorite OST activities, it can sometimes be boring.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhmm. Um. Do you think- is it always fun to be on
Myspace or do you think…?

Samantha: It gets boring after a while. Cuz you be talkin’ to the same people over and over.

INTERVIEWER: Um, so sometimes, would you do something else if you could?

Samantha: Yeah. Like, if I’ve been invited to go somewhere, I’ll go lie to parties or the movies or something.

Conflict. Experiencing conflict(s) with others during OST was discussed seven times among four adolescents. This feeling was related to friends and dealing with others and trying to control one’s own temper when socializing with friends and spending time in an after-school program. For example, when Natalie was asked what she would change about one of her least favorite things to do, argue, she explained that she would do a better job of controlling her temper.

INTERVIEWER: So, is there anything you wish you could change about arguing or about when you argue?

Natalie: My temper.

INTERVIEWER: Anything else?

Natalie: And the other p- and the problem. Cuz like- or the other person.

And the fact that I’m arguing cuz I like to keep peace because peace means quiet and quiet means I am laid back. I’m just like to myself. But, it can also be funny when other people do it and I know I’m not supposed to laugh.

One adolescent explained that she enjoyed initiating conflict with her brothers. Grace talked about how one of her least favorite things to do is get nagged by her siblings to do something or stop doing something.
INTERVIEWER: Ok. Is there anything special of fun about when they’re nagging you?

Grace: Yeah. Because they waste their time sitting there tryna get me to do something for them but I’m still watching TV or playing on the computer.

Not Having Fun. Not having fun during OST experiences was discussed three times by three adolescents. One talked about not having fun when he’s babysitting his sister and they argue. Another doesn’t have fun when she goes to her church youth group and there is either unable to talk to friends or does not have anything to talk to them about. The third adolescent explained that his paid job is not fun because, “They’re jobs.”

Discomfort. Feeling uncomfortable during OST was discussed three times among three adolescents. One adolescent discussed feeling shy when she participates in her after-school program. Another, Isabella, explained that she sometimes feels uncomfortable when babysitting her little sisters.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Ok. Let’s see. How do you feel when you’re playing doll?

Isabella: I feel like a very big baby. (laughs)

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Anything else?

Isabella: It’s like, it feels unusual. Like, how many other of my friends sit at home and play dolls with their little sisters.

Natalie shared how she feels uncomfortable when she gets upset during her OST and argues with others.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, how do you feel when you argue?

Natalie: How do I feel?

INTERVIEWER: Mmhmm.
Natalie: Like I’m not myself. Cuz like I have like, I call it like the red
zone cuz like once I’m into it, it takes a lot to bring me back out
and to get me calm and cool because I can hold on to stuff like
someway, somehow, I try not to, but I can like hold on to stuff
like for real and like I feel like sometimes, if something goes
wrong then like if a fight break out, I’m not the fighting type of
person, I just sit there and argue with you rather than fight with
you. But, if I fight, then that means I’m gonna get in trouble and
if I get in trouble, I’m like, man, I just can’t win. So, I might
build like I – I might not realize all the consequences when I’m
arguing, but I realize the consequences and why I got the
consequences after all the drama was going on. So.

Other. Some adolescents mentioned negative feelings that were important, but were not
commonly mentioned. These negative feelings include feeling lonely and careless.

Two adolescents provided examples of times during their OST when they feel like they
lack focus or are careless. In both contexts, this happens during chores. Isabella explained what it
is sometimes like to do chores when adults are not monitoring her.

Isabella: But sometimes, like, if I have to do chores, I kind of
procrastinate. Cuz like, “Oh, Flavor of Love” is on, I’m watching
TV.” And I’m like trying to do my little sister’s hair, then I’m
like, “Whoa! Sit back down!” (laughing). Like I’m not more as
focused as I usually be when adults are around. Cuz it’s like,
“Get this done, I want this done.” I was like, “Ok.” I’ll do it real
quick then do whatever else I need to do. I’m not more focused.

INTERVIEWER: So, do you think that’s a good thing or a bad thing or
sometimes it’s good and sometimes it’s bad?

Isabella: Like sometimes, it could be a good thing and sometimes it could be bad. Cuz, like the things- the hair, like I’m doing the hair and then it’s like, “Sit up,” then it’s like, “Oh God, sit back down, that’s a mess.” (laughs) And it’s like, it could be good sometimes. Like I just take a break from everything and go sit down and or go talk to a friend on the phone or something like that.

Two adolescents discussed feeling lonely during their OST. For one of them, it was a result of no one being around to keep her company. For the other, it feeling lonely was a function of her shyness while participating in an after-school program.

Freedom

Another component of adolescents’ OST experiences that participants discussed was that of a sense of freedom. Themes were organized in the following subcategories: freedom to make decisions, independence, and having enough privacy.

Freedom to Make Decisions. Participants discussed having freedom to make their own decisions within OST seventeen times. Nine adolescents talked about freedom to make their own decisions when they are with friends. The contexts they discussed were being at home with friends over, being outside with friends, and being in an after-school program with friends. One adolescent described two different activities when she is helping her family where she sometimes feels like she has freedom: doing chores and babysitting her siblings. Similarly, two other adolescents explained that they feel like they have freedom to make their own decision when they are cooking, playing video games, and playing games on the computer.

INTERVIEWER: Um, Ok. So how do you feel when you’re cooking and
nobody is in charge, telling you what to do?

Grace: Good.

INTERVIEWER: Good? How come?

Grace: Because aint nobody there telling me don’t do that or to stop.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, how else do you feel?

Grace: Um, I feel, it’s kinda weird a little bit.

INTERVIEWER: How come it’s weird?

Grace: Cuz it’s like, I’m used to adults saying, “Don’t do that, no, stop, now is the right thing to do?”

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Any other ways you feel?

Grace: Nope.

INTERVIEWER: Ok, what’s special or fun about cooking when nobody is in charge of you?

Grace: Cuz I get to do new meals, make new stuff, weird stuff.

Have Enough Privacy. Adolescents discussed or described feeling like that had enough privacy during their OST seven times. All of these referenced parents not listening in on phone conversations or not looking over their shoulder when they were on the computer. Natalie describes what it is like to be on the computer, talking to friends, when an adult is not hovering over her shoulder.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, what about when you’re on the computer?

How do you feel when you’re on the computer when an adult is not in charge of you?

Natalie: I feel like I don’t have to do any work so I just like sit on the computer and get- like just look up stuff just to do it and waste time in the day. So.
INTERVIEWER: Ok. Anything else?

Natalie: Or, I feel like. There’s like nobody like watching. Like, overseeing my privacy. So, I feel like that’s just like my freedom, just being on the internet.

Other. Feeling independent was mentioned or referenced seven times. However, these citations come from only two participants. Interestingly, one participant, Joseph related a feeling of independence to six of the OST activities he discussed. Joseph mostly described feeling independent when he was in the presence of friends, either when family was supervising, or when he was off on his own. He also exemplified independence when he described how he earns money and then takes it home to his mother to help support the family.

Have Fun

Having fun was coded 42 times and was the behavior that was mentioned most often. Having fun spanned a number of activities including those that were spent with family members, friends, and siblings. These experiences also crossed a number of contexts including adolescents being at their own home, friends’ homes, after-school programs, and outside in one’s neighborhoods. For example, Natalie talked about spending time with her friends in an after-school program.

INTERVIEWER: Um, what about being with your friends at The Program? Is that fun too?

Natalie: Like some of them, the don’t- some of them they’re in a different grade or some of them like go to a different school so I won’t see them like every day, all the time. But when I come to the program I can just see them and be like, “What’s up?” and
different things like that. So, it’s just like fun to be with my friends.

Having fun also spanned a number of activities including talking on the phone, playing video games, babysitting, watching TV, playing sports, being on the computer, and writing. For example, Sophia explained why spending time on the computer is one of the activities she spends the most time doing during her OST.

INTERVIEWER: How do you feel when you’re on the computer?

Sophia: Um, happy, enjoy it, peaceful, um, and good.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, is there anything special or fun about being on the computer?

Sophia: You get to chat with your friends on Myspace and you get to listen to funny comments and that’s it. And play games.

Summary of Experiences

Adolescents’ experiences, which include positive feelings, negative feelings, and freedom, are themes that one might expect to emerge when studying adolescents’ OST. Participants provided depth into the aforementioned themes. Positive and negative feelings were the two themes that were mentioned most frequently with 114 and 74 references, respectively (Table 1.2). These two experiences were also the only two experiences to be discussed by all twelve participants. Eighty-three percent of participants (N=10) discussed their experiences with adult support and guidance, rules and restrictions, and freedom. Although freedom was the only experience that was not referenced by 100% of the sample, freedom was still important to many participants as it was referenced by 83% (N=10) of the sample.
Constraints

Participants discussed a range of OST constraints that serve as barriers to either participating in desirable OST activities or enjoying OST activities that adolescents do get to participate in. Constraints were discussed 83 times and were grouped into three categories: external constraints, internal constraints, and intrapersonal constraints (Table 1.4).

External Constraints

External constraints refer to the barriers adolescents face that are beyond their own personal control. For example, participants discussed constraints related to the following: violence, rules and restrictions, needing better or more resources, weather, and not having enough time including time constraints imposed by school and other responsibilities. External constraints were referenced 51 times.

Time and Responsibilities. Time as a constraint was mentioned fifteen times among nine participants. Time constraints were caused by homework and adults’ rules. In relation to homework, some adolescents felt like reserving time for studying restricted them from doing things they enjoyed. For example, Joseph explained that he feels challenged to find a balance between being a student and an athlete. He expressed that going out and exploring new things and meeting new people is something that he wishes he could do more often. When asked why he is not able to do that more often, he explained, “Um, basically, like being a student athlete. Keeping up with school work and doing what’s right on the field.” Natalie also illustrated how she negotiates a balance between school and recreation as she described her experiences with her church youth group.

So if it like maybe lasts for an hour or so, then yeah, I’d probably have to stay there for like an hour but if it’s like on a school night or somethin’ like that and I have- knowing that I have homework to do, then I would
have to cut that short and go home.

It is also important to note that one participant expressed a time constraint that was not related to his own schedule. He enjoys spending time with one of his family members. However, the family member has a demanding work schedule which limits them from spending time together.

A type of external constraint that is related to time is that of responsibilities. Adolescents explained that adults sometimes impose responsibilities on them or express expectations that interrupt their preferred OST activities or experiences. For example, Grace explained that if she could, she would want to spend more time doing “fun stuff” like spending time in an arcade or a skating rink when an adult was not in charge. She is unable to do these things as much as she would like because adult-imposed responsibilities are so time-consuming.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, what keeps you from doing those things?
Grace: Um.

INTERVIEWER: Going to the arcade and skating and doing more fun things?
Grace: Cuz like you always gotta do something for them or do your chores or help out around the house or do your homework and study.

A second example of responsibilities as a restriction comes from Isabella. Isabella implies that she may sometimes experience more freedom when an adult is present as opposed to many of the other participants who suggest that they feel freer when adults are not around.

INTERVIEWER: Ok, are there certain things you wish you could do more of when you’re not in school and when an adult isn’t in charge that you don’t get to do?
Isabella: Like talk to friends.
INTERVIEWER: What keeps you from talking more to your friends?

Isabella: Like when an adult isn’t around, I’m usually babysitting, so I have to tend to the children and like I have to make sure that I’m focused on them. Cuz like, if I’m on the phone like they’ll be running around the house with butcher knives and I be like, ‘Stop sit down- Oh, what’d you say?’ Like I won’t really pay attention to them.

Finally, one participant mentioned healthy behavior as a constraint to desirable OST activity participation and experiences. When explaining why his time playing video games was restricted, Ethan explained, “…I need to exercise, um, you can’t sit around all day, and it will hurt your eyes.”

Rules and Restrictions. A second form of external constraints refers to adult-imposed rules and restrictions that keep adolescents from participating in desirable OST activities or enjoying OST activities. Participants discussed rules and restrictions that are imposed by their parents such as limited time to talk on the phone, playing outside, and spending time on the computer. For example, socializing and spending time with friends in the neighborhood were things that Emily wished she could do more often. When asked why she had not been allowed to play outside with friends in nearly a year, she replied, “Boys. I hang around the wrong boys. That’s what my mom said. So, that’s restricted.”

Need Better or More Resources. Participants explained that a lack of personal and public resources served as a barrier to their OST enjoyment. In relation to personal resources, one participant wished that he had more pre-paid cell phone minutes so that he could have more time to talk on the phone whereas two other participants talked about slow-working computers. Another participant talked about lack of transportation as a constraint.
In terms of public resources, two participants wished that there were more recreational/leisure activities for adolescents in their neighborhoods. When asked about things she wished she could do more often during her OST, Grace expressed a desire for more resources in her neighborhood.

**INTERVIEWER:** Is there anything you wish you could do more of when you’re not in school and there is not an adult in charge?

Grace: Like, more fun stuff. Like maybe it should be more fun stuff here for kids to do.

**INTERVIEWER:** What would be more fun?

Grace: Like a arcade somewhere around here. Or a skate rink closer to here.

**INTERVIEWER:** Mmhmm.

Grace: And that’s all.

**INTERVIEWER:** What’s fun about an arcade and skating rink?

Grace: Cuz you get to meet new people and you don’t have to worry about what you can do, what games you can play.

*Violence.* Some of the participants explained that they are sometimes not able to participate in the OST activities that they prefer because it is too dangerous. Neighborhood violence such as shootings, stabbings, and fights prevent adolescents from playing outside with friends. For example, Joseph explains why the time he spends engaging in sports and physical activities with friends in the neighborhood is limited:

So, cuz, so like we can’t really go outside cuz like there’s people walking up and down the streets. You don’t know what they’re about to do, what they’re about to say, who they’re about to call. Like, you get- you could just like walk up and
down the street, somebody pull out a gun and just shoot you for no reason. I mean, I see that on the news everyday and I’m getting sick of it.

Adolescents are not only faced with the threat of violence in the streets of their neighborhoods, but in commercial settings as well. For example, Alyssa explains that the amount of time she spends at the mall is limited because of violence.

INTERVIEWER: What keeps you from going to the mall more?

ALYSSA: Because now they made a movie theatre out there and everybody wanna go out there and everybody wanna fight.

Other. It is worth noting that two participants discussed weather as barriers to OST enjoyment. When asked if there was anything she would do more often when an adult was not in charge, Alyssa expressed her passion for playing basketball and football outside with other kids in her neighborhood. However, she explained that weather was a constraint to this activity.

INTERVIEWER: What makes you want to be able to go outside and play basketball and football more often.

Alyssa: Because it’s just fun running up and down the street and being active.

INTERVIEWER: Any other reasons? How do you feel when you get to go outside and play?

Alyssa: Good when it’s hot outside.

INTERVIEWER: How come you feel good?

Alyssa: Because every time everyone’s outside everyone comes inside when it’s cold and looks like it’s about to rain. Everybody don’t want to be outside. Some people don’t want to be outside.
Interpersonal Constraints

Interpersonal constraints are defined as barriers involving others that either prevent or disrupt adolescents’ desired OST experiences. These OST constraints were referenced thirty times. The following sub-themes fell under interpersonal constraints: others cause distractions or get in the way, experience conflict with others, not trusted by adults, no one to do desired activities with, and interference from an adult’s presence.

No One to Do Activity With. Ten adolescents said that having no one to do an OST activity with either prevented them from participating or made the experience less enjoyable. Geography, where friends did not live in the immediate area, and accessibility, where friends just sometimes were not around (e.g., no one around to help with work) served as constraints. One participant, Emily, also shared an example of when an adult did provide more freedom by expanding her curfew. Emily ended up not enjoying the experience because no one was around. She shared, “I was outside, I was walking around. I did not see nobody! I said, I want to go home, I just want to go home.”

Sometimes, supervised, structured activities released some stress because adolescents knew that there would be peers there and that they would not be alone. When asked why she enjoyed swimming with friends from her after-school program when adults were around, Natalie responded:

Because if you don’t know nobody, you’re going to be sitting there like all alone like, it’s like a sitting duck. So, me and my friends just- or people or one person- it could be just one person or one person that I know, then I will most likely try and make the best of it.

Others Cause Distractions or Get in the Way. Adolescents explained that sometimes, their OST activities are interrupted because of others, or they are not able to participate in a desired activity at all because others get in the way (e.g., someone might tell on them). This form
of external constraint was mentioned ten times. One form of distractions comes in the form of the opposite gender. For example, Joseph, a male participant discussed his frustration regarding his private conversations about girls with his male friends being interrupted by girls.

...and something that I would change is, I hate it when we’re talking about them and then they jump into the conversation and be like, ‘What are you guys talking about?’ ‘Nothing!’ They be like, ‘Were you guys talking about us?’ ‘No.’ It’s like really rare cuz like, I’m like ‘I coulda swore this happened last time.’ They always jump in…”

*Experience Conflict with Others.* Conflict with others included arguments with peers or siblings (e.g., during babysitting) and gossip. Conflicts with others were discussed as an OST constraint nine times. Isabella described her experiences with cattiness and how this caused dissatisfaction with participation in an after-school program.

INTERVIEWER: That’s good. And then, are there things you wish you could change about when you’re in the after-school program?

Isabella: Mmm. Like the way some people act. Like, not everybody in the program are my friends. But you’ll never know that- like everybody it’s like, “Oh how are you doing?” Like, I talk to everybody. But it’s like there’s certain things you can’t say to certain people cuz like they’re, “Oh, I don’t like her and like soon as there’s a problem, they’ll go back and tell or like try to like, when I’m at the program, you can’t never tell who I’m not ok with, but it’s like, when I’m at home, it’s like “Oh my God, I can’t believe she did that today.”

Many of the girls discussed gossip as something that they did not like about after-school programs or socializing with friends afterwards. Based on participants’ interviews, the girls
differed in the way they negotiated these conflicts. While Isabella chose to be nice to everyone, Alyssa insisted that everyone be friends, while Natalie chose to act as a peacemaker.

INTERVIEWER: That’s good. Um, is The Program sometimes not fun? Or are there things you wish you could change about it?

Natalie: I would just change that sometimes we get in trouble for our attitudes. So, I would change like how we approach different problems. So, we could have more time to be as like a whole group and do different things like that. That would make it a whole lot better if like some of our attitudes would be changed.

INTERVIEWER: So you think if – if who changed the way they approached problems? You and your friends or you and the adults?

Natalie: I would say some of my friends because they approach the problems the wrong way and myself also. Because I know I have my off days and my off days are not good when it gets to that red line like it’s like where I don’t talk a lot. That’s how you could tell something’s like wrong with me. And also, some of my friends don’t like other friends so it’s like balancing things out so I’m tryna balance it out with them and try and be the peacemaker.

Even the boys’ OST activities were interrupted by the girls’ gossip. They had a mature way of dealing with it.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, then, so it’s just your friends who are usually around?

Joseph: Yeah, the girls watch us a little bit, but we don’t really care.
Joseph: Cuz like we’re basically worried about ourselves and they try to like whisper about us like over on the other side of the grass. They’re like, ‘Man, they’re talking about us man.’ Be like, ‘Don’t worry about them.’ They can say whatever they want. It’s probably the same thing that they said yesterday.

Other. A few adolescents mentioned interpersonal constraints that are noteworthy but were not commonly discussed across participants. These constraints include adults’ presence during an OST activity and lack of trust from adults. Two adolescents expressed their hesitancy with being themselves or speaking their minds when an adult was present. For example, when discussing what she would change about the times she goes out or leaves the house to be with friends when an adult is not in charge, Emily shares, “Well, when an adult is not in charge, it’s nothing to hide. I don’t really have to change. I can do whatever I want to.” Similarly, Alyssa discussed her experiences talking on the phone and explained that it would be different if an adult were around because, “then you wouldn’t- then people on the other end of the phone wouldn’t say certain stuff.”

Also in relation to adults serving as a constraint, one adolescent, Andrew explained that because his adults did not trust him, he was not able to participate in the OST activities that he was interested in, mainly, spending time outside with friends. Interestingly, when adults place restrictions on Andrew, he’s enticed to sneak around and break that rule especially since he thinks he is trustworthy. Andrew shares his frustration with the restrictions that are placed on him because he is not trusted by an adult:

INTERVIEWER: And how come you don’t get to walk?

Andrew: Because, if I try to walk, when my mom is not home, I can’t get so much time in because she’s probably either going to be
coming down the street, or by the time I get to point A, she’ll probably be already home and then by the time I get back, I’ll be even later than I was supposed to be.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Ok. Well, how come your mom doesn’t like you to walk around?

Andrew: Um, because so much danger is out there and she don’t really trust- she don’t trust me to make the right decisions.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhm.

Andrew: Even though I don’t know why that really is a problem because I can make right decisions.

Even though trust from adults was only mentioned once as a constraint, another participant, Joseph, discussed his excitement about the trust that his mother has in him. This trust allows him new freedoms like going to the mall with friends and new responsibilities like making sure he has money for the bus and for shopping and minding his manners.

**Intrapersonal Constraints**

Intrapersonal constraints are barriers within themselves that either prevent or disrupt desired OST experiences. These types of constraints were mentioned twice. One intrapersonal constraint, being tired or not in the mood, was discussed by two participants. One example is provided below.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, are there- is there anything you wish you could do more of when you’re not in school and there is an adult in charge? And maybe you don’t get to do that often? I know you talked a little bit about being able to be outside and play
sports and stuff. Anything else?

Joseph: I mean like, I’d rather like- I like to go a lot of places. Except like if I’m like tired or something, I feel like staying home for the day. I had a bad day, I don’t feel like going anywhere. Other than that, I like going to places.

Summary of Constraints

The constraints discussed by the ethnic minority adolescents of the current sample illustrated the broader themes of external, interpersonal, and intrapersonal constraints, which are a common way of discussing OST constraints. As one would expect, external constraints were related to violence, rules and restrictions, a need for better resources, bad weather, and responsibilities imposed by adults.

The information adolescents provided about interpersonal constraints was also very informative. As one might expect, barriers included experiencing conflicts with others and not having anyone to do the activity with. Interestingly, adolescents talked about not being able to do something because someone interrupts what they are doing or there is a risk that someone might tell on them. There were also unique interpersonal constraints that were related to adults. For example, one adolescent talked about the frustration and complexity of establishing trust (and thus fewer OST rules) with his mother. Additionally, adolescents discussed how an adult’s presence sometimes restricts them from being themselves.

OST Settings, Behaviors, Experiences, and Constraints across Contexts

Research question 1.1 yielded information about adolescents’ perceptions of OST settings, behavior, experiences, and constraints in general. Now, it is important to explore how
these OST components, or themes, overlap or differ across supervised and unsupervised contexts. To address research question 1.2: How do these perceptions of settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints differ according to level of supervision?, I examined adolescents’ descriptions of OST contexts and compared their perceived settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints across contexts. Adolescents discussed their general experiences within supervised and unsupervised OST contexts and how their experiences in general differ according to whether or not an adult is in charge. Additionally, they also described a third context within which they feel like an adult is in charge, but the adult is not paying attention to what the adolescent is doing. The following sections discuss differences between adolescents’ general OST experiences when they are supervised and unsupervised, defines directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised contexts, and highlights the prevalence of OST themes (e.g., settings, behaviors, experiences, constraints) across contexts.

**Supervision**

During the interview, adolescents were asked specifically about OST experiences and behaviors during supervised and unsupervised time. Many of the behaviors and experiences discussed occur within a number of settings within OST. For example, adolescents learn new things and build skills, act conscientiously, and build relationships with others with or without adults, in after-school program settings, at home, at friend’s homes, and in their neighborhoods. Some adolescents discussed differences between doing the same activity when an adult is in charge and when they are not. For many adolescents there were positive aspects to both contexts. For example, Jayden discussed the advantages of playing organized and street basketball.

INTERVIEWER: No? Do you think it’s different when, um, you’re just
playing with your friends like when it’s not basketball season
than when you’re playing with like a coach?
Jayden: Well, it’s more harder with a coach cuz you got practice and
stuff. With my friends, we just get to play around.
INTERVIEWER: Mmhm. Do you think- do you like one over the other
or do you think they both have good things and both have bad
things?
Jayden: They both have good things cuz when I practice, I get better.
And then, like, when I um- when I’m playing with my friends,
then I can use that- what I learn- to be better.
Additionally, Samantha discussed the advantages of having an adult present while doing
homework and not having an adult around.
INTERVIEWER: Um, so let’s see. Do you think having an adult around
or in charge when you’re doing your work is that a good thing or
a bad thing or is it good and bad?
Samantha: It’s good. It’s between. It’s good because when you need
help, they there to help you…
INTERVIEWER: And then, why is it bad?
Samantha: Cuz they right there. And you just can’t talk. You gotta sit
there and do your work. Can’t do nothin’ but do your work.
The examples provided above illustrate that adolescents approach autonomy and
independence, but also understand that they need adults to help them and to learn from
them. The following section goes into depth in defining OST contexts as described by
adolescents. Three OST contexts relating to levels of supervision emerged from
adolescent’s comments. They discussed OST contexts through which they perceive that
an adult is in charge of them and the adult is with them, watching over them (direct supervision), a context through which they perceived that an adult was not in charge of them and not around (unsupervised), and an in-between context where adolescents felt like an adult was in charge of them even when the adult was not right next to them, paying attention to what they were doing (indirect supervision).

**Direct Supervision**

The direct supervision context refers to OST time when adolescents feel like an adult is in charge of them and the adult is with them, paying direct attention to what they are doing. Direct supervision was discussed twenty-three times among adolescents. Six of these references were in relation to organized sports, organizations (e.g., NAACP, church youth group, after-school programs), four referred to chores, two were related to watching TV, five were related to spending quality time with family, one was related to spending quality time with friends, and two were related to personal activities such as listening to music and spending time on the computer.

Some adolescents enjoyed OST that was directly supervised while others did not. One adolescent explained that when she is with adults, she wishes that they could go to the mall more often. They are unable to go to the mall as frequently as she would like because there are often fights at the mall. Four adolescents talked about how directly supervised OST activities were their favorite. For example, adolescents talked about how organized basketball, talking with adults at after-school program, and going out to the movies or to dinner with an adult. One adolescent explained that watching TV when an adult is directly in charge was her favorite thing to do because she gets to spend time with her family and watch TV, which is rare.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And so you were telling me before that you get to
do it like 20 minutes here and there sometimes. Um, who’s
usually with you and who’s usually around?

Isabella: Well, my 3 little sisters and my aunt and my grandma and my
aunt’s son and my older sister and my cousins are around
sometimes.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And are your aunt- you said your aunts?

Isabella: No, my one aunt, my sister, and my two older cousins.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And are they usually in there room with you when
you’re watching TV?

Isabella: Mmhhmm. Or like we joke around or like just like to tell jokes
and like we’ll watch TV. Or like, my grandma is known for
Kool-Aid so like my grandma will make Kool- Aid or something
like that.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhmm. That’s neat. So, how do you feel when you
get to watch TV with them?

Isabella: How long?

INTERVIEWER: How do you feel when you get to watch TV with
them?

Isabella: Like, it’s just like another day of watching TV. It’s no specific
feeling. It’s like we’re watching a movie with my family, things
are great.

INTERVIEWER: Um, so why do you think that’s one of your favorite
things to do?

Isabella: Cuz I don’t get to do it as much as I do anything else.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhmm. Ok. How come- why do you wish you could
Isabella: Because like normally, I’ll call somebody and they’ll be like “Ok, I’m watching TV, I’ll call you back,” and I be like “Ok.” Like, it’s like- like I am a normal kid, but it’s like some things I do like more than a normal kid would like watch your little sisters, folding things, like that.

Adolescents also explained that sometimes, OST experiences that were directly supervised were not enjoyable. There were four references to adolescents’ least favorite experiences while they were being directly supervised. These behaviors were related to adults imposing when adolescents are spending time with friends, doing chores, and spending quality time with family. For example, Natalie when asked why she said that going to the movies with a friend while being directly supervised was one of her least favorite things to do during OST, Natalie responded, “Like, if me and my friends go to the movies, do you want your mom to sit there and eye you down?!” Jacob provided an example of his lack of interest in watching TV with his mom when he is forced to watch shows that she chooses.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Is there anything else- like anything else you don’t like to do when there’s an adult in charge and you’re not in school?

Jacob: Um, well, sometimes my mom makes me watch her soap operas.

INTERVIEWER: Ugh hugh.

Jacob: She has me watch those kiddy shows with my little brother.

INTERVIEWER: And how often do you have to do that?

Jacob: Um, any time my mom calls me downstairs and tells me to.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Do you think that happens like a few times a week or not that much?
Jacob: Not that much.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. So, how do you feel when you have to watch like
the soaps or the kiddy shows?

Jacob: Really really bored.

INTERVIEWER: Is there anything special or fun about when you have
to watch soaps or the kiddy shows? Nope? What do you think
you would change?

Jacob: Um, a lot. Like the fact that I have to watch them.

Adolescents also explained that some of the OST activities that they spend most of their
time doing are within directly supervised contexts. These were mentioned seven times and
activities were related to chores, family time, listening to music, spending time on the computer,
and participating in a dance group. For example, Sophia explained that it is frustrating when her
mother watches over her as she does chores and does not offer to help.

INTERVIEWER: Um, so tell me about the thing you spend the most
time doing when an adult is in charge, telling you what to do.

Sophia: Cleaning.

INTERVIEWER: Cleaning? How often do you clean?

Sophia: Like almost every day.

INTERVIEWER: How long does it usually take you?

Sophia: Like 20 minutes, half an hour.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And then, where is the adult usually when you’re
cleaning?

Sophia: Sitting down, watching me.

INTERVIEWER: How does that make you feel?

Sophia: Mad they don’t help. I gotta be doing it by myself while they
just sit there and watch me.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhm. How else do you feel when you’re cleaning?

Sophia: Mad, frustrated, umm, that’s it, frustrated.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, is there anything special or fun about cleaning?

Sophia: No. When I have the music blasting while I’m cleaning.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Anything else? Um, let’s see. What about- what do you wish you could change about cleaning?

Sophia: Less.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Anything else?

Sophia: Mmm. Her helping me. Help.

INTERVIEWER: Anything else?

Sophia also shared an example of an activity she does when she is directly supervised that she enjoys.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Is there anything that you do a lot of the time- or what do you think you do most often when an adult is in charge that is not a chore?

Sophia: I get on the computer most often. Um

INTERVIEWER: When an adult is in charge of you?

Sophia: Mmhmm.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And how often do you get to do that?

Sophia: Everyday.

INTERVIEWER: For how long do you think?

Sophia: Mm, an hour or two.

INTERVIEWER: And where is the adult when you’re on the computer?
Sophia: Sitting down beside me or watching TV.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And how did that make you feel?

Sophia: Fine.

INTERVIEWER: How do you feel when you’re on the computer?

Sophia: Um, happy, enjoy it, peaceful, um, and good.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, is there anything special or fun about being on the computer?

Sophia: You get to chat with your friends on Myspace and you get to listen to funny comments and that’s it. And play games.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Is there anything you wish you could change?

Unsupervised

Activities, experiences, and behaviors that occurred when adolescents felt like an adult was not in charge of them or with them were categorized as occurring in an unsupervised context. A number of different types of activities occurred during unsupervised time including creative activities (e.g., rap), socializing, sports, spending time in one’s neighborhood, spending time on the computer, and babysitting.

Across interviews, adolescents shared ten OST experiences within unsupervised contexts that they considered one of their favorite things to do. For three adolescents, this activity was something physical (e.g., exercise, sports), for two adolescents, it was going outside, for two adolescents it was talking on the phone, for one adolescent it was playing video games, and for another adolescent, it was going to the movie with a friend. Natalie explains why going to the movies with her friend when they are unsupervised is one of her favorite ways to spend her OST.
INTERVIEWER: Good. So, how often do you get to go to the movies?

Natalie: When I get paid. When money is in my pocket. Not a lot. Maybe like, we try and go like once a month.

INTERVIEWER: Ok.

Natalie: That’s our little day out or night out or whatever. Like on Friday night, we knew that we didn’t want to be stuck up in the house with our family. Like it’s Friday, then hey want you to do something. We was like alright, it’s time to go out.

INTERVIEWER: So, how do you feel when you get to go out?

Natalie: Like I have freedom. And like no stresses on my mind. It’s whatever.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Anything else?

Natalie: Mm-mm. (no)

INTERVIEWER: What’s special or fun about going out to the movies?

Natalie: Just. It’s just me and my friend. Like it’s just me and her. Like, it’s not always that e have to be with people- be with others, but it’s sometimes like when you’re with our best friend, it’s just ya’ll time.

Four adolescents expressed an activity they wish they could do more often within an unsupervised context. These included socializing, participating in sports, and sleeping. For example, Isabella explained that babysitting takes away from time that she could use to talk on the phone while adults are not around.

INTERVIEWER: Ok, are there certain things you wish you could do more of when you’re not in school and when an adult isn’t in charge that you don’t get to do?
Isabella: Like talk to friends.

INTERVIEWER: What keeps you from talking more to your friends?

Isabella: Like when an adult isn’t around, I’m usually babysitting, so I have to tend to the children and like I have to make sure that I’m focused on them. Cuz like, if I’m on the phone like they’ll be running around the house with butcher knives and I be like, “Stop sit down- Oh, what’d you say?” Like I won’t really pay attention to them.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Ok. Um, what is it about talking to your friends that makes you want to do it more?

Isabella: Cuz like, when you’re at school, there’s like certain things you can say and certain things you can’t say cuz you’ll get in trouble for it. And it’s like more of like- I’m like she can tell me more in detail like what was going on. Or he could tell me how his day was and stuff like that.

Experiences within unsupervised contexts that adolescents classified as their least favorite were referred to twelve times. For three adolescents this activity was doing nothing, for two adolescents it was cooking, for two adolescents it was babysitting, and for two adolescents it was negative experiences with friends (i.e., gossiping and arguing). Additionally, one adolescent shared that he doesn’t like watching TV when he is unsupervised because he usually watches it in a room that he was told to stay out of and usually gets caught. Samantha shared her experience feeling like she had nothing to do when an adult was not around and how she wishes it was different.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Alright, so now, what’s your least favorite thing to do when there is not an adult in charge when you’re not in
school?
Samantha: Be bored. I don’t like to be bored.
INTERVIEWER: Yeah, that’s not very much fun. Um, so what do you usually do when you’re bored? What are you usually doing?
Samantha: If I’m bored, I go to sleep. Or eat. Or just write in my journal about what I did and stuff.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. How often do you think that you’re bored?
Samantha: Sometimes on the weekends.

INTERVIEWER: Mmmhm.
Samantha: Cuz when my mom have- ta work, I have to babysit and we gotta stay in the house.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And then how long on the weekends do you think it is? Is it like all day or half the day or just some of the day?
Samantha: All day.

INTERVIEWER: All day? Ok. Um, so is anybody usually with you like friends or family?
Samantha: Just my sister and – my two sisters and my brother.

INTERVIEWER: And you’re babysitting them?
Samantha: Well, my sister is [age older than participant], the rest- my-one of my sisters is [age older than participant], the other one is [age younger than participant] and my brother is [age younger than participant].

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Wait, how old are you?
Samantha: I’m [age of participant].

INTERVIEWER: Ok. So, you’re the second oldest?
Samantha: Mnhmm.

INTERVIEWER: Um, is there anything special or fun about being bored?

Samantha: No.

INTERVIEWER: How does it make you feel when you’re bored?

Samantha: Mad.

INTERVIEWER: Anything else?

Samantha: No.

INTERVIEWER: So, what would you change about when you’re bored?

Samantha: Every day, I would do something not to be bored. Stay – I wouldn’t like to stay in the house. Like go somewhere.

INTERVIEWER: You said you would do that or you do do that?

Samantha: I would.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. What kinds of things would you do?

Samantha: Um, go to a party if they have one, go to the mall, go over my friend’s house.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think- oh were you going to say something else?

Samantha: Mm-mm (no).

INTERVIEWER: Do you think it would be different if an adult was in charge when you were bored?

Samantha: If I was bored and there was an adult in charge, probably cuz like they could probably do something with you, take you somewhere or something.
Experiences within unsupervised contexts that adolescents classified as something that takes up most of their unsupervised time were referred to twelve times. For five adolescents, this time was spent socializing (e.g., on the phone), for three adolescents this time was spent watching TV, for two adolescents this time was spent on the computer, for one adolescent this time was spent babysitting, and for one adolescent this time was spent exercising. Natalie provides an example of why watching TV while unsupervised is sometimes preferred and is sometimes not favored.

INTERVIEWER: What is special or fun about watching TV when an adult isn’t in charge?

Natalie: You can watch what you want and you have the remote to yourself.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Anything else?

Natalie: Or, you could keep laughing cuz I like to laugh a lot. You could just keep laughing without nobody like- without you getting on anybody’s nerves. There we go; I’m stumbling on my words.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, anything else? Ok. Is there anything you wish you could change about when you’re watching TV and an adult isn’t around?

Natalie: Um, sometimes, I might feel like I have nobody to laugh with.

INTERVIEWER: Ugh hugh.

Natalie: So. And talk to. You might just feel lonely for that time. But otherwise, like, if I’m having a stressed day, then I just like want to be left alone.
Indirectly Supervised

Activities, experiences, and behaviors that occurred when adolescents felt like an adult was in charge of them but was not directly paying attention to them (e.g., in another room, inside the house while adolescent is outside) were categorized as occurring in an unsupervised context. Many of the activities that adolescent participate in within directly supervised and unsupervised contexts overlap with activities adolescents participate in within indirectly supervised contexts. For example, many adolescents discussed babysitting, doing nothing, watching TV, socializing, spending time on the computer and playing video games, doing chores, doing homework, and going outside, and participating in an after-school program.

There were twelve examples of indirectly supervised OST experiences. For three adolescents, this activity was socializing, for three it was going outside with friends, for two adolescents it was being on the computer or playing video games, for one adolescent it was being in an after-school program, and for another adolescent it was cooking. Andrew provides an example of how he feels like an adult is in charge, controlling his behavior, even though the adult is at home and Andrew is in the neighborhood running an errand.

INTERVIEWER: Like when an adult is in charge? What do you do that-do you exercise and go to the store and stuff on your own while they’re at home? Or do you go with them?

Andrew: I go- sometimes I go with them, but usually by myself.

INTERVIEWER: Ok, so when you’re by yourself, do you still feel like they’re in charge of you?

Andrew: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: How come?
Andrew: Because I gotta be back by a certain time. Like sometimes they just give me five minutes to get there and back.

INTERVIEWER: Wow, you gotta be pretty speedy then, hugh?
Andrew: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Um, how often do you get to do that kind of stuff?
Andrew: Um, a lot.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think like once a week or more than that?
Andrew: Um, I would say, at least 5 times out of 7 days. So it’d be like, yeah, most of the week.

INTERVIEWER: Um, so it usually takes you about 5 minutes cuz that’s what they give you?
Andrew: I’m talking about, like when I go to the store and stuff, yeah. If I’m gone more than like 5 minutes- like if it’s just over by 1 minute, yeah, it’s ok, 2 minutes, yeah, it’s ok. But if it’s like 5 minutes later, then they’re gonna ask me where I’ve been.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Ok. So, how do you feel when you get to go out and do that kind of stuff like go to the store?
Andrew: Like they’re trusting me with some type of freedom.

INTERVIEWER: Mmh. What’s special or fun about it?
Andrew: Like, um, when I’m going sometimes, I would see some of my other friends that I haven’t seen in a long time.

INTERVIEWER: Mmh. And sometimes they just like- like I said before, they trust me with the freedom by actually letting me go somewhere without like having constant monitor.
INTERVIEWER: Mmhm. That’s neat. Anything else?
Andrew: No. No, that’s all.
INTERVIEWER: Ok. Is there anything you would change about that time?
Andrew: More time to go.
INTERVIEWER: What would you do with more time?
Andrew: Well, I wouldn’t have to run to the store. I could just walk.
INTERVIEWER: Anything else?
Andrew: Um, no, that’s pretty much about it. And I would go and if they gave me enough time, I’d probably take one of my friends to the store so I’d have somebody to talk to just in case there’s a long line.

Adolescents provided five examples of OST activities and experiences within indirectly supervised contexts that are their least favorite things to do when they are supervised (as opposed to unsupervised). For two adolescents this activity was doing nothing, for one it was babysitting, for one it was being nagged while watching TV or playing on the computer, and for one it was doing homework. Jayden provides an example of what he does when he is at home with nothing to do and how he would change that if he could.

INTERVIEWER: No? Ok. Um, now can you tell me about your least favorite thing to do when you’re not in school and there is an adult in charge?
Jayden: Um, sometimes sit around and do nothing.
INTERVIEWER: Mmhm. How often does that happen?
Jayden: Not a lot.
INTERVIEWER: Not a lot?
Jayden: Mm-mm (no)

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, is anybody usually with you?

Jayden: Mmhm. My mom.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And is she usually like in the same room with you or somewhere else?

Jayden: Somewhere else.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. So what’s she usually doing and what are you usually doing?

Jayden: Well, sometimes, when I’m at the house, I’m usually playing with my video games.

INTERVIEWER: Mmhm.

Jayden: And she stays downstairs watching TV or cooking.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And you said you’re playing video games?

Jayden: Mmhm.

INTERVIEWER: How do you feel when you’re sitting around, doing nothing?

Jayden: Bored.

INTERVIEWER: Bored. Is there anything special or fun about that time?

Jayden: No.

INTERVIEWER: What would you change?

Jayden: Um, I would change, I would try to go out and do something.

Like, “I’d ask my mom if we could do something.”

Adolescents provided six examples of OST activities and experiences within indirectly supervised contexts that take up the most time when they are supervised (as opposed to unsupervised). For two adolescents, this activity was participating in an after-school program, for
one adolescent it was helping his family, for one adolescent it was watching TV, and for another adolescent it was playing video games. Jacob provides an example of how he feels like an adult is in charge even when adult is not sitting right next to him or in the same room.

INTERVIEWER: So, out of those things- out of the things you do when there is an adult in charge, what do you think takes up the most time.

Jacob: Probably, probably playing the game.

INTERVIEWER: And how often do you play the game?

Jacob: Well, I play- I’m allowed to play it on the weekends from 6-12, then the next day from 12-12, and then on Sunday, I’m allowed to play it from 12-6.

INTERVIEWER: Oh, so like on Friday, you can play from 6-12? And on Saturday, you can play from 12-12?

Jacob: And Sunday I’m allowed to play from 12-6.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. And do you think you play all that time?

Jacob: Hmm?

INTERVIEWER: Do you think you play all those times?

Jacob: No?

INTERVIEWER: Just some of those times? Ok. And not on the weekdays. Who is usually around when you’re playing the game?

Jacob: My- one of my two brothers.

INTERVIEWER: And then, where are the adults usually?

Jacob: They’re either downstairs or in their room. And they might come up like sometimes to check on me.
Comparisons across Contexts

So far, the results sections has defined OST themes (e.g., setting, behavior, experience, constraints) and OST contexts (direct supervision, indirect supervision, no supervision) based on racial minority adolescents’ descriptions of OST. The section that follows builds on these definitions by exploring the prevalence of the OST themes within each of the three OST contexts. Adolescents discussed feeling constraints, positive and negative experiences, and positive and negative behaviors across all three contexts (Table 1.6).

Settings across Levels of Supervision

Adult support and guidance was referenced within directly supervised and indirectly supervised contexts whereas rules and restrictions was referenced within all three contexts. Adult guidance and support was referenced many more times within indirectly supervised contexts versus directly supervised contexts (16 vs. 6; Table 1.6). It is possible that adolescents are more appreciative of the support and guidance adults provide when adolescents are granted a little bit of freedom (i.e., parents are not necessarily watching their every move). Rules and restrictions were referenced more often within indirectly supervised and unsupervised contexts compared to directly supervised contexts. Perhaps this is because adolescents feel a sense of freedom in these contexts, but are not able to do all of the things they would like to do.

Behaviors across Levels of Supervision

Adolescents discussed engaging in the same behaviors across OST contexts. Learning new things and skill building was prominent across all three contexts, but was referenced slightly more often within directly supervised contexts (Table 1.6). Building relationships with friends (only) within unsupervised contexts was mentioned almost as often as building relationships with friends and adults combined in indirectly supervised contexts and was referenced more often than
building relationships with adults and friends within directly supervised contexts. This suggests that building relationships with friends in unsupervised contexts is important and common within adolescents’ OST, but that building relationships with adults and friends is prominent in directly and indirectly supervised contexts as well. Adolescents discussed being conscientious much more during unsupervised contexts as opposed to directly and indirectly supervised contexts. This suggests that acting conscientiously (e.g., making responsible decisions, minding manners) are more prominent when adults are not around during OST, but that these issues are still important when adults are around during OST. Thrilling behaviors was referenced much more frequently within unsupervised contexts compared to the other two contexts. It was referenced 20 times within the unsupervised contexts compared to 0 and 2 in directly supervised and indirectly supervised contexts, respectively. Participating in new experiences was equally prominent in all three contexts but was referenced one more time in unsupervised contexts compared to directly supervised and indirectly supervised contexts. Finally, taking alone time to think and relax was not mentioned at all within directly supervised contexts. This suggests that when adults allow adolescents some space, adolescents take time to think and reflect or just treat themselves.

Experiences across Levels of Supervision

Adolescents reported the most positive feeling within unsupervised contexts (Table 1.6). A sense of freedom was referenced most often within indirectly supervised and unsupervised contexts, but was only referenced in directly supervised contexts once. Having fun was prominent in all three contexts, but was referenced most often within indirectly supervised contexts followed by unsupervised, then directly supervised contexts. Adolescents are also more likely to talk about negative feelings within unsupervised, then indirectly unsupervised contexts. This may be attributed a couple of factors. First, if adolescents do feel like they have more freedom within unsupervised and supervised contexts, then it is possible that they feel great displeasure when
their expectations are not met. For example, adolescents enjoyed their independence but also discussed feeling frustrated when they needed an adult's help for something, but the adult was not around or bored when they did not have anything to do. On the other hand, most of adolescents’ negative experiences within directly supervised contexts were related to doing chores, adults interrupting an adolescent’s OST activity, or adults not allowing enough privacy. Otherwise, adolescents reported having fun and building relationships with adults during directly supervised OST.

**Constraints across Levels of Supervision**

Whereas adolescents discussed experiencing external and interpersonal constraints across all three contexts, adolescents only discussed intrapersonal constraints within unsupervised contexts (Table 1.6). Overall, adolescents discussed experiencing more constraints within unsupervised contexts. Even though the count of references to constraints was higher within the unsupervised contexts compared to directly and indirectly supervised contexts, adolescents reported feeling the same types of constraints (e.g., rules, time) across contexts.

**Summary of Levels of Supervision**

As expected, adolescents discussed experiences that were supervised and unsupervised. The data suggest that adolescents perceive adults supervision in different ways and perhaps researchers should not think about supervision in a dichotomous manner (e.g., supervised vs. unsupervised). Instead, adolescents shared experiences where they felt like an adult was in charge and with them, monitoring what they were doing (direct supervision), an adult was in charge, but were at a distance like in another room or house (indirect supervision), and an adult was not in
charge and was not with them (unsupervised). Perceived settings, experiences, behaviors, and constraints exhibited similarities and differences across the three contexts.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore the range of African American adolescents’ perceived settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints, within both supervised and unsupervised OST contexts. To address this aim, one-on-one interviews were conducted, asking participants about their OST. Findings provided in depth information about important OST themes and identified similarities and differences in adolescents’ perceived OST settings (e.g., adult support, rules and restrictions), behaviors (e.g., build skills, act conscientiously), and experiences (e.g., positive feelings, a sense of freedom) across 3 different OST contexts: direct supervision, indirect supervision, and no supervision. First, findings indicate that African American adolescents perceive three different levels of supervision within their OST. Traditionally, researchers describe OST in terms of structured and unstructured activities where structured OST refers to supervised activities that are organized by adults (e.g., after-school programs, organized sports) and unstructured OST generally refers to hanging out (Mahoney et al., 2006; Osgood et al., 2005). In contrast, findings from the current study indicate that adolescents perceive three levels of supervision. Adolescents engage in activities under direct supervision, where they feel like an adult is in charge and the adult is there with them, paying attention to what they are doing. A second context adolescents described is unsupervised OST, where adolescents feel like an adult is not in charge of them and not around them. A third context, indirect supervision, is a combination of direct and unsupervised contexts. Adolescents described indirect supervision as an OST context within which they feel like an adult is in charge, but the adult is not necessarily paying attention to what they are doing (e.g., the adult might be in a
separate room). The idea of indirect supervision as an OST context builds on the concepts of social control and monitoring where adolescents feel like adults are controlling them with rules even though the adult is not in the adolescents’ presence (Osgood et al., 2005; Vandell & Shumow, 1999). Thus, the three OST contexts discussed by adolescents in the current study overlap with previous research, but also provide more differentiated conceptualization of OST.

A second way in which the current study contributes to current literature is by providing insight into how African American adolescents perceive their settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints depending on level of supervision in OST. This is especially important in the African American community because much of their time is spent in unsupervised contexts. Generally, findings overlap with broader concepts that have been discussed in the literature, but provide greater insight and detail into how researchers can think about OST aspects among African American adolescents. In relation to OST settings, adolescents discussed adult support and guidance and feeling restricted or limited. These themes and subthemes such as adults serving as resources, allowing autonomy, and showing that they care have been discussed previously in the literature in terms of OST settings (Caldwell, 2005; Hutchinson et al., 2003; National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2002). Previous research discusses the importance of youth-adult partnerships and the power that adults have to influence levels of enjoyment within OST (Conroy & Coatsworth, 2004; Shaw et al., 1996). Therefore, even though “trust from adults” was only mentioned by one adolescent, it might be an important component for future researchers to investigate.

In terms of rules and restrictions, current findings overlap with previous research in that rules are a prominent OST component. Whereas previous research investigated how parents enforce rules (Hutchinson et al., 2003), findings from the current study provided insight into OST rules from the adolescents perspective. Mainly, adolescents discussed how they feel restricted or limited by rules that are imposed. Interestingly, adolescents felt restricted or limited most
frequently within directly supervised and unsupervised contexts. This might be due to different expectations that adults have for them within these contexts. Within directly supervised contexts, adolescents might have to follow strict rules because an adult is watching them. On the other hand, adolescents might be limited in the things they are allowed to do or have access to when an adult is not around. In sum, African American adolescents’ perceptions of OST settings highlight themes from current literature, but provide a little bit more depth into these OST aspects.

In terms of OST behaviors, although a few of the themes that emerged from interview narratives overlap with current research, most themes that emerged have not been previously described. Previous research highlights the importance of adolescents’ skill building (e.g., being able to adapt an activity to make it more enjoyable, solving problems) and building relationships with adults and peers (Caldwell, 2005; Gauvain & Perez, 2005) and rule breaking (Osgood et al., 2005). Similar to existing research, thrilling behaviors were mainly discussed within unsupervised contexts. These themes also emerged through interviews in the current study.

Conscientious behavior was one unique theme that African American adolescents discussed. Similar to the pattern of feeling restricted or limited, as discussed above, adolescents talked about acting conscientiously (e.g., minding manners, making responsible decisions), mostly within directly supervised and unsupervised contexts. Conscientious behavior may be due to heightened awareness of rules and responsibilities (e.g., knowing that an adult is paying attention, knowing that one will be held accountable for his/her actions when an adult returns). Engaging in new experiences was a second OST aspect that emerged within behaviors that is not commonly discussed in the OST literature. Adolescents discussed excitement about doing new or rare things and/or exploring new things and getting out of the house. Opportunities to engage in new experiences was mentioned as important across all OST contexts. Within directly supervised and indirectly supervised contexts, adults might provide opportunities for adolescents to experience new things (e.g., going on vacation). Within unsupervised contexts, adolescents have
opportunities to go off on their own, which is something new and exciting for adolescents of this age.

A final behavior that is not typically discussed in the OST literature is the opportunity that OST provides for adolescents to take a lone time to think and relax. This was discussed by a few adolescents and is important because they describe a functional aspect of OST in that it allows them to calm down, relax, and escape from their hectic day-to-day activities. This behavior occurred most often within unsupervised contexts. Korpela (1992) highlights the relevance of how places (e.g., adolescents’ room) provide opportunities for self-regulation. Korpela found that youth sought out their favorite places in order to take time to themselves and clear their minds. Taken together, unsupervised time stands out as a context through which positive functioning is fostered.

OST themes related to experiences overlapped substantially with current research. Adolescents discussed positive feelings, negative feelings, and freedom, all of which have been researched previously (Hunter & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Weissinger et al., 1992). Within positive experiences, a couple of notable sub-themes include feeling passionate about one does, feeling a sense of affection, and feeling mature. In addition to traditional negative feelings such as boredom, adolescents also reported feeling frustrated/annoyed and feeling like they were engaged in conflicts with others.

OST themes related to constraints also overlapped with current literature in that adolescents discussed external and interpersonal constraints (Caldwell & Baldwin, 2005). External constraints consisted of traditional constraints such a lack of time, rules and restrictions, lack of resources and violence. Interestingly, for many some adolescents, responsibilities such as babysitting siblings served as a constraint to participating in desirable OST activities. In relation to interpersonal constraints, many adolescents reported that they did not have anyone to do an activity with or that others caused distractions (e.g., would interrupt them). The current findings
on constraints are helpful in the fact that they provide more insight into what we already know about constraints. For example, even though rules and restrictions serve as a constraint, some adolescents explained that they compromise with their parents about OST rules which helps them feel that rules are less constricting. Additionally, it is important to distinguish between a time constraint and an interruption to desired activity participation. Although the time constraint and restriction constraints are related, there is a distinction between being too busy to do something and not being able to participate in an activity because an adult expects you to complete a task first. For example, not having enough time to go outside and play with friends because one has football practice is different from not being able to go outside because one has to watch his/her younger siblings.

**Implications for Practice and Policy**

Findings from the interview narratives provide insight for practitioners who work with adolescents in OST contexts and policy-makers. Although the implications that can be drawn from current findings are limited due to the qualitative analyses, findings can be useful to practitioners especially since this information is unknown within the African American community. It is clear that all three OST contexts (direct supervision, indirect supervision, and no supervision) foster positive and negative experiences and behaviors. Based on themes that adolescents discussed, directly supervised contexts seem beneficial because the discussion of positive behaviors and experiences within this context were high, and negative ones were low. For example, learning and skill-building was discussed more frequently within the directly supervised context compared to other contexts whereas rules and restrictions, acting conscientiously, engaging in thrilling behavior, experiencing negative feelings, and facing
external constraints was discussed the least number of times (or not at all) within the directly supervised contexts compared to others.

Practitioners should utilize directly supervised contexts to help adolescents build skills as this is a context where adolescent report many positive experiences and behaviors and minimal negative ones. This is a context where adults have adolescents’ attention, they are, for the most part, behaving, and practitioners can use this time for teaching. Moreover, the fact that feeling restricted by rules and behaving conscientiously were discussed less often than other contexts, might reflect adolescents’ expectations that when an adult is in charge, it is understood that rules they will enforce rules. Moreover, the fact that adolescents discussed having fun and experience positive feelings indicates that the directly supervised context is not viewed negatively by adolescents. However, practitioners should promote time-use in other OST contexts as well because they help balance each other out. For example, within the directly supervised context, adolescents talked about building skills more often than they did with other contexts, but they also discussed having freedom and having alone time to think and relax less often than other contexts.

Even though engaging in thrilling behavior was mentioned most frequently within the unsupervised context, adolescents also reported many positive behaviors and experiences within this context. For example, when adults are not in charge, African American adolescents provided examples of how they build skills, build relationships with others, and have fun. Adolescents discussed having freedom and having alone time to think and relax most often in this context compared to others. Thus, practitioners should feel confident that even when an adult is not in charge, adolescents are engaging in positive behaviors and experiences. Given that engaging in thrilling behavior was mentioned most frequently within this context, it will be important for practitioners to try and address rule-breaking and motivate adolescents to act responsibly during their unsupervised OST. The fact that adolescents discussed acting conscientiously so frequently
within the unsupervised context shows that teaching adolescents how to act responsibly may be a promising method to help reduce their engagement in thrilling behaviors. That is, if during unsupervised OST, adolescents are minding their manners and acting responsibly, it is possible that further encouragement from adults to act responsibly and conscientiously will help reduce risky behavior. Additionally, practitioners who can help introduce adolescents to new, positive, healthy unsupervised OST activities and address any barriers to those activities that adolescents might face will help make this a more productive, healthy, and enjoyable time.

The indirectly supervised OST context also includes many positive and negative experiences and behaviors as reported by African American adolescents. Notably, within this context is that adult support and guidance, having fun, and freedom were mentioned most frequently within the indirectly supervised context compared to other contexts. Based on the frequencies of OST components discussed, adolescents and practitioners will experience the best of the directly supervised context and the best of the unsupervised context when practitioners foster an indirectly supervised context. That is, adolescents indicate that they act conscientiously and that engagement in thrilling behavior is minimal, that they are having fun, learning new things, building relationships with others, engaging in new experiences, and experiencing freedom. Adolescents did discuss experiencing external and interpersonal constraints, however, not as frequently as they did within unsupervised contexts. Thus, practitioners who enforce rules but give adolescents some independence will maximize adolescents’ positive behaviors and experiences while minimizing their negative ones. Moreover, this indirectly supervised context, help adolescents recognize the support and guidance they are receiving from adults.

In relation to policy-makers, findings from the current study highlight the need for continued OST programs (e.g., after-school programs) in addition to healthy community resources that youth can engage in when they are not in supervised programs. Adolescents discussed the many benefits they receive from engaging in OST activities where adults are either
directly or indirectly in charge. Moreover, adolescents’ discussions revealed that they perceive positive and negative feelings and behaviors within unsupervised settings. One way for policy-makers to help promote positive experiences and behaviors is by funding community-based healthy activities for adolescents. If adolescents have more opportunities to engage in interesting, healthy activities within unsupervised OST contexts, they risk-taking and negative experiences may decrease.

Limitations and Future Directions

It is important to note that the current study does hold some limitations. Although the current study provides great insight into racial minority adolescents’ OST, interviews conducted with a larger sample size would help determine the relevance of the OST aspects discussed among a broader group of adolescents. Related to sample, future interviews may also include a more diverse sample to allow for comparisons across groups. An additional concern is that the way the interview questions were framed did not solicit adolescents to share intrapersonal constraints. Questions were framed to broadly ask about thins adolescents do within supervised or unsupervised contexts. Many of the constraints discussed in the study were derived from the question, “What keeps you from doing [the activity that you enjoy doing] more often?” Thus, adolescents could have shared intrapersonal constraints, but the formatting of the question may have led adolescents to think more about external and interpersonal constraints. A final limitation with the current study is that the data was coded by a single rater. In the future, it will be beneficial to have multiple coders code the data to help ensure validity.
Conclusion

The current study contributes to the literature in a number of ways. Given that little information existed on minority adolescents’ perceptions of experiences and behaviors with supervised and unsupervised OST, the current study helps provide an understanding of these components in an African American sample. Adolescents have positive and negative perceptions of OST aspects across levels of supervised and unsupervised OST. Current findings suggest that the perceptions of African American adolescents overlap in some areas with theory that discusses supervised OST contexts that are optimal for development. At the same time, adolescents’ perceptions of settings, experiences, behaviors within OST provided some unique insight into relevant OST components. Moreover, adolescents perceive three levels of adult supervision within OST contexts: direct supervision, indirect supervision, and no supervision. Moreover, adolescents perceive positive and negative settings, experiences, and behaviors within all of these settings and experience constraints. Whereas previous research discussed adolescents’ OST mainly in terms of supervised activities and often referred to unsupervised activities as “hanging-out,” the current study highlights the importance of studying settings, experiences, behaviors, and constraints across levels of supervision. Moreover, current literature is heavily based on linking activity type to outcomes. The current study suggests that there are many OST components that are important to adolescents and it will be important to link the OST aspects adolescents discussed to outcomes. Finally, current research mainly links adolescents’ unsupervised OST to negative outcomes. Although the current study did not study outcomes, findings reveal that adolescents are having positive experiences and exhibiting positive behaviors (e.g., skill building) within unsupervised contexts.
Table 1.1- Summary of OST Setting Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th># of references</th>
<th># of participants</th>
<th>Highest ref / partic.</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adult Support and Guidance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serve as a resource</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>“Um, well, sometimes it’s fun because they get to buy me stuff sometimes.” (Jayden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set rules</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow autonomy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show they care</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourage</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not there when needed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust adolescents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rules and Restrictions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel restricted or limited</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>“…[mom] wants to make sure none of my friends tear up the house.” (Joseph)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rules serve a purpose</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone is unique</td>
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Table 1.2 - Summary of Constraints, Experiences, and Behaviors by Participant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>“…I don’t want to be in their house without [parents] there and with knowing- cuz some awkward thing might happen and I’m goin’ be there.” (Andrew)</td>
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<td>“Like I’m doing something but it’s supposed to be secretive, but I’m still having fun.” (Andrew)</td>
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<td>“I spent time on the phone mostly. So, um, just like talking to friends, catching up about what happened over the week and stuff like that.” (Isabella)</td>
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<td>Do something new or rare</td>
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<td>“You get to go other places instead of staying in the same place.” (Andrew)</td>
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<td>“…I just lay down in my room, maybe stare at the wall bit. Throw my basketball up and down a little bit… and I just zone out and do myself.” (Joseph)</td>
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<td>“I feel like, I’m the boss, you have to listen. Like I feel like older. Like I feel like I’m more responsible than when I am in the presence of an adult.” (Isabella)</td>
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<td>“Or like we joke around or like just like tell jokes...” (Isabella)</td>
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Table 1.5 Summary of OST Constraints Themes

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<td>“Sometimes my brother is there and I can’t do that because then he’s going to tell mom…” (Andrew)</td>
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<td>“I like to go a lot of places except like if I’m tired or something.” (Joseph)</td>
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Table 1.6- Summary of OST Settings, Behaviors, Experiences, and Constraints

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Direct Supervision</th>
<th>No Supervision</th>
<th>Indirect Supervision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Setting</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult support and guidance</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rules and Restrictions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Behavior</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Learn/Skill building</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Build relationships</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscientious</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrilling</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New experiences</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone time to think or relax</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Experience</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Positive Feelings</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>Negative Feelings</td>
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<td>Freedom</td>
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<tr>
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Chapter 3

Development of an OST Measure to Related Adolescents’ Out-of-School Time Experiences and Positive Youth Development

Current research indicates that free time, or out-of-school time (OST), is a period of risk and opportunity (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992) and that experiences and activity participation within formal and informal OST are related to positive and negative outcomes (After School Alliance, 2004; Gottfredson et al., 2004; Mahoney, Larson et al., 2005). However, there is still much to learn about adolescents’ OST, especially among African Americans. An estimated 50% of African American adolescents’ OST is spent in activities without formal guidelines or leadership and only 3% of time is spent in activities that do have formal guidelines or leadership (Bohnert et al., 2008). Thus, researchers and practitioners interested in promoting positive developmental outcomes and reducing negative outcomes must understand important experiences and behaviors within formally supervised contexts (e.g., after-school programs, organized sports), informally supervised contexts (e.g., playing games with family), and unsupervised contexts. Currently, the literature does not provide consistent findings on outcomes related to supervised or unsupervised activity involvement. Evidence links supervised and unsupervised activities to positive and negative outcomes (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Additionally, unsupervised contexts, or contexts where adults are not present have generally been operationalized as “hanging out” and have been linked to negative outcomes such as delinquency (Osgood et al., 2005). However, the few studies that have operationalized unsupervised/unstructured OST more broadly show promise that unsupervised activities include much more than “hanging out” and that positive experiences and outcomes are related to participation in unsupervised/unstructured OST contexts (Bohnert et al., 2008; Haggard &
Williams, 1992). Although the adolescent OST literature is growing, most of these studies are on White adolescents and therefore, much less is known about adolescents who belong to racial minority groups. Given the mixed findings that the OST activity literature exhibits and the field’s limited understanding of adolescents’ personal OST experiences, the current study aimed to re-conceptualize the way that OST activities are studied in order to gain a stronger understanding of how supervised and unsupervised OST relate to youth development among racial minority adolescents.

**Conceptualizing Out-of-School Time**

The terms out-of-school time and after-school time have been used to generally describe time immediately after school and before school (e.g., Kleiber & Powell, 2005; Pittman et al., 2005). Leisure, on the other hand, has been operationalized as (a) participation in recreational or cultural activities (e.g., sports and hobbies); (b) an activity setting (e.g., activities that take place in parks or theaters); (c) time free of obligation (e.g., non-school or work time); and (d) participation in self-actualizing and intrinsically motivating behavior (Csikszentmihalyi & Kleiber, 1999; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997). Some authors distinguish between free time and leisure by defining free time as unobligated time outside of school and chores and by describing recreation/leisure as activity participation and relaxation (Caldwell, 2005). From the latter perspective, leisure occurs within OST. Thus, recreation and free time occur in the absence of obligations such as chores, work, and homework whereas out-of-school time generally refers to any time that is not spent in school. The following discussion incorporates leisure and free time studies to further understand youth’s OST context. Here, OST refers to youth’s non-school hours which may include weekends and leisure and free time activities and does not include homework and chores.
Traditional Ways of Operationalizing OST Levels of Supervision/Structure

Much of the research that links activity participation to developmental outcomes focuses on the way an activity is structured. Structured activities have been defined as those that are organized, supervised by adults, place limitations on adolescents’ time use, and focus on skill-building (Mahoney et al., 2006; Osgood et al., 2005). Additionally, Mahoney and Stattin (2000) suggest that in order for an activity to be considered structured, the group must meet at least once a week and include same-age peers. Structured activities might take place in school and/or community settings (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Eccles et al., 2003; Mahoney, 2000). Examples of structured activities include extracurricular activities that are school-based (e.g., clubs/organizations and student council) or community-based (e.g., organized activities like club sports teams).

Adolescent outcomes associated with participation in supervised or unsupervised activities have been both positive and negative. After-school programs serve as an example of supervised OST and considerable effort has been directed toward designing and implementing efficacious after-school programs (Bodilly & Beckett, 2005; Halpern, 2002). Current research indicates that after-school programs can serve as a context to prevent problem behavior (Gottfredson et al., 2004; Pierce & Shields, 1998; Riggs, 2006), serve as a resource for students at risk for academic failure (Cosden et al., 2001; Mahoney, Lord et al., 2005; Morris et al., 1990; Riggs & Greenberg, 2004), provide opportunities for the promotion of social capital (Apsler et al., 2006; Carruthers & Busser, 2000), and foster positive development (Dworkin et al., 2003). For example, Posner and Vandell (1994) found that elementary-school-age children who participated in structured after-school programs and engaged in academic enrichment activities exhibited academic gains and other positive outcomes like peer relations and emotional adjustment. Additionally, findings suggest that after-school programs that provide a balanced
structure (Caldwell, 2005; Pierce et al., 1999) and promote social competence (Gottfredson et al., 2004; Pierce & Shields, 1998; Riggs, 2006; Roffman et al., 2001) help reduce youth’s problem behavior.

Previous research shows that adolescents who participate in structured extracurricular activities are less likely to engage in antisocial behavior (Mahoney, 2000; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Sinha et al., 2007; Zaff et al., 2003) and more likely to have a higher level of academic achievement (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Mahoney et al., 2003) and positive psychosocial functioning (Bartko & Eccles, 2003). One qualitative study also linked voluntary, structured activities to mediating developmental processes including identity work, the development of initiative, and building social skills and capital (Dworkin et al., 2003). However, Eccles and colleagues (2003) linked higher rates of structured sports involvement with increased alcohol use. Therefore, it is not safe to assume that an activity is not related to negative outcomes just because it is structured.

Unstructured activities have been defined as the opposite of structured activities (e.g., unsupervised, no focus on skill-building). Examples of unstructured activities include “hanging out,” chores, pick-up sports games, and after-school programs that do not guide youth’s behavior (Mahoney et al., 2006; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Osgood et al., 2005; Persson et al., 2007). When unsupervised activities are defined only by sedentary activities or by hanging out, unsupervised activity participation is linked mostly to negative outcomes. For example, hanging out is positively related to alcohol initiation (Strycker et al., 2003) while sedentary activities such as watching TV and playing video games are related to outcomes such as increases in overweight (Koezuka et al., 2006) and declines in physical activity (Motl et al., 2006) among adolescents. Likewise, Sharp, Coatsworth, Darling, Cumsille, and Ranieri (2007) collapsed passive behaviors (e.g., watching TV) with risky behavior (e.g., drinking alcohol) into a single passive/risk activity category and found that activities in this category were related to lower levels of goal-directed
behavior compared to other categories. Interestingly, when unstructured activities are defined more broadly, research findings are more positive. For example, participation in activities like backpacking and chess have value for expressing and affirming identity among college students (Haggard & Williams, 1992). Thus, there is reason to believe that positive experiences and outcomes may result from adolescents’ participation in unsupervised OST activities.

Although OST activities are typically termed structured or unstructured, these labels are limiting because they do not accurately capture all possible OST activity component combinations. For example, just because an activity is supervised by adults does not necessarily mean that the activity also promotes skill-building (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Likewise, just because adults are not present during an OST activity, does not mean that adolescents are participating in activities that do not provide skill-building opportunities (Haggard & Williams, 1992). Research findings suggest that more than half of African American adolescents’ time is spent participating in leisure activities, that only 3% of this time is spent in supervised activities, and that time spent with classmates and friends are most strongly related to participation in leisure activities compared to spending time with others (e.g., family) in other activities (e.g., homework, maintenance, Bohnert et al., 2008). Given the complexity of OST activity participation, it may be more informative to study the OST context in which activity participation takes place. Studying OST in terms of supervised and unsupervised contexts as opposed to structured and unstructured activities allows for the inclusion of multiple OST components to be studied at once. For example a supervised activity may or may not be organized by adults (e.g., little league baseball game vs. supervised trip to the movie with a friend initiated by adolescent). Larson and colleagues (2001) and Bohnert and colleagues (2008) highlight this complexity by reporting that urban African American adolescents spend 38% of their time with family and 18% of their time with friends and 54% of their time is spent in leisure. The current study is based on a previous study (Chapter 2) which developed a basis for understanding African American
adolescents’ OST behaviors and experiences within directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised contexts.

**A New Conceptualization of the OST Supervision Continuum**

Study 1 (Chapter 2) in the current dissertation investigated adolescent-perceived OST settings, behaviors, and experiences within supervised and unsupervised contexts. Findings indicated that African American adolescents perceive three OST contexts related to supervision: direct supervision, indirect supervision, and no supervision. Adolescents discussed OST contexts where they perceive that an adult is in charge of them and the adult is with them, watching over them (direct supervision), a context through which they perceived that an adult was not in charge of them and not around (unsupervised), and an in-between context where adolescents felt like an adult was in charge of them even when the adult was not right next to them, paying attention to what they were doing (indirect supervision). Study 1 determined that adolescents perceive similar and different settings, behaviors, and experiences within each of these three OST contexts.

Specifically, in relation to OST settings, adolescents discussed adult support and guidance and feeling restricted or limited. Subthemes of adults support and guidance (e.g., adults serving as resources, allowing autonomy, showing that they care) have been discussed previously in the literature in terms of OST settings (Caldwell, 2005; Hutchinson et al., 2003; National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2002). In terms of restrictions, adolescents discussed how they feel restricted or limited by rules that are imposed. Interestingly, adolescents felt restricted or limited most frequently within directly supervised and unsupervised contexts.

In terms of OST behaviors, a few of the themes that emerged from interview narratives overlapped with current research, most themes that emerged were innovative. Previous research (Caldwell, 2005; Gauvain & Perez, 2005) and Study 1 highlight the importance of adolescents’
skill building (e.g., being able to adapt an activity to make it more enjoyable, solving problems) and building relationships with adults and peers. Thrilling behavior and risk-taking behavior were also components that emerged in Study 1. Similar to previous research (Osgood et al., 2005), thrilling behaviors were mainly discussed within unsupervised contexts. Conscientious behavior was one unique theme that African American adolescents discussed. Similar to the pattern of feeling restricted or limited, as discussed above, adolescents discussed acting conscientiously (e.g., minding manners, making responsible decisions) mostly within directly supervised and unsupervised contexts. Engaging in new experiences was a second unique OST aspect that emerged within behaviors. Adolescents discussed excitement about doing new or rare things and/or exploring new things and getting out of the house. A final behavior that is not typically discussed in the OST literature is opportunities for adolescents to take alone time to think and relax. This was discussed by a few adolescents and is important because it allows them to calm down, relax, and escape from their hectic day-to-day activities. This behavior occurred most often within unsupervised contexts, thus providing another example of the utility of unsupervised contexts.

OST themes related to experiences overlapped substantially with current research. Adolescents discussed positive feelings, negative feelings, and freedom, all of which have been researched previously (Hunter & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Weissinger et al., 1992). Within positive experiences, a couple of notable sub-themes included feeling passionate about one does, feeling affectionate, and feeling mature. In addition to traditional negative feelings such as boredom, adolescents also reported feeling frustrated/annoyed and feeling like they were engaged in conflicts with others.

The perceived settings, behaviors, and experiences that adolescents discussed in Study 1 exhibited similarities and differences across OST contexts. For example, learning and skill-building was discussed more frequently within the directly supervised context compared to other
contexts whereas rules and restrictions, acting conscientiously, engaging in thrilling behavior,
experiencing negative feelings, and facing external constraints was discussed the least number of
times (or not at all) within the directly supervised contexts compared to others. Even though
engaging in thrilling behavior was mentioned most frequently within the unsupervised context,
adolescents also reported many positive behaviors and experiences within this context. For
example, when adults are not in charge, African American adolescents provided examples of how
they build skills, build relationships with others, have fun, and act conscientiously. Adolescents
discussed having freedom and having alone time to think and relax most often in this context
compared to others. Adult support and guidance, having fun, and freedom were mentioned most
frequently within the indirectly supervised context compared to other contexts. The indirectly
supervised context seems to provide the best of the other two extreme contexts in that adolescents
indicate that they act conscientiously and that engagement in thrilling behavior is minimal, that
they are having fun, learning new things, building relationships with others, engaging in new
experiences, and experiencing freedom.

**Out-of-school Time as a Context for the Promotion of Positive Development**

OST activities have the potential to build on the positive influence school activities have
on adolescents. There is a growing body of research that links OST activities to positive
adolescent outcomes and developmental processes such as competence, identity, well-being, self-
perception, and educational outcomes. There is also some research that indicates that the
relationship between OST activity participation and outcomes might differ by race. For example,
Mahoney and colleagues (2006) found that for White youth, self-esteem increases with the
amount of time spent in activities but levels off at 5 hours per week and for Black youth, self-
esteem increased up to about 20 hours per week spent in activities and declined with 20 or more hours.

Some of the most commonly studied outcomes in relation to OST activity participation are related to educational and behavioral outcomes. Educational outcomes are among the most common effects linked to OST activity participation. Eccles and colleagues (2003) found that youth who participated in prosocial activities (e.g., church attendance and volunteering), team sports, performing arts, school involvement activities (e.g., student government and pep club), and academic clubs exhibited better than expected educational outcomes (e.g., high GPA, college attendance, and college graduation). Similarly, high school students who participated in extracurricular activities reported higher grades, more positive attitudes towards school, and higher academic aspirations (Darling, 2005). Among a sample of low-income youth, those who participated in school-based programs in middle school reported higher grades in middle school and in their first year of high school (Pedersen & Seidman, 2005).

Mahoney and colleagues (2006) investigated racial/ethnic differences in relation to educational outcomes and activity participation. They found that reading achievement increased with the amount of time spent in activities up to about 20 hours, then decreased with 20 hours per week or more spent in activities among White youth. However, the difference between those who participated in 20 plus hours and those who did not participate in activities was not significantly different. For Black youth, reading achievement increased with the amount of time spent in activities up to about 15 hours, and then declined. For White and Black youth, reading achievement was always higher for those participating in activities compared to those who did not.

Conflicting results indicate that sometimes antisocial/delinquent behavior is positively linked to OST activity involvement and other times the relationship is negative. For example, Pederson and Seidman (2005) found that participation in school-based activities in middle school
was related to lower rates of antisocial behavior among low-income, high school students. Similarly, Darling (2005) found that participation in extracurricular activities was related to lower levels of smoking, marijuana use, and the use of other drugs compared to youth who did not participate. Finally, Mahoney and colleagues (2006) found that there was a decline in alcohol use for those spending less than 15 hours in activities and can increase in alcohol use for those spending 15 hours or more in activities. However, youth who participated in 20 or more hours per week showed lower levels of alcohol use than those who did not participate at all. Whereas Fauth and colleagues linked participation in non-sport activities such as arts and student government to lower rates of substance use, participation in sports was related to greater levels of substance use and delinquency (Fauth et al., 2007). Likewise, Eccles and colleagues (2003) found that participation in sports was the only activity that was related to higher rates of substance use. The inconsistencies among findings discussed above highlight the importance of understanding contextual factors in relation to OST and development.

Well-being is related to OST indirectly through activity experiences and identity processes. Activities hold unique and shared identifying characteristics, suggesting that individuals likely select activities based on their own sense of identity (Haggard & Williams, 1992). Adolescents who participate in activities that are self-defining and expressive (e.g., related to goals, foster flow experiences) are more likely to experience well-being and greater internal assets (Coatsworth et al., 2006). Additionally, Eccles and colleagues (2003) found that there is a social structure among activities. That is, those who participate in specific activities tended to describe themselves similarly and exhibit similar behavioral and academic characteristics. The field is beginning to learn more about the relationship between OST activity participation and identity, but more work is needed to understand directionality and the extent to which identity formation might be an outcome of activity participation and OST experiences.
OST Experiences among Minority Adolescents

Limited information is known about African American adolescents’ OST (Larson et al., 2001), but there is growing evidence that adolescents’ OST activities differ by race and socio-economic status (SES). For instance, African American adolescents are less likely to participate in activities within the community and activities that have formal guidelines and leadership and that are facilitated by an organization (Bohnert et al., 2008; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1992). This may be due, in part, to a lack of resources and excess of neighborhood dangers that constrain activity participation within urban areas (Larson et al., 2001). Although urban African American adolescents seemingly have lower levels of engagement in community-based activities compared to peers in other racial groups, urban African American adolescents have opportunities for positive development within OST. For example, working-class adolescents are exposed to fewer opportunities to participate in organized adult-supervised activities and as a result, experience greater levels of autonomy during free time (Lareau, 2000).

Even aspects of urban African American adolescents’ personal time seems risky, but protective factors are also integrated within this time. For example, urban African Americans spend less time doing homework compared to Asian adolescents because African Americans tend to have shorter school days (Larson et al., 2001). Even though spending less time focusing on academic development serves as a risk factor, urban African Americans exhibited protective factors in that they spend less time in public places and more time with family compared to their Asian and European American peers (Larson et al., 2001). Taken together, African American adolescents have unique OST experiences and opportunities that are not necessarily better or worse than adolescents’ from other racial groups. Given that racial and SES differences do exist between groups, it is important for researchers to build an understanding of OST based on the experiences of minority. The identification of OST dimensions that are meaningful to minority
Summary and Current Study

The current literature on OST supervised and unsupervised OST activities and experiences among African American adolescents is limited, but it is important for researchers to gain an understanding of their experiences within supervised and unsupervised contexts. The way these contexts have been operationalized may not reflect all of the ways adolescents perceive OST components. Findings from Study 1 of the current dissertation suggest that there may be some truth to this. Qualitative findings revealed that adolescents perceived settings, behaviors, and experiences differently within three OST contexts: directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised. The current study was designed to build on those findings through a survey that reflects how adolescents perceived settings, behaviors, and experiences within the three OST contexts and to link those components to positive developmental outcomes.

Study Aims

Aim 2.1

Aim 2.1 was to explore the factorial structure of a new measure of adolescent out-of-school time experiences across levels of adult supervision (i.e., direct supervision, indirect supervision, no supervision).
**Research Question 2.1**

What settings, behaviors, and experiences emerge within adolescents’ directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised OST? How are settings, behaviors, and experiences within these contexts similar and different?

**Aim 2.2**

Aim 2.2 was to examine how adolescents’ perceptions, experiences and behaviors within and across each level of OST supervision relate to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., social competence, self-efficacy, positive school attitudes, responsible decision-making, clear and positive identity).

**Research Question 2.2**

How do adolescents’ perceptions of OST settings (e.g., adult supervision, rules and restrictions), behaviors (e.g., skill building, experiencing something new, building relationships, being conscientious), and experiences (e.g., positive feelings, negative feelings, freedom) within each supervised context relate to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., competence, confidence, community connection, and character)?

**Research Question 2.3**

How do adolescents’ perceptions of OST settings (e.g., adult supervision, rules and restrictions), behaviors (e.g., skill building, experiencing something new, building relationships, being conscientious), and experiences (e.g., positive feelings, negative feelings, freedom) across
levels of supervised contexts relate to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., competence, confidence, community connection, and character)?

Method

Sample

The sample was drawn from a large middle school in a major city in South Florida. The school consisted of 1,262 sixth, seventh, and eighth grade students, where 72% of the students were African American. A majority (70%) receive free or reduced price lunch. The current sample of 303 was representative of the school’s general population in that 91% of participants were African American and 63% received free or reduced priced lunch. Sixty-two percent of the participants were female and participants ranged in age from 10-17 ($M = 12.97; SD = 1.03$). Ninety-two percent of the participants reported that English was the primary language spoken at home. Thirty-seven percent of participants lived with both their mother and father, 32% lived with their mother only, and 13% lived with their mother and a stepfather.

Procedure

Permission to conduct the current study was received through the Institutional Review Board at the lead author’s University. Active parental consent was required for participation. Because all students were enrolled in a Social Studies class, the survey was administered during those classes. Thirty-three Social Studies classes were randomly selected. These 33 classes
provided a pool of about 500 students who received consent forms. Consent/assent was received from 303 students for a response rate of 60.6%.

Students completed web-based surveys in their school computer labs during their regularly scheduled Social Studies class.

Measures

Demographics

Participants were asked to indicate their gender, age, which parent(s) they live with, race/ethnicity, the language that is usually spoken at home, and whether or not they received reduced lunch.

OST Experiences

An OST experience survey (Appendix C) was developed based on the findings from the interviews collected in Study 1. Further discussion of the scale development follows below. Findings regarding factor solutions are presented in the Results section.

Context Specific OST

Students were asked 44 questions per OST context (direct supervision, indirect supervision, and no supervision) for a total of 132 questions. Participants were asked to think about the time when they were not in school, doing homework, or doing chores. Response options ranged from 1- “All of the time (about 100%)” to 5- “Never (about 0%). The stem for questions
regarding setting, behavior, and experience was as follows: “During the school year, when you are not in school, not doing homework, and not doing chores and an adult is DIRECTLY SUPERVISING you (e.g., adult is with you, in charge of you, and watching what you are doing), how often do...“ The underlined portion of the question was altered depending on which context the adolescents was currently being asked to focus on. Questions were extracted directly from the interview coding scheme from Study 1- meaning, a question for each subtheme was created. (Appendix B).

**Time.** Two questions focused on the amount of time spent in the context, twenty-five questions asked about experiences with the context, and fifteen questions asked about behaviors with the context. The survey items pertaining to time spent within the context asked adolescents how much time they spent in the context during the week and on weekends.

**Setting.** Items relating to OST settings focused on adults (e.g., adults help guide you to make good decisions, you wish an adult was with you) and rules/restrictions (e.g., you feel like there are too many rules, you feel like there needs to be more rules).

**Behaviors.** Items related to OST behaviors focused on learning/skill-building (e.g., your solve problems, you change something about what you’re doing to make it more enjoyable), being conscientious (e.g., you break rules, you make responsible decisions), doing new things (e.g., you explore new things), building relationships (e.g., with friends, with adults), and taking alone time to think and relax.

**Experiences.** Items related to OST experiences focused on positive feelings (e.g., feel comfortable being yourself, feel interested), and negative feelings (e.g., feel bored, feel frustrated/annoyed) freedom (e.g., you have the freedom to make your own decisions, you have enough privacy), and having fun.
**Positive Youth Development**

Dimensions of PYD were previously used in the Chinese Positive Youth Development Scale (CPYDS, Shek, Siu, & Lee, 2007). Shek and colleagues’ measures were selected and developed based on the 15 positive youth development assets identified by Catalano and colleagues (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, & Hawkins, 2004). Scales were computed for all participants who had at least 2/3 of the data needed to compute a scale. PYD items are listed in Appendix D.

**Social Competence**

Social competence was measured using the Social Competence (SC) subscale from the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Siu & Shek, 2005). The measure consisted of 6 items and youth were asked to indicate how much they agree or disagree with statements such as, “I know how to communicate with others” and “I enjoy social activities.” Response options ranged from 1- “Strongly disagree” to 5- “Strongly agree.” This scale exhibited acceptable internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .75$). Responses ranged from 1-5 ($M = 3.57, SD=.62$) with a value of 5 indicating high social competence. Seven point six percent (7.6%) of participants were missing the social competence scale.

**Self-efficacy**

The self-efficacy scale measured skills for coping and mastery and was originally from Shek’s Mastery Scale (Shek, 2004). The scale consisted of 7 items where participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with statements such as, “I have little control of things that happen in my life” and “I can finish almost everything I am determined to do.” Response options ranged from 1- “Strongly disagree” to 5- “Strongly agree.” The scale was estimated to have an acceptable level of reliability ($\alpha = .62$). Responses ranged from 1-5 ($M = 2.85, SD = .66$).
with a value of 5 indicating high self-efficacy. Seven point nine percent (7.9%) of participants were missing the self-efficacy scale.

**Responsible Choices**

Responsible choices was measured using the Youth Asset Scale (YAS, Oman et al., 2002). The scale consisted of 6 items aim to identify the extent to which youth can distinguish right from wrong and respect rules and standards. Participants were asked to identify the extent to which they agree with statements like, “I can identify the positive and negative consequences of behavior” and “I make decisions to help me achieve my goals.” Response options range from 1-“Strongly disagree” to 5-“Strongly agree.” The scale was estimated to have an acceptable level of reliability (α = .86). Responses ranged from 1-5 (M = 3.95, SD = .81) with a value of 5 indicating a high ability to make responsible choices. Ten point six percent (10.6%) or participants were missing the responsible choices scale.

**Positive Identity**

Positive Identity (CPI) subscale was developed by Shek and colleagues (2007). The original scale consisted of 6 items, but only 6 items were included in the survey for the current study. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with statements such as, “I know my strengths and weaknesses,” “I am satisfied with my body and appearance,” and “I am a person with self-confidence.” Response options ranged from 1-“Strongly disagree” to 5-“Strongly agree.” This modified 7-item scale was estimated to have acceptable reliability (α = .86). Responses ranged from 1-5 (M = 3.98, SD = .80) with a value of 5 indicating a clear and positive sense of identity. Nine point two percent (9.2%) or participants were missing the positive identity scale.
School Engagement

Adolescents were asked to rate how much they agreed with the following statement: “I do not care how I do in school.” Response options ranged from Strongly Disagree (5) to Strongly Agree (1).

Analytic Strategy

Exploratory Factor Analysis of OST Experience Survey

In order to identify underlying latent constructs within the OST Experience survey, exploratory factor analysis was conducted. First, Principal Components Analysis (PCA) helped summarize correlation patterns among observed variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). PCA revealed that multiple components did exist in the OST Experience survey, indicated an initial set of items that should be deleted because they either did not load onto a factor or cross-loaded with a factor, and provided a rationale to move beyond this form of preliminary analysis and conduct Principal Axis Factor (PAF) analysis. Thus, as a second step, PAF analysis with the reduced set of variables was used to identify subscales within the larger measure while only accounting for shared variance among the items (excluding error variance and variance uniquely explained by the factor) and to eliminate initial items that either cross-loaded or did not load onto factors.

The factors were rotated using the promax rotation technique so that factor solutions became easier to interpret. This allowed for a clearer interpretation of the factors given that promax rotation tends to make large factor loadings larger, and small factor loadings smaller (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). In the process of identifying an accurate number of constructs, scree plots and eigenvalues were examined to help determine the appropriate number of factors. Eigenvalues helped indicate how many factors were appropriate in that every eigenvalue larger
than one indicated that a factor was appropriate (e.g., 4 eigenvalues larger than one indicated a need for a 4 factor structure).

In order to help uncover clean factors, a series of analyses was conducted. For each of the three contexts, a factor analysis was conducted, extracting factors with eigenvalues greater than one. All items that did not load onto a factor with a loading of .40 or greater were deleted from the analyses (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). Additionally, items that cross-loaded on factors with loadings of .40 or greater were deleted from the analyses. This process continued until all remaining items loaded cleanly (i.e., factor loading equal or greater than .40). Once this occurred, further analysis was conducted to determine the optimal number of factors in the solution.

At this point, internal consistency reliability analyses (Cronbach’s alpha) were conducted. If all of the scales had an acceptable alpha, then the factor analysis for that context was accepted. However, if alpha for at least one of the scales in a solution was low, then the factor analysis was conducted again, constricting the factor solution to one fewer factors than the eigenvalue greater than one solution. Items that did not load or items that cross-loaded were removed from the model. Next, a factor analysis was conducted asking for a factor solution with eigenvalues greater than one. The process of testing reliability and eliminating items continued until a factor solution was extracted with factors that had eigenvalues greater than one and strong alphas.

**Structural Equation Models**

LISREL 8.8 was used to determine the statistical structure of the models. Goodness of fit was determined using a series of fit indices including chi-square, Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA, Browne & Cudeck, 1993), Comparative Fit Index (CFI, Bentler, 1990), and RHO (Bentler & Bonett, 1980; Tucker & Lewis, 1973). Chi-square is often used as an indicator of goodness of fit, but has been known to be sensitive to sample size; thus, CFI,
RMSEA, and RHO were selected to describe the fit of the model because together, they proved a sound judgment of fit. RMSEA values larger than .10, CFI values less than .85, and RHO less than .85 indicate a poor-fitting model (Graham, 2005). CFI and RHO were derived using a unique algorithm which helped account for missing data. This algorithm, previously used by Graham and Hofer (2000), provides a more accurate estimate of the sample size given the number of missing data cases and is necessary because LISREL does not calculate CFI and RHO when dataset have missing values. RHO and CFI measure practical fit and therefore, sometimes differ from RMSEA. RHO and CFI are used as measures of practical fit and can sometimes vary from RMSEA. Therefore, it is important to consider all three indices together.

Four models were estimated. First, one model within each context (directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised) was estimated using the scales identified in the exploratory factor analysis. Within each context, the aspects of OST specific to that context were linked to positive developmental outcomes (Figures 1, 2, 3). In order to address the second research question, a fourth model was tested. For this model, all of the OST aspects from across the three contexts were organized conceptually and served as indicators to latent variables. These latent variables then predicted positive developmental outcomes. All models are discussed in more detail below (Figure 4).

**Missing Data**

An imputed data set was used to run the factor analysis. Data were imputed once using the NORM program (Graham, 2008). Norm estimated EM parameters which accounted for error. Within the directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised contexts, the range of percent missing values across the forty-four OST variables ranged from .33%-8.03%, .69%-
5.17%, and 1.05%- 8.71%, respectively. The original dataset with missing values was used to test
the structural equation models because LISREL accounts for missing data.

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

Direct Supervision

Principal Components Factor Analysis (PCA) was used to summarize correlations among
observed variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). The PCA exhibited eleven components with
eigenvalues greater than one and a twelfth factor that was approaching one (.998). It is possible
that so many components had eigenvalues greater than one because of the high number of items
included in the PCA. Eight items were removed after conducting the PCA because they either
cross-loaded with another factor or did not load onto any factor. Because PCA revealed that
multiple components existed in the Direct Supervision OST measure, a series of Principal Axis
Factor (PAF) analyses were conducted.

The PCA initially extracted ten components based on the number of eigenvalues above
one. However, the PAF revealed many complex variables that loaded onto more than one factor
and items that did not load onto any factors with a factor loading of .40 or greater. The steps
outlined in the analytic strategy were conducted so that a series of models were run until a factor
solution was reached. With the final solution, all factors had eigenvalues greater than one, all
items had a factor loading of .40 or greater, and no items cross-loaded with a factor loading
greater than .40.
A three-factor solution best represented the data, in that factors were clearly defined and illustrated good or acceptable reliability as indicated by Cronbach’s alpha. Eleven (26%) of 42 items that were initially included in the preliminary PCA remained in the final factor solution (Table 1). The three-factor solution for the Direct Supervision OST measure yielded three factors that appeared to represent: positive feelings (e.g., feel excited), negative feelings (e.g., feel frustrated or annoyed), and act conscientiously (e.g., mind manners, make responsible decisions). This three-factor solution accounted for 48.7% of the variance. The positive feelings scale consisted of 4 items and had an alpha of .84, the negative feelings and behaviors scale consisted of 5 items with a reliability of .73, and the conscientious behavior scale consisted of 2 items with a reliability of .72.

**Indirect Supervision**

Principal Components Factor Analysis (PCA) was used to summarize correlations among observed variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). Ten factors with eigenvalues greater than one emerged from the PCA, but the sixth factor and beyond did not account for percentages of the variance as high as the first five. Because PCA revealed the multiple components existed in the Indirect Supervision OST measure, a series of Principal Axis Factor (PAF) analyses were conducted. A series of models were run until a factor solution was reached where all factors with eigenvalues greater than one were represented, all items in the solution loaded onto a factor, and no items cross-loaded with factor loadings greater than .40.

The PCA initially extracted ten components based on the number of eigenvalues above one. However, the PAF revealed many complex variables that loaded onto more than one factor and factors that did not load onto any factors with a factor loading of .40 or greater. Therefore, ten items were removed from the analysis. After running a series of PAF analyses, five factor
solution best represented the data, in that factors were clearly defined. Twenty (48%) of 42 items that were initially included in the preliminary PCA remained in the final factor solution (Table 2).

The five factor solution for the Indirect Supervision OST measure yielded four factors representing: positive feelings (e.g., feel independent), positive behaviors (e.g., build skills and learn new things), adult support and guidance (e.g., adults help guide you to make good decisions), negative experiences (e.g., feel tired), and feel free (e.g., have freedom to make own decisions). This four-factor solution accounted for 50% of the variance. The positive feelings scale consisted of 6 items and had a reliability of .87, positive behaviors factor consisted of 5 items and had a reliability of .76, the adult support and guidance factor consisted of 3 items and had a reliability of .78, the negative feelings factor consisted of 3 items and had a reliability of .77, and the freedom factor consisted of 3 items and had a reliability of .70.

**Unsupervised**

Principal Components Factor Analysis (PCA) was used to summarize correlations among observed variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). Nine factors had eigenvalues greater than one, but factors after the fifth did not account for much of the variance. Thus, the solution suggested that there might be five components within the unsupervised measure. It is possible that so many components had eigenvalues greater than one because of the high number of factors included in the PCA. Four items were deleted from the analyses because did not load onto a factor in this initial step. Because PCA revealed the multiple components existed in the Indirect Supervision OST measure, a series of Principal Axis Factor (PAF) analyses were conducted.

The PCA initially extracted nine components based on the number of eigenvalues above one. However, the PAF analyses revealed many complex variables that loaded onto more than one factor and items that did not load onto any factors with a factor loading of .40 or greater. A
seven factor solution best represented the data, in that factors were clearly defined. Twenty-nine (69%) of 42 items that were initially included in the preliminary PCA remained in the final factor solution (Table 3).

The seven factor solution for the Unsupervised OST measure yielded the following seven factors: positive feelings (e.g., feel excited), positive behaviors (e.g., build skills and learn new things), negative feelings (e.g., feel bored), feel unhappy with context (e.g., feel like there needs to be more rules), thrilling behavior (e.g., take risks), freedom (e.g., have enough privacy), and conscientious behavior (e.g., mind manners). This seven factor solution accounted for 55% of the variance. The positive feelings factor consisted of 8 items and had a reliability of .86, the positive behaviors factor consisted of 5 items and had a reliability of .77, the negative feelings factor consisted of 3 items and had a reliability of .82, the feel unhappy with context factor consisted of 5 items and had a reliability of .75, the thrilling behavior scales consisted of 3 items and had a reliability of .65, the freedom factor consisted of 3 items and had a reliability of .77, and the conscientious behavior factor consisted of 2 items and had a reliability of .77.

Summary of OST Aspects within and across Contexts

The make-up of adolescents’ perceived OST settings, behaviors, and experiences are similar and unique in interesting ways. Tables 2.4 and 2.5 illustrate the similarities and differences within scales across contexts.

Similarities and Differences across Contexts

All three contexts contained a positive feelings factor and a negative feelings and behaviors factor. The indirect supervision and unsupervised contexts contained positive behavior and sense of freedom/independence scales, the direct supervision and unsupervised contexts
contained a conscientiousness scale, the indirect supervision context was the only context to contain an adult support and guidance scale, and the unsupervised context was the only context to contain unhappy with context and thrilling behavior scales. For the factors that are in more than one context, the factors were made up of some of the same context-specific factors, but each of the factors differed in some way.

**Positive Feelings.** The Positive Feelings factor was included in all three OST contexts. Within direct supervision, this factor included feeling excited, healthy, interested, and passionate about an OST activity. In addition to these four items the indirect supervision context Positive Feelings factor included feeling relaxed and feeling comfortable being oneself. These six items (four shared with the direct supervision context and two shared with the indirect supervision context) were contained in the Positive Feelings factor within the unsupervised context. The Positive Feelings factor within the unsupervised context also included feeling physically safe and feeling like one is doing something good for others.

**Negative Feelings and Behaviors.** The Negative Feelings and Behaviors factor was in all three contexts, however, the direct supervision context was the only context that included behaviors. All three contexts included feeling tired, bored and frustrated or annoyed. The direct supervision context also included feeling uncomfortable and breaking rules.

**Conscientious.** The behavior of Being Conscientious emerged within the direct supervision and unsupervised contexts. In both contexts the factor consisted of the same two items: minding manners and making responsible choices.

**Freedom.** The Freedom factor was in the indirect supervision and unsupervised contexts. The scale consisted of the same three items: feeling independent, having enough privacy, and having freedom to make one’s own decisions.

**Adult Support.** The Adult Support factor was only in the indirect supervision contexts. It consisted of items which reflected adolescents’ perceptions of the extent to which adults
encourage the adolescent to do things they like, adults help guide the adolescent to make good decisions, and adults show that they care about the adolescents.

Feeling Unhappy with Context. The Feeling Unhappy with One’s Context factor was found only within the unsupervised context. It included items that represented adolescents’ perceptions of the extent to which they felt restricted or limited, like there needs to be more rules, like there are too many rules, like they wish an adult was with them, uncomfortable.

Thrilling. The Thrilling Behavior factor is only in the unsupervised context. It includes breaking rules, taking risks, and feeling like one is being secretive or sneaky.

Within the directly supervised context, items formed the following factors: positive feelings, negative feelings and behaviors, and acting conscientiously. Within the indirectly supervised context, the following factors emerged: positive feelings, positive behaviors, negative feelings, feeling a sense of freedom, and adult support and guidance. Within the unsupervised context, the following factors were formed: positive feelings, positive behaviors, negative feelings, acting conscientiously, feeling a sense of freedom, engaging in thrilling behavior, and feeling unhappy with the context. Thus, there are similarities and differences in the factors that emerged within each context.

Summary

In Study 1 of the current dissertation, qualitative data analysis revealed various subthemes within OST settings, behaviors, and experiences within their OST and that they perceived three different levels of supervision within OST: direct, indirect, and no supervision. For the current study, the OST components that emerged in Study 1 were included in a survey. Exploratory factor analyses revealed that these components did emerge across OST contexts when administered to a second sample of a larger size. Findings from exploratory factor analysis
indicated that across these three contexts, adolescents’ perceived settings, experiences, and behaviors showed similarities and differences. Within the directly supervised context, the following OST factors emerged: positive feelings, negative feelings and behaviors, and acting conscientiously. Within the indirectly supervised context, the following factors emerged: positive feelings, positive behaviors, negative feelings, adult support and guidance, and freedom. Within the unsupervised OST context, the following factors emerged: positive feelings, positive behaviors, negative feelings, freedom, feeling unhappy with the context, and participation in thrilling behavior.

**Within Context Structural Equation Models**

To address Research Question 2.2: How do adolescents’ perceptions of OST settings (e.g., adult supervision, rules and restrictions), behaviors (e.g., skill building, experiencing something new, building relationships, being conscientious), and experiences (e.g., positive feelings, negative feelings, freedom) within each supervised context relate to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., social competence, self-efficacy, responsible choices, positive identity, school engagement)?, within context structural equation models were computed. The factors that emerged from the exploratory factor analysis were computed into scales. For each of the three contexts, LISREL was used to identify the relationships among within context OST aspects and developmental outcomes.

**Direct Supervision**

The direct supervision model represented adolescents’ OST experiences and behaviors when an adult is in charge and physically present with them, and how those experiences and
behaviors relate to positive developmental outcomes (Figure 2.1). Pathways from each OST components—positive feelings, negative feelings and behaviors, and conscientious behavior—were significantly related to each outcome variable. Given the overall pattern of fit indices (RMSEA = .05, CFI = .95, RHO = .93), the fit of the model was judged to be acceptable.

Path coefficients also indicated that free time experiences and behaviors were related to positive developmental outcomes. Adolescents’ positive feeling scores (e.g., excited, interested, passionate) when an adult is in charge and paying attention to them were significantly related to global social competence (p < .01). Adolescents negative feelings scores (e.g., feel tired, bored, frustrated) when an adult is in charge and paying attention to them, were negatively related to self-efficacy (p < .001) and lower levels of school engagement (i.e., not caring how they do in school) (p < .05). Adolescents’ conscientious behavior scores (e.g., minded manners and made responsible decisions) when an adult was in charge and paying attention to them, were positively related to higher scores of global social competence (p < .001), responsible decisions on a global level (p < .001), clear and positive identity (p < .001), and school engagement (p < .05).

**Indirect Supervision**

The indirect supervision model represented adolescents’ OST experiences and behaviors when an adult was in charge but was not paying attention to what the adolescent was doing and how those experiences and behaviors were significantly related to positive developmental outcomes (Figure 2.2). Given the overall pattern of fit indices (RMSEA = .05, CFI = .94, RHO = .92), the fit was judged to be acceptable. Free time experiences and behaviors were related to positive developmental outcomes.
Adolescents’ positive behavior scores (e.g., solve problems, build skills) when an adult was in charge but not directly with them were positively related to social competence (p < .001), responsible decisions on a global level (p < .01), and clear and positive identity (p < .01) and was negatively related to low self-efficacy (p < .05). Adolescents’ adult support and guidance scores when adults were in charge but not directly with the adult were negatively related to low self-efficacy (p < .05). Adolescents’ negative feelings scores (e.g., tired, bored, frustrated) when adults are in charge but not directly with the adolescent were positively related to global self-efficacy (p < .001) and low school engagement (p < .01). Adolescents’ freedom scores (e.g., privacy, independence) when adults were in charge but not directly with them were positively related to scores of making responsible decisions at a global level (p < .05) and having a clearer and positive identity (p < .05).

Unsupervised

The unsupervised model represented adolescents’ OST experiences and behaviors when an adult was not in charge and how those experiences and behaviors related to positive developmental outcomes (Figure 2.3). Two models were run for this model. In the first model, the latent factors reflected the unsupervised factors that emerged from the exploratory factor analysis. Collectively, the fit indices (RMSEA = .08, CFI = .81, RHO = .78) indicated that the model had a poor fit.

Modification indices from this model were studied and five indicators were removed from the model in order to improve model fit. One indicator from the positive feelings factor (feel like you’re doing something good for others), two indicators from feel unhappy with context factor (wish an adult were with you, and feel uncomfortable), and two indicators from thrilling behavior factor (feel like you’re being secretive or sneaky and take risks) were removed from the
model because they co-varied with indicators across latent factors. The modification indices provided by LISREL indicated that if these indicators were removed, the model fit would improve.

Conceptually, the factors did not change after removing the aforementioned indicators from the model. The indicator removed from the positive feelings factor differs from the other seven factors (see Table 2.3). The removed item, “feel like you are doing something good for other” represents a perceived action that might evoke a feeling versus the other items where the phrasing of the question directly reflects an emotion (i.e., “feel relaxed,” “feel physically safe”). The removed indicator co-varied with the positive behavior, negative feelings, and unhappy with context factors. After removing two indicators from the unhappiness factor, the factor became more centered on rules and restrictions (see Table 2.3). Whereas the two indicators that were removed reflected feeling uncomfortable and wishing an adult was present, the remaining items are more closely related in that they reflect adolescents’ wishes for more rules and less rules and the extent to which they feel restricted within their unsupervised context. Wishing an adult was present co-varied with the thrilling behavior factor and feeling uncomfortable co-varied with the negative feelings factor. Finally, after removing two indicators from the thrilling behavior factor, only one indicator remained: break rules (see Table 2.3). Taking risks was greatly related to the positive feelings factor, thus it is possible that even though taking risks is thrilling, that it is also associated with feeling good. The second indicator that was removed from the thrilling behavior factor, being secretive or sneaky, was related to feeling unhappy with the context factor. Thus, adolescents might feel that they must sneak around when they are unhappy in order to make OST more pleasing. Once these items were removed, the second model’s fit indices (RMSEA = .06, CFI = .92, RHO = .89) indicated that the model had acceptable fit and that OST experiences and behaviors were related to positive developmental outcomes.
Adolescents’ positive behavior scores (e.g., expressing one’s self, building skills) while unsupervised were positively related to scores of global social competence (p < .01) and global responsible decision making (p < .05) and negatively related to school engagement (p < .05). Adolescents’ being unhappy within their unsupervised context (e.g., want more rules, feel like there are too many rules) scores were positively related to self-efficacy (p < .01) and school engagement (p < .01) and negatively related to scores of global responsible choices (p < .05) and clear and positive identity (p < .05). Adolescents’ thrilling behavior in unsupervised contexts (e.g., break rules) scores were negatively related to scores of global social competence (p < .05), global responsible choice-making (p < .05), and positive identity (p < .01). Adolescents’ sense of freedom scores were positively related to scores of clear and positive identity (p < .001).

**Latent Model across Contexts**

Research Question 2.3 asked: How do adolescents’ perceptions of OST settings (e.g., adult supervision, rules and restrictions, behaviors (e.g., skill building, experiencing something new, building relationships, being conscientious), and experiences (e.g., positive feelings, negative feelings, freedom) across levels of supervised contexts relate to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., competence, confidence, community connection, and character)? To address this question, the factors derived from the exploratory factor analyses were integrated into one model. All of the factors (across contexts) were included in a latent model to identify how experiences across contexts collectively relate to positive developmental outcomes (Figure 2.4).

The model consisted of seven independent variables, six of which were latent factors and one which was not. Indicator variables were at the item level, not scale level and reflected the factors that emerged from the exploratory factor analysis. That is, all factors from the exploratory factor analyses were represented at the item level in the SEM. Factors were not changed so that
all items within a factor that emerged in the exploratory factor analysis were reflected in the SEM model.

Two latent variables were made up of indicators that crossed all three contexts: positive feelings and behaviors and negative feelings. For example, the experiences and behaviors factor was reflected by indicator variables from the following factors: positive feelings within direct supervision, positive feelings within indirect supervision, positive behaviors within indirect supervision, positive feelings within unsupervised contexts, and positive behaviors within unsupervised contexts. The negative experiences and behaviors factor was reflected by indicators variables from the following factors: negative feelings and behaviors within direct supervised contexts, negative feelings within indirectly supervised contexts, and negative feelings within unsupervised contexts. Two latent variables were made up of indicators that crossed two contexts. The freedom latent variable consisted of the following item-level indicators from the following factors: freedom within indirectly supervised OST and freedom within unsupervised OST. The conscientious latent variable consisted of the following items from the following factors: conscientious behavior within directly supervised contexts, and conscientious behavior within unsupervised contexts. The remaining three independent variables in the model represented the factors from the factor analyses that were unique to one context: adult support and guidance within indirectly supervised contexts, feeling unhappy with the context within the unsupervised context, and engaging in thrilling behavior within the unsupervised context. Thrilling behavior was the only independent variable that was not latent.

The chi-square was significant, however, chi-square is known to be sensitive to larger sample sizes. Collectively, the fit indices (RMSEA = .08, CFI = .61, RHO = .58) indicated that the model fit was not acceptable. Thus, the path coefficients cannot be interpreted. Modification indices suggested that the model fit would improve when many of the indicators were set to cross-load with other factors in the model, indicating that the poor fit was due to co-variance of
indicator variables across factors. However, the aim of testing this model was to examine how the within-context factors collectively related positive developmental outcomes and so it would not make conceptual sense to use modification indices to alter the model.
Discussion

The overarching goal of the current study was to develop a measure to identify themes across levels of supervision within OST, to compare OST themes across contexts (e.g., directly supervised, indirectly supervised, unsupervised), and to link these OST themes to outcomes within and across contexts. To address these aims, exploratory factor analyses and structural equation modeling were used. The first aim of the current study was to develop a scale to measure adolescent-perceived OST settings, behaviors, and experiences across levels of supervision with OST. The survey that was developed was based on qualitative findings from Study 1 (Chapter 2 of the dissertation). Findings from study one indicated that three OST contexts exist: directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised. OST themes related to OST settings, behaviors, and experiences were identified in Study 1. These themes were then translated into survey questions and administered to a larger sample of middle school students. In the current study, exploratory factor analysis was used to identify factors within each of the three OST contexts. There were some similarities across contexts, but each OST context had unique factors. The following themes emerged from the direct supervision context: positive feelings (e.g., feel passionate, feel healthy), negative feelings and behaviors (e.g., feel frustrated, break rules), and conscientious behavior (e.g., mind manners). Positive feelings and negative feelings and behaviors are commonly discussed in the literature and serve as important factors to one’s enjoyment within activities (Mahoney, Larson et al., 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Behaving conscientiously, on the other hand, is not as commonly discussed within OST literature. Given that parents set rules for adolescents during OST (Hutchinson et al., 2003), it is likely that adolescents strive to make sure that they do not break any rules in order to avoid getting in trouble.
Based on exploratory factor analysis, the following themes emerged within the indirectly supervised OST context: positive feelings, positive behaviors, negative feelings, adults support and guidance, and a sense of freedom. As mentioned above, positive and negative feelings within OST are frequently discussed within the OST literature and these components are important because they relate to negative outcomes such as substance use (Iso-Ahola & Crowley, 1991), school dropout (Farrell et al., 1988), and vandalism (Caldwell & Smith, 1995). The theme of positive behaviors (e.g., skill building) emerged. These types of behaviors have been identified in literature that focuses on components that are ideal for promoting positive outcomes among youth within after-school program or recreational settings (Caldwell, 2005; Eccles & Gootman, 2002b). Thus, it is not surprising that within the context where adults are present and in charge, but are giving adolescents space and providing support and guidance, which the theme of positive behaviors emerge. Adolescents are likely provided with guidance from adults but have autonomy to do things on their own, hence why the freedom theme also emerged.

Two of the seven factors that emerged within the unsupervised context are not commonly discussed in the OST literature. The relevance and rational for positive feelings and negative feelings have already been discussed above and apply to the unsupervised context. Adolescents also reported positive behaviors (e.g., solving problems). When adolescents are on their own, they are required to make their own decisions, which ultimately promote positive behaviors such as skill building and problem solving. Freedom was also a factor that emerged within the unsupervised context. Not surprisingly, when adolescents are on their own, without adults, they feel more independent. Interestingly, this theme only emerged within the indirectly supervised and unsupervised contexts. This finding suggests that freedom is not a prominent theme within OST when adolescents feel like an adult is in charge and paying attention to what they are doing. Identical to the theme within the directly supervised context, the conscientious behavior theme emerged within the unsupervised context as well. Current research indicates that adults are able to
set rules that adolescents follow even when the adult is not with the adolescent (Osgood et al., 2005; Vandell & Shumow, 1999). Thus, one explanation for the current findings is that adolescents’ feel a sense of responsibility to follow rules because an adult is not around or in charge of them.

Two negative themes emerged from the unsupervised context. One of these themes was thrilling behavior which has been discussed extensively within the literature (Osgood et al., 2005). Thus, it is not surprising that a prominent theme within unsupervised contexts was breaking rules and being secretive or sneaky. Unsupervised time serves as a prime opportunity for these activities. A second negative theme that emerged within the unsupervised context was feeling unhappy with the context. This theme was especially interesting because it included oppositional items such as “feel like there needs to be more rules” and “feel like there are too many rules.” This was the only context within which a theme emerged that reflected being unhappy with one’s context (aside from the negative feelings theme). Many of the unsupervised activities that the adolescents within the current sample discussed were informal things that they do at home or in their neighborhoods (e.g., watch TV, play outside, and talk on the phone). Additionally, the qualitative data in Study 1 indicated that sometimes adolescents would become bored when they were unsupervised. Thus, this might be a reason why they were unhappy with their context. Parents are generally working more hours which leaves their children home, unsupervised (Hansen, Larson, & Dworkin, 2003)- adolescents might become unhappy with the context when they experience too much of it. Alternatively, adolescents might feel limited in the things that they are allowed to do when they are on their own and as a result, wish that an adult was with them.

To sum up the findings related to the exploratory factor analysis, the factors that emerged from the exploratory factor analyses for each of the three OST contexts were interesting and
unique. Whereas some themes overlapped across contexts, the list of themes within each context indicates that each context is unique.

When testing the relationships between the OST themes and the outcomes within contexts, all OST themes significantly predicted at least one outcome variable at least once across all models. Within context SEM models indicated that the OST factors that are unique to each context hold together in a model and account for unique variance in predicting positive developmental outcomes. Refer to Table 2.6 for a summary of within-context-factors and their relation to positive developmental outcomes.

The positive feelings and behaviors factors predicted outcomes differently across contexts. Adolescents who reported higher rates of positive feelings within directly supervised contexts also tended to report high social competence scores. Although the positive feelings factor was not significantly related to developmental outcomes within the indirectly supervised and unsupervised contexts, the positive behaviors factor was related to social competence, self-efficacy, responsible choices, and positive identity within the indirectly supervised context and social competence, responsible choices, and school engagement within the unsupervised context. These findings correspond with previous literature which indicates that positive feelings within OST are related to self-esteem and autonomy (Hunter & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003; McLeod & Vodanovich, 1991) and positive behaviors are linked to well-being (Coatsworth et al., 2006), initiative (Larson, 2000), and school drop-out (Farrell et al., 1988).

The negative feelings and behaviors factor was related to low self-efficacy and school engagement within directly supervised and indirectly supervised contexts. Although negative feelings were not significantly related to developmental outcomes within the unsupervised context, the feeling unhappy with one’s context factor was related to low self-efficacy, responsible choices, positive identity, and school engagement. Additionally, thrilling behavior
within the unsupervised context was related to social competence, responsible choices, and school engagement.

These findings are consistent with previous research which indicates that negative feelings within OST are related to negative outcomes (Farrell et al., 1988; Weissinger et al., 1992). When adolescents experience negative feelings, they begin to engage in delinquent behavior such as substance use (Iso-Ahola & Crowley, 1991) and vandalism (Caldwell & Smith, 1995). Moreover, the negative relationship between feeling unhappy within one’s context and positive developmental outcomes could be explained by an adolescent’s lack of attention and support from adults (Eccles & Gootman, 2002b). Finally, the finding that thrilling behavior was negatively related to social competence also corresponds with current research which indicates that adolescents who engage in delinquent behavior tend to have lower social competence (Griffin, Nichols, Birnbaum, & Botvin, 2006).

Having freedom and being conscientious were factors that only emerged from two of the OST contexts. Freedom emerged within the indirectly supervised and unsupervised contexts. Having a sense of freedom was related to increased self-efficacy and positive identity within indirectly supervised contexts and positive identity within unsupervised contexts. Adolescents who participate in activities that are personally meaningful to them experience greater well-being and internal assets (Coatsworth et al., 2006). Thus, it is possible that when adolescents have freedom within OST, that they are able to participate in activities that are personally interesting (Weissinger et al., 1992) and help them gain a sense of who they are.

Conscientious behavior emerged from the directly supervised and unsupervised contexts. Within the directly supervised OST context, conscientious behavior was significantly related to social competence, responsible choices, positive identity, and school engagement, but it was not significantly related to any outcomes within the unsupervised context. It is possible that conscientious behavior within unsupervised contexts might be related to behavioral outcomes
(e.g., delinquency). Future research should explore the role of conscientious behavior within unsupervised contexts. Thus, it is possible that adolescents who make responsible decisions within OST contexts also make responsible choices on a more global level.

Finally, adult support and guidance within the indirectly supervised context was related to high self-efficacy. This finding parallels previous research which indicates that support from adults within OST settings is related to healthy development (Caldwell, 2005; Eccles & Gootman, 2002b). In sum, results from SEM analyses revealed that within contexts, OST components uniquely predict positive developmental outcomes.

One of the main research questions to be addressed by this study was how adolescents’ perceptions of OST settings (e.g., adult supervision, rules and restrictions), behaviors (e.g., skill building, experiencing something new, building relationships, being conscientious), and experiences (e.g., positive feelings, negative feelings, freedom) across types of contexts would relate to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., competence, confidence, community connection, and character). The tested model that combined aspects of the three different types of supervised contexts that was tested in this study exhibited a poor fit to the data and could not be interpreted. Poor fit indices, in this instance, suggested that many of the factors included in the model co-varied with each other. That is, indicator variables were strongly related across contexts and factors, and therefore, clearly defined factors could not be identified statistically. Conceptually, this may suggest that settings, behaviors, and experiences across contexts are not unique. For example, experiencing negative feelings in one context is strongly related to negative feelings in another context. Even though factors across contexts were similar, they also contained unique factors. Thus, conceptually, contexts contained similar and unique feelings and behaviors even though statistically, many of these feelings and behaviors overlapped.

That an omnibus model of how settings, behaviors and experiences across contexts relate to youth development outcomes was not viable may not be surprising given the results from the
three models in Figures 2.1, 2.2., and 2.3. Results from structural equation modeling indicated that these three models were unique and different from each other. Moreover, the way in which settings, behaviors, and experiences predicted youth development outcomes were unique (see Table 2.6).

OST experiences in the directly supervised context are related to outcomes in ways that are unique compared to other contexts. In indirectly supervised and unsupervised contexts, positive feelings and behaviors are separate factors, but in the directly supervised context, positive feelings and behaviors form one factor. In directly supervised contexts, this factor is related positively to social competence while positive feelings in the two other contexts are not significantly related to any developmental outcomes. Moreover, conscientious behavior within directly supervised activities was positively related to social competence, responsible choices, and positive identity and negatively related to low school engagement while conscientious behavior within the unsupervised context was not significantly related to any developmental outcomes. Thus, positive feelings and conscientious behavior are examples of feelings and behaviors within the directly supervised context that are directly and uniquely related to youth development.

Within indirectly supervised and unsupervised contexts, positive behaviors are positively related to social competence and responsible choices. Within the indirectly supervised context, positive behaviors are also related to positive identity. While freedom is related to positive identity in indirectly supervised and unsupervised contexts, freedom is positively related to responsible choices only within indirectly supervised contexts. Finally, adult supervision and guidance, an OST component unique to indirectly supervised contexts is negatively related to low self-esteem. Thus, OST components within the indirectly supervised context overlap with those in other contexts, but also uniquely relate to developmental outcomes through positive behaviors, freedom, and adult support and guidance.
As mentioned previously, OST components within the unsupervised context share similar relationships between positive behavior and freedom and developmental outcomes, but some relationships between OST components and outcomes are also unique within this context. For example, positive behaviors within the unsupervised context was negatively related to low school engagement and this relationship was not significant in the indirectly supervised context. Although the negative feelings variable within the unsupervised context was not significantly related to developmental outcomes, two other negative factors: feeling unhappy with one’s context and engaging in thrilling behavior were related to developmental outcomes. Whereas negative feelings within the indirectly and directly supervised contexts were positively related to low self-esteem and low school engagement, feeling unhappy with one’s unsupervised context was positively related to low self-esteem and low school engagement as well. Additionally, the feeling unhappy with one’s unsupervised context factor was also negatively related to responsible choices and positive identity. Thrilling behavior within the unsupervised context were negatively related to responsible choices, positive identity, and social competence. Thus, like the other two contexts, the relationships between OST components and developmental outcomes overlap with other contexts in some ways, but the unsupervised context also holds unique components that uniquely relate to outcomes (i.e., unhappiness with context, thrilling behavior, positive behaviors).

In sum, adolescents gain important experiences and are exposed to opportunities that are unique to certain contexts, and so it is important to expose adolescents to different OST contexts. The current findings suggest that many of the feelings and behaviors across contexts may not be unique, but it is important for future research to investigate these relationships further. Even though there were common indicator variables across contexts, each context also contained unique factors that were absent in at least one other factor. An adolescent, for example, who spends time in all three contexts and experiences all of the OST components discussed in each of
the contexts is at a greater likelihood also exhibiting positive developmental outcomes. On the other hand an adolescent who spends the majority of their time in only one context such as indirect supervision will be exposed to fewer opportunities and experiences that relate to positive developmental outcomes.

Utilizing an analytic strategy different from SEM might yield different results. For example, Latent Profile Analysis (LPA) would identify the likelihood that groups of adolescents would be members of specific prototypes. LPA would identify adolescent groups that were constructed of differing combinations cross-context feeling and behaviors. For example, groups might emerge that identify a group that has positive feelings, negative feelings across contexts, a group that has positive feelings only in one or two contexts, and a group that has negative feelings only in one context but has positive feelings and behaviors in a second and third context. Thus, LPA would provide a way for researchers to test how feelings and behaviors across contexts collectively relate to positive developmental, alternatively from SEM.

Implications for Practice and Policy

Although causal relationships cannot be drawn from the cross-sectional data of the current study, the results do provide useful information for practitioners. Within directly supervised contexts, it is important for practitioners to foster positive feelings among adolescents (e.g., physically safe, relaxed, interested, healthy) as positive feelings are related to social competence. Likewise, the more practitioners can reduce negative feelings and behaviors (e.g., boredom, frustration, rule breaking) within directly supervised contexts, the more likely adolescents are to have greater self-esteem and school engagement. Thus, it is important for practitioners to discuss adolescents’ needs and interests so that programs may target adolescents’ interests. Additionally, within directly supervised contexts, adolescents who behaved
conscientiously were more likely to have greater social competence, make responsible decisions, greater positive identity, and a greater sense of school engagement. Adolescents who respect their program directors are more likely to exhibit positive outcomes. Thus, adults who interact with adolescents should be easy for adolescents to relate to, able to enforce rules, but also be liked by program participants.

OST components within indirectly supervised settings will be important to promote as well. In terms of experiences, unlike the directly supervised context, higher positive feelings scores were not significantly related to any positive developmental outcomes among the current sample. However, feeling a sense of freedom while under indirect supervision was related to responsible choices and positive identity. Thus, providing adolescents with some space while adults are in charge is important. Based on interview narratives from Chapter 2, practitioners may do this by providing instructions to adolescents (e.g., setting ground rules), then allowing adolescents to go off on their own and with their friends to participate in program activities. Similar to the directly supervised setting, experiencing negative feelings was related to low self-efficacy and low school engagement. This can be avoided by talking with adolescents to identify their interests and desires. Finally, in terms of setting, adult support and guidance was related to greater self-efficacy. Thus, adolescents who perceive practitioners as encouraging and caring are likely to have greater levels of self-efficacy. Practitioners can do this by spending time with adolescents, acknowledging their interests, helping them with problems, and being a stable figure/mentor.

There are ways in which practitioners may be influential in promoting positive developmental outcomes even during unsupervised contexts. First, given that behaving conscientiously during unsupervised OST is related to responsible decision-making more broadly, practitioners can make sure adolescents understand rules and are motivated to follow them. To do this, adolescents should understand why rules are enforced and have healthy and interesting
unsupervised activities to participate in. These steps will hopefully reduce engagement in thrilling behavior which is negatively related to many positive outcomes. Helping adolescents not to feel unhappy within their OST context (e.g., limited, needs more rules, too many rules), practitioners need to understand adolescents’ needs and make sure that adolescents are experiencing healthy unsupervised time. That is, unsupervised time can foster positive behaviors (e.g., skill-building), however, too much unsupervised time may not be enjoyable for adolescents. Thus, it is important for practitioners to help prepare adolescents to engage in healthy unsupervised OST by enforcing and motivating them to follow rules, addressing needs based on amount of time spent in supervised and unsupervised contexts, and making sure adolescents know what unsupervised healthy activities are available to them. The relevance of adolescents’ unsupervised OST is also highlighted by the finding that a sense of freedom within this context is related to positive identity. Practitioners who promote healthy unsupervised OST among adolescents may also help contribute to the development of their positive identity.

Finally, it is important for practitioners to promote the aforementioned OST components across OST contexts of supervision. Collectively, the seven components across contexts relate to positive developmental outcomes indicating that there is no one context that is greater than another.

Findings from the current study build on implication from the previous study in Chapter 2. Mainly, the fact that OST components within contexts and across contexts of supervision relate to positive developmental outcomes provides rationale for the continued funding of supervised OST programs as well as funding towards healthy, community-based activities that youth can participate in when they are unsupervised (e.g., arcade). The fact that the OST components are linked to positive outcomes in the current study such as social competence, responsible decision making, and school engagement, should provide policy-makers with even more incentive to fund OST resources for youth.
Limitations and Future Directions

It is important to address some limitations of the current study. First, a larger, more diverse sample would allow for analyses focusing on racial/ethnic group differences. The current study provides insight into African American adolescents’ OST experiences, but there are not enough non-African American participants to make empirical comparisons. A diverse sample would allow the researcher to test the extent to which paths the SEM models differ according to race. A second limitation of the current study is that it is cross-sectional. Following participants longitudinally will be important for future studies to help determine causality. Missing data also serves as a limitation of the current study. Given the length of the survey (with questions for each of three contexts) future researchers should take care to make sure that questions are not accidently skipped. Despite these limitations, findings still contribute to the literature and suggest that within contexts, adolescents’ perceived OST settings, experiences and behaviors are unique and relate to positive developmental outcomes and that these unique OST aspects across contexts work together and relate to positive developmental outcomes. Finally, future research should investigate why higher scores of positive behaviors in indirectly supervised settings and across contexts is related to lower levels of self-efficacy. This finding is in the opposite direction of what one would expect.

Conclusion

The current study aimed to explore the factorial structure of a new measure of adolescent OST components across levels of adult supervision (i.e., direct supervision, indirect supervision, no supervision), to examine how adolescents’ perceived OST settings, behaviors, and experiences within each level of supervision related to positive developmental outcomes (i.e.,
social competence, self-efficacy, positive school attitudes, responsible decision-making, clear and positive identity), and to examine how contexts, experiences and behaviors across contexts work together and relate to positive developmental outcomes. In order to address these aims, factor analysis and structural equation models were computed using data collected from a predominately African American sample of middle school adolescents. Findings indicate that settings, experiences, and behaviors within racial minority adolescents’ OST are unique to whether adolescents are directly supervised, indirectly supervised, or unsupervised. These within context settings, experiences, and behaviors related to adolescents’ positive developmental outcomes in interesting ways. Moreover, when OST aspects across contexts were combined into one model, OST aspects predicted positive developmental outcomes.
Table 2.1- OST experiences and behavior within an **directly supervised** context Factors Resulting from PAF Analyses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale (% of variance)</th>
<th># of Items</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor Loading</th>
<th>α</th>
<th>Mean (SD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive Feelings (28)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Feel interested</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>3.59 (.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel excited</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel passionate about what you are doing</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel healthy</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Feelings and Behaviors (12)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Feel frustrated or annoyed</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>2.64 (.80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel bored</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel tired</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel uncomfortable</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Break rules</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscientious (8)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Make responsible decisions</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>3.85 (.96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mind manners</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scale ranged from 1 = all the time (about 100%) to 5 = never (about 0%)


**Table 2.2**  *OST experiences and behavior within an indirectly supervised context Factors Resulting from PAF Analyses*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale (% of variance)</th>
<th># of Items</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor Loading</th>
<th>α</th>
<th>Mean (SD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive Feelings (26)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Feel interested</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>3.85 (.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel excited</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel passionate about what you are doing</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel healthy</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel relaxed</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel comfortable being yourself</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Behaviors (9)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Build skills and learn new things</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.56 (.86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Act as a leader</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Express yourself</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adapt activity</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Solve problems</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Support and Guidance (6)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Adults help guide you to make good decisions</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>3.67 (1.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adults encourage you to do things you like</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adults show you that they care about you</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Feelings (4)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Feel tired</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>2.66 (.99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel bored</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel frustrated or annoyed</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom (4)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Have freedom to make own decisions</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>3.50 (.98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel independent</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Have enough privacy</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scale ranged from 1 = all the time (about 100%) to 5 = never (about 0%)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale (% of variance)</th>
<th># of items</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor Loading</th>
<th>α</th>
<th>Mean (SD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive Feelings (24)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Feel interested</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>3.91 (.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel excited</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel healthy</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel passionate about what you are doing</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel relaxed</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel comfortable being yourself</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel physically safe</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel like you’re doing something good for others</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Positive Behaviors (12)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Adapt activity</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>3.30 (.96)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Solve problems</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do something new or rare</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Build skills and learn new things</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Explore new things and/or get out of the house</td>
<td>.57</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative Feelings (6)</td>
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<td>Feel bored</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>2.50 (1.06)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel tired</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel frustrated or annoyed</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy with Context (4)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Feel restricted or limited</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>2.23 (.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel like there needs to be more rules</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel like there are too many rules</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wish an adult was with you</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel uncomfortable</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrilling Behavior (3)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Take risks</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>2.79 (1.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Break rules</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel like you’re being secretive or sneaky</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom (3)</td>
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<td>Have enough privacy</td>
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<td>.77</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Have freedom to make your own decisions</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feel independent</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>3.59 (1.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscientious (2)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mind your manners</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Make responsible decisions</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scale ranged from 1 = all the time (about 100%) to 5 = never (about 0%)
Table 2.4- Item-level Similarities and Differences Within Scales across Contexts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Positive Feelings</th>
<th>Positive Beh.</th>
<th>Negative Feel. &amp; Beh.</th>
<th>Conscient.</th>
<th>Freedom</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Unhappy</th>
<th>Thrill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adults encourage you to do things you like</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adults help guide you to make good decisions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults show you that they care about you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have freedom to make your own decisions</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel independent</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have enough privacy</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel excited</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel healthy</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel interested</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel passionate about what you are doing</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel relaxed</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel comfortable being yourself</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel physically safe</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td></td>
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<td>feel restricted or limited</td>
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<td>feel like there needs to be more rules</td>
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<td>feel like there are too many rules</td>
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<td>wish an adult was with you</td>
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<tr>
<td>feel uncomfortable</td>
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<tr>
<td>feel tired</td>
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<td>.75</td>
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<td>feel bored</td>
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<td>break rules</td>
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<td>take risks</td>
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<tr>
<td>feel like you're being secretive or sneaky</td>
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<td>build skills and learn new things</td>
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<td>.58</td>
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<td>act as a leader</td>
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<td>you express yourself</td>
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<tr>
<td>do something new or rare</td>
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<td>explore new things and/or get out of the house</td>
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<td>mind your manners</td>
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Values indicate factor loadings from within context Exploratory Factor Analysis. DS = Direct Supervision, IS= Indirect Supervision, and US= Unsupervised
Table 2.5- Factor-level Similarities and Differences across OST Contexts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OST Component</th>
<th>Supervision</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
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<tr>
<td>Positive Feelings</td>
<td>✔️*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Behaviors</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Feelings and Behaviors</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscientious Behavior</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Support and Guidance</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy with Context</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrilling Behavior</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*behaviors were also included in this factor
**Table 2.6: Summary of Within-context Independent Variables in Relation to Outcomes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OST Component</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Outcome/ Direction of Relationship</th>
<th>Social Competence</th>
<th>Low Self-efficacy</th>
<th>Responsible Choices</th>
<th>Positive Identity</th>
<th>Low School Engagement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>NS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Positive Behaviors</td>
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<td>Positive</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>NS</td>
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<td></td>
<td>US</td>
<td>Positive</td>
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<td>Positive</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Feelings and Behaviors</td>
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<td>Positive</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>NS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conscientious</td>
<td>DS</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Negative</td>
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<td>Freedom</td>
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<td>Positive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adult Support and Guidance</td>
<td>IS</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Negative</td>
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<td>NS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unhappy with Context</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Positive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thrilling Behavior</td>
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<td>Negative</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*behaviors were also included in this factor

DS = Direct Supervision, IS= Indirect Supervision, and US= Unsupervised
Figure 2.1: Direct Supervision OST Model

Positive Feelings → Social Competence

Negative Feelings and Behaviors

Conscientious

Low Self-efficacy

Responsible Choices

Positive Identity

Low School Engagement

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001
Figure 2.2: Indirect Supervision OST Model

Positive Feelings

Positive Behaviors

Adult Support and Guidance

Negative Feelings

Freedom

Positive Identity

Low School Engagement

Social Competence

Low Self-efficacy

Responsible Choices

*.77***

.50*

.59**

-.26*

.57**

.33***

.28**

.25*

.31*

*p < .05, ** p < .01, ***p < .001
**Figure 2.3: Unsupervised OST Model**

- Positive Feelings
  - Positive Behaviors
    - Negative Feelings
    - Unhappy with Context
    - Thrilling Behavior
    - Freedom
  - Conscientious

- Social Competence
- Low Self-efficacy
- Responsible Choices
- Positive Identity
- Low School Engagement

*p < .05, ** p < .01, ***p < .001
Figure 2.4: Tested OST Model across Contexts

Positive Feelings and Behaviors

Negative Feelings and Behaviors

Adult Support and Guidance

Unhappy with Context

Thrilling Behavior

Freedom

Conscientious

Social Competence

Low Self-efficacy

Responsible Choices

Positive Identity

Low School Engagement
Chapter 4

General Discussion

OST is filled with opportunities to promote positive youth development and prevent negative outcomes. A more comprehensive understanding of the adolescent-perceived supervised and unsupervised OST settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints will help improve the understanding of the role OST plays in promoting positive youth development. Thus, the current dissertation aimed to explore racial minority adolescents’ perceptions of supervised and unsupervised OST contexts and understand how their perceived settings, experiences, and behaviors within these contexts related to positive developmental outcomes. Five major take-home points emerged from the current study. These points and implications for researchers and practitioners are discussed below.

Three OST Contexts

The qualitative data analysis conducted in Study 1 indicated that African American middle school students perceive there to be three out-of-school time contexts related to level of adult supervision. Direct supervision describes the OST context within which adolescents feel like an adult is in charge and is with the adolescent, paying attention to what he or she is doing. The unsupervised OST context describes a context within which adolescents feel like no adult is in charge of them or with them. Indirect supervision refers to the OST context within which adolescents feel like an adult is in charge, but the adult is not directly with the adolescents (e.g., adult is in another room).
This finding is a contribution to the literature because currently researchers are limited in the way they operationalize structured and unstructured activities. Structured activities generally tend to refer to supervised, organized activities such as after-school programs and school clubs. Unstructured activities tend to refer to hanging out and are typically associated with negative behaviors and outcomes. Findings from the current study indicate that categorizing activities as “structured” may not be descriptive enough to capture adolescents’ OST experiences and behaviors. Instead, it will be important to look at both directly and indirectly supervised contexts. Likewise, adolescents defined the unstructured activity context much more broadly than “hanging out” or watching TV. Ultimately, findings suggest that researchers need to conduct more in depth studies of adolescents’ OST. Simply classifying activities as structured or unstructured may be misleading. Moreover, these findings describe different contexts through which adolescents can have positive and negative experiences. This information may be useful to practitioners and policy-makers as practitioners can gain a better understanding of how adolescents think about their OST time. Specifically, adolescents perceive OST as more than simply supervised or unsupervised time and that all of adolescents’ OST is meaningful.

**Unique, Within-context OST**

The interview narratives (Study 1) and exploratory factor analysis (Study 2) indicated that some OST components across contexts were similar to each other, but components also made contexts unique. Within the directly supervised context, the following OST themes emerged: positive feelings, negative feelings and behaviors, and acting conscientiously. Within the indirectly supervised context, the following themes emerged: positive feelings, positive behaviors, negative feelings, adult support and guidance, and freedom. Within the unsupervised
OST context, the following themes emerged: positive feelings, positive behaviors, negative feelings, freedom, feeling unhappy with the context, and participation in thrilling behavior.

Findings from the quantitative data in Study 2 (Chapter 3) demonstrated that the three levels of supervision that emerged through qualitative data analysis in Study 1 consisted of unique components. Positive and negative feelings emerged from all three contexts. These experiences are consistent with current findings that positive and negative feelings within OST relate to activity participation and negative outcomes.

Three components emerged from two out of the three contexts. Conscientious behavior was a prominent theme within directly supervised and unsupervised contexts. Perhaps this is because adolescents are being watched in one context and do not want to make a mistake and are called to act responsibly in another context and do not want to get caught doing something wrong.

Positive behaviors emerged within the indirectly supervised and directly supervised contexts. Within unsupervised contexts and supervised contexts, it is possible that the autonomy adolescents have helps make positive behaviors such as skill building more prominent. Freedom was a prominent component in indirectly supervised and unsupervised contexts. It is possible that this feeling is heightened when adults are providing adolescents with space to make their own decisions. This would be the case in unsupervised settings and within indirectly supervised settings, adults would be providing space, but would also be around for guidance.

Adult support and guidance might have emerged as a prominent theme within the indirectly supervised context for a similar reason. Having adults around, while feeling like one has freedom and independence may heighten the sense of support. Thrilling behavior which emerged from the unsupervised context encompassed rule breaking and feeling secretive or sneaky. Unsupervised contexts provide opportunities for youth to test their boundaries and make their own decisions, therefore, it is not surprising that these behaviors were taking place. Finally, feeling unhappy with one’s context emerged from the unsupervised context. It is possible that an
adolescent becomes tired of spending time within the unsupervised context and, therefore, becomes unhappy with it. It is also possible that feeling unhappy within OST is specific to an activity that an adolescent is participating in or wants to participate in. For example, if an adolescent wanted to do something, but faced barriers because no adult was around, he/she might become unhappy. Likewise, if an adolescent is with peers in an unsupervised setting, he/she might wish an adult was with them to help keep order.

Ultimately, findings indicate that directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and directly supervised contexts are unique. Within each context are important OST components that should be studied with more depth in the future. Future studies should use the OST experience measure developed in the current study to investigate the extent to which the same within-context components emerge among groups that differ geographically (e.g., gender, race). Further research should also be conducted to help determine why these components emerge within each of these three contexts.

The within-context themes inform practitioners about important OST components within each context that might help (a) recruit and/or retain adolescents in a program and (b) promote health OST experiences within supervise and unsupervised contexts. Activities within directly supervised contexts should target skill-building, consist of rules, and should also be somewhat enjoyable for adolescents. This context is not looked upon negatively by adolescents and is advantageous because it incorporates many positive feelings and behaviors and minimal constraints to activity participation. However, practitioners should promote time-use in other OST contexts as well because they help balance each other out. For example, within the directly supervised context, adolescents talked about building skills more often than they did with other contexts, but they also discussed having freedom and having alone time to think and relax less often than other contexts.
Freedom, along with other positive behaviors, emerged as OST components within unsupervised settings. Thus, practitioners should feel confident that even when an adult is not in charge, adolescents are engaging in positive behaviors and experiences. However, given that engaging in thrilling behavior was mentioned most frequently within this context, it will be important for practitioners to try and address rule-breaking and motivate adolescents to act responsibly during their unsupervised OST. For actual program purposes, perhaps an indirect context is ideal. Indirectly supervised context, helps adolescents recognize the support and guidance they are receiving from adults. Moreover, practitioners who enforce rules but give adolescents some independence will maximize adolescents’ positive behaviors and experiences while minimizing their negative ones. Practitioners may do this by providing instructions to adolescents (e.g., setting ground rules), understanding adolescents’ interests and needs, and allowing adolescents to go off on their own and with their friends to participate in program activities. Additionally, adolescents who perceive practitioners as encouraging and caring are likely to have greater levels of self-efficacy. Practitioners can do this by spending time with adolescents, acknowledging their interests, helping them with problems, and being a stable figure/mentor.

**OST Components and Positive Youth Development**

Context-specific OST components related to positive developmental outcomes. This dissertation identifies a number of OST components that foster positive development. All outcomes measured in the present study (i.e., social competence, self-efficacy, responsible choices, positive identity, and school engagement) were significantly related to at least one independent variable within each context. Thus, current findings not only support previous research which indicates that OST is a time of opportunity for adolescents (Carnegie Council on
Adolescent Development, 1992), but it also identifies specific components within OST across different contexts through which researchers and practitioners may promote development among adolescents. Future research should utilize an analytic strategy such as Latent Profile Analysis to examine how components across OST contexts collectively relate to outcomes. These analyses would build on current findings by presenting an understanding of how researchers, practitioners, and adults may help promote health, balanced experiences during adolescents’ OST.

Future research should also follow participants longitudinally in order to help determine causality between OST experiences and behaviors and outcomes. Future studies should include positive and negative outcomes. Current research indicates that positive developmental outcomes can serve as protective factors against negative outcomes and delinquent behavior. However, it is important to include these outcomes in the same model. Moreover, findings from the SEM models can be used to inform practitioners about ways through which they can help promote PYD. Identifying the OST components that emerged from the exploratory factor analysis helps practitioners to understand why each OST context is important and findings. Findings from the SEM analyses can help them identify key OST components to promote and help them understand why it is important to support these components. Moreover, linking OST components across contexts to developmental outcomes provides rationale for policy-makers to support supervised and unsupervised OST resources (e.g., after-school programs, recreation centers). The current dissertation provides a starting-off point to understanding racial minority adolescents’ perceptions of OST setting, experiences, and behaviors.

**Insight into African American Adolescents’ OST**

The current sample was predominately African American and so findings from the current dissertation reflect the perceptions of African American adolescents. Of the scarce
literature that focuses on adolescents’ OST, most of it focuses on the types of things they do and the amount of time they spend in activities. Although that was not a focus of the current study, generally, adolescents were not participating in organized activities. Many of them were playing games with family members, talking on the phone, going to friend’s homes, playing video games, and participating in after-school programs. These behaviors are consistent with current research which indicates that African American youth spend only 3% of their time in supervised OST activities (Bohnert et al., 2008), spend more time with their families compared to European American youth (Larson et al., 2001), and working-class adolescents do not participate in organized activities as much as the middle-class does (Lareau, 2000). Thus, current findings provide a great deal of information about how African American adolescents are spending their time, their experiences and behaviors within supervised and unsupervised OST, and ways in which researchers, practitioners, and policy-makers can continue to promote positive developmental outcomes through the OST context. In the future the newly developed OST measure should be administered to diverse sample so that researchers would be able to test the extent to which relationships within the model differ according to demographic factors (e.g., race, gender).

Utilizing Leisure Research to Inform Adolescent Development within OST

Findings for this dissertation were discussed using OST and developmental literature; however, this literature differs in some ways from leisure literature. Some of the themes discussed in leisure literature are not commonly discussed in OST/developmental literature. For example, exploring new things has traditionally not been highlighted as an important component of adolescents’ OST within developmental literature. Leisure research, on the other hand, discusses the importance of individuals’ experimentation and exploration of leisure activities and the
relevance these tasks have to identity development and enjoyment (Kleiber & Powell, 2005). Moreover, the leisure literature highlights the relevance of freedom within leisure and its relation to identity when the leisure activity does the following: allows for experimentation and exploration, fosters the development of interests related to the individuals’ values, experiences create positive feedback from the environment, competencies emerge related to one’s potential, individuals are committed, and individuals are comfortable (Kleiber & Powell, 2005). Leisure and developmental research should be infused to inform research, practice, and policy related to adolescents’ OST.

Conclusion

For researchers and practitioners interested in promoting positive youth development, it is important not only to understand what youth are doing in their OST, but to also understand individual and contextual factors that promote healthy experiences and development within the OST context. Therefore, the overall goal of the current dissertation was to identify important settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints within adolescents’ OST, develop a measure that reflects adolescent-perceived supervised and unsupervised OST settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints and relate these OST components to youth development. Study 1 was a qualitative piece where I used interviews from adolescents to better understand their experiences and behaviors within supervised and unsupervised OST contexts. Study 2 explored the factor structure of a new measure developed based on the findings from analysis of qualitative data collected in Study 1. The factor structure of the adolescent OST measure was explored and experiences within and across supervised and unsupervised OST contexts were analyzed.
Study 1 (Chapter 2) of the dissertation utilized qualitative data collected from African American middle school students to understand how adolescents perceive their supervised and unsupervised OST contexts. Findings indicate that adolescents perceive three different OST contexts related to adult supervision: direct supervision, indirect supervision, and no supervision. Within these three contexts, adolescents reported positive and negative perceived settings, behaviors, and experiences. Study 2 (Chapter 3) of the dissertation utilized quantitative data collected from a predominately African American sample of middle school students. Participants were asked about their perceived settings, behaviors, experiences, and constraints within directly supervised, indirectly supervised, and unsupervised settings. Within context SEM models indicated that OST themes related to positive developmental outcomes (i.e., social competence, self-efficacy, responsible choice making, clear and positive identity, and school engagement). Finally, a latent model that included all OST themes across contexts was tested, but the model fit was poor, indicating that the factors and indicators included in the model co-varied. Future research should utilize a different analytic strategy to examine how the within-context OST factors work collectively to predict developmental outcomes.

Implications for researchers and practitioners are discussed. Specifically, researchers should conduct OST studies that span the three contexts that emerged from the current study, seek to understand why some components emerge within one context but not another, conduct longitudinal studies to help determine causality, and utilize a diverse sample in order to test group differences. The current dissertation can also be used to help inform practitioners about adolescents’ OST. It describes ways to help recruit and retain youth into organized programs, strategies for parents to help strengthen the time they spend with their children, and ideas to help adolescents become prepared to make responsible decisions when they are unsupervised. Additionally, the current findings help practitioners identify key OST components to highlight in order to promote positive developmental outcomes.
References


Appendix A

Interview Questions

Introduction

Hi, my name is Monique and I go to school at Penn State. How are you today? I’m working on a project and am trying to learn about how students your age spend their time. We are going to talk about the things you do during the school year after school or on weekends. These are things that might happen when you’re by yourself or with other people and when you’re at home or in public places. I would like you to give as much detail as you can when you answer the questions. I also want you to remember that there are no right or wrong answers and you don’t have to answer any questions if you don’t want to. Do you have any questions?

How about if we start off with you telling me about the things you do and the way you feel when you’re not in school. Remember to think about things you do during the entire school year.

OST in General

1. What do you do when you’re not in school? What is it like?

Supervised

2. During the school year, what are some things you do regularly when you’re not in school and there’s at least one adult in charge? These could be things you do during the week or on weekends and could be things like sport teams, scouting troops, or anytime an adult is supervising you like when your at your house or a friend’s house or even if you’re doing your homework or chores.
   a. Tell me about one thing that you spend the most time doing when you’re not in school and there’s at least one adult in charge.
      i. How often do you do THIS?
      ii. How long do you do THIS?
      iii. Who are you usually with when you do THIS?
         1. Where is the adult usually when you’re doing THIS? (e.g., in the same room the whole time, in the other room the whole time, in the same room part of the time)
      iv. How do you feel when you do THIS?
      v. What is special or fun about the time you spend doing THIS?
      vi. What are things you wish you could change about the time you spend doing THIS?
   b. Tell me about your favorite way to spend time when you’re not in school and there’s at least one adult in charge.
      i. How often do you do THIS?
      ii. How long do you do THIS?
      iii. Who are you usually with when you do THIS?
         1. Where is the adult usually when you’re doing THIS? (e.g., in the same room the whole time, in the other room the whole time, in the same room part of the time)
iv. How do you **feel** when you do **THIS**?
v. What is **special** or **fun** about the time you spend doing **THIS**?
vi. What are things you **wish you could change** about the time you spend doing **THIS**?

Tell me about your **least favorite** way to spend time when you’re not in school and there is at least one adult around to tell you what to do.
i. How often do you do **THIS**?
ii. How long do you do **THIS**?
iii. Who are you usually with when you do **THIS**?
   1. Where is the adult usually when you’re doing **THIS**? (e.g., in the same room the whole time, in the other room the whole time, in the same room part of the time)
iv. How do you **feel** when you do **THIS**?
v. What is **special** or **fun** about the time you spend doing **THIS**?
vi. What are things you **wish you could change** about the time you spend doing **THIS**?

d. Are there certain things you wish you could do more of when you’re not in school and adults are in charge?
i. What keeps you from doing **THIS**?
ii. What is it about **THIS** that makes you want to do it?

**Unsupervised**

3. During the school year, what are some things you do **regularly** when you’re not in school and there is not an adult in charge? These could be things you do during the week or on weekends and could be things like hanging out with friends, watching TV, playing in your neighborhood, playing on the computer, or anything you do on your own or with friends. Where are adults usually when you’re doing these things?

a. Tell me about one thing that you spend the **most time** doing when you’re not in school and adults are not in charge.
i. How often do you do **THIS**?
ii. How long do you do **THIS**?
iii. Who are you usually with when you do **THIS**?
   1. Where is the adult usually when you’re doing **THIS**? (e.g., in the same room the whole time, in the other room the whole time, in the same room part of the time)
iv. How do you **feel** when you do **THIS**?
v. What is **special** or **fun** about the time you spend doing **THIS**?
vi. What are things you **wish you could change** about the time you spend doing **THIS**?

b. Tell me about your **favorite** way to spend time when you’re not in school and there is not an adult in charge.
i. How often do you do **THIS**?
ii. How long do you do **THIS**?
iii. Who are you usually with when you do **THIS**?
   1. Where is the adult usually when you’re doing **THIS**? (e.g., in the same room the whole time, in the other room the whole time, in the same room part of the time)
iv. How do you feel when you do THIS?

v. What is special or fun about the time you spend doing THIS?

vi. What are things you wish you could change about the time you spend doing THIS?

c. Tell me about your least favorite way to spend time when you’re not in school and there is not an adult in charge.

   i. How often do you do THIS?

   ii. How long do you do THIS?

   iii. Who are you usually with when you do THIS?

   1. Where is the adult usually when you’re doing THIS? (e.g., in the same room the whole time, in the other room the whole time, in the same room part of the time)

   iv. How do you feel when you do THIS?

   v. What is special or fun about the time you spend doing THIS?

   vi. What are things you wish you could change about the time you spend doing THIS?

d. Are there certain things you wish you could do more of when you’re not in school and there is not an adult in charge?

   i. What keeps you from doing THIS?

   ii. What is it about THIS that makes you want to do it?

**Closing**

Thank you so much for all of the information you shared with me today.

4. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about the time when you’re not in school?
Appendix B

Interview Coding Scheme

I. Demographics
   a. Gender
      i. Male
      ii. Female
   b. Grade Level
      i. 7
      ii. 8

II. Behavior
   a. Learning/Skill building
      i. Adapt activity
      ii. Build skills
      iii. Express myself
      iv. Solve problems
      v. Act as a leader
   b. Decision-making
      i. Break rules
      ii. Make responsible decisions
      iii. Mind manners
      iv. Take risks
   c. New Experiences
      i. Do something new or rare
      ii. Explore new things or get out of house
   d. Build relationships
      i. With adults
      ii. With friends
   e. you have fun
   f. alone time to think or relax

III. Experience
   a. Adults
      i. Allow autonomy
      ii. Impede student’s decision-making
      iii. Encourage student to do things he/she likes
      iv. Not there when you need or want them
      v. Trust from adults to make responsible decisions
      vi. Adults show student they care
      vii. Serve as a resource
      viii. Provide rules
   b. Rules and Restrictions
      i. Feel restricted or limited
      ii. Rules serve a good purpose
      iii. Too many rules
iv. Needs to be more rules

c. Freedom
   i. Freedom to make own decisions
   ii. Have enough privacy
   iii. Independence

d. Positive
   i. Comfortable being myself
   ii. Excited
   iii. Interested
   iv. Healthy
   v. Normal
   vi. Passionate
   vii. Physically safe
   viii. Relaxed
   ix. Responsible
   x. Affectionate
   xi. Ownership
   xii. Everyone is unique
   xiii. Good
   xiv. Efficacious
   xv. Competitive
   xvi. Equal to others
   xvii. Mature

e. Negative
   i. Tired
   ii. Feel bored
   iii. Frustrated/annoyed
   iv. Secretive or sneaky
   v. Uncomfortable
   vi. Conflict
   vii. Lonely
   viii. Not focused/careless
   ix. No fun

IV. Setting- Refers to the level of control and support youth experience during an activity, the level of autonomy youth experience, and the opportunities for growth within an activity.
a. Participants
   i. Alone
   ii. Friends/peers
      1. Same gender
      2. Opposite gender
   iii. Cousins
   iv. Parents
   v. Siblings
   vi. Other family
   vii. Other adults

V. Constraints- Refers to constraints youth face to participating in activities.
a. Community
   i. Violence
b. External
   i. Weather
   ii. Against rules
      1. Too young
      2. No supervision
   iii. Need better or more resources (e.g., more games, carpet)
   iv. No transportation
   v. Not enough money
   vi. Not enough time

  c. Interpersonal
   i. No friends to do activity with
   ii. Everyone else is different from me
   iii. Lack of communication with an adult
   iv. People cause distractions or get in the way
   v. People tease or yell at me
   vi. Adult doesn’t trust student
   vii. Supervision

  d. Intrapersonal
   i. Not good enough
   ii. Tired
   iii. Not in the mood
   iv. Not healthy

  e. School or grades

VI. Activity Participation- Refers to the places where youth spend their time, the types of things youth do, the number of things youth do regularly, and the amount of time youth dedicate to each thing they do within one occurrence.

  a. Classification
     i. Directly supervised
     ii. Indirectly supervised
     iii. Unsupervised
     iv. Favorite
     v. Least Favorite
     vi. Most time
     vii. Wish could do more often
     viii. Other

  b. Domain
     i. School
     ii. Community-Public
     iii. Community-commercial
     iv. Own home
     v. Other’s home

  c. Type
     i. Academic- not homework
     ii. After-school program
     iii. Adventure/extreme
     iv. Argue/Fight (not play fight)
     v. Artwork
     vi. Babysit
vii. Board games
viii. Chores
ix. Clubs/organizations
x. Cook
xi. Computers
xii. Dance
xiii. Eating
xiv. Errand(s)
xv. Go outside/get of the house
xvi. Gossip or drama
xvii. Hobbies
xviii. Homework
xix. Informal dancing
xx. Drama/dance group
xxi. Listening to music
xxii. Mall/shopping
xxiii. Party
xxiv. Personal time
xxv. Phone
xxvi. Play
xxvii. Play fight (not argue or fight for real)
xxviii. Rapping
xxix. Reading
xxx. Religious/spiritual
xxx. Singing/musical instrument
xxxi. Scouts
xxxi. Sneak out
xxxiv. Sports/physical
xxxv. Talk (in person)
xxxvi. TV/movies
xxxvii. Volunteerism
xxxviii. Video games
xxxix. Walking
xl. Work
xli. Writing stories/poetry
d. Breadth
i. 1-3
ii. 4-6
iii. 7-8
iv. 8-10
v. 11 or more
e. Depth (Span and Length)
i. Seasonal
   1. In season
   2. Not in season
   3. Year-round
ii. How often
   1. 6-7 days per week
   2. 4-5 days per week
3. 2-3 days per week
4. Once a week
5. 2-3 days a month
6. 1 a month or less

iii. How long
1. Weekdays
   a. 30 minutes or less
   b. 1-2 hours
   c. 3-4 hours
   d. 5 hours or more
2. Weekends
   a. 30 minutes or less
   b. 1-2 hours
   c. 3-4 hours
   d. 5 hours or more
Appendix C

OST Survey Items

1. How much time do you spend doing these types of things?
2. What do you spend the most time doing?

During the time when you’re not in school, doing homework, or doing chores, how

often do…

3. Experiences
   a. Adults
      i. adults encourage you to do things you like?
      ii. adults help guide you to make good decisions?
      iii. you wish an adult was with you?
      iv. adults trust you to make responsible decisions?
      v. show you that they care about you?
   b. Rules and Restrictions
      i. you feel like there are too many rules?
      ii. you feel like there needs to be more rules?
      iii. you feel restricted or limited?
   c. Freedom
      i. you have the freedom to make your own decisions?
      ii. you feel independent?
      iii. you have enough privacy?
   d. Positive
      i. you feel comfortable being yourself?
      ii. you feel excited?
      iii. you feel healthy?
      iv. you feel interested?
      v. you feel passionate about what you are doing?
      vi. you feel physically safe?
      vii. you feel relaxed?
      viii. you feel responsible?
      ix. you feel like you’re doing something good for others?
   e. Negative
      i. you feel tired?
      ii. you feel bored?
      iii. you feel frustrated or annoyed?
      iv. you feel like you’re being secretive or sneaky?
      v. you feel uncomfortable?
4. Behavior
   a. Learning/Skill building
      i. you solve problems (e.g., disagreements between friends, compromise with others)?
      ii. you change something about what you’re doing to make it more enjoyable?
      iii. you build skills and learn things you will be able to use in the future?
      iv. you act as a leader?
      v. you express yourself?
   b. Decision-making
      i. you break rules?
      ii. you mind your manners?
      iii. you make responsible decisions?
      iv. you take risks?
   c. Experience something new
      i. you do something you like that is new or something you don’t get to do very often?
      ii. you explore new things (e.g., in your neighborhood) and/or get out of the house?
   d. Build relationships
      i. you build relationships with adults?
      ii. you build relationships with friends?
   e. have fun?
   f. you take alone time to think or relax?

5. Constraints
   **How often to do not get to do something you like because…**
   a. you don’t have enough money?
   b. you don’t have enough time?
   c. it’s too dangerous?
   d. it’s against the rules?
   e. you have no transportation?
   f. it’s not available in your neighborhood?
   g. you have no one to do the activity with?
   h. everyone else is different from you?
   i. people cause distractions or get in the way?
   j. people tease or yell at you?
   k. an adult doesn’t trust you?
   l. you’re not good at it?
Appendix D

PYD Survey Items

1. Social Competence
   a. can actively talk to a stranger
   b. know how to communicate with others
   c. understand the rules and expectations in interacting with others
   d. get along well with others
   e. enjoy joining social activities
   f. know how to listen to others
   g. know how to differentiate good and bad friends.

2. Low Self-efficacy
   a. have little control of things that happen in my life.
   b. do not have any solutions for some of the problems I am facing.
   c. cannot do much to change things in my life.
   d. When I face life difficulties, I feel helpless.
   e. feel my life is determined by others and fate.
   f. believe things happening in my life are mostly determined by me.
   g. can finish almost everything that I am determined to do.

3. Responsible Choices
   a. can say no to activities that you think are wrong.
   b. can identify the positive and negative consequences of behavior.
   c. try to make sure everyone in a group is treated fairly.
   d. think you should work to get something, if you really want it.
   e. make decisions to help achieve your goals.
   f. know how to organize your time to get all your work done.
4. Positive Identity
   a. can do things as good as others.
   b. compared to my classmates, I am satisfied with my performance.
   c. am satisfied with my body and appearance.
   d. feel that I am welcomed by others.
   e. am a person with self-confidence.
   f. know my strengths and weaknesses.

5. School Engagement
   a. do not care how I do in school.
VITA

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EDUCATION
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GRANTS